AN ORAL HISTORY CASE STUDY ON THE CO-CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOLING AT THE CHEFOO SCHOOL AND IN WEIHSIEN INTERNMENT CAMP

A Dissertation

Presented to the Widener University Committee Members of

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In Partial Fulfillment

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Doctor of Education

by

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This work is dedicated to the glory of God

and to my parents

Harry and Mary

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Abstract

This study explores how two students interpreted the implicit moral aspects of schooling during a time of duress. Two questions arise from this investigation. How was schooling co-constructed by the staff and students to preserve the curriculum's moral component while living in a culture created by military rule? And, how do the students perceive the influence of this unique schooling experience upon their lives? This case study is an interpretation of how **a** specific group of students and teachers co-constructed schooling to preserve the moral underpinnings of their curriculum from external threats. The intent of this work is to provide insight as to how students interpret and internalize the implicit and explicit moral components of a school's curriculum.

The setting for this study is occupied China during World War II when the China Inland Mission Schools, colloquially known as Chefoo, were placed under Japanese occupation forces and then interned as a school body, along with 1,000 other Westerners, in the Weihsien Civilian Assembly Center. These events of war separated the students from their parents for over five years and created a dependency upon the school staff for their academic, spiritual and emotional needs.

From the 24 interviews of Chefoo students, two women were selected for more in-depth oral histories. A descriptive case study was used to analyze the women's stories so as to present a recollected account of their schooling experiences as students. The interviews were structured around the themes of *schooling* and *separation* and then divided further into sub-themes grounded in the research. The oral histories were also triangulated with historical documents and interviews with other classmates. The term co-construction means that it is the interactions between the teacher and the student, that ultimately decides what the student culturally, morally and academically retains.

Contents

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Introduction

This study explores how two students interpreted the moral component of schooling during a time of duress, and then throughout their lives. These moral aspects were implicitly and explicitly presented by the school faculty through the curriculum and were symbolized in the rituals, documents and artifacts of the schooling process. The time and location of duress in this study is occupied China during the Second World War. Two specific questions flow from the aim of this study. How was schooling co-constructed by students and staff while interned in an artificial culture created by military rule? How do these former students perceive the influence of this unique educational experience upon their lives? This case study is an historical interpretation of how a specific group of people co-constructed (1) schooling to preserve the moral underpinnings of their curriculum from external threats.

Intent of this work is to provide modern educators an opportunity to learn about the moral component of curriculum through a historical examination of two students who experienced schooling under foreign internment. Out of this, parallels may be drawn for today's educators who face threats to their own definitions of schooling be it academically, financially or in areas of social concern. Schooling as expressed through the curriculum is being threatened by continual calls for reforms such as increased academic standards and a national curriculum. The financial foundation is threatened by vouchers, home schooling, privatization and charter schools which compete for an already diminishing public dollar. The schooling climate is under duress due to increased violence and discipline problems that students bring to school which is related to some parents having abdicated their responsibilities, expecting the school to fulfill parental roles for their children. All of these issues impinge on the schooling of children. How these challenges are to be met will be determined by which manner of schooling prevails and how values are implemented in the curriculum.

Finding answers to these questions of what comprises schooling can be approached in many ways. The path for this study is to go from broad, thematic issues down to the minute, everyday existence of the student and teacher relationship to see how schooling is presented, defended, or reinvented. For it is in the classroom that the theoretical, written curriculum is applied and practiced. It is at this level of student and teacher interaction that the negotiating, or co-constructing of the curriculum is realized and thus schooling occurs. (2) And it is the student who ultimately determines whether the moral intentions of the schooling were successful and upheld throughout life.

Though the selected study group is from a previous generation whose external threats were different from those faced by today's educators and students, one wonders if the disparity is so great that lessons still could not be learned from their historical experience. Some of these lessons might focus on possible parallels of the thought processes and emotional responses between today's students and those of the past. It is worth examining the artifacts and documents, and listening to the voices of these former students, to appreciate their interpretation of the long term effects of the moral content of schooling on their lives. Modern educators can learn something about the moral component of curriculum design through a historical case study of two lives, each of which embodies a perspective on schooling.

Background of the Problem

Why this time period?

Although this study centers on events that happened over half a century ago, the researcher believes that the outcomes and conclusions of this study are relevant for today's educators. A number of qualities attracted the researcher to this specific problem and group of informants. The primary attraction was due to a life-long fascination with the Second World War which led to a Master's of Arts in history with an emphasis in World War Two. Out of that study came a fleeting knowledge of the Japanese-run civilian internment camps and a desire to do further exploration. Viewing the BBC television series Tenko, (3) which depicts the lives of British and Dutch women and children interned by the Japanese on the island of Sumatra, added to the intrigue of this topic. The Tenko series, and the book it was based on, *Women Beyond the Wire*, (4) raised questions for the researcher as to how schooling was carried out in these camps. Why bother with schooling when there were no materials and no longer any societal expectations for it to occur?

By combining the researcher's interest in history and education, a research topic began to form which would examine education in internment camps. The focus of this study narrowed after meeting former child internees from the Weihsien

Civilian Assembly Center who had been students at the China Inland Mission Schools. These contacts gave the researcher access to an "insider's perspective" which allowed exploration of school and camp life based upon the experiences of child internees. As David Fetterman states, "The ethnographer is interested in understanding and describing a social and cultural scene from the emic, or insider's, perspective. " (5) That is a goal of this research and why it is being done as an oral history case study.

Why this population?

Some other attractions for doing this study were the conditions of this specific China Inland Mission Schools (henceforth referred to as Chefoo. (6) First, the absence of parents meant that the school functioned *in loco parentis*. The majority of Chefoo's students had not seen their parents for at least three years prior to the internment. The children were predominantly boarders while their parents served as missionaries hundreds or thousands of miles away in the interior of China. After the start of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937, conditions became increasingly hazardous for travel so that by 1941 most of the students were living year-round at the school. The children were separated from their parents for the duration of the war and were completely under the supervision of the school staff.

By being placed in the internment camp and moved away from the parents' and the Mission Board's jurisdiction, the teachers and students were left to work out for themselves how they as a school would function and interact with the rest of the camp. Focusing on this small school made for a less complicated study of the change in teacher to student, student to student, and student to parent relationships caused by an intervening circumstance, in this case, war.

Thomas Sergiovanni, whose writings on school culture will be used throughout this study, quotes G. Hofstede's description of a school's culture as the "collective programming of the mind that distinguishes the members of one school from another." Sergiovanni continues that a "school culture includes values, symbols, beliefs, and shared meanings of parents, students, teachers, and others conceived as a group or community. Culture governs what is of worth for this group and how members should think, feel, and behave. " (7) It is this "collective programming" that allowed the Chefoo school as a moral community to reconstitute itself within the confines of an internment camp.

The war and the internment created a stable school population for approximately eight years with very few departures, or new students or staff entering in. This stability as well as the seclusion of the school prior to internment created a unified understanding of the school's goal and mission among all those involved. Because of this tight community, it has been easy to locate the group fifty years after the event. Although there is an element of temporal distance from the

event for both the researcher and the informants, the commonality of the school group makes it possible to track and compare perceptions and life-long outcomes among the informants. Finally, the war and internment camp conditions provide an opportunity to examine the basics of education, stripped of all the traditional peripheral trappings of schooling.

What is Schooling?

Sergiovanni states that there are five purposes of schooling. They are: "to develop basic competency in the three R's; to pass on the culture; to teach students to think; to build character; [and] to cultivate excellence. " (8) President William Clinton stated that "schools do more than train children's minds. They also help to nurture their souls by reinforcing the values they learn at home and in their communities. (9) Schools are also viewed by some as historically playing a part in the "construction and reproduction of inequitable power relations between groups of people," whether in the form of class or gender relations. (10) This study is most concerned with the notions that schools are responsible for passing on the culture of their society and for character development. Whose culture and character is, or should be, emulated and passed on is a continuing argument that will not be answered by this study. However, the researcher is in agreement with Sergiovanni that "everything that happens in the schoolhouse has moral overtones that are virtually unmatched by other institutions in our society." (11) It is the "moral overtones" of schooling and how they are interpreted and lived out by students over time that is the concern of this study.

While the Chefoo School was based on a specific moral teaching, Christianity, all schools disseminate some type of moral base within their curriculum. It can be argued whether or not the implicit or explicit moral themes are to reproduce the existing power relations, to maintain social norms, or to pass on cultural traditions. Whatever the purpose of transmitting character and moral values, it is accomplished directly or indirectly through the curriculum in an institution that "enjoys a place within our society very close to the family as a moral nurturing community. " (12) The intent of this study is to discover how a group of students perceived and internalized the moral component of the curriculum into their moral identities and then preserved or changed that identity when threatened by other forces and over the course of time.

Relating past and present

In Leadership for the Schoolhouse, Sergiovanni talks about the need for schools to be "a kind of moral learning community ... that enjoys a place within our society very close to the family as a moral nurturing community." In practice, however, this is not what happens as the theories of leadership and school

organization are often imported from foreign fields of the corporate world and industry. Sergiovanni calls for schools to develop their own "theories and practices that emerge from and are central to what schools are like, what schools are trying to do, and what kinds of people schools serve." To do this, schools need to begin "developing a practice of leadership for the schoolhouse [which] will require a change in the theory of school itself The change proposed is to understand schools as moral communities.... The moral voice of community is anchored in shared values, ideas, and purposes." (13)

This study cannot provide "how to" answers for successfully designing and implementing a curriculum that builds moral character. It can, however, give those who create, write and present curriculum things to think about and explore further as to how students interpret what is being taught and form their individual reality versus the collective reality. This study can also help define the type of community educators and parents wish their school to be. Should the school community reflect the values of its surrounding neighborhood, or should it set higher standards for students to aim for and achieve? The Chefoo teachers expected their students to rise above their internment situation and not to yield to the temptation to relax their academic, social and moral standards.

Though the informants being studied were students almost sixty years ago, there is still a connection with today's students. As one reads the stories of the informants' fears and joys, one realizes that their experiences were no different from what we ourselves and our children today express -- the desire to belong, to be accepted, to achieve — the loneliness of absent parents, the uncertainty of living in a hostile environment. The life histories presented in this study seek to "understand how thought and action have developed in past social circumstances. Following this development through time to the present affords insights into how those circumstances we experience as contemporary 'reality' have been negotiated, constructed and reconstructed over time." (14)

The fact that the informants are nearer to the end of their lives gives them and the researcher the benefit of tracking the effects over the life cycle and the opportunity of drawing long-term conclusions about their educational experiences. As one informant aptly wrote,

I had thought that all this Chefoo/Weihsien stuff was over—a past to be acknowledged but NEVER resurrected or relived. But it is only with the passage of years and the understanding acquired in them that I could make any sense of the people and experiences that have made up my life.

Just as this informant needed the "passage of years and the understanding acquired in them" to "make any sense" of the people and experiences in her life, so to on a broader scale can the analysis of a particular historical event bring

understanding and insight into educational issues that shape today's education policies and practices.

Summary

Sergiovanni proposes that school leadership should "understand schools as moral communities." (15) In this study, two women give personal accounts about their unique schooling experience in China during the Second World War. The historical events that provide the backdrop for these two women's stories is related in Chapter One. The oral histories of the two women are presented in Chapter Two. Although twenty-four Chefoo students were interviewed, the researcher felt that these two women's accounts best represented the scope and variety of stories that the other informants shared. Chapter Three analyzes how these women retrospectively interpreted and internalized the implicit and explicit moral components of their school's curriculum and the life long impact it had on them. The Epilogue connects the findings of this study to the importance of education today.

It is during this process of interacting, interpreting and internalizing depicted in Chapter Two and Chapter Three that students co-construct with their parents and teachers, the traditions, values and morals of their school and social culture. The co-constructing of these women's foundational moral identities were challenged by separation from parents, the war, and by being confined to an internment camp for three years. Through the oral histories and supporting documents, this research provides insight into how students interpret the moral components of the curriculum and its informal techniques of social control. It is also a model of how one school persevered to maintain its moral community while under duress. Those in education today who believe that schooling is under attack may learn from these students' past experiences. It is hoped that future students may then benefit from a more compassionate and participatory schooling model.

1 See Appendix A, definition of terms.

2 Ivor F. Goodson, *Studying Curriculum: Cases and methods* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1994), 18.

3 Vere Lorrimer, producer, *Tenko* (London: British Broadcasting Corp., aired 1981, 1982, 1984 & 1985).

4 Lavinia Warner & John Sandilands, *Women Beyond the Wire* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd., 1982).

5 David M. Fetterman, *Ethnography: Step by step* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989), 12.

6 The China Inland Missions Schools were located in Chefoo, China. Since its inception in 1881, the schools had informally been referred to as Chefoo by the staff, students and the China Inland Mission (CIM).

7 Thomas J. Sergiovanni, *The Principalship: A reflective practice perspective* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1995), 89.

8 Thomas J. Sergiovanni, *Moral Leadership: Getting to the heart of school improvement* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1992), 45. Sergiovanni, *Leadership for the Schoolhouse* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1996), 122.

9 President Clinton, May 30, 1998 as quoted in *Religious Expression in Public Schools: A statement of principles*. U. S. Department of Education, September, 1999, p. 2.

10 Sue Middleton, *Educating Feminists: Life Histories and Pedagogy* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1993) 6.

11 Sergiovanni, (1996), xii.

12 Sergiovanni, (1996), xii.

13 Sergiovanni (1996), xii, xiii, xvi.

14 Ivor F. Goodson, "Studying Curriculum: A Social Constructionist Perspective" in Goodson and Rob Walker, *Biography, Identity and Schooling: Episodes in Educational Research* (Hampshire, England: Falmer Press, 1991), 176.

15 Ibid., xvi.

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Introduction

This chapter describes the setting in which the stories of the informants' lives took place. The historical context for this study is North China during the Second World War. It was at this time that the China Inland Mission Schools (Chefoo), a British school for children of Western missionaries and other expatriates, came under Japanese-occupation, and was eventually relocated to a civilian assembly center. (1) These actions of occupation and internment were the external threats to the school's continuity. The war and its outcome meant the end of the British colonial lifestyle in which this school had been established and had existed for sixty-two years. Subtle yet even more damaging threats came from within the internment camp as the once secluded school was suddenly thrust into close contact with people of various backgrounds and beliefs. The purpose of this study will be to analyze how teachers and students responded to these challenges in order to convey and maintain the ethos of their school and culture.

Through the use of primary and secondary sources, a panorama of the events that affected their youth is presented. At that time, many of the informants were unaware of the circumstances directing the decisions made about them and for them. By using primary documents such as personal letters and State Department or Mission Board reports, the major themes of *separation* and *schooling* will be constructed and expanded into the universal theme of *social control*. A comparison can be made between informant perceptions of events and how those events were interpreted and publicly documented by the cultural gatekeepers or power holders. Thus the intent of this chapter is to provide the reader with background knowledge of the situation under study and how it coincided with world events.

The Historically Documented Context of the Informants' Stories

The China Inland Mission (CIM)

> "... the Japanese military occupation of Chefoo without resistance early this morning has been announced" (Letter by Stark, Feb. 3, 1938). (2)

This one line, tacked on the end of a Mission headquarters letter, commences the story of the occupation and eventual internment of the China Inland Mission Schools in Chefoo, China during World War Two. The following is a historical review of the events leading to the internment of the Chefoo School body and their ultimate liberation.

The China Inland Mission was founded in 1865 by Hudson Taylor as a nondenominational, evangelical, faith mission that was different from previous mission organizations serving China. The CIM leadership was based in China rather than in England, the missionaries were encouraged to dress and conform to the standard of living of the Chinese rather than Victorian England, and they were to depend on God alone to provide all their material needs. Members of any Protestant denomination were accepted into the CIM provided they believed in the:

> " Divine inspiration and authority of the scriptures, the Trinity, the fail of man and his consequent moral depravity and need of regeneration, the atonement, justification by faith, the resurrection of the body, the eternal life of the saved, and the eternal punishment of the lost.

The missionaries had no guarantee of salary and could not solicit or borrow funds directly or indirectly. Each missionary was,

> " expected to recognize that his dependence for the supply of all his need is on God, Who called him and for Whom he labours, and not on the human organization … their faith must be in God, their expectation from Him.

The funds might fail, or the Mission might cease to exist; but if they put their trust in Him, *He* will never fail nor disappoint them. (3)

Women were considered as vital to the mission as men, received the same training, and were sent out into the field in the same way. Women were reminded that marriage was "no excuse for settling down to home life at the expense of work," and that "where there are children … special care needs to be taken that family claims do not interfere unduly with the service of either parent." The purpose of the Mission, through its missionaries, was to "diffuse as quickly as possible a knowledge of the Gospel throughout the Empire." Within twenty years the CIM had 225 missionaries, despite ill-health, uprisings and persecutions. It was in this atmosphere of sacrifice and service to God that the children of CIM missionaries were brought up. (4)

The China Inland Mission Schools

In 1881 the China Inland Mission Schools at Chefoo, China were established by Hudson Taylor. The schools were colloquially referred to as "Chefoo." As more missionaries came to serve in inland China, Taylor saw the need for a school for, "the children of missionaries and other foreign residents in China, [which] we trust that through it the trial and expense of sending children home from China may in many cases be saved." Chefoo was regarded as an improvement over sending children back to the homelands for education, thus separating them from parents for seven to ten years. Instead, Chefoo offered a Western education with a separation of only one to three years, depending upon where the parents were stationed. (5)

In one year the school grew from two students to twelve, and five years later had one hundred students attending its three schools. The Prep School was co-educational for children from ages six to ten and the segregated Boys' and Girls' Schools were for children ages eleven to sixteen. All three were based on the English public school model of Forms rather than grades and ended at the Sixth Form. Upon successful completion of the Sixth Form, the students usually returned to their parents' homeland for further education or employment.

Chefoo 1931 - 1940

The mid-1930's saw improvements to the school. In 1934 two new buildings were erected to combine the Boys' and Girls' Schools for "co-tuition" (co-educational) classes, and the Prep School was relocated within the compound. From then on the distinction of Boys' and Girls' Schools just referred to their separate dormitories. The quality of education also improved as more of the teaching staff, though still recruited as missionaries first, were qualified teachers. The number of students attending Chefoo had also steadily increased to its peak of 338 students in 1940. About "half the students were children of

UM; another quarter were children of other missions; and the last quarter were children of people living in China in business or other occupations."

The higher enrollment allowed for a division of the Forms into A and B levels to better adapt to the students' level of proficiency in various subjects. These subjects were "arranged as to afford an opportunity, to all who reached the upper Forms, of sitting for the Oxford Local Junior Examination and School Certificate." The increase in student numbers allowed the student houses to compete in a variety of sports from football, (soccer), boating, and cricket, to field hockey, netball and tennis. Generally, the Sino-Japanese War which began in 1937, did not seem to have an effect on the functioning of the Chefoo Schools. However, it would begin to affect individual students who were unable to travel to see their parents living in regions under conflict. (6)

Up until Pearl Harbor, many Westerners living in China did not overly concern themselves with the war between China and Japan. There had been a Japanese presence in Shantung Province for almost fifty years so Western society and life in China continued as usual. Specifically at Chefoo, routines did not vary much, even with the occupation of the province. "We from the West were, of course neutrals and not involved. School life and travel went on much as usual. " (7)

However, there were some changes. The Sino-Japanese war, and the conflicts between the Kuomintang Nationalist Party (KMT) and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) prevented many of the students from returning to their homes during the winter and spring holidays because the on-going conflicts made traveling hazardous. The only other disruption was to the hockey field where a huge Union Jack was laid out so that the school compound would not be bombed by mistake. (8)

CIM January, 1940 - July, 1940

At the national level, the war was affecting how the CIM headquarters in Shanghai operated. Surprisingly, it was the European war that had the greater initial impact. With Britain's entrance into the European war, the British consul requested men to register regarding their qualification for military service. The CIM council followed the policy set during the First World War that any missionary called up for service would be under the jurisdiction of the government and no longer the responsibility of the CIM. If a missionary wished to volunteer for military service, he had to consult the Directorate of the Mission who would reiterate the British Ambassador's statement that "British subjects in the East would most fully serve their country by remaining at their present posts. " (9)

Another direct effect of the European war on the Mission was in regards to furloughs for missionaries. The war conditions in Europe made it "inadvisable for the missionaries to contemplate furlough in the United Kingdom." The Mission would, however, grant a six months' holiday at the coast of Chefoo, or perhaps allow for furloughs to be taken in Australia or North America. At that time, 1940 England was not the best place to go. With news of rationing, the Battle of Britain, torpedoing of ships, and the German army hovering across the Channel, it was understandable that British expatriates felt secure in China. It also explains why the British Ambassador recommended that British subjects remain in China, as they would only add to the burden if they returned to England. So, although the CIM schools were in Japanese-occupied China, the children seemed safer there than in the homeland.

However, this safety did not necessarily mean that the children or the parents were happy. The July, 1940, council meeting also dealt with the issue of parents stationed in the distant regions who wished to visit their children more often than allowed by the present policy of every three years. This issue had apparently been raised before with considerable feeling. It seems that the financial outlay of Mission funds for traveling was the main consideration at this time as "location in inland China necessitated heavy traveling expenses to and from Chefoo . . . involving considerable outlay of Mission funds." (10)

After considerable deliberation it was decided that, due to the abnormal conditions in China, the three year visiting rule would stand, but as "a temporary expedient ... parents desiring to visit their children at Chefoo after two year's absence from them may make application through their superintendent." It would seem that such a process would probably take almost another year to be approved so that the parents would not see their child much sooner than the three years anyway. (11)

CIM October. 1940 - December, 1941

Before the next council meeting in October 1940, the situation in the Far East changed as Japan renewed its expansion. Near the end of September 1940, Japan entered Indochina and pressured Britain to close the Burma Road and pull their troops out of the international settlements in Shanghai and Northern China. The United States retaliated by imposing various embargos on Japan. By the end of September the three Axis powers of Germany, Italy and Japan signed the Tripartite Pact which promised that each would declare war on any third party which declared war against one of them. These actions prompted the U.S. Government to advise evacuation of all American civilians from China.

The CIM council now had a new set of issues to contemplate. During the morning session of the October 25, 1940 CIM council meeting, the decision was made that "members should remain at their post, continuing in the work which

the Lord had entrusted to them." If missionaries of U.S. citizenship desired to follow the advice of their government and evacuate China, they had the permission of the Mission with the understanding that "the worker concerned would look to the Lord for the necessary financial expenses involved." (12)

The afternoon session continued with the topic of evacuation as it pertained to the Chefoo Schools. Mr. Bruce, the Headmaster of the Schools, shared with the committee a draft letter to be sent to the parents. The letter explained that after consulting Sir Arthur Blackburn, the British Ambassador's private secretary, it was decided that the Schools should remain open. British parents were encouraged to keep their children at school. American parents could withdraw their children after consultation with the principal.

An issue was then raised as to whether the children of other nationalities who remained at the School would be treated the same as the British children by the British authorities if a more critical situation arose. The issue was resolved by the October 28 council meeting through a telephone conversation with Sir Blackburn who stated that the children and staff "would be regarded as a unit," regardless of nationality. An interview was then set up to meet with the American Consulate to review the position of the Chefoo Schools.

The outcome of the meeting with the American Consulate representative, Mr. Engdahl, was reported at the afternoon council meeting of October 28, 1940. Mr. Engdahl was in full agreement with the British authorities' willingness to treat the Chefoo Schools as a unit and to keep the schools open. However, "Mr. Engdahl's opinion and advice differed in certain respects from those of the British Ambassador's private secretary." These differences, however, were not specified in the minutes. Apparently they were not significant enough to necessitate a change in plans for the Schools.

Upon agreement that all the students would be treated as a unit, Mr. Bruce was advised to draft two letters explaining the school's stance regarding evacuation. The letter for the CIM Mission parents stated that "the Mission should pay the passage home. [But,] we are taking it for granted that there will not be many able to avail themselves of this offer, and we expect that the majority of our Mission children will remain with us."

The letter to the non-Mission parents differed in stating that, by withdrawing their children, "we should be relieved of that much responsibility." But if the children were to remain, the school could not "give any guarantee that we shall be unmolested, so that the responsibility for your child's continuance here must rest with you." At the council meeting of May 29, 1941, the same issues of furloughs, parents visiting Chefoo and whether the students of Chefoo would be recognized as a unit by the British Government were reviewed and

remained unchanged. The only major change in plans was for the Schools to begin stocking extra provisions and a three month reserve of cash. (13)

For Protestant mission groups overall in China, things had changed. For example, 1926 was the year when the most American Protestant missionaries worked in China with the number reaching 8,325. By 1940 that number had declined to 2,500. Yet, there was still the belief that "British soldiers would one day come and kick out the Japanese! _ . . People still talked about the Boxer Rebellion ... of how British and Allied forces .. advanced to the rescue. ...The Royal Navy corning to our rescue seemed far from impossible." Compared to the war on the European continent, Japan and the Far East seemed calm. (14)

Chefoo 1941 - 1942

The bombing of Pearl Harbor (December 8, 1941 in China) brought an abrupt change in the treatment of Westerners by the Japanese. They were now considered "enemy aliens." Word of the bombing came to Chefoo from two schoolboys returning from a weekend spent at a home in town where they had heard it on the radio. By the afternoon the Japanese had come to the school compound.

> They were very polite and after removing our radios and having a good look round they took Pa Bruce [the Head Master] off with them and left us with guards in charge of the compound and a wooden notice saying that the great-nation were [sic] now in charge of the place. (15)

Though the start of the war came during the school's winter break, most of the students were present, not having been able to travel home for the past three years. The staff began mandatory rationing of food and dismissed a number of servants as their access to funds from headquarters in Shanghai was now cut off. A new school term commenced in January with everyone wearing armbands to signify their nationality. By February, Mr. Bruce was allowed to return as headmaster. (16)

As the year progressed, restrictions on the school increased. "Japanese official visitors became more and more frequent, inspecting the place, sending parties to measure the premises, room by room. Drilling parties came on the grounds, indulging in realistic battle practice." (17)

> " The Japanese Army now coveted our compound as a military base and soon they began a gradual takeover. The school hospital and various staff residences were commandeered. A block of stables was built across our tennis courts and gardens.
>
> ... Our cricket field was taken over for Japanese Army baseball matches. (18)

A report from the Foreign Missions Conference of North America sent to Washington through the International Red Cross describes Chefoo "Schools much as usual. Mild rationing. Wardrobes difficult. Free funds sufficient for three months. Seventy-one adults and two hundred and twelve children, mostly in school, are located in Chifoo [sic]." (19)

Evacuation of Chefoo

At CIM headquarters, now relocated at Chungking in Free China, a letter was sent to the parents updating them on the possibility of the children being evacuated to South Africa. The Japanese government would be responsible for all expenses as far as Lourenco Marques in Portuguese East Africa. From there the school would try to settle in South Africa.

Whether Africa or elsewhere, a forced evacuation seemed imminent. School officials had been advised by the Japanese Consul through the American Consul that,

> " for their own sakes the American children should be evacuated ... Mr. Bruce countered by pointing out that parents were scattered all over China and that he could not consent without consulting them. It was pointed out to him how difficult it would be to carry on without the first two buildings [the Co-tuition and the Prep]. (20)

A letter from Chefoo to the parents in June of 1942 details how the School carried on. The letter recaps the term's events, particularly in the area of sports and Foundation Day activities. It repeatedly stresses the normality of student life at Chefoo even in "days when so many things are out of joint, ... Chefoo continues peaceful.... [Yet] we Westerners are no longer the spout [sic] children of the world," (21)

Eventually the Japanese Army required the whole school compound for military use. At first the school was going to be moved to a run-down hotel on the beach which had an inadequate water supply. Fortunately the Swiss Consul persuaded the Japanese to make the place of internment Temple Hill Presbyterian Mission Compound, which was west of Chefoo School. The school was given a few days notice to pack up and clear out. There were those who "found it hard to believe that God would expel us from our God- given heritage. One missionary refused to pack a suitcase, confidant to the end that God would intervene."

