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**THE SCOUTS MOVEMENT AND
THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW CITIZENSHIP
IN REPUBLICAN CHINA (1912-1937)**

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MPHIL

LINGNAN UNIVERSITY

2008

THE SCOUTS MOVEMENT AND
THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW CITIZENSHIP
IN REPUBLICAN CHINA (1912-1937)

by
CHOI Sze Hang

A thesis
submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree of
Master of Philosophy in History

Lingnan University

2008

ABSTRACT

The Scouts Movement and the Construction of New Citizenship in Republican China (1912-1937)

by

CHOI Sze Hang

Master of Philosophy

Robert Baden-Powell established the world's first Boy Scouts in Britain in 1907. With unexpected quickness, the first Chinese Boy Scouts was established in 1912. The Chinese Boy Scouts first started in missionary schools and its early development was concentrated in Shanghai and Jiangsu province. In 1928, the Nationalist Party (KMT) started to turn the Scouts into a tool to mould ideal future citizens of the country by indoctrinating the Scouts with the Three People's Principles and training them with practical living skills.

In the 1930s, stimulated by the Japanese invasion and inspired by Fascist Italy and Nazi Germany's extensive use of youth organizations to train highly militarized youth to serve the nation's needs, Chiang Kai-shek entrusted the Blue Shirts, who were led by the graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy, to be responsible for the Scout affairs. They changed the focus of remodeling the Scouts from politicization to militarization. The KMT believed that the "reformed" Scout program would produce a patriotic and disciplined youth who had the will and the ability to contribute to the nation. In addition, by expanding the Scout program from the cities to the rural areas and creating a separate Girl Scout program, the KMT believed that rural children and girls, who had been ignored by the Scout organizers before the KMT period, would become valuable citizens to help revive China.

However, there was an uneasy gap between the reality and the KMT's expectations. Due to the missionary and non-governmental origin of the Scouts, the KMT found it difficult to indoctrinate the Scouts with its political principles. Furthermore, the uneasy relationship between the government and the party, and the lack of funding became hindrances to the KMT's effort to spread the Scouts nationwide. The relatively small number of Scouts in China also limited the effect of militarizing and creating separate gender roles for all Chinese youth as the KMT had envisioned.

This thesis is divided into four parts. First, it will discuss the early development of the Boy Scouts before the KMT's takeover (1912-1928) with the focus on the Boy Scout organizations in Shanghai and Jiangsu province. It will also discuss how the organizations dealt with patriotism in political movements. Second, it will analyze how effective the KMT was in terms of taking over the Scout organization nationwide. It will also analyze why during the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937), the KMT changed the focus of the Scouts' development from political control into quantitative expansion by incorporating the Scout program into the formal school curriculum and expanding the Scouts from the cities to rural areas. Third, it will analyze, from 1930 to 1937, how the KMT under the influence of the German model responded to the same dilemma faced by Baden-Powell in Britain in

the 1910s: should the purpose of the Boy Scout program be to train future citizens or future soldiers? Last, it will analyze the assumption behind the KMT's formulation of the Girl Scout program: should girls be good housewives and mothers in the home or active citizens in society as boys were supposed to be?

DECLARATION

I declare that this is an original work based primarily on my own research, and I warrant that all citations of previous research, published or unpublished, have been duly acknowledged.

SIGNED

(CHOI Sze Hang)

15th July, 2008

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL OF THESIS

THE SCOUTS MOVEMENT AND
THE CONSTRUCTION OF NEW CITIZENSHIP
IN REPUBLICAN CHINA (1912-1937)

by

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Yan Fu translated Thomas H. Huxley's work *Evolution and Ethics* in 1897 which applied Charles Darwin's theory of evolution in Nature to explain human society. Chinese intellectuals and government began to see China's position in the world in the framework of Social Darwinism and believed that China needed to struggle against invasion to ensure its survival. The occupation of Beijing by eight foreign powers during the Boxer Uprising from 1900 to 1901 was the most serious crisis of national survival in the eyes of the Chinese intellectuals. The superstition which of the Boxers and the apathy of the common people towards this crisis worried the intellectuals.¹ Therefore, Liang Qichao wrote a series of articles on the qualities of new Chinese citizens in his journal *Xin Min Cong Bao* 新民叢報 (New citizen periodical) from 1902 to 1903 as an attempt to promote the quality of cohesion among the common people.² However, the change of polity since the 1911 Revolution did not change China's position in the world. China faced a much more severe national crisis of survival with the challenges of continuous imperialist invasion and the division of China by different warlords. With a much more urgent need of national survival than before, the task of grouping Chinese people as a

¹Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Lun jintian ge guo dai Zhongguo zhi shan fa 論今日各國待中國之善法" (On the good attitudes of the foreign powers towards China today), in *Yin bing shi he ji* 飲冰室合集 (The Collected Work of Yin bing shi), wen ji 文集 (Collected literary works), no. 5, (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1989), 51-52; Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "O pangguanzhe wen 呵旁觀者文" (The article of scolding the onlookers), in *Yin bing shi he ji* 飲冰室合集 (The Collected Work of Yin bing shi), wen ji 文集 (Collected literary works), no. 5, (Beijing: Zhonghua shu ju, 1989), 69, 71. Liang Qichao wrote these two articles in 1900, the year when Beijing was occupied by the eight foreign powers due to the Boxer Uprising.

²Liang Qichao had written a series of articles on the qualities like civic morality (gong de 公德), self-governance (zizhi 自治), group-cohesion (hequn 合群), the sense of obligation (yiwu sixiang 義務思想) which Liang thought new citizen of China should possess in order to contribute themselves for the survival of China in the world. See Liang Qichao 梁啟超, "Xin min shuo 新民說" (On New Citizenship), *Xin Min Cong Bao* 新民叢報 (New citizen periodical), no. 1-12, 14, 16, 19-20, 24, 26, 28-29 (1902-1903).

cohesive unit to face the challenges needed to be put into real practice. Since the youth was viewed by intellectuals, educationalists, and the government as future citizens, the Scout program, which aimed to cultivate youth with disciplined behavior and loyalty to the nation, was seen as the solution.

The Boy Scouts were first established by Sir Robert Baden-Powell in Britain in 1907. The poor performance of British soldiers in the Second Boer War (1899-1902) and the decline of British citizens' quality due to the expansion of slums in Britain caused by further industrialization in the 1900s convinced Baden-Powell and many people at that time that the quality of British citizenship, especially the youth, was at risk. In his book *Scouting for Boys*, Baden-Powell wrote that "The future of our Empire [Britain] will much depend on the character of the rising generation. . . . Peace Scouting is suggested as an attractive means towards developing character and good citizenship,"³ The Boy Scouts were introduced to develop children's character with a sense of responsibility, discipline, religious faith, and continence by many outdoor activities and training like camping, cooking, scouting, and so on under the instruction of scoutmasters.⁴ It soon became a popular form of youth education and was introduced to other countries around the world. The first Japanese Boy Scouts and the first American Boy Scouts were established in 1909 and 1910 respectively. With unexpected quickness, the first Boy Scouts in China were established in 1912, just five years after the establishment of the world's first Boy Scouts.

Studies on the British Boy Scouts can make a valuable comparison with the Chinese Boy Scouts as they developed in very different historical contexts. There are

³Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship* (London: Horace Cox, 1908; reprint, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 295.

⁴Baden-Powell, 314-317.

two scholarly articles that discuss the aims of Baden-Powell's Scout movement in Britain before 1920. Allen Warren's research on Baden-Powell's Scout movement in Britain from 1900 to 1920 disagrees with the conventional argument that the Scout movement was a form of social control within a military context. Warren argues that regardless of the British public's sentiment against war before and after the First World War, the high level of volunteering in the war and the popularity of the Boy Scouts after the war suggests that the Boy Scouts were consistent with the popular social demand in Britain for training youth in the disciplined Boy Scout way.⁵ Warren contends that the combination of the elements of personal development, patriotism, and religious commitment in the British Boy Scouts was accounted for its popularity in Britain before and after the war.⁶ However, John Springhall's article refutes Warren's arguments and reasserts that the sole aim of Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts was to train future soldiers to defend Britain. Drawing on the private correspondence from Chief Scout Commissioner Sir Edmund Elles to the Earl of Meath, a member of the Scout Council on 3 August 1910, in which Elles stated that the Boy Scout program was a better way to recruit boys whose parents disliked military service, and that he wanted all Boy Scouts to receive a military drill, Springhall argues that the British Scout organizers only saw the Boy Scouts as a better way to train future soldiers than cadet training.⁷ Like Britain, China also faced the pressure of preparing for war when Japan invaded China in 1931. Therefore, the KMT also faced the same question of whether the Scout program aimed at training future soldiers or future citizens as Baden-Powell and his compatriots did. Besides,

⁵Allen Warren, "Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920," *The English Historical Review* 101 (April 1986): 376-377, 379-380, 386, 393.

⁶Warren, 388-390, 392-393.

⁷John Springhall, "Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldiers of the Future?" *The English Historical Review* 102 (October 1987): 935-937.

being affected by the model of Hitler Youth of Germany in the 1930s, the Chinese Scouts had an obvious tendency of being militarized. Chapter 4 of this thesis will discuss the process of the militarization of the Scouts in the 1930s. It also analyzes if it is true that the KMT aimed at making Scouts into future soldiers or just used military training as a better way to cultivate disciplined youth.

There are various studies in the West and China about the Scouts and modern citizenship in China. Rong Zihan's research on the history of Guangdong's Boy Scouts from 1915 to 1938 is the first academic study of the Boy Scouts at a regional level. Rong's thesis gives great details on the transformation of the Guangdong's Boy Scouts within the KMT's network, its own organizations, and regulations. It also discusses the rituals and social activities of the Boy Scouts and the close relationship between the Boy Scouts in Guangdong and those in Hong Kong and overseas Chinese communities.⁸ Rong argues that the Boy Scout program was successful in reforming traditional Chinese education by promoting the method of "learning by doing". Rong also points out that the focus of the early Boy Scouts, which were mostly founded by missionary schools, was placed on sports and church worship and that there was excessive political indoctrination in the Boy Scout program and political struggle between different cliques in the KMT in controlling the Boy Scouts in the Nanjing Decade. As a result, the Chinese Boy Scouts ignored the educational value of the youth's personal development that was advocated by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the world's Boy Scouts.⁹ However, Rong's study fails to show the uniqueness of Guangdong's Boy Scouts as compared to the Boy Scouts in other parts of China during the Nanjing Decade, nor does the study explain why

⁸Rong Zihan 榮子涵, "Guangdong tongzijun yanjiu: Yi jiu yi wu—yi jiu san ba 廣東童子軍研: 1915—1938" (The studying of the Boy Scout of Guangdong, 1915—1938) (MPhil. thesis, Jinan University, 2002), 9-36.

⁹Rong, 36-37, 40-42.

the KMT attempted to train the youth to become the heirs of the Three People's Principles. Since the Chinese Boy Scouts' development concentrated in Jiangsu province and Shanghai, the analysis of the Boy Scouts' development in these two places before and after the KMT's takeover will be more valuable to show how the KMT politicized the Scouts, which was a foreign product when it first came into China. The development of the Boy Scouts in Jiangsu province and Shanghai before the KMT's takeover will be discussed in Chapter 2. Besides, Rong does not have many sources to prove that there was a struggle between different cliques in the KMT in controlling the Scouts. Chapter 3 of this thesis will try to analyze how the lack of cooperation between the party and the government in the 1930s hindered the development of the Scouts in China.

Hwang Jinlin's work studies how state power interfered with the individual's body through the Boy Scouts and other youth organizations. He argues that the Scouts and the Three People's Principles Youth Leagues of the KMT, and the Young Pioneers and the Children's League of the CCP, which show the subjugation of the individual's body to the state, were not isolated cases. Instead, they were consistent with the universal trend, as exemplified by Hitler's Germany, Mussolini's Italy, and Lenin's Russia, which consciously, and by Baden-Powell, who unconsciously, used Scout methods to construct youth bodies to serve the state.¹⁰ The KMT's training of youth bodies through the Boy Scouts, Hwang argues, was also consistent with the failure of formal education in Europe to train citizens with state consciousness and the strong body the state envisaged since the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. In other words, individual bodies became the key for the state's survival in the context of international competition. However, unlike Hitler, who replaced the Scouts with the

¹⁰Jinlin Hwang, "Authority over the Body and the Modern Formation of the Body," in *Creating Chinese Modernity: Knowledge and Everyday Life, 1900-1940*, ed. Peter Zarrow (New York: Peter Lang, 2006): 183-212.

Hitler Youth, the KMT government preserved the Scout program within the school system.¹¹ Hwang points out the uniqueness of the Chinese Scouts, which was different from the international practice of regarding the Scouts as an extra-curricular activity. However, Hwang ignores another difference that unlike the Scouts in the West, the Chinese Scouts were never popular outside the school. Therefore, the KMT needed to rely on the school system to spread or regulate the Scout regiments. Chapter 3 of this thesis will discuss the reasons behind the KMT's decision to make the Scout program a compulsory school subject in 1934 as a response to the urgent needs of national survival in the 1930s.

Unlike Hwang Jinlin, who sees the development of the Chinese Scouts as a natural outcome of the international trend of the state's intervention of the individual's body, Robert Culp points out the tensions between the KMT's ideal and reality which made the state's intervention of the Boy Scouts a failure. Drawing on the Boy Scout handbooks about civic education and social consciousness in 1935 after the Boy Scout program was incorporated into the formal school curriculum, Culp suggests that there were three main tensions in the Boy Scout textbooks. The first one was the teaching of the skills of both the urban elites and the common people. The second one was the tension between formulating an ideal society according to individual initiative with different contributions, and treating individuals like "artificial machine" without different qualities under the KMT's ultimate authority. The third one was between the Scouts as cosmopolitan citizens and as Chinese citizens who were supposed to be loyal to the Three People's Principles and the state.¹² Culp also thinks that the Boy Scout movement was

¹¹Hwang, 187-188, 193-194. Chinese Boy Scouts was at first outside formal school curriculum until it became formal school curriculum in 1934.

¹²Robert Culp, "Zhongguo tongzijun—Nanjing shi nian tongzijun shouce zhong de gongmin

consistent with the New Life Movement initiated by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934, that both of them tried to reconstruct public space by adjusting the individual's behavior according to the modern social standard as understood by the KMT in order to attract international recognition, especially the Western imperialist powers.¹³ Culp argues that these tensions, especially the second one, would lead to the collapse of the KMT's power because the youth might choose their own way to construct the nation rather than accept the KMT's authority over the state.¹⁴

Culp's article on cultural citizenship in Nationalist China analyzes how different values such as military training, character development, and moral cultivation promoted by different cliques of the KMT and educators took shape in citizen training programs like the Boy Scouts, and how different social groups responded to these diverse values.¹⁵ Culp suggests that Confucian ideas of moral cultivation and the father-son relationship worked quite well with the modern form of discipline training authorized by the state.¹⁶ However, Culp also points out that students took advantage of the pluralism in the KMT's youth training programs for their own ends. For example, the KMT promoted military training for students which aimed at producing disciplined citizens rather than soldiers, but the students saw

xunlian yu shehui yishi 中國童子軍—南京十年童子軍手冊中的公民訓練與社會意識” (Scouting for Chinese Boys: Civic Training and Social Consciousness in Nanjing Decade Boy Scout Handbooks), trans. Huang Yuwen 黃煜文, *Xin Shixue* 新史學 (New history) 11, no. 4 (December 2000): 17-49.

¹³“Zhongguo tongzijun—Nanjing shi nian tongzijun shouce zhong de gongmin xunlian yu shehui yishi 中國童子軍—南京十年童子軍手冊中的公民訓練與社會意識,” 36; John Fitzgerald, *Awakening China: Politics, Culture, and Class in the Nationalist Revolution* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1996), 103-106.

¹⁴“Zhongguo tongzijun—Nanjing shi nian tongzijun shouce zhong de gongmin xunlian yu shehui yishi 中國童子軍—南京十年童子軍手冊中的公民訓練與社會意識,” 55-59.

¹⁵Robert Culp, “Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation, and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65 (August 2006): 530, 543.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, 531, 541.

military training as a chance to fight against the Japanese. At the same time, the KMT promoted civic training to prepare the student's abilities of self-governance in the future stage of Constitutional Rule, however, this became a mechanism for students to challenge the KMT's authority.¹⁷ Culp also argues that the disappearance of the gender difference between girls and boys in Scout training provided women an equal status in public action but at the same time made their liberation merely a tool for nation-building.¹⁸

Culp's analysis of the tensions in the Chinese Boy Scout program is inspiring. However, he has overstated the fact that the Scouts made use of these tensions to construct modern China on their own or even to challenge the KMT's authority. Culp's statement is simply his own assertion; he does not provide any examples to show how the Scouts actually challenged the KMT's regulation of their action to make contribution to the nation. Qin Suiling's MPhil. thesis, on the contrary, argues that the Scout program was a political tool used by the KMT to mold the youth into loyal citizens. Qin divided the development of the Scouts in China into three periods: the period of establishment (1911-1928), the period of development (1928-1937), and the wartime period (1937-1949). Qin analyzes the Chinese Scouts' development in the context of the KMT's and the CCP's competition for the masses' support for their revolutionary cause. Since the KMT believed that the mobilization of the masses was crucial to the success of revolution, and that the Scouts were the best tool to mobilize the youth, Qin concludes that the KMT attempted to make use of the Scout training to divert students from the protests against the state in the 1920s.¹⁹

¹⁷Ibid., 537, 543.

¹⁸Ibid., 544-546.

¹⁹Qin Suiling 秦穗齡, "Tongzijunyu xiandai Zhongguo de qingshaonian xunlian (yi jiu yi yi-yi jiu si jiu 童子軍與現代中國的青少年訓練 (1911-1949))" (Scouts and youth training in modern

Moreover, from the official correspondence published in various Scout monthlies by the KMT in 1929, the lack of scoutmasters committed to the Three People's Principles and the lack of enthusiasm from both the Education Bureau and the local party bureau were the real problems faced by the KMT to rule over the Scouts. These problems will be discussed in the process of the KMT's taking over of the Scouts from 1928 to 1937 in chapter 3. Besides, the KMT's promotion of disciplined behavior among the Scouts was never aimed at fighting for the imperialist powers' recognition of China as assured by Culp. Instead, the standardization of the Scouts' behavior by the KMT was consistent with the popular demand of Chinese intellectuals to construct Chinese people as a cohesive unit since the beginning of the 20th century. The stimulation of the Japanese invasion in the 1930s and the inspiration from Nazi Germany just increased the pace of fulfilling this demand. Chapter 4 will discuss the idea of cultivating students with discipline through a military-citizen education (Jun guomin jiaoyu 軍國民教育) in the 1910s. This served as the background of the militarization of the Boy Scouts in the 1930s to fulfill such a demand, which will also be discussed in chapter 4. The reasons why the Chinese Boy Scouts were considered to be an "imperialist" product and the KMT's comments on the Chinese Boy Scouts before the Nanjing Decade, which will be discussed in chapter 2 and chapter 3 respectively, will explain why the KMT did not use the Scouts to attract the good will of imperialist powers. Besides, though it is true that some students, as Culp argues, chose their own way to fight against Japanese and challenge the KMT's authority, student activism cannot apply to the case of the Scouts. This will also be discussed in chapter 4.

Apart from the judgment on the youth's initiative in nation-building process,

Culp also over-simplifies the question of gender difference in the Chinese Girl Scout program. As analyzed by Paul Bailey and Joan Judge in their studies on modern Chinese women's identities since the late Qing, although the Republic of China was established in 1911, Chinese women did not get an equal footing with males. They were not regarded as citizens but were regarded as housewives in the family or mothers of citizens.²⁰ Therefore, it is not true that Chinese girls achieved gender equality through the Girl Scout program. Instead, they were indoctrinated to follow the model of "wise wife and good mother" which made them unconsciously give up their identity of citizenship. This question will be discussed in chapter 5 by analyzing the Girl Scout programs in 1919 and 1933 and also Chinese intellectuals' discussion of female roles in the family and society in the 1930s.

The remaining pages of this thesis are divided into five chapters. Chapter 2 will discuss the development of the Chinese Boy Scouts which concentrated mainly in Shanghai and Jiangsu province from 1912 to 1928 before the KMT's takeover. The main research question asked in this chapter is how the Boy Scout organizations operated by foreign missionaries and Chinese organizers dealt with the question of patriotism and the relationship with foreign authorities in Shanghai especially during such political movements as the May Fourth Movement in 1919. Chapter 3 will discuss the process of the KMT's takeover of the Scouts in the Nanjing Decade from 1928 to 1937. This includes the reasons and the steps of the KMT in taking over the Scouts, the back and forth process of negotiation between the party and the government in the issue of funding the Scouts, the Blue Shirts' strategies of

²⁰Joan Judge, "Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship," in *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China*, eds. Merle Goldman, Elizabeth J. Perry (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 23-43; Paul Bailey, "Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife? The Debate over Women's Education in Early-Twentieth-Century China," in *Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-century China*, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 318-347.

spreading the Scouts within the school system and from the city to the village in the 1930s. The main research question asked in this chapter is how successful the KMT was in taking over the Scouts in face of passive uncooperative attitudes from schools and the Education Bureau.

After these two chapters of chronological narrative of the development of the Chinese Scouts from 1912 to 1937, chapter 4 and chapter 5 will be thematic chapters on the militarization of the Boy Scouts and the gender roles of the Girl Scouts respectively. Chapter 4 will discuss the historical context behind the militarization of the Boy Scouts, including the concept of the military-citizen (Jun guomin 軍國民) raised by intellectuals since the late Qing period and the inspiration from Hitler's Germany and Mussolini's Italy. The main research question of this chapter is whether the militarization of the Boy Scouts in the 1930s aimed at training the boy Scouts to become future soldiers or disciplined citizens. Chapter 5 will deal with the development of the Chinese Girl Scouts since 1919. Then, it will discuss the formulation of the gender roles of the Girl Scouts by comparing the Girl Scout programs in 1919 and 1920 by Zhang Weizhen 張維楨, and the Girl Scout program by the KMT in 1933. By putting the Girl Scout programs in the context of the Chinese intellectuals' discussion of the gender roles of Chinese women in the 1930s, it will answer the main research question of this chapter: Did the Chinese Girl Scout program aim at training Chinese girls to become wise wives and good mothers or active citizen as males did?

Chapter 6, the conclusion of this thesis, will make a comparison between the Scouts and the Youth Pioneers of the CCP. Then it will discuss the further development of the Scouts in the Second Sino-Japanese War. This will show the similarities and differences between the Scouts under the KMT and those similar

youth organizations in different nations.

Shen Bao 申報 will be the main primary sources for the study of the Boy Scouts from 1912 to 1927. The Scout monthlies by the KMT from 1929 to 1937 will be the main primary sources for the study of the Scouts in the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937). Various monthlies like *Qiantu* 前途 (The Future), *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance Monthly) will be used in this thesis to explain the influence of the Blue Shirts in the militarization of the Boy Scouts. Various female journals like *Funü Xunkan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine) and *Xin Jiating* 新家庭 (The modern home) will be used to reflect the intellectual discussion of gender roles of Chinese women in the 1930s.

CHAPTER 2

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHINESE BOY SCOUTS (1912-1928)

The Boy Scout program was a foreign product of youth education when it was introduced into China in 1912. This created the question of whether the program's aims and organization should remain unchanged or change according to China's historical context when the Boy Scout program spread over China. This chapter will first discuss the origin of the Chinese Boy Scouts. Then it will show how the Boy Scouts was moved from the hands of western missionaries into the Chinese people's hands. This part will focus on the development of the Boy Scouts from 1912 to 1928 in Shanghai and Jiangsu province where most of the Boy Scout organizations were located in this period. This reflected the changes of the Boy Scouts under western missionaries, mainly in Shanghai, and those under Chinese control, mainly in Jiangsu province. The changes provided the background for the taking over of the Scouts by the Nationalist Party (KMT) in 1928.

The Establishment of the First Chinese Boy Scouts

There are two versions about where and when the first Chinese Boy Scouts were established. The first version is that, G. S. F. Kemp, the Principal of the Public School of Chinese (Huatong gongxue 華童公學) in Shanghai established the first Chinese Boy Scouts in 1913, and was followed by the Y.M.C.A. and St. John's University afterwards. The early development of the Chinese Boy Scouts concentrated in missionary schools by Western churches. All instructions or skills of the Boy Scouts were taught in English, which made it difficult for other parts of

China to follow, as they were not as open as Shanghai to foreign culture.¹ As early as 1911, some westerners in Shanghai had already established a Boy Scout regiment called the Shanghai Baden-Powell Boy Scouts. In November 1911, some students of the Public School of Chinese felt great interest in these Boy Scout activities and requested their principal, G.S.F. Kemp, to organize Boy Scout activities. Therefore, Kemp invited S. Stewast, the scoutmaster of the Shanghai Baden-Powell Boy Scouts, to lead a Boy Scout meeting in the school every Wednesday. Fifteen students in this school voluntarily accepted the Boy Scout training in two months, and they used Tongzi zhentan dui 童子偵探隊 (Children Scouting Patrol) as its Chinese name.²

According to the second version, which was promoted by the KMT authorities in both the formal educational yearbook and the Scout monthlies published by the KMT, the first Chinese Boy Scouts were established by Yan Jialin 嚴家麟, a teacher of Wenhua College (Wenhua shuyuan 文華書院) in Wuchang 武昌 of Hubei province on 25 February 1912.³ Yan received education from Wenhua

¹"Jiangsu sheng li di san shifan fushu xiaoxue zuzhi tong zi yi yong dui xuanyan 江蘇省立第三師範附屬小學組織童子義勇隊宣言" (The declaration of No.3 Jiangsu Provincial Institute of Education Affiliated Primary School's Boy Scout Volunteer Team), *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 7, no.9 (September 1915), 31; Xi San 希三, "Tongzijun zhi taolun 童子軍之討論" (Discussion of Boy Scouts), *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 8, no.5 (May 1916), 9; "Shanghai gongbu sheli Hua Tong Gong Xue zhaosheng qi 上海工部局設立華童公學招生啓" (The advertisement of recruiting students for the Public School for Chinese established by Shanghai Municipal Council), *Shen bao* 申報, 15 February 1918, 11.

²Qin Suiling 秦穗齡, "Tongzijunyu xiandai Zhongguo de qingshaonian xunlian (yi jiu yi yi-yi jiu si jiu 童子軍與現代中國的青少年訓練 (1911-1949))" (Scouts and youth training in modern China, 1911-1949), (MPhil. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2004), 16.

³Jiaoyu nianjian bianzuan weiyuanhui 教育年鑑編纂委員會 ed., *Di er ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* 第二次中國教育年鑑 (The second yearbook of education in China) (China: unknown, 1948; reprint, Taipei County: Wen hai chubanshe, 1986), 1334. This version was also already accepted by KMT Boy Scouts' publication as early as 1929, it wrote Chinese Boy Scouts was first started by Wenhua College in Wuchang in 1912 and argued that Public School of Chinese and Y.M.C.A. in Shanghai later established the Boy Scouts was due to Wuchang's example. See Chen Chaozong 陳朝宗, "Zhongguo tongzijunde guoqu xianzai 中國童子軍的過去現在" (The present and the past of the Chinese Boy Scouts), *Dang tongzijunsilingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout

Gesong School (Wenhua gesong xuexiao 文華歌頌學校) and Wenhua College, which were both missionary schools. In 1911, Yan translated Baden-Powell's book on Boy Scouts and experimented the methods outlined in the book to train the children in the college. His experiment was admired by both the students' parents and the college. When the 1911 Revolution broke out in Wuchang, his work of training children was forced to stop. He joined some missionaries to form a first aid team. At the same time, He rethought the Chinese name of the Boy Scouts when he re-read *Scouting for Boys* by Baden-Powell. This reminded him of the Salvation Army and Student Army in the revolution. As a result, he decided to call Boy Scouts as Tongzi jun 童子軍 (Children Army) in Chinese. He explained that the Chinese character "jun 軍" (lit. army) simply meant "group" here, like the organization of the Salvation Army, and did not have the implication of military training. When the revolution ended, Yan returned to the college and started the oath ceremony of the Boy Scout regiment in the library of the college.⁴

All the KMT's Scout monthlies and most of the books regarding the Chinese Boy Scouts accepted the second version. One even assured that the Boy Scout program in Shanghai was borrowed from Wuchang after the establishment of the first Chinese Boy Scouts by Yan.⁵ However, evidence shows that during the 1911 Revolution, which first broke out in Wuchang, the students of Wenhua College took shelter in the Y.M.C.A. of Shanghai to escape from shots and shells in Wuchang. During their stay in the Y.M.C.A., they received English classes and were allowed to

Headquarters monthly) 1 (Feb 1929): 39.

⁴Liu Yanjun 劉彥俊, *Tongjun gai shuo ji qi shi lie* 童軍概說及其史略 (Introduction to Boy Scouts and its history) (Taipei: Shui niu chubanshe, 1995), 47-48.

⁵Liu Chengqing 劉澄清, *Zhongguo tongzijun jiaoyu* 中國童子軍教育 (Chinese Boy Scouts education) (Zhangsha: Shangwe yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1938; reprint, Hong Kong: Shangwe yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2001), 12.

join the Y.M.C.A.⁶ The students of Wenhua College might have been attracted by the Boy Scout activities in Shanghai and it became much easier for Yan to recruit these students to join his Boy Scout regiment when they returned to Wuchang after the revolution. Besides, both Shanghai and Wuchang had the experiments of Boy Scout training in missionary schools in 1911. These suggest the missionary origin of both the Boy Scouts in Shanghai and Wuchang which had a profound influence on the early development of the Scouts in China. As a result, the Boy Scouts became a so-called “imperialist” product in the eyes of the KMT. The KMT needed to solve this problem before its formulation of ideal future citizens through the Scouts. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

Cooperation and Separation between the Boy Scout regiments under missionaries and Chinese educationalists

With the establishment of the first Boy Scout regiment in Shanghai in 1913, which was followed by the Y.M.C.A. and St. John’s University, G.S.F. Kemp invited those Boy Scout organizers in Shanghai, such as Yao Jiarui 姚家瑞, Shen Weizhen 沈維禎, Zhang Jiangquan 張江泉, and Le Xiurong 樂秀榮 to have a meeting in his school. They discussed the Boy Scout affairs and established the Boy Scout Association of China (Zhongguo tongzijun hui 中國童子軍會) in April 1913 which aimed at spreading Boy Scout activities all over China.⁷ In May 1915, the Second Far Eastern Championship Games was held in Shanghai. 300 to 400 Shanghai Boy

⁶“Wenhua daxue xiao xuesheng zhi jingshen 文華大學校學生之精神” (The spirit of the students of Wenhua College), *Shen bao* 申報, 4 November 1911, 2.2. The newspaper used the lunar calendar in 1911, so in the lunar calendar, 4 November is the fourteenth day of the ninth lunar month. 2.2 is the page number, the first number represents the number of the sheet, the second number represents the number of page, so 2.2 represents the second page of the second sheet.

⁷G.S.F. Kemp, “Scouts Association of China,” *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth), 2, no.5 (January 1917): 519.