But on November 5, 1942 the Chefoo student body and staff processed to Temple Hill singing a school chorus that began: "God is still on the throne, and He will remember his own." On the same day that Chefoo headed for internment, Switzerland sent word to Washington that "the Japanese authorities have

assembled all citizens of countries at war with Japan in certain groups of houses. This was done at Hankow, Tsingtao and Chefoo. " (22)

By December letters were reaching CIM headquarters in Chungking from Chefoo at Temple Hill to be dispersed throughout the interior to the parents. One such letter tells of the impending move to Temple Hill and how housing would be arranged in the compound.

> " Each of the four houses will hold sixty-four people on average. ...The Lanning house is occupied by people from the San ... a total of forty-five. The Young house will have the majority of the Boys School and necessary staff, fifty-eight in all. The Berst [Burst] house will hold the Prep School ... apparently sixty-six .. . The Erwin [Irwin] house, some five minutes walk from the others, is occupied by the Girls School . . . making seventy-one in all" (23)

The description of housing in the Sinton letter is confirmed by the American Consul's report of a year later. The first official report, however, was filed by Mr. Egger, a representative of the Swiss Consulate in July of 1943. The report briefly, but positively, talks about the distribution of comfort money, the excellent health of the children and the sufficiency of their diet. Mr. Bruce also gave Mr. Egger a cable to send on to the parents. Concerning the education it says, "Scout and Guide activities employ leisure time of most children. Teaching limited as all domestic work done by adults and scholars... Foundation Day celebrated. Religious activities unhindered. " (24)

A thorough report by the American Consul, Samuel Sokobin, fills in other details about the organization of Temple Hill. One hundred nineteen business and missionary families were also interned at Temple Hill. Apparently some of these missionaries were Catholic priests who were later moved to Peking. The camp was first under the control of the Japanese military who were then replaced in March of 1943 by the Japanese consular police. This change brought about stricter enforcement of camp regulations, but camp problems were dealt with more effectively and efficiently. From the day of arrival until January 27, 1943, food was purchased with the internees' own funds. In January, the Japanese provided each internee with comfort money, or relief funds. The CIM group "declined to accept the money on any basis, in as much as it is the policy of the China Inland Mission and the members thereof not to obligate themselves financially. " (25)

Officially only one letter per month could be mailed via Mr. Egger, the Swiss Consul. Unofficially, letters in Chinese were surreptitiously sent out through the Chinese until the operation was found out in May of 1943. Two letters made it to Headquarters in Chungking and were later printed in *China's Millions*, the monthly CIM publication. One letter begins, "No longer can we say,

as has been said in other communications, that Chefoo is normal, but I think we can say that it is not, even now, subnormal. " (26)

Schooling continued, though on a restricted basis, as adults and youth were needed to do the bulk of the work. After having servants all their lives, many of the Chefoo students were getting a practical education in life skills

Formation of Weihsien Internment Camp

While the Chefoo group was interned in Temple Hill, the remaining Westerners in North China were increasingly restricted to their houses or settlement areas until large scale internment could be accomplished. Washington received word of the impending internment through a telegram reading: "Japanese Consulates in North China to inform all enemy nationals in North China that they are to be sent for concentration to Weihsien, Shantung. This is to take place about the middle of March." A later telegram confirmed the impending internment but added that "those assembled at Chefoo will remain there." Chefoo in this case referred to Temple Hill, which was located in Chefoo. (27)

Of the larger internment camps in China, Weihsien was one of the most adequate. Prior to becoming an internment camp, it had been a large American Presbyterian Mission school, seminary and hospital two miles east of Weihsien city. In 1943 Weihsien, with compound space of 200 yards by 150, became the internment camp for 1,700 people from the regions of Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao and Chefoo. After the transfer of the Catholics, and "the repatriation of a majority of the Americans and Canadians at Weihsien, there remained about 1,400 internees.... There were 202 United States, 1,093 British, 42 Belgians, 28 Dutch, and 58 other nationals there, of whom 358 were children." (28)

The first group of internees to arrive in Weihsien on March 20, 1943 were from Tsingtao. To their dismay they found that,

> " no kitchens were operating and nothing was organized. We had to start things going, especially in the kitchen. In fact, the Japanese admitted they were not quite ready for us, and sanitary conditions, we soon learned, gave all too much emphasis to their admission. Morning roll call ensued; otherwise the guards left us much to ourselves. (29)

By the end of March, 1943, the last group arrived at Weihsien. Over 1,400 people were confined to an area the size of five large city blocks. Families, comprising the majority of the internee population, were housed in former student rooms which were 12'6" x 8' 11 ". Each room, suitable for two persons, now had to hold three or four people. Single men and women lived in groups of ten to fifteen in the classrooms, offices and the hospital which were converted

into dormitories. The internees also had use of a church, a tennis court, a small playing field and a basketball court. When the Chefoo group arrived in September, 1943, families were housed in the single rooms, the rest were placed in the dormitories. (30)

The Japanese garrison at Weihsien camp consisted of a Commandant, his staff of five, and then thirty to forty Japanese Consular Police. There was little contact between the Japanese and the internees, who were given practical autonomy in the direction of their affairs. The internees were commanded to form a permanent committee with nine chairmen. The nine committees were for discipline, education, employment, engineering and repairs, finance, food supplies, general affairs, medical affairs, and quarters. The "average internee saw little of the Japanese Camp Commandant or his staff, who left the running of the camp almost entirely in the hands of the Committee, to whom he issued orders and from whom he received requests and complaints." (31)

Education at Weihsien

Of special interest is the formation of schools in Weihsien prior to the arrival of the Chefoo group. All of the information is derived from Sokobin's November 11, 1943 report. The head of the Education Committee had previously been with the Tientsin Grammar School. The committee organized the children into groups. At the pre-school and kindergarten age there were approximately ninety students who were then divided into age appropriate groupings from three to six years old.

On the elementary level, two schools evolved. The American School derived its staff from the Peking American School and the British School was made up of teachers from the Tientsin Grammar School_ The two schools went from grades one through eight, or the comparable Forms on the British side. They had one hundred students and sixteen teachers between the two schools. At the high school level, there were approximately fifteen teachers and seventy-five students in the British and American schools.

Adult education also thrived. "Amongst the Catholic Fathers, the educationalists from the Peking universities and the language students, we had some of the finest intellects in North China, and lectures and talks were given on every imaginable subject." Ninety teachers taught more than 700 students in twenty-five subjects which included art, botany, ornithology, physics, chemistry, Chinese, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Latin, Greek, philosophy, psychology, theology, commercial subjects, vocal and theoretical music, and higher mathematics. (32)

Chefoo Transfer Repatriation and Internment

The monotonous days of Chefoo's internment at Temple Hill were coming to an end, although the internees did not realize it. "Things are just the same as ever. The present great idea is 'walking miles.' A mile is from the front gate to the San gate 14 times. Some of the children have done about 63 miles!! They have a chart on which to record their score." By the end of the summer rumors began again about sending the Chefoo group to South Africa. This time, however, it would only include the staff, and children under fourteen. The older children would return to their homelands or be transferred to a neutral area. These rumors also proved to be false and "it was a shock, finally, to be told that we were to be transferred to Weihsien." (33)

The news about repatriation, however, was partially true. On August 28, 1943, fifty-four North Americans left the Chefoo group to join hundreds of others at Weihsien waiting to be repatriated to the U.S.A. or Canada as part of a prisoner exchange. The remaining Chefoo group left for Weihsien on September 8, 1943, after being interned at Temple Hill for ten months. The trip by boat to Tsingtao and then by train to Weihsien was hectic, crowded, and involved some loss of possessions. But two and a half days later the Chefoo group arrived at Weihsien to an unexpected welcome from the internees.

A few days later those being repatriated left Weihsien to begin the journey home. "That was a most depressing day.... The departure of the Fathers and the Americans marked the end of the era of easy living in the 'Courtyard of the Happy Way.' Labour hours for the remaining internees had to be increased." On August 16, 440 of the priests and nuns had been transferred from Weihsien to Peking. This caused a substantial loss of adult workers in the camp which could not be adequately compensated for by the Chefoo contingent. (34)

As the Chefoo group settled into Weihsien routines, Mission headquarters in Chungking was still trying to work out a way of transferring the school to South Africa. The council reviewed previously presented ideas for repatriation or for setting up a junior school in South Africa. These schemes were abandoned due to numerous government delays. When word came in September of the fifty-plus Chefoo students and CIM staff being repatriated, this also created problems.

The problem was that not all the parents "had sympathetic relatives to whom children might, for a time, be entrusted, when they arrived in the homelands." Therefore, the Mission set up hostels in their Mission home centers and continued to be responsible for the children's education. "Even with these provisions, some parents were not altogether happy about the future of their children.... this matter of separation would constitute a factor to which due weight would be given when parents desire to proceed home on furlough." (35)

Chefoo in Weihsien

Thoughts of furloughs though, were still almost two years from becoming reality. For the Chefusians, however, Weihsien was a God-send.

> " The School entered a camp already in working order, and it was a measure of relief to the staff to feel that some of the responsibilities of Temple Hill would now be shared by the various departments of the camp's administration.... Cooking, which had been an increasing burden at Temple Hill, no longer fell upon the womenfolk. (36)

The repatriation also necessitated the reorganization of the camp schools. There were still four schools, the nursery, the kindergarten, the Weihsien School and the Chefoo School. The Weihsien School was a conglomerate of the former American and British Schools. Since the Weihsien School used different textbooks, Chefoo maintained its own school and did not take in any Weihsien students. Some of the Chefoo staff though, did teach in the Weihsien School. The Chefoo faculty had a staff meeting where, "after computing the least number for the running of the School, it was decided. . . . Those free from other official camp duties were able to organize classes so that at least half a day's schooling was done.... in dormitories." (37)

The staff also decided to continue preparing the students for the Oxford Examinations as "an incentive to steady work with a definite objective.... The effect on the whole school was noticeable.... The reintroduction of half-term marks was a further spur to industry, and a means of checking the progress of individuals." The Chefoo staff had prepared for the continuation of schooling during internment by having students bring a complete set of textbooks for their year which were then passed down during the next three years to younger students. So the Chefoo School was able to function in cramped conditions and despite a "desperate shortage of paper. Work would be done in pencil, erased, and the sheet of paper used again." (38)

Once the Chefoo contingent had settled in, Weihsien life took on a structured routine. "Roll Call - 7:30 a.m., Breakfast - 8:00, Tiffin [lunch] - 12:30, Supper - 6:00, Lights out - 10:00 p.m." Meals consisted of bread and tea, sometimes millet, for breakfast, stew for lunch, and soup for supper. This was supplemented with eggs from the black market, vegetables from small gardens and milk for the infants from cows kept near the camp. The most glaring deficiencies were in "calcium, vitamin B, vitamin C and calories.... To attempt to partly meet the calcium needs of small children and adolescents, we are grinding up egg shells and feeding this, [but] the supply of egg shells is itself wholly inadequate." (39)

In between meal times everyone did their assigned tasks to keep the camp functioning. In the evenings there were recreational activities, adult classes,

lectures, debates, plays, religious meetings, and concerts. "The aim of the camp was to have one entertainment a week.... These, whilst being a strain in a way were quite a relaxation from work." Those with comfort money could make limited purchases at the canteen, and all could swap goods at the internee organized "Camel Bell Exchange." Beneath this placid exterior there existed a black market, passing of secret messages to the outside world, and the plotting of an escape from Weihsien. (40)

Seasons of trials

Although news from two escaped internees [see Appendix B] gave hope to the internees, the summer of 1944 and into the following winter were bleak times in Weihsien.

> " The physical and mental strains of internment life were taking their toll on internees, particularly those over forty. There were mental breakdowns, workers collapsing on shift with fainting and low blood pressure. Typhoid, malaria, and dysentery were prevalent. There was consequently increasing absenteeism at work in the labour gangs and kitchen shifts. The heat that summer was unbearable. (41)

The summer also meant a renewed all-out war on the rats, flies and bed bugs. Competitions for rat and fly catching were organized for the children in order to try to cut down on the menace. "The scourge of vermin was prevalent everywhere. Most of the children slept on the floor, and their bedding became indescribable with dirt, soot, and bed bugs. A perpetual ... battle went on which got even the most stout-hearted desperate and despondent." Amidst the battle with the insects, eleven Chefoo students sat and passed their Oxford Locals School Certificate exams. (42)

A devastating blow occurred to the Chefoo group that summer with the accidental death of one of their students, Brian Thompson, age 16. While waiting for the evening roll call of August 16, 1944, some of the Chefoo boys began hitting two uncovered electrical wires that drooped down about 7 feet from the ground where they were lined up. Occasionally an electrical current would pass through the wires. After hitting the wire, one boy called out that the current was on. Other boys reached up to see if it was true.

> " [One of them,] Brian, placed the palm of his right hand on the other of the two wires.... Thompson's hand immediately closed on the wire and with a groan he fell, striking the back of his head on the ground but still clutching the wire.... His feet were bare, the ground on which he had been standing was also bare earth and still damp from recent rains; the current was 220 volts A.C..... Death occurred almost immediately and while Thompson was still in contact with the electrical current. (43)

Another significant death in the camp was that of Eric Liddell, the 1924 Olympic gold medalist. Eric was a missionary for the London Missionary Society in Tientsin prior to internment. He had sent his wife and children back to Canada before the start of the war, but he remained in China. At Weihsien Eric,

> " immediately took leadership in developing athletic activities for the numerous children in the camp.... For the young, children and teenagers, Eric was a friend they could trust implicitly. They sought him out for the problems of growing up, for their spiritual doubts, for all the intricacies of athletics and sports, and just because they knew he cared for them. . . . Eric died on February 21, 1945 at the age of 43 of a stroke brought about by a brain tumor. (44)

Liddell's death only added to the despair and gloom at the close of the winter of 1945. "We had all found the winter very trying. Cold and sometimes hunger began to affect the spirit of the camp generally. With the reduced rations came some discontent and people refused to work which made it difficult." (45) The shortage of food was relieved at the end of January with the arrival of fifteen hundred American Red Cross parcels. It was two weeks, however, before the food was distributed as some Americans, including missionaries, contended that since the parcels were sent by and intended for Americans, then they should be the only ones to receive them.

The Japanese settled the dispute by giving one box to each person. The extra boxes were to be sent to other camps. The parcels had a dramatic effect in the camp. Physical hunger and exhaustion were relieved slightly and the general morale was lifted. "One of the few times I had a little weep in camp was when we opened our parcels in our little room and I saw the faces of my three children as they took out tins of milk, butter, jam, sugar, cheese, meat, etc. We had not seen such things for a long time." This food lasted till the spring. (46)

As the supplies from the Red Cross parcels diminished, the signs of spring helped renew spirits. In March a group of fourteen Chefoo students sat their Oxford Matric Exams and all fourteen passed. (47) Yet the coming of a new season also meant the prospect of another year of internment. The Japanese propaganda newspaper, *The Peking Chronicle*, continued to report Japan's victories and America's losses. The internees did notice, however, that the battles were occurring closer and closer to Japan. Other news was obtained from two discontented Japanese guards befriended by De Jaegher, an interned R.C. priest. They told him of plans being made to move the camp further north to Mukden so as to "hold on to as many of these captives of war as possible, as long as possible, for bargaining purposes." (48)

Encouraging news from the outside came secretly in May via the cesspool coolies. Germany had capitulated! Mixed with the joy of knowing that the war

was coming to an end, there were also feelings of uncertainty. What would the Japanese do with the internees? And, just how would the war end for them? Rumors were rife that in the event of defeat, the Japanese had orders never to surrender but to kill all the prisoners and then themselves. But the end of their internment came sooner, and far more spectacularly than any of the internees could have imagined. (49)

Liberation Day

> " About half-past nine on the morning of August 17 we suddenly heard the sound of a plane, and there up in the sky was the roaring bulk of a B-24. Gradually it circled lower and lower, evidently to see if it would draw enemy fire, and then amid the frantic cheers of fifteen hundred internees fell the small humanitarian force. The sight of those parachutes slowly coming down into the fields just outside our camp sent a mad impulse into everybody. One and all, we rushed out of that horrible old gate that had glared at us for so long. No one could stop us as we rushed out to where the parachutes of men and provisions were dropping. I cannot describe the thrill of such a sight. It seemed almost as if it had been worth the three years in camp just to see those red, blue, yellow, and white parachutes. (50)

The day of liberation had come by total surprise out of the sky, only two days after Japan had accepted unconditional surrender. The seven man team that parachuted was code named the "Duck team" on the "Duck mission." Their B-24 plane was trying to locate the camp when, at "500 feet, a compound was located in which hundreds of people were collected, waving up at the plane. It could therefore be presumed that this was the objective sought." The humanitarian purpose of the mission was to contact the Japanese authorities and take care of the health and welfare of the internees until more substantial aid could be forthcoming. (51)

The parachutists were carried on shoulders into the camp as heroes while the Salvation Army and camp band played. One of the soldiers, Jim Moore, was a former Chefoo boy, and had specifically volunteered for this mission through the Office of Strategic Services because he wanted to liberate Weihsien. The guards had offered no resistance, apparently as surprised by the events as the internees, and stunned at the mass exodus of the internees through the front gate. Major Stanley Staiger, leader of the Duck mission, met with the camp committee and the camp Commandant, Mr. Izu. It was agreed that the Japanese would continue to guard the camp from bands of Chinese guerillas. The Duck team and the Committee of Nine were responsible for administering the camp's internal affairs. (52)

For the next month, supply parcels were parachuted in about every three days. Along with food and clothing, magazines, records, and newspapers were supplied to help re-educate the internees to the advances of the Western world during the war years. At the end of August, the "Duck Team" was relieved of duty by an SOS team of seven officers and twelve enlisted men under the direction of Lieutenant Colonel H. Weinberg. Their job was to take over administrative control and to prepare the internees for evacuation to their homelands. Before departing for home, however, the last group of Chefoo students, twelve, sat their Oxford Matric Exams. Out of the twelve, nine passed. (53)

After delays due to fighting between Chinese Communist and guerrilla groups, weather, and lack of transportation, the internees could finally leave Weihsien. The Chefoo group left Weihsien for Tsingtao on September 25, 1945. They stayed in the Edgewater Mansions, a luxury hotel, for over a week and were reacquainted with endless amounts of food and running water. On October 7, the students and staff left in smaller groups for Hong Kong, and then on to their final destinations of Australia, the United States, Britain, Canada, and South Africa. A few remained in China to be reunited with their parents who were still in the interior. (54)

With the historical context just presented as the background, Chapter Two will weave in the stories of two women who were Chefoo school children during this time period. The women's oral histories reveal their feelings as eyewitnesses of what it was like to experience parental separation, Japanese occupation, schooling during internment, liberation from internment and finally reuniting and adjusting to life with their families.

The next chapter provides an opportunity for the women to express what they believe to be the long-term effects of their unique schooling experience. Before moving on to Chapter Two, however, the issue of the dichotomy of personal history and official history will be noted. An examination of the validity of the historical evidence of this chapter is presented in Appendix C, Methodology.

Issues of Personal Reality and Official History

This chapter has presented the documented historical account of the Chefoo School's internment during World War Two. Chapter Two contains the oral accounts of the same events as seen through the eyes of two women who were students at the time. It is often assumed that the documented accounts and testimonies recorded close to the time of the event are "truer" or "more official" renderings of what happened. Even the women informants of this study

deferred to the written accounts as being more reliable and truthful than their own stories. Is a written record "more true" than a personal memory?

While the documented history does provide a chronological accounting of events that informants fifty years later may have forgotten or confused, it gives only one perspective of those events. Often that one "official" point of view was androcentric, thus excluding women's interpretations of events and experiences. Every source, whether primary documents or oral histories, is equally valid as each one presents only partial or selective realities. It is the researcher who must determine the worth of the interviews relative to each other and the written record. The oral histories must be verified the same as other sources based on instinctive response, validity, reliability, and verifiability. (55)

The advantage of oral histories is that the subjects themselves are available for cross-examination and provide a three-dimensional effect of collaboration between the researcher, the documented sources and the subject herself. The informants offer rich, vivid language, with characteristically distinctive and exact phrasings which is often lacking in historical documents. A narrator presents a story of what she or he thinks is a significant part of his/her life. But the researcher must be wary of collecting and interpreting rehearsed anecdotes of the past which are more story than history. Telling one's story is a process of configuring actual events into a symbolic representation of personal meaning. (56)

Factors influencing meaning-making narratives are the audiences, self-justification and catharsis. The immediate and anticipated audience may influence how and what is told by the narrator. What the narrator reveals is often dependent on how the narrator perceives the interviewer's background and the rapport established between them. (57) Chapter Three will detail how specific informant and researcher issues of documented and personal reality were resolved.

Summary

This study was based substantially on the primary sources of eyewitness accounts and documents. The historical synthesis of archival and published documents along with each informant's story provided a foundation for a more descriptive picture of how each person remembered and interpreted the significance of these events in their lives. Each source, whether oral or written, must be verified as much as possible for validity and reliability. Both written and oral sources present a person's or group's interpretation of historical events. The researcher must determine how these perspectives can be fitted together to present a comprehensive view of the historical event for analysis.

The triangulation of the historical documents, the oral histories presented in the next chapter and peer corroboration strengthen the validity of the study. External and construct validity are enhanced by having the informants and the researcher derive the categories together. Knowing the shared history of the informants enables the researcher to ask further questions about the universal theme of social control in an educational context, and how this theme was identified and interpreted by the informants in shaping their lives.

1 Civilian assembly centers (CAC) are referred to as internment and concentration camps by the informants and by other internees. Only the Japanese called them CAC. The term "internment" will be used in this paper. [click on the Arrow]

2 James Stark, letter from CIM Headquarters, Shanghai, China, to Homeland Councils, February 3, 1938, OM Collection 215, box 2, folder 26, (only box and folder will be cited), Archives of the Billy Graham Center (BGC), Wheaton, IL.

3 "Manual of Instructions and Information for Probationers and Members of the China Inland Mission, 1938," Box 2, folder 16, BGC, 3.

4 Ibid., 14; Kenneth Scott Latourette, A History of Christian Missions in China (New York: Russell & Russell, 1929; reissued, 1967), 386; David Michell, In God's Way (Toronto: OMF Books, 1988).

5 Marshall Broomhall, Jubilee Story of the China Inland Mission (Philadelphia, PA: China Inland Mission, 1915), 226, quoting Hudson Taylor; Stanley Houghton, Edith B. Harman, & Margaret Pyle, Chefoo (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1931).

6 Gordon Martin, Schoolmaster Errant (Wiltshire, England: Anthony Rowe, 1992), 38; Houghton, Harmon, & Pyle, 12.

7 Martin, (1992), 49.

8 Miss E. Rice, "Our Chefoo Schools in War Time," China's Millions, (January, 1938), 12-13; Dr. F. H. Judd, "A History of the China Inland Mission School at Chefoo, China," The Chefoo Magazine, (bi-annually, 1951-1954); David Bentley-Taylor, "Extracts from Chefoo Diaries, 1939-1940," The Chefoo Magazine, (Winter, 1991-1992).

9 "CIM Council Meeting in Shanghai, Jan. 20, 1940," Box 2, folder 49, BGC, 8.

10 "CIM Council Meeting in Shanghai, July 11, 1940," Box 2, folder 49, BGC, 8.

11 Ibid.

12 James L. Stokesbury, A Short History of World War 11 (New York: William Morrow, 1980), 164; "CIM Council at Shanghai, October 25, 1940", Box 2, folder 49, BGC, 5.

13 "CIM Council Meeting at Shanghai, Oct. 28, 1940", Box 2, folder 49 BGC, 8-11; "CIM Council Meeting at Shanghai, May 29, 1941", Box 2, folder 50, BGC.

14 James W. G. Bruce, "Birds in the Fowler's Net. " The Chefoo Magazine 1994/95, 49; Bruce Stephen Greenawalt, "Missionary Intelligence from China: American Protestant Reports 1930-1950," (Ph. D. diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1974), 198.

15 Extract of a personal letter from unnamed Chefoo staff member to Winifred Urech, who then sent it to John R. Sinton, director of emergency CIM headquarters in Chungking, Free China. Original letter written Jan. 24, 1942, extract sent in Feb. 1942. Cardboard box, Overseas Missionary Fellowship (OMF) CSA Archives, Toronto.

16 Kathryn Kuhn, letter from Chefoo to parents, John and Isobel Kuhn and reprinted in parents' prayer letter, "U. S. Council Correspondence, Kuhn, John and Isobel, 1941" Box 4, folder 37, BGC; Judd, (1952); Martin, (1992).

17 Roy and Gertrude Seaman, Dear friends letter, "Chefoo-Weihsien-Toronto", recounting internment experiences, Jan. 1946, Cardboard box, OMF, CSA Archives, Toronto, 1.

18 Bruce, 52.

19 "Report on Recent Developments in the Situation of Americans in the Orient," May 1, 1942, RG 389, box 2141, "Camp Reports Croatia to France," National Archives, (NA), Washington, D. C..

20 John R. Sinton, letter, CIM Headquarters, Chungking, to CIM Missionaries, May 11, 1942, box Chefoo History, folder 9, OMF, CSA Archives, Toronto, 1.

21 Letter from Chefoo Staff to Parents, June 20, 1942, box Chefoo History, folder 9, OMF, CSA Archives, Toronto, 1.

22 Bruce, 53; Seaman, "Chefoo-Weihsien-Toronto", 2; T.J. Harrison letter to Secretary of State, "American interests, Far East," Bern, Nov. 5, 1942, RG 389, box 2141, Camp Reports Croatia to France, NA.

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CHAPTER TWO

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THE ORAL HISTORIES

Introduction

This chapter explores the experiences of two female students while they were at Chefoo and then interned at Weihsien Camp in China during World War II. Their two stories are presented as edited life histories since the focus is on their student years, from childhood to adolescence. They are also, however, retrospective reflections by the women on how the events of those years influenced their lives. These reflections on how one's education affects one's life is the prime interest of this study.

The student in this first study is Mary Taylor Previte, great grand-daughter of J. Hudson Taylor, who founded the China Inland Mission (CIM) in 1865, and the China Inland Mission Schools in 1881. The second oral history is of Kathleen Strange Foster, who is two years older than Mary and resides in England, while Mary lives in the United States. The first case study is a compilation of the transcript of two oral interviews with this student and of information from her autobiographical book, *Hungry Ghosts*. (1)

Recurring themes, or categories, from the interviews and the book were identified and combined by the researcher into a chronological, thematic format The subheadings in this first oral history are the themes into which collected data were sorted.

Oral History Concerns

Using oral history to gather and disseminate scholarly information raises a variety of ethical and research-based concerns. Though all research studies should be evaluated with scholarly rigor, there are areas of concern specific to doing oral history. Some of the considerations are as follows: First, each of the twenty-nine people initially interviewed in the fishnet and information gathering approach were informed of the purpose of the study and gave their verbal consent to being interviewed and audio-taped. Three women were selected as the main informants and were given a transcription of their interviews for review. The interviewees were informed of the purposes and procedure of the oral history and of their rights regarding reviewing, editing, access restrictions, and dissemination of the finished study. It is the researcher's intent that the integrity of the interviewees' voices be retained, without misrepresentation of their words or taking them out of context.

The interviewees were also informed that they had the right to decline to discuss certain subjects and to request anonymity if desired. Toward the end of writing this dissertation, one of the women no longer wished to be involved with the study, or to have her story directly used, for personal reasons. Though I regretted losing this woman's story, and believe that the loss diminished the study's impact, I consented to her decision and did not use her story. This issue as well as concerns specific to subjectivity, validity and reliability will be reviewed throughout the following chapter. Also, issues related to how the oral histories were collected and how ethical concerns were dealt with will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Constant Comparative Method

A constant comparative method was used to analyze and compare the two women's stories as to how they support or differ from the study themes and the cultural themes presented in this work. The constant comparative method is

an effective means of grounding theory in the data because it "combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidents observed." In this study the social incidents were recounted orally rather than observed. They were then compared by the researcher with related responses or actions described by the other informants in similar settings or circumstances. New events were continuously compared with previous events to discover new relationships which undergo continual refinement and feeds back into the process of category coding. (2)

The purpose of the constant comparative method is to identify recurring categories and relationships for the development of general theory. In this study, the oral histories were broken down into vignettes. These incident stories were then sorted into piles based on similarities of content. These piles of similarity became the emerging categories for each individual oral history and were then compared with categories from the other oral histories. (3)

Mary Taylor Previte's story was a shadow study that provided the researcher with a framework for future interviews with other Chefoo students. The categories derived from other's oral histories were analyzed for convergence and divergence to Mary's story. Finally the categories were sorted into the theme or construct groupings that became the sub-titles in the following oral histories. Each informant reviewed her story to determine if the grounded constructs or themes coincided with their stories.

Development of Themes

Introduction

A grounded theory is established by applying a systematic analysis of the data. The systematic analysis used by the researcher is detailed in Appendix C, Methodology. The following paragraphs will describe the constructs that were extrapolated by the coding of the shadow case study data. James Spradley defines a cultural theme as "any cognitive principle, tacit or explicit, recurrent in a number of domains and serving as a relationship among subsystems of cultural meaning. " (4) Identified themes are not just experience specific. They are also universal with a high degree of generalizability and applicability to numerous situations. The connecting of specific research data through themes to the general human condition is what makes research of interest and of value.

Thematic Invariance

Though the two women's stories differ in personal experiences and interpretations, there is an over-riding commonality of experience that enables the researcher to format each of their stories to the same framework. However, within this framework of *boarding, relationships, health*, for example, each

woman focuses and elaborates on differing areas of importance consistent with how it affected her. This too will be noted and analyzed to try to understand what contributed to the differences in the informants' responses.

Initially the sub-headings for the two case studies varied slightly or had different descriptors for organizing the vignettes contained within. As both case studies were analyzed and compared, the sub-titles were renamed or modified to better define what the sections were about. The same sub-titles were used in each oral history for the ease of comparison and extrapolation of themes across both oral histories. Though each woman's story may differ as to how they personally were affected by the everyday existence of the teacher-student relationship of schooling, *separation* and *schooling* were the overriding themes that each Chefoo student had to face.

What are the themes

The themes identified from the research thus far revolve around two major constructs. The first is the long term *separation* of the children from their parents. The separation was due not just to the war, but was also inherent in the fact that the children's parents were missionaries. Prior to the Sino-Japanese war, the greatest period of time most of the children would have spent with their parents would have been three months every three years. With the start of the war in 1937, most of the children saw their parents for only two weeks in the eight years under study. The children not only had to confront separation issues related to the Japanese and the war, but also those caused by the Mission and their parents' life choices.

The second construct, *schooling*, is closely allied with the first since the reason for the children being separated from their parents was for their education. The two constructs are interrelated in this study because the informants were full-time boarders separated for long periods from their parents. This separation, due to boarding and then the internment meant that every aspect of the students' lives was related to schooling. Student conduct in daily life was seen as an aspect of the educational process and not as a separate entity. As one informant explained the situation existing for teachers, "Our poor teachers never got away from us. We saw everything they did and who they did it with."

The same could be said about the students by the teachers since the school staff truly functioned as in *loco parentis*.

Thematic framework

Both Mary's and Kathleen's stories which follow are divided into sub-headings such as *boarding*, *discipline*, and *internment*, for example. These sub-headings were derived from the coding process used on the interview transcripts

and other related source material. Arranged chronologically, the sub-headings indicate generally the content of the vignettes which follow and are the sub-themes that make-up the constructs of *separation* and *schooling*. These vignettes express and bring to life how the larger issues of *separation* and *schooling* affected Mary and Kathleen and were dealt with on an individual level.

The sub-headings created the framework that was used to organize and present both Mary's and Kathleen's stories, and also to gather information from the other interviewees. The sub-headings are discussed in the order that they appeared in the shadow case study and in the second oral history. This order provides a basic chronological sequence that was common to all of the informants interviewed. All of the initial interviews consisted of the interviewees relating their childhood life stories from birth or arrival in China until their final leaving of China and then reuniting with their families. Following the title of the sub-heading is an explanation of what it encompasses and why it was included in the study.

Family Background -- "Family of origin," as one informant stated, "mattered more than anything in our responses to the happenings of war and internment." Prior to being sent to boarding school, most of the children spent the first five to six years of their lives with their parents on the mission field in interior China. There was little contact with other Western children, and the child's main spoken language was usually Chinese or the local tribal language.

How a child responded to being sent to boarding school may have been dependent in part on the family situation the child came from, how the parents prepared the child for school, and the events that preceded the child's separation from his or her parents, such as deaths of older or younger siblings. It may also be significant whether the informant was the first child in the family to go to Chefoo, or if older siblings had already been attending.

Not only will *family background* deal with how the informants' perceived their parents' relationship with each other and with their children, but it will also look at how the informants interpret their parents' reasons for coming to China. It is in this area that the families' values and beliefs as related by the informants will be explored . The informants' recollections will be used to paint a portrait of their family life prior to the boarding experience, and then compared later with how the informants perceived their family relationships upon reuniting five years later.

Family, School, and War - While this area may overlap with the previous one, it is focusing more on the family situation at the time of the informants' first attending Chefoo School, or of the last extended visit the children had with their parents before the escalation of the Sino-Japanese war,

or Pearl Harbor. It is at this point that the effects of the encroaching war are felt and where the motives for the parents and their children remaining in China will be investigated. This section is also where specific informant remembrances will be given regarding how parents prepared their children for entering Chefoo.

Boarding at Chefoo - A significant piece of this topic will be the informants' responses to being separated from their parents, and how they perceived their assimilation into the Chefoo School. In all the interviews thus far, the interviewees could distinctly remember their first time of separation, and often shared their memories with strong emotions, almost sixty years after the fact. It is the researcher's assumption that it was while at the boarding school that the children's true "separation anxiety" (5) occurred, and not during the internment. Ironically, life in the boarding school may have been the best preparation possible for dealing with internment.

Also in this section, the informants will relate the codes and expectations of behavior that were required of a Chefoo student, first by the faculty, and then by their peers. This section will detail the schooling structure through the informants' recollections. Issues such as how the informants made meaning of the rituals and daily routines of their schooling and those of relationships among the teachers and the students will also be explored.

Discipline - This theme will deal with the explicit and implicit forms of control used by the teachers to maintain the school's standards and expected behavior from the students. Though *discipline* is a part of the *boarding at Chefoo* theme, it has been isolated into its own category due to strong informant responses to it in initial interviews. Informants will discuss what they considered the just and unjust forms of discipline, how the students circumvented some of it, and the long term psychological effects some of the informants believe that the punishments had on them.

Internment Camp - Most of this subject will be covered in Chapter Three, Historical Context, which gives the history of the Chefoo School from foundation to internment. However, the informant's impressions of internment will be discussed on a personal level. For it is while interned at Weihsien that the Chefoo students and teachers were forced to exchange their "sheltered, Victorian missionary backwater" for a more cosmopolitan setting. (6) Did this change of environment adversely affect the students and impinge upon their belief system as represented by the Chefoo School? Was the faculty able to maintain control and supervision in this secular setting?

School values - This section will look at the curriculum and schooling process at Chefoo, and how they were adapted if at all, during internment. Some comparisons will be made between the Chefoo School and the other schools

that were organized in Weihsien Camp. As was stated in Mary's story, success or failure in academic studies did play a part in shaping the informant's self-image.

Weihsien Camp **- This theme provides a background for what daily internment life was like. The intent here is to examine how even in general camp routines such as chores and recreational activities, the Chefoo school values were still an overriding force.**

Health **- The extent of this topic will vary with each informant as some had a series of illnesses and physical problems during and after the years under consideration, while others remained relatively healthy. Along with physical health, mental health also needs to be considered in terms of the counseling and psychiatric care that some of the informants received twenty to forty years after the internment.**

Peer relations and Relationships **- deals with the informants' relationships first with classmates, and then with siblings and those of the opposite sex as the informants become adolescents.**

Reuniting **- is about how the informants interpreted their transition from boarding school and internment camp, back to an unfamiliar country and family situation.**

Connecting past to present **- This last topic is an invitation to the informants to reflect on and identify any long term effects they attribute to their educational and early life circumstances and how they relate the past to the present. The informants will explore how influential they feel their teachers, school, boarding, and internment experiences were. And, though it is not the focus of this study, some discussion will deal with the long term effects they believe that their experiences had on their belief system, and their personal and family relationships.**

Universal theme

The constructs of *separation* and *schooling* that were gleaned from the oral histories are also relevant to the present day because they fit into what Spradley identifies as a universal theme. (7) That universal theme is *informal techniques* of *social control* which is how a culture group gets people to conform to the values and norms of the culture. Formal techniques of control would include obvious uses of punishment, such as caning. Informal techniques, however, might include the faculty not interfering when students sent other students "to Coventry," or the staff monitoring the students' weekly letters home. These actions of commission and omission sent a message to the students as to how they were expected to conform to the system of the Chefoo School. By

analyzing informant interviews on tangible sub-themes such as discipline and relationships, the universal theme of *social control* will be discussed.

Mary Taylor Previte- A Biography

Introduction

The first interview with Mary was conducted in July of 1995, a few weeks prior to the fiftieth anniversary of the camp's liberation by American forces from Japanese control. The second interview was done three years later in July of 1998. Throughout the period between the two interviews Mary's input was provided through phone calls and letters as the interview transcripts were turned into the present case study. Mary is extensively quoted so that it is her voice that tells the story and not the researcher's. Quotations from Hungry Ghosts are footnoted. All other quotations are taken from the interview transcripts and will not be footnoted.

> This issue of ritual, predictability and safety was our salvation. It made you feel safe because you internalized: 'oh, I know what's going to happen next.'
>
> Anytime a teacher, a parent can create that feeling inside a child, the child carries a safe message inside them. It has been internalized. That was the extraordinary gift that these teachers gave us. The ritual and the predictability. (8)

The idea of ritual, predictability and safety were themes throughout the interview with Mary Taylor Previte. She learned this first at home, then at school, and experienced it while in an internment camp as a child. Mary has based her work as director of the Camden County Youth Center on establishing such a predictable and safe environment for the juvenile delinquents with whom she works. In her book, *Hungry Ghosts*, Mary sees herself as "a connecting link for that wisdom, one hand touching the past, the other holding the future. I was a link in a chain—from Mother and Father and Chefoo School teachers to generations they would never know." (9)

Family Background

Mary's father, James Hudson Taylor II, was born in Scotland to missionary parents, but raised from infancy in China and became the third generation of Taylors to preach there. Her mother, Alice, was an American who had felt called to the mission field of China as a teenager. Her parents met at a Free Methodist College in Illinois. They were married in 1924 and held tent meetings on their honeymoon. They went to China as missionaries of the Free Methodist Church and were assigned to the Henan Province in central China in the late 1920's.

Mary was the fifth child born to James and Alice Taylor. Their first two daughters died while young children. Mary's sister Kathleen and brother Jamie were five and three years older than she. Her brother John was one year her junior. The youngest child, Herbert, Mary met only after returning from being interned. By law, Mary and her three siblings were recognized as British nationals even though they were born and raised in China.

In the Taylor home, "teaching values came first." Mary's parents taught their children that "a Taylor never says 'I can't." Mary wrote that "our value was never measured by what we wore or what we had. My father wanted character -- not show." This character was expressed by "achieving in academics, being polite, talking honest and clean. These were not a choice." (10) Their children's characters would be further developed at the China Inland Mission Schools commonly referred to as "Chefoo".

Family, School and War

When Mary and her younger brother John were old enough to start at Chefoo, ages six and seven, their mother rented a house near the school compound. Mary and John stayed with their mother for a few months attending as day students. Their sister Kathleen and brother Jamie continued boarding at Chefoo. Even near Chefoo, the Sino- Japanese war raged with Japanese gun boats out in the harbor and Chinese guerrillas on the mountainside behind. The gunboats would shell into the mountainside where the guerrillas hid out. Mary recalled being able to look out from the house and see bloody soldiers limping along. "It was not a safe or tranquil place at all, though everybody had this view that [this] was China's war. 'We're British. Were Americans. It's not our war.' [There was] this feeling of immunity."

By 1940, Mary's parents decided it was no longer safe for them in China. Her father joined the family and bought boat tickets for them all to return to the United States, which was not at war. However, during family worship time her parents had a change of mind about leaving China. (11) Sometime during that daily ritual Mary's parents felt that God had called them to China, not just during times of peace but in all situations. They said they felt it was "God's will that they return the tickets" and stay in China. So her parents made the commitment to return to do mission work in Free China, which was not under Japanese occupation, and leave the children at Chefoo in North China, which was occupied by the Japanese.

Mary's parents prepared the children for what they knew "would be an extended separation. They didn't know if there would be war or not, but there could be war." Her parents' view, as it had been through the Taylor generations before them, was "anchor with the promises of God." Her mother provided this "anchor" of security and support by putting passages of the Bible to music

because "you 'learn by heart' when you sing." Everyday they would sing Psalm 91 and Isaiah 55, Bible passages extolling God's loving care.

> Everyday, everyday, everyday at our family worship ritual we would sing the promises of God. Why would you question it? Your parents said it, you sang it every day by heart--'He that dwelleth in the secret place of the most high shall abide under the shadow of the Almighty.... A thousand shall fall at thy side, ten thousand at thy right hand but it shall not come nigh thee.... He shall give his angels charge over thee to keep thee in all thy ways_' It was some of the most extraordinary promises. Why would we doubt? This was what our parents anchored us with and then they left us.

Boarding at Chefoo

> When they left us, I can remember the emotional shock of it. It is still one of the most ignominious periods of my life. I was seven and a half in boarding school. Every day before breakfast I threw up. And it was sissy to feel homesick. You just didn't feel homesick. You didn't cry, you didn't mope, you didn't [act] like you wanted to be with your Daddy and Mommy because everybody else missed their Daddy and Mommy too, and no one would admit to it.

No one wanted to sit at the table with her. The teachers tried to make her brother Jamie sit with her. "That was ignominious defeat for him. He would have to leave all his peers and sit at the table with me to see whether being comforted by big brother would help me not to throw up." Mary thought that this vomiting stage lasted for a few weeks or months, though it "seemed like for years and years. But that was my way of expressing the homesickness."

Mary and her younger brother John were in the Prep School of Chefoo which was for children from ages six to ten. Her sister Kathleen was in the Girls' School. Her brother Jamie was in the Boys' School. The Prep School was both home and school for the younger children. For the most part the Prep School students were taught and watched over by single, female missionary teachers. "Many of them were tongh cookies. Many of them were not gentle souls--not what I would call nurturing in a gentle way. Tough cookies, [but not] mean." There were exceptions. Mary described one as "a really gentle soul, sweet, nurturing person. [She] might have been American."

Most of the teachers at Chefoo, though, were British, which Mary felt made a difference in their approach to education and life.

> They were reared in the British school of 'keep a stiff upper lip' in discipline and structure, which worked to a great advantage because this was not a time to be weepy, cuddly-pooh as your main style of dealing

with people. The teachers set rituals up that weren't always very comforting. They were intended to be comforting, but weren't necessarily comforting.

One of these rituals in the Prep School was that at certain times a student would "go and have prayers, one on one, with a teacher in her room. Well, that was pretty frightening. All of a sudden this tough cookie type person was supposed to be your substitute mom." Mary thought this was done as a way of providing a more nurturing individual contact between the students and teachers. However, the students saw their teachers as "awe inspiring figures" and would much rather have remained with their friends where "you felt safer."

Mary felt the teachers were more successful in nurturing the students by reading to them.

> One teacher would sit at the head of the prep school dining room for supper and read to us. You would listen to them reading: Winnie the Pooh, The Little Princess, Wind in the Willows and these became our great loves. The teachers nurtured us with these stories and you felt safe every night. I can't tell you enough about how the structure, the ritual, the predictability were the hallmarks of their success, both in school and in the concentration camp. The structure, the predictability was something that created a sense of safety and I preach that from one side of America to another. (12)

Mary talked of other ways the teachers established predictable rituals by doing the same things in the same way everyday, from getting up in the morning until going to bed at night.

> At the Chefoo school you went to the bathroom area where you had sinks and cubicles all in a row. You, all together, washed, brushed your teeth, and the day went through a very comfortingly predictable ritual. You went back to your bedrooms at nighttime in a particular way. They were the rituals.

Mary credits the rituals, predictability, structure and discipline with establishing a safe feeling and for holding their "spirits together." Aside from feeling homesick, she looks back at her time at Chefoo as "a time where I felt safe." But, if she felt safe, she sometimes felt the unhappiness of not being popular with her peers.

Peer Relations

Mary perceived herself as an outsider because she was "the one picked to be in 'Coventry.'" Being "sent to Coventry" was "a British version of shunning—nobody [would] talk to you." Students did this as a way to "punish" you. Mary

thought she was sent to Coventry because she "was always trying to get noticed—wanting to be popular." She described herself as a shy type of kid who felt "very much like the outsider a lot of the time, but this was a ritual [of her classmates]—'oh, let's send Mary to Coventry."

Today, Mary feels her unhappiness was a normal part of growth and relational issues that most children go through as they move into adolescence wanting to be liked and accepted by the popular group. During this time, Mary bonded with another girl. The two of them "palled around together" and formed their own club to be like the other groups of girls.

> You just palled around together and called yourself a club to meet the need of belonging which is very natural for children. So the normal unhappinesses and worries about 'am-I-popular?' were all part of growing up. This didn't have anything to do with being uniquely that you were in a school for missionaries' children, or that you were in a concentration camp. It was just part of the growing up process.
>
> When it was your birthday you got to pick twelve of your friends to sit with you at supper time where the cake was brought and you got to blow out the candles. You always hoped you'd get picked to be one of the twelve. We had rituals that you would hold hands around the table. You will always be bonded by a ritual. It made you feel safe—the world was predictable.

School Discipline

If ritual, predictability and safety were the children's "salvation," Mary admits that the rituals were "harsh" at times. Her younger brother has told her of times "where this discipline was almost brutal. The boys would get six of the best [caning on the buttocks]. Or, they would make you punch your fist against a gritty wall until blood would come." Mary concedes that there was "some very tough, what we would call abusive, type of discipline by these teachers. If you didn't do what you were told to, and fast, you were disciplined." At Chefoo there was a "typical British prep school seriousness, you follow the rules, keep a stiff upper lip. There was a strong standard of discipline."

The worst discipline Mary remembers receiving was when, at the age of eight, she and a boy exposed their bottoms to each other:

> I took my panties down and showed my bottom. I didn't know anyone would tell the teacher. This is the wickedness I have thought of many times. It wasn't the showing of the bottom; the wickedness was that somebody told the teachers. They took me into their room and wanted me to confess. I didn't even know what you called these parts. You didn't have a word for a bottom and to sit with these teachers in their

room and be quizzed about lowering your pants to a boy to let him see your bottom [laughs]. That was one of the lowest points of my entire life.

All of these things were not just a breach of discipline. It was like you might go to hell. This was like you broke the heart of the Lord. These were not just an act of childhood. This was an act of moral turpitude. I have never looked at this as just a childish prank. This is one of the great scars of my life. I don't remember getting a punishment. It was so serious that I didn't get spanked. It was just the fact that you got called in to be spoken to by the Headmistress.

Mary remembered two other incidents where she acted inappropriately but did not get caught. The traditional attire for girls in the Prep School was a blue tunic with the school crest on the chest, over a white blouse. But on special days for assemblies in Memorial Hall, the children "were all in white. I remember deliciously, deliberately putting up my foot on one of the boys in front of me and getting a big booty smear on him. It felt so delicious. It was nice to be wicked once in a while." Another time there was a chicken pox or measles epidemic at the school. Wanting to get sick so that she could spend some time in the sanitorium, called the "San," Mary "licked tongues" with a sick child in her class. "I got sick and got to stay in the San. How wicked I was. But you were special if you got sent to the San.

Internment

From the start of the war with the Allies on December 8th, 1942, the Japanese gradually commandeered parts of the school campus due to its excellent location on the harbor. After four months, Mary, aged ten, and the rest of the Chefoo staff and student body were rounded up by the Japanese and placed in an internment camp across town called Temple Hill. The children were taught to count off in Japanese. When officials would visit the camp the commandant would bring his guests to the Chefoo section because "you had all these little 'foreign-devil' British and American kids lined up numbering off and we were delightful, polite kids."

After ten moths, the Temple Hill population was sent to Weihsien Civilian Assembly Center. Here they joined over one thousand other internees who had been Westerners living in North China, from the president of the Bank of England in China to college professors, priests, prostitutes and missionaries of every persuasion. The new internees had to learn that "the Japanese set certain rituals. You were going to have roll call. You had your own badge that had your designated section number and red Japanese seals."

Within the camp, the Japanese provided food and some coal dust for heat. It was up to the internees to distribute and prepare the food and coal, as well

as to organize and maintain the camp. Every person in the camp had some type of job to perform for the good of the camp. Though the children's primary job was to attend school, they also helped in other ways.

> Our job was to carry coal dust. We had to mix it with dirt and water and everybody swapped recipes for that. Everybody did this. This wasn't just us. You would either do it with your hands and make balls and set them out in the sun to dry, or some people made little scoops out of tin cans.

The only fear Mary spoke of was of the Alsatian dogs. "That was one of the few [times] that I knew terror in that concentration camp."

> Overall though, Mary felt safe, the creation of which she attributes to the teachers. We got no fear from [the teachers], none of what they may have felt because they knew about the horrors of war. We knew implicitly that our parents, our teachers and God were going to take care of us. That is such an astonishment how they protected and cushioned delicate psyches of children during the war.
>
> It's this whole thing in the hierarchy of needs--you start with gut level survival-- and that is being safe. In the absence of parents they created a structure and predictability and a ritual that [made you feel] safe because they did it the same way everyday. Grown-ups leave an extraordinary imprint on the lives of children. What they believe, how they talk and act--what they say to children profoundly shapes them.

School values

The Japanese may have had their rituals, but the teachers set rituals "separate and above what the Japanese set." Life in the camp took on a daily routine. "You got up, washed and went to the toilet_ Everyday you had your breakfast the same way." It did not matter to the teachers if you were eating out of a soap dish or a tin can.

> Our teachers insisted on good manners: 'There is no such thing as one set of manners for the outside world and another set for the concentration camp.' You were to be as refined as the two princesses in Buckingham Palace. 'Sit up straight. Don't stuff food in your mouth. Keep your voice down. Don't complain. We were God's representatives in this concentration camp, and God was not represented well by rudeness or grumbling.' (13)

After roll call and breakfast, "the teachers picked up the ritual of the school day." Most of the teaching was conducted by lecture as there were few textbooks.

> The teachers made us go to school. Usually school was inside various dormitories where we sat on our steamer trunks. There was Bible, Latin, French, literature, math. We had one notebook that we could write in and then erased and went back and used over and over until the teachers gave us slates for Christmas. It was amazing that the teachers could give examinations and Oxford would accept the results at the end of the war. That's nothing short of miraculous [that] the kids passed their Oxford exams.

Mary attributes the success of the students on the Oxford exams to two things. "For the most part missionaries are not a normal group of people. You don't get to be a missionary if you're a dummy and not highly motivated and feel like you have the gift of God and God's guidance." The overriding factor though was the teachers themselves. "The teachers have to be the difference. You didn't see that same level of motivation happening in the Weihsien school."

The Weihsien School was the other school formed in the camp for the children who were not part of the Chefoo school. The parents of these children were either from the business sector or from other mission groups.

> We didn't associate a lot with the godless kids that weren't part of our Chefoo School. We didn't have a lot of interaction with them. But people like Eric Liddell (14) and those people did work with them. The other kids mostly had parents, and we didn't, so there was an automatic division. Most of them lived with their parents in these little barracks.

Mary's words reflect the view the Chefoo staff and therefore some of the students, had of the majority of the camp's residents. The staff tried to keep the Chefoo group as separate from the rest of the camp as possible.

Whether at Chefoo or in the internment camp, the teachers maintained the same standards. "They were very strict. You did it by the book and if you didn't, there was a strong sanction that you got. In my recollections of terrors of these teachers, they did not have the warm, fuzzy, pedagogical system of American teachers." Once in a great while during the summers, the teachers "let the discipline down a little bit and let us go out under the trees and have our classes." She does recall though how on her birthday a teacher "created a celebration--with an apple--just for me. The apple itself wasn't so important as the delicious feeling that I had a 'mother' all to myself in a private celebration- -just my teacher and I." To Mary, these teachers gave their students a lasting gift by "preserving our childhood in the midst of a bloody war."

Mary has positive and negative recollections of her academic experiences.

I had feelings of failure to begin with. I struggled with reading when I first went to Chefoo. I got my "b's" and "d's" mixed up. I may have been dyslexic. Having felt failure in school, I began to feel like, "is this a place that I feel safe?" I felt like I was going to be bad at something instead of good. My early Chefoo memories bring back more of the terror of what I failed than of the successes that I won.

I remember being terrified of having to go up to the front of Miss Stark's arithmetic course. I was caught with terror when I had to do arithmetic in front of the class. She would throw numbers at you to add, subtract, divide, out loud in front of everybody--I couldn't do that. All I remember of mental arithmetic is pure failure and disgrace.

Americans would have been accepting, giving some sense of success. I don't remember any of that. I only remember the terror of the classrooms. I'm sure these days people would say that's not the way to teach and nurture children, but it was very much the British prep school way. It's hard for a little kid. There was a lot of memory work. They were intent on nurturing and maintaining our faith in a serious way.

However, while at Weihsien, Mary experienced a significant turning point in her life. "They read off our scores and I calculated [mine] and carne up with the highest percentage of points in the school!" This incident, along with a few others, let Mary know that, although she thought of herself as "the kid going to Coventry all the time--felt that I was always set aside--I wasn't a dummy and it felt so delicious."

Overall though, Mary found it hard to assess the teachers.

They were such idols—we held them on such a high pedestal and with awe. Maybe our older brothers and sisters had them in less awe because they were old enough—they knew things that we didn't know. We little kids were so protected in a way. But we looked at them as giants in our life. It was a superb school. At the same time that you're struggling with Coventry you just knew you were somebody special in the Chefoo School. We all knew that we were the best school east of the Suez. Every one of us that talks to you is going to use those exact words, 'the best school east of the Suez'. It's just like you knew that God loved you. You were God's child. You were in the best school east of the Suez. You were somebody special. You just knew it.

Weihsien Camp

Because they were God's representatives, the children were expected to keep themselves and their living space tidy. Inspections were enforced, not by the Japanese, but by the teachers.

Everyday there was the inspection in Chefoo as well as in the concentration camp. They called it "inspection and session" which was a time to do your mending. If you had holes in your socks, a rip in something, you had to mend it. Were you clean? Were you neat? Did you have your mending done? Unbelievable in a concentration camp that anyone would be worrying about that. But that had to do with the issue of the spirit. You don't give up. Nobody said it in those terms, it was the rituals that said how you looked, what your clothes looked like. You don't go out raggedy. You don't go out dirty, which is what inspection was about.

When we got to Weihsien concentration camp, we divided that [dormitory] room up into thirteen squares where every girl had her patch of floor to scrub every day. Now was that silly? Of course it was. Every girl scrubbed her patch of floor, the idea that you would make your room tidy every single day. Everyday two girls were assigned to get up early to make the stove heated. Marjorie and I were teammates and we had the record of getting it red hot more times than any other person.

Competition was used by the teachers as a way to get chores done. Within the camp at large though it helped to make the passing days and months more interesting. Various games were organized between the two kitchens, even down to who could catch the most flies or rats. The internees also organized men's and women's softball teams according to the sections of China the internees had come from, such as the Tientsin Tigers and the Peking Panthers. There were also lectures, concerts and plays.

There were incredible people that all chipped in. Eric Liddell of course would be athletics. There was a Catholic Priest by the name of Father Palmers who would teach French. Mr. Hubbard was tremendous teaching ornithology. Mrs. Bazire was brilliant in music. Sunday evenings she would gather people together and have a singspiration.