Scouts in the event helped keep order, provide first aid, and check the entrance tickets of visitors. Their identical moves in drilling attracted the attention of educationalists from different provinces, who came to believe that the Boy Scout program was a good way to educate the youth. When they returned to their home provinces, they tried to establish their own Boy Scout regiments.⁸ In 1915, the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts (Zhonghua quanguo tongzijun zonghui 中華全國童子軍總會) (CNHBS) was established in Shanghai. At that time, there were 600 Boy Scouts in Shanghai, and 300 to 400 Boy Scouts in Guangdong, Suzhou, Tianjin, Beijing, and Nanjing under the direction of the headquarters.⁹ Most of the Boy Scout regiments in Shanghai under the jurisdiction of the CNHBS were founded by the schools in the international settlement and the French concession in Shanghai. Some of them were missionary schools.¹⁰

Those Boy Scout regiments in the foreign settlement in Shanghai under the CNHBS developed quite well in a short period of time and were welcomed by the foreign community in Shanghai. As reported by the *North China Herald* on 24 November 1917, there was the first Boy Scout show in Shanghai at Chang Su-ho's garden. 1,000 Boy Scouts who joined the show came from the Boy Scout regiments of the Public School of Chinese, Chinese Y.M.C.A., Ellis Kadoorie Public School for Chinese (Yucai gongxue 育才公學), Fudan University (Fudan daxue 復旦大學).

⁸Wu Xiangxiang, Liu Shaotang 吳相湘, 劉紹唐 eds., *Di yi ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian* 第一次中國教育年鑑 (First China education year book), vol. 2, (China: unknown, 1934; reprint, Taipei: Zhuanji wenxue chubanshe, 1971), 874.

⁹G.S.F. Kemp, 519.

¹⁰About the location of the Boy Scout regiments under the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts and the school's background, see Appendix 1: The location of the Joint Association of Jiangsu Boy Scouts and the Boy Scout regiments under the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts in Shanghai, 1917, and Appendix 2: The background of the schools that were organized Boy Scout regiments under the leadership of the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts in Shanghai in 1917.

The report admired the Boy Scouts' good performance in semaphore signaling, sword play and camp making. It also praised their self-reliance, that they were responsible for the expenditure for display without outside assistance. With 2,000 visitors mainly from the foreign community, the show was able to raise \$4000 for the Flood Relief Fund of Hebei province.¹¹ The average monthly expenditure of one Boy Scout regiment at that time was just several hundred dollars. The large amount of money raised in the show proved the prosperous development of the Boy Scouts in Shanghai and the wide acceptance of the Boy Scouts in the international settlement.

In *Chinese Educational Review* (Jiaoyu zazhi 教育雜誌) in the 1910s, there were many discussions about the aims of the Boy Scout education in China. One author in the review criticized the shortcomings of China's school education at that time that it failed to prevent the youth from accepting the western materialistic culture. Therefore, the author admired the emphasis of spiritual and sport education in missionary education. He thought that Boy Scouts could provide spiritual education to cultivate youth with the qualities of diligence, sincerity and civic mindedness to remedy the shortcomings of Chinese education.¹² As a result, the Boy Scout program was gradually introduced to new style schools organized by Chinese educationalists especially those in Shanghai and Jiangsu province.

The Boy Scouts under Chinese control began to have a separate development

¹¹"Boy Scouts: Fine Display by Chinese Organizations," *North China Herald*, 24 November 1917, 469. For the location and background of Fudan University, see Appendix 3: Location of Fudan University in Shanghai and Appendix 2: The background of the schools which organized Boy Scout regiments under the leadership of the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts in Shanghai, 1917.

¹²Zhu Yuanshan 朱元善, "Tichang shaonian yi yong tuan 提倡少年義勇團" (Advocating Boy Scouts), *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 7, no.8 (August 1915): 147-148.

from those Boy Scouts under missionary control, that is, those under G.S.F. Kemp's CNHBS, when the Joint Association of Jiangsu Boy Scouts (Jiangsu tongzijun lianhe hui 江蘇童子軍聯合會) (JAJBS) was established in March 1917. The JAJBS was organized by educationalists and scoutmasters like Gu Guo 顧果, Shen Weizhen 沈維禎, Cheng Jimei 程季枚 with the coordination of the Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education (Jiangsu sheng jiaoyu hui 江蘇省教育會). The main aim of the JAJBS, according to the nineteen rules of the association passed on 17 June 1917, was to communicate with other Boy Scout organizations within China and overseas in order to unify Boy Scout organizations in China. The nineteen rules of JAJBS explained the functions of unifying the organizations, curriculum, and badges of all Boy Scouts regiments under the association. Besides, the JAJBS also had the rights to examine the qualifications of individual Boy Scouts and scoutmasters and to publish and translate Boy Scout publications and textbooks. These rules were also forwarded to the governor of Jiangsu province for his reference.¹³

The JAJBS soon attracted the attention of the government. Since the JAJBS was established without informing the provincial governor, the governor thus sent the provincial inspector (Sheng shixue 省視學) to investigate the performance of the Boy Scouts in the schools of Shanghai and Wuxi 無錫 in Jiangsu province. On 19 June 1917, the inspector reported that there were fifteen Boy Scout regiments in Shanghai with five regiments belonging to the schools established by Chinese. All of these regiments followed the regulations of the CNHBS. While in Wuxi, there were twenty nine Boy Scout regiments under the Chinese Joint Association of Jiangsu

¹³*Di yi ci Zhongguo jia yu nianjian*, 874. For the location of the Joint Association of Jiangsu Boy Scouts, see Appendix 1: The location of the Joint Association of Jiangsu Boy Scouts and the Boy Scout regiments under the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts in Shanghai, 1917.

Wuxi Boy Scout Regiments (Zhonghua Jiangsu Wuxi tongzijun tuan lianhe hui 中華江蘇無錫童子軍團聯合會) which followed the order of the JAJBS. Therefore, the inspector suggested the head of the province to accept the JAJBS as the central institution to organize the Boy Scout regiments in Jiangsu province.¹⁴ Apart from the attention of the Boy Scouts received from the provincial government of Jiangsu, Chinese educationalists also supported the Boy Scout activities under the JAJBS and the Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education established a summer research meeting on Boy Scouts for primary school teachers in the summer of 1917.¹⁵ In addition, as informed by the Jiangsu provincial government, the Education Bureau also requested the JAJBS in July 1917 to send the copies of the nineteen rules of the JAJBS and the Boy Scout curriculum set by the JAJBS. The Bureau accepted the JAJBS and allowed it to organize the summer research meeting mentioned above. The meeting started on 23 July 1917 with more than 200 educationalists from different counties in the province participating.¹⁶ With the blessing of the Education Bureau and the order of the Jiangsu provincial governor, the magistrate of Shanghai county also ordered all schools in Chinese city of Shanghai to organize Boy Scout regiments according to the thirteen methods of Shanghai Wuxi Boy Scouts which was under the JAJBS.¹⁷

However, despite the government's support for the JAJBS, it seemed that the

¹⁴“Bu sheng zhuyi tong zi jun 部省注意童子軍” (The Education Bureau of Jiangsu Province pay attention to Boy Scouts), *Shenbao* 申報, 27 June 1917, 3.10.

¹⁵“Jiangsu sheng jiaoyu hui fushe tongzijun shuqi yanjiu hui jianzhang 江蘇省教育會附設童子軍暑期研究會簡章” (Brief regulations of Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education Affiliated Boy Scouts Summer Research Association) *Shen bao* 申報, 29 June 1917, 11.

¹⁶“Tongzijun qiancheng yuan da 童子軍前程遠大” (Rosy future of Boy Scout), *Shen bao* 申報, 13 July 1917, 10.

¹⁷“Tong ling fang ban tongzijun 通令仿辦童子軍” (Public order of imitation and organizing Boy Scouts), *Shen bao* 申報, 1 August 1917, 11.

JAJBS still lacked professional Boy Scout organizers to handle the content of the Boy Scout program for those Boy Scout regiments under its control when it was established in 1917, only five years after the first Chinese Boy Scouts were established by the missionaries. In the summer research meeting in 1917, not only the committee members of the JAJBS like Gu Zhenglai 顧拯來, Shen Tongyi 沈同一, Yao Linshu 姚麟書 gave speeches, many Western Boy Scout regiment commanders from those Boy Scout regiments under the CNHBS were also invited to join the meeting, in which they explained the methods of managing Boy Scout regiments.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that Shen Weizhen 沈維禎 was the founder of both the CNHBS and the JAJBS. This seemed to suggest the cooperative relationship between the Boy Scout regiments under missionaries and those under Chinese educationalists, and that the JAJBS needed support and advice from the organizers of Boy Scout regiments founded by the missionaries.

However, the differences between the Boy Scouts under the CNHBS and the JAJBS did not disappear in spite of the cooperative relationship. They had different stances in politics. For example, on the National Day in 1917, the Joint Association of Shanghai Boy Scouts (JASBS) under the JAJBS organized about one thousand Boy Scouts to participate in the flag-raising ceremony in Shanghai Public Gymnasium. They were reviewed by the magistrate of Shanghai county and they shouted three times “Long Live the Republic of China” at the end of the ceremony. Those Boy Scout regiments under the CNHBS like the Boy Scout regiment of Shanghai Y.M.C.A. did not join the ceremony. Instead, they sold badges with the

¹⁸“Tongzijunshuqi yanjiu hui jiyao 童子軍暑期研究會紀要” (A summary of Boy Scouts summer research meeting), *Shen bao* 申報, 10 August 1917, 10; “Jiangsu tongzijun lianhe hui daxue ji 江蘇童子軍聯合會大會紀” (The record of the annual meeting of the Joint Association of Jiangsu Boy Scouts), *Shen bao* 申報, 22 August 1917, 11.

logo of the national flag in order to raise money for the flood victims in Tianjin.¹⁹ It seemed that the CNHBS did not want those regiments under its control to join any political activity which would violate the non-political principles of the Boy Scouts while those regiments under the JAJBS did not have such restrictions. Besides, they held different activities that rejected the participation of each other. The JASBS organized the First Joint Athletic Meet in Shanghai on 11 November 1917 which only invited those Boy Scout regiments under its jurisdiction. Likewise, the CNHBS organized the National Boy Scout Big Drill in Shanghai on 17 November 1917 to raise money for the flood victims in Tianjin, which only included those regiments of the Y.M.C.A. and the World's Student Federation (Huan qiu Zhongguo xuesheng hui 寰球中國學生會). Those regiments under the JASBS were not invited.²⁰

According to the inspector sent by the Jiangsu provincial governor in 1917, as mentioned above, there were ten Boy Scout regiments in Shanghai founded in missionary schools. While there were eight Boy Scouts regiment in the Joint Athletic Meet by the Shanghai branch of the JAJBS, the Wuxi branch of the JAJBS alone already had twenty-nine Boy Scout regiments. Therefore, the number of Boy Scout regiments under Chinese control was at least three times more than that under missionary control. According to the Research Meeting of Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education, the Boy Scout regiment of the Second Provincial Normal School, No. 1 regiment of the JASBS had developed prosperously after Shen Xinqing 沈信卿, one of the committee members of the JAJBS, became its

¹⁹“Zhuhe guoqing jinian zhi shengkuang 祝賀國慶紀念之盛況” (The grand occasion of celebrating national day), *Shen bao* 申報, 11 October 1917, 10.

²⁰“Tongzijun lianhe yundonghui jishi 童子軍聯合運動會記事” (The record of Boy Scouts joint athletic meet), *Shen bao* 申報, 12 November 1917, 10; “Quanguo tongzijun da cao xu zhi 全國童子軍大操續誌” (Second sequel of Boy Scouts grand drill of whole nation), *Shen bao* 申報, 15 November 1917, 10.

scoutmaster.²¹ In contrast, the Boy Scout regiment of the Y.M.C.A. needed to advertise in *Shen bao* 申報 on 1 October 1918 that it needed to sell 30,000 badges bearing the logo of the national flag in order to raise money for its own expenditure.²² With much larger numbers of the Boy Scouts and greater support from the Jiangsu provincial government and the Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education, the JASBS took the lead to send Boy Scouts to help out to keep public order in the foreign settlement during the celebration of the end of the First World War in Shanghai. The British Consulate and Superintendent of Police in the British settlement of Shanghai even sent a letter of thank you on 28 November 1918 to the JASBS.²³

With greater power over the CNHBS, it was not surprising that the JASBS could choose scoutmasters and Boy Scouts to represent China to participate in the Second International Review of Boy Scouts held in Copenhagen, Denmark, in August 1924. With the sponsorship of the Education Bureau of Jiangsu province and the Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education, the JAJBS sent scoutmaster Li Qifan 李啓藩 to lead six Boy Scouts to attend the international review.²⁴ This was the first time China sent Boy Scouts to participate in the review. However, there was great dissatisfaction about the performance of Li and the Boy Scouts in the review. Although the Jiangsu government already chose three scoutmasters, including Li, to go with the Boy Scouts to Denmark, the Boy Scout regiment of Guang Zhao Gong

²¹“Sheng jiaoyu hui yanjiu hui kaihui ji 省教育會研究會開會紀” (The record of the research meeting of Jiangsu Provincial Association of Education), *Shen bao* 申報, 13 August 1918, 10.

²²“Shanghai tongzijun di er tuan lai han 上海童子軍第二團來函” (The letter from the Second Boy Scouts Regiment of Shanghai), *Shen bao* 申報, 1 October 1918, 11.

²³“Zhu sheng zhong zhi tongzijun rongyu 祝勝中之童子軍榮譽” (The fame of Boy Scouts in the event of celebrating the end of the First World War), *Shen bao* 申報, 28 November 1918, 10.

²⁴*Di yi ci Zhongguo jiaoyu nianjian*, 874.

Suo 廣肇公所 (Guangdong Zhaoqing Association of Shanghai) and the Boy Scout Association of Shanghai County also sent representatives Le Xiurong 樂秀榮, who was the co-founder of the CNHBS, and Jing Ganlin 經乾林 to monitor the performance of the representative chosen by the JAJBS. In their report to the Joint Association of Boy Scouts of Shanghai County on 1 November 1924, Le and Jing criticized Li Qifan that he did not know the requirement of having at least forty-eight Boy Scouts to represent China in order to join the competitions in the review. He also criticized the poor performance of the Boy Scouts, except the Boy Scouts from Guangzhao Gongsuo who were able to get a runner-up in the competition of night scouting. Other Boy Scouts from China only ranked eighth or below in other competitions. Most importantly, Le criticized Li's use of the name of "Chief Scout" in his correspondence with other Boy Scout organizations in Denmark which would make foreign organizations misunderstand that Li was the commander of the Chinese Boy Scouts. Le thought it inappropriate because no Boy Scout organizers in China elected Li as the "Chief Scout". In addition, the international review required each nation to send six representatives to join the Boy Scout conference. However, Li as one of the representatives did not join the conference. Le also reported Li's poor performance in his visit to other nations as the head of China's Boy Scout delegates after the international review in Denmark. For example, Li failed to stop the confiscation of the camera, which had filmed the whole process of the International Review in Denmark, by the Russian Customs Office.²⁵ It is not known whether Le and Jing's accusation was true or not. However, such strong criticism against Li, the representative chosen by the JAJBS, from the Chinese Boy Scout organizers backed

²⁵"Fu dan tongzijun daibiao zhi baogao 赴丹童子軍代表之報告" (The Report of the representative of Boy Scouts to Denmark), *Jiao yu za zhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 17, no.1 (January 1925): 7-9.

by the CNHBS, was likely to be a great blow to the authority of the JAJBS to represent Boy Scout organizations operated by Chinese schools. In any case, the CNHBS's development was limited to the international settlement while the JAJBS's reputation was tarnished by their performance in the international Boy Scouts review in Denmark. Furthermore, there was no central organization to govern the Boy Scout regiments under the CNHBS and the JAJBS which competed with each other. This paved the way for the KMT's takeover of the Boy Scout organizations nationwide in 1928.

Boy Scouts, Patriotism and Imperialism before the Nationalists' Takeover

The May Fourth Movement, which broke out in 1919, was a student movement that protested the Beiyang Government's attempt to recognize Japan's rights in Shantung province in the Versailles Conference. The Boy Scouts, as one of the member groups of the students, played an active role in the movement. The different attitudes of those Boy Scouts in the international settlement under the CNHBS and those Boy Scouts in the Chinese city of Shanghai under the JAJBS reflected the different political stances of western missionaries and Chinese organizers in national affairs.

In fact, before the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, it seemed that the Boy Scouts in both the international settlement and in the Chinese city of Shanghai worked well together to help the authorities of the Shanghai international settlement to keep public order. As mentioned in the report of *North China Herald* on 15 March 1919, there were 367 Chinese Boy Scouts, including Boy Scout regiments from both the CNHBS and the JAJBS, who were recruited to assist the Shanghai Police under Assistant Superintendent of Police A.L. Anderson to help maintain communication

between the Customs Office on ships and the authorities on shore, with the assistance of Russian Scouts. Besides, they also assisted the naval guards as orderlies and interpreters in the second search of baggage on board after the Chinese Customs officers' inspection. The cooperation between the Chinese Boy Scouts in Shanghai and Shanghai Police was handled by District Scoutmaster Fitzroy Lloyd, who was also an advisor to the JAJBS and an honorable colonel of the Russian and Polish Scout Troops.²⁶ The participation of Boy Scouts from the JAJBS in keeping order in Shanghai's international settlement showed that those Boy Scout regiments under Chinese control had a good relationship with the foreign authorities in Shanghai. Fitzroy Lloyd as a middleman accomplishing such cooperation also suggested that the Boy Scouts under Chinese control had a good cooperative relationship with the Chinese Boy Scouts in missionary schools and foreign Boy Scouts in Shanghai.

Intervention or even suppression from foreign authorities in the international settlement in Shanghai would be a fatal blow to the students' effort to oppose the Beiyang government and the Japanese. In order to win the sympathy of the international settlement's authorities in Shanghai, when the commercial strike began on 5 June 1919 to support arrested students, the Shanghai Student Union (SSU), the main organizer of the student movement in Shanghai, gave assurance to the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) of the international settlement that the movement was peaceful in nature, and that it did not mean to oppose a particular country. As a result, peacekeeping became the key for the success of the movement and the Boy Scouts took a crucial role in it.²⁷ During the demonstration, the Boy Scouts from the Second

²⁶"Boy Scouts Movement in China: Chinese Contingents on Enemy Repatriation Work," *North-China Herald*, 15 March 1919, 712.

²⁷Joseph T. Chen, *The May Fourth Movement in Shanghai* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971), 118, 127.

Provincial Normal School (Sheng li di er shifan 省立第二師範) under the JAJBS were sent to keep public order in the district of Nanshi 南市 of Shanghai. Fudan University and the World's Student Federation under the CNHBS were responsible for keeping public order in markets and maintaining food supply for the foreigners in Shanghai in order to win their sympathy for the student movement.²⁸ The KMT, under the name of the Shanghai Office of the National Congress (Guomin dahui Shanghai shiwusuo 國民大會上海事務所), requested the Boy Scouts in Shanghai to keep public order in the streets during the commercial strike.²⁹

The Boy Scouts' presence was welcomed by both foreign authorities and the Chinese population in Shanghai. On the third day of the commercial strike, there were rumors that Japanese people had hired some unemployed to disrupt public order in Shanghai's business district. The SSU immediately sent additional Boy Scouts to assist the Shanghai Police to keep order. In fact, the Boy Scouts proved to do a better job in controlling the demonstrators than the police. When there was a conflict between the crowd and the police, Boy Scouts' gentle mediation always became an effective buffer that helped prevent further conflicts and foreign intervention.³⁰

The organizers of the Chinese Boy Scouts in Shanghai also did their best to limit the Boy Scouts' role to peacekeeping, and to discourage the Boy Scouts from participating in the student movement. For example, the president of the branch of

²⁸Zhongguo kexue yuan lishi yanjiu suo di san suo jindai shi ziliao bianji zu 中國科學院歷史研究所第三所近代史資料編輯組 ed., *Wu si aiguo yundong ziliao* 五四愛國運動資料 (The archives of patriotic May Fourth Movement) (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), 693; Chen, 128; Zhongguo shehui kexue yuan jindai shi yanjiu suo jindai shi ziliao bianji zu 中國社會科學院近代史研究所近代史資料編輯組 ed., *Wusi aiguo yundong* 五四愛國運動 (Patriotic May Fourth Movement) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1979), 215.

²⁹Liu Yongming 劉永明, *Guomindang ren yu wu si yundong* 國民黨人與五四運動 (KMT party members and May Fourth Movement) (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1990), 138.

³⁰Chen, 135, 144.

the CNHBS at Jing An Si 靜安寺 Road in the international settlement of Shanghai came up with a regulation for Boy Scouts' service in the movement that Boy Scouts would serve as a first aid team and they would not be allowed to wear military uniforms.³¹ According to Qin Suling's study, the commander of Shanghai branch of the CNHBS stated that it was not appropriate for Boy Scouts to provide service in the movement without the approval of the commander or district scoutmaster, and that the movement was aimed against the Chinese government. Since the Boy Scout regulations forbade Boy Scouts to participate in politics, the CNHBS, after discussion, ruled that only with the order of the commander, or the request of the police department, that the Boy Scouts would be allowed to provide service in the student movement. In addition, they were not allowed to wear Boy Scout uniform to join the demonstration.³² Meanwhile, those Boy Scouts outside the international settlement received the order of the JAJBS to assist the police to keep public order.³³ Qin judges that the JAJBS supported the movement while the CNHBS forbade the Boy Scouts to join political movements. But in fact, both the JAJBS and the CNHBS tried to restrict the roles of the Boy Scouts to peacekeeping and to forbid them to join the demonstration, in order to convince the foreign Boy Scout organizations that the Chinese Boy Scouts followed the same tradition of the international Boy Scouts, that they were peaceful in nature and were not militarized. This suggested that even though the May Fourth Movement was a nationalist and anti-imperialist movement, the Boy Scout organizers of both the JAJBS and the CNHBS maintained a friendly

³¹Wusi aiguo yundong, 136.

³²Qin, 20.

³³Shen Baoqi 沈葆琦, Tongzijun chu ji kecheng 童子軍初級課程 (Boy Scouts elementary curriculum) (Shanghai: Nanyang gong xue fushu xiaoxue, 1922), 8, quoted in Qin Suling 秦穗齡, "Tongzijunyu xiandai Zhongguo de qingshaonian xunlian (yi jiu yi yi-yi jiu si jiu 童子軍與現代中國的青少年訓練 (1911-1949))" (Scouts and youth training in modern China, 1911-1949), (MPhil. thesis, National Taiwan Normal University, 2004), 19-20.

relationship with the foreign community and the authorities in Shanghai.

In conclusion, the change from cooperation to separation between the JAJBS and the CNHBS reflected the different needs and concerns in developing the Chinese Boy Scouts in different times. At the very beginning, in order to learn about the art of organizing Boy Scouts, which was a purely British product, the JAJBS needed to cooperate with the CNHBS in order to develop its own system of the Boy Scout training. However, once the JAJBS developed its system, the cooperative relationship of the two organizations came to an end and they took different paths of development. Even so, the Boy Scouts under the JAJBS followed the same non-political and non-military principles as the CNHBS did. As in the case of the May Fourth Movement, the peaceful image of the Boy Scouts proved to be an advantage for it to win the support of the foreign community and the authorities in Shanghai whose main concern was the safety of its population. However, the killing of Chinese workers and students by the British Shanghai Municipal Police in the May Thirtieth Movement in 1925 ended the harmonious relationship between students and the authorities of the international settlement. Anti-imperialism and patriotism spread quickly throughout Shanghai and surely influenced the Boy Scouts, who were also mainly students. However, with the existence of the Shanghai Municipal Council as the foreign authority in Shanghai, the Boy Scouts under the JAJBS still could not publicly join the May Thirtieth Movement to support the students and workers in the name of the Boy Scout regiment, for fear that it would cause them to be disbanded despite their more prosperous development compared to the CNHBS. Therefore, it was not surprising that the KMT later criticized the Boy Scouts for not bleeding one drop of blood or healing one injured during the May Thirtieth Movement and were considered to have been greatly influenced by cultural

imperialism without a sense of patriotism. This was the background for the KMT to take over the Boy Scouts and turn them into real Chinese citizens with nationalistic and anti-imperialist sentiments, and a revolutionary spirit.

CHAPTER 3

THE TAKEOVER OF THE CHINESE SCOUTS BY THE KMT

The KMT's takeover of the Chinese Scouts in the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937) greatly changed the original spirit and organization of the Scouts nationwide. This chapter will first discuss the steps taken by the KMT to take over the Scout affairs at the national level from 1928 to 1930. Second, it will analyze how the KMT took over the Scout organizations in Shanghai which had been greatly influenced by missionaries and imperialism. Third, it will discuss the unsatisfactory performance of the Scouts during the First National Review of the Scouts in 1930, which subsequently stimulated the KMT to change its strategies in training the Boy Scouts. Finally, it will discuss the KMT's promotion of the Scout to schools nationwide through integrating the program into the formal school curriculum and its proposals for expanding the Scout training from the city to the rural area in the 1930s.

The Steps Taken by the KMT to Control the Chinese Scouts

Before the KMT government established its capital in Nanjing in 1928, it already had the intention of taking over the Scouts. At the Tenth Standing Congress of the KMT Central Executive Committee in Guangzhou on 15 March 1926, it defined the significance of the Scouts as follows:

- (1) Scout education is the most important extra-curricular education for the youth in school.
- (2) Scouts, who uphold benevolent behavior, advocate practice, emphasizes discipline and are highly organized, are the most revolutionary in nature.
- (3) Scout education is not only the guide of civic military preparation, it can also be immediately responsible for the work of the garrison (jing bei 警備) in battlefield.¹

¹Chen Chaozong 陳朝宗, "Zhongguo tongzijun de guoqu xianzai 中國童子軍的過去現在" (The past and the present of the Chinese Boy Scouts), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 41.

In the congress, the committee accused the Scouts in the past as a tool of cultural invasion of imperialism that ignored its own mission specific to China. Therefore, the Youth Bureau (Qingnian Bu 青年部) proposed to form the KMT Scouts Committee (Zhongguo Guomindang tongzijun weiyuanhui 中國國民黨童子軍委員會) to directly rule over the Scouts within the KMT-ruled region and build connections with Scouts in the whole nation. Most importantly, it proclaimed that the “existing organizations [of Scouts] will continue if they are allowed to exist, and will be disbanded if they have to be removed, so as to make our party’s principles to be adopted [by Scouts] in heart, and to be practiced in its enterprise.” However, this plan was shelved due to the northern expedition.²

After the KMT government established its capital in Nanjing in 1928, the Central Training Bureau (Zhongyang xunlian bu 中央訓練部) considered the Scouts as one of the important tasks of the Three People’s Principles education (dangyi jiaoyu 黨義教育). Therefore, it was decided in the 142nd Central Standing Congress on 31 May 1928 that the KMT Scout Committee be replaced by the Chinese Scout Headquarters (Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu 中國童子軍司令部), which was to be established under the Central Training Bureau.³

At the early stage of reorganizing the Scout organizations, the Headquarters lacked control over the Scout regiments at the local level. According to the General Regulation of the KMT Boy Scouts, the Scout regiments in local areas were directly under the jurisdiction of the Headquarters before the establishment of the contingents or divisions, which were supposed to serve as local Scout bureaus. However, due to

²Ibid., 42-44.

³Chen Chaozong 陳朝宗, “Zhongguo tongzijun de guoqu xianzai (xu) 中國童子軍的過去現在(續)” (The past and the present of the Chinese Boy Scouts (continue)), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 2 (March 1929): 47-50.

the vast physical distance between the Headquarters and local Scout organizations, the Headquarters needed to order local party bureau to recruit temporary instructors (zhidao yuan 指導員) to manage the local Scout organizations.⁴ Due to the lack of a clear regulation about the relationship between the KMT Scout Headquarters and the local party bureau, on 4 July 1929, Dai Jitao 戴季陶, the head of the Central Training Bureau, renamed the KMT Scouts as the Chinese Scouts. The Headquarters was then put under the direct jurisdiction of the KMT Central Executive Committee (Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui 中央執行委員會) which also had jurisdiction over the bureau. The head of the Central Training Bureau would also serve as the commander of the Headquarters, so as to raise the status of the commander. In addition, the division of the Scouts character education (Tongzijun xunyu ke 童子軍訓育科) was established under the Central Training Bureau to edit and translate Scout training materials, publish Chinese Scout publications, and assess the performance of Scout regiments.⁵

Since the taking over of the Scouts by the KMT in 1928, the Boy Scouts had been criticized as an imperialist product. One of the KMT's Boy Scout organizers in Beijing criticized that the Boy Scouts in the past "were ashamed to the rule of not

⁴Zhongyang xunlian bu 中央訓練部 to Mr. Jiang, "Zhongyang xunlian bu han fu jiaoyu bu guanyu dang tongzijun zong zhang yi yi 中央訓練部函覆教育部關於黨童子軍總章疑義" (Central Training Bureau's reply to Education Bureau about unclear meaning of the general regulation of the KMT Scouts), 5 December 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 8.

⁵"Zhongguo guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu ling 中國國民黨中央執行委員會訓練部令" (The order of the Central Training Bureau of the Central Executive Committee of Chinese Nationalist Party), July 1929, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 1; Lu Zunxian 路遵先, "Tongxun wenda 通訊問答" (Question and answer Session), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 18 (January 1931): 65; *Zhongguo Guomindang dang shi shiliao bian zuan weiyuanhui* 中國國民黨黨史史料編纂委員會 ed., *Minguo shi ba nian Zhongguo Guomindang nianjian* 民國十八年中國國民黨年鑑 (1929 Year-book of the Chinese Nationalist Party) (Nanjing: s.n., 1929), 26.

participating in political movements, thus their hearts were anesthetized by imperialism.” He further added that “No need to say in these two tragedies (Shakee Incident and May Thirtieth Incident), [Boy Scouts] did not sacrifice half root of their hair. Even in their routine practice of first aid, [they] also never tied up one wound of their brothers. . . This is the failure of the Chinese Boy Scouts in the past!”⁶ In the eyes of the KMT, as mentioned by Yang Kejing 楊克敬 in his lectures in the scoutmaster training class held by the party bureau of Tianjin, those Boy Scouts organized by the missionaries, which upheld the non-political and non-military principles, simply eliminated the mind and the ability of Chinese youth to fight against imperialism.⁷ Besides, since the KMT practiced one-party rule in China, Yang thought that it was necessary to follow the examples of the Soviet Union, Italy and Germany, which indoctrinated their own political ideology into the mind of the Scouts. Consequently, in China, the Scouts should be indoctrinated with the Three People’s Principles. Only those nations practicing parliamentary politics should not practice political training for Boy Scouts so as to prevent the youth from becoming a tool of political struggle.⁸ According to the KMT’s assumption based on the principle of “one-party rule”, whether a person was good or not was determined by his or her commitment to the KMT’s political ideology. It even regarded those people who were uncertain about whether or not to support the Three People’s Principles as

⁶Yang Pinji 楊品吉, “Zhongguo dang tongzijun yu guoqu tongzijun de bu tong dian 中國黨童子軍與過去童子軍的不同點” (The different points of KMT Boy Scouts and Boy Scouts in the past), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 5 (June 1929): 14-15.

⁷Yang Kejing 楊克敬, “Zhongguo tongzijun xunlian zhi xin luxian 中國童子軍訓練之新路線” (The new road of the training of Chinese Boy Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 15 (October 1933): 23.

⁸Ibid., 22.

anti-revolutionary and should not be counted as good people.⁹ As a result, the KMT thought that the Boy Scout regiments established by missionaries which remained neutral in politics were anti-revolutionary and should be taken over.