There was a group of people that put on theatrical dramas in the church. They did *Androcles and the Lion*. They used the tin cans from the Red Cross parcels and made exquisite armor for the centurions, I mean can you believe this? In a concentration camp! Isn't it amazing?! The issue of the spirit was paramount. In other camps prisoners held back from athletics because you don't have enough calories to be playing. The issue of the spirit was paramount—recreation was a big part of it. There were also a variety of religious opportunities in camp.

The interned children were also involved in Boy Scouts, Girl Guides, and Brownies. While waiting in roll call lines the children would practice their "semaphore and morse code messages." They would earn scout badges for being

able to build a fire and cook something in "tin cans [made] into stoves where you'd make a little opening with twigs underneath. These were big deal type things. They even set wilderness trails where you had to follow like markings," within the confines of the camp.

Mary believes this "issue of the spirit" made the difference in how the internees interpreted their experience upon their return at the end of the war.

> Newspaper clippings that described the arrival of these prisoners were such an extraordinary contrast. You read about these Chefoo School teachers and kids arriving after this experience and it's all bubbly and delightful, like the tone I think you're getting from me—I hope you're getting from me. Then in the same camp, people who were not Christians, not with the Chefoo school, read their account. It's negative. It's like white and black. You have to think What is the difference?' They were in the same place under the same conditions, what could be the difference? It has to be the realm of the spirit! What else could it be?
>
> I profoundly believe exactly what our teachers taught us. It almost brings tears to my eyes because there have been big gaps in my life when that was not the case. We were taught by our parents that we were in the hands of God and that the good hands of God guide you personally. Your life is not an accident. The teachers were the same way. Miss Pyle made us memorize whole chapters of the Bible—we were grounded in this belief that we were in the hands of God.
>
> Say what you will about the stiff upper lip—here were people who grounded us in a faith in God and His goodness, profoundly felt it, and anchored us in times of potential terror. Instead of weeping and wringing our hands, we are singing from the Psalms believing it. Now that is an extraordinary gift that many people in the camp did not have. I believe faith and trust in God made a profound difference.

Health

Though the internees realized the importance of recreation for maintaining a healthy mind, body and spirit, there were concerns for the health of the children who were not getting adequate nutrition. Some of the children had teeth coming in with improper enamel covering because of the inadequate food. On the rare occasions when eggs could be obtained at the canteen or from the black-market, the teachers saved the egg shells, dried them, "wound them and made us eat ground egg shell to keep the calcium. We also got peanuts. We'd grind them on a hand grinder and make our own peanut butter."

Although Mary did not have any problems with her teeth, she did suffer from severe asthma while in the camp. "It was agony for me. The kids would

complain that I snored. I would try to keep awake until everyone would fall asleep so I wouldn't bother them." Once she left the camp though, her allergies subsided. Mary claims no long term ill health effects from being interned and feels that overall her family has been "blessed with good health with the exception of Kathleen. She died of lupus six years after we got out of the concentration camp. Was there any connection to that? I have no idea. Doctors don't know how people get lupus."

The lack of appropriate nutrients and caloric intake caused other problems as well, especially with menstrual periods.

> Most of us were delayed because of the nutrition level. These British spinster teachers certainly did not discuss these matters with us. I had never heard of having a menstrual period. That was not anything the teachers talked to us about and I have a feeling that was one of the reasons we were kept in separate dormitories. My bed was right next to Sandy's and toward the end of the camp there some secret thing that every month Sandy got taken aside, hushy-pooh with the teachers and whatever it was we had no idea.
>
> I didn't even know where babies came from. When we were in Chefoo before the war my sister surreptitiously wanted to know if I knew where babies came from and I had no idea. I had no idea when I got into the concentration camp, but all of a sudden Sandy had something happening to her that the teachers would take her aside. It wasn't until after we were out of the concentration camp I got fattened up with decent food that I started my period and my sister told me what had happened. Here, one girl started her periods before we got out. I think we were all retarded in our physical growth and development.

Relationships

The internment provided the Chefoo siblings an opportunity to see each other more than they would have if they had stayed at the Chefoo School. At the Chefoo School, siblings traditionally only interacted with one another on Sundays during "family time" when they were allowed to walk home from church together.

> We saw [our siblings] much more in the camp. When we all got put in the hospital building [dormitory] I didn't see Johnny as much because he was still housed in block 23, whereas Kathleen was on the same floor as I, and Jamie was one floor up. Our roll call was together. We didn't have classes together, but we would have hymn sings together.

Mary interacted enough with her sister Kathleen to know of her sister's crushes which Mary still talks of with school-girl secrecy.

I've got to tell you a secret. The older girls were beginning to have love affairs, my sister Kathleen was one of them. She was in love [and] even engaged to be married with Dougie. He was a 6' 6-1/2" brilliant athlete, and really a lovely person and that was, of course, terrible because he was not Christian as we knew it, [was not a Chefoo boy].

Although the siblings were able to interact more, classmates and peers were still the most significant relationships as they would have been at the Chefoo School. "The primary group was our classmates. The people that you were really close to were our dorrnmates and then the boys and girls that were in our class together."

Reuniting

While most of the Chefoo students returned as a group by ship to their parents in England, Australia and North America, Mary and her siblings were flown six hundred miles into the interior of China where her parents were still serving as missionaries. After the flight, the children traveled over one hundred miles by train and then the final miles by mule cart and walking. Mary writes of their meeting as she and her sister and brothers were led by a student from her parents' Bible school to her parents.

Down the block, through the round moon gate into the Bible school compound he led us. There, through a back window, I could see them--Daddy and Mother— sitting in a faculty meeting. I began to scream. I saw Father look up.. . . the student pushed through the bamboo screen. "Mrs. Taylor," he said, "the children have arrived." We burst through the door into their arms--shouting, laughing, hugging—hysterical with joy. (15)

The Taylor family stayed in the Chinese interior for another year following the end of the war before settling in the United States.

When we came to America we settled in a small town in southern Michigan where everything, all social activity, was built around the [Christian] college and the church. We went to the Free Methodist Christian high school. I think if we had not been cushioned in this small Christian school, we would have had a difficult transition [from] the concentration camp. From September of 1945 until we got to the States in the summer of 1946, we weren't in school. So the culture shock would have been incredible if we had not settled in a slow-paced, Christian, little mid-west, Bible-belt town. These God-fearing people were very much like what we had known in Chefoo.

Connecting past to present

As the director of a juvenile detention center, Mary has seen herself implement much of what her teachers did for her at Chefoo and in Weihsien.

> **A whole lot of Chefoo and Weihsien come through here. Not consciously-- innately. And you won't have other people verbalize it the way I have, but when you write about something, you think about it deeply and say 'what did this mean? Why did it happen that way? Why did I feel this way?' I don't know whether I actually planned to do this, but if I put the two together, they're an awful lot alike. I have felt many times that all things work together for good to those that love the Lord. I feel the same way about losing my hand.**

Mary lost her hand in an accident with a buzz saw while in Canada, a year after being liberated from the camp.

> **[Being] the lady with one hand gives me a connection with the kids that nothing else has. On the surface you say what a tragedy! I say, 'look what's come from that!' I know what I have become with one hand and the way my parents responded to that—'Take what comes as a gift because there is something hidden there.'**

Just as Mary had to accept the loss of her hand, so she tries to help the teenagers to process and accept the tragedies in their own lives.

> **If we can accept and treasure their feelings, their tragedies, part of their life that is very real, then they begin to be open and to listen in other areas. We [Mary and a teenager] sit knee to knee right here [in her office]. I'll pull out an issue of the student newspaper and that primes the pump. As we talk I'll say, 'What's the biggest feeling that you have? That's always the best story, the biggest feeling.' They are so dumbfounded that I found something they said or felt important. They just can't believe that someone thought this was important.**
>
> **That changes my relationship to that kid forever. Forever! Forever! Because they let me inside where nobody has ever been. And I put their feelings on a pedestal. When you get to the core of a child, if they will privilege you to get there because they let few people in, the relationship is changed forever. Then I can say, Do you know, child, what I see when I look at you?' And they want to know then. That's when the door opens, when I begin to tell them what they can be, the potential is already there if they want to make it happen. But if I were not accepting of it, that door would not open.**

Mary admits though that no teacher at Chefoo made an attempt to touch "the core of a child" in her. "No, I never experienced or felt that at Chefoo.

The apple at the birthday would be the closest. The turn around for me was when I discovered my top grade but it wasn't that a teacher gave it to me." Mary looks at that time as an example of the "power of success," which is a theme strongly enforced at the Youth Center.

> **Find the success. We need to find those things for our children. Here our children are charged with murder, criminal charges, every one of them. In those classrooms you can hear a pin drop because they are productively working and teachers sitting knee to knee with them. It is unbelievable what our teachers get out of these children. And kids say, "If my school had been like this, I'd have never got in trouble in the first place."**

Mary made a return trip to China a few years ago. In her book she wrote about being able to stand in her dormitory room at Weihsien and the memories it aroused.

> **It's funny what you remember about a concentration camp that ate three years of your life. I stood in one special spot [in the dormitory]. And I started to weep. Not weeping about barbed wire and guard dogs but about the years of feeling like the dunce, the misfit in the class. And now the tears streamed down my face as I stood on that spot. . . another memory. . . . Top average in the whole Chefoo School. Top of the very whole school. My daughter, Alice, held me as the tears washed my cheeks. She took a picture. Mary and the starting point that changed her life. I was not dumb. NOT DUMB! That was the moment. From that time on, I knew that I always wanted to reach for the top. (16)**

1 Mary Taylor Previte, Hungry Ghosts (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1994). ↑

2 LeCompte & Preissle, 256. ↑
3 Merriam. ↑

4 James P. Spradley, The Ethnographic Interview (New York, NY: Holt, Reinhart & Winston, 1979), 186. ↑
5 Mark D. Bullock, "Separation Anxiety Disorder in a Missionary Child: Theoretical Considerations and Intervention Strategies," Journal of Psychology and Theology 21.1 (1993): 37-44. ↑
6 Bruce, 28-35.↑

7 Spradley, 200. ↑
8 Mary Taylor Previte, interviewed by author, audio taped, Camden County, NJ, July 25, 1995. ↑
9 Previte, 43. ↑

10 Ibid., 84, 41, 43. ↑
11 Family worship was held every morning. Her mother would play the pump organ and the family would sing, pray and read the Bible together. ↑

12 Mary has spoken across the U.S.A. to promote her book and the work she has done at the Camden County Youth Center. Since this interview she has been elected as a New Jersey Assembly woman.

13 Ibid., 23.

14 The 1924 Olympic gold medalist in track who was later featured in the 1980's movie, "Chariots of Fire."

15 Previte, 29.

16 Ibid., 230.

Chapter Two

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Kathleen Strange Foster: An Oral History

Kathleen Strange Foster: An Oral History

Introduction

> I wouldn't like people to think that the experience was anything like *Schindler's List*. We were in a compound from which we were not allowed to leave. The food was not adequate, but [neither] was it adequate for the Japanese or the Chinese. We were all in the same boat but we didn't have our freedom. Basically it is a story of a great many people living together with their own stories.

I first learned of Kathleen while reviewing past *Chefoo Magazines* which are written by and for the school alumni. Kathleen had made two entries in past issues. The first was a small 1988 update which said, "writes of continued emotional difficulties which she traces to long absences from parents in school days. She has 'found psychotherapy very helpful and become interested enough to train and work in this field."' (1) She included her address as she wanted to hear from others on this topic and so we began corresponding in May of 1996.

The second entry was in 1993 when she wrote a brief article about how Chefoo affected her life. Some of that article is quoted in the following oral history. Kathleen is two years older than Mary and so had spent more time within the Chefoo setting and had more interactions with the teachers. Kathleen was fifteen in 1945 at the time of liberation. The oral history that follows is based on interviews, letters and phone conversations between Kathleen and myself over a two year period.

Family Background

Kathleen was born in China in 1930 to CIM missionary parents stationed in Chengku, Shensi (Shaanxi) Province. Her parents had met and married in China in 1928. Her mother went to China from England in 1924 at the age of twenty-four and her father was twenty-eight when he arrived in 1925 from Canada. They met on a raft going down the Yellow River. In 1927 her mother was asked by the CIM to teach music at Chefoo for one year. Kathleen's father applied to go to Chefoo to study Chinese.

> [My mother] was only there a short time before my father came along and carried her off. [But she] was a real woman's libber. She got equal pay [as a missionary] and insisted on having equal say on how it was used. It was a good 'faith' mission from that point of view [for women]. [My parents] had strong convictions. It took a special person of faith [to leave home and travel to China]. There's a feeling of spirit of Empire in the things they did. You can't separate any of this from the history of England though, can you?

Kathleen spent her first seven years in Chengku with her parents and Beryl, her three years younger sister. Of that time Kathleen says, "I'd like to find roots for the years one through seven. It was a nice but strange privileged existence within this walled compound compared to the Chinese' [lives]." At that time, most Westerners lived in homes behind compound walls which contained their church, home and servant's quarters. These compounds were then located within the walls of the town or city where the native Chinese lived. Kathleen's father was often gone for days as an itinerant missionary bringing the gospel to surrounding Chinese villages. Her mother also did missionary teaching but primarily stayed near the compound. Because of her father's frequent trips away from home, Kathleen considered him an "absentee father."

Family and School

Kathleen started at Chefoo in 1937 as a seven year old. Her parents took her to the school before the term started.

> They knew they would send us to Chefoo. There was little choice. They knew they'd not see us for years if we went but it would have

been longer [seven years] if it had been the UK, and education at home [in China] meant less time for missionary work. I do feel we were sacrificed—not because of the internment. My three years without them was before internment. The five years after might have been shorter but their work was a thousand miles away and it took a month to travel so we would have been left for years anyway. It was a very good school and typical of its generation. Nobody thought it was that important not to see your parents for that length of time.

Her family lived at the San in the Chefoo compound which gave Kathleen time to adjust to the school, the staff and the children while she attended as a day-girl. "I was excited to meet children my own age." When her parents left in October Kathleen recalls,

I don't remember even looking back at where they were standing. I'd been a day- girl and then becoming a boarder, I was going to be like everybody else. That was fine by me. Yes, nice to conform isn't it? Not being the odd one out. I was the same as everybody else. Slept in those dormitories, ate meals with everybody and had our hair chopped to regulation length by Chinese barbers.

Kathleen did not see her parents until three years later in 1940 when her sister Beryl came to school at age seven. Kathleen was ten when she was told of her parents' arrival.

They said, 'your parents have arrived in the dayroom.' I went into the dayroom, the sun was coming through and there was my mother sitting on a chair and my father standing beside her and my sister. My mother. I can remember thinking detached, 'oh yes, what a lovely thing.' I felt so uncomfortable. I remember saying, 'can I go and play now?' It must have been awful for my mother. I just can't imagine. My mother had to work really hard that summer to get me back into the family because I didn't know what to say to them. What could they say to me?

However, they won me back and we had a wonderful summer living together in the San, picnicking in the hills and on the beach. I got to enjoy being part of a family. But their work called and again it was time for them to go. I could not bear to leave them standing there with my mother in tears. My mother was almost inconsolable. I wrenched myself away and walked the half mile to the classroom blinded by tears, excused myself and sat down. The teacher asked someone, 'What's the matter with her?' 'Oh, she just said goodbye to her parents.' The teacher said nothing to me and went on with the lesson. The pain of that parting is with me still. (2) Their call was most important to them and we all paid the price.

Boarding at Chefoo

My sister danced away the first time and I danced away the first time because it was so exciting going to school. But the second time, I knew what I was in for and it was not, not something to be looked forward to. It affects the rest of your life. Although you come to terms with it in whatever way is right for you, it's still there. But they were going to spread the gospel; that made the difference. That was their point of view. My point of view was I knew what I was in for this time.

I was in for being one of the crowd with nobody there who I was of prime importance to. Nobody there who was really interested in my feelings. Interested in my physical well-being. Very interested in my spiritual well-being [laughs].

But not my emotional well-being. They wanted us to be happy, of course they did. If I'd been in tears somebody would have come and asked me what was the matter. But it's not quite the same as being taken seriously by your mother, being really listened to. There wasn't much listening at Chefoo. There was no one to whom we really mattered. So in the end you just learn to cope and get on with it.

I coped by saying, 'I can't worry about every thing so I will decide what I'm going to worry about' and actually making mental lists of what I would worry about. I didn't examine my feelings. I learnt to be numb. That was my way. I just learnt not to allow feelings to surface in an uncomfortable way. This feeling that nobody was interested in my feelings went on for years and years. [silence] But that was the circumstance. It isn't a question of laying blame. That's just the way it was. [silence]

If you wanted attention you could do things spiritually couldn't you? [laughs] I remember at age nine I decided at nine-thirty in the morning on a certain date to be converted just to be funny. It was a hothouse atmosphere from that point of view. So I had 'seen the light' if Doctor asked me 'Have you seen the light?' We had so much of it [religion] all the time. I'm sure we didn't not believe it, it just became a bit monotonous. I remember kneeling for prayer and some were so long that there'd be things passed along under the pews. We could always repent and confess our sins if we wanted a bit of attention. Which does sound dreadful doesn't it? But [if] you didn't feel you were getting what you needed you'd turn it into something spiritual and then you'd get attention.

School Discipline

I had seen what happened to people who drew attention to themselves—canings, having to punch a pebble pillar. They were so unhappy some of these people, even in the prep school and they were always in trouble. I thought nope, it was better to be inconspicuous. There was safety in anonymity. Although I was mildly rebellious, I wasn't strongly rebellious. The pressure of pleasing God and thereby your teachers and thereby your parents was enormous.

I didn't see them [teachers] as giants. I did see them as people starting with the episode with Miss Covert. If she'd been on a pedestal she'd come off it. Miss Covert was reading to us and she wouldn't listen to us that we'd already had that chapter read and she read it again. I said she was silly. I was told on. Hugh squealed on me and I thought, 'stupid boy, snivelling wretch!' I got told off and taken to look up this verse, 'your sins will find you out.' I can remember all the time thinking, 'this is ridiculous' and I was only nine.

Three times I got caned on the hands in front of the whole school for talking at the wrong time. The trouble was you were asked to confess and then you confessed that you'd been talking and you got caned for it. I never learnt not to own up when asked who had been talking! It really was encouraging deceit. I had to do my teeth with soap for telling lies. I always had a good imagination.

The God thing was a control. And uniforms—that's British but a very strong way of controlling. We had these awful straight black overalls with round necks that we wore over sweaters and there was a band of your house color. Ours was blue so I was happy to be Judson. I didn't want to be Carmichael because she was yellow and Slessor was green. (3) It was quite good fun being competitive. It was good to go for things to win—the conduct prize, the posture prize. We had a special sash with the tunic for the posture prize. I don't think I ever got a prize. It was generally expected that certain [students] would get it.

In the prep school I was constantly losing things and had to have my hanky pinned to my dress. I lost things so many times that they stopped taking marks [points] off my house [team]. Every morning, 'lost property: Kathleen Strange.' I put it down to not being happy. Mostly my faults were talking too much. I think it was psychologically damaging—certainly with the God bit thrown in, there was no escape. And with no parents there you were reduced to pulp.

[One time] the boys gathered all the girls' dolls and set them up on lockers in the boys' playroom. They pretended [the dolls] were gods and

bent down worshipping them because that's what we knew, these huge Buddha temples. Well this really got the staff going. [laughs] [The boys] knew that. They were not daft. We were just normal children--missionary's kids and we were constantly told how wicked we were and made to feel it. What happened to their sense of humor?

Peer relations

My idols were not the teachers. My idols were the older children. Age was very important, who was older than who. If you were younger and made a remark to somebody who was older they would say 'don't be cheeky' because of the age span, not so much because of what you said. There was a lot of sending children to Coventry by your peers. It happened to me and it was horrible. I tried to give somebody a piggy-back. She stood on the bench and I shifted her over my head. She landed and did something to her teeth. She said I had done it on purpose which I don't think I did. Nobody would speak to me for days, DAYS! The staff got to hear about it and sat the ring leader [and Kathleen on] opposite flights of stairs. They made us stare at each other until we smiled.

Children who had their parents at Chefoo were sometimes viewed differently. Kathleen was in the same class as one of the teacher's children. "I always felt that I was inferior because she had her parents there and I didn't. I remember being very jealous of [her] being able to go and have her mum."

Since most of the children did not have their parents there and were unable to travel home for the holidays, the staff rose to the occasion at the appropriate times.

Christmas, Christmas [said fondly]. If you were left at school for the holidays you had a good time. They had a Christmas tree and presents. One of the staff would dress up. Christmas morning you had a mat with all your presents from your family. [The staff] really did make a great effort to make it nice for us. It was a long holiday for them to entertain us, six weeks.

The remaining days and weeks at Chefoo, though, is when their classmates took on some of the familiarity of family. As the years went by and the students were interned, the intenseness of their peer relationships grew.

We had good friends--like sisters. Eleven [of us] shared a dormitory for two or three years—there wasn't much we didn't know about each other. We used to insult each other so much. We'd lived with each other for eight years, night and day, you know what you can and can't say. We could be nasty. You learnt to get along with it.

I came back [to England] and soon learned you couldn't say things like that to British children—tease a bit unkindly about what you think. We hid our vulnerabilities, didn't we. Away from family it's no good being vulnerable. Some showed their homesickness. Some would cry themselves to sleep.

In the secondary school my bed was within touching distance of this other girl's. She always wanted me to stroke her back until she went to sleep. Looking back I think how much of that was her way of getting comfort and was there something sexual in that? All of us found it difficult to ask for what we wanted. I would have liked somebody to tickle my own back but I'd never dare ask for it.

While Kathleen may not have asked for physical touch, she thinks perhaps she compensated for it in other ways.

I had a lot of sickness—diphtheria, mumps, measles, chicken pox, scarlet fever, whooping cough. I look back and see a very unhealthy child and think, Why was En I think at some level that was where I got my nurturing. I remember the wardrobe ladies. The fact that we actually got physically touched by these people, measured, must have been some sort of nurturing because we were never touched otherwise.

No one ever hugged us, we never sat on anyone's knee, we were never kissed. It was a small wonder we were not at home with our own bodies, that we found it hard to embrace and touch as we grew older. It's taken me a long time to be comfortable with hugging and [drops voice] kissing and just being able to cry and share my emotions. Those were probably some of the longest lasting affects.

Being uncomfortable with physical touch didn't help Kathleen at age eleven when she received the news of the death of her father who died from typhoid and cholera.

The Headmistress seated me on her lap to tell me of my father's death. That bothered me more than what I was hearing. We were not cuddled and hugged and I was very uncomfortable. The loss did not mean much at the time because he wouldn't have been there anyway. (4)

I hardly knew my father. I was with them until I was seven but my father was frequently away preaching. From age seven to ten I never saw [my] parents and then we had three months together. Then I never saw him again. I remember feeling a curious mixture of being important and knowing that I had to feel sad. It didn't really hit me until we came to England in 1946 and there was just my mum.

Feeling important was a theme in Mary's story in Chapter Two. While Mary attributed her specialness to being a Chefoo student, Kathleen felt otherwise.

> I thought I was special but not because I was at Chefoo. I felt I was special in a racial way to the Chinese which is a curious thing to feel at a missionary school. Else why did we live in a compound, separated? Why did we live in a special area of Chefoo [town]? Why weren't we amongst them? Why weren't we allowed to talk to them? They did the things we were told were not good. We didn't see any Westerners who did those things because [all] I knew were missionaries. I suppose I knew God loved me [yet] I didn't feel loved. But I did feel special because I felt superior. [laughs] I'm not nice. [I] had compartmentalized my thinking--Western: moral; Chinese: immoral. [Upon return to London] a poster said, 'Beware of pickpockets'. I was stunned; 'did the English steal?!'

Internment

Feelings of Western superiority were challenged as the war progressed and the 'enemy aliens' were placed in internment camps. In November, 1942 the Chefoo School was forced to leave its compound and resettle two miles up the mountain at a Presbyterian compound called Temple Hill. The students and staff walked from Chefoo to Temple Hill, "going along singing 'God is still on the throne' with all our possessions tied in bundles. We were kept in ignorance of things that might have frightened us."

> Conditions at Temple Hill were quite different from Chefoo.
>
> There were 99 of us in the two big houses. [We had] thirty-three sleeping in a loft on the floor. I felt I didn't have any privacy. The staff were visible all day. There was no escape for them, or us from the Japanese or from each other. Our guards lined us up for roll call. In true missionary spirit we learned Japanese numbers and answered smartly along the line.
>
> Lessons were carried on in every available space. Our class was one of the biggest and had a dreadful reputation for making a lot of noise. Once we were all sitting in one corner of the room and decided to test this theory out. We sat there and all moved our hands and mouths but didn't say anything. Sure enough along came the teacher and said, 'be quiet you're making far too much noise!' We'd worked a few things out. Temple Hill was only ten months. We were glad to get out of it really.

Weihsien Camp

In September of 1943 the Chefoo School left Temple Hill and settled in Weihsien Civilian Assembly Center. Kathleen's remembrances in general were of

> Flies, bed bugs, mosquitoes. We were all lumpy. We always had a job. We used to make coal balls with coal dust and mud. I helped with the laundry. We washed these gray sheets. They would freeze before we got them on the line and would flap in your face. We all took turns stoking in the winter. I was a terrible stoker so when people knew it was my turn they would come with extra sweaters on. [In Guides] they gave us the thrift badge. We never had to go for it—we were all so thrifty—I ate out of a sardine can.
>
> In the internment camp letters ceased almost completely. I had three postcards from my mother, courtesy of the Red Cross. I wrote to her about food, my friends and guiding. Sometimes I signed them 'Kathleen Strange' in case she got muddled with the other Kathleen. Memories were getting dim. (5)
>
> I don't ever remember looking outside the camp unless you were on the third floor of the hospital [where] the boys were. The girls were on the next floor. I slept on Miss Parson's trunks. She had three all the same size so I was very lucky. We were supposed to keep them on bricks because the rain came in the window and it would ruin them. The bricks were wobbly [so] I took them off and the contents of the trunks got wet. It was very aggravating for her and she was extremely cross with me. I knew she had a right to be angry but I also thought she went well over the top. I was demoted and had to sleep with the younger children for a week.
>
> I felt safe. I never thought anything terrible was going to happen to me. Even with the Japanese going around with fixed bayonets I felt entirely safe. We did not know what was happening elsewhere or we might have been afraid. The only time I had contact [with Japanese] was when I was chopping wood. The Japanese soldier from the guard tower had just changed when he walked by and saw me trying to chop the wood. So he did it for me. Otherwise the Japanese guards had these huge Alsatian dogs which terrified the life out of us. I didn't feel safe with the dogs. On the way back from camp we stopped to be outfitted at Port Suez. They thought we'd be so delighted to see all these dogs and we were terrified. But I never thought the Japanese would harm us, though that was ignorant.

School Values

A lot of it was exciting. The staff [made] a good life for us filling our time. They were well organized. I remember the Headmistress saying, 'Never read a book before twelve.' You do your work in the morning and then you can play or read. There were games to be played, Guides took up a lot of time. We had a treasure hunt to find one of our teachers in disguise_ We had clues to follow. Nobody could find her. In the end she was sitting right in front of us dressed in a nun's outfit. Those were good sorts of things to do for kids.

There were all those structures. We never had a sense of purposelessness. There was always an aim. We were always studying for something. There were a lot of clever people there. I felt lower than average [but] when I got back here [England] and discovered that I was better than average I was amazed.

Our education was broadened [in that] we were freer from teacher control. Three of them [teachers] shared a small room next to my dormitory of about ten beds. The rest had rooms down the corridor. Our poor teachers never got away from us. We were able to observe all their human weaknesses. We saw everything they did and who they did it with. They could not stop us from talking to whom we liked. The whole place functioned on rumors of the war, the guards, the black market, illicit relationships and lapsed believers. I listened and learned. We were scandalized by some of the behavior in Weihsien, though we were kept in ignorance of a great deal.