Besides, according to the KMT's ideology, in the period of political tutelage (xunzheng 訓政), the training of the masses and party members with the party's ideology was urgently required to provide a good foundation of constitutional rule (xianzheng 憲政). This task, known as character education (xunyu 訓育), was the work of the Central Training Bureau. For the part of children, the bureau believed they should receive Scout training to achieve the aim of character education. Therefore, one of the principles of the character education program for Scouts was to emphasize political training to prepare them to become the heirs of the Three People's Principles.¹⁰

As a result, after the Central Training Bureau took over the Scouts, we can see that the bureau had a much clear aim of politicizing the Scouts to erase their identity as an imperialist product. As one author wrote about the two main working targets of the Scouts in *Chinese Scouts Headquarter Monthly* in 1929, "the first step we hope the partification (dang hua 黨化) of all the Scouts of the whole nation. The second step we hope to make all the youth nationwide to become Scouts (tongzijun hua 童子軍化)." The meaning of "partification" of Scouts was that all Scouts

⁹Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Zhongguo tongzijun xunlian zhi xin luxian (xu) 中國童子軍訓練之新路線(續)" (The new road of the training of the Chinese Scouts (continued)), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 16 (November 1933): 8.

¹⁰"Quan guo xunlian huiyi tong guo you guan tongzijun zhi anjian (yi): tongyi bing tuijin ge ji dang bu xunlian gongzuo fangan 全國訓練會議通過有關童子軍之案件(一): 統一並推進各級黨部訓練工作方案" (Cases about the Scouts passed by National Training Congress (one): The proposal of unifying and advancing training work of party bureaus in different levels), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 11 (April 1930): 21-22, 24.

needed to have the spirit of the party, that is, to “obey discipline, sacrifice one’s own freedom to cultivate the party’s freedom [to lead and direct the youth], contribute one’s own ability to complete the party’s ability [to accomplish the Nationalist revolution], . . . to become loyal fighters of the revolution.” Therefore, the author demanded all Scouts to supervise each other to prevent any activities outside the limit of the Three People’s Principle. After this was achieved, the Scout organizations then would certainly be able to make all the youth to become Scouts who possessed the party’s spirit.¹¹

Registration of the Scouts and the Scout regiments was another important task for the KMT to take over the Scout affairs. The General Principles of Practicing the General Regulation of the KMT Scouts promulgated on 29 June 1928 stated that all the Chinese Scouts established before the promulgation of the principles needed to register with the KMT Scout Headquarters.¹² The Regulation of the KMT Scouts Registration passed by the Central Training Bureau on 12 October 1928 further required the KMT Scouts to register once a year. In addition, the badges and certificates of old Scouts established before needed to be examined by their regimental commanders and the Headquarters in order to be consistent with the ones approved by the KMT Scout Headquarters.¹³ Since the local branches of the KMT Scout Headquarters were not yet established in some areas, the Scouts in those areas

¹¹Yu Qing 玉清, “Women nuli de liang da mubiao 我們努力的兩大目標” (Our two big targets of striving), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 36-38.

¹²“Zhongguo guomindang tongzijun zong zhang shixing tong ze 中國國民黨童子軍總章施行通則” (The general principles of practicing the general regulations of the KMT Scouts), 29 June 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 14.

¹³“Zhongguo guomindang tongzijun dengji tiaoli 中國國民黨童子軍登記條例” (The regulation of the KMT Scouts registration), 12 October 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 21-22.

had to register with the local branch of the party training bureau.¹⁴

Registration was important because once the Scout regiments registered with the Headquarters in Nanjing, they were in theory required to follow those regulations and the curriculum set by the Headquarters. In the process of registration, the Headquarters could obtain detailed information about the names, birthplaces, resumes of the captains, scoutmasters, and the Scouts of each regiment during the individual registration process. The Scout regiments were required to provide in the registration form the origin, finance, equipment, training plan, and lists of staff of the regiment. In addition, those registered regiments needed to report its training progress, organization and different types of administration work to the Headquarters every four to six months. This ensured the Headquarters to have the most updated information about the regiments so that it could lead them to the right track if necessary. Most importantly, no unregistered Scouts regiments would be able to be founded. In other words, the KMT monopolized the enterprise of the Scouts that no one could establish a Scout regiment or become a Scout without doing registration.¹⁵

However, by the end of 1928, only 1500 Scouts were registered. The Headquarters sent 1972 questionnaires to survey all Scout staffs in China and received only 248 replies. It also sent 993 questionnaires to survey the numbers of Scout organizations in China and received 350 replies. The survey showed that there were 242 scoutmasters, 87 Scout regiments, and 10036 Scouts in the whole nation by December 1928. With this incomplete survey, as admitted by the Headquarters itself,

¹⁴“Tong han ge di guanyu dang tongzijun ji fuwu yuan dengji ge wenti you dang di xunlian bu ban li 通函各地關於黨童子軍及服務員登記各問題由當地訓練部辦理” (Public order nationwide about the questions of the registration of the KMT Scouts and scoutmasters to be handled by local training bureau), 20 October 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 4-5.

¹⁵Liu Chengqing 劉澄清, *Zhongguo tongzijun jiaoyu* 中國童子軍教育 (Chinese Boy Scouts education) (Changsha: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1938; reprint, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2001), 107-113.

the figures did not reflect the real situation of the Chinese Scouts.¹⁶ Most of the Scout regiments were organized by schools at that time and the schools did not receive the order from the Education Bureau to register their Scout regiments with the Headquarters. This explained the low rate of registration. Thus, the Headquarters requested the Education Bureau to order all the Scout regiments in school to register according to the Regulation of the KMT Scouts Registration.¹⁷ One year later, only about 6000 more Scouts and about 600 more scoutmasters registered. Therefore, a scoutmaster named Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘 wrote, “many Scout organizations in different places still close their doors to do their works and never accept the direction of our party [the KMT].” The KMT tried to raise the registration rate by promulgating that only the Scout regiments which had registered with the central government were qualified to participate in the First National Review of the Scouts in Nanjing (will be discussed later in this chapter.)¹⁸ After two years of registration, in Guangdong, for example, many Scout organizations still had not registered. Even the Boy Scout regiment of Zhongshan Daxue Fu Zhong 中山大學附中 (The Affiliated Secondary School of Sun Yat-sen University), which was supposed to be

¹⁶“Zhongguo guomindang tongzijun silingbu gongzuo zong baogao zhaiyao: shi qi nian liu yue shi wu ri zhi shi er yue san shi yi ri 中國國民黨童子軍司令部工作總報告摘要：十七年六月十五日至十二月三十一日” (The Summary of the Full Work Report of the KMT Scout Headquarters: From 15 June 1928 to 31 December 1928), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 25-26; Zuzhi chu 組織處, “Dang tongzijun xian kuang 黨童子軍現況” (The present situation of the KMT Scouts), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 56. For the statistics of the number of the Scouts, scoutmasters and the Scout regiments, see Appendix 4: The number of scouts, scoutmasters, and scout regiments registered in China (1928-1936).

¹⁷Jiaoyu bu 教育部, “Xun ling di si yi si hao 訓令第四一四號” (Official instruction no. 414) to Ge daxue qu, sheng jiaoyu ting, tebie shi jiaoyu ju, zhi xia daxue 各大學區, 省教育廳, 特別市教育局, 直轄大學 (Every education divisions, provincial education bureaus, special municipal education bureaus, universities under the jurisdiction of the Education Bureau), 5 March 1929, in *Jiaoyu bu gongbao* 教育部公報 (Education Bureau gazette), 1, no. 4 (April 1929): 39-40.

¹⁸Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, “Di yi ci quan guo tongzijun zong jianyue zhi zhunbei 第一次全國童子軍總檢閱之準備” (The preparation of the first national review of the Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 8 (January 1930): 31.

under the control of the KMT, did not register.¹⁹ In 1931, the party bureau of Guangzhou even ordered the police department to disband some unregistered Scout organizations, like the Guangzhou Social Boy Scouts Regiment of the Chinese Boy Scouts (Zhongguo Tongzijun Guangzhou Shi Shehui Tongzijun Tuan 中國童子軍廣州市社會童子軍團) because it did not follow the Boy Scout regulations.²⁰ It showed that tight control of Boy Scouts within the KMT's ideology took priority over the spread of Scouts in society in the first three years after the KMT's takeover of the Scouts.

The scoutmaster was another area of the Scouts that the KMT tried to take over but with limited success. The National Education Meeting (Quanguo jiaoyu huiyi 全國教育會議) held by the Education Bureau (Da xueyuan 大學院) in May 1928 passed a proposal requesting the central government to organize a training class for Scout teachers. As a result, in the summer of 1928, the Headquarters established a short-term KMT scoutmaster training school to train scoutmasters. The school started from 18 July and ended on 2 October with 121 graduates who were later sent to 13 provinces to work in different Scout organizations.²¹ Since there was a lack of

¹⁹“Zhongyang weiyuan Dai Jitao dui Guangzhou tongzijun fuwuyuan xunhua 中央委員戴季陶對廣州市童子軍服務員訓話” (Speech of Central Executive Committee Member Dai Jitao to the scoutmasters of Guangzhou), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 19 (February 1931): 21.

²⁰“Guangzhou shi dang bu zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu zha jin Zhongguo tongzijun Guangzhou shihui tongzijun tuan 廣州市黨部執行委員會訓練部查禁中國童子軍廣州市社會童子軍團” (The inspection and disbandment of Guangzhou Social Boy Scout Regiment of Chinese Boy Scouts by Training Bureau of Executive Committee of Guangzhou Municipal Party Bureau), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 20 (March 1931): 82.

²¹“Dang tongzijun xian kuang 黨童子軍現況,” 55-56; “Qing zhongyang sheli tongzijun jiaoshi yang cheng suo an 請中央設立童子軍教師養成所案” (The bill of requesting the central government to establish training class of the Scouts' teachers), in *Quanguo jiaoyu huiyi baogao* 全國教育會議報告 (The report of the National Education Meeting) (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1928), 354.

specific people in regional KMT party bureaus to be responsible for reorganizing Scouts at the local level, the training school requested Ding Weifen 丁惟汾, head of the Central Training Bureau, to order local party bureaus to recruit these scoutmaster graduates first as Boy Scout Instructors (Tongzijun zhidao yuan 童子軍指導員) to help spread the KMT Scouts in local areas.²² However, this short-term training school could not meet the demand. The Hankou Special Municipal Party Bureau explained the reason for requesting the Headquarters to organize a Scoutmaster training class in 1930, that “the number of scoutmasters in the whole nation is very few, and only a minority of them are party members, . . . if [we] want to depend on the teaching of non-party members to make most of the children into the heirs of the Three People’s Principles’ revolution, it is even more difficult. Therefore, without urgently cultivating talents, it hardly fulfills the aim of training Scouts by our party.” As a result, the Third Assembly of National Training Congress (Quanguo xunlian huiyi 全國訓練會議) in March 1929 passed a resolution that allowed the Headquarters to recruit non-party members for the Scoutmaster training class. The class would be held once every six months and each class would last for a year.²³ The KMT’s reliance on non-party members as scoutmasters to train Scouts was a

²²“Cheng zhongyang xunlian bu qing tong ling ge sheng shi dang bu xunlian bu zhuoliang zengtian dang tongzijun zhidao yuan bing jin xian zhi pai huo jieshao ben bu xunlian xuexiao biye xue yuan chong ren yi tuiguang tongzijun shiye 呈中央訓練部請通令各省市黨部訓練部酌量增添黨童子軍指導員並儘先指派或介紹本部訓練學校畢業學員充任以推廣童子軍事業” (Request to the Central Training Bureau to issue public order to Training Bureau of Provincial and Municipal Party Bureau considering to increase KMT scoutmasters and make priority to appoint and introduce the graduates of training class in order to spread the enterprise of the Scouts), 6 November 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 3-4.

²³“Quan guo xunlian huiyi tong guo you guan tongzijun zhi anjian (si): Hankou tebie shi dang bu linshi zhengli weiyuanhui xunlian bu ti’an (shencha zu xiuzheng an) 全國訓練會議通過有關童子軍之案件(四): 漢口特別市黨部臨時整理委員會訓練部提案(審查組修正案)” (Cases about the Scouts passed by National Training Congress (four): The proposal of Training Bureau of Temporary Coordination Committee of Hankou Special Municipal Party Bureau), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 11 (April 1930): 33.

compromise with reality. As mentioned by the Central Training Bureau in the National Training Congress, local party bureaus had little understanding about the issues regarding children and they did not have a specific department to handle Scout affairs. It seemed that local party bureaus did not have the enthusiasm about providing political training for Scouts because it did not even do a good job in training local party members. Besides, their publications used for political training were sometimes inconsistent with the stance of the Central Training Bureau, as criticized by the Central Training Bureau.²⁴ With this dissatisfactory performance of local party bureaus, it was not surprising why the Central Training Bureau chose to directly send its personnel to hold scoutmaster training classes which emphasized the teaching of the Three People's Principles.

The Scout Instructors were supposed to be a temporary position to handle the Scout affairs in local areas. Therefore, the Scout Directorate (Tongzijun lishihui 童子軍理事會), whose members were elected by the Scout organizers and appointed by the Chinese Scout Headquarters, was formed to regulate the Scout regiments at the provincial, municipal or county levels. By the end of 1930, the first Scout Municipal Directorate in China was established in Shanghai.²⁵ Shanghai was the place where Chinese Scouts originated. However, in the eyes of the KMT, Shanghai was also the place where imperialism was most strongly felt. Therefore, Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, who was sent by the Headquarters to examine the Scouts in Shanghai in

²⁴“Quan guo xunlian huiyi tong guo you guan tongzijun zhi anjian (yi) 全國訓練會議通過有關童子軍之案件(一)” (Cases about the Scouts passed by National Training Congress (one)), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 11 (April 1930): 27-28.

²⁵“Zhongyang xunlian bu han fu jiaoyu bu guanyu dang tongzijun zong zhang yi yi 中央訓練部函覆教育部關於黨童子軍總章疑義,” 8; Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, “Canjia Zhongguo tongzijun Shanghai shi jianyue, lishi xuanshi jiuzhi baogao 參加中國童子軍上海市檢閱·理事宣誓就職報告” (The report of participating the review of the Shanghai Municipal Chinese Scouts and inauguration of the Shanghai Scout Directorate), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 16 (September 1930): 30.

1930, complained that both the Scouts and scoutmasters in Shanghai still did not accept the leadership of the Three People's Principles of the KMT.²⁶

Besides, some counties lacked Scout instructors, who were supposed to be sent from the KMT, to supervise Scout regiments to make sure the regiments followed the central government's regulations.²⁷ Some cities like Nanjing had a Scout instructor, who was not only responsible for the character education of Scouts but also the political training for party members and the masses. However, he was too busy to make contact with the Scout regiments in his region, thus failed to fulfill his main job of ensuring that regiments followed the Headquarters' regulations.²⁸

Standardization of the Boy programs throughout China was a necessary step for the KMT to take over the Chinese Scouts. Any plans or ideals about the Scouts would not be achieved if this task was not accomplished. Therefore, on 17 January 1929, Zhang Zhongren 張忠仁, the commander of the KMT Scouts, requested the Central Training Bureau to order the police departments of the municipal, provincial, and county governments, through the Interior Bureau (Neizheng bu 內政部), to strictly forbid all shops to produce or sell any Scout badges without permission in order to strengthen the party's authority over the Scouts. The Central Training Bureau accepted the request five days later.²⁹ The KMT's attempt to

²⁶Ibid., 36.

²⁷"Fulu fuwuyuan Chen Youchang yuan cheng 附錄服務員陳有常原呈" (Attachment of original letter of scoutmaster Chen Youchang), 28 November 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 17 (December 1930): 12. The Scout instructor was the post set up by local KMT training bureau in the province or in the county to advocate the development of the Scouts in local areas.

²⁸Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, "Shi cha Nanjing shi tongzijun xunlian baogao 視察南京市童子軍訓育報告" (The report of inspection of character education of the Nanjing Municipal Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 17 (December 1930): 19-20.

²⁹Zhang Zhongren 張忠仁, "Cheng zhongyang xunlian bu qing yi falü baozhang dang

standardize the Scout badges was a starting point to unify the programs of the Scout regiments under its jurisdiction. However, the KMT did not make significant inroads even on this basic task. There were still no clear regulations regarding the ways Scouts and scoutmasters wore badges. As a result, as late as 1933, the Shanghai Scout Directorate still reported to the Chinese Scout Headquarters that many Scouts and scoutmasters produced badges by themselves or bought badges from shops. The Scouts and scoutmasters did not pay attention to the real meaning of badges as an honor to reward their performance in a particular field. As a result, in 1933, Chiang Kai-shek, the commander of the Chinese Scouts, banned all illegal badges nationwide and all Scouts and scoutmasters had to follow the standard issued in 1930 regarding the colors and the way of wearing badges.³⁰

Another problem the KMT met in its attempt to take over the Scout affairs was the lack of connection between the Chinese Scout Headquarters at the national level and the Boy Scout regiments at the regional level. Apart from the yearly registration of Scouts and Scout regiments, the Scout regiments at the regional level had little chance to make contact with the Chinese Scout Headquarters, the national Scout organization that was entrusted with the task of regulating Scout organizations nationwide and was later replaced by the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China (*Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu* 中國童子軍總會籌備處) and the Scouts Association of China (*Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui* 中國童子軍總會). Instead, the local Scout regiments had a much closer working relationship

tongzijun yiqie huizhang wen 呈中央訓練部請以法律保障黨童子軍一切徽章文” (The article of the request to Central Training Bureau to use law to protect all badges of the KMT Scouts), 17 January 1929, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 4.

³⁰Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, “*Zhongguo tongzijun mingling* 中國童子軍司令部命令” (The order of the Chinese Scout Headquarters), 24 October 1933, in *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 14 (October 1933): 2.

with the Scout instructors appointed by either the local party bureaus or local education bureaus. However, the party bureaus and the education bureaus at the local level could in fact appoint Scout instructors separately without the consent of the other side, as admitted by the first secretary of the Scouts Association of China in 1936. Worst still, they did not have any consensus about the way of organizing and training the Scout regiments in their areas.³¹

The lack of cooperation between the party bureaus and the education bureaus in the local areas about the funding of Scout regiments was a clear example to show that they did not work as well together in local Scout affairs as the Headquarters had expected. Although the Central Training Bureau was responsible for the Scouts nationwide and set the yearly budget for each local Scout bureau in the scale of Contingent (Jun bu 軍部) at the provincial level and Division (Shi bu 師部) at the county level at 12000 and 5000 dollars respectively, the Central Training Bureau did not have the authority to order local party bureaus to provide such funding for the Scout contingent or division in the province or the county. For example, when the Central Training Bureau knew that Li Yuncai 李運材, a member of Guangxi's Party Training Bureau, intended to discuss the funding problem of Boy Scouts in the Third Guangxi Provincial Congress, it replied that there was no standard regulation on the amount of funding of the Scout bureau. Instead, the amount was given according to the number of the Scouts in the province. Therefore, it proposed that Li Yuancai should particularly mention the relationship between the provincial Scout bureau and the KMT at the congress in order to win party delegates' support in the congress.³² It

³¹Feng Ti 豐悌, "Yi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tongzijun 一年來之中國童子軍" (The Chinese Scouts in the last one year), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 2, no. 1 (January 1936): 29, 31.

³²"Fu Guangxi sheng dang bu xunlian bu Li Yuancai tongzhi shang zhao jun shi bu jingfei

seemed that in the early stage of taking over the Scouts, the KMT did not proactively provide funding for Scouts in the areas where the development of the Scouts was not prosperous. The priority was given to the task of making existing Scout regiments adhere to the Three People's Principles. David Tsai's study on the party-government relation shows that the government's budget for the party was as few as only 1 percent at both the national and local levels. It was not surprising therefore why local party bureaus did not financially sponsor the Scouts whose expenditure was too high for the bureaus to afford.³³

Apart from the lack of cooperation of local party bureaus to sponsor the development of the Scouts in local areas, there was also the problem of unclear division of labor between the government and the party in the Scout affairs. The president of National Chekiang University (Guoli Zhejiang Daxue 國立浙江大學) once asked the Central Training Bureau whether the party's Scouts was a type of organization handled by the party in school or a method of training students with the education of the Three People's Principles managed by school. "If it is the former," he asked, "why is there a clear statement in no. 6 of the general regulation [of the KMT Scouts] that the expenditure [of the Scouts] is paid by the school organizer? If it is the latter, why is the regimental commander of Scouts appointed by the headquarters [of the KMT Scouts] instead of being appointed through the procedure of recommendation from the school?" The Central Training Bureau replied on 5 December 1928 that the Scouts in Britain and America did not directly belong to any

yusuan han 覆廣西省黨部訓練部李運材同志商酌軍師部經費預算函" (The replying letter to comrade Li Yuancai of the training bureau of Gaungxi Provincial Party Bureau about discussion of financial budget of the Scout contingent and division), 22 January 1929, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 5-6. For the organization of the KMT Boy Scouts in both national and regional levels, see Appendix 5: The organization chart of the KMT Boy Scouts in February 1929.

³³David Tsai, "Party-Government Relations in Kiangsu Province, 1927-1932," *Select Papers from the Center for Eastern Studies*, no. 1 (1975-1976), 102.

educational organizations and its highest organ was directly supervised and directed by the government. The appointment of a regimental commander by the KMT Scout Headquarters was to ensure that the enterprise of training revolutionary youth did not take the wrong path. It also said that the procedure of recommending the regimental commander was just a minor issue.³⁴

The Central Training Bureau, which controlled the KMT Scout Headquarters, believed that the Scouts should have a close relation with the party and be financially supported by the government. However, the Education Bureau saw the KMT and the government as two separate entities. As in the case of the Boy Scout Regiment of Gao (皋) County Secondary School in Jiangsu province, when Chinese Scouts were renamed as the KMT Scouts in 1928, the Education Bureau of Gao county stopped its yearly funding for the Boy Scouts because the regiment was now directly under the jurisdiction of the KMT. Therefore, the Central Training Bureau criticized the Education Bureau for violating the regulation that the Scouts' expenditure should be within the school's financial budget which was funded by the Education Bureau according to the General Regulation of the KMT Scouts (Zhongguo guomindang tongzijun zong zhang 中國國民黨童子軍總章) passed by the KMT Central Executive Committee on 31 May 1928. So, Ding Weifen 丁惟汾, the head of the Central Training Bureau, ordered the Education Bureau to resume the funding for the Boy Scouts.³⁵ The ignorance of the order to fund the KMT Scout organizations by

³⁴“Zhongyang xunlian bu han fu jiaoyu bu guanyu dang tongzijun zong zhang yi yi 中央訓練部函覆教育部關於黨童子軍總章疑義,” 9-10.

³⁵“Cheng zhongyang xunlian bu qing zi jiaoyu bu shun ling ru Gao Xian jiaoyu ju huifu yuanyou tongzijun jingfei bing an ji zhi bo 呈中央訓練部請咨教育部轉令如皋縣教育局恢復原有童子軍經費並按期支撥” (Request to Central Training Bureau to consult the Education Bureau to order education bureau of Gao county to restore the Scouts' budget and pay the budget on time), 29 December 1928, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 2 (March 1929): 1-2.

local education bureaus also happened in Shanghai. The Education Bureau of the Shanghai municipal government refused to provide \$300 monthly funding for the Shanghai Special Municipal Boy Scout Promotion Association (Shanghai tebie shi tongzijun cujin hui 上海特別市童子軍促進會), which was established in September 1928. Therefore, on 23 October 1929, the Central Training Bureau ordered the Education Bureau to resume funding for the association.³⁶

However, a reader of the *Chinese Scout Headquarters Monthly* asked whether the Scouts were controlled by the educational administration, which was financially responsible for the Scout program. This monthly, which represented the opinion of the Central Training Bureau, replied that they did not force the administration to fund Scouts if its budget was too tight.³⁷ Another reader again requested the Central Training Bureau to ask the Education Bureau to order all local education administration to include the Scouts' expenditure in their budget. However, the Central Training Bureau this time clearly replied that the Scout regiments should be responsible for Scouts' expenditure themselves, and they "should stop the habit of begging money from others."³⁸ As a result, the schools themselves were made responsible for the expenditure of the Scout regiments, as demonstrated in the case of the Shanghai East Asian Physical Education College's (Shanghai dong ya tiyue zhuanke xuexiao 上海東亞體育專科學校) founding of its Boy Scout regiment in

³⁶Dai Chuanxian 戴傳賢 to Shanghai Special Municipal Education Bureau, "Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunliang bu gonghan 中國國民黨中央執行委員會訓練部公函" (The official letter from the Training Bureau of Central Executive Committee of the KMT), 23 October 1929, *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 7 (December 1929): 8-9. Dai Chuanxian was another name of Dai Jitao.

³⁷He Sichun 賀泗春, "Tongxun wenda 通訊問答" (Question and answer Session), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 16 (September 1930): 83.

³⁸Lan Ming 藍明, "Tongxun wenda 通訊問答" (Question and answer Session), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 17 (October 1930): 78.

July 1930. The school stated in the proposal submitted to the Chinese Scout Headquarters in Nanjing that the school council (Xiao dong hui 校董會) would be solely responsible for all the expenditure of the Boy Scout regiment.³⁹ The KMT did not openly admit the Education Bureau's defiance of the rule, that the Education Bureau was supposed to be financially responsible for the funding of the Scout regiments in schools. However, the new General Regulation of Chinese Scouts passed by the KMT Central Executive Committee on 28 September 1933 reflected a compromise made by the party to the government. The regulation no longer required the schools to include the expenditure of the Scout regiments in their financial budget, which was funded by the Education Bureau. Instead, the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China and later the Scouts Association of China would bear the expenses of the Scouts regiments. However, part of the funding would come from the yearly registration fees and the Scout membership fees, and from the Scout regiments themselves through the sale of Scout publications and equipment!⁴⁰

The uncooperative attitude of the Education Bureau to fund the Scouts was similar to David Tsai's study on the conflict between the party and the government in Jiangsu province, in which Tsai observes that in the stage of political tutelage, which started in 1928, the KMT created separate institutions for the party and the government in the local level to perform different functions. Local party organizations were mainly responsible for the political training of the masses, so as to prepare them for self-government and to protect them from the evil influence of

³⁹“Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu mingling di yi si ling qi hao 中國童子軍司令部命令第 1407 號” (No. 1407 order of the Chinese Scout Headquarters), 16 July 1930, in *Zhongguo tongz jun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 3-5.

⁴⁰“Zhongguo tongzijun zong zhang 中國童子軍總章” (The general regulation of the Chinese Scouts), 28 September 1933, in *Zhongguo tongzi jun zong hui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 19 (January 1934): 14.

communism, while local government organizations were responsible for policy administration.⁴¹ In the case of the Scouts, the party bureau took charge of the political training of Scouts, while the Education Bureau executed its educational policies in school. Since most of the Scout regiments were operated by schools, it was unclear whether it was the KMT or the Education Bureau which was to take charge of the affairs of the Scouts. There was no evidence that they had any consensus about this issue. This explained why the KMT was inconsistent about the issue of funding Scouts as shown in the examples above. As a result, the Chinese Scout Headquarters decided to cancel the position of Scout instructors and established the Scout Directorate as the sole organization to regulate the Scout regiments in the local level so as to avoid inconsistent regulation by the instructors who were separately appointed by the local party bureaus and the education bureaus. However, by January 1936, only Jiangsu province, Shanghai, Nanjing and Hangzhou had established their Scout Directorates, which were governed by the National Scout Directorate in Nanjing established in June 1934.⁴² Therefore, although the Chinese Scout Headquarters and later the Scouts Association of China at the national level had set numerous regulations regarding Scout regiments at the regional level, it is doubtful how far these regulations were put in to practice in areas without a directorate.

Shanghai: The Bridgehead to Take Over the Chinese Scouts

Shanghai was one of the places with the largest number of Scout organizations established before the Nanjing Decade. It became the focus of the KMT to take over the Scouts. For example, the Training Bureau of Shanghai Special

⁴¹Tsai, 93-99.

⁴²Feng Ti 鄧悌, "Yi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tongzijun 一年來之中國童子軍" (The Chinese Scouts in the last one year), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 2, no. 1 (January 1936): 29, 31.

Municipal Executive Committee (Shanghai tebie shi zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu 上海特別市執行委員會訓練部) reported to the Central Training Bureau on 21 July 1929 about its investigation on the Special Boy Scouts Regiment of National Chi Nan University (Guo Li Ji Nan Daxue 國立暨南大學), that this special Boy Scout Regiment, which was established by overseas Chinese, always doubted and criticized the political principles of the KMT. Besides, the regiment misbehaved during the funeral of Sun Yat-sen, the founder of the KMT. In addition, naming its organization as the “Special Boy Scout regiment” (Tebei tongzijun tuan 特別童子軍團) was already a violation of the provision no. 4 of the General Regulations of the Scouts, which stated that the regiment was the basic organization of Scouts in school. Therefore, on 21 July 1929, the Central Training Bureau ordered the regiment to be disbanded.⁴³

The National Chi Nan University’s violation against the regulations of the KMT was not an exceptional case. The Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee reported to the Central Training Bureau on 15 May 1929 that the Shanghai Boy Scout Association (Shanghai tongzijun xiehui 上海童子軍協會), which referred to the Shanghai branch of the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts established by G. S. F. Kemp in the international settlement in 1915, was controlled by such “anti-revolutionary” members as Zhao Bangrong 趙邦鏞 and Sun Enlin 孫恩霖. They also controlled the Scout regiments in Shanghai and delayed registration with the KMT Scout Headquarters. The Central Training Bureau ordered the Training Bureau in Shanghai to be responsible for the

⁴³Dai Chuanxian 戴傳賢 to Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee, “Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunliang bu zhiling 中國國民黨中央執行委員會訓練部公函” (The official letter from the Training Bureau of Central Executive Committee of the KMT), 21 July 1929, *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 2-4.

registration. However, the Shanghai Boy Scout Association made the decision that the Chief Instructor (Zong jiaolian yuan 總教練員) organized all regiments in Shanghai to register. This not only violated the regulation of registration, but also violated the General Regulations of the KMT Scouts that it only had the head of Contingent (Jun zhang 軍長) at the provincial level and the head of Division (Shi zhang 師長) at the county level but did not have the position of the Chief Instructor. Therefore, the Training Bureau in Shanghai requested the Central Training Bureau to disband the association and ordered the Municipal Education Bureau to stop funding the association. The Central Training Bureau accepted the request on 3 July 1929, and the Training Bureau in Shanghai disbanded the association on 11 August 1929 and transferred all the documents and equipment of the association to its office.⁴⁴

The KMT's inability to exercise effective control over the Scouts in Shanghai was obviously shown in the First Shanghai Special Municipal Review of Scouts held in the southern part of the city (Nan shi 南市) on 10 October 1929, in which many Scouts still wore badges with the five-color flag, the national flag of the Republic of China before 1928. In addition, the song the Scouts sang was not the one approved by the Central Training Bureau. Therefore, Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, who was sent by the Central Training Bureau to observe the review, made a speech to Scouts in the review, in which he pointed out that “. . . in the enterprise of fighting for China's

⁴⁴Dai Chuanxian 戴傳賢 to Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee, “Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunliang bu zhiling 中國國民黨中央執行委員會訓練部公函” (The official letter from the Training Bureau of Central Executive Committee of the KMT), 3 July 1929, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 4-6; Tong Xingbai 童行白, “Fu Shanghai tebei shi zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu yuan cheng 附上海特別市執行委員會訓練部原呈” (Attachment of the original letter of the Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee), 13 August 1929, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 6-7. Tong Xingbai was the head of the Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee of KMT. For the organization of the KMT Boy Scouts in both national and regional levels, see Appendix 5: The organization chart of the KMT Boy Scouts in February 1929.

independence, it seems that [the Shanghai Scouts] did not contribute great power.” This was because, he noted, Shanghai was greatly influenced by warlords and imperialism. Furthermore, Shanghai Scouts did not have the leadership of the central ideology, that is, the Three People’s Principles.⁴⁵

In the Second Shanghai Municipal Review of Scouts on 10 October 1930, the Scout organizations in Shanghai eventually came under the jurisdiction of the KMT. In a speech to the Shanghai Scouts, the Training Bureau of Shanghai Special Municipal Executive Committee mentioned that they had realized their mistakes regarding the lack of central organization in leading all Shanghai Scout organizations since the participation in the First National Review of the Scouts in Nanjing in April 1930. Therefore, the Shanghai Municipal Scout Directorate (Lishihui 理事會), as the central organization of Shanghai Scouts, was established. It allowed the Scouts in Shanghai to be unified, and therefore, “everyone’s different opinions disappeared, meaningless arguments also disappeared.”⁴⁶ Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, who was again sent by the Central Training Bureau to observe the review, also made a speech during the review. He appreciated the development of the Scouts in Shanghai, where twenty-six Scout regiments and more than 3,000 Scouts registered with the Headquarters when compared with only six Scouts regiments and 600 Scouts the previous year. In addition, he also appreciated the establishment of the Shanghai Scout Directorate as the pioneer of all provinces in China. He praised that these

⁴⁵Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, “Chuxi Shanghai tebie shi tongzijun da jianyue baogao zhaiyao 出席上海特別市童子軍大檢閱報告摘要” (The summary of the report on attending the grand review of Shanghai Special Municipal Scouts), 15 October 1929, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 7 (December 1929): 19-21.

⁴⁶Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, “Canjia Zhongguo tongzijun Shanghai shi jianyue lishi xuanshi jiuzhi baogao 參加中國童子軍上海市檢閱理事宣誓就職報告” (The report on attending the inauguration of the Shanghai Municipal Scout Directorate), in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 16 (September 1930): 21-22.

achievements represented the spread of the Three People's Principles among the Scouts. He judged that the Scouts' enterprise in Shanghai could go forward and would never stray from the right path. Xu's comments indicate that by 1930, the Central Training Bureau made a success in bringing the Scout organizations in Shanghai under its influence. However, in the conclusion of his report about the review, he still realized that since the Shanghai Scouts had a longer history of development and had been influenced by cultural imperialism, the Shanghai Scouts found it more difficult to accept the leadership of the Three People's Principles. Therefore, it had a greater urgency to educate them with the party's principles than those of the inland provinces. Having many scoutmasters with experience in teaching Scout skills but without a deep understanding of the party's principles was the problem the KMT still needed to overcome.⁴⁷

The First National Review of the Scouts in 1930

Before the First National Review of the Scouts in 1930, the KMT had already made attempts, by using the icon of Sun Yat-sen, to unify the identity of all Scouts from different parts of China as the Chinese Scouts rather than the Scouts of different provinces or counties. On 30 May 1929, Zhang Zhongren 張忠仁, the commander of the KMT Scouts, led approximately one thousand Scouts from Wuhan, Shanghai and Nanjing to attend the burial of Sun Yat-sen, the spiritual leader of the KMT. Zhang spoke of his high appreciation of Sun in his funeral oration, that "Premier [Sun Yat-sen], . . . may your spirit never die, I hope you bless and enlighten all children's' mind . . ." After speaking at the funeral oration, every Scouts paid homage to Sun Yat-sen's remains.⁴⁸

⁴⁷Ibid., 29-30, 36-37.

⁴⁸"Tongzijun canjia feng an zongli fuwu jiyao 童子軍參加奉安總理服務紀要" (The summary report of the Scouts' participation in funeral of Dr. Sun Yat-sen), *Zhongguo tongzijun*

Since the Chinese Scouts were regarded as the “xin xie lun 新血輪” (new blood wheel) of China who had the responsibility to help reform the nation and society, the First National Review of Scouts therefore provided an occasion for all Scouts from different places to get to know each other. The KMT believed that the reform of Scouts was instrumental to the revival of the nation. Besides, the KMT also wanted to make the National Review as a showcase for society to understand that the Scouts really met the needs of nation-building rather than being simply a game for children or just another type of education.⁴⁹ Besides, the national review was a good occasion to propagate the KMT ideology to the masses. Moreover, the KMT also made the regulation that unregistered Scouts and those “incompletely organized” Scout organization would not be qualified to attend the national review, so as to encourage Scout regiments to follow the central government’s regulations.⁵⁰

The First National Review of Scouts started on 18 April 1930 in Nanjing, which was attended by 3366 Scouts from 121 regiments. Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the KMT government, and Dai Jitao 戴季陶, the chairman of the review and the head of the Central Training Bureau, made speeches to the Scouts. There were

silingbu yuekan 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 85, 97-98.

⁴⁹“Quan guo tongzijun fuwuyuan duiyu ci ci zong jianyue yingyou de renshi yu nuli 全國童子軍服務員對於此次總檢閱應有的認識與努力” (The understanding and effort all scoutmasters in whole nation need to have for the first national review of the Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 11 (April 1930): 39, 41-43. The Chinese Scouts were regarded as the New Blood Wheel, that is, the force to renovate China because those above 30 did not receive the Scout education as the youth did, therefore, the adults above 30 which counted 60 to 70 percent of China’s population, did not have the strong body, the ability of self-governance, self-motivation, self-reliance, and good personality like the Boy Scouts, to accomplish the Nationalist revolution and to fight against imperialist invasion. See Bai Chongji 白崇基, “Zhongguo Guomindang weisheme fuze xunlian tongzijun 中國國民黨爲甚麼負責訓練童子軍” (Why does the Nationalist Party of China responsible for training the Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun* 中國童子軍 (Chinese Scouts), no. 17 (March 1931): 2-12.

⁵⁰Meng Xiang 夢祥, “Women duiyu quanguo tongzijun di yi ci zong jianyue ji da luying yingyou de renshi 我們對於全國童子軍第一次總檢閱及大露營應有的認識” (What we need to know about the first national review and jamboree of the Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 11 (April 1930): 56-57, 59.

campfire parties, public seminars about the party's ideology, a seminar on the organization of Scouts, exhibitions of the Scout curriculum, and the memorial ceremony to Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum.⁵¹ In October 1930, the Headquarters decided to build a Sun Yat-sen memorial pavilion near Sun Yat-sen's mausoleum in the name of the Chinese Scouts. The building expenditure of the pavilion, amounted to \$30,000, was voluntarily shared by all Scout regiments and scoutmasters nationwide.⁵²

In spite of the KMT's intention of unifying the Scouts from different provinces into a whole unit, a violent conflict broke out on the last day of the national review on 22 April 1930 between the No. 64 Boy Scout Regiment of National Chi Nan University (Guo Li Ji Nan Daxue 國立暨南大學) in Shanghai and the Boy Scouts of Hubei. A Japanese newspaper reported that the conflict was stirred up by the Communists and was suppressed by military police, who opened fire into the air for three minutes. Three people were reportedly killed. However, the Chinese Scout Headquarters denied this news report. It wrote to the Japanese ambassador in Nanjing to clarify that the Boy Scouts from Hubei were irritated by the Boy Scouts of the National Chi Nan University who made fun of a Girl Scout for not wearing her Scout uniform that had got wet in the rain. Besides, the Hubei's Boy Scouts failed to get back their shoes, which were stolen by the Boy Scouts of the National Chi Nan University in a camp raid game due to misunderstanding caused by dialect differences. Therefore, they fought with each other, and one of Boy Scouts of the

⁵¹“Zhongguo tongzijun di yi ci quanguo zong jianyue ji da luying shi mo jian zhi 中國童子軍第一次全國總檢閱及大露營始末簡誌” (A short record of the first national review and jamboree of the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 87-90.

⁵²“Zhongguo tongzijun jianzhu jinian ting banfa 中國童子軍建築紀念亭辦法” (The method of the building of memorial pavilion by the Chinese Scouts), 9 October 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 16 (September 1930): 1.

National Chi Nan University opened fire twice into the air with a light shotgun, which was used by Boy Scouts in camping. The conflict was quickly dealt with by the staff of the national review and only eight people were injured.⁵³ Zheng Hongnian 鄭洪年, the principal of National Chi Nan University, immediately announced that 41 Boy Scouts of his school were marked a “Da Guo 大過” (major demerit), and he made a sympathy visit to the injured Hubei’s Boy Scouts. On 25 April, he also wrote an apology letter to the Central Training Bureau.⁵⁴ On 29 April, He Yingqin 何應欽, the commander of the Chinese Scouts, dismissed the regimental commander of the university’s Boy Scouts from his position, and marked vice-regimental commander with a “major demerit”. The Boy Scout who used the light shotgun during the conflict was expelled from his Boy Scout regiment and his gun was confiscated. These punishments were confirmed by the Central Training Bureau in May.⁵⁵

The Headquarters clearly admitted in its report of the review later that the discipline of some Scouts was not good enough. Besides, many of the Scouts who

⁵³Shi Weihuan 史維煥 to Shinnichi Uemura 上村伸一, “Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu mishu Shi Weihuan zhi ri ling Shangcun han 中國童子軍司令部秘書史維煥致日領上村函” (The letter from the secretary of the Chinese Scout Headquarters to the Japanese consulate Shinnichi Uemura), (25 April 1930), in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 5-7.

⁵⁴“Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu gonghan di ba si ba er hao 中央執行委員會訓練部公函第八四八二號” (No. 8482 official letter of the Training Bureau of the Central Executive Committee), 6 May 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 2-4.

⁵⁵“Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu xun lian di jiu ling qi hao 中國童子軍司令部訓令第九〇七號” (Official instruction no. 907 of the Chinese Scout Headquarters), 29 April 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 7; “Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu xun lian di jiu ling jiu hao 中國童子軍司令部訓令第九〇九號” (Official instruction no. 909 of the Chinese Scout Headquarters), 29 April 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 8; “Zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu zhiling di ba liu ling ba hao 中央執行委員會訓練部指令第八六〇八號” (No. 8608 order of the Training Bureau of the Central Executive Committee), May 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 9.

participated in the review did not follow the regulation of the central government in wearing their uniforms, and some of them did not understand the party's ideology.⁵⁶ It seemed that two years after taking over the Scout affairs, the KMT still failed to guide the registered Scouts in the direction that it wanted them to develop, let alone those outside the KMT system. The conflict also showed that the KMT's hope of unifying the Scouts from different places as a cohesive unit was a failure.

The Boy Scout regiment of the National Chi Nan University was always a trouble maker, as shown in the case of establishing a Special Boy Scout Regiment in 1929 that violated the General Regulation of the KMT Scouts. Its violent conflict with the Hubei Boy Scouts in the national review mentioned above was another example. However, the Central Training Bureau approved the university's application in June 1930 to conduct a long field trip to Hong Kong, Thailand, Singapore, Java, and the Philippines by foot. The Chinese Scout Headquarters issued a certificate of long field trip for the Boy Scouts.⁵⁷ However, it does not mean that the Boy Scout regiment of the National Chi Nan University finally came under the complete control of the Headquarters. As the only university in China to provide university education for overseas Chinese, it was not surprising that its Boy Scout regiment was granted an approval by the Headquarters to make a long trip to Southeast Asia, where many overseas Chinese lived. Besides, according to the yearly

⁵⁶“Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu wei di yi ci quanguo zong jianyue ji da luying juxing hou gao Zhongguo tongzijun shu 中國童子軍司令部爲第一次全國總檢閱及大露營舉行後告中國童子軍書” (Letter to Chinese Boy Scouts after the holding of the first national review and jamboree of the Scouts from the Chinese Scout Headquarters), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 14 (July 1930): 8.

⁵⁷Zheng Hongnian 鄭洪年 to Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang zhixing weiyuanhui xunlian bu 中國國民黨中央執行委員會訓練部, 4 June 1930, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 14 (July 1930): 5-6; He Yingqin 何應欽, “Zhongguo tongzijun luxing zhengming shu 中國童子軍長途旅行證明書” (The certificate of long traveling of the Scouts), in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 14 (July 1930): 5.

report of Shanghai education in 1933, there were student protests in the university in December 1933 and in January 1934 that requested Kuang Songling 鄺嵩齡, the principal of the affiliated secondary school of the university, and Zheng Hongnian, the president of the University, to resign. The Education Bureau finally had to yield to the students' request to replace Kuang and Zheng.⁵⁸ The report did not mention whether the Boy Scout regiment of the university participated in the movement or not. However, with such a strong sense of student activism in the University, whether the KMT was really able to control the regiment was really in doubt.

Becoming a Compulsory Part of the Formal School Curriculum

Due to the relatively small number of the Scouts in China compared with other nations in the early 1930s and the concentration of the Scouts in cities, the KMT's target of making all youth nationwide to become Scouts had not yet come true. Therefore, the KMT adopted two strategies to achieve this target. Firstly, in 1934, it made the Scout program compulsory within the formal school curriculum in order to spread the Scout organizations nationwide through the school network. Secondly, it proposed the expansion of the Scouts from cities to rural areas in 1930.

There were different opinions about whether or not the Scout program should become a compulsory part of the school curriculum. In 1929, the Central Training Bureau opposed the idea of turning the Scout program into a compulsory subject in school because those skills like camping, cooking, first aid, and so on did not share the same principles as the formal school curriculum. Also, the bureau thought that it was particularly wrong for schools to regard the Scout program simply as physical

⁵⁸Shanghai xinwen she 上海新聞社 ed., *Yi jiu san san nian zhi Shanghai jiao yu* 一九三三年之上海教育 (Shanghai education in 1933) (Shanghai: Shanghai xinwen she, 1934), E10.

education and to be taught by the teachers of physical education.⁵⁹ If the Scout program was taught like other subjects in schools, it would lose its appeal to children. Even Yang Kejing 楊克敬, the section chief of the Chinese Scout Headquarters, also clearly stated that it was impossible to limit the Scout program to the school curriculum. Yang wrote that the Scout program was an important social education. Therefore, those children not in school could be Scouts while those above 18 and who worked as farmers or workers could be Rovers, a scout program for those above 18. Besides, due to differences in curriculum, teaching style and organization, the Scout program and the school curriculum ought to be supplementary to rather than integrated with each other.⁶⁰

Due to the mainstream opinion of opposing the Scout program to become a compulsory school subject, the new standard of formal school curriculum issued by the Education Bureau in 1933 did not include the Scout program. As a result, an author of junior secondary scout training criticized that students in junior secondary schools did not develop a serious attitude towards the Scout training as it did not affect their graduation. Besides, since the Scout program was taken as an extra-curricular activity, it had a time conflict with students' need for rest after school. Therefore, students showed little interest in joining the Scouts, and those who had joined the Scouts did not feel shameful even they suffered the penalty of being deprived of their Scout badges. As a result, the author suggested that they should follow the American practice which regarded the Scout certificate as a proof of youth's good conduct. Then, the students would realize the importance of the

⁵⁹Li Guangcai 李光彩, "Tongxun wenda 通訊問答" (Question and answer session), 10 July 1929, in *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6 (November 1929): 105-106.

⁶⁰"Zhongguo tongzijun xunlian zhi xin luxian 中國童子軍訓練之新路線," 15-20.

qualifications of the Scouts and thus wholeheartedly be involved in the program.⁶¹

The outbreak of the Manchuria Incident on 18 September 1931 changed the trend in favor of making the Scout program compulsory in school. On 28 September 1931, the Central Executive Committee ordered all local government offices nationwide to practice the Education Guidelines of the Student Voluntary Army, which required all senior secondary schools to organize a youth voluntary army, and all junior secondary schools and below to organize Scouts to practice military training.⁶² Even so, the Scout training was not yet part of the formal school curriculum. However, the situation changed when the Blue Shirts started to interfere with the Scout affairs in 1932.

Inspired by the CCP's organization of Young Pioneers of China and the training of young soldiers in Japan in 1932, both of which emphasized military training, Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the KMT, ordered Blue Shirts, the core of the KMT elite, to organize the Chinese Scouts Progressive Society (*Zhongguo tongzijun li jin she* 中國童子軍勵進社), with Gan Guoxun 干國勳 as the secretary, to prepare for the establishment of the Scouts Association of China (*Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui* 中國童子軍總會). Chiang also appointed Yang Kejing as the chief of propaganda and training teams to recruit Scout staff nationwide into the

⁶¹Wu Suchu 吳溯初, "Chu zhong tong zi de shangque 初中童子訓練的商榷" (The discussion of training of junior secondary children), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 18 (December 1933): 19-22.

⁶²"Xun ling di si qi liu hao: zhiding xuesheng yi yong jun gang ling 訓令第四七六號: 制定學生義勇軍綱領" (Official instruction no. 476: Decide the guidelines of voluntary student army), *Gao zhong yi shang xuexiao junshi jiaoyu faling* 高中以上學校軍事教育法令 (The ordinances of military education of senior secondary and above), file no. 001012350002, Nationalist Government Archives, 62-63; available on-line from http://linux201.dnrh.gov.tw/~textdb/showImage/connect_img.php?s=001012350002001a&c=123&=1; internet; accessed on 3 July 2008; "Quanguo ge xuexiao yili zuzhi xuesheng yi yong jun 全國各學校一律組織學生義勇軍" (All schools nationwide organize voluntary student army). *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 25 (August 1931): 71.

Chinese Scouts Progressive Society. In July 1932, Chiang approved Gan's proposal to establish a training class of Scout cadres (Tongjun ganbu xunlian ban 童軍幹部訓練班). Among the 150 students in the class, which started in August 1932, one-third were graduates of the Whampoa Military Academy and another two-third were from the Scout organizations nationwide. The class lasted for 6 months and the curriculum was divided into lectures and outdoor training. One-third of the curriculum was about military knowledge and military drilling. After the training, the graduates were sent to important regions to expand the Scouts regiments nationwide. Blue Shirts' influence was evident not only on the local Scout organizations, but also at the central level. From 1932 to 1936, the first three secretaries of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China (Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu 中國童子軍總會籌備處), which later renamed the Scouts Association of China (Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui 中國童子軍總會), were all members of the Blue Shirts.⁶³ In addition, almost every secretary of the Department of Military Education of Citizen (Guomin junshi jiaoyu chu 國民軍事教育處) were members of the Blue Shirts. One of the duties of the department was to organize summer military training classes for secondary students and to appoint military instructors for schools.⁶⁴ The members of the Blue Shirts were Whampoa graduates, who highly

⁶³Gan Guoxun 干國勳, *Sanminzhuyi lixingshe yu minzu fuxing yundong* 三民主義力行社與民族復興運動 (The Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People and the movement of national revival) (Taipei: s.n., 1986), 70-74, 80-81, 84-87. The Blue Shirts was also known as the Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People (Sanmin zhuyi li xing she 三民主義力行社) whose members were graduates from Whampoa Military Academy. Gan Guoxun was the fifth batch of Whampoa graduates.

⁶⁴Deng Yuanzhong 鄧元忠, *Guomindang hexin zuzhi zhenxiang: Lixingshe, Fuxingshe, ji suowei "Lanyishe" de yanbian yu chengzhang* 國民黨核心組織真相: 力行社, 復興社, 暨所謂「藍衣社」的演變與成長 (The truth of the core organizations of the KMT: The transformation and growth of the Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People, the Spirit Encouragement Society, and so-called "Blue Shirts") (Taipei: Lian jing chuban shiye gongsi, 2000), 194-196.

emphasized the importance of military power for national survival.⁶⁵ With Japan's overt invasion of China in 1931, Chiang appointed the Blue Shirts to be responsible for providing military training for the masses. The Scout training was viewed by the KMT as a preparatory stage for junior secondary students or below to receive military training when they became senior secondary students. Because the Scout training could serve as the core for military education for youth, it was not surprising why the Blue Shirts wanted to make the Scout program a compulsory subject in school.

Japan's invasion accelerated the process of making the Scout program a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. Starting from 1 March 1934, the Education Bureau of Japan mobilized its citizens, including eight million youth corps and the Scouts, to organize propaganda teams nationwide to oppose the League of Nations' sanction against Japan's invasion of China.⁶⁶ Probably affected by such a large scale of mobilization of youth in Japan, in the summer of 1934, the Education Bureau of China finally announced that the Scout program would become a compulsory subject in junior secondary school in order to provide a foundation to mobilize youth if necessary. Since some subjects of the Scout program were similar to existing subjects in the school curriculum, the author of an article about the theory of Scout training in school suggested that they could be combined together. For example, the subjects of the history of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, the knowledge of the party's

⁶⁵J. Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (Stanford, Calif.: Publ. for the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution, and Peace by Stanford University Press, 1966), 97.

⁶⁶“Renban jiaoyu bu jiang xia dongyuan ling: San yue yi ren qi fen sib u dongyuan 日本教育部將下動員令：三月一日起分四部動員” (The Education Bureau of Japan will proclaim the order of mobilization: Mobilization in four steps starting from 1 March), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 1 (March 1933), 13. The Education Bureau of Japan mobilized its citizens in 4 steps: the first step mobilized 8 million male and female youth corps; the second step mobilized 4 million members of the Joint National Association of Women and 20 million housewives; the third step mobilized all primary school staff and the Scouts; the final step mobilized 2 million members of the Youth Military Training School.

and the national flags in the Scout program could combine with the subject of “Society” (Shehui 社會) in the school curriculum so that the same content would not have to be taught twice. Apart from the content of the subjects, the author also suggested that the organization of both the Scouts and the school should be combined: the school principal should serve as the regimental commander of the school Scout regiment, the director of student affairs (Xun yu zhuren 訓育主任) and the director of academic affairs (Jiao wu zhuren 教務主任) as vice-regimental commanders, teachers as scoutmasters, class monitor (Banzhang 班長) of each class as the captain of each Scout detachment (Zhongdui 中隊), and the leader of small students’ organization as the captain of the Scout patrol (Xiaodui 小隊).⁶⁷ Furthermore, the Scout program would affect students’ academic results in school. The Education Bureau required those students who had entered school before the Scout program became compulsory to combine their results of the Scout program with those of Physical Education. If they failed the program, it meant that they failed in Physical Education.⁶⁸ However, in the meeting held by the Scouts Association of China and the Boy Scout organizers from the provincial and municipal levels on 30 May 1935, it was decided that the result of the Scout program and Physical Education should be separated, and those who failed the Scout program could not be promoted to the higher class or allowed to graduate.⁶⁹ One year after the Scout program became a

⁶⁷Peng Zhongwei 彭仲偉, “Xuexiao tongzijun xunlian de lilun yu sjiji 學校童子軍訓練的理論與實際” (The practice and theory of the school Scout training), *Zhongguo tongzijun 中國童子軍* (Chinese Scouts), no. 5 (June 1935): 1-4.

⁶⁸“Zhong xiao xue tongzijun xunlian jisuan xuefen banfa 中小學童子軍訓練計算學分辦法” (The method of counting credits for the Scout training in primary and secondary schools), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao 中國童子軍總會公報* (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no. 1 (January 1935): 35.

⁶⁹“Xunlian huiyi zhuan hao 訓練會議專號” (The special issue of training meeting), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao 中國童子軍總會公報* (The bulletin of the Scouts Association

compulsory subject for junior secondary students, the number of registered Scouts almost doubled from 94,179 to 182,054.⁷⁰ The Blue Shirts' military background, backed by Chiang, successfully spread the Scout organization nationwide through the school network.

From City to Village

Apart from spreading the Scout organizations in school, the Headquarters also wanted the Scout training to be, in its own term, "popularized" (minzhong hua 民眾化). Popularization was "first to make the Scout organization down to earth; meanwhile, the Scout training should adapt to the masses' needs, and then improve their living; in order to train the masses of the whole nation with the spirit of organization and training and be responsible for the party's mission together, so as to accomplish the Nationalist revolution." The main way to achieve the popularization of the Scout training was to allow every child, no matter they were rich or poor, in the city or in the rural area, to have the same opportunity to receive the Scout education. Besides, the Scouts needed to provide real social services for the common people rather than simply provide services in public assemblies like athletic meets. In other words, the Scout training should not be a stepping-stone for one to ascend to the "special class", and the scouts should not consider themselves as superior in social status to the masses.

Moreover, "popularization" also aimed at reforming society. The Scout

of China), 1, no. 10 (July 1935): 14.

⁷⁰Feng Ti 豐悌, "Yi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tongzijun 一年來之中國童子軍" (Chinese Boy Scouts in the last one year), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 2, no. 1 (January 1936): 30. Feng di wrote there were 94179 Scouts nationwide before the establishment of the Scouts Association of China without providing the exact date of this statistics. On 1 November 1934, the day of the establishment of the Scouts Association of China, there were 89792 Scouts nationwide. On 1 January 1936, the number of Scouts was doubled to 182054. For the figures of the Scouts nationwide from 1928 to 1936, see Appendix 4: The number of Scouts, scoutmasters and Scout regiments registered in China (1928-1936).

education was considered to be a channel to spread the spirit of obedience, discipline and public morality to cure the Chinese masses' shortcomings, such as the lack of cohesion. In addition, the Scouts could also spread the practical skills they learnt in the program to improve the living abilities of Chinese society.⁷¹ In other words, the Scouts had an important role to play in social education, whose aims the KMT defined as cultivating citizens with "the knowledge of daily living in modern cities and villages, the skills of improving the family's economy, the necessary qualification of self-governance of citizens, the habit of protecting public enterprise and forests, and the morality of caring for the elderly, the poor, preventing natural disaster and mutual aid."⁷² Therefore, one author who advocated the spread of the Scout education in rural areas criticized the warlord government in the past for not promoting the Scout activities, and as a result, only well-developed schools in cities provided the Scout training. He believed that the Scout education should be provided for the children in rural areas. It was because the rural population accounted for 80% of the total population of China whose basic training of citizenship was crucial for China to move forward from the stage of political tutelage (Xunzheng 訓政) to the stage of constitutional rule (Xianzheng 憲政). Therefore, he suggested the Scout program should be introduced to rural areas and scoutmasters should be recruited to teach the Scout program to rural children.⁷³

⁷¹Yun Wenxiang 雲文祥, "Zenyang shi tongzijun xunlian minzhong hua. 怎樣使童子軍訓練民眾化" (How to make the Scout training to be popularized), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 7 (December 1929): 31-35.

⁷²Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Sanminzhuyi hua tongzijun xunlian zhi lilun 三民主義化童子軍訓育之理論" (The theory of character education of the Scouts adhere to the Three People's Principles), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 8 (October 1934): 25-26.

⁷³Ping Wenyaoy 馮文堯, "Tichang xiangcun tongzijun jiaoyu 提倡鄉村童子軍教育" (Advocating the rural Scout education), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 12 (May 1930): 29-30.

To the KMT, the aims of practicing the Scout education in rural areas were different from those in cities. An author explained the reasons for the urgency to promote the Scout training in the village in *Chinese Scout Headquarters Monthly*, that due to the great influence of adults in the family and in neighborhoods on the mindset and behavior of rural children before they attended school, it was particularly difficult to influence the children through school education. Besides, the author thought that being deeply influenced by the culture of traditional society, villagers tended to lack cohesion and discipline. Therefore, he suggested that Scout education in rural areas should be provided for both children in school and in society. Moreover, rural areas were near to Nature and farmers always had the spirit of working hard. These were the advantages of practicing the Scout training in rural areas over the cities. As a result, he encouraged scoutmasters to work in rural areas. He also suggested that promoting the Scout activities “Down to rural areas” and “down to earth” should not be slogans but a real practice.⁷⁴

The opinions of promoting the Scout program in rural areas mentioned above were echoed by Dai Jitao 戴季陶, the head of the Central Training Bureau, in his speech in Guangzhou to scoutmasters in February 1931. He noted the importance of the Scouts, “if this good education system [the Scouts] cannot spread to poor villagers, it is impossible to improve the populace’s mindset in China.”⁷⁵ The KMT considered the Scout training to be a good education method for its social value, that it could enrich the knowledge, morality, physical fitness and cohesion of the masses

⁷⁴Tong Xuanqiao 童暄樵, “Ji xu tuijin xiangcun tongzijun shiye de ji ge zhongyao liyou 亟需推進鄉村童子軍事業的幾個重要理由” (Several important reasons of the urgent needs to expand the rural Scout enterprise), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 19 (February 1931): 31-32.

⁷⁵Zhongyang weiyuan Dai Jitao dui Guangzhou tongzijun fuwuyuan xunhua 中央委員戴季陶對廣州市童子軍服務員訓話,” 25.

in society.⁷⁶ Besides, as Yang Kejing mentioned, one of the main aims of the Scout training was to cultivate children's independent living skills. This was an effective way to cure poverty in rural areas. Moreover, the Scout program could cultivate children's qualities of good citizenship, which would help enhance their ability of local self-governance and prevent bad influence of bandits and corrupt officials in villages.⁷⁷ Therefore, Dai suggested that since most of the rural families were poor, the village Scouts did not necessarily have to follow the standard of the Scout uniforms in the city as required by the Headquarters. However, the training materials and the method of management should follow those of the Scouts in the city.⁷⁸ In other words, the rural children could be able to receive the Scout education without wearing Scout uniforms. This was the first time the Central Training Bureau, which monitored the overall development of the Scout program, publicly announced the need to spread the Scout education to rural areas. This marked a new stage in the scout movement in China.

The shift of emphasis of the Scout development from cities to villages might reflect that the KMT wanted to remedy the unhealthy trend of focusing too much on the urban development in the past and ignored the rural areas where 80% of China's population lived. In explaining the relationship between the village Scouts and local self-governance, Yang mentioned that "children have gang spirit, . . . children have their own world, they integrate with each other, they come together naturally, their

⁷⁶“Zhongguo Guomindang tongzijun lilun ji shishi gang ling 中國國民黨童子軍理論及實施綱領” (The theory and practicing guidelines of the KMT Scouts), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 3 (April 1929): 25-26.

⁷⁷Yang Kejing 楊克敬, “Xiangcun tongzijun yu defang zizhi 鄉村童子軍與地方自治” (The rural Scouts and local self-governance), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 21 (April 1931): 17-18.

⁷⁸Zhongyang weiyuan Dai Jitao dui Guangzhou tongzijun fuwuyuan xunhua 中央委員戴季陶對廣州市童子軍服務員訓話,” 25.

differences in wealth, class, identity, do not affect their integration [as a group].”⁷⁹ Yang judged that the Scout training could refine children’s original skills of integration as a group and became the foundation of local self-governance. Another article on village Scouts stated clearly that rural areas should not copy everything from the city, and criticized that “village schools in China completely imitate everything from the city’s schools, . . . so they cultivate a group of students who have the mindset of despising villages. How dangerous this matter is!” Therefore, the author believed that the Scout training provided suitable education for rural children because many subjects in the Scout program suited the needs of the village life, and therefore could avoid the separation of everyday living from education.⁸⁰

It seems that the KMT and the Scout leaders had different views on rural areas. Some blamed the deficiency of rural society and economy for the backwardness of China while some admired the strength of rural culture and considered it to be superior to the material culture of the city. The former view was the reason for the KMT to spread the Scout training to rural areas while the latter view was just a strategy to attract the scoutmasters who had stayed in the city for a long time to work in the rural area.