School carried on in the dormitories, doing maths on bits of paper with stubs of pencils while sitting on mattresses laid on cabin trunks. Two boys were allowed by the Japanese to go over the wall and catch frogs which we then cut up. Incredibly, three lots of students were set school certificate exams. The papers were kept and certified after the war by the examining board. Miss Bain ran the Guide company

and was a no nonsense, jolly-holly-hockey sticks lady. Soon as you saw her coming you put your shoulders back and prepared a big smile and had no complaints. I remember saying something was a bother and she said, 'Guides should not be bothered!' Miss Phare had presence in a way that you automatically became polite in her company. You always looked for her approval.

Miss Lucia, she could take a joke. Not many of the teachers would have. We were playing blindman's bluff and she came and sat down. Maida, who was blind folded, put her hands all over Miss Lucia's wiry hair and made rude remarks. She knew jolly well it was Miss Lucia and

Miss Lucia knew she knew and played along with the joke which was lovely. She wasn't afraid to show her emotions. You never felt judged by her. She listened to us and responded with warmth.

Relationships

While in camp, Kathleen became friends with Lonnie, a seventeen year old who was not a Chefoo boy. They had met in the dining room where Lonnie sent a message from the boys' side to the girls' side that he was interested in her. Kathleen could see him for fifteen minutes in the morning and in the evening. At the end of camp the internees

> [could go] for walks and I liked to walk with him. It was cold and he had lent me his shirt when we met the little prep girls going for a walk with Miss Can. She looked at us and I thought, 'Oh dear.' Sure enough there were no more walks after that. It was all so innocent_ The evil was in their imaginings, it wasn't in us because we didn't know enough.
>
> We were so naive at fifteen I don't think I would have had a clue. My mother told me where babies came from when I was eleven. They were supposed to tell you before you left for secondary school. My mother didn't pick a good time. I was at the beach swimming and didn't want to be sitting and listening to this.
>
> When periods started I had some remembrance of what she'd been saying. I started at Temple Hill [but] I suppose because there wasn't enough food I stopped.

Health

> One difficulty was finding pads to use. You had to make your own and wash your own out every time. Where do you put those wretched things to dry? I remember Sally was in washing her's out. I went into the room and she got this filthy black basin and I said, What on earth are you doing?' She had a coal-ball beside her and as soon as somebody came in she put the coal-ball in the water so nobody could see what she was doing. T'was not good. Sanitation was just appalling. The loo's were disgusting--squat down. And the huge cesspool--lovely.

Although there was poor sanitation, Kathleen had few health problems during camp. One time she had a "dreadful toothache" and went to the camp dentist. "She took my tooth out and then I fainted so she gave me some brandy. I arrived back in the dormitory smelling of brandy, minus a tooth and not having told anyone about it. There was such a hoo ha!"

Kathleen's major medical problem came after liberation while preparing to leave China. The last week of camp Kathleen's hip started hurting. She left

Weihsien at the end of September with the majority of the Chefoo group on a train to Tsingtao.

I felt so awful, my hip hurting. When we got to the Edgewater Hotel we had to queue up and I couldn't stand anymore. By that time the staff thought, 'there is something the matter with her.' They took me to a hospital run by Germans and I was operated on by Dr. Neve. (6) I had osteomyelitis, an infection of the bone and mine was in the hip. Three of us got it in camp. I was the first civilian in the area to be treated with Penicillin. A Canadian troop ship in the harbor had it on board. Dr. Neve and all the other doctors had never seen it used before. She scraped [the hip] and popped me full of Penicillin.

I didn't know how ill I was. My sister said I nearly died. I can remember not being aware of the passing of days and things. Miss Broomhall, the Headmistress, used to come read to me every day which I thought was marvellous. I was on my back. I couldn't do anything, see anything. Miss Pyle made a wonderful offer to remain with me while the others went back to their homelands. Fortunately I recovered in time to return with the last party. (7) We would have gone on a ship for Canada but somebody said, 'No, your mother's in England.' My mother was in China until '44 so I had no idea where she was.

When I was moved to the ship at Tsingtao [for] the voyage to Hong Kong, they put the stretcher across the seats of the largest car they could find. At dock they couldn't get me up the narrow gangplank so they hoisted me [up with a] crane. The stretcher was waving around and everybody on the ground was holding their breath. I was clutching my bottle of penicillin and arrived in the middle of a deck full of young American sailors which was wonderful!

It was six weeks [by boat] but nice because there were lots of returning soldiers and we spent ages talking to them. On the ship I heard about England—about the weather, strange cities, strange customs and about pounds, shillings, pence and farthings. My mother was there. I didn't remember my mother. I wondered what she would be like and how it would feel to live in a family.

The ship felt safe. I wasn't sure I wanted to arrive—England wasn't home. Everything was totally different from what I knew. It was a real loss leaving [schoolmates]. It was like having a family blow-up and go to all different parts of the world. People I spent eight years with were gone. At least at camp we knew all these rituals. Then they're all gone when we come back.

Reuniting

Upon their arrival in England, Kathleen and her sister had to have their mother pointed out to them. "After five years apart meeting was difficult. We wanted hugs but felt embarrassed, we had to know each other again." The girls and their mother lived at the mission home where their mother worked. "Adjusting to life in the Mission Home was not that difficult. It was just another institution full of returning missionaries." (8) But there were difficulties.

> It took me a long time to relax enough to feel comfortable with her [mom].
>
> Even then I never achieved the kind of casual relationship that you have with your parents. My mother never allowed herself to be angry with us and we were never allowed to be angry with her. The most difficult adjustment came at twenty-one when my mother, sister and I had a flat together. It felt strange being with just my mother and sister because I had always lived with other people.

Connecting past to present

Through the years Kathleen tried to talk to her mom about Chefoo and the internment experience. "My Mum didn't want to relive it or think about it. She couldn't cope with it. She didn't talk about it so it was good to get counselling to be able to talk about it." Kathleen also attended the Chefoo reunions, "going was a way of finding out who I was--how I related to all these people because in a way they were my family." But she came away from them with mixed emotions as they "brought back all these feelings of being alone and not anyone being interested in me as a child. We were there to be told and taught, not listened to."

> We'd have somebody speak and a picture show and it was all religious and good. The staff was always, 'Oh wasn't it so wonderful!' I felt that I ought to feel that everything had been good, but I couldn't. And I couldn't talk about it. I suggested somebody write an article about how Chefoo affected them for the rest of their lives and they said, 'why don't you write.' So I had actually resigned (9) and then wrote it [the 1993 article] and they printed it.
>
> I think what I've probably done since camp is take a sideways step and looked at things from a different direction. I've got a different slant on things after the religious straight jacket. I cannot call myself a Christian in the sense most would think of it. I find even the thought of going to church difficult—somehow at a deep level I feel that I will be entrapped again. Walls have figured rather largely in my life. The first

place I was born into had walls, then to a school [with] walls around the compound and then concentration camp there were walls again.

I think you go through life sorting out the things that happened to you and making sense of them. I did not feel loved or important though I believed in what my parents were doing. I learnt to avoid trouble by being inconspicuous. I learnt not to care too much in case of loss. I learnt to be responsible for my own feelings and to keep them to myself. It did not occur to me for a long time that others might be interested in what I felt. I have had to learn to be vulnerable and allow others to help and support me; that is still hard. This learning has come late in life. (10)

When my mother died at age eighty-nine I was very sad and grieved but not as much as I might have been. The most painful good bye was when I was ten. It took a lot of weeping in counselling to heal that wound. Chefoo had its good and exciting times, but it was also a time of loneliness and loss. My experiences have made me what I am. Having worked through many of my feelings connected with my childhood, I am content. Counselling others is a rewarding experience; out of my pain has come understanding and enrichment for myself and for others. No part of your life is wasted. You can't regret. Whatever happened to you made you who you are at the moment, struggling in the process of becoming.

Summary

Both Mary and Kathleen would agree that what happened in a person's past shapes who he or she is in the present. What this case study has done is to compare the early lives of two women who experienced an historical event at the same school and interacting with the same people. While there are many similarities in the experiences and lessons learned, there are also differences in their outlooks and paths taken in life. Perhaps the most significant difference is how they look back and view their shared past.

Mary has taken a broader, positive perspective of her Chefoo and internment experience. She has collected her thoughts together and pulled out what was good and beneficial from her schooling experience. She is awed by and highlights the way the teachers and staff rose to the occasion to provide security and safety for the children during the war through the use of predictable routines, rituals and discipline. Mary has incorporated these same themes into her own vocation as the head of a juvenile detention center where she provides a safe and structured environment for the teenagers and tries to establish rituals, values and instil the power of success with them.

Kathleen, on the other hand, was more introspective when reflecting on her past schooling experiences. While Kathleen was grateful for the positive aspects of Chefoo and the teachers' talents, she also looked more critically at the emotional impact the actions of others had on her. Kathleen's perceived lack of individualized encouragement from others allowed her to suppress her painful emotions. It has only been in her later adult years that she has unearthed and confronted these feelings through psychotherapy. This journey led to her being trained as a counsellor so as to help others deal with their emotional issues.

Both women have seen how their past schooling experience shaped who they are and the types of careers they chose over the years. Each of them has turned what could have been a traumatic, negative experience leading to inward self-destruction, into outward positive expressions of helping others. Each directly applied what they learned or interpreted from their schooling experience into her own life's work. Mary followed the structure and ritual themes that she experienced. She also found an outlet for expressing these ideas in her writing and speaking tours.

Kathleen's having experienced the lack of being listened to and valued at Chefoo resulted into her listening to others through counselling. Her other means of expressing the emotions within were by teaching painting and in her own career as an artist. The last chapter will take the personalness of each of these women's stories and extract what the researcher has learned about schooling, separation and the co-construction of the moral component curriculum and what implications this has for educators today. In a broad sense, this study is looking at how the students perceived the social order and control within the confines of the boarding school and the internment camp.

1 Kathleen Strange Foster, The Chefoo Magazine, (June, 1988), 39. ↑

2 Kathleen Strange Foster, "'The Past in [is] a Foreign Country; They do things differently there,"' The Chefoo Magazine, (Summer 1993), 10-12. ↑

3 The Girls' School was divided into competitive houses named after three women missionaries; Amy Carmichael-India, Nancy Judson-Burma and Mary Slessor-West Africa. ↑

4 Foster, (1993). ↑

5 Foster, (1993). ↑

6 Dr. Helen R. Neve, a CIM doctor stationed at Chefoo. ↑

7 Foster, (1993). ↑

8 Foster, (1993). ↑

9 from the Chefoo Schools Association alumni group. ↑

10 Foster, (1993). ↑

CHAPTER THREE

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CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This final chapter will detail what was learned from the oral histories about separation, schooling, the moral component of the co-construction of curriculum and the informal techniques of social control. Eight anonymous voices of interviewed Chefoo students who were also interned are included in this chapter. Five are of women who are one to four years older than Kathleen and one who is the same age as Mary. Two male students' voices are also shared so as to give a man's perspective. One of the male students is five years older than Kathleen and the other is the same age as Mary. Their quotations are used to give other students' perspectives into selected categories. This chapter will also review what the researcher learned about using historical inquiry in regards to subjectivity and researcher bias, women's history, oral history and issues of documented versus personal reality.

Validity of the Creative Argument

Validity of the creative argument is determined by whether or not the assumptions and interpretations made by the researcher are logical and consistent with the presented stories and historical documents. The researcher's job is to give an honest rendering of how the informants view themselves and their experience. Measuring validity is dependent upon the researcher's demonstrating that the multiple constructions of the subjects have been adequately represented and are credible to those of the subjects. This strength of consistency between the informants' reality and how it was interpreted by the researcher is internal validity. (1)

LeCompte and Preissle identify four qualitative research factors that promote internal validity. The first factor is the amount of time spent in the field and in doing research. A limitation of this study is the lack of access to living among the participants when the events occurred. A strength, however, was the four year process of collecting data which allowed for ongoing analysis and informant collaboration. Once the main informants were designated, each one had input throughout the researching and writing process. Spreading the interviews and meetings with informants over a two year period allowed the researcher to gauge the consistency of their stories. It also ensured a match between "researcher categories and participant realities."

The next factor is that the use of interviews is less abstract than if other data collection instruments were used. Interviews allow the participants' voices to be heard and the empirical categories to be phrased by them. The third factor is that participant observation is done in natural settings rather than contrived ones. While it was impossible for the natural setting of the event to be observed, all the interviews were conducted in the participants' own homes or in environments of their own choosing. They also brought pictures, journals and artifacts to help convey their stories. The last factor is that a qualitative analysis "incorporates researcher reflection, introspection and self-monitoring" that exposes all phases of the research to continued questioning and reevaluation. (2)

It is in this continuous reflection, introspection and self-monitoring of the researcher's own biases that the creative argument is formulated and refined. In this study, internal validity is supported by triangulation of the interviews with other sources. It is also supported by having the participants review the researcher's interpretations and sharing the study with their peers. And finally, the amount of time spent working with the informants and communicating with them supports internal validity.

Separation

While the focus of this study is schooling, not separation from parents, the one must be examined in relation to the other since the desire for schooling created the separation and made Chefoo the type of school that it was. The separation was necessitated for two major reasons. The first and foremost cause was the parents' desire to give their children a strong Western, classical training that would be on par with the public schools of England of which boarding was an acceptable part. Having an Evangelical Christian school with boarding facilities located on the same continent where the parents served was seen in the eyes of the Mission and most of the parents as a vast improvement over sending the children back to their home countries. Boarding at Chefoo reduced the time of separation from seven years (every furlough) to usually just three years or less, depending on the parents' location in China.

The second reason for separation was that the CIM was earnest in having both men and women equally doing full-time missionary work in the interior regions of China. The Mission's progressiveness in doing missionary work in remote places, and in enhancing the role of women, eliminated the option for attending a local Western-style school found only in the coastal urban areas, or for doing home-schooling. This then, created the need for a boarding school and subsequently the separation involved.

No matter what the cause, this separation was a traumatic event clearly recalled in the presented oral histories. The impact of separation from parents and the ensuing homesickness affected Mary and Kathleen at different times and in different ways during their boarding experience. For Mary, homesickness manifested itself immediately through daily vomiting. With Kathleen, at first she was happy to conform with the rest of the boarding children. It was not until she saw her parents again, three years later, that she experienced the emotional impact of a second separation and the realization of not having anyone present to whom she was "of prime importance."

Perhaps the difference between Kathleen and Mary is that Kathleen had two leavings or separations whereas Mary had only the one Mary's one separation from her parents involved her going to school for the first time, much as Kathleen did, excited to be boarding at school like all the other children. Mary did not have a time of reconnecting with her parents to realize or compare the two settings based on emotional needs. Whereas for Kathleen, it was her parents' visit to Chefoo and then their leaving that made her realize what she had been missing by not being with her family. In addition, Mary was also reuniting with her two older siblings and starting with her younger brother at Chefoo. Mary had siblings to whom she mattered on a deeper level, while

Kathleen had no one until her younger sister came—and even then there was little emotional attachment due to the age difference.

In their adult years, some of the Chefusians interviewed, like Mary, take the separation in stride as an acceptable part of attending Chefoo during that era. Kathleen, however, reflected the prevailing view of the other Chefusians that the separation resulted in life-long emotional ache. With each of the Chefusians interviewed, both male and female (thirteen percent of the one hundred fourteen who were interned without parents as well as those who were not directly affected by the war), strong emotions surrounded their words when speaking of first attending Chefoo as a boarder. Though long buried, the sense of abandonment, loss and separation was still vivid over fifty years later.

These feelings of abandonment are expressed in the following few quotes from various male and female interviewees. One gentleman recalled,

> I was five years old [and] a day scholar. A year later at six my mother suddenly departed and I hadn't been warned that they were leaving and putting me in boarding school. It was traumatic. And when you went home for Christmas, just as you were getting used to having parents around again, you had to go back to school. I can remember going to bed crying for three or four weeks after each trip home. I think there was a lot of homesickness and you couldn't write a letter because [the principal] of the primary school read everything so you couldn't tell your parents that you were being bullied or that you were homesick or that your food or clothing weren't adequate—so it was a very bottled-up situation.

Another woman, of Kathleen's age stated,

> I had some terrible, terrible nightmares and it happened more than once--terrible things that I saw. I was probably seven. When I was eight, I looked up that verse [Romans 8:28] (3) and that is the first experience I remember personally with God and I began looking positively at my separation from my parents. Although, it still hurt. I went home [one] Christmas and that was the first time I saw my mother after the separation and I remember walking around the streets holding her hand and looking up into her face and saying, 'it seems strange to think that you're my mommy.' [After the war] when I was a teenager, my mother said I always used to write happy letters home and she wondered if I ever felt the separation like she did. I said to her, 'yes, I remember wandering around the school grounds and I was just missing something and now I know it was you I was missing.'

Another man interviewed recalled the difficulty the separation was on the staff as well as the children.

> It was very hard for our teachers [with the kids] who were separated from their parents. Hard to work with us and trying to be substitute parents. Some kids were really lonely and really needed their parents. We [brothers and sisters] all felt terribly grieved, almost like a bereavement when they [parents] left. They were hoping to come back again in about two years. But then after Pearl Harbor, there was no chance that they would be able to travel at all. They stayed in free China and we waited in Weihsien until the end of the war.
>
> The hard thing for us kids [siblings] was not so much the camp. Kids have a tremendous amount of resilience. But we heard one day that my mother had died and that was a tremendous shock which has taken years to overcome. Having been separated for all those years—always we lived in hope that they would come and we would be together again as a family. To have that smashed in such a way that you couldn't mourn or grieve—there was no funeral and no resolution, just to have been told from a distance was very hard.

A second aspect of the separation was the reuniting with parents and then working through the long-term impact of the lengthy separation. Mary attributes her ease of resuming family life with their having remained in China for a year after the war, and then resettling in a small mid-west, Bible-belt town in the United States. Kathleen, however, talked of the awkwardness that resulted from living as a family again. She also found the Chefoo reunions hard to cope with as she reali7ed she did not feel that "everything was wonderful" in her past as those around her were expressing.

Kathleen eventually sought counseling to work out her mixed feelings about the past and how they impacted the present. Other Chefusians who were interviewed struggled with putting the separation in perspective and whether or not to hold anyone responsible for that separation. One woman said that as a child,

> I thought, 'It's really God who made my parents do this, and the head of the Mission.' And that affected my relationship with God for a long, long time. I don't blame my parents, the Mission, and I certainly don't blame God now. It was just what they thought was the right thing to do at the time. I know some of the students have turned away completely [from Christianity] because they just got over-stuffed, as it were. I almost feel guilty for saying that because everything was done with the best of intentions.

A second woman stated,

> They [the teachers] were all good people. I don't think they knew it was wrong to leave us in school all that time without seeing our parents. They were doing it for God, for the best of motives. It's only modern psychiatry and the discovery of how this can affect people that has altered the view. You can't judge in retrospect a group of people who thought they were obeying God to the best of their view. Admittedly, it may have had all sorts of effects on the kids. I'm always sad because I feel that the staff wanted to do their best for us and often people don't give that impression.

Others interviewed spoke of the difficulty in reuniting with parents after years of separation.

> It wasn't easy for us. Our parents hadn't seen us for six or seven years and they couldn't adjust to the fact that we were no longer children. I was twenty and my mother wanted to do everything for me. We were resistant to being supervised too closely. We had learnt resourcefulness in camp, you had to find food and cook it; mend your own trousers or whatever it was and then all of the sudden into this adjustment. They [parents] were wonderful people but it was very difficult to bridge that period.

A female interviewee stated,

> [In camp] we were one big family and I had to be careful that I didn't say anything like this in front of my mother, but actually we got to a stage where we didn't know them [parents]. Our friends and the staff had become surrogate parents and that was our world. It was traumatic when we were finally released and we left them and went to a strange country. We were glad to see [our parents] again but they couldn't understand that we thought we were grown up. We'd changed more than they had. They still wanted us to do exactly what they wanted. Just when we wanted to buy modern clothes and not be different anymore--we couldn't. There wasn't any money and they [parents] had old fashioned ideas. It was quite hard but we got through it.

A male interviewee recalled that after being released from Weihsien, he and his siblings stayed in barracks near an airport while waiting for their father to come to them.

While at the airport the officers would take them for rides on the motor bikes.

> I think one of the tragedies was that when my father did come, we hardly knew him and we kids were very excited about going for rides with

these air force people rather than seeing our own father. That was very hard for him though looking back, it was sort of natural. We just didn't know each other. The separation of five years and without a mother there—that took quite a few years to work through.

The absence of parents impinged on each student's life since no other relationship could adequately fill that role. The students' relationships with their teachers were respectful but distant. It was peers who subsequently filled the need for companionship, though at times that too could be strained by things like being "sent to Coventry." That is not to say that the students did not cope or do well in their adult lives, but this researcher believes that there is an emotional cost that colors the relational areas of a child's life as they mature into adults. Quantitative studies, one specific to Chefoo students born between 1935 and 1955 by Hogben, (4) and one dealing with Adult Missionary Kids (AMK's) in general, have been done which show that separation or, those who "attended boarding school. . did not appear to have been disadvantaged as adults . . ." (5)

However, the Hogben study, though purposely not dealing with those Chefusians who were interned, did find that "the longer the child's separation the more difficult were adjustments to adult relationships." (6) It is time for more qualitative life stories to be researched and written so as to capture individuals' perception on how childhood separations and repeated leavings influenced who they are today. Perhaps these stories would provide a foundational basis for the future stories of those who are now in foster- care or separated from parents for a variety of societal reasons.

Schooling

Whether Chefoo was the "best school east of the Suez" as Mary stated, or not, is the topic for another study. It is a credit, however, to the Chefoo teachers and staff that the school was able to maintain its high academic standards throughout the internment. These dedicated teachers provided strong preparation for succeeding on the Oxford School Certificate Exams. This is demonstrated by the fact that once the Chefoo School was settled in Weihsien Internment Camp, the students continued with their academic studies in preparation for the Oxford Exams.

Between July of 1944 and September of 1945, three groups of students, thirty- seven in all, took the Oxford Exams while interned. Of that thirty-seven, thirty-four passed satisfactory or better, two did not pass and one was absent. The one absence and the two who did not pass were all from the last group who took the exam after liberation while the internees were preparing to return to their home countries. The first two test groups took their exams in the midst of internment with no surety of a future beyond the internment walls. After the

war, the test results were turned over to the Oxford examiners who reviewed and validated the scores and then reported them in their July, 1946 results data. (7)

Even in the Lower Forms and in the Prep School, the students were held to high standards during internment. A Fourth Form grading sheet from the internment years shows that the students were taught and graded in ten subjects: French, Composition, Latin, Arithmetic, Algebra, History, Geometry, Geography, Literature and Grammar.

These subject grades were then added together and divided by ten to give each student's percentage rank in class.

The Prep students were given letter grades in eleven areas which were sub-divided into two to five aspects of each subject. The eleven areas were English Language, Reading, Arithmetic, Scripture, History, Geography, Art, Handwork, Music, General Work and General Conduct. Some of the graded sub-divisions included *expresses thoughts clearly, thinks out problems carefully*, *works with care*, and *obeys promptly*. (8) Overall, of the twenty-four students interviewed for this study, 100% went on for post- secondary education with most continuing into the helping professions of ministry, education, nursing and medicine.

There is no question that Chefoo was a good school with high standards. As one student related,

> There was a real sense of community there. They would have sports, regattas, cricket in the summer and a lot of activities. They had a number of excellent concerts. They had very high standards. I know that Chefoo was considered the best British style school east of the Suez. Students who left there [and] went back to England for college usually did very well. They had a good grounding. Another student stated that Chefoo provided a thorough education, fantastic teachers, outstanding results on Oxford exams and a happy environment in sports. The end result was a successful school in which a high portion of the graduates became doctors, nurses, professors and ministers.
>
> Anywhere you go there's a Chefusian in a key position, so it was a success but there were sad sides to it.

Unfortunately, those who were not at the top, such as Mary and Kathleen, often expressed feelings of inferiority in comparison to their classmates. Kathleen, like many of the others interviewed, did not realize that she was in fact "better than average" until she returned to her parent's home country and compared herself with the general population. Mary expressed similar feelings until she learned at Weihsien that she had the top average, thus changing her

self-perception. For those who never earned top academic ranking, who never won an athletic competition, or who were not gifted in music or art, their schooling experience at Chefoo could be discouraging.

> At the end of the year they gathered everybody together to read the grade levels. The way they did it was they would start from the bottom average, from the bottom student to the top student. By the time they got to the top student, everyone would clap their hands and then there was silence and you start at the bottom of the next grade. I wasn't doing well in school, in fact my first grade period I had 50%. My father wrote me, and my father didn't write very often, and he said, 'if you bring up your average a whole lot, I'll give you a watch for Christmas. So I worked hard and brought up my average to the 80's and from then on I was with the top students. I had a taste of being near the top of the class. That's a little status.

As another Chefusian woman stated, at Chefoo,

> I felt that I had no talents. No teacher hardly ever gave any individual encouragement. You struggled to compete with all your peers. There was a select group that always excelled. I was in the nondescript middle, but there were some poor kids who were always in trouble. When I came over here [Canada] I just excelled. I came top of my class and won the top scholarship. I recognized then that I wasn't as dumb as I thought I had been.

Schooling though is more than just academic performance. Schooling encompasses the passing on of values and mores of the institution. As presented in the Prologue, Sergiovanni attributes five purposes to schooling: "to develop basic competency in the three R's; to pass on the culture; to teach students to think; to build character; [and] to cultivate excellence." (9) As stated above, Chefoo more than adequately developed basic competency, cultivated excellence and taught students to think. What the students thought about the culture that was being passed on and the means used for character development are the concerns of this study and the next part of this chapter.

The Co-construction of Curriculum and its Moral Component

The term co-construction is derived from "Constructivism" defined by Sergiovanni as "the simple idea that children and adults construct their own understandings of the world in which they live." (10) Co-construction is the interaction or intersection of the teachers' and students' understandings which produces what is culturally and academically passed on by the teachers to their students. Co-construction is the continual constructing, negotiating and reconstructing of the traditions, values and morals of their school and social

culture as students and teachers interact to make sense of their shared worlds. This is especially relevant to the Chefoo students because they lived with or near their teachers for five or more years of their lives.

Mary and Kathleen, by relating their histories orally, expressed the curricular values of the Chefoo School. Their stories gave examples of both explicit and implicit ways that the students got the message of what this school was about and how they were to relate to it. However, the women's stories also showed their own thinking and understanding of what the school staff was trying to convey and how they as students interpreted it.

Safety in Structure

Some of the positive messages that the students expressed that they had received in the midst of the war and internment was a feeling of security and safety. Whether it was due to a faith in God, in their teachers, or just the bliss of ignorance, both women expressed that they felt no real fear during the war and internment experience. The teachers and staff did an excellent job in, as Mary related, sheltering and preserving their childhoods. This was accomplished by maintaining predictable routines of school and daily life.

As both Kathleen and Mary indicated, there were structures and purposefulness to all that the students did. The standards and expectations were the same for the students whether they were at the Chefoo School or in the internment camp. The whole concept of being "God's representatives, daughters of the King—princesses," meant something, especially to the British children who were raised to revere the Royal Family. Mary especially, seems to have thrived in the existence of structures and routine and continues with them today in her work. Her's is a positive, upbeat story of how the teachers used rituals, predictability and safety to see the children through their time of internment.

Kathleen, however, while agreeing that she always felt safe, was not as cognizant of finding her personal security in the structures, nor in those around her. Instead she turned her focus inward and sorted out what feelings and events she had control over and those that she did not thus burying them in her subconscious. One cannot determine how much of this introspection is due to adolescent moodiness and being two years older than Mary, or whether Kathleen was just a more reflective child. For even in pre-adolescence Kathleen was determining or co-constructing the difference between what was taught and what she felt and believed based on her past experiences and on her surroundings. Mary, however, seemed more accepting of the routines and structures.

Much of the predictability and routine that Mary speaks of in her story actually comes from living an institutional life where everyone must be on a schedule so that things run smoothly. This aspect of Chefoo made for an easier transition to internment camp because the students were used to doing daily life activities by a strict schedule, whereas the other internees found it to be a limiting aspect of their previous freedom. And, quite the opposite was true for the Chefusian students. The American students who were repatriated were first sent to Weihsien for two weeks before the rest of the Chefoo contingent arrived. One of these students recalled that her time during those two weeks without the Chefoo staff was unstructured. During those two weeks "it carne to me that something's different about my life. What is it? I know, nobody is saying to me, 'now it's time to get up, it's time to eat, it's time to read your Bible."

All of the Chefusian women and men interviewed agreed that being interned in Weihsien was a broadening experience which either enhanced or challenged the values of their previous life at Chefoo. One woman said, "We were so naive at Chefoo. We had this abnormal sheltering in that we weren't part of the real world. Even our books were censored." Once in Weihsien, the staff and students found themselves in a different world. It was a liberating experience for the students as they were freer to talk and associate with people from whom they had previously been sheltered, from Catholic priests to nightclub performers.

> At Chefoo the teachers controlled the whole environment and we kids were totally cut off, not only from the Japanese and from the outside world, but from any secular thinking. As soon as we went to Weihsien, we were suddenly thrown right in the middle of a very secular society with prostitutes, drug addicts, millionaires and businessmen.

Another older male student stated that,

> Coming to Weihsien was a colossal shock to us but it was beneficial. The upbringing at Chefoo was very fundamentalist. I swallowed it all and then the Weihsien experience shook me up a bit. It involved rethinking. Moving into this larger camp of 2,000 people was a breath of life--meeting people of wider points of view and rethinking one's own upbringing in this wider context_ The intellectually stimulating professors, lecturers, missionaries from other societies, and very informed people. But the problem with it was we had been programmed in advance that outside of fundamentalism, everything was evil and false.
>
> So we came with reservations against these other missions and suddenly we found ourselves working side by side with them and found them to be men and women of prayer and deep devotion. The stark

reality of these liberal people being just as devout Christians as the rest of us made you rethink. It caused doubt in our lives as to whether our upbringing was reliable.

A female student commented about the religious tolerance that,

> We were brought up that Catholics were beyond the pale and then two Catholic fathers were allocated to our camp. When they first arrived we were told the Bible says, 'Call no man thy father.' So we were to call them mister but it didn't last long. They were so wonderful that we soon called them father. [In Weihsien] they had a lot of nuns and we hadn't been with nuns before but they were so wonderful. Again our prejudices that we had been taught just went by the board.

Another female student remembers that

> I found the adults fascinating. I didn't know that adults argued because of course the missionaries took great care so we didn't know about these things. And, I didn't know all the 'interesting' words they used or the ways they talked to each other—I was all ears. The walls were so thin that you could hear arguments through the other side. Yes, I found camp quite fascinating!

It was the older teenage students who expressed feelings of fear concerning their futures rather than for their current internment. As another woman stated,

> One of the hardest things was never knowing when it was going to end. I remember the Headmaster saying, when the war broke out, 'Give them about two weeks and the Allies will win out.' And that's what we all believed and thought.
>
> So then when it went on month after month, year after year, you thought, 'Are we ever going to be free? Are we going to die here?' That part was scary.

The staff did an excellent job of keeping life normal so that the younger children were involved with the continuity of schooling, contests, sports and the progressing from one Form to the next. But for the older students who had completed their Oxford exams, and who would normally be back at their home country getting on with their lives, they were the ones who felt most disconnected with the school and stalemated in the camp_

Kathleen represents the beginnings of questioning the authority of her teachers. Mary got the curricular message that the school was trying to send. Perhaps this was because it reflected the same message she had received from home before attending Chefoo. And, maybe it was due to Mary's younger age

where she still held her teachers in awe so that there was less processing and assimilating on her part but instead just acceptance. This acceptance reflected what she had learned at home by singing the promises of God during family worship time when she states, "Why would you question it? Why would we doubt? This was what our parents anchored us with." And, so too, did her teachers.

Mary represents the other Chefusians interviewed when she talks about the "issue of the spirit," in having daily inspection, not going out raggedy—of cleaning your square inches of floor each day. It does teach a self respect, pride and responsibility that many children today are lacking. Through these actions, the Chefoo teachers were able to maintain the school's high standards academically and in behavioral expectations even when the surroundings changed and were less than best.

> Our teachers said just because we were in a Japanese concentration camp doesn't mean you forget your manners. So no matter what the situation was we had to sit up straight, eat properly and always be correct in everything. At that time I think we thought they were strict, but I think we appreciated that.

Another Chefoo boy compared the Chefoo students to the Weihsien students in that,

> The Chefoo schools [in Weihsien] were more disciplined and stricter. They had high standards and were very religious. The Weihsien schools were a happy go lucky collection or mixture of different ethnic groups, different foreigners from Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia and some from Britain. We got to know some of the Weihsien kids but we got the feeling that they weren't taking education nearly as seriously as the Chefoo School. We often longed to have the lifestyle of the Weihsien kids.

Of course this maintaining of standards was fostered by a hierarchy of discipline.

Discipline

Both women admitted that the extreme forms of discipline used at Chefoo would be considered abusive by today's standards, but that it was typical for that generation of British boarding schools. The inclusion of God as judge, though, took the aspect of discipline and school life in general one step further than what most students would experience in a school. What would normally be viewed as simple acts of childhood instead became, as Mary found out when she exposed her bottom to a boy, "like you broke the heart of the Lord. . . . an act of moral turpitude." The religious overtones of pleasing God, that He was always watching and that "your sins will find you out," is why Kathleen stated, "with the

God bit thrown in, there was no escape. And with no parents there you were reduced to pulp."

This pressure of "pleasing God, and thereby your teachers and thereby your parents," did much to make the students conform and toe the line. But the students still "constructed" their own understandings and truths from these experiences which sometimes led them to the opposite conclusions and understanding from what their teachers were trying to imbue. It is here that Mary and Kathleen's interpretations and stories differ.

Kathleen's oral history is more a personal examination of feelings and how she interpreted and responded to the events around her. Even as a child in the Prep School, Kathleen seemed to see through the religious soberness that outweighed common sense and humor in understanding the actions and nature of children. Kathleen felt that the strict discipline actually encouraged deceit because if a student confessed to misbehavior, he or she was punished anyway. This deception extended to a spiritual level too as the students learned to use the religious moral component of the school and discipline structure to their own advantage.

Kathleen expressed the convenient use of "conversion" at age nine as a way to get positive attention. Or, as another female student explained how the students co- constructed the core moral component of the curriculum for their own physical salvation,

> They [teachers] didn't do a lot of caning. It was one of the last punishments, but even the staff could be pushed because of their anxiety for us to become good. I became a Christian about three times [laughs]--got out of all sorts of punishments that way. Awful isn't it? I'm ashamed of it, but still—anything to survive.

Even Mary describes, almost with glee, two times she behaved badly and was not caught. Kathleen seemed to express a paradox of the moral teaching of Chefoo. On the one hand the students were told that God loved them, which Mary expressed. Yet Kathleen stated that they were also "constantly told how wicked we were and made to feel it." This, among other things, led Kathleen to feel unloved by God, and by anyone else.

Other students expressed similar feelings of doubt as to whether God loved them, or if they were really going to heaven because of the "hot-house" atmosphere of constantly having to be good to please God.

One male student commented that in his opinion,

> It is fair to say that the hell-fire teaching plus the deprivation of parents were the two biggest problems of the school. The hell-fire teaching was taught regularly and missionaries coming up to the coast to

> preach in Memorial Hall would get into that because they had been preaching that in the interior. I went to bed crying thinking about people going every second, so many thousand going to hell every second, which is what we were told. My personality took this seriously and I sobbed going to sleep. There was a sense of guilt in playing a game of sport or swimming or doing anything leisurely when logically in the hour or two of games seven or eight more thousand were going to hell. I just had to reach a stage in my late teens when I just turned it off
>
> When I went to Doctor before the visit was out he would say, 'have you been saved?' Now I felt as a child that if it wasn't obvious by my life that I wasn't saved, then I wasn't saved! And so he put me through the motions all over again in his medical room. And a schoolmaster, he asked me if I was saved and again I thought, 'well, if you can't see it, apparently I can't be.' And he put me through the motions. So most people got saved five or six times and then to have a revivalist come along asking you to come forward—by that time salvation's become something indistinguishable and cheap.

Some students even questioned their parents' love for them since the parents had chosen to be with the Chinese rather than with them. Sometimes the students did not feel as special as they were told they were.

Feeling Special

"Feeling special" is another student co-construction that Mary and Kathleen shared and yet on which their perspectives diverged. Again, Mary picked up on what most likely was the desired outcome of the Chefoo school staff, that she and the other students were special because they were loved by God and because they went to the Chefoo School. Kathleen, however, got a very different message. She did not feel loved by God, nor by the staff. And, any specialness she felt had to do with a racial superiority enhanced by the fact that they, as white Westerners were separated from, and treated far better than, the Chinese to whom the missionaries were there to minister. As another Chefoo student said, "We were definitely given a sense of superiority to the other missions which wasn't right. We were no better than the others, in fact, they treated their missionaries better than our missionaries were treated."

This feeling was also reinforced in the fact that the children were forbidden to speak Chinese at the school, the very language their parents had spent years laboring to learn in order to spread the gospel. As one male student recalled,

> We weren't supposed to talk to any Chinese because the educational level of the Chinese was much lower—they would come out with swear

> words and dirty stories. So there was a strict 'don't speak to the Chinese' which [hesitation] was probably right, but the result was we were in a British compound in the middle of China and we [might as well] have been in London for the environment.

Another male student echoed the same sentiments. "They [staff] totally separated us from the Chinese which was really strange because many of us might have become missionaries later on. I think they wanted to protect us from what they thought was a decadent culture." The children were not taught anything about the surrounding Chinese culture or country as part of the school curriculum One teacher, Mr. Martin however, did make it a point to have a special class outside of the curriculum for the Upper Forms students to teach them about the history and culture of their host country. Most of the Chefoo students interviewed regretted the loss of the language in which they were once fluent.

Perhaps because of the lack of parental presence, these students needed to "feel special." Kathleen expressed that, while she felt special in a racial way, she never felt "really listened to" or cared for. Mary also admitted that no Chefoo teacher had ever touched "the child within." She now, however, recognizes the importance of gaining a child's trust and being able to have a positive impact on the heart of a child. Mary tries to do that now in her work by listening to and collecting the stories of the children she works with because they too have had very few people in their own lives who have deeply cared for them or really listened to them.

> Fifty plus years later in life, the Chefoo students express how this unique experience affected their lives. One male student stated,
>
> My feeling is that going through [the internment] was good and bad. The good is that the situation was so exceptional and unusual that it made us improvise, it made us resilient, imaginative and to do creative, unusual things. The bad was particularly the separation from our parents, and therefore the dysfunction as families and the adjustment from that. But on the whole I think people have survived it pretty well.

A female student put her experience into perspective this way,

> At that stage of life I felt very inadequate but now at this stage of life I'm realizing that all those people that knew exactly what to do and how to conform, they're the ones that are saying, 'You've had such an interesting life!' I think, well thank goodness. I'd much rather have that. But in the early days you just want to conform and you can't.

Universal theme of Social Control

Safety in structure, discipline and feeling special: these three themes, generated from the interviews and built on the constructs of separation and schooling, show not only how students interpreted and co-constructed the school curriculum's moral component, they also exposed areas of where the school curriculum emanated informal techniques of social control. Much of the social control at Chefoo however, was explicit, from the boarding school rules and routines to specific uniforms for all seasons and activities. Even the students' leisure time was structured so that conformity, cooperation and a continual purpose of an activity were stressed with all activities supervised by the staff This emphasis carried over into the camp. Structure both at Chefoo and in Weihsien provided not only safety for the students, but a means and feeling of control for the school staff though ironically the students had more freedom in the internment camp. In many ways, how the school went about defining Christian morality was much more powerful and oppressive than any of the activities of their Japanese captors.

Cultural conformity or social control was most overt in the area of discipline where one often faced painful consequences for failure to obey. Perhaps because of the blatant methods used to have the students comply, it is here that the students implicitly did otherwise. The students learned to project the appearance of remorse, repentance and conformity while not necessarily complying in their personal being. The students who talked about using "conversion experiences" as a means, not so much for salvation of their souls, but to avoid harsh physical punishments indicate this. The students, however, were not innocent of exerting their own means of making their peers conform. Sending students to "Coventry", or shunning them was quite effective for the girls to get back at a child who did not kowtow to the group, and there is little doubt that bullying was also at times employed.

In the third theme of feeling special, social control moved beyond the confines of the school into the world at large as the students incorporated feelings of superiority due to how Westerners operated in the Asian world at that time. However, the students felt special not just because they were white, Christian and separated from the Chinese, as Kathleen felt, but because of the emphasis placed upon the importance of education. Mary talked about knowing she attended the "best school east of the Suez." While another informant compared the Chefoo students with the other Weihsien students and found the Weihsien students to be lacking in the seriousness of their studies. These feelings of Chefoo "specialness" and social control developed a strong sense of loyalty in the students for the ethos of the school. That bond still exists today for many of them and created conflict for some as they tried to describe their love-hate relationship for Chefoo.

No matter what the academic or social subject was at Chefoo, everyone understood that the underlying moral curriculum was, as stated in a 1921 parent handbook, that "The moral and spiritual interest of the children are of the highest importance. . . [and were] made matters of constant prayer and thought. (11) These were fine and acceptable goals to have for a school of that era and religious setting. What makes the difference is how these goals were expressed on a daily basis by the teachers and staff It is through this interaction of educator and pupil that the moral component of the curriculum is presented. These two oral histories give evidence that students do co- construct moral values taught at school and filter them through their lenses of past experiences, family background, and assimilate it with other implicit messages they are concurrently receiving.

Commonality of experiences

During the Second World War, the Chefoo and Weihsien children were not the only ones to suffer hardship and loss firsthand. Millions of children on both the Allied and Axis sides and those caught in between experienced the traumas of war. Emmy E. Werner, an author and a developmental psychologist, was such a child who lived through World War Two in Germany. Werner was the same age as Kathleen in this study. In Werner's latest book, *Through The Eyes of Innocents: Children witness World War II* , (12) she interviewed twelve adults from both sides of the conflict as well as researched through two hundred eyewitness accounts of children and teenagers from a dozen Allied and Axis countries. Though none of the children she documents in her book were Allied internees in Japanese camps, some of Werner's findings parallel those found in the themes of the oral histories of this study. Her overall findings were as follows:

> This we have learned: The trauma of war appears to affect children differently, depending on the level of violence they have been exposed to and their capacity to cope with it. The effects tend to vary also with age, gender, and temperament; their family and social support, and the political ideology and/or religious faith that provides the context of their lives. (13) Some war experiences in childhood tend to have a lasting impact: exposure to heavy bombing and combat; prolonged separation from the family; internment in refugee or detention camps; the loss of loved ones through acts of violence; and lack of proper schooling.

Some other areas of Werner's findings that support those of this study were in that children fared better if they were with an adult who maintained a calm exterior and did not easily demonstrate upsetness but rather provided support, even in the midst of bombing. Having such a calm, supportive adult in a child's life was most important in its positive impact on the child's later life.

Another positive indicator was the child's own "continuing sense of purpose in life, a sense of coherence and faith, appeared to make a difference in the way children of war managed the absurdities of what they saw, both during the war and in the postwar periods of deprivation." (14)

Three other aspects Werner found that helped children to be resilient were in having "access to continued schooling, the reaffirmation and strengthening of family ties, and the opportunity to do useful work that has enabled many child survivors of World War II to fashion an adult life that has had a sense of purpose." (15) The Chefoo students had all of the positive indicators discussed by Werner which helped them to survive the trials of war. The Chefoo students had supportive teachers who maintained that "stiff upper lip" which saw them through many traumas. Their teachers provided continuous schooling throughout the war. Their parents and then the school staff provided the children with a strong faith foundation in God and family relations. And finally, camp life required the children to have responsible jobs upon which the routine running of the camp depended.

Each of these areas discussed above easily fit into the three themes derived in this study from the oral histories and historical documents. The schooling routine and the can- do demeanor of the school staff provided the safety in structure. This school structure and the faith tenets it was based upon required boundaries and a discipline structure for maintaining those boundaries. The "feeling special" that the students described, though ascribed to for different reasons before internment, was reinforced by their required helpfulness in the camp. Children of war share commonalities that help them to survive, no matter which side of the war they find themselves. Unfortunately, today's children of war would find much in common with the children of war in this study.

Lessons Learned about Historical Inquiry

Part of what makes this study unique is that it has used oral histories and documents to tell personal stories occurring within an historical event. This uniqueness, however, also brings limitations to the study. These limitations will be reviewed in this section under four categories: subjectivity and researcher bias, oral history and interactions of the past and present, documented versus personal reality, and women's history. The four categories of this section are examined specifically from this researcher's perspective as she encountered and worked with these limitations throughout the research and writing process. Oral history, interactions of the past and present, and documented versus personal reality are really intertwined with one another and only separated here for clarity.

Subjectivity and Researcher Bias

At the initial stage of formulating a study on education in internment camps, no thought was given to pursuing the children of missionaries, or to focusing on a boarding school for such children. However, as the research unfolded with the interviews of the Chefoo students, I could not deny the ease with which the Chefusians and I related to one another. The more interviews I did, the more I realized how much my own background resembled theirs. As the daughter of a minister, I have an analogous evangelical Christian perspective and belief, and grew-up with similar expectations and teachings.

Since some of the Chefusians have not maintained the faith they were reared in, I allowed them to reveal to me where they were in their faith. This was usually established early in our meetings as they inquired about me and my background and often directly asked if I were a church-goer and to what denomination. Disclosing my personal history established common ground and a shift in their vocabulary to what I refer to as "Christianese". They felt free to talk about the Lord, to recite scripture and to expose their faith throughout our conversation. Even those who no longer strictly adhered to Christianity could talk in the jargon with which they were raised and knew that I understood it and why some of them had rebelled against it. While this rapport may have made me sympathetic and biased toward their views, it facilitated my entering their world to get an insider's perspective that they rarely shared with others.

What attracted me to the Chefoo internment story was its presentation to me as an amazing and positive story of how the teachers overcame the hardships of war to protect and educate their charges. Most of the first interviews I did, and the related memoirs I read, presented this outlook. But then I interviewed a Chefusian who spoke about the emotional toll of being separated from parents, of having to conform to the school's system and of being interned. This interview alerted me to how other Chefusians talked about their separations, about the discipline of the school and how they perceived the long term effects of their educational experience.

It was this interview that exposed my bias toward only hearing the positive story of the Chefoo School. However, I then became over-intrigued with those Chefoo students who expressed negative feelings about their experience. I sought to control my bias by reviewing all twenty-four of the Chefusians I had interviewed and focusing on the two women's stories whom I thought adequately represented both the positive and negative stories I had heard. It was also important that the women and I felt comfortable in continuing to communicate so that we could share and discuss the study as it unfolded. The result of this collaboration is the study you are now reading.

Oral history and interactions of the past and present

The use of oral history to recall an event years after its occurrence juxtaposes a past event in a present day context.

> Thus, the historical frame is negotiated between an interviewer and the individual asked to recall the past. . . . Both discuss the past from dramatically different perspectives. The interviewer is at least a temporary expert on the topic or event: he or she will have a distinct chronology and an agenda of questions. . . . The narrator typically has a more or less hazy chronology of the events he witnessed; unlike the interviewer, he may not have thought about the event for forty years; and, except in the rarest cases, he has not read secondary literature embedded with historical interpretation of the event's significance. (16)

This quote accurately describes what I encountered in the interviewing process. After some initial interviews and research which educated me to the event's framework, I became a "temporary expert" of the names, chronology and documents associated with the event. This newly acquired knowledge delighted the interviewees as not only did they now have an interested party with whom to share the stories of their youth, but someone who knew the people and events being discussed and often had a better overall grasp of the historical framework than they did. In essence, I gave them the story outline while they filled-in the details specific to their lives.

Perhaps the biggest concern of past and present interacting is trying to resolve whether a practice that was considered normal and acceptable in a specific time period should now be considered wrong when looking through present-day behaviors and expectations. And if it is thought wrong, should those who participated in it because it was the norm then be held accountable now. In essence some of the Chefusians are questioning if any of the adults of their past should be held responsible for the separations (and excessive discipline) due to schooling and the war.

This is a hard matter to reconcile as it involves the very people that the Chefusians as children had their closest relationships with, their parents, their teachers and their God. Typically the Mission or God get the blame. Or, if the person has not thought it through for herself or himself, it becomes just another paradox from their past that is suppressed. The framework of this issue is one that historians consistently encounter when trying to compare cultures of the past and present. Ultimately it comes down to each person's worldview. But whether that worldview is modern, postmodern or Biblical, those who were innocent victims of actions in the past that were once thought acceptable need to acknowledge their pain, grant themselves permission to grieve, and be assured that doing so is not a lack of faith.

> One Chefusian suggested that the World War II Chefoo generation should have a reunion in which we could share our common experiences and help each other work through our pain and resentments in order to reach spiritual and emotional health. Having a responsible Mission leader would be helpful for us to hear that those policies are now rejected and supplanted by more wholesome practices. Now [in missions today] it is very different--children see their parents more often. But, it is because [of] those of us [who] paid an awful price for it.

Documented versus personal reality

What I encountered in some of my interviews, especially with those who were younger children during the internment, was a repetition on the Chefoo and internment stories as presented in the books authored by David Michell or Langdon Gilkey. The younger Chefusians had to rely on these stories to supply or to gloss over their memories of Chefoo and camp. This taught me early on to know the book versions so that I could compare the reliability and validity of the oral histories I heard. It also required my questioning through these stories to get at the interviewee's personal memories.

What I soon learned through these interviews was to let the person talk and not to be concerned with accuracy of dates, locations and names. I was interested in their story and memories, whether or not they were consistent with the written documents and the oral histories that I had previously heard. I rarely asked questions except to get them started or to clarify a name or location based on the context of the story they were relating. Most of them did very well in recalling the chronology of the events. They all shared personal mementos and pictures which helped them to tell their stories. Dates may not have been specifically remembered, but events and the emotions those events brought about were. And it was those emotionally charged memories that were important to the interviewee and to me.

Both Kathleen and Mary did well in relating their past to me. Much of this was due to their having previously organized their thoughts — Kathleen for counseling sessions and writing her Chefoo article and Mary in writing her book. Mary and Kathleen represent the tension I found within many Chefusians and between Chefusians. Even I came to categorize my interviewees as either "rah-rah Chefoo" for those who thought everything was great and who are possibly in denial about some of their emotions. Or, as "boo-hoo Chefoo" for those who hold Chefoo accountable for all or most of their emotional problems. It was refreshing to talk with those who recognized their love-hate relationship with Chefoo and who had found a balance between the positive and the negative experiences.

The discrepancies that I had to deal with had nothing to do with documented facts, but with the stories I heard about the person I was about to interview, and then my own impressions of that person upon our meeting. As I would travel from one Chefusian's home to the next, I would hear all the gossip about the person I had just visited. Much of this struck me as sibling rivalry as they based their worth on how they compared with what their peers had accomplished. It also let me see how the Chefoo community defined themselves and judged who was or was not loyal to Chefoo and often, therefore, to God.

It is emotionally hard for a non-Christian Chefusian, or one who believed she/he had a traumatic experience at Chefoo, to go to a reunion and feel accepted. That is changing, however, as the Chefusian numbers are dwindling and people who have not seen each other for years desire to meet again. The books and articles can all say that the Chefoo students came out of their experience emotionally unscathed but their oral accounts present a different story. Unfortunately, those who experienced some significant emotional trauma were not comfortable in sharing it beyond our interviews and their wishes have been honored.

Women's history

After a few initial interviews, the focus of this study centered on women's oral histories rather than men's. There is still a male influence, however, as most of the historical texts and memoirs are written by men since few of the interned women have published their accounts. One of the reasons for using women informants was the comfortability factor of women opening up more to a woman researcher than the men might have. A second reason for focusing on women was to provide them the opportunity for their voices to be heard as there are few women-authored, published memoirs or historical texts dealing with this subject. This scarcity of resources was another attraction but also a limitation for the researcher.

In order for the women's voices to be distinct, it was important for me, the researcher, to share my findings, interpretations and theory with the informants as the research was constructed. This collective effort made it less likely for me, the researcher, to "generate propositions that are imposed by the researcher and more likely to be responsive to the logic of evidence that does not fit the researcher's preconceptions." This also "encourages the research subjects' empowerment through systematic reflection on their own situations and roles in reproducing or transforming existing power relations." (17)

It was not until most of the women I interviewed started telling me about their menstrual cycles and knowledge of sexuality as internees that I knew this was women's history at its core. It never occurred to me before how significant an event menstruation is for a pubescent woman. But it made sense that this

meaningful event, in an abnormal setting and under duress, is even more a symbolic rite of passage. Some of the women spoke for the first time of having been molested by a staff member. Others shared stories such as the following,

> I don't remember any fear except in particular instances where we would be face to face with a Japanese soldier alone, or without a staff member with us. I thought that was a little frightening because we were at his mercy without anyone to say Nay.' Of course we didn't know what the danger was, we didn't understand the concept of rape. As for dating, one boy had a crush on me. We'd go strolling around. One day he took me up to one of the guard posts. He had made friends with one of the guards on duty. They chatted and we stood looking out over the countryside, which I hadn't done for ever. But all the time this was happening, the Japanese guard was stroking my bottom. He, [the boy] didn't know and I didn't dare say anything.

It has taken years for some of them to reconcile the "good" of the school and mission with the violation that was done to them. Some are still living with this unprocessed pain. On a historical scale it may seem insignificant, but it indicated to me that the women were being open with me. I appreciated their honesty.

Summary

At the beginning of this study, two questions were raised: How was schooling co- constructed by students and staff while interned in an artificial culture created by military rule? And, how do those former students perceive the influence of this unique educational experience upon their lives? Chapter One provided the historical setting for the school group from which the research was drawn. Chapter Two gave voice to two women representatives of the students who were educated while interned. Chapter Three used the collected oral histories and historical documentation to pull-out core themes from the data about how students co-construct the moral component of schooling. Three themes emerged, safety in structure, discipline and feeing special. These three themes were examined in the underlying framework of separation from parents and schooling. The Epilogue that follows will look at these themes within the realm current educational concerns and future research.

1 Sharan B. Merriam, Case Study Research in Education (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Ltd., 1988) 167. ↑

2 LeCompte & Preissle, 342.

3 "And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose." Romans 8:28 MV.

4 Dr. Monica M. Hogben, "The Adjustment of Missionaries' Children to Adult Life: Report of a Statistical Survey 1935-1955," (An unpublished study done within the Overseas Missionary Fellowship organization, formerly CIM, circa 1975) 1-7.

5 Leslie A. Andrews, "The measurement of adult MKs' well-being," Evangelical Missions Quarterly 31.4 (October, 1995): 423.

6 Hogben, 5.

7 Oxford School Certificate Results, Microfilm #34, Contributor, Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations, Ewert House, Sununertown, Oxford, results on July, 1946 data.

8 Both report cards were provided to the author from Marjory Harrison Jackson's private Chefoo collection.

9 Sergiovanni, (1996) 122.

10 Sergiovanni, (1996) 38.

11 Prospectus of the China Inland Mission Schools (Chefoo: Publisher, 1921) 5. SOAS, CrIvI/CSP Box 1, Files #1-10.

12 Emmy E. Werner, Through The Eyes of Innocence: Children witness World War II (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).

13 Peter S. Jansen and Jon Shaw, "Children as the Victims of War: Current Knowledge and Future Research Needs," Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry 32, no. 4 (July 1993): 697-708. As quoted in Werner, p. 21 L

14 Werner, 212, 221.

15 Werner, 222.

16 Dunaway, 261.

17 Leslie G. Roman, "The Political Significance of other ways of Narrating Ethnography: A Feminist Materialist Approach" in The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education edited by Margaret D. LeCompte, Wendy L. Millroy & Judith Preissle, (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1992) 583. ↑

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EPILOGUE

Introduction

The epilogue deals with this study's relevance to present day education, future research and other, unanticipated, related benefits encountered in the process of research. Through these life histories the researcher has sought to "understand how thought and action have developed in past social circumstances. Following this development through time to the present affords insights into how those circumstances we experience as contemporary 'reality' have been negotiated, constructed and reconstructed over time." (1) This study cannot provide "how to" answers for successfully designing and implementing a curriculum that builds moral character. It can, however, give those who are responsible for presenting such curriculum points to consider and explore as to how students interpret what is being taught, especially implicitly.

Significance to Education

Significance of findings

The moral component of the Chefoo School's curriculum presents both positive and negative examples from which parallels can be drawn for today's educators. A positive example that educators today can emulate is that the Chefoo teachers were most effective at providing a feeling of safety for their students within the midst of the war.

Mary and Kathleen felt secure in the structure, routines and rituals of school, which also carried over into the internment camp. Chefoo was a well organized, structured school with ritualistic rites of passage and privilege as students matured and a progressive, though albeit at times abusive, discipline code. This formal structure provided safety and security for the students in knowing the routines, expectations and standards they were to uphold. Were it

not for the prolonged periods of separation from parents, as one Chefusian intimated, Chefoo would have been an incredible school. Students today need that same sense of security.

In *Leadership for the Schoolhouse*, Thomas Sergiovanni talks about the need for schools to be "a kind of moral learning community . . . that enjoys a place within our society very close to the family as a moral nurturing community." To do this, schools need to begin "developing a practice of leadership for the schoolhouse [which] will require a change in the theory of school itself. The change proposed is to understand schools as moral communities.. . . The moral voice of community is anchored in shared values, ideas, and purposes." (2)

These shared values, ideas and purposes should be encompassed, Sergiovanni contends, in a theory that "encourages principals and teachers, parents and students to become self-managing, to accept responsibility for what they do and to feel a sense of obligation and commitment to do the right thing." The students of Chefoo were raised and taught by the school to be exactly what Sergiovanni indicated: self-managing, responsible, and having a sense of obligation and commitment to do what is right. These core values, or the students' moral identities, were developed and molded under wartime circumstances and without active parental guidance or support.

The Chefoo teachers have demonstrated that in the absence of parents, a school can be the prime provider of moral and social mores. The Chefusian's separation from parents due to boarding and the war is analogous to the emotional or physical abandonment of parents that children today experience whether due to parental neglect, parent incarceration or placing a child in foster care. While today's schools should do all that they can to gamer and incorporate parental support and involvement, they must also recognize that for a variety of reasons, that support may not be consistently available for some or even many of their students.

Rising above their circumstances and striving for something better rather than relaxing their standards was another hallmark of the Chefoo School staff. The Chefoo teachers expected their students to maintain their pre-internment behaviors and activities so as not to let God, king, country or the school down. The teachers themselves did not yield to the temptation to lower their academic, social or moral standards. The staff modeled a stalwart attitude to life which instilled in their students a pride and loyalty to the ethos of the school. Self-pity was not an option.

However, this display of moral courage was not limited to just the Chefoo teachers during this time period. Werner writes about German children who were evacuated to rural Germany and surrounding countries to escape the Allied bombings. Many of the children were placed in KLV (Kinderlandverschickung)

camps with their teachers and Hitler Youth functionaries. Werner found that "children who were placed in KLV camps lived their lives according to a tightly organized schedule.. . many preadolescent children liked [the camp] routine," similar to Mary in this study. But, the "adolescents had more ambivalent and sometimes downright negative feelings about the KLV camp experience," (3) not unlike the teenage children interviewed for this study.

Werner cites a study done by Gerhard Dabel (4) of KLV children where Dabel found that children from those camps

> paid tribute to their teachers who became surrogate parents for them while they were separated from home. . . . their classroom teachers. . taught them the basic skills necessary for survival after the war. Most former evacuees felt that the camp experience taught them flexibility and independence.

Werner also found in her own study that students credited their teachers with providing a

> semblance of normalcy to the life of school age children, whether they taught in air raid shelters in England or Germany, in resettlement centers for Japanese Americans in the Arizona desert, or in displaced persons camps in Austria. The lack of physical comfort and the absence of instructional material in a partially bombed-out school, or the cold and dust that penetrated the makeshift tents in an internment or refugee camp that served as classrooms, did not prevent children from experiencing the miracle of learning. Schooling gave some structure and focus to their lives. (5)

Unfortunately, due to the chaos often found in the home life or neighborhoods of today's students, the "miracle of learning" does not readily occur. A school would do well to have structured, predictable routines and rituals in which the students and neighborhood community could find security, comfort and a point of focus in their lives to enhance the wonder of learning. Schools need to become once again, as houses of worship also once were, a pillar of the community. Schools, faith communities, local businesses and community organizations must strengthen their ties in order to revitalize their neighborhoods by setting standards and expectations that not only reflect the values and cultures of the community members, but that also extend to a higher good and measure.

The sentiments of this view was expressed by the National PTA and the U. S. Department of Education when they issued pamphlets to public school administrators to encourage "education partnerships with faith communities as another effective way to support children's learning... In this way, community

groups, businesses, family organizations, and local government agencies join the partnership, resulting in a broad- based effort to help educate children." (6)

The National PTA stated views similar to the principles Sergiovanni expressed in regards to shared values and beliefs in that

> Parents are the first and most important moral educators of their children. Thus public schools should develop character education programs only in close partnership with parents and the community. Local communities need to work together to identify the core moral and civic virtues that they wish to be taught and modeled in all aspects of school life. (7)

Today's teachers can also learn from the negative impact that the Chefoo teachers and schooling had directly or indirectly on their students. While the structure and rituals of Chefoo went a long way in providing safety, security and a good education for the students, it did not do enough to meet the needs of their students. Having high expectations and standards is only effective and rewarding for the elite few unless the necessary supports and scaffolding are provided to help all students achieve. Chefoo's competitive system in all facets of life—academics, athletics, the Arts and deportment—in effect, created a class system. Placing every aspect of a child's thoughts and behaviors under the ever watchful eye of not only the staff but also "the Lord", contributed to crippling the self-esteem of those students who did not quite measure up to the standards.

In today's age of achieving educational benchmarks and standards, aside from constructing academic scaffolding, what can be done to maintain positive contacts with those students struggling with their self-worth or who feel that they are the outcasts? Here again Kathleen and Mary give answers by responding to the things that were not done at Chefoo, but which need to be done in schools today. First, in our concern for achievement of standards, we cannot forget the heart of the child. Both Mary and Kathleen commented that the Chefoo teachers never touched the child within. They did not feel listened to or respected for their own thoughts or feelings. This is significant because they did not have their parents with them who would normally have provided that intimate support. Many students today are also lacking that necessary foundation.

School staffs need to activate students' prior knowledge not only academically but in the affective domain as well. Schools need to provide an atmosphere of emotional safety where students can freely articulate what they know and how they feel. Students also need adult mentors of their choosing with whom they will regularly meet, especially if the students have poor relationships with their parents. Schools and community organizations should do all they can

to support the relationship between parent and child, and then to advocate for the child where the parent-child relationship is weak or non-existent. By working together, schools, houses of faith, businesses, and community groups can do much to enhance the resiliency factor of a student's successful navigation through childhood and adolescence into productive adulthood.

The prevailing negative theme of the Chefoo story was that the students could not be listened to or valued by the staff the way they would have been by their own parents. Yet, the staff was placed in such a position to act as surrogate parents, especially when the school was interned. Students without consistent physical contact with parents had few if any people with whom to share their joys and fears. Though the oral history is a reflection back over time, it does provide the opportunity for the narrator to tell the story from his or her point of view. As a researcher, I thoroughly enjoyed meeting each Chefusian and getting to know them personally. I believe it added to my understanding of them as a collective group in their responses to telling their life stories. As Kathleen stated in one interview, "It's nurturing to talk to you because you really listen--something they didn't do at Chefoo."

Where Do We Go From Here

Future Research

Currently, character and moral education are the "hot-topics" of educational seminars and research, unfortunately brought about by incidents such as the Columbine High School shooting and the bullying and violence that still pervades our schools. It is good and necessary that these issues be addressed. It is hoped that future research will also look at how schools, faith communities, businesses, and community groups in general can better develop positive, personal relationships with students so that each child has someone who will listen to her or him, to touch the child within, and be their advocate, especially if his or her parents are unable or unwilling to meet that responsibility.

In a related area, more research needs to be done on the continuance of education even under duress. This would look at how and why education goes on even in the midst of wars, persecutions, uprisings, ethnic cleansing, and other man-made traumatic events that interfere or would seem to stop the normal disseminating of education. I personally would like to continue doing oral histories with those who were interned by the Japanese in the area of south-east Asia during the Second World War. These children continued life and education under much harsher conditions then those of Chefoo. They had fewer materials to work with, were a less organized group, and were usually placed in all female camps with primitive living conditions. Time is running out to gather their stories before they pass away.

Related Issues

Outside of the realm of public education, but still affecting certain students is the connection this study has with those who are in boarding school situations. Students of all ages currently board either in their home country or abroad because their parents are involved in military, diplomatic, missionary or international business activities. The situation that occurred at Chefoo is but one example of past mission field boarding experiences that contributed to changes that have since taken place. Some of these changes include more frequent home visits, shorter periods of time between furloughs, and an effort to develop a surrogate family setting for children at the boarding school. It is good to know the past from which one came and the rationale for why things are now done as they are. It provides continuity between the past and the present.

A second issue for the informants involves the therapeutic value of telling one's story. Collecting the oral histories gave these women and men permission to share long held thoughts, feelings and views about their lives and the surrounding historical and personal events of their time. Due to traveling distances and time limitations, many interviews were done with a variety of people in a limited time period. While the telling of their stories was a catharsis for the narrators, it became emotional overload for me as I heard story after story. It was hard not to come away depressed from hearing the Chefoo stories. I struggled, as the narrators did, with wanting to share all that was good about Chefoo and yet consistently hearing and feeling the hurt and pain that was present in the stories of those who were separated from their parents. Each person's story was contradictory as part of it was terrible and part of it was exciting.

Like the informants, I wrestled with the paradoxical nature of their boarding life experiences. Recent work done with adult third culture kids (ATCK's) who attended boarding schools has found that,

> These ATCK's may have so many great memories of the camaraderie experienced there and the friendships made and maintained down through the years that they can't imagine there could be any negatives. . . .their identity is deeply tied to the boarding school experience. To acknowledge anything but the good could threaten their entire sense of self. . .They don't want to negate the way of life that is the only one they have known and the core element of their identity. (8)

This not wanting to negate their way of life leads to the last benefit of this study for the informants and their contemporaries who experienced similar situations of either internment or boarding away from parents. This study gives them a voice and recognition of what they experienced. This is especially needed for those who were children of missionaries. For years many felt they could not

talk about the loneliness and hardships of their childhood for fear it would sound as if they were criticizing or letting down their parents, the mission organization or God. The life-histories of the informants in this study will hopefully provide for other adult missionary children a sense of identity, acceptance and belonging that they perhaps have rarely found elsewhere. And that may be the most crucial benefit of all.

Conclusion

The method of oral history was used to discover two women's motivations, feelings and interpretations of schooling during a stressful historical time period. From each woman's story, supported by corroboration with other interviewees and with related written documents, themes were established by the researcher as to how these students interpreted and internalized the implicit and explicit moral components of their school's curriculum. These themes revolved around "Safety in Structure", "Discipline" and "Feeling Special". The issue of "separation" was also discussed as it was a recurrent theme with all of the interviewees.

Three assumptions were held by the researcher during the collection and analysis of the life histories. The first assumption was that, whether explicitly or implicitly presented, students do internalize and act on the moral elements found within the schooling process. Second, the internalizing of the moral elements of the school curriculum may cause conflict with the values of the student's home or those of the surrounding society. This conflict can have long term effects on the student's perception of her/himself and his/her character development. And finally, in order to quell the internal conflicts of values, the student incorporates coping skills, one of which is being a "co- constructor" with teachers of the curriculum and thus determining what is learned and what morals are preserved. The method of life history was utilized because it allows for the study of the intersection of biography, history and social structure and "penetrates the individual subject's consciousness and attempts also to map the changes in that consciousness over the life-cycle" (9)

The frame of this study is the internment of a whole private school during the Second World War. But the picture within the frame is of the continuation of schooling in spite of war and internment. Would schools today be able or willing to function under such circumstances? The fact that the Chefoo School continued functioning even in an internment camp signifies the values and beliefs of the staff and students. This message was not lost on its students. And that is what this study was about: that schooling is a shared, or co-constructed, value system that uses the curriculum to transmit the cultural traditions, social norms and history of its people to the next generation.

The contemporary value of this study is in helping parents, educators, students and community participants of schools to define the type of supportive community they desire their schools to be in the midst of financial, moral and the violent behaviors that challenge education in our schools. While a school's main purpose is often thought to be academic only, in reality, schooling encompasses a student's affective life as well. As Sergiovanni stated that, "children and adults construct their own understandings of the world in which they live," (10) this study stresses that all school stakeholders must work together as "co-constructors" of the curriculum to determine what is to be learned and what morals are to be preserved despite the surrounding environment.

On an international level this study, though seen through the lens of an historical event, has themes that are applicable to the world today. This is due to the fact that unfortunately

> In the second half of the twentieth century more than 100 armed conflicts have been fought in Africa, Asia, Europe and the Middle East. Nine out of ten casualties in contemporary wars are noncombatants. Millions of children today will bear the physical and psychological scars of war for the rest of their lives. For some, the impact will be disabli-g; others will learn to live with their painful memories, as did most of the children of World War II. . . . We can give hope to the children of war, provide them with the love of caring adults—a member of the family, a teacher, someone who will listen and hold their hand. We can use schools as places to restore structure and routine in young lives, where the children can learn the skills to rebuild their world in peace. (11)

When parents are a non-positive-factor in a child's life, whether on an international or local level, and for whatever reason, war, drugs, emotional abandonment, that is when the extended school family must intervene to fill that separation void. All students should feel safe within the structures and teachings of their school and know that they are valued by the school community for herself or himself, regardless of their performance. Students need to rest in the confidence that they will be listened to and respected by their school community. Establishing a moral climate of positive relationships, safety and respect for one another in our schools is the long term goal of this study.

1 Goodson & Walker, (1991), 176. ↑

2 Sergiovanni (1996), xii., xiii, xvi. ↑

3 Werner, p. 48-51. ↑

4 "Erfahrungen, Auswirlcungen and Lehren aus der Sicht von Teilnehmern," in Die erweiterte Kinder-Land-Verschiclaing: KLV-Lager 1940-1945, ed. Gerhard Dabel, (Schillinger: Freiburg, 1981) 309-312. ↑

5 Werner, p. 58 & 221. ↑

6 U. S. Department of Education and the Partnership for Family Involvement in Education, How Faith Communities Support Children's Learning in Public Schools, December, 1999, 1. ↑

7 First Amendment Center and National Congress of Parents and Teachers, A Parent's Guide to Religion in the Public Schools, 1999, Item 15. ↑

8 David C. Pollack and Ruth E. Van Reken, The Third Culture Kid Experience: Growing up among worlds (Yarmouth, Maine: Intercultural Press, 1999) 286-287. ↑

9 Goodson, (1988), 62. ↑

10 Sergiovarini, (1996) 38. ↑

11 Werner, p. 227 & 229. ↑

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APPENDIX A

Definition of Terms,

Throughout this dissertation various terms will be used which need definitions that are "study specific". Some of the terms relate to the historical context of the paper while others are research and educationally oriented.

Case study — According to Robert Yin, (1) case studies are used to investigate the "how" or "why" questions about a set of events over which the inquirer has little or no control. The strength of a case study is its ability to deal with a variety of evidence such as documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations.

Chefoo (Yantai) (2) is a seaport town in the Shantung (Shandong) Province in northern China where the China Inland Mission Schools were located. The schools were founded in 1881 and were commonly called "Chefoo" by all associated with the Schools and the Mission.

China Inland Mission (CIM) — started by Hudson Taylor in 1865 as an evangelical Protestant interoenominational faith mission. An evangelical faith mission means they believed in the authority of the scriptures, that salvation was from faith and grace alone, and that they were dependent on God only to supply every financial need. The goal of the Mission was to spread the gospel of Jesus Christ to the interior of China.

Co-construction — this applies to schooling and the curriculum. It is the interaction or intersection of the teacher and the student which ultimately determine what is culturally, academically and curricularly, in formal and informal settings, passed on by the teachers to the students. These interactions are also influenced by the surrounding setting and social expectations in which the schooling occurs. In this case study, the effects of the war and the internment camp play a critical part. It is similar to "Constructivism" defined by Sergiovanni as "the simple idea that children and adults construct their own understandings of the world in which they live." (3) I use the term "co-construction" because schooling is a joint venture between the teachers and the students. They are continually constructing and reconstructing, the traditions, values, and morals of their school and social culture.

Culture -- definitions abound as to what makes up culture. The definition for this study is based on that of Hargreaves, Earl and Ryan. (4) A culture consists of a shared set of norms, values and beliefs that its members think, say, and do, and the identifiable patterns of relationships among the members.

Culture does not just emerge naturally, but is actively created and contested against competing visions and values.

Curriculum -- is often "depicted as a series of events through which each student had to pass in order to reach particular levels of achievement. The content defined the experience and for the most part was unquestioned." This is especially true for the written curriculum which is "but the visible, public and changing testimony of selected rationales and legitimizing rhetorics of schooling." However, there is a "dichotomy between the espoused curriculum as written and the active curriculum as lived and experienced." What this study is concerned with is the "notion of *curriculum as social construction*" which is the curriculum that was daily constructed, negotiated, lived and experienced at the individual leve1. (5)

Informants — while over twenty people were initially interviewed for this study, only two were chosen for more in-depth interviewing. These two women are the main informants on whom this study is based. Their responses and perspectives are triangulated with the other interviews, historical documents, books, and archival material.

In loco parentis — the Webster's II translation is "in the place or position of a parent." (6) As a private Christian boarding school where children typically saw their parents once every three years, the teachers at Chefoo were entrusted not only with schooling, but were "also responsible for teaching habits of the mind and habits of the heart." (7)

Life history -- is used to reveal an individual's perception of her/his past experiences within a certain group or culture and thus gives the reader an insider's perspective to that culture as the individual interacts with it. This study used an edited or selective life history as the main focus will be on the informants' formative years.

Schooling — a formal organization for "developing basic competence in students and passing on the culture of their society." (8) The cultures of the Chefoo School were evangelical Christian and British, no matter from what country or religious background the students or their parents originated. This "culture" provided the framework for schooling at Chefoo.

Weihsien Internment Camp — (Weifang) The Japanese run Civilian Assembly Center two miles outside of the city of Weihsien in the Shantung Province about 100 miles northwest of Tsingtao (Qingdao). Prior to becoming an internment camp in March of 1943, it was a compound of the American Presbyterian Mission.

Weihsien School — when the camp first began two schools were organized, the British School and the American School. The two schools merged and became the Weihsien School after most of the Americans were repatriated (released from Japanese control in exchange for Japanese citizens) in September of 1943.

1 Robert K. Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 2nd. ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage 1994), 8-9. ↑

2 The pre-1949 Wade-Giles system will be used for Chinese names as this was the system the informants were raised on. At times the post-1949 pinyin system will be used in parentheses for clarification and location purposes. ↑

3 Sergiovanni, (1996), 38. ↑

4 Andy Hargreaves, L. Earl, & J. Ryan, Schooling for Change (London: Falmer Press, 1996), 21-23. ↑

5 Rob Walker and Saville Kushner, "Theorizing a Curriculum" in Ivor F. Goodson and Rob Walker, Biography, Identity and Schooling: Episodes in Educational Research (Hampshire, England: Falmer Press, 1991), 183; Ivor F. Goodson, The Making of Curriculum (East Sussex, England: Falmer Press, 1988), 16-17; Ivor F. Goodson, "Studying Curriculum: A Social Constructionist Perspective" in Goodson and Walker, (1991), 168. ↑

6 Anne H. Soulchanov, Ed., Webster's II New Riverside University Dictionary (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), 630. ↑

7 Sergiovanni, (1996), xii. ↑

8 Ibid.. ↑

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APPENDIX B

APPENDIX B

Expanded Historical Context

Japanese Presence in China

A detailed examination of the lives of the informants needs to be placed in historical context. The events in North China, specifically those relating to Shantung Province where the school was located and the establishment of the Japanese in this region, are the focus of this review.

A continued Japanese presence in China began at the end of the nineteenth Century. In the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, Japan invaded Shantung and Manchuria in its dispute with China over the control of Korea. Following its decisive victory, Japan received the most-favored-nation status that had been extended to Britain, France and the United States in 1843-44. Japan's new status and the opening of four more ports to trade, created an "imperialist scramble" on the part of Britain, Germany, Russia, France and Japan to partition China into "spheres of influence." Germany, "taking advantage of the murder in Shantung of two German Roman Catholic missionaries," seized Tsingtao, forcibly leased territory in Kiaochow, and was assured railway and mining rights in Shantung Province. [1]

In 1899 in the Shantung Province, flood and famine combined with local unrest against the German and foreign presence to create an uprising which culminated in the Boxer Rebellion. National feelings were strong against missionaries, particularly Catholics, who were seen as foreign agents after an imperial rescript gave Bishops privilege to seek interviews and rank with viceroys and governors, and to have certain civil jurisdiction over their converts. The climax came in Peking in 1900 when missionaries, Chinese Christians and foreign diplomats were besieged in the legation quarter of Peking for forty-five days until relieved by an international expedition. [2]

Because they were scattered throughout China, rather than concentrated in the port cities, missionaries received the brunt of the hostilities. Approximately one hundred and eighty-seven Protestant missionaries were killed during the Rebellion. "Of these, slightly more than a third were under the China Inland Mission and its associated societies." Though twenty-one were CIM children, the Chefoo School was spared any bloodshed. In keeping with their total reliance on God to provide, the mission that suffered the most loss refused not only to "enter any claim against the Chinese government, but to refrain from accepting compensation even if offered. [3]

The years after the Boxer Rebellion were fruitful and saw expansion of the missionary movement and the establishment of Western education in China. Even the disorder of the Revolution of 1911 and the establishment of the Republic did not interfere substantially with mission work or the security of the Westerner. "Both Manchus and revolutionists were eager not to offend the foreigner for fear that the Western powers would support their opponents." [4] This protected status would soon come to an end.

During World War One, while the rest of the foreign powers were busy fighting each other, Japan presented its twenty-one demands to China. Divided into five sections, the first two sections of the twenty-one demands called for recognition of Japanese rights in Shantung, Mongolia and Manchuria. Japan declared war on Germany in August of 1914 and by November had seized Germany's holdings in Shantung. After the First World War, Shantung Province was assigned to Japan by the Treaty of Versailles in which China had no say and therefore refused to sign. However, the Washington conference of 1922 made Japan restore its holdings in Shantung to China. Japan acquiesced, but still maintained a presence in the Province. Despite the return of Shantung Province to China's control, China was still obligated to the extraterritoriality of the Western powers. This Western presence contributed to continued unrest among Chinese student and political groups. [5]

After the First World War, Western prestige and power in China had changed. No longer could the Western powers jointly impose their will on China. The groundwork had been laid for domestic forces to emerge. By the mid-Twenties, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and the Kuomintang Nationalist Party (KMT), led by Sun Yat-sen, were functioning. As the Chinese political parties developed, agitation increased against the foreign presence, especially that of the British and the Japanese. With the rise of Chinese nationalism, anti-imperialist and anti-Christian demonstrations grew. These uprisings peaked in 1927, but by then many of the missionaries, as advised by their consuls, had evacuated interior China for the port cities, or had left China altogether.

Although the persecution was not as drastic as that of the Boxer Rebellion, it was more widespread and the prospect for a semblance of peace seemed remote. One reason restoration of order seemed unobtainable was due, in part, to the continued

unrest between the KMT and the CCP. By 1928 the KMT had formed a national government in Nanking. However, warlordism, a continued Communist presence in the rural areas and the KMT's own factions prevented true unification of China.[6] The rise of Chiang Kai-shek as the leader of the KMT and his anti-Communist movement eventually split the party after much bloodshed, most notably in Nanking and Shanghai. Chiang then established a government in Nanking.

While Chiang pursued the Communists, Japan sent troops into Shantung. Japan justified its action as protecting Japanese lives and property from the strong anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist feelings of the Chinese, which often erupted into strikes and protests. The clash of Japanese and nationalist forces only intensified anti-Japanese sentiments, especially as Japan reoccupied part of Shantung. Acting out of its own sense of "manifest destiny," Japan seized Manchuria in 1931. The Japanese considered China a "backward and disorganized nation, victimized by the Western powers," [7] and felt they had a duty to dominate East Asia. That domination included Manchuria with its relatively unpopulated territory, which could easily be settled by Japan.

China sought help from the League of Nations to oust Japan, but no significant enforceable action was taken. Japan resigned from the League, the clashes continued, and Manchuria became Manchuko. By 1933, Japan and China signed a truce that left Japan in control of the area north of the Great Wall. Intent on wiping out the Communists, but knowing that his troops were inferior to Japan's, Chiang Kai-shek adopted a policy of "first internal pacification, then external resistance," to buy time to prepare his army and to rout the Communist threat to his power. This policy, however, did not endear Chiang to his own people. "While the Chinese disliked the Kuomingtang, they hated the Japanese more.... In a paradoxical way, therefore, the Japanese threat may have been a significant reason why Chiang Kai-shek's regime survived the period 1931 1934." [8] Any further revolutionary upheaval would only have invited increased aggression from Japan.

In the early 1930's, Shantung province went through a civil war between two warlords. After the civil war, Han Fu-chu, the winner, "apparently reached an understanding with the Japanese that he would remain neutral if the Japanese attacked Peiping, Tientsin or other areas in North China. In return, the Japanese agreed to spare Shantung." [9] On July 7, 1937, after provocation by both sides, war broke out between Japan and China when Japan came south and attacked at the Marco Polo Bridge and then occupied Peking, Tientsin, Shanghai, and by December of 1937, Nanking.