For the real practice of starting the Scout education in rural areas, the author of the above article pointed out that since the village school was always the social center in the village, when it started to organize the school Scouts, children outside the school would also join its scout troop. Besides, for the future needs of spreading the Scout activities in rural areas, it had an urgent need to train rural scoutmasters. The author suggested establishing training institutes of rural scoutmasters (Xiangcun

⁷⁹“Xiangcun tongzijun yu defang zizhi 鄉村童子軍與地方自治,”17.

⁸⁰Zheng Haozhang 鄭昊梓, “Tan tan xiangcun tongzijun shiye 談談鄉村童子軍事業” (A talk of the rural Scout enterprise), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 22 (May 1931): 22.

tongzijun jiaolian yang cheng suo 鄉村童子軍教練養成所). The time period of the training should not be less than half a year and only those who had been the Boy Scouts for at least one year could receive the training to become scoutmasters. The author also suggested that rural teacher training schools should include the subject of the Scout training as soon as possible. Due to financial difficulties of rural schools, if one of the teachers in each school could also serve as the scoutmaster, it would be much more convenient for rural schools to practice the Scout program.⁸¹ The extent to which the proposals above were put into practice is unknown. However, a decision was made on the standard of rural Scout uniforms during the meeting held by the Scouts Association of China on 30 May 1935.⁸² It showed that the KMT worked out separate policies for developing the Scouts in cities and rural areas, although the popularity of the Scouts in rural areas is unknown.

Conclusion

To conclude, the KMT's takeover of the Scout affairs in the Nanjing Decade went through two stages. The first stage was from 1928 to 1930, when the First National Review of the Scouts was held. In this stage, the main target of the KMT was to focus its effort on eliminating the so-called imperialist influence and instill the Three People's Principles within the existing Scout organizations, especially those in Shanghai, by registration, regulations, training of the scoutmasters, and disbanding those regiments that opposed its political principles. The Central Training Bureau took the charge in this stage but it failed to get enough cooperation from local party bureaus and education bureaus to achieve the task of unifying the Scout regiments nationwide. Therefore, the Scouts who participated in the first national review did

⁸¹Ibid., 24-25, 28.

⁸²“Xunlian huiyi zhuan hao 訓練會議專號,” 67.

not wear uniforms or badges according to the regulations, and they still did not quite understand the party principles that the KMT had tried hard to instill in them. As a result, in the second stage, from 1930 to 1937, the KMT changed its strategy from tight regulation of the existing Scout regiments to breeding as many new Scout regiments as it could in schools and even in rural areas. With the outbreak of the Manchuria Incident in 1931 and also Chiang's appointment of the Blue Shirts to take charge of the Scout affairs in 1932, the Boy Scouts' development began to follow the trend of militarization in the 1930s, which will be the subject of the next chapter. But the point to be made here is that, when the Chinese Scouts' development was linked to the pressing question of national survival, to increase the number of the Scouts suddenly became an urgent priority for the KMT. Facing the difficulties of a lack of scoutmasters and funding, the only way for the KMT to solve these problems was to make the Scout training compulsory in the school curriculum and as the foundation of military training for senior secondary students. As a result, no matter how unwilling they were, the schools and the Education Bureau were obliged to provide the teachers and the funding needed for the Scout program, which now was made a compulsory subject in the school curriculum. The concerns about the unsuitability of integrating the Scout program into the formal school curriculum were brushed aside, as no one would like to be accused of blocking the efforts to defend the country in the 1930s.

CHAPTER 4

THE MILITARIZATION OF THE BOY SCOUTS

Huang Jinlin's research on the construction of the militarized body in modern China has explained the reasons why the Boy Scouts became one of the tools to construct the militarized body in the Nanjing Decade (1928-1937). He points out that the idea of total war that emerged in the Franco-Prussian War in 1871 had a close relation with the militarization of the whole society, including children in the whole world in the 20th century. The pressure for national survival in future total war made it necessary for the government to interfere in the sphere of children. Since the training of physical and spiritual strength in the Boy Scout program performed the same function of providing preparatory military training, the Boy Scout program easily became the means for the KMT to mobilize the masses for future total war.¹ This chapter apart will first show how the KMT's views of the education in the past led to the militarization of the Boy Scouts in the 1930s. Second, it will show the militarization of the Boy Scouts both in real practice and in the construction of an ideal image of militarized Scouts. Third, it will discuss how the models of Hitler Youth in Nazi Germany and the National Organization of the Balilla in Fascist Italy inspired the KMT to revise the Boy Scout program in order to eliminate the influence of universalism and non-militarization of the international Boy Scout movement on the Chinese Boy Scouts. Finally, it will analyze whether the KMT saw the Boy

¹Huang Jinlin 黃金麟, "Jindai Zhongguo de junshi shenti jiangou, yi ba jiu wu-yi jiu si jiu 近代中國的軍事身體建構, 1895-1949" (The production of the militarized body in China, 1895-1949), *Zhongyang yanjiuyuan jindai shi yanjiusuo ji kan* 中央研究院近代史研究所集刊 (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica), no. 43, (March 2004), 173, 213-214. The meaning of "Total War", as explained by Roger Chickering in his article about the theory of total war is that, total war makes no differences between soldiers and civilians that both are crucial for the victory of the nation in the total war like in the scale of the First World War. Total war required the nation to mobilize all its population in the home front and it ends only when either side in the war has collapsed. See Roger Chickering, "World War I and the Theory of Total War: Reflections on the British and German Cases, 1914-1915," in *Great War, Total War: Combat and Mobilization on the Western Front, 1914-1918*, eds., Roger Chickering and Stig Förster (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 35.

Scouts as a way to train future soldiers or future citizens.

The Militarization of School Education

Before analyzing the militarization of the Boy Scouts, the KMT's views on the Chinese school education in the past will help explain why the Chinese Boy Scouts departed from the non-military tradition of the international Boy Scout movement and took up a militaristic form.

Chinese education did not train children and youth to suit the needs of the KMT. In 1933, He Zhonghan 賀衷寒, the head of the Department of Military Education of Citizen of Director-General Training Bureau (Xunlian zongjian bu guomin junshi jiaoyu chu 訓練總監部國民軍事教育處) spoke to the students, who received summer military training in Nanchang 南昌 in 1933, about the shortcomings of the Chinese education in the past, that "normal school education [Putong Jiaoyu 普通教育] did not think of training soldiers for the nation, so making students gentle in manner. . . . without the spirit of struggling. . . . Nowadays we need to equip everyone with not only the academic knowledge [wen 文] but also the knowledge of martial arts [wu 武]. Only by doing so can you be a complete national citizen and an adult in the 20th century's nation."² He Zhonghan also pointed out that school education taught students to be inquisitive; students in school can question whether they need to obey school rules. However, military education is totally different, it demands determination. "For example, [military officer] teach you to obey discipline, you have to obey discipline, do not ask [them] why you need to obey discipline . . . if the army does not have determination it will not achieve success. For success [in war], [military training] teaches us not to have doubts, we

²He Zhonghan 賀衷寒, "Guomin junshi jiaoyu de tezhi 國民軍事教育的特質" (The characteristics of military education of citizens), *Qiantu* 前途 (The future), v.1, no.10 (October 1933): 1-3.

cannot have doubts.”³ He was the second secretary of the Blue Shirts who was responsible for the Scout affairs. Although his speech was made to students rather than particularly to the Boy Scouts, it still reflected the Blue Shirts’ consideration of the Boy Scout program, which was supposed to supplement the shortcomings of the school education and not to repeat the same mistake of ignoring military training.

Therefore, the KMT criticized the fact that military education was separate from school education before its establishment of the central government in Nanjing in 1928. At the Central Military Academy in October 1929, Dai Jitao said that the Education Bureau was only responsible for education while military education was not within its control. Therefore, he admired the education in Japan and Germany, where military education was closely connected with civic education. He recalled his experience of traveling on a ship two to three years earlier, that the height of all the forty Japanese passengers was alike, all of them had a strong body, spirit, and were courteous. The fifty Chinese passengers, however, varied in height and spirit. Some of them were in the state of lethargy, and some were energetic. Dai judged that the standardization in spirit and behavior of the Japanese was the result of a close relationship between military education and civic education. He believed military education could cure the lack of physical strength and team spirit of ordinary Chinese. Therefore, Dai said that his “hope is not that military education can produce good soldiers, but that it can produce good citizens.”⁴ Besides, Dai said the separation of military and civic education could cause soldiers not to regard themselves as citizens and they might become bandits after retiring from the army. As a result, civic

³Ibid., 3.

⁴Dai Jitao 戴季陶, “Guomin jiaoyu yu junshi jiaoyu jiang ci 國民教育與軍事教育講詞” (The speeches of civic education and military education), October 1929, in *Dai Jitao xiansheng wen cun* 戴季陶先生文存 (Collected works of Mr. Dai Jitao), vol.2, (Taipei: Zhongguo Guomindang zhongyang weiyuanhui, 1959): 719-720, 724-725.

education could teach soldiers revolutionary spirit to work for the nation while military education could teach ordinary Chinese the standardized daily life and behavior of soldiers.⁵

Dai's suggestion of combining military and civic education was in fact not a new idea. On February 1912, soon after the establishment of the Republic of China, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, the head of the Education Bureau of the Nanjing provisional government in 1912, wrote about the guiding principles of education for the nation in an article entitled "Opinions regarding new education". It already mentioned that "military-citizen education" (Junguomin jiaoyu 軍國民教育), whose task was to militarize all citizens in the nation, should be adopted for national self-defense against strong neighbors, the recovery of national sovereignty by military force, and prevention of soldiers from becoming a privileged class after the 1911 revolution.⁶

From 1912 until the end of the First World War in 1918, the Chinese Boy Scouts were always linked with the military-citizen education. An author wrote in *Chinese Educational Review* in 1915 that although the aim of the Boy Scouts in school was not to cultivate soldiers, scouting, mutual aid, and camping taught in the Scout education was the same as those taught in the army. Therefore, the author suggested that the present Boy Scouts might become honorable and patriotic soldiers in the future.⁷ In fact, in the 1910s, the educationalists reached a consensus about the need to emphasize military training in school. Since the Education Bureau had

⁵Ibid., 722, 727.

⁶Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, "Duiyu xin jiaoyu zhi yijian 對於新教育之意見" (Opinions regarding new education), 11 February 1912, in *Cai Yuanpei wenji, jiaoyu (shang)* 蔡元培文集, 教育(上) (Collected literary works of Cai Yuanpei), vol. 2, eds., He Lili 何莉莉 and Wu Meidong 吳梅東 (Taipei: Jinxu chubun gongsi, 1995), 78.

⁷Gu Fengzhen 賈豐臻, "Tongzijun yu jiaoyu zhuyi 童子軍與教育主義" (Boy Scouts and ideology of education), *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 8, no.10 (October 1915): 153.

already ordered the military-citizen education as one of the principles of education, the Joint National Association of Education (Quan guo jiaoyu hui lianhe hui 全國教育會聯合會) passed a resolution on military-citizen education in 1916, which stated that education for primary students should include the game of war-combating, while secondary students needed to learn military drill and learn shooting during their last academic year. Besides, all senior primary students and above needed to wear uniform and all management in schools needed to follow the regulations of a military academy.⁸ The practice of military education was not an invention by the association as there were many student armies (Xuesheng jun 學生軍) established during the 1911 Revolution who tried to join revolutionary armies to fight against Beiyang armies. With such a tradition of establishing armies by students themselves, it was not surprising why the Baden-Powell's Boy Scout program, which upheld a non-military principle, was added with the principle of military-citizen education after it was introduced to China, especially those under Chinese control. As shown in the Boy Scout curriculum, subjects such as the history of national humiliation, military marching, and the skills of garrisoning, which aimed at promoting nationalism and military training, ran counter to the non-political and non-military traditions of the Boy Scouts in Britain.⁹

However, military drills in school were abolished after the German defeat in the First World War and the call for peace won the upper hand over militarism.

⁸“Jiaoyu hui lianhe hui biao jue zhi yian (si) 教育會聯合會表決之議案(四)” (The bills passed by the Joint National Association of Education (four)), *Shenbao* 申報, 13 May 1915, 3.

⁹“Jiangsu sheng li di san shifan fushu xiaoxue zuzhi tongzhi yi yong dui xuanyan 江蘇省立第三師範附屬小學組織童子義勇隊宣言” (The oath of establishing of Boy Scout regiment in No. 3 Jiangsu Provincial Teaching Training Affiliated Primary School), *Jiaoyu zazhi* 教育雜誌 (Chinese educational review) 7, no.9 (September 1915): 31-32. The Boy Scout regiment in No. 3 Jiangsu Provincial Teaching Training Affiliated Primary School was the first Boy Scout Regiment established in the Jiangsu Province, see “Bu sheng zhuyi tongzijun 部省注意童子軍” (The Education Bureau of Jiangsu Province pay attention to the Boy Scouts), *Shenbao* 申報, 27 June 1917, 10.

Military education was again emphasized after some Chinese workers and students in the demonstration were killed by British soldiers in the May Thirtieth Incident in Shanghai in 1925. With the severe threat of imperialism, in October 1925, the National Joint Association of Educational Organizations (Quanguo jiaoyu hui lianhe hui 全國教育會聯合會) passed a resolution to advocate military education in school. It aimed against warlords and imperialists, to cultivate discipline and physical strength in youth, and to prepare for the implementation of a voluntary militia in the future.¹⁰

With the withdrawal of Japanese troops from Jinan 濟南 in Shandong province in March 1929 after more than a year's occupation since the KMT's Northern Expedition in 1928, and the incorporation of many old warlords into the KMT system after 1928, the needs of defending against further aggression from Japan and preventing unlawful behaviors of soldiers in society became much more urgent and serious than in 1912. Besides, the military threat of the Communists became more severe in the 1930s. Therefore, a much more comprehensive military-citizen education was needed and the Boy Scouts became the bridge to link military education and civic education. Therefore, Dai Jitao 戴季陶, the head of the Central Training Bureau, and He Yingqin 何應欽, the commander of the Chinese Scout Headquarters, proposed to the KMT central executive committee on 6 March 1932, that they separate the Headquarters, which had been completely run by non-military personnel, from the committee. The organization would then be reorganized as the Scouts Association of China, which would be run by the graduates of Whampoa

¹⁰Bai gang 百剛, "Jindai Zhongguo jiaoyu zongzhi zhi fenxi 近代中國教育宗旨之分析" (The analysis of the education principles of modern China), *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance monthly), 2, no.7 (March 1934): 9-10. *Fuxing yuekan* was founded by Huang Fu 黃郛 in 1932. Huang was one of the leaders of the Political Study Clique, a former foreign minister in 1928 and close advisor to Chiang Kai-shek.

Military Academy, in order to emphasize military training in the Boy Scouts. The reorganization aimed at preparing the youth, which accounted for one-third of the Chinese population, for military life, and with the necessary military skills, they could fulfill the tasks of fighting against the Communist threat and Japanese invasion in the future.¹¹

The Shortcomings of School Education regarding the Youth's Problems

In an article in the *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance monthly) in January 1933 about the revival of education, Bai Gang 百剛 wrote that for the KMT, education was a tool to achieve the ultimate aim of saving the nation. However, school education at that time failed to produce capable students to achieve this aim, that is, the students did not have the discipline and productivity that the KMT expected them to possess. Therefore, the author thought that the schools were responsible for the failure of character education (Xunyu 訓育) to reform the students. He argued that the discipline in both primary schools and universities was chaotic. He defined education (Jiaoyu 教育) as follows: “‘jiao 教’ is to teach children the knowledge to become a rightful person, and ‘yu 育’ is to cultivate the behavior necessary to be a rightful person.” To him, the present graduates of secondary school could not shoulder the responsibility for the revival of China as they failed to accomplish such simple tasks as wearing their hats well, buttoning up dresses, and making proper forms of address to the elderly. Therefore, he admired the method of incorporating school education with education of discipline in secondary schools that had been introduced by the education bureaus in Jiangsu and Zhejiang

¹¹Gan Guoxun 干國勳, *Sanminzhuyi lixingshe yu minzu fuxing yundong* 三民主義力行社與民族復興運動 (The Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People and the movement of national revival) (Taipei: s.n., 1986), 70-71.

provinces.¹² This highlighted the focus of the KMT's education policy to cultivate children, or future citizens, with correct behaviors. Cultivating good behaviors and manners in a child's everyday life was considered to be much more important than teaching them academic knowledge.

The emphasis of cultivating the productivity of children in school was also not a new idea. Cai Yuanpei wrote in 1912 that since financial power is half of the foundation of military power, therefore, apart from a military-citizen education, utilitarian education (Shili zhuyi zhi jiaoyu 實利主義之教育) should also be an integral part of national education.¹³ Therefore, it was not surprising why Bai Gang 百剛 wrote in 1933 that another way to revive education was to change a school from a consumer to a producer. Schools would become factories, students become workers, and teachers become technicians. He criticized the school education in the past for producing unproductive "young masters" or "young ladies" who separated themselves from the masses and did not have the spirit of hard work. They stopped producing once they started to receive school education. If this type of education continued, China would perish in 10 years even without imperialist invasion. Therefore, he suggested that schools should provide production education (Shenchan jiaoyu 生產教育). Real production education, he explained, was not to teach the knowledge of agriculture or commerce in the form of books. Instead, students should work with workers, farmers, and the masses in production.¹⁴ What production education suggested was to turn students into Chinese citizens with the ability to contribute to China's economy. The students would be like workers and farmers who

¹²Bai gang 百剛, "Jiaoyi zhi fuxing 教育之復興" (The revival of education), *Fuxing yuekan 復興月刊* (Renaissance monthly), 1, no.5 (January 1933): 10, 13-14.

¹³Cai, 78-79.

¹⁴"Jiaoyi zhi fuxing 教育之復興," 15-18.

had the same spirit of hard-work in production. In other words, after receiving production education, students should not possess a sense of class-consciousness, but should identify themselves as members of the nation who were ready to contribute to the country's revival.

Hence, the KMT's aim of education was to cultivate the children to have absolute obedience. Besides, all children in school should be alike, that is, they should possess the same quality of diligence in production and strict manners in everyday life. Since the Scout training was independent from the formal school curriculum before 1934, the KMT decided to integrate it into the school education so as to instill in students the qualities that were believed to be conducive to the forging of a strong nation.

The Militarization of the Boy Scouts

Starting from 1931, there was an obvious tendency that the Boy Scouts began to follow the style of the army's discipline and obedience. Failure to be punctual would be seen as a violation against discipline. Feng Ti 豐悌, the chief secretary of the First National Scout Directorate (Zhongguo tongzijun di yi jie quanguo lishihui 中國童子軍第一屆全國理事會), praised the Boy Scouts of Zhenjiang 鎮江 in Jiangsu province on 19 April 1935 when seeing that every Boy Scout came on time for an emergency assembly held at 3 p.m. Feng described this as really rare because it was very difficult for Chinese people, including Chinese soldiers, to be punctual.¹⁵ In fact, starting from the late Qing period, new schools based on the Western model

¹⁵Feng Ti 豐悌, "Tongzijun de zeren yu yingyou de nuli 童子軍的責任與應有的努力" (The Scouts' responsibility and the effort should be possessed), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.7-8 (May 1935): 32-33. Feng Di was the fourth secretary of the Blue Shirts.

already gradually used a detailed hourly system to schedule students' everyday life.¹⁶ The introduction of the hourly system to the Boy Scouts activities just followed this trend. We can see in an article written by Lin Huanwen 林煥文, a boy scout in Guangzhou No.26 Primary School, about his Boy Scout regiment's celebration of the new year of 1931. In the article, he recorded accurately the time of the activities, that the wildfire camp ended at 11 p.m., and he and his partners had the duty of guarding the camp until 1 a.m. Then they went to sleep and were waken up by the whistle of scoutmaster Liang and were ordered to celebrate the New Year and he realized the time was 6:10 a.m.¹⁷ This example suggested that the introduction of the timekeeping habit to the Boy Scout activities was an important way to cultivate discipline in Boy Scouts.

Another clue of the militarization of the Boy Scouts was that the camping activities of the Boy Scouts, as written by Lin Huanwen, followed the style of the army with detailed regulations for everyday duties of every participating unit. For example, in Lin's Boy Scout camping, the Everyday Life Bureau (Shenghuo bu 生活部) was responsible for the regulations of scouting for every Boy Scout regiment, while the Security Bureau (Gongan bu 公安部) was responsible for coordinating the schedule for guarding the camp at night. For Lin's case, his regiment was responsible for guarding the camp from 11 p.m. to 1 p.m. and then the regiment led by

¹⁶Huang Jinlin 黃金麟, *Lishi, shenti, guojia : jindai Zhongguo de shenti xingcheng, yi ba jiu wu-yi jiu san qi* 歷史, 身體, 國家: 近代中國的身體形成, 1895-1937 (History, body, nation: The construction of Modern Chinese body, 1895-1937) (Taipei: Lian jing chuban shiye gongsi, 2001), 222-226.

¹⁷Lin Huanwen 林煥文, "Canjia er shi nian yuandan Guangzhou tongzijun da huodong riji 參加二十年元旦廣州童子軍大活動日記" (The dairy of participating the grand event of Guangzhou Boy Scouts in the new year's day of 1931). *Zhongguo tongzijun* 中國童子軍 (Chinese Scouts), no.16 (February 1931): 79-81.

Scoutmaster Liang would start their shift.¹⁸ Apart from military management of camping of the Boy Scouts, the Boy Scouts in Lin's camp would perform military training in the countryside (Yezhan 野戰).¹⁹ Lin's record in 1931 was the first in the Chinese Scout publications to show that the Boy Scouts' everyday life followed the regulations and organizations similar to those of the army. Moreover, the Boy Scouts' equipment with short light guns in the violent conflict that broke out during the First National Review of the Scouts in 1930, as discussed in the previous chapter, might also suggest a high level of militarization of the Chinese Boy Scouts at that time. Although we do not know how militarized the Boy Scouts were, or how professional their military training was, we can still see the KMT's intention of making the Chinese youth to follow the disciplinary life of the army.

Discipline

In order to make the Boy Scouts much more like the army, strengthening their discipline became the main task of the Boy Scout organizers. The violent conflict caused by the failure to follow the regulation of the camp raid game (Tou ying 偷營) in the First National Review of the Scouts in 1930 was a challenge to the KMT's call for improving the Boy Scouts' discipline. Therefore, a Boy Scout organizer named Zhang Xiaoliang 張效良 suggested some regulations for this game, that those Boy Scouts who did not know the aims of the game, that is, to train their skills of finding directions at night and hiding, should be forbidden to participate in the game. Besides, he stated that playing pranks on the rival Boy Scouts who were caught in the game, like pouring water into their sleeves or painting their faces dark, should be

¹⁸Ibid., 80.

¹⁹Ibid., 86.

forbidden.²⁰ As late as 1935, the Scouts Association of China ordered all the Boy Scouts provincial and municipal committees to follow the newly issued “Regulation of the Chinese Boy Scouts in Camp Raid Game” (Zhongguo tongzijun xi ying guize 中國童子軍襲營規則) and “The Method of Punishing those Breaking the Rule of the Chinese Boy Scouts’ Camp Raid Game” (Zhongguo tongzijun xi ying youxi fangui chengfa banfu 中國童子軍襲營遊戲犯規懲罰辦法). The most serious punishment could be the loss of one’s qualification as a Boy Scout or a scoutmaster if he or she broke the rule like fighting with each other.²¹

The emphasis of discipline sometimes meant sacrificing one’s life if necessary. Feng Ti 鄧梯, the chief secretary of the first National Scout Directorate, said on 19 November 1934 to the participants of the first memorial week of Sun Yat-sen, that in European countries, due to the good habits cultivated by the education system, no matter how many people stayed in a cinema or a public resort, everyone was as disciplined as the army was. “It is bad that even our Chinese army is

²⁰Zhang Xiaoliang 張效良, “Gongxian gei tou ying de xiao pengyou 貢獻給偷營的小朋友” (Gift to the children who participate the game of raiding camp), *Zhongguo tongzijun* 中國童子軍 (Chinese Scouts), no.21 (July 1931): 10, 13-14. *Tou Ying* 偷營 (camp raid game) was the game played by at least two groups of Boy Scouts in the countryside. One group of Boy Scouts needed to guard their camp at the night, while another group of Boy Scouts needed to use different strategies to steal things from the camp of the former group without being caught. Sometimes some Boy Scouts were forced to play the game without prior notice because they had their camp in the place of other Boy Scouts unknown to them or simply because of the playful psychology of the children. The lack of regulation regarding this game made some Boy Scouts lose sleep and even caused violent conflict between groups of Boy Scouts involved in the game.

²¹“Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui xunling 中國童子軍總會訓令” (The official instruction of the Scouts Association of China), 20 August 1935. *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The Bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.12-13 (October 1935): 12-13; “Zhongguo tongzijun xiying guize 中國童子軍襲營規則” (Regulation of the Chinese Boy Scouts in Camp Raid Game), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The Bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.12-13 (October 1935): 1-2; “Zhongguo tongzijun xi ying youxi fangui chengchu banfu 中國童子軍襲營遊戲犯規懲罰辦法” (The Method of Punishing those Breaking the Rule of the Chinese Boy Scouts’ Camp Raid Game), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The Bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.12-13 (October 1935): 2-4.

not as disciplined as they [Europeans] are,” Feng said,²² The Boy Scout training was a new way of educating Chinese youth to learn from the Europeans. At the same time, Chinese youth, especially the Boy Scouts, had a high possibility of performing some back-end jobs of the army in a future war with Japan. Therefore, demanding the Boy Scouts to have a higher level of discipline than the Chinese army was not unrealistic. In a speech to the Boy Scouts of Zhenjiang 鎮江 on 19 April 1935, Feng said, “. . . when we [the Boy Scouts] stand on guard, even if something is going to harm us, or an aircraft and bombs are to attack us, we still cannot move. This spirit is to show how strict our army discipline is.”²³ What Feng seems to suggest is, if there was a need to sacrifice one’s life to uphold discipline, then the Boy Scouts should sacrifice their life to do so. This logic was the same as the logic of demanding regular soldiers to sacrifice their lives for their nation. It was not surprising why the Boy Scouts were criticized for training children as soldiers at that time.

The Roles of the Boy Scouts during Japanese Invasion before 1937

The beginning of the Japanese invasion of Northeastern China in 1931 changed the focus of the KMT’s training in all fields, including the Boy Scouts. Jiang Wushi 蔣無識, who was from the sixth batch of Whampoa’s graduate, explained the “special training” (Feichang xunlian 非常訓練) of the Boy Scouts as “the indoctrination of nationalism (Minzu yishi 民族意識) and the training of military skills.” What he meant by military skills was that, behind the front lines, the Boy Scouts could help out the military, mobilize the people and maintain traffic order; in the battlefield, the Boy Scouts could be responsible for scouting, first-aid,

²²Feng Ti 豐悌, “Zenyang lai ti Zhongguo tongzijun fuwu 怎樣來替中國童子軍服務” (How to serve the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The Bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.1 (January 1935): 29.

²³“Tongzijun de zeren yu yingyou de nuli 童子軍的責任與應有的努力,” 33.

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²²Feng Ti 豐悌, “Zenyang lai ti Zhongguo tongzijun fuwu 怎樣來替中國童子軍服務” (How to serve the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The Bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.1 (January 1935): 29.

²³“Tongzijun de zeren yu yingyou de nuli 童子軍的責任與應有的努力,” 33.

communication, transport and so on.²⁴ In order to equip the Boy Scouts with enough knowledge and skills to perform these tasks well, the Scouts Association of China prepared “The Training Materials for Service in Battlefield” (Zhandi fuwu xunlian jiaocai 戰地服務訓練教材) in 1935. Based on the Japanese example in Tokyo, the training materials covered the skills of sheltering from air strikes, fire-fighting, mobilizing and organizing the public, keeping public order and transport operations in rear-areas during the war.²⁵

Apart from the roles of working behind the front-lines, it seems that KMT had the intention to let the Boy Scouts fight against the Japanese in the battlefield. The Boy Scouts’ public cheering (Huanhu 歡呼) included slogans against Japanese invasion, “Sha jin wo nu, wei wo Zhonghua tongzijun 殺盡倭奴，惟我中華童子軍” (Killing all Japanese slaves, only we Chinese Boy Scouts); “Lingxiu hu: Dajia zhunbei qilai! Quanti ying: Da dao Riben diguo zhuyi 領袖呼：大家準備起來！全體應：打倒日本帝國主義” (Leader shouts: Everybody be prepared! Everybody reply: Down with Japanese Imperialism).²⁶ These slogans suggest that the Chinese Boy Scouts should be prepared to kill Japanese invaders in the future war.

²⁴Jiang Wushi 蔣無識, “Zhonghua minzu zhi feichang shi yu Zhongguo tongzijun zhi feichang xunlian 中華民族之非常時與中國童子軍之非常訓練” (The emergency period of the Chinese people and the special training of the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no.4-5 (July 1934): 21-22, 24.

²⁵“Zhandi fuwu xunlian jiaocai: fang bi feiji 戰地服務訓練教材：防避飛機” (Training materials of wartime service: Sheltering from aircraft), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.3 (February 1935): 16-24; “Zhandi fuwu xunlian jiaocai: jiuhe 戰地服務訓練教材：救火” (Training materials of wartime service: fire fighting), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.5 (March 1935): 27-39; “Zhandi fuwu xunlian jiaocai: zhidao minzhong 戰地服務訓練教材：指導民眾” (Training materials of wartime service: Guiding the masses), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no.6 (March 1935): 10-22.

²⁶Gao Jiaxian 高嘉賢, “Huan hu 歡呼” (Cheering), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no.6-7 (September 1934): 117-118.

Apart from public cheering, the spirit of fighting was also promoted in the Boy Scout program. For example, Yang Pinji 楊品吉, a member of the Nanjing Scout Directorate, devised a war dance with five parts to train the Boy Scouts with the scouting skills to defend against enemies or wild animals. In the third part of this war dance, all Boy Scouts form a circle while the captain of the Boy Scout patrol, who stands at the center, begins to attack the enemy with all his strength without hurry or bustle. The war dance ends with the enemy being killed.²⁷ The camp raid game could fulfill children's desire of playing pranks, and guarding the camp could also satisfy children's psychological needs for taking pride in their duty. However, the war dance, which included the scene of killing the enemy, and was watched by all the Boy Scouts around, would have great psychological impact on children. With repeated performance of the war dance, the Boy Scouts might get accustomed to violence and killing, and would become psychologically prepared to kill enemies without any feeling of mercy, like real soldiers.

The special training, public cheering, and Yang's war dance for the Boy Scouts physically and psychologically prepared the Boy Scouts to become soldiers to fight against the Japanese in future. However, in real practice, before 1937, the KMT just mobilized the Boy Scouts to join fund-raising campaign and anti-Japanese demonstrations. When Northeastern China was in turmoil following the Japanese invasion after the Manchuria Incident in 1931, one of the Boy Scouts from Nanjing No. 8 Boy Scout Regiment called Li Duo 李鐸 wrote to the preparation committee that he would like to donate ten cents to help buy "No.1 Chinese Scouts' Airplane" for the Chinese air force. He thought if every Scout followed his example, the Scouts could then donate the first plane in months. The director of the Preparation

²⁷Yang Pinji 楊品吉, "Zhanzheng wudao 戰爭舞蹈" (War dance), *Zhongguo tongz jun* 中國童子軍 (Chinese Boy Scouts), no.21 (July 1931): 93-94, 96.