Chiang's Nationalist government fled to Chungking, which was not under Japanese occupation. Chiang Kai-shek's strategy of trading territory for time meant that he accepted the loss of large areas of North and Central China. By 1938, the Chinese defended positions in the hills and mountains where the motorized Japanese

army could not easily penetrate. The Japanese countered by occupying the coastal areas and causing economic strangulation for the interior. So the lines between the two combatants remained essentially in a stalemate battle of attrition until mid-1944. And, by 1940, Japan sought imperial expansion into other areas. [10]

Formation of Weihsien Internment Camp

While the Chefoo group was interned in Temple Hill, the rest of the Westerners in North China were increasingly restricted to their houses or settlement areas until large scale internment could be accomplished. Washington received word of the impending internment through a telegram reading: "Japanese Consulates in North China to inform all enemy nationals in North China that they are to be sent for concentration to Weihsien, Shantung. This is to take place about the middle of March." A later telegram confirms the impending internment but adds that "those assembled at Chefoo will remain there." Chefoo in this case referred to Temple Hill, which was located in Chefoo. [11]

Of the larger camps in China, Weihsien was one of the most adequate. Prior to becoming an internment camp, Weihsien had been a large American Presbyterian Mission school, seminary and hospital two miles east of Weihsien city. In 1943 Weihsien, with compound space of 200 yards by 150, became the internment camp for 1,700 people from the regions of Peking, Tientsin, Tsingtao, and Chefoo. After the transfer of the Catholics, and "the repatriation of a majority of the Americans and Canadians at Weihsien, there remained about 1,400 internees.... There were 202 United States, 1,093 British, 42 Belgians, 28 Dutch, and 58 other nationals them, of whom 358 were children." [12]

Confined to an area about the size of five large city blocks, surrounded by a high brick wall, living space was at a premium. Families, which were the majority of the internee population, were housed in former Chinese student moms which were 12'6" x 8'11". Each room, suitable for two persons, now had to hold three and sometimes four people. Single men and women lived in groups of ten to fifteen in the classrooms and offices of the school buildings. Nine buildings, including the hospital, were used as dormitories. The internees also had use of a church, a tennis court, a small playing field for softball, baseball and field hockey, and a basketball court which was also used for volleyball. When the Chefoo group first arrived, they were housed in the moms if they were families, but most were placed in the dormitories. [13]

The first group to be interned at Weihsien was from Tsingtao. They had been interned in the Iltis-Hydro Hotel in Tsingtao since October 27, 1942. They left Tsingtao and arrived in Weihsien on the same day, March 20, 1943. The Peking and Tientsin American and British nationals were informed on March 12, 1943 that in two

weeks they would be interned in Weihsien as well. Because the groups from these two areas were rather large, 780 from Tientsin and 485 from Peking, the two groups were divided into sections of approximately 200, with their departure days staggered. They would arrive in Weihsien one day after their departure. [14]

The groups began departing on March 22, 1943. When the Tsingtao group arrived in Weihsien,

> "... no kitchens were operating and nothing was organized, nor had any other group arrived. We had to start things going, especially in the kitchen. In fact, the Japanese admitted they were not quite ready for us, and sanitary conditions, we soon learned, gave all too much emphasis to their admission. Morning roll call ensued; otherwise the guards left us much to ourselves." [15]

By March 31, 1943, the last group had arrived at Weihsien, or "Courtyard of the Happy Way," the name by which the mission had been known. The camp internees were informed that by April 2, a permanent committee with nine chairmen must be set up. The nine committees were discipline, education, employment, engineering and repairs, finance, food supplies, general affairs, medical affairs, and quarters. It was also decided to divide the camp into the four groups represented, the fourth group being the nearly 500 Catholic fathers, brothers and sisters. Each group was then told to select one representative to serve for each committee. By the end of May a general election was held for committee members, most of whom retained their positions. [16]

The Japanese garrison at Weihsien camp consisted of a Commandant, his staff of five, and then thirty to forty Japanese Consular Police. There were very few incidents between the Japanese and the internees, who were given practical autonomy in the direction of their affairs. "The average internee saw little of the Japanese Camp Commandant or his staff, who left the running of the camp almost entirely in the hands of the Committee, to whom he issued orders and from whom he received requests and complaints." [17]

Internment Camps in China

In general, the civilian internment camps in China were humanely run, with cold weather, overcrowding, and scarcity of food toward the end of the war being the major concerns. The internees were expected to maintain the camps and did the central cooking themselves. There was no forced labor and each camp was expected to form nine committees to represent the internees' needs to the Japanese, to handle internal affairs and to run the whole camp. Many of the camps were also allowed to have recreational activities such as concerts, dances and theater, as well as religious services and educational studies. Medical treatment was generally good

because some of the internees were medical missionaries. Also, the Red Cross and the Swiss Consul at times supplied the camps with medicine and money. It is believed that the camps in China were more humane because they were under the supervision of the various Japanese consular offices rather than under the Imperial Japanese Army. [18]

Education at Weihsien

Of special interest is the formation of schools in Weihsien prior to the arrival of the Chefoo group. All of the information is derived from Sokobin's November 11, 1943 report. The head of the Education Committee was a Britisher who had previously been with the Tientsin Grammar School. The committee organized the children into groups.

At the pre-school and kindergarten age there were approximately ninety students who were then divided into age appropriate groupings from three to six years old.

On the elementary level, two schools evolved. The American School derived from the Peking American School with its teachers, and the British School was made up of teachers from the Tientsin Grammar School. The two schools went from grades one through eight or the comparable forms on the British side, and had between them one hundred students and sixteen teachers. At the high school level, a British and an American school also existed following the respective systems. There were approximately fifteen teachers for the seventy-five students in the secondary schools.

Adult education also thrived. "Amongst the Catholic Fathers, the educationalists from the Peking universities and the language students, we had some of the finest intellects in North China, and lectures and talks were given on every imaginable subject." Ninety teachers taught more than 700 students in 25 subjects which included art, botany, ornithology, physics, chemistry, English, Chinese, French, German, Spanish, Russian, Japanese, Latin, Greek, philosophy, psychology, theology, commercial subjects, vocal and theoretical music, and higher mathematics. [19]

Clandestine Activities

The black market had been most effectively run by the Catholic Fathers in order to provide eggs and other necessities for the mothers with young children. Once the Fathers were transferred to Peking, other groups and individuals established contacts with the Chinese over the camp wall for the provision of goods. Eventually an electrified, barbed- wired fence was erected which slowed, but did not stop, the marketeering. Another priest, De Jaegher, devised various means for

making contacts and relaying messages outside the camp. Primarily he relied on the Chinese coolies who came in the camp each day to clean out the cesspools, or on the postman who made weekly visits to the camp. De Jaegher joined internee Laurance Tipton in devising a plan to escape from the camp. [20]

Over time the two men began collecting maps and information about the location of Communist, Japanese, Nationalist and guerrilla forces. This information was supplied through the cesspool coolies. It took a year to gather information and make plans to escape. By the spring of 1944 the camp committee had been in contact with a Nationalist military, or "Chungking," unit. The commander of the unit proposed to rescue the internees but only if they could arrange for their consuls to send planes to remove them from the area. The committee replied that such an operation would not be practical due to the large number of women, children, aged and sick. Tipton and De Jaegher then sought and established contact with guerrilla troops under the direction of Commander Wang. [21]

On the Friday night of June 9, 1944, two men escaped from Weihsien, Laurance Tipton and Arthur Hummel. As much as De Jaegher wanted to go, he was begged not to by one of his superiors in the camp who feared reprisals against innocent people in camp. So Hummel went in De Jaegher's place. The men were not reported as missing until the next day's roll call. "The nine men who shared their bachelor dormitory were arrested, placed in the church building for ten days and subjected to prolonged interrogation." Roll call was now held both morning and evening, and food supplies took a further cutback. [22]

The most drastic reprisal for the escape was that the remaining internees had to change their living quarters. The bachelors who lived in the top floor of the hospital were moved into block 23 where the Chefoo students had been. The students were moved to the top floor of the hospital where they now had a view over the wall. The staff of Chefoo was reluctant to move as it meant moving almost all of the children. But one of the teachers, Marjorie Broomhall, reminded them, "Don't let us dig in our heels and refuse; every move so far had turned out to be God's way of providing some better thing for us." So the move was efficiently carried out in a few hours and the new accommodations, "with the girls on one floor and the boys above, . . . [made] a united family again under the same roof." [23]

About three months after the escape, De Jaegher received word from Tipton and Hummel through the coolies. From this connection, coded messages were relayed as to the progress of the war. The fact that "two men had got away and were now free and able to get word to us and receive news from us made our incarceration less binding and onerous." Tipton and Hummel had aligned themselves with the guerrilla Commander Wang, and established radio contact with Chungking. From there, their reports were sent on to Washington urging the supplying of Commander Wang with ammunition to safeguard the Allied nationals in Weihsien. [24]

Tipton and Hummel were also able to smuggle four crates of medicines, dropped by an American B-24, to Mr. Egger, the Swiss Consul at Tsingtao. Mr. Egger then had a list of all the drugs that could be purchased in Tsingtao typed out, but with spaces of four lines between each item. He took this list to the office of Japanese consular police for seals of approval. Once that was obtained, he typed in the names of the other medicines from the four crates in the blank spaces. The guards at Weihsien allowed the medicines to come into the camp because the list had the official Japanese consular seal. [25]

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1 Hilda Hookham, A Short History of China (New York: New American Library, 1972); C. Schiroknauer, Modern China and Japan (New York: Harcourt, 1982); Latourette, 489. ↑

2 Hookham; Latourette; Schiroknauer. ↑

3 Latourette, 517; Broomhall, 257. ↑

4 Latourette, 609. ↑

5 Schiroknauer, Stokesbury. ↑

6 Parks M. Coble, *Facing Japan* (Boston: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1991); Hookham; Latourette; Schirokauer. ↑

7. Coble, 18. ↑

8 Ibid., 241; Ibid., quoting Lloyd E. Eastman, 35. ↑

9 Ibid., 130. ↑

10. Lloyd E. Eastman, *Seeds of Destruction* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1984); Stokesbury. ↑

11 Vincent, Letter from American Embassy, Chungking to Secretary of State, March 11, 1943, RG 389, be 1240, "Camp Reports China, NA; T. J. Harrison, "American Interests - China, Letter from Bern, to Secretary of State, March 26, 1943, RG 389 "Camp Reports China, NA. ↑

12 Cotton, 2; David Michell, A Boy's War; Waterford, 1994. ↑

13 Egger, "Report of American Interests - China, Transmission Camp Report No. 2, Weihsien Camp, March 9, 1944, RG 389, box 2140, "China," NA; Cotton, 9 ↑

14 Sokobin, Internment of Americans and Allied Nationals at Weihsien, Nov. 11, 1943, RG 389, box 2140, "Camp Reports China, NA. ↑

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16 Gilkey; Sokobin, Internment of Americans and Allied Nationals at Weihsien, Nov.11, 1943, RG 389, box 2140, "Camp Reports China, NA. ↑

17 Tipton, 77. ↑

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20 Tipton; De Jaegher & Kuhn, 255-256. ↑

[21]De Jaegher & Kuhn, 257; Tipton, 97. ↑

[22]De Jaegher & Kuhn, 259; Cliff, 90; Michell, A Boy's War, 99. ↑

[23]Martin, (1992), 52; Judd, (1954), 4. ↑

[24]De Jaegher & Kuhn, 261; Hurley, Paraphrase of telegram from American Embassy Chungking to Secretary of State, May 26, 1945, RG 389, box 2140, "China", NA, 2. ↑

(25) Gilkey, 61. ↑

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APPENDIX C

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METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study reveals the long-term effects of the moral component of curriculum and schooling in the lives of two female informants. As a historical piece dependent on the retrospective interviews of informants, the combined methods of descriptive case study and life history were prevailed upon. The case study method was used to

build a descriptive theory of how the informants co-constructed their concept of schooling in order to preserve their moral identities. This theory is based on the researcher's analysis of the documents, narratives, and eyewitness accounts of those whose educational traditions and values were threatened by historical events. The goal is to depict how the relationship of schooling to character development is an ongoing process of co-constructing student values.

A Descriptive Case Study

Since much of the data gathering is dependent upon the recollections of the informants, a descriptive theory framework is best suited to answer the research questions. The goal of a descriptive case study is to present a detailed account of the phenomenon under study. A descriptive case study is used to give basic information about areas where little research has been done. Like Whyte's *Street Corner Society*, (1) the present study uses descriptive personal narratives to illuminate the interpersonal relationships and events experienced by the students. Though this topic is historical in nature, the retrospective interviews of the eyewitnesses add a contemporary component which keeps it from being a purely historical study and thus moves it into the realm of the case study.

Why a Case Study?

According to Robert Yin, a case study should be used when "a 'how' or 'why' question is being asked about a contemporary set of events over which the investigator has little or no control. " (2) The event under investigation in this paper is not contemporary, nor is it one in which the researcher had any control. However, the interviews are a present day recounting of the past event which is why a case study method is being employed.

The case study is also being used because it provides the most flexible format for combining the research strategies of historical inquiry and life history so the data can be presented in a narrative structure. The case study's "unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence — documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations." (3) All of this data will be triangulated. The only evidence that will not be used in this study is the researcher's observation of the event since it occurred before the researcher was born.

Case Study as Biography

The life-history strategies are presented as personal narratives of the informants. Personal narratives are a means for uncovering what the interviewee or narrator deems significant and of value. The narrator chooses a specific plot that "aptly expresses a covertly held value." (4) A biography is a personal story as interpreted and conveyed by the researcher who has gotten a glimpse inside the private and personal world of another human being. The biographer attempts to recreate the past as the informant understood it, consisting of both the past that is

documented and the mythical past, or what the informant believes happened. The life-history has the ability to "reveal the subjective realm of people's lives in ways that respect their uniqueness and that allow them to speak for themselves". (5) Although not completely representative of the whole group, a life- history captures an individual's perception of his or her past salient experiences; and thus we see the target group's cultural values and the patterns that shave the group's perception of the past. (6)

The weaknesses of life-history are that it is difficult to replicate, and that it is dependent on informant honesty and researcher resourcefulness. These can be circumvented by triangulation with official and other written records, and by having either contemporaries of the informant or field experts review the work. The study must be a probable account confirmed by other historical and scholarly accounts of the events. "The focus of the life history is clear: personal 'reality° and process. The life historian is initially only concerned with grasping personal truth ... [but] must constantly broaden the concern with personal truth to take account of wider socio-historical concerns even *if these are not part of the consciousness of the individual*." (7)

Personal Reality

From a postmodernist perspective, *reality* is seen "differently by each knowing self that encounters it. " (8) The way truth is envisioned is dependent on the community in which an individual participates. "We do not simply encounter a world that is 'out there' but rather ... we construct the world using the concepts we bring to it." Part of these concepts that we bring to our reality constructions are the cultural myths of our community or society. These myths embody the central core of one's values and beliefs and bind the community together by sustaining the social relations within the society and forming the basis of its claim to legitimacy and truth. Through these myths the community mediates to its members a transcendent story that includes traditions of virtue, common good and ultimate meaning. (9)

Within these corporate myths are the individual stories that define personal identity and give purpose and shape to one's existence. A sense of personal identity develops through the telling of personal narratives embedded in the story of the community in which one participates. The informant's personal narratives provide the researcher with knowledge of the narrators' and of their communities' values and social structure. The informants' mythical pasts, or personal realities, are as valid as the written documents and texts used in this study as each source presents only partial and selective realities. This is why the resources need to be triangulated.

While this study began with a stated question to guide data collection and analysis, much of the investigation has been enhanced by what emerged from the grounded research. The research needed to be grounded as the on going informant interviews created an interactive relationship among the problem, the data, the

informants and the researcher. These issues will be taken up in the following sections, beginning with research design.

Research Design

The intent of any research design is to provide a logical sequence that "connects the empirical data to a study's initial research question and, ultimately, to its conclusions." A case study can be of either a single-case or multi-case design. A rationale for using the single-case design is that the study represents an extreme or unique case. The encompassing event of this study, schooling during the Second World War and internment, is unique. Another rationale for employing the case study method is that the study is about a revelatory case. In this instance, "the investigator has an opportunity to observe and analyze a phenomenon previously inaccessible to scientific investigation." (10) Although this event has not been inaccessible to investigation, it has not been previously researched from the perspective of children internees and the life-long impact of education while interned. The uniqueness and revelatory nature of this study topic make it a prime candidate for a single-case design.

Embedded Case Study Design

While this study maintains a holistic focus on how schooling transmits values, the information is being gathered through various informants and other research evidences. These various evidences are the sub-units or components from which the single-case theory is derived. Examining these components makes the study embedded rather than purely holistic because specific sub-units of the phenomenon that make up the whole are being explored. A disadvantage of an embedded study is that the focus of the case study may stay on the sub-unit level. The researcher needs to be wary of this and be sure to "return to the larger unit of analysis." (11) An advantage of the embedded design is in maintaining the focus of the case study inquiry and reducing the possibility of the focus shifting from the initial question to a different research orientation.

Triangulation

Part of the embedded sub-units are the personal narratives or biographies of the informants. It is through these biographies that the implicit means of transmitting moral values through schooling are revealed. The shadow study found in Chapter Two established the foundation for generating questions for further investigation not only of that particular informant, but of others as well. By focusing on each informant's perspective of her salient experiences, a detailed picture developed of what her group's cultural values were and how they were passed on. The recollections and the meanings each informant ascribed to that period in her life was authenticated by the testimonies of her peers, other internees, and by written resources.

All of this material was triangulated so as to distinguish between the documented event and the past as the informants recalled it. Much of the triangulation was accomplished during the grounding of the research. Four strategies were followed for grounding the study. First, a qualitative analysis of the informant interviews yielded description and interpretation of the informants' educational experiences. The second source of grounding synthesized the informants' stories to determine how they were related to each others'. The third strategy was to contrast the interviews with the technical and nontechnical literature pertaining to the subject matter.

Finally, the three strategies previously stated were combined to generate an abstract or theoretical explanation of what the informants experienced and how it relates to the moral components of curriculum and schooling. The goal is to present "a more or less honest rendering of how informants actually view themselves and their experiences." (12) The researcher's own perceptions, biases and relationship with each informant are also part of this research process and were considered when analyzing and interpreting the data. The manner in which this was all put together is discussed in the remainder of this section.

Selection of Cases

Initially, the system used for obtaining informants and entry into the field was *snowball sampling*, or the *big-net approach*, which "ensures a wide-angle of events before microscopic study of specific interactions begins." (13) Once entry was made, informants were located and selected by networking or word of mouth. Since beginning this endeavor, twenty-four former Chefoo students and staff and four former internees of Weihsien Camp have been interviewed. After being interviewed, an interviewee would often give names of others to be contacted, with permission to use his or her name as a reference. This form of personal introduction established contacts with those who later admitted they would not have responded to a survey, mail, or phone request for an interview. Twenty-seven of the people were interviewed for about two hours; one has been interviewed through correspondence.

The interview questions were of a general, fact-finding nature which allowed the person to relate the story of his/her formative years. The initial questions usually had to do with when and why his/her parents went to China. What he/she remembered about his/her early years in China before going to Chefoo for school. And then finally, what life was like at Chefoo. These three main questions guided the informants' progress from the beginning of their lives, through the Chefoo years and then into the internment years. As the informants shared their stories, more specific questions were asked to clarify the information being shared.

Demographics

Of the 28 people interviewed, 12 were men and 16 women. Six of the 28, four men and two women, were adults either at the school or in the camp. The remaining 22 were students under the age of 21 while at school or interned. Of these 22, two were not associated with the Chefoo School. Of the 20 Chefoo students, ten were separated from their parents for three to eight years during the war, five were interned with their parents, three were repatriated in 1943, and two had left China prior to Pearl Harbor Day. The current age range of the 28 is from 63 to 94 years old. The majority of the interviewees are in their mid to late sixties. During the course of researching and writing this study, three of the informants have passed away.

The location of the people is as follows: nine of the interviewees live in the United States; nine live in Canada; eight live in England; and two live in Asia. Personal interviews were conducted throughout the United States, England and Canada over a two year period. One of the interviews has been done solely by letter and phone contact. Missing from this pool of representatives are those Chefusians who live in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, though potential contacts do exist. Of the 28 interviewees, five have written books related to their time of internment at Weihsien. Only one of the authors is a woman. Two of the male authors are considered by those interviewed to be authorities or gatekeepers of the group's experiences at Chefoo and Weihsien, as the informants often referred to them as being more knowledgeable on the subject and encouraged me to seek them out. To date there have been thirteen autobiographical books written about either the Chefoo or Weihsien experience. Nine were from a male perspective, four were from a female.

Women Informants

Out of this group of twenty-eight, two women were chosen for more in-depth interviewing. It is from their perspective that the majority of the story is told. Women were selected for two reasons: first, they seemed more at ease in relating their personal stories to a woman researcher then did the men; secondly, much of the previous recorded history of this event is from a male perspective, so this research is giving voice to the women's interpretation of events. The interviews of the selected informants consist of at least three long or personal narrative type interviews to increase the validity of the responses. They follow the format described by James Spradley of the interview process moving from descriptive to structural to contrast and reflective questions.(14) With informant consent, the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed.

Analytic Strategies

The analytical strategies used in this study are of two types, general and specific. The general strategy used is that of developing a descriptive framework for organizing the case study. Since this case study has a strong historical focus, it has been organized in two ways around a time-ordered theme. The first is a chronological accounting of what the Chefoo group experienced as related to the events of World War Two, such as Pearl Harbor Day, the beginning of internment, and the end of the war. This chronological framework is found in Chapter Three. The second has to do with how each informant perceived age-specific rites of passage such as beginning boarding school, or moving from the Prep School to the Girls' School. Though these events happened in different years for each informant, the situations were common to all of the informants and most of the students.

Division of the Study

The study was divided into interview generated themes that followed a chronological order starting with why the children were in China through to the liberation of the internees, and then, the aftermath of internment into their adult years. Connecting specific informant voices with the other sources is the researcher's voice giving an interpretation of the significance of particular narratives or of an event that was significant in the children's schooling process. In this study, the general interviews with the informants have been transcribed and organized into narrative accounts. The primary sources have also been organized either in chronological order or by subject matter.

This general organization of the abundant evidence collected and the descriptions provided by the informants gives rise to the descriptive framework. Much of the general analysis occurred along with the collection of the data. It helped to direct further data collection and to pull the data together for more specific analysis. The next level of analysis involved reducing and refining the data into specific categories and themes. These themes were then compared and contrasted among the informant data to look for overarching relationships and constructs related to the study question, or to other themes that emerge from the analysis.

Specific Analytical Techniques

Specific analysis is required if a study is going to have internal validity. As these students reflect on their years under hostile circumstances, how do they interpret the impact of those years on the rest of their lives? Questions such as this, and those raised later in this section, need to be pursued by a working outline that leads to a theory grounded in the collected data. This grounding process is accomplished by applying a systematic analysis of the collected data. The following paragraphs will discuss the coding procedure used by the researcher as part of that systematic analysis.

Coding Procedure

The coding procedure used is modeled after Strauss and Corbin's, which requires a questioning and re-questioning technique, and the making of comparisons of the collected data, in this case, the interview transcript. This inductive questioning leads to the uncovering and analysis of the data pertaining to the studied phenomenon, out of which a grounded theory emerges from the recurring regularities in the data. This process enhances the theoretical sensitivity by recognizing "what is important in data and [giving] it meaning. It also helps to formulate theory that is faithful to the reality of the phenomena under study," (15) thus helping to control for researcher bias.

Strauss and Corbin base their data analysis on three types of coding: open, axial, and selective. Open coding is used to create categories by comparing and then grouping together similar concepts, incidents and events that appear as phenomena in the data. Open coding is the "part of the analysis that pertains specifically to the naming and categorizing of phenomena through close examination of data.... Through this process, one's own and other's assumptions about phenomena are questioned, or explored, leading to new discoveries." (16) Axial coding is used to put data back together in new ways by making connections between categories and subcategories. Inductive and deductive questioning and thinking are used to develop a paradigm model to show how categories are discovered and related. With selective coding, a core category is chosen which systematically integrates the other categories, validating and refining them as needed.

Among the three coding types, there are no definitive dividing lines since they are often used interchangeably in the data collection and analysis processes. The following paragraphs will be a step by step description of how open coding was used with the shadow study so that categories emerged by grouping concepts together. Following the description of the open coding process, the identified categories will be given a grounded definition. And finally, the categories will be woven into a conceptual argument that foreshadowed questions for subsequent interviews.

Open Coding

The coding of the shadow study began by returning to the original interview transcript. As recommended by Strauss and Corbin, a paragraph of the transcript was selected for line by line analysis, or questioning, of what was being said by the informant. The transcript selection is a filler account than that given in the shadow study, but it is through this process that the shadow study was able to be organized. The transcript piece that follows has to do with the informant, Mary's, adjustment to being left at boarding school (Chefoo), upon her parents return to the mission field.

> And then when they left us, I can remember the emotional shock of it because it is still one of the most ignominious periods of my life. When they finally left us, I was seven and a half. Every day for breakfast I threw up. They now put us in the boarding school. They went on to their missionary work in the interior of China. We would not see them again for five and a half years. And it was sissy to feel homesick. You just didn't feel homesick. You didn't cry, you didn't mope, you didn't pretend [act] like you wanted to be with your Daddy and Mommy because everybody else missed their Daddy and Mommy too, and no one would admit to it. Well my way was psychosomatic. (17)

Questioning the Data

The analysis of this section began by asking generally, "What was this paragraph about?" The word *homesickness* emerges. So, the issue of *homesickness* became the focus of such basic questions as: Who is homesick? When were they homesick? Why were they homesick? How long were they homesick? Where were they homesick? After obtaining the answers to these questions from the quotation, the next step was to broaden the scope by asking more questions based on these main questions. For example, the basic question of *why were they homesick* is followed up with, was it just due to the war? Were there other times of homesickness? Did this homesickness affect Mary's siblings, her parents, other school children? How does she feel now about the homesickness?

Clarifying

Some of the answers to these new questions were found in another part of the interview, in other primary sources, on in interviews with others. The unanswered questions were listed as *code notes* for future reference for the next interview with the person, or with another informant. Other questions for future interviews were also raised by scanning the transcript and listing the words or phrases used by the informant which were culture specific, such as "sent to Coventry," or those which piqued the researcher's interest. An example of this would be the informant's use of the word "ignominious." When she says, "I can remember the emotional shock of it because it is still one of the most ignominious periods of my life," does she mean that the fact that her parents left her was marked by shame? Or, does she mean that her vomiting at breakfast was marked by shame? It is important to clarify the meaning the informant has before the researcher places her own interpretation on the words in question.

Labeling and Grouping

After labeling the main idea of the quoted paragraph as *homesickness*, the rest of the interview was read to look for other instances or events that resembled *homesickness*. These events were then compared and re-questioned to determine

their relationship to each other. Eventually the events determined to involve *homesickness* were grouped together under the category named *separation*. The word *separation* was chosen because if there had been no separation, there would not have been any *homesickness*. Also, *separation* can be broken down into sub-categories such as *reasons for separation*, which were the war, mission work, or death. Next, the different types of emotional responses or homesickness that the separations created can also be identified and expanded upon.

Connecting Categories

The category of separation was then connected with other categories that might have overlapping sub-categories. This connection process was done by listing each category on a paper with its attributes, or sub-categories, underneath. Then, lines were drawn showing a connection from one category or sub-category to another in a "webbing" technique. This provided a visual representation of how the categories derived from the data were related. It also showed where other links could exist among categories that at present had not shown up in the data, or had not been uncovered by the researcher. Culture specific words and phrases were also fitted into the webbed categories where possible. Index cards containing phrases or sentences of interpretable data were also created and sorted into the themes and categories that arise from comparing the data.

Validity and Reliability Issues

Questions of the validity and reliability of this study were addressed by meeting the "tests" as outlined in the works of LeCompte and Preissle, McMillan, and Yin. (18) The nature of the historical data gathered for this study raises issues of *historical criticism*, or the historicity of the documents. It is up to the researcher to evaluate the collected sources to determine their worth and significance. Two types of evaluation are used: external and internal criticism. *External criticism* judges whether a document is genuine rather than forged. Thus far all of the documents used in this study were retrieved from various archive centers or from personal collections and are authentic documents as dated. Their authenticity has been validated by eyewitnesses from that time period, or by other experts in the field who have reviewed the documents in question.

Internal criticism judges how well the documents and oral accounts reflect what occurred and correspond with one another. Internal criticism raises concerns for whether different written and oral accounts of the same event agree. It also evaluates the competency and biases of the persons who wrote the documents or who contributed oral accounts. While one could debate whether currently recorded oral histories of an event witnessed over fifty years ago would give an accurate accounting, accuracy is not the prime objective of this study. Rather, it is the emotional impact that the historical events had on the informants and how they

interpret the long-term effects of such events on their lives that is the main issue of this study. The majority of the written documents are used only to provide the backdrop, time-line, and signposts of the external events while the informants' stories give the descriptive personal details of how they perceived and internalized the explicit and implicit messages from their schooling experience.

Another concern for this study is the question of the distance of the researcher from the time in which the accounts are set since one "inevitably interprets the past through the concepts and concerns of the present." It is therefore necessary for those doing historical research to "acknowledge that their 'histories' are conditioned by their own perspective." This acknowledgment makes for what Michael Foucault terms an "effective history" because our personal convictions not only bias our search for knowledge, but also facilitate it. (19) A fuller discussion is presented in Chapter Five.

Construct validity is the establishing of correct operational measures for the concepts being studied. The three tactics recommended for a case study are: use of multiple sources; established chain of evidence; and having key informants review drafts of the case study. Thus far in this study the multiple sources include key informant interviews, interviews with other participants, archival primary sources such as diaries, CIM council minutes, and U. S. government documents and secondary source information on internment camps. Artifacts from the school and the internment