Committee for the Scouts Association of China, Dai Jitao 戴季陶 appreciated Li's behavior and decided to discuss in the second meeting of the committee the way of making donation to the Chinese air force.²⁸ In fact, the KMT was also aware of the technological unpreparedness of the Chinese air force, therefore, the Preparation Committee devised 10 methods for the Chinese Scouts to donate an aircraft: each Scout, scoutmaster and Scout regiment should donate at least two copper coins, one dollar, and two dollars respectively within the period from 1 March to 31 August. The committee set its donation target at 100,000 dollars and ordered all Scout directorates and regiments to make donation accordingly.²⁹

The call for donation was echoed by the Shanghai Scout Directorate, which joined with the Association of China's Aircraft (*Zhongguo hangkong xiehui* 中國航空協會) to mobilize all Boy Scouts to solicit donations from the public in Shanghai. The Boy Scouts solicited wealthy people to buy flags with the words "One is not patriotic if one does not join the association [of China's Aircraft] or does not make donations".³⁰ In addition, anti-Japanese demonstrations became everyday activities in the Boy Scout program. For example, the executive committee of Wunan

²⁸"Quanguo tongzijun juan gou feiji 全國童子軍捐購飛機" (Boy Scouts nationwide make donation to buy aircraft), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 1 (March 1933): 12-13.

²⁹Dai Chuanxian 戴傳賢, "Gonghan ge sheng shi dang bu zhixing weiyuanhui tongzijun lishihui wei han ji tongzijun juan zi gou ji banfa qi chi zhu zun ban you 公函各省市黨部執行委員會童子軍理事會為函寄童子軍捐資購機辦法請飭屬遵辦由" (The official letter to the Boy Scouts Directorates of executive committees of all provincial and municipal party bureau to send letters to their subordinates about the reason of executing the method of donating aircraft by the Chinese Scouts), 20 February 1933, in *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 1 (March 1933): 9-11.

³⁰"Zheng mu hangkong jiuguo jijin 徵募航空救國基金" (Fund raising for national aircraft salvation fund), *Zhongguo tongzi jun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 4, (May 1933): 19.

provincial party bureau gathered 2,000 Boy Scouts from all schools in the province for an anti-Japanese demonstration on 4 May 1933 before going camping.³¹ Both the fund-raising campaign and anti-Japanese demonstration showed that the roles of the Boy Scouts during the Japanese invasion were well defined and planned by the KMT authorities. The Boy Scouts themselves did not have the right to choose the way they contributed to the war effort. Based on its ideology of political tutelage, the KMT believed that the party had the responsibility to guide the youth who would be the future citizens. It was not surprising why the KMT had so many detailed regulations about the Boy Scouts' roles in the war against Japanese invasion. Therefore, the Boy Scouts' case was different from Robert Culp's case study on the secondary school students in lower Yangzi region. Although the students in Culp's study and the Boy Scouts in this study both needed to receive military training in the 1930s, the students in Culp's study could criticize the policies of the KMT in the New Life Movement or the Japanese invasion in student journals and student self-government associations.³² The Boy Scouts, however, did not have these mechanisms to challenge the KMT's authority. It seems that the Boy Scouts became one of the rare areas of the youth movement over which the KMT had complete control. The KMT could lead them in whatever direction it wanted regardless of the growing trend against the KMT that was evident in the student movements in the 1930s.

The Dramatization of the Scouts as Soldiers

Apart from the detailed regulations to make the Boy Scouts more like soldiers,

³¹“Xiang tongjun fu e luying, bing juxing wu si kang ri youxing yundong 湘童軍赴鄂露營，並舉行五四抗日遊行運動” (The Wunan Boy Scouts go to Wubei province to have camping, at the same time holding anti-Japanese demonstration on 4 May), *Zhongguo tongzi jun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 4, (May 1933): 20.

³²Robert Culp, “Rethinking Governmentality: Training, Cultivation, and Cultural Citizenship in Nationalist China,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 65 (August 2006): 543.

the dramatization of the image of the Scouts as soldiers would have much more appeal to the Boy Scouts. During Japan's invasion of Shanghai in January 1932, four Shanghai Boy Scouts, Bao Zhenwu 鮑振武, Mao Zhengxiang 毛徵祥, Luo Yunxiang 羅雲祥, Ying Wenda 應文達 were killed when they were providing first aid services to Chinese soldiers on the battlefield. Therefore, an author who wrote about the development of the Chinese Boy Scouts commented that with this sacrifice "the aim of the Chinese Boy Scouts was finally accomplished in the storm of shots and shells."³³

Yang Kejing 楊克敬, one of the section chiefs of the Chinese Scout Headquarters, presented the funeral scrolls written by Dai Jitao 戴季陶 in the funeral of the four Boy Scouts, which read "Fan Ri Luyang kan bing mei, xi feng Wang Qi ke wu shang 反日魯陽堪並美，希風汪錡可無殤." (The Anti-Japanese [Boy Scouts] can compare with Luyang, Hope [they] can follow the spirit of Wang Qi, thus without unfortunate feeling of dying young). The scrolls used the story of Wang Qi in constructing the image of the Boy Scouts as soldiers. Wang Qi, born in state Lu 魯 in Eastern Zhou Dynasty, liked playing soldier as a kid. He always imagined himself killing enemies without thinking about his own safety. When Wang was 18 to 19 years old, Qi 齊 attacked Lu. Wang joined the side of Lu and helped to save lives of many Lu soldiers and forced Qi to withdraw from the war. However, he was killed in the battlefield due to a lack of support from Lu soldiers. Since Wang was under the age of 20, according to Chinese custom, he should be buried according to the burial rites for children. However, Confucius suggested that it was a great honor to sacrifice one's life for the nation, and therefore, Wang Qi should be buried

³³Dun Zi 鈍子, "Zhongguo tongzijun de huigu 中國童子軍的回顧" (The revision of the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no.3 (May 1934): 7.

with the rites for adults.³⁴ This story romanticized and simplified the action of killing enemies on the battlefield, that any individual could join the war without any formal training so long as they had the heart to sacrifice their life for their country. Besides, according to Confucius' judgment, by sacrificing one's life to the nation, children could raise their status to that of an adult. This promise had great appeal to the Boy Scouts, who were between 12 to 18 years old. It made them believe that it was a great honor to die for the nation on the battlefield and that the nation would offer them an honorable funeral.

Apart from the Boy Scouts, the image of the Girl Scouts was also dramatized as one of the important units to fight against the Japanese invasion in the fabricated story of the girl scout Sun Muwen 孫慕文 written by Li Zhang 李璋 in 1934. In the story, Sun's teacher was caught by Japanese soldiers in the Manchuria Incident in 1931. At that time, Sun, a 15 years old girl scout, took the gun owned by her teacher and said, "beloved gun! I need to rely on you to take revenge! As the proverb says: With the rise and fall of the nation, every man has responsibility, if I don't kill the enemy [Japanese soldiers], how can I be worthy of the Republic of China? How can I get pardon from my teacher? How can I be the citizen [of the Republic of China]?"³⁵

Later, Sun used her wisdom to cheat the Japanese guards in the Japanese army's camp and used her courage to shoot a Japanese military officer. All Japanese soldiers were forced to retreat, and she was able to save the life of her teacher and other captives. Therefore, Chinese military officer Jiang Wang 蔣王,

³⁴Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Wei guo junaqu de Wang Qi 爲國捐軀的汪錡" (The Wang Qi who sacrificed for the nation), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no.3 (May 1934): 33-34, 41-42.

³⁵Li Zhang 李璋, "Minzu xiao yingxiong 民族小英雄" (Little nation hero), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 6-7 (September 1934): 130, 133-134, 136.

probably symbolizing Chiang Kai-shek, praised the contribution of Sun in his speech. Jiang said that Sun's assassination of the Japanese military officer forced Japan to sign a peace treaty with China and compensate the loss of China. Sun replied that what she did was simply to fulfill the duty of the scouts, and that "I hope we Scouts, wake up quickly! Striving to kill enemy, to save our weak and old nation from decline, and build up a new foundation to revive the Chinese people!"³⁶ This story was just propagating the idea that the Scouts should be prepared for reviving China. However, the image of Sun Muwen assassinating the Japanese military officer with her gun was more than an abstract notion. Instead, the story suggested Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts could take real military actions, including assassinations, to fight against Japanese invasion. Hence, it is still unclear whether the KMT wanted the Scouts to take a peaceful path to work behind the front lines, or to take a violent and professional role as soldiers to participate in real military defense on the battlefield against Japanese, especially when we compared this story with the regulation of the "special training" of the Boy Scouts suggested by Jiang Wushi.

Inspiration from Nazi Germany

The KMT recognized the need to militarize the Boy Scouts, the question was how to find the best way to militarize the Boy Scouts to fulfill the KMT's urgent need for defending China against the Japanese invasion. The German model was the example the KMT tried to follow. Chen Changqin 陳昌欽 wrote in October 1934 about reforming the military drills for the Boy Scouts. Chen suggested that the Chinese Boy Scouts needed to abandon the old American and British style of military drill promoted by the missionary Boy Scouts. Instead, they should follow the modern German style in the elementary military training of the Boy Scouts and should link

³⁶Ibid., 136-143.

military training to the school curriculum for senior secondary school students. The most important aim of the military training for the Boy Scouts was to prepare them to sacrifice themselves for the nation if the great world war broke out.³⁷ It also provided the foundation for mobilizing all the people to fight against the Japanese and the Communists.³⁸

The Chinese Boy Scouts' adoption of German military drills was not an accident. Germany was the main model for the political, economic, and military modernization of the KMT China in the 1930s. As Danny S. L. Paau has pointed out, the unfair treatment Germany and China suffered in the Treaty of Versailles made China consider Germany to be a country with "real or imagined" similarities with China. In addition, China witnessed with admiration the German rapid remilitarization from 1933 to 1935 in spite of the restriction of the treaty.³⁹ In the treaty of Versailles in 1919, Germany lost significant territories in Europe. Its army was reduced to the scale of only 100,000 men, and was not allowed to build aircrafts and submarines. China, like Germany, was also not respected by the Western powers. Its sovereignty over Qingdao in Shandong province, a former German concession, was transferred to Japan in the treaty. Regardless of the restriction of the Treaty of Versailles, from 1933, Adolf Hitler, the leader of Nazi Party, remilitarized

³⁷Chen Changqin 陳昌欽, "Gaige tongzijun cao fa zhi wo jian 改革童子軍操法之我見" (My opinion of reforming the method of the Scout drill), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 8 (October 1934), 10-12.

³⁸Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Sanminzhuyi hua tongzijun xunlian zhi lilun 三民主義化童子軍訓育之理論" (The theory of character education of Boy Scouts adhere to the Three People's Principles), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 8 (October 1934): 22.

³⁹Danny S.L. Paau, "Survival, Revival and Nationalization of the People: The German Alternative in Republican China," in *Sino-German Relations since 1800: Multidisciplinary Exploration*, eds. Ricardo K. S. Mak and Danny S. L. Paau (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2000), 262. China and Germany had "real" similarities that in both were mistreated in the Treaty of Versailles, however, the KMT's "imagined" similarity of the weak situation for both Germany and China oversimplified the reality that China had a much longer history suffering from the imperialist invasion of Western powers since the First Opium War in 1842. Besides, Germany already had a profound military foundation since its unification in 1871, while China developed its new army based on the German model by Yuan Shikai in 1895.

Germany by building up its armies, aircrafts, and submarines, while Britain and France did not take any military actions to stop him. With a larger number of armies and more territories compared with Germany, the KMT believed it could follow the example of Germany to reassert its national sovereignty. So, it was not surprising why Zheng Hongshu 鄭宏述 greatly admired the revival of Germany in the preface of his translated article “Germany and Europe” (De Yi Zhi yu Ouzhou 德意志與歐洲) in *Renaissance Monthly* in September 1935. He wrote that “The European War is really a great blow to Germany, it is surprising that it does not collapse after such setback! However, its citizens try their best in their abilities, after rest and rehabilitation, they are still strong men, and again compete strongly in the international environment.”⁴⁰

Not surprisingly, Adolf Hitler of Nazi Germany became one of the main models of the KMT in the 1930s. Zhao Yan 趙演 showed great admiration for Hitler in his article published in *Qiantu* 前途, a Blue Shirts journal, in which he stated that “The ideas and actions of Hitler, without one is not our [China’s] model.” Zhao even made a comparison between Hitler and Sun Yat-sen. He quoted the words of Hitler in *Mein Kampf*, arguing that Hitler believed that the aim of Germany in the First World War was to fight for the freedom and independence of Germany. Zhao thought that this was exactly the same as what Sun Yat-sen stated in his last will, that the aim of his 40 years’ revolutionary efforts was to attain the freedom of China.⁴¹ If Sun Yat-sen was the icon and legacy of the KMT, then Hitler became another

⁴⁰“De Yi Zhi yu Ouzhou 德意志與歐洲” (Germany and Europe), trans. Zheng Hongshu 鄭宏述, in *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance monthly) 4, no.1 (September 1935): 1.

⁴¹Zhao Yan 趙演, “Deguo guo shi dang de zhengzhi zhixue—Xi Te Le fendou shi 德國國社黨的政治哲學—希特勒奮鬥史” (The political philosophy of the National Socialist Party: The striving history of Adolf Hitler), *Qiantu* 前途 (The future) 2, no.3 (March 1934): 1.

important icon for the KMT China in the 1930s which intended to adopt the Fascist model.

Regarding educational plans, Hitler thought that the learning of knowledge was secondary to the training of physical strength and cultivation of personality. What personality emphasized should be the qualities of soldiers, that is, obedience, self-discipline, and the spirit of sacrifice. In other words, the aim of education in general is to work for the army while the aim of female education is to cultivate an ideal motherhood.⁴² Germany's emphasis on training good mothers through female education might have inspired the KMT's revision of the Girl Scout program. The KMT published the "bill of the standard of passing the three-level training program of Chinese Girl Scouts" (Zhongguo Nü tongjun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童軍三級訓練合格標準草案) in 1933, which included the skills of taking care of infants in the advanced level of the Girl Scout program.⁴³ The analysis of the gender role of the Girl Scouts will be discussed in the next chapter.

The example of Hitler Youth in Germany in the 1930s inspired the KMT the way of militarizing the Boy Scouts. An author whose pseudonym was Da Ren 達人 suggested in 1935 that China should learn from Italy and Germany to solve the management problem of the Chinese Boy Scouts. In the article, Da Ren contended that "Children from their early age are cultivated with a strong body and the psychology of loving the Fascist country [of Italy] and the National Socialist Party [of Germany]. Both Mussolini and Hitler think that this kind of children is the

⁴²Ibid., 7. Zhao's introduction of Hitler's ideas on education is probably a translation of Hitler's writing of the educational principles of the folkish state in *Mein Kampf*. See Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, trans. Ralph Manheim (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1971), 408.

⁴³"Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案" (The bill of the standard of passing the three-level training program of Chinese Girl Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 7 (June 1933): 7.

foundation of a new nation. Our nation [China] today is in the stage of the Confucian revival, we surely can learn from their ideas, then practices the Boy Scout training to suit our nation's needs." Since children were the foundation of a new China, especially according to the Fascist model, the author suggested that the school life of Chinese children should be the same as the life of the Boy Scouts. In other words, the school should practice a "thorough military management". It meant that the principal should also serve as the regiment commander of the Boy Scouts in the school, while scoutmasters should be appointed by the Scouts Association of China with the principal's recommendation.⁴⁴ Da Ren also wrote that China should follow the Fascist Italian way of providing camping training for the Boy Scouts in the countryside every summer. He thought this could cultivate children's souls, the spirit of cooperation, and the habit of enduring hardship, which was "the new citizen's training of new China".⁴⁵

An essay written by Cen Shilin 岑時霖 on the German Scouts published in *Chinese Scouts Monthly* in September 1934 showed how Hitler took over the Boy Scouts in order to unify the strength of all Germans. Hitler disbanded all the Scout organizations in 1934 and appointed a national youth training bureau to be responsible for the youth activities. Some Scouts were incorporated into Hitler Youth to receive military training from military education specialists. They were also under

⁴⁴Da Ren 達人, "Jiantao gequ yu celi jianglai 檢討過去與策勵將來" (Review the past and spur forward to the future), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, no.2 (February 1935): 35. The Confucian Revival referred to the New Life Movement performed by the Blue Shirts in an attempt to simplify Confucianism for the masses to follow in order to change the selfish and undisciplined behaviors of the masses. The Boy Scouts, as a militarized youth with discipline and morality, became the model in the New Life Movement that taught the proper dressing, behavior and public hygiene of the masses in the streets. See Feng Ti 豐悌, "Yi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tongzijun 一年來之中國童子軍" (The Chinese Scouts in the last one year), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, no.1 (January 1935), 37; About Blue Shirts and New Life Movement, See Lloyd E. Eastman, *The Abortive Revolution: China under Nationalist Rule, 1927-1937* (Cambridge, Mass.: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990), 66-70.

⁴⁵"Jiantao gequ yu celi jianglai 檢討過去與策勵將來," 38.

the direction of S.A. and S. S., the Nazi military organizations. The Hitler Youth not only required its members, whose age ranged from 8 to 16 years, to receive training for the knowledge and skills of the Scouts, it also particularly focused on outdoor drilling and military drilling.⁴⁶

Feng Ti 豐悌, the chief secretary of the first National Scout Directorate, after a study tour on the military education in Europe, made a speech to the Shandong Chinese Scoutmasters Training Class in 1935 about his reflections on the tour. Feng said that in the 20th century, Germany was the country that made the most efforts to advocate the doctrine of the militarization of citizens (Jun guomin zhuyi 軍國主義). It was not right to introduce such a doctrine in modern times, for a nation on the verge of crumbling, however, such a stimulant was necessary. Since Germany adopted this doctrine for their education, their primary students had developed strong physical strength while the Chinese citizens, who did not have such a doctrine, had become the target of foreign invasion. Feng thought this was a very dangerous thing.⁴⁷ Feng even went to Germany for a study tour in 1936.⁴⁸ This shows the importance of the German model for the development of the Chinese Boy Scouts.

In 1934, senior Boy Scout organizer Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘 showed appreciation for the way Hitler incorporated the Scouts with the Hitler Youth. Xu

⁴⁶Cen Shilin 岑時霖, "Deguo tongzitun gaikuang yu qiantu 德國童子軍概況與前途" (Profile of the German Boy Scouts and its future), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 6-7 (September 1934): 20-22.

⁴⁷Feng Ti 豐悌, "Kaocha Ouzhou guomin junshi jiaoyu de ganxiang 考察歐洲國民軍事教育的感想" (The reflection of the survey of the citizen's military education in Europe), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 1, no.9 (June 1935): 30-31.

⁴⁸"Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui xunling ren er zi di liu shi er hao 中國童子軍總會訓令仁二字第六十二號" (The official instruction no. 62 of "Ren" no.2 of Scouts Association of China), January 1936, *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, no.2 (February 1935), 13.

also admired Japan's militarization of the Scouts, where at least two maneuvers were held in Tokyo in 1933 and 1934 with more than 100 thousand Scouts participating. Xu thought both nations did so according to their needs, regardless of the contempt of the international Scouts organizations that their action of militarizing the Scouts violated the non-military approach of the Scout training. As a result, the Chinese Scout Headquarters accepted "The Guideline of Wartime Service Training Plan for Boy Scouts" (Tongzijun zhandi fuwu xunlian fuwu dagang 童子軍戰地服務訓練大綱) in March 1934, which was based on the Boy Scout training methods amended by Gui Yongqing 桂永清, a military specialist who had just returned from Germany. The training guideline included eleven items, including communication, sheltering from air strikes, tanks, toxic gas, mobilizing common people for military defense and so on. This prepared the Boy Scouts to take a leading role behind the front line in keeping public order and sheltering the public during the war. Xu wrote that the Boy Scout training was not the same as the military training for soldiers. However, because of severe national difficulties, the Boy Scouts needed to prepare for the war. Therefore, the non-military approach of the Boy Scouts was abandoned. Chiang Kai-shek, the commander of the Chinese Scouts since 1934, ordered that the guideline become the supplementary course for all the Boy Scouts, and declared the period from 18 April until the end of 1934 as a special training period for the implementation of the guideline.⁴⁹ However, in spite of the KMT's admiration for

⁴⁹Xu Guanyu 徐觀餘, "Zhonghuo tongzijun ying zhunbei zhanshi fuwu 中國童子軍應準備戰時服務" (The Chinese Scouts should prepare wartime service), *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no.6-7 (September 1934): 149-156; "Tongzijun fuwu zhandi xunlian fuwu dagang 童子軍戰地服務訓練大綱" (The guideline of wartime service training plan for the Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 2 (April 1933): 10-12; Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, "Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu tongbao 中國童子軍司令部通報" (The announcement of the Chinese Scout Headquarters), 17 March 1934, in *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation

Hitler Youth, it did not disband the Scouts as what Germany did, because the Scout program was still regarded by the KMT as well serving the needs of militarizing the youth.

Fascist Italian Model

The KMT's emphasis of military education in the 1930s was probably also influenced by the Fascism of Italy. An article about the political achievement of the Fascist Italian leader, Benito Mussolini, was published in *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance Monthly), which stated that Mussolini strongly believed in military power and did not believe justice could produce power. Power should go before justice.⁵⁰ Two months later, another article in the same journal about military training for youth in different nations quoted Mussolini's words, that "today's world is surely not the age of justice triumphing over power. In other words, only when the nation has real military power that it can [they have the power to] talk about justice." Therefore, the author commented that chanting slogans, going on strikes, or holding demonstrations in the hope of saving the nation were "impractical". Only by establishing a real military foundation could China seek justice and revive. Only by practicing military training for the youth could such a foundation be set up. The author also evaluated the Boy Scouts of Britain at that time, saying that training like riding bicycles, driving carriages, shooting and scouting had a very strong sense of military training.⁵¹

Therefore, the Fascist Italian education for youth also served as a model for

Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 2 (April 1933), 14.

⁵⁰William Martin, "Mo Sha Li Ni zhi zhengji 墨沙里尼之政績" (Political achievements of Mussolini), trans. Zhao Shouchang, in *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance monthly) 1, no.5 (January 1933): 23.

⁵¹Zhao Ruheng 趙如珩, "Ge guo qinian junshi xunlian shu yao 各國青年軍事訓練述要" (A short narrative of youth military training in different nations), *Fuxing yuekan* 復興月刊 (Renaissance monthly) 1, no.7 (March 1933), 4.

the Chinese Boy Scouts. *Qiantu* 前途, the Blue Shirts journal, published an article about the National Organization of the Balilla (Guomin Ba Li La shiye 國民巴理拉事業), the Italian form of the Boy Scouts. The article explained how the organization, established by Mussolini on 3 April 1926, recruited male and female children and youth from the age of 8 to 18 as the Black Shirts. It completely adopted the army's organization that every patrol was led by a military officer. The boys received vocational training in the afternoon or at night during school days, and received military training in army barracks every Sunday. Each patrol was assigned a machine gun for the military training. The girls received training in taking care of children, nursing, and vocational training specifically for females.⁵² With limited financial support from the Central Training Bureau as explained in Chapter 3, it was probably not possible for the KMT to equip each Boy Scout regiment with a machine gun, as what Italy did. However, to increase the teaching of military knowledge, as suggested by Jiang Wushi's special training program described above, was the way KMT adopted to militarize the Chinese Boy Scouts.

The journal *Chinese Scouts* (Zhongguo tongzijun 中國童子軍) also published an article introducing the development of Italian Boy Scouts, which quoted Mussolini as saying, "Compare with Fascist university, what gets my attention is the National Organization of Balilla." Due to the importance of youth for Mussolini to construct the ideal Italian society, in 1927, Mussolini ordered all Catholic Boy Scouts to be disbanded. Therefore, the author criticized the Chinese Boy Scouts who were still "poisoned" by the culture of the church and accepted the universalism of Boy Scouts. Finally, he called for all Chinese Boy Scouts to follow the leadership of

⁵²Ma Zongrong 馬宗榮, "Lidali de shehui jiaoyu 意大利的社會教育" (The social education of Italy), *Qiantu* 前途 (The future) 1 no.6 (June 1933): 2-4.

Chiang Kai-shek, “the sole leader of our nation”, to prepare for the imminent Second World War.⁵³

Militarized Education or Militarism?

However, Chiang and the KMT believed that militarized education (Junshi hua jiaoyu 軍事化教育), including the Boy Scout training was not the same as the education of militarism (Junguo zhuyi 軍國主義). What militarized education meant was discipline, organization, spirit, order, and cohesion, and did not aim at making the children look like soldiers. Instead, it just meant to train them with good organization and discipline so that they would follow the tidy and strictly disciplined life of soldiers. Not every student needed to become a soldier in order to become the foundation of the nation.⁵⁴ However, the vocational course for Boy Scouts announced in July 1933 included military training, such as shooting with a real gun in the field.⁵⁵ Military training became more comprehensive in the Boy Scout vocational courses proposed by Zhang Fengchi 張鳳池, a member of the training criteria team (Xunlian huiyi 訓練會議), which included sheltering from air strikes, poison gas, and tanks. The proposal was passed in the meeting held in Nanjing from 28th to 30th May 1935, and the Scouts Association of China was instructed to include these courses in the Boy Scouts program. The proposal required not only the Boy Scouts but also all the Boy Scout regimental commanders and scoutmasters to

⁵³Jun Rui 君銳, “Xiandai Lidali tongzijun gai shu 現代意大利童子軍概述” (A short introduction of modern Italian Boy Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun 中國童子軍* (Chinese Scouts), no. 7 (August 1935), 5, 9.

⁵⁴Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, “Jiuguo de jiaoyu (xu) 救國的教育(續)” (The education of national salvation (continued)), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報* (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 4 (May 1933): 9-13.

⁵⁵“Zhongguo tongzijun zhuanke jecheng biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍專科課程標準草案” (The bill of the standard of the Chinese Scout special arts curriculum) *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubei chu hui bao 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報* (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 9 (July 1933), 4.

receive three months of military training. The proposal was passed and submitted to the Scouts Association of China for assessment and implementation.⁵⁶ According to the “Outline of the Plan of Boy Scouts Staff’s Training Class” published in January 1936, which targeted regimental commanders and scoutmasters, the class was to last for three months. Though there were subjects related to military training, such as the drills of air defense, defense against chemical weapons, organizing transport and building castles, the course was mainly to train participants with the non-military skills of the Boy Scouts. Therefore, the proposed course was not meant to be a purely military training.⁵⁷

We can say that to prepare the Boy Scouts for military defense was the main but not the sole aim of the military training in the Boy Scout program. Yang Kejing 楊克敬 said in a Chinese scoutmaster training class in Tianjin in October 1933, that “Boy Scout training is to prepare [children] to become capable citizen in the future. If he becomes a soldier in the future, then he will be a good soldier, if he is going to do other things, he will also get the things done. . . . Boy Scout training needs to link with military training. In other words, it is a preparation for military-citizen education, rather than a program to produce soldiers immediately.” Boy Scouts, who were children ranging from 12 to 18 years old, were not as professional as regular soldiers in the battlefield. Besides, they were the hope of the nation. So, Yang thought that to let them sacrifice in the battlefield would be a great loss to the

⁵⁶“Xunlian huiyi zhuan hao 訓練會議專號” (The special issue of training meeting), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), 1, no. 10 (July 1935): 15, 18.

⁵⁷“Zhongguo tongzijun ganbu ren yuan xunlian ban jihua dagang 中國童子軍幹部人員訓練班計劃大綱” (The training outline of the training class of the Chinese Scout staff), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, no.2 (February 1935), 1-5; “Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gonghan zhi er zi di qi shi hao 中國童子軍總會公函智二字第七〇號” (The official letter no. 70 of “zhi” no. 2 of Scouts Association of China), January 1936, in *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, no.2 (February 1935): 11-12.

nation.⁵⁸ Therefore, he suggested that the Boy Scouts needed to be spread to rural areas and cooperate with the security teams (Baoan dui 保安隊) formed by farmers. Younger children could join the Boy Scouts while the older boys could join the security teams. When regular armies fought in the battlefield, the security teams in rear-villages could become the reserve force of regular armies while the Boy Scouts could also become reserve force of the security teams. If the Boy Scout organizations spread across society, it would become the base to mobilize all citizens of China for the war.⁵⁹

Conclusion

In conclusion, the emphasis on the role of youth in preparation for contributing to the nation in the future rather than in the present day was one of the main orientations of the KMT's youth policy. An article published in *Qiantu* 前途 explained the negative effect of the May Fourth Movement on youth:

Youth is immature, [they] can be used as tools by one party to attack another party, . . . [it] really does not know that youth is the time of personal growth, is the time of personality's cultivation, . . . for the good and bad of the practical problems in the political, social, and economic aspects, they should not be directly responsible, and cannot be responsible. After the May Fourth Movement, there are many people who advocate 'youth revolution', the result is the failure of education, . . . revolutionary youth in the past become today unemployed loiterer. Whose fault is this?⁶⁰

Believing that education was important in cultivating youth's abilities and personality, the KMT did not want the youth to become either soldiers or party

⁵⁸Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Zhongguo tongzijun xunlian zhi xin luxian 中國童子軍訓練之新路線" (The new road of the training of the Chinese Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubi chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 15 (October 1933): 14-15.

⁵⁹Ibid., 26; Yang Kejing 楊克敬, "Zhongguo tongzijun xunlian zhi xin luxian (xu) 中國童子軍訓練之新路線(續)" (The new road of the training of the Chinese Scouts (continued)), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubi chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 16 (November 1933): 23.

⁶⁰Chen Youshen 陳友生, "Wu si yundong zhi huiyi 五四運動之回憶" (The memory of May Fourth Movement), *Qiantu* 前途 (The future) 1 no.5 (May 1933): 7.

members immediately. It was not surprising why the KMT made use of the Boy Scouts to cultivate its youth's abilities and personality to contribute to the nation in the future. It was because the motto of the Boy Scouts, as adopted by Baden-Powell, was "Be Prepared". As a result, the KMT inherited the British framework of preparing the youth's abilities and personality. However, the ultimate aim of the KMT was different from that of Britain, which emphasized, at least in name, the importance of personal development,. The KMT wanted the Boy Scouts to prepare themselves well to fight for the national survival of China, rather than for individual benefits. Therefore, the militarization of the Boy Scouts in the 1930s became the natural outcome of the pressing issue of national survival. However, due to a lack of funding, the degree of militarization of the Chinese Boy Scouts was incomparable with Germany's Hitler Youth or Italy's National Organization of the Balilla.

CHAPTER 5

CHINESE GIRL SCOUTS

The previous chapter has analyzed why and how the KMT prepared the Boy Scouts to take military roles in rear-areas in the future war. The KMT also dramatized both the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts as soldiers. This chapter will examine whether the KMT wanted the Chinese Girl Scouts during the Nanjing Decade to prepare themselves as active citizens as males or as “wise wives and good mothers” of their husbands and their sons. There are two valuable scholarly articles on the controversy over the gender roles of women in family and society during the late Qing and early Republican periods. This controversy continued for decades and was still faced by the KMT when they devised a new Girl Scout program separate from that of the Boy Scouts. Joan Judge’s article draws on the late Qing textbooks for girls and women to examine whether the Chinese elites saw women as citizens who should enjoy gender equality with males or merely as the mothers of citizens who themselves were not part of the citizenry. Paul Bailey’s article examines the debate in early twentieth century China among officials, intellectuals, and female journals over whether women were active citizens or just efficient housewives. Both studies demonstrate that the elites at that time believed in the crucial role of women in national survival and social stability. Judge argues that there was always a tension between modern nationalism and Confucianism concerning the role women were expected to play in the familial and national spaces, whereas Bailey explains that the role of women as household managers formulated in the late Qing was echoed by the KMT in the 1920s.¹

¹Joan Judge, “Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship,” in *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China*, eds. Merle Goldman, Elizabeth J. Perry (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2002), 23-43; Paul Bailey, “Active Citizen or Efficient Housewife? The Debate over Women’s Education in Early-Twentieth-Century China,” in

As one of the main programs to train future female citizens, the Girl Scout program shows how the KMT dealt with the same dilemma faced by the late Qing elites. This chapter will first discuss the early development of the Chinese Girl Scouts before the Nanjing decade. Second, by comparing the early Girl Scouts curriculum designed by Zhang Weizhen in 1919 and 1920 and the separate Girl Scout curriculum devised by the KMT in 1933, we will see how the Girl Scout program defined the new gender role of Chinese girls and the extent to which real gender equality was achieved. Third, it will examine the discussion about the gender roles of women, women's education and career among Chinese intellectuals in various female journals in the 1930s. This will explain how this discussion affected the specific role of girls in relation to the Girl Scout program.

The Development of the Chinese Girl Scouts before the KMT's Take over

The first Girl Scouts in the world were established in Britain in 1909. When Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the world's first Boy Scouts, hosted the First National Review of the British Boy Scouts in autumn of 1909, he saw many girls in the review wearing the hats and blouses of the Boy Scouts and blue skirts and they also hailed him as their leader. Moved by the girls' determination to become Scouts, Baden-Powell asked his sister, Agnes Baden-Powell, to guide and train those girls who were willing to receive Scout training. In 1912, Robert and Agnes Baden-Powell wrote *How Girls Can Help to Build Up the Empire* as the handbook for Girl Scouts, which introduced some of the Boy Scout activities, such as knotting, first aid, signaling and so on. At the same time, it constructed appropriate feminine behavior and the role of future mothers for the girls. The training and organization of the Girl

Education, Culture, and Identity in Twentieth-century China, eds. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Yongling Lu (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2001), 318-347.

Scouts of other nations were based on this British model.²

As early as 1915, Cangsheng Mingzhi Girls' School (Cangsheng Mingzhi Nüxue 蒼聖明智女學), founded by the Jews in Shanghai, established the Girl Scouts. But this scout troop existed in name only without practicing any real Girl Scout training. The county magistrate rewarded this unsuccessful attempt by presenting the school several memorial flags to celebrate the establishment of the girl scouts. Since many families discouraged girls from participating in outdoor activities, the Chinese Girl Scouts did not make any significant progress until 1919, when Zhang Shaonan 張紹南, a female student returned from Britain, wrote several articles in different newspapers and journals to advocate Girl Scout education. Stimulated by her ideas, Zhang Weizhen 張維楨, a teacher of physical education in the Cangsheng Mingzhi Girls' School, established the first real Girl Scout regiment with about 20 female students and she herself served as the instructor of the regiment. The uniform of this Girl Scout regiment, unlike that of Britain, was made from a sports dress with an additional red belt bearing the words “Zhi 智”(Wisdom), “Ren 仁” (Benevolence), and “Yong 勇” (Courage). However, five weeks after its establishment, due to the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, the girls' school was closed temporarily.³

²Zheng Haozhang 鄭昊樟, “Zhongguo nü tongzijun de yi ye 中國女童子軍史的一頁” (One page of the history of Chinese Girl Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 90; Gai qixin 蓋其新, “Meiguo nü tongzijun gaiyao 美國女童子軍概要” (The profile of the American Girl Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 54; Zhonghuaminguo nü tongjun zonghui 中華民國女童軍總會, *Chu ji zhongxue nü tongjun xunlian* 初級中學女童軍訓練 (The Elementary Girl Scout training of secondary school) (Taipei: Zheng Zhong Shu Ju, 1965), 6; Carolyn Soto, *The Girl Scouts* (New York: Exeter Books, 1987), 7-8. Richard A. Voeltz, “The Antidote to ‘Khaki Fever’? The Expansion of the British Girl Guides during the First World War,” *Journal of Contemporary History* 27, no. 4 (October 1992): 628-629. [On-line journal], available from JSTOR.

³“Zhongguo nü tongzijun de yi ye 中國女童子軍史的一頁,” 90; Liu Chengqing 劉澄清,

Later in the same year, Zhang Shaonan wrote an article in *Beiping Chenbao* 北平晨報 (The Peiping morning post), in which she explained how she was impressed by the British Girl Scouts during her stay in Britain. She noticed the benefits of the Girl Scout training in educating girls during the First World War when their parents were occupied with the war. Britain already had 100,000 Girl Scouts at that time. Many British colonies and even Bosnian refugees in Italy also established their own Girl Scouts. Therefore, she thought that it was necessary for China to organize its own Girl Scouts. In the article, Zhang proposed the oaths, organization, and rules for the Girl Scout program, which were based on the Boy Scouts' model. Besides, she stressed that the Girl Scouts should learn how to live during the war. She suggested appointing senior women with morality in villages as leaders to advocate the benefits of the Girl Scouts and recruit girls in the villages to join the Girl Scouts.⁴

Whether Zhang Shaonan's suggestion was put into real practice is not known. However, her call for organizing the Girl Scouts encouraged Zhang Weizhen to write an article including the oath, laws and the three-level Girl Scouts curriculum in *Zhonghua Tongzijun yuekan* 中華童子軍月刊 (Chinese Boy Scouts' Monthly) in 1919. At the same time, she also proposed establishing the Girl Scouts when she

Zhongguo tongzijun jiaoyu 中國童子軍教育 (Chinese Boy Scouts' education) (Zhangsha: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 1938. Reprint, Hong Kong: Shangwu yinshuguan [The Commercial Press], 2001), 173. The original name of Zhang Weizhen 張維楨 was Zhang Weizhen 張薇貞. Zheng renamed herself when she studied at the University of Shanghai in 1922, as a resistance to the traditional idea of women's chastity. Since Zhang's mother died early, it was a heavy burden for her grandmother to raise Zhang and her brother and sister, so her grandmother did not have a free hand to bind Zhang's feet. When she entered Ai Guo Nüxue 愛國女學 (Patriotic Girls' School) established by Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 in 1913, she could not get accustomed to the Yangzhou-accent of her Chinese teacher, as a result she was able to change to the study of Physical Education, thus had the chance to establish the first Chinese Girl Scouts. See Luo Jiufang 羅久芳, *Luo Jialun yu Zhang Weizhen: wo de fuqin muqin* 羅家倫與張維楨: 我的父親母親 (Luo Jialun and Zhang Weizhen: My father and mother) (Tianjin: Bai hua wen yi chubanshe, 2006), 173-174.

⁴Zhang Shaonan 張紹南, "Shui nü tongzi jun 說女童子軍" (On Girl Scouts), *Beiping chenbao* 北平晨報 (The Peiping morning post), 21 May 1919, 7.

attended the education administrative meeting of Nanjing Provincial No. 1 Female Teacher Training Affiliated Primary School (Nanjing Shengli Di Yi Nüzi Shifan Fushu Xiaoxue 南京省立第一女子師範附屬小學). In 1920, Zhang established the Girl Scout regiment called Yiyong tuan 義勇團 (Righteous courage regiment) in a primary school, whose oath, laws, and curriculum were basically modeled on her article written in *Zhonghua Tongzijun yuekan*, but with significant modifications. China's Women Gymnastics School (Zhongguo Nüzi Ticao Xuexiao 中國女子體操學校) and Patriotic Girls' School (Aiguo Nüxue 愛國女學) in Shanghai also established their own Girl Scouts in 1920. They joined with Suzhou County No.1 Girls' Advanced Primary School (Suzhou Xianli Di Yi Nüzi Gaodeng Xiaoxue Xiao 蘇州縣立第一女子高等小學校) to provide services and perform in the Fifth Far Eastern Championship Games in Shanghai in 1921. People's positive response to their performance was as good as that to the Boy Scouts who performed on the same occasion in 1915. With an increasing reputation, the Girl Scouts started to attract the attention of the organizers of the Boy Scouts.⁵

As a result, from 1922 to 1923, the Commercial Press published three books on Girl Scouts that were written or translated by the Boy Scout organizers. The first one was *Yingguo You Nü Tuan* 英國少女團 (British Brownies), which was translated by Wang Renhou 汪仁候 in April 1922 from the section about brownies from Baden-Powell's work *Girl Guiding*. The second one was *Nü Tongzijun Jiaonian Fa* 女童軍教練法 (The Training Method of Girl Scouts), which was translated by Zhou Qipeng 周起鵬 in December 1922 from Baden-Powell's work *Girl Guiding* with adaptation to China's circumstances. The third one was *Chuji Nü*

⁵"Zhongguo nü tongzijun de yi ye 中國女童子軍史的一頁," 90-94; Liu, 173-174.

Tongzijun 初級女童子軍 (Elementary Girl Scouts), which was also translated and edited by Wang in December 1923 from the British Girl Scouts' materials.⁶ These three books introduced the curriculum, the organization of Brownies, and the elementary curriculum of Girl Scouts. Although these books attempted to introduce the Girl Scout program to China, most of the content was completely copied from Britain without adjustment so that even the part regarding the national flag used the flag of the United Kingdom.⁷ This suggested the lack of attention by Chinese educationalists to the affairs of Girl Scouts in the 1920s. As a result, Chinese Girl Scouts were still under the shadow of Britain without considering taking their own path.

It was not until 1928, when the KMT Scout Headquarters was established, that the uniforms of the Girl Scouts came under regulation and the Headquarters ordered all oaths, laws, organizations and so on be the same as those of the KMT Boy Scouts. According to the existing Chinese Girl Scouts' materials, the Chinese Girl Scout program before the KMT's takeover was mainly shaped by Zhang Weizhen 張維楨 and the three books on the British Girl Scouts published by the Commercial Press.

Gender Roles of Girl Scouts in Zhang Weizhan's program in 1919 and 1920

As discussed above, Zhang Weizhen devised two different Girl Scout programs in her article in *Zhonghua Tongzijun yuekan* in 1919 and the curriculum for

⁶Wang Renhou 汪仁候, "Xu 序" (The preface), in Robert Baden-Powell, *Yingguo you nü tuan* 英國幼女團 (British Brownies), trans. Wang Renhou 汪仁候 (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1922), 2; Zhou Qipeng 周起鵬, "Zi xu 自序" (The preface), in Robert Baden-Powell, *Nü tongzijun jiaoxun fa* 女童軍教練法 (Girl Guiding), trans. and ed., Zhou Qipeng 周起鵬 (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1922), 6-7; Jun Chou 君疇, "Xu 序" (The preface), in *Chuji nü tongzijun* 初級女童子軍 (An introduction to girl scouting), 2d ed., trans. and ed. Wang Renhou 汪仁候 (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1923; reprint, Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1931): 1.

⁷*Chuji nü tongzijun* 初級女童子軍, 48-49. Brownies is the organization of Girl Scouts for the girls from 7 to 10 years old.

Yiyong tuan 義勇團 in 1920. The transformation from the former to the latter reflected Zhang's views about the gender roles of the Chinese Girl Scouts.

For the part of the oath, in the program of 1919, it consisted of three parts: "finish the responsibility of the nationals (Guomin 國民)," "help others anytime and everyplace," and "obey laws of Girl Scouts". However, in the program of 1920, only the second part was kept. In the first one, the words "the responsibility of the nationals" were replaced by "the responsibility of mankind" (Renlei 人類). In the third one, the words "obey the laws of Girl Scouts" were replaced by "Keep my body strong, morality high, ability rich".⁸ Zhang did not explain why the term "national" was changed to the ambiguous term "mankind". However, the content of the Girl Scout curriculum in 1919 and the changes made in 1920 might provide some clues.

Many subjects in both the programs of 1919 and 1920 aimed to train the Girl Scouts to become good housewives and good mothers in the future. Although both the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts needed to learn cooking, the Boy Scouts only needed to cook for themselves while the Girl Scouts needed to cook for at least two people in both 1919 and 1920 intermediate Girl Scout curriculum. In addition, only the Girl Scouts needed to learn simple embroidery in the 1919 program. The 1920 program for the Girl Scouts further reinforced specific female gender roles by adding the subject of nursing (Kanhu 看護) and taking care of infants (Yuying 育嬰) in the intermediate and the advanced curriculum respectively.⁹ These suggested that Zhang advocated the Girl Scouts to take up the traditional roles of housewives and mothers in the family. This explained why the oath in the 1920 program demanded the Girl Scouts to keep their body strong. According to Social Darwinian, which had greatly

⁸"Zhongguo nü tongzijun de yi ye 中國女童子軍史的一頁," 91-93.

⁹Ibid., 91-93.

influenced the Chinese intellectuals since the late Qing period, the healthy body of women was the foundation of producing healthy children. Therefore, the further emphasis of the gender roles of girls in the Girl Scout program in 1920 might suggest why the Chinese Girl Scouts became part of mankind rather than part of the Chinese citizenry: when the girls took the role of “the mothers of future citizens,” which was within the sphere of the family, they simultaneously lost the status as the citizens of China, which was within the sphere of society.

However, as Joan Judge has pointed out in her article on the late Qing textbooks for girls, there were always tensions between the traditional gender role of women as housewives and the new role of women as active citizens. Such tensions can also be found in Zhang’s Girl Scout program. On one hand, Zhang’s Girl Scout program wanted girls to be good wives and good mothers and to stay in the sphere of the family. On the other hand, Zhang wanted girls to take an active role in social or political movements, which required girls to work outside the family. For example, in the advanced curriculum of the 1919 program, the Girl Scouts needed to learn the skills of printing leaflets probably for the purpose of conducting social or political propaganda activities. The 1920 program further reinforced the political role of girls by teaching them the skills of debate, giving speech, and socializing. Zhang’s Girl Scout programs suggested that girls had to learn to do what used to be considered male students’ work, such as expressing political and social opinions in public through speeches, and delivering propaganda leaflets in the street. Apart from a political role, Zhang’s Girl Scout program of 1920 even suggested that the girls take on the same career role as males did. Apart from nursing, which had been widely accepted as a female profession, thanks to Florence Nightingale’s efforts, the advanced curriculum also included the subject of fire fighting, which was

predominantly a male profession for its needs for physical strength.¹⁰ Therefore, Zhang's Girl Scout program demanded the Girl Scouts to be good mothers of future citizens and good housekeepers, but at the same time, it also demanded the girls to fulfill the same political and social roles as male citizens did. Zhang and probably many of her counterparts did not notice the basic gender inequality within the assumption of the gender role of the Girl Scouts. It seemed that they wanted the girls to contribute their power like male citizens in society, but at the same time they demanded that the girls should keep their traditional role in the family. In other words, girls, unlike boys, were not recognized as full Chinese citizens.

Aims of the Chinese Girl Scouts in the Nanjing Decade

By analyzing the articles written by the Girl Scout organizers regarding their expectations for the Chinese Girl Scout training, which were published in the *Chinese Scout Headquarters Monthly*, we can understand what gender roles the KMT wanted the Girl Scouts to take. The issue of the monthly published in August 1930 has a special section on "The Study of Girl Scouts," which emphasized the importance of education for women. The author quoted Sun Yat-sen's speech, that "... China's population is four billion. All of them should receive education . . . although Chinese women amounted to two billion people, their education has always been ignored, . . . so [we] should promote women's education as an important issue. . . . Once education is developed, then there will be hope for both males and females to have equal rights. When females achieve equal rights, then [we] can build up a real republic." The author stated that women's education was important for a female's own well-being, real gender equality, and also the survival of the nation. Since the Girl Scout training aimed at cultivating independent and cooperative

¹⁰Ibid., 92-93.

citizens, it was a very good social education to achieve the goals of women's education. Another rationale behind the articles of the special section was that the Girl Scouts, after receiving the KMT's political teaching, could become the heirs of the Three People's Principles' revolution as the Boy scouts did.¹¹

There were two articles on the Chinese Girl Scout training in the special section. In the article entitled "From the Characteristics of Girl Scouts to Talk about the Necessary Improvements of the Chinese Girl Scouts," the author clearly stated that girl scouts are "mothers of the nationals (Guomin 國民)" in the future. He drew a close connection between the health of girls and the health of future nationals. He contended that without healthy mothers, it was impossible to produce healthy nationals. The author further criticized that although Chinese females achieved an equal status as males, they were still dependent on males because the traditional lady-style (Xiaojie shi 小姐式) Chinese women did not have the knowledge and skills to do productive work, so they became pure consumers in society. Besides, Chinese women always showed worries and pretended to be ill in order to win the favor of men. As a result, the Girl Scout program aimed to change these common defects of women and train them to have a complete and independent spirit as well as a strong body. However, a complete and independent spirit here did not mean to promote political or social activism among women, but to make the girls economically independent from men.¹²

Another article entitled "Private Suggestion on Chinese Girl Scouts'

¹¹Wen Lin 溫麟, "Yin yan 引言" (The introduction), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 36-37.

¹²Wu Yaolin 吳耀麟, "Cong nü tongzijun de tezhi shuo dao Zhongguo nü tongzijun yingyoude gaijin 從女童子軍的特質說到中國女童子軍應有的改進" (From the characteristics of Girl Scouts to the improvement the Chinese Girl Scouts should make), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Boy Scouts Headquarter monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 72-73.

Training” also expressed a similar opinion that girls should achieve economic independence. Through the vocational and production skills taught in the Girl Scout program, the girls could earn their own living and thus lessen the burden on men. The author also pointed out that the practice of the Chinese Girl Scout program was based on the principle of gender equality in law as advocated by the KMT since the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911. Therefore, the author argued that the girls should not adhere to the traditional idea that women should be confined to family affairs, which had made them men’s property. However, the author also suggested that the girl scouts should emphasize the training of household management, such as knitting and cooking, in order to eliminate the bad unproductive habit of modern women. Therefore, the girl scouts’ service should start from the family, then the neighborhood, and finally the society.¹³ Again, like their predecessors, both the authors made the Chinese women take the sole responsibility for the poor qualities of children and the backward economy of China. On the one hand, they wanted women, like men, to contribute their power to build up the economic strength of China. This was justified by the notion of gender equality in choosing their own career in society. But on the other hand, they demanded the girls to focus their training on household management in order to prepare them to become good mothers of future citizens. By comparing the KMT’s separate programs for the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts of 1933, we will know how committed the Girl Scout organizers and the KMT were to the principle of gender equality.

Gender Equality? Chinese Girl Scout Program in 1933 as an Example

In the early years of the KMT’s takeover of the Scout affairs, there were no

¹³Yang Kejing 楊克敬, “Zhongguo nü tongzijun xunlian si yi 中國女童子軍訓練私議” (Private suggestion on the Chinese Girl Scouts training), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 77-79, 81.

differences between Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts in terms of the curriculum and organization, though their uniforms were different.¹⁴ “The Standard of Chinese Girl Scouts’ Three-level Curriculum” (Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji kecheng biao zhun 中國女童子軍三級課程標準), which was published in the *Chinese Scout Headquarters Monthly* in August 1930, was just the same as that of the Boy Scouts. Though the Chinese Scout Headquarters did not issue a separate training standard for the Girl Scouts, the editor of the monthly particularly pointed out that there should be two different training programs for the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, and called on the people who were in charge of the Girl Scout education to make adaptations when using this standard, which was primarily targeted at the Boy Scouts.¹⁵

Since a separate curriculum for the Chinese Girl Scouts was not in place until 1933, in the first five years of the Nanjing Decade from 1928 to 1933, the Scout program did not have any consideration about the gender difference between the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts. As a result, unlike Zhang Weizhen’s program, which had subjects tailor-made for girls, like embroidery and household management, in order to train the girls to become housewives, the Girl Scouts from 1928 to 1933 were in some degree psychosocially and physically masculinized. For example, the Girl

¹⁴Bi Guoling 薛國陵, “Tongxun wenda 通訊問答” (Question and answer session), 19 February 1929, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 4 (May 1929): 115-116; Lu Meiao 盧美嫻, “Tongxun wenda 通訊問答” (Question and answer session), 21 March 1929, in *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 4 (May 1929): 118-119.

¹⁵“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji kecheng biao zhun 中國女童子軍三級課程標準” (The standard of the Chinese Girl Scout three-level curriculum), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 42. All the content of “The Standard of Chinese Girl Scouts’ Three-level Curriculum” was completely the same as “The Standard of Chinese KMT Boy Scout Three-level Curriculum” (Zhongguo Guomindang tongzi jun san ji kecheng biao zhun 中國國民黨童子軍三級課程標準) published in April 1929. The only difference was the standard in 1930 changed the name of scouts from the KMT Scouts (*Dang tongzijun* 黨童子軍) to the Chinese Scouts (*Zhongguo tongzijun* 中國童子軍). See “Zhongguo Guomindang tongzijun san ji kecheng biao zhun 中國國民黨童子軍三級課程標準” (The standard of KMT Boy Scout three-level curriculum), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Boy Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 4 (April 1929): 29-40.

Scouts, like the Boy Scouts, needed to learn political knowledge like the Three People's Principles, the Short History of National Humiliation, the History of the KMT and so on which aimed at cultivating patriotism in the Scouts and raising their awareness about imperialist invasion. Besides, the program also demanded the Girl Scouts to do as well as the Boy Scouts physically. For example, they were required to alternately run and walk one mile within 12 minutes, fell a tree at least 4 inches in diameter with an axe, hike on foot alone for at least 30 miles, and even learn to use a rifle and pistol!¹⁶ These activities were in fact quite physically demanding for most of the Chinese girls who always stayed at home and did not have independent outdoor capabilities as the boys did.

In June 1933, the Preparation Committee for the Chinese Scout Headquarters finally announced two separate three-level curriculum standards for the Boy Scouts and the Girls Scouts, which vividly show how the KMT handled the question of gender equality. In the elementary level (Chu ji xunlian 初級訓練) of the Girl Scout program, the Girl Scouts had to study the same 10 subjects as the Boy Scouts did. For example, they needed to learn the short biography of Sun Yat-sen, the knowledge about the KMT flag and the national flag, knotting, saluting, drilling, signals and badges of Boy Scouts. However, for the history of the scout movement, the Girl Scouts needed to know the origin of the Boy Scouts while the Boy Scouts did not need to study the origin of the Girl Scouts and the development of the Chinese Girl Scouts, which were included in the Girl Scout program. Besides, the Girl Scout program included the subject of Hygiene (Weisheng 衛生), in which the girls were taught the gender differences between females and males, menstruation and inoculation, and how to wash their hair regularly with shampoo. This knowledge was

¹⁶“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji kecheng biao zhun 中國女童子軍三級課程標準,” 42-52.

not only for the benefits of the Girl Scouts themselves, but also prepared them to be good mothers in the future, as they could learn the way to keep their children healthy, and teach their daughters the importance of personal hygiene. Therefore, the advanced level (Gaoji xunlian 高級訓練) of the Girl Scout program included the subject of Babysitting (Baomu 褓母), which taught the Girl Scouts the ways of taking care of infants, such as dressing the baby, nutrition and sleeping patterns of babies, hygiene, prevention and treatment of infant illnesses, and the intellectual development of infants.¹⁷ Therefore, the Girl Scout program in 1933 had a much clearer aim and comprehensive program to train the girls into good mothers in the future.

In the intermediate level (Zhong ji xunlian 中級訓練) of the Girl Scout program, the Girl Scouts were required to study the same 14 subjects as the Boy Scouts did. However, many subjects had different requirements for the Girl Scouts, which probably intended to let the girls have clear career and gender roles. In the subject of First Aid (Jiu hu 救護), both the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts needed to know about blood circulation and be able to use three methods to stop bleeding. Probably due to their physical strength and their better knowledge of chemistry, the Boy Scouts in particular needed to be able to carry the wounded, to practice three ways of sterilization, and to know how to use a triangular bandage. Since the focus of the Girl Scouts was to train them as nurses, therefore, in the intermediate level of First Aid, they had already learnt the content of the advanced level of First Aid for

¹⁷“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun cao an 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案” (The bill of the standard of passing the three-level training program of the Chinese Girl Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collected report of the Preparation Bureau of Scouts Association of China), no. 7 (30 June 1933): 2-3, 7; “Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun cao an 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案” (The bill of the standard of passing the three-level training program of the Chinese Boy Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collected report of the Preparation Bureau of Scouts Association of China), no. 6 (15 June 1933): 2-4.

the Boy Scouts, like the ways of treating fracture, toxication, sunstroke, and practicing artificial respiration. However, unlike the Boy Scouts, they did not need to learn the first aid treatment for internal bleeding and dislocation, which was probably due to the consideration of the girl's lack of arm strength needed to treat such wounds. As a result, in the advanced level of the Girl Scout program, the girls were required to learn the subject of Nursing (Kanhu 看護) instead of First Aid like the Boy Scouts did. In the subject of Nursing, the Girl Scouts needed to know about the arrangement of wards, the replacement of patients' clothing and mattresses, the measuring of patients' body temperature, pulse rate, respiratory rate, and also the knowledge of medication and so on. The teaching of these skills was obviously aimed at training the Girl Scouts to become professional nurses in the future.¹⁸

Apart from training Girl Scouts to become good mothers or professional nurses, another gender role for the Girl Scouts was to become good housewives. In the intermediate level of the Scout program, although both the Girl Scouts and the Boy Scouts needed to learn the subjects of Cooking (Chuishi 炊事), Sewing and Knitting (Fengzhi 縫織), Washing (Xidi 洗滌), the Girl Scout program set a much higher standard than the Boy Scout program did.

In the subject of Cooking, the Boy Scouts only needed to learn how to cook meals for themselves and cook a meat dish and a vegetarian dish, but the Girl Scouts were required to cook two different meat dishes and vegetarian dishes. In addition, considering girls' strengths in paying attention to details, they were taught to set up two types of cooking stoves, the knowledge of food hygiene and the cleaning of cooking utensils during and after cooking. In the subject of Knitting, the Girl Scouts

¹⁸“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 5-6; “Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 5-6.

were required to be able to knit one flag and one wool daily appliance like wool clothes, while the Boy Scouts only needed to know how to make a buttonhole and sew a button! Furthermore, in the advanced level, the Girl Scouts needed to learn the subject of Knitting and Embroidery (Fengxiu 縫繡), which included the knowledge of cutting out clothes and trousers, making shoes, and embroidery. The subjects of Sewing and Knitting, and Knitting and Embroidery showed females' better ability than males in knitting, which required deft fingers. The subject of Washing also reinforced the gender roles of girls and boys. The Boy Scouts only needed to know how to wash their uniforms, while the Girl Scouts were required to learn how to wash cotton, wool, and silk clothes, and the ways of drying and rinsing clothes. This suggested that boys were expected to work in a wide range of professions that required wearing uniforms, so all they needed to know was how to clean their uniforms. The girls, however, were expected to manage household affairs, and therefore they had the responsibility to wash and dry the clothes for all the family members so as to enable the male members to focus on their career. The subject of Housekeeping (Jiazheng 家政) in the advanced level of the Girl Scout program further suggested the important role of girls as good housewives in the family since they needed to know how to make the bed and clean the house, handle the monthly financial budget of the family, cook five different dishes and make one kind of dim sum.¹⁹

Such an emphasis on the training of housekeeping was probably influenced by an article entitled "Private Suggestion on the Chinese Girl Scout Training" written by Yang Kejing in August 1930, which called for enhancing the training of household

¹⁹"Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案," 5-7; "Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案," 5.

management for the Girl Scouts. It was also inspired by the British and the American Girl Scout programs, in which the Girl Scouts could earn special arts badges for the subject of household management in the advanced level curriculum. The subject of Knitting and Embroidery in the KMT's Girl Scout program in 1933, however, originated from Zhang Weizhen's 1919 program.

Apart from defining a much clearer gender role, the new Girl Scouts curriculum standard announced in 1933 had more consideration for the girls' physical and intellectual strengths and their career preference. Considering the weaker physical strength of girls compared to boys, the intermediate level of the Boy Scout program had the subject of Military Walking (Junbu 軍步), which required Boy Scouts to run and walk two kilometers in fifteen minutes. The Girl Scouts were required to take the subject of Calisthenics (Jianshen yundong 健身運動) instead. In this subject, the Girl Scouts also needed to do military walking but with a shorter distance of 1 km in 8 minutes. In addition, they had to learn gymnastics and to do physical exercises like rope skipping, kicking shuttlecock and dance exercise. All these exercises were not too intense and could be done at home. Furthermore, in the advanced level of the Boy Scout program, the Boy Scouts had to learn swimming and saving the drowned, which were not required in the Girl Scout program. Such gender differences in the Scout programs clearly had careful consideration about females' physical strength and acknowledged the main sphere of females' activities was at home rather than outdoors. Another example was that, in the intermediate level, the Boy Scouts had to study the subject of Outdoor Camping (Luying 露營), while the Girl Scouts were required to take Hiking (Yuanzu 遠足), which only required them to hike five kilometers on foot and did not require overnight camping as the Boy Scouts did. For the outdoor camping activities, the Girl Scouts needed to

participate twice in the advanced level of their training, while the Boy Scouts needed to participate three times in the intermediate level and they needed to blow a bugle like soldiers did during the flag raising and lowering ceremony. In the advanced level, the Boy Scouts were even required to have outdoor camping for a period of one week or more. Besides, they also needed to conduct a trip of 20 kilometers in the subject of Traveling (Lüxing 旅行).²⁰

Since girls enjoyed less freedom than boys outdoors, in the subject of Social Service (Fuwu 服務), the Preparation Committee for the Chinese Scout Headquarters required the Boy Scouts to conduct social service work for at least one month or more in the intermediate level, and at least three months or more in the advanced level, while the Girl Scouts only needed to conduct social services two times in the intermediate level and had no requirement for social services in the advanced level.²¹

Since the Chinese girls were not likely to become soldiers, they did not have the subject of Military Knowledge (Junshi changshi 軍事常識) in the three-level Girl Scout curriculum as the Boy Scouts did. In addition, the Girl Scout program did not have the subject of Engineering (Gongcheng 工程) that the Boy Scout program had, which required the Boy Scouts to set up electric lights, telephones, radios, build a bridge across a river with six meter-width or a watchtower five meters high. Instead,

²⁰“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 5-7; “Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 4-5, 7. Two kilometers are about 1.24 miles, therefore, when comparing the old standard in 1929 which required the Boy Scouts to finish one mile in 12 minutes and the new standard in 1933 which required the Boy Scouts to finish two kilometers in 15 minutes, the new standard demanded Boy Scouts to run a little but faster than before. For the Girl Scouts who were required to run the distance of one kilometer in 8 minutes, the new standard in 1933 gave girls 30 seconds more than the boys to run the distance of one kilometer.

²¹“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 4; “Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 4-5.

Girl Scouts were taught the subject of Music (Yinyue 音樂), in which they would learn how to read musical scores, solo singing and perform one type of Chinese or Western musical instrument.²²

The content of the new Chinese Girl Scout program in 1933 reflected the KMT's consideration about the differences in physical and intellectual strengths between sexes. This program also allowed the girls to have an independent gender identity. However, it is inappropriate to assert that the girls enjoyed real gender equality under the program. Now let us compare the KMT's program announced in 1933 with Zhang Weizhan's 1919 and 1920 programs and with the Girl Scout programs of Britain and America.

Compared with the Girl Scout programs of Britain and America, the KMT's Chinese Girl Scout program in 1933 did not encourage girls to have outdoor activities. For example, both the British and American advanced level curriculum required the Girl Scouts to be able to swim 50 yards while the Chinese Boy Scout program also required the Boy Scouts to swim 30 meters. The Chinese Girl Scout program, however, did not have the subject of swimming at all. Besides, both Zheng's program in 1919 and the American program had the subject of traveling (lǚxing 旅行). The American one even required the Girl Scouts to have an overnight trip. Probably modeling on the British program and Zheng's program in 1920, the 1933 program did not require the Girl Scouts to have a long trip. Instead, the Girl Scouts were required to learn how to draw a map showing their trip no longer than two kilometers.²³

²²“Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 7; “Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案,” 7.

²³Robert Baden-Powell, *Nü tongzijun jiaoxun fa* 女童軍教練法 (Girl Guiding), trans. and ed.,

The Chinese Girl Scouts after 1933 were discouraged not only from outdoor activities but also from social service work. They were only required to do social service two times, as opposed to their male counterparts, who were required to conduct social service work for a total of 4 months in the intermediate and advanced level curricula. The KMT was even more reluctant to let the Girl Scouts participate in political activities. Therefore, it was not surprising why the KMT Girl Scout program did not include the skills of printing leaflets, debate, and making speech, which could be found in Zhang Weizhan's programs in 1919 and 1920. The KMT's fear of women participating in political movements had its origin in the purge of the communists in 1927. During the purge of communists in 1927, many feminist women leaders in Shanghai, Hankow, Hunan province, and Canton were brutally killed by the KMT officers and soldiers. Many of them were in fact not communists; they simply had unbound feet, short hair, or supported free love and opposed arranged marriages.²⁴ Besides, the increasing emphasis on household management and the taking care of infants in the program also suggested that the KMT wanted the girls to be "wise wives and good mothers" as in traditional China. The next section will analyze the elites and intellectuals' discussion on this concept, which will explain the reasons behind reinforcing this specific gender role for Chinese girls.

Become "Wise Wife and Good Mother"?

According to Joan Judge's study, the concept of defining the gender role of

Zhou Qipeng 周起鵬 (Shanghai: Shangwu yin shu guan, 1922), 90; Gai Qixin 蓋其新 trans., "Meiguo nü tongzijun san ji biao zhun 美國女童子軍三級標準" (The standard of three-level curriculum of American Girl Scouts), *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 15 (August 1930): 70; "Zhongguo tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案," 7; "Zhongguo nü tongzijun san ji xunlian hege biao zhun caoan 中國女童子軍三級訓練合格標準草案," 7.

²⁴Helen Foster Snow, *Women in Modern China* (Paris: The Mouton, 1967), 136-137, 241-242; Agnes Smedley, *Chinese Destinies: Sketches of Present-day China* (Westport, Conn.: Hyperion Press, 1977), 85.

women as the mother of the citizens (Guomin 國民) first developed in 19th century Japan and spread to China in the early 20th century. *The Chinese Reader for Women* published in 1908 stated that it was wrong for female radicals to talk about patriotism without realizing that the close relationship between women and the nation was based on the family. It defined nation (Guojia 國家) as “an aggregate of families”.²⁵ Several Chinese journals published in the 1930s discussed the problems of family and women. Their main concern was whether women should be family based or society based. Chinese intellectuals had different discourses with regard to these questions due to their different understanding about the relationship between the family and society.

An author wrote in *Xin Jiating* 新家庭 (The modern home) in 1931 about the importance of the family to save China, noting that “the Chinese Nationalist Party is really the sole party to save China, however, there should be good families before the Nationalist Party can save China.” This was because a good family could produce healthy and good children and give them a good family education.²⁶ A good family should have the function of bringing up good children. This responsibility was put on the shoulder of women with reference to the Japanese and German influence. According to an article by a Japanese scholar about the reform of family education, which was translated and published in *Xin Jiating*, the mother had more responsibility than the father in family education. The scholar asserted that the breast-feeding of the infant gave the mother the power to educate her child as the

²⁵Joan Judge, *The Precious Raft of History: The Past, the West, and the Woman Question in China* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, c2008), 101-116.

²⁶Cai Youzhai 蔡有齋, “Jiuyuan Zhongguode zhi you Zhongguo de jiating 救援中國的只有中國的家庭” (Only Chinese family can save China), *Xin Jiating* 新家庭 (The modern home) 1, no. 8 (August 1931): 1, 3.

latter relied on her feeding to live and thus should obey her teaching.²⁷ Due to the importance of the mother in family education, the author of the article entitled “How to be Good Mother” admired the German law that required all German women to receive maternity training before marriage. Most mothers in China did not teach their daughters the knowledge of female hygiene, pregnancy and bringing up infants, which caused a high mortality rate of pregnant women and infants. Therefore, the author thought that it was important for young girls to receive training to become good mothers. The author also suggested that young girls should do more outdoor exercises rather than staying at home doing embroidery so that they could have a healthy body to be a good mother.²⁸ Because a good mother was considered to be an important foundation for a good family and thus a strong nation, the Girl Scout program in 1933 included the subjects about menstruation and taking care of infants so as to prepare the girls to take up the family role of good mother.

However, the various Chinese Girl Scout programs demonstrated a tension between the traditional role of women in the family and the modern role of women in society. *Chang Hwa Ladies Magazine* (Funü Xun Kan 婦女旬刊) in 1935 had a special issue on the question of “Where should Chinese Women Go?” The magazine sent this question to the Chinese elites and intellectuals in December 1934 and asked them whether Chinese women should leave the family to find a job or resign their jobs and go back to the family. This reflected the popular views in society about the gender role Chinese women were expected to play. The elites and the intellectuals did not have a consensus about the question. Some conservatives like Zheng

²⁷Kagawa Toyohiko 賀川豐彥, “Jiating jiaoyu zhi gexin 家庭教育之革新” (The renovation of family education), trans. Guo Jiyan 郭奇遠, *Xin Jiating* 新家庭 (The modern home) 1, no. 2 (February 1931): 1-3.

²⁸Qian Dingyuan 錢鼎元, “Zenyang fangwei xian mu 怎樣方為賢母” (How to become good mother), *Xin Jiating* 新家庭 (The modern home) 1, no. 6 (February 1931): 2, 6-7, 9.

Wuchang 鄭午昌 and Chen Lifu 陳立夫 defined women as “the mother of the nation”, saying that it was crucial for them to assist their husbands to become good citizens and educate their children to become good young people. Therefore, they thought that women should assume their family roles as “wise wives” (Xianqi 賢妻) and “good mothers” (Liangmu 良母) in order to contribute to the future of the nation. This transformed women’s traditional roles as “wise wives and good mothers” to serve individual family into the public role of serving the nation.²⁹ The anthropologist, Huang Huajie 黃華節, described this as “Xin xianqi liangmu zhuyi 新賢妻良母主義” (New Ideology of Wise Wives and Good Mothers”). Due to women’s important role in creating a good family as the foundation to revive China, Huang suggested that the nation should provide subsidies for women.³⁰ Jin Guangmei 金光媚, the head of Shanghai Association of Women’s Advancement (Shanghai Funü xie jin hui 上海婦女協進會), also shared similar views.³¹ Some feminists like Tao Sijin 陶思瑾 were critical of this view, saying that once women became wives, they had to give up their career and their status in society in order to take care of their children at home. She suggested the establishment of day care centers, which could free women from family affairs so that they did not need to give

²⁹Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, “Zhongguo funü ying shang na er pao 中國婦女應上那兒跑” (Where should Chinese women go?), *Funü xunkan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine) 19, no. 1 (1 January 1935): 2; Chen Lifu 陳立夫, “Zhongguo funü ying shang na er pao 中國婦女應上那兒跑” (Where should Chinese women go?), *Funü xunkan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine), 19, no. 2 (11 January 1935): 2.

³⁰Huang Huajie 黃華節, “Zhongguo funü ying shang na er pao 中國婦女應上那兒跑” (Where should Chinese women go?), *Funü xunkan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine) 19, no. 1 (1 January 1935): 5.

³¹Jin Guangmei 金光媚, “Zhongguo funü ying shang na er pao 中國婦女應上那兒跑” (Where should Chinese women go?), *Funü xunkan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine) 19, no. 3 (21 January 1935): 3-4.

up their hard-earned career.³² In other words, she suggested women should leave the family and pursue their career in society. However, her idea was too advanced for the KMT or the intellectuals during the Nanjing decade to accept because they still strongly believed that the two billion Chinese women were the mothers of Chinese citizens. Women should fulfill their roles as “wise wives and good mothers” in order to save China as their male counterparts did. As a result, equal rights for men and women, the pre-requisite for the real republic as stated by Sun Yat-sen, was ignored. It was not until the peak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1940 that the idea of the socialization of family affairs, which included the establishment of day care centers, public hospitals and so on, started to become widespread. These institutions, which were popular in the Soviet Union, helped free women from their traditional role in the family and allowed them to work in society.³³

Conclusion

In conclusion, we can see how the gender difference was first observed by Zhang Weizhen's Girl Scout program in 1919 and 1920, and then totally eliminated by the KMT's adoption of the Boy Scout program for Chinese Girl Scouts from 1928 to 1933. The difference was emphasized in the separate Girl Scout program in 1933, which covertly sacrificed gender equality, a principle that the KMT purported to uphold. The curriculum of the 1933 Girl Scout program in fact subordinated both the girl's body and psychology to the model of a nationalized version of the “wise wife

³²Tao Sijin 陶思瑾, “Zhongguo funü ying shang na er pao 中國婦女應上那兒跑” (Where should Chinese women go?), *Funü Xun Kan* 婦女旬刊 (Chang Hwa Ladies magazine) 19, no.2 (11 January 1935): 3-4.

³³Xiao Feng 嘯風, “Fu nü wang nali qu? 婦女往哪裏去?” (Where women go?) *Zhongguo funü* 中國婦女 (Chinese women) 1, no. 12 (25 November 1940): 9-10; Zhou Yide 周以德, “Guanyu ‘Fu nü wang nali qu’ 關於「婦女往哪裏去」” (About “Where women go”), *Zhongguo funü* 中國婦女 (Chinese women) 2, no. 1, (25 December 1940): 31-32; Yi Fang 易方, “Zenyang cujin jiashi shehui hua 怎樣促進家事社會化” (How to promote socialization of household work), *Zhongguo funü* 中國婦女 (Chinese women) 2, no. 1, (25 December 1940): 33-35.

and good mother". The separation of the Girl Scout program from the Boy Scout program as a result denied girls' rights to be active Chinese citizens with equal family and social roles as the boys.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The development of the Boy Scouts in China from 1912 to 1937 was a process of challenge and compromise. First established in 1912 in missionary schools by Westerners and was taught in English, the Chinese Boy Scouts in the early years followed the non-military and non-political principles set by Robert Baden-Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts. Attracted by the good performance of the Boy Scouts during the Second Far Eastern Championship Games in Shanghai in 1915, Chinese educationalists began to organize their own Boy Scout regiments. The Joint Association of the Jiangsu Boy Scouts was established by Chinese scoutmasters and educationalists in 1917 to increase Chinese influence over the Boy Scout organizations. The introduction of military drills in Chinese schools during the war cast a shadow of militarization over the Chinese Boy Scouts. Once the war ended, Western powers resumed their efforts to control China. The feeling of mistreatment in the Versailles Conference in 1919 among Chinese students led to the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement. The Chinese Boy Scouts registered with the Joint Association of the Jiangsu Boy Scouts, together with their Shanghai counterparts, were recruited to help maintain public order in the demonstrations, in which they managed to adhere to the principle of political neutrality by restricting their role to peacekeeping.

But with the challenges of Western imperialism and Japanese invasion, as manifest in the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925 triggered by Britain and the Manchuria Incident in 1931 by Japan, the sentiments of patriotism and militarization began to rise in the Boy Scout program. The KMT's takeover of the Boy Scout affairs in 1928 coincided with the huge pressure of national survival in the inter-war

period which was shared by many totalitarian states including Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy and Communist Russia. The KMT, like these totalitarian states, realized the urgent need to cultivate the youth with the party's political doctrine and military skills. The teaching of the Three People's Principles was important to fight against CCP's influence whereas the training of military skills helped to prepare the youth to fight against the imminent Japanese invasion.

In contrast to the KMT's expectations, neither the local party bureaus nor the Education Bureau provided the political training and funding needed for the development of the Boy Scouts nationwide. Besides, most of the scoutmasters were not party members, so they could not fulfill the KMT's aim of instilling the Boy Scouts with the Three People's Principles. The KMT soon realized its incapability to make the Boy Scouts into disciplined and nationalistic citizens as part of its plan to mobilize the youth nationwide. The KMT needed to negotiate again and again with the Education Bureau on the funding of the Boy Scouts. Besides, the KMT still needed to rely on the original scoutmasters to spread the Boy Scout program nationwide by providing them with political training rather than replacing them. In the 1930s, in the face of the threats from Japan and the CCP, and inspired by Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, Chiang Kai-shek decided to entrust the Blue Shirts, the Chinese Fascist organization, with the task of the Boy Scout affairs in order to speed up the process of spreading the Boy Scout program nationwide and militarization of the Boy Scouts.

According to Hwang Jinlin's study on the CCP's Youth Pioneers (少年先鋒隊) in Soviet areas from 1928 to 1937, the CCP faced the same crisis for survival as the KMT did. The reason for the CCP to organize the Youth Pioneers was similar to the reason for the KMT to take over the Boy Scouts. The CCP sought to mobilize the

youth to help resist invasion of the Soviet areas and support the rural revolutionary movement. The only difference between the Youth Pioneers and the Boy Scouts was that they had different targets of loyalty and different enemies. For the Youth Pioneers, they needed to be loyal to the Red Army to fight against the KMT's military encirclement and to serve as the "preparatory army" of the Communist revolution. For the Boy Scouts, they needed to be loyal to the KMT to fight against invasion from Japan and to become the heirs of the Three People's Principles' revolution. Although the Central Committee of the CCP in 1930 criticized the Boy Scouts of the KMT as an education of militarism, the Youth Pioneers were also criticized by some of the CCP members for following the wrong path of Li Lisan 李立三, who had made the Youth Pioneers into a purely military organization too closely affiliated with the Red Army. As a result, the Youth Pioneers could not recruit enough members in rural areas because the rural youth were afraid that the KMT would take revenge on them after the communists were defeated.¹ The Boy Scouts, however, had a relatively prosperous development in the cities, thanks to the KMT's efforts to develop the Boy Scout program. However, the Boy Scouts and the Youth Pioneers shared the same characteristic that both the KMT and the CCP tried to make use of semi-military youth organizations as a tool to mobilize the youth to join their political movements, like the KMT's New Life Movement and the CCP's rural revolutionary movement. .

Soviet Russia replaced the Russian Boy Scouts with the Youth Pioneers in 1922, Nazi Germany disbanded the Boy Scouts and reorganized them as Hitler Youth in 1934. In China, however, the Blue Shirts initiated by Chiang Kai-shek never

¹Hwang Jinlin 黃金麟, *Zhengti yu shenti: Suwei'ai de geming yu shenti*, 1928-1937 政體與身體: 蘇維埃的革命與身體, 1928-1937 (Polity and Body: Soviet Body and Body, 1928-1937) (Taipei: Lian jing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi, 2005), 118-136.

disbanded the Chinese Boy Scouts. When the Blue Shirts were disbanded on 29 March 1938, its members joined the Three People's Principles Youth League (Sanminzhuyi qingnian tuan 三民主義青年團) with the last secretary of the Blue Shirts, Kang Ze 康澤, as the executive director to train its members to become preparatory party members of the KMT.² The league coexisted with the Boy Scouts until 26 October 1943, when Zhang Zhizhong 張治中, the secretary of the central executive committee of the league, proposed to Chiang Kai-shek to put the Boy Scouts under the control of the league and move the office of the Scouts Association of China to that of the central headquarters of the league.³ Apart from completely absorbing the Boy Scouts into the KMT system, its content also achieved complete participation when Chen Lifu 陳立夫, the president of the National Scout Directorate, devised new training methods for the Boy Scout program to make the Boy Scouts love the nation and revere the leader, such as hanging the picture of Chiang Kai-shek in the room of the Boy Scout regiments, giving speech to the Boy Scouts quoting Chiang's words. The Boy Scouts were also required to recite and make notes of Chiang's publications, and to stand up and listen attentively to Chiang's speeches on the radio.⁴ Chen's suggested methods were similar to the ways

²Gan Guoxun 干國勳, *Sanminzhuyi lixingshe yu minzu fuxing yundong* 三民主義力行社與民族復興運動 (The Society of Practice of the Three Principles of the People and the movement of national revival) (Taipei: s.n., 1986), 162-163.

³Zhang Zhizhong 張治中 to Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石, "Zhong Zhizhong cheng yi tongzijun gai di Sanminzhuyi qinian tuan banfa 張治中呈擬童子軍改隸三民主義青年團辦法" (Zhang Zhizhong's submission of the method of moving the Scouts under the jurisdiction of the Three People's Principles Youth League), *Tongzijun gai di Sanminzhuyi qinian tuan* 童子軍改隸三民主義青年團 (Moving the Scouts under jurisdiction of the Three People's Principles Youth League), file no. 085007513, Nationalist Government Archives, 15-16; available on-line from http://linux201.drn.gov.tw/~textdb/showImage/connect_img.php?s=001014410001001a&e=101&p=1; internet; accessed on 30 June 2008.

⁴Chen Lifu 陳立夫, "Chen Lifu cheng yi tongzijun aihu guojia chongji lingxiu xunlian shishi banfa 陳立夫呈擬中國童子軍愛護國家崇敬領袖訓練實施辦法" (Chen Lifu's submission of the methods of practicing the training of the Scouts to love the nation and adore the leader), 23 November

Nazi Germany used to advocate loyalty and reverence to Adolf Hitler among the Hitler Youth. The Blue Shirts and the Three People's Principles Youth League, organizations modeled on Nazi Germany, completely changed the Boy Scout program into a political tool to train the youth to become preparatory members of the KMT with blind faith in Chiang Kai-shek. At this stage, the Chinese Boy Scouts became more like the Hitler Youth than the Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts..

The KMT's militarization of the Boy Scouts and reinforcement of the gender roles of the Girl Scouts as "wise wives and good mothers" were also similar to Adolf Hitler's policies regarding the German boy and girls. However, Germany had developed a strict military tradition since the unification of Germany in 1871, which made it much easier for Hitler to militarize German children and impose engender roles on boys and girls. In China, there had been a wave of student activism and female emancipation since the May Fourth Movement in 1919, especially among those college students. In addition, the ratio of the Scouts to the total population of Chinese youth was much less than that in Germany, where about 80 percent of the youth were members of the Hitler Youth.⁵ It is really doubtful whether the KMT was able to militarize and impose gender roles on the youth nationwide who were not Boy Scouts or Girl Scouts. However, we should not deny the significance of the Boy Scouts as an attempt by the KMT to mobilize the masses. The KMT realized the importance of mobilizing the youth in resisting the threats from the Japanese and the CCP. Nonetheless, mobilization of the masses was the largest weakness of the KMT.

1943, in *Tongzijun gai di Sanminzhuyi qinian tuan* 童子軍改隸三民主義青年團 (Moving the Scouts under jurisdiction of the Three People's Principles Youth League), file no. 085007514, Nationalist Government Archives, 32-58; available on-line from http://linux201.dnrh.gov.tw/~textdb/showImage/connect_img.php?s=001014410001001a&e=101&p=1; internet; accessed on 30 June 2008.

⁵Gerhard Rempel, *Hitler's Children: The Hitler Youth and the SS* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 268.

Despite the KMT's numerous efforts to mobilize the youth through the Boy Scouts, there was a wide gap between the ideal of forging a disciplined citizenry and the reality that the KMT was incapable of handling youth mobilization and the relationship between the state and the party.

APPENDIX 1

THE LOCATION OF THE JOINT ASSOCIATION OF JIANGSU BOY SCOUTS
AND THE BOY SCOUT REGIMENTS UNDER THE CHINESE NATIONAL
HEADQUARTERS OF BOY SCOUTS IN SHANGHAI, 1917¹

¹This map is reproduced from the map of Solitary Island Shanghai in Poshek Fu, *Passivity, Resistance, and Collaboration: Intellectual Choices in Occupied Shanghai, 1937-1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), the map of Shanghai in Harriet Sergeant, *Shanghai* (London: John Murray, 2002) and the map of Shanghai (1938) in Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 ed., *Shanghai lishi ditu ji* 上海歷史地圖集 (The Collection of the Historical Maps of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 84-85.

APPENDIX 2

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SCHOOLS THAT WERE ORGANIZED BOY SCOUT REGIMENTS UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CHINESE NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS OF BOY SCOUTS IN SHANGHAI, 1917²

School name	Date of establishment	Founder	Address	Location
1. Public School for Chinese (Hua tong gong xue 華童公學) ³	November 1904	Shanghai Municipal Council	Elgin Road (Ai er jin lu 愛而近路)	International Settlement
2. Shanghai Y.M.C.A. Secondary School (Shanghai qingnianhui zhongxue 上海青年會中學)	1905	Y.M.C.A.	No. 599, Sichuan Road (Sichuan lu 四川路)	International Settlement

²G.S.F. Kemp, "Scouts Association of China," *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (New Youth), 2, no.5 (January 1917): 519; Huang Qiliu 黃其劉, "Hua tong gong xue tongzi jun zhi chuanshi 華童公學童子軍之創始" (The establishment of the Boy Scout regiment of the Public School for Chinese), *Shanghai Guang Zhao Gong Suo shehui tongzi jun tuan chengli san shi zhounian jinian tekan* 上海廣肇公所社會童子軍團成立三十週年紀念特刊 (The 30th anniversary bulletin of the social Boy Scout regiment of Shanghai Guang Zhao Gong Suo), no. 3 (November 1948): 50-51; "Shanghai jidu qingnianhui bai nian dashi ji 上海基督青年會百年大事記" (The century's record of the big events of Shanghai Y.M.C.A.) The Shanghai Y.M.C.A.; available on-line from <http://www.shymca.org.cn/century.htm>; internet; accessed on 6 September 2008; Shanghai shi defangzhi bangongshe 上海市地方志辦公室, "Jidu jiao: Putong jiaoyu 基督教: 普通教育" (The Christian: Normal education) in *Shanghai zongjiao zhi* 上海宗教志 (The local record of religion in Shanghai); available on-line from <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75195/node75204/node75305/node75319/userobject1ai92067.html>; internet; accessed on 7 September 2008; Shanghai shi defangzhi bangongshe 上海市地方志辦公室, Hongkou qu zhi 虹口區志 (The local record of Hongkou); available on-line from <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node4/node2249/node4418/node20224/node24574/node62951/userobject1ai10831.html>; internet; accessed on 7 September 2008; "Shanghai zu jie zhi" bian zuan wei yuan hui 《上海租界志》編纂委員會 ed., *Shanghai zu jie zhi* 上海租界志 (The local record of the Shanghai's foreign settlement) (Shanghai : Shanghai she hui ke xue yuan chu ban she, 2001), 479-481, 490-494, 721-728, 746-747, 749; Shanghai shi defangzhi bangongshe 上海市地方志辦公室, "Tianzhu jiao: Putong jiaoyu 天主教: 普通教育" (The Catholic: Normal Education), in *Shanghai zongjiao zhi* 上海宗教志 (The local record of religion in Shanghai); available on-line from <http://www.shtong.gov.cn/node2/node2245/node75195/node75203/node75284/node75298/userobject1ai91979.html>; internet; accessed on 7 September 2008; "Chen Yi, Cai Hesun, Li Lisan deng yi jiu er yi nian cha yi dian chengwei Fudan de xuesheng 陳毅、蔡和森、李立三等 1921 年差一點成為復旦的學生" (Chen Yi, Caihesun, Li Lisan near became the students of Fudan University), Fudan xinwen wang 復旦新聞網, available on-line from http://www.fudan.edu.cn/fudannews/news_content.php?id=4583; internet; accessed on 7 September 2008.

³Public School for Chinese was the place where the Shanghai branch of the Chinese National Headquarters of Boy Scouts located.

(Continued)

School name	Date of establishment	Founder	Address	Location
3. St. John's University (Sheng yuehan daxue 聖約翰大學)	1879	Samuel Isaac Joseph Schere Schwesky, the Shanghai's bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States of American	The South of Suzhou Creek, near Cao jia du 曹家渡	International Settlement
4. British Chinese School (Ying hua shuguan 英華書館)	1850	The Episcopal Church in the United States of American	Range Road (Ba zi lu 靶子路)	Near the north boundary of the International Settlement
5. Ellis Kadoorie Public School for Chinese (Yu cai gong xue 育才公學)	1903	Sir Ellis Kadoorie, the Jewish businessman. The school was taken over by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1912	Sanhaikwan Road (Shan hai guan lu 山海關路)	International Settlement
6. Ecole Municipale Franco – Chinoise (Zhong fa xuexiao 中法學校)	1886	Conseil d' Administration Municipale de la Concession Francaise de Changhai, Municipalité Francise (Shanghai fa zujie gong dong ju 上海法租界公董局)	No. 63, Rue Du Consulat (Gong guan malu 公館馬路)	French Concession
7. Nanyang College (Nan yang gong xue 南洋公學)	1896	Sheng Xuanhuai 盛宣懷, Chinese bureaucratic businessman	Today Shanghai Jitong University (Shanghai jitong daxue 上海交通大學)	French Concession

(Continued)

School name	Date of establishment	Founder	Address	Location
8. College Municipale Francaise (Faguo gong xue 法國公學)	1911	Conseil d'Administration Municipale de la Concession Francaise de Changhai, Municipalité Francise (Shanghai fa zujie gong dong ju 上海法租界公董局)	No. 6901-6903, Route Paul Brunat (Bao chang lu 寶昌路) ⁴	French Concession
9. The World's Student Federation (Huan qiu Zhongguo xuesheng hui 寰球中國學生會)	1905	Li Denghui 李登輝, the president of Fudan University in Shanghai (1913-1936)	No. 51, Bubbling Well Road (Jing ai si lu 靜安寺路)	International Settlement
10. Fudan University (Fu dan daxue 復旦大學) ⁵	1905	Father Ma Xiangbo 馬相伯, the Society of Jesus, Shanghai	Avenue Haig (Hai ge lu 海格路)	French Concession

⁴Route Paul Brunat was renamed as Avenue Joffre in 1915.

⁵For the location of Fudan University in Shanghai, see Appendix 3: Location of Fudan University in Shanghai.

APPENDIX 3

THE LOCATION OF FUDAN UNIVERSITY IN SHANGHAI⁶

Fu: Fudan University (Fu dan daxue 復旦大學)

⁶The map is reproduced from the map of Shanghai (1938) in Zhou Zhenhe 周振鶴 ed., *Shanghai lishi ditu ji* 上海歷史地圖集 (The Collection of the Historical Maps of Shanghai) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1999), 84-85. This map shows the part of Shanghai west of Route Alfred Magy (Mai qi lu 麥琪路), which is not shown in the map in Appendix 1. Avenue Haig was translated as Hai ge lu 海格路 in Chinese.

APPENDIX 4

THE NUMBER OF SCOUTS, SCOUTMASTERS AND SCOUT REGIMENTS REGISTERED IN CHINA (1928-1936)⁷

Time	Scouts	Scoutmasters	Scout Regiments
28 December 1928 ⁸	10036	242	87
20 February 1929	1888	399	36
30 June 1929	5343	566	88
October 1929	5605	595	92
30 November 1929	6188	667	92
1 February 1930	6846	681	92
1 March 1930	7109	681	106
1 April 1930	8917	992	117
1 May 1930	13414	1121	198
1 June 1930	13882	1190	203
1 July 1930	15560	1235	219
1 August 1930	16800	1299	222
1 September 1930	17949	1374	234
30 September 1930	18613	1508	250
31 October 1930	20185	1662	256
30 November 1930	21600	1719	273
31 December 1930	23211	1904	290
31 January 1931	25045	1999	314
28 February 1931	29759	2029	354
31 March 1931	29760	2044	371
30 April 1931	31512	2212	395
31 May 1931	33812	2244	438
30 June 1931	36501	2294	456
30 July 1931	37235	2336	477
30 April 1933	63962	4170	795
July 1934	68839	4265	849

⁷This chart is based on the statistics published in various Boy Scout monthlies and bulletins by the KMT and the first yearbook of education in China. See *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1, 2; *Zhongguo tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 中國童子軍司令部月刊 (Chinese Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 6-25; *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui choubai chu hui bao* 中國童子軍總會籌備處彙報 (The collective report of the Preparation Committee for the Scouts Association of China), no. 3; Wu Xiangxiang, Liu Shaotang eds., *Di yi ci Zhongguo jiao yu nianjian* 第一次中國教育年鑑 (The first yearbook of education in China), vol. 2, (Taipei: Zhuan ji wen xue chu ban she, 1971), 552; *Zhongguo tongzijun yuekan* 中國童子軍月刊 (Chinese Scout monthly), no. 5; *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China), vol. 1, no. 1, vol. 2, 1; *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui yuekan* 中國童子軍總會月刊 (Scouts Association of China monthly), vol. 1, no. 3.

⁸The figures of Boy Scouts, scoutmasters and Boy Scout regiments came from the survey conducted by the KMT Boy Scout Headquarters on 28 December 1928. The figures showed part of the number of Boy Scouts, scoutmasters and Boy Scout regiments nationwide. Most of them were not yet registered with the Headquarters. See “Dang tongzijun xian kuang 黨童子軍現況” (The present situation of KMT Boy Scouts), *Dang tongzijun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 56.

(Continued)

Time	Scouts	Scoutmasters	Scout Regiments
1 November 1934	89792	5328	1028
31 December 1934	104866	6157	1178
1935	138106 (Boy Scouts: 15215; Girl Scouts: 2898; Cub Scouts: 162) ⁹	---	1329
1 January 1936	182054 (Est. 500000) ¹⁰	7378	1774
31 May 1936	233287 (Boy Scouts: 93221; Girl Scouts: 18617; Cub Scouts: 1620)	---	2162

⁹Because Girl Scouts and Cub Scouts did not have regiments independent from those of Boy Scouts until there were separate regulations of Girl Scouts and Cub Scouts by the Scouts Association of China in May 1935, the figures of Scouts before 1935 did not have separate figures for Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts and Cub Scouts.

¹⁰The Scouts Association of China estimated that there were 500000 Scouts nationwide by the beginning of 1936. Comparing this with the statistics of the Scouts on 1 January 1936, about two-third of the Scouts were not yet registered. See Feng Ti 豐悌, "Yi nian lai zhi Zhongguo tongzi jun 一年來之中國童子軍" (The China's Scouts in the past year), *Zhongguo tongzijun zonghui gongbao* 中國童子軍總會公報 (The bulletin of the Scouts Association of China) 2, , no. 1 (1 January 1936): 30-31.

APPENDIX 5

THE ORGANIZATION CHART OF THE KMT BOY SCOUTS IN FEBURARY 1929¹¹

¹¹“Zhongguo guomindang tongzijun bianzhi xitong biao 中國國民黨童子軍編制系統表” (The organization chart of the KMT Boy Scout system), *Dang tongz jun silingbu yuekan* 黨童子軍司令部月刊 (KMT Scout Headquarters monthly), no. 1 (February 1929): 13.

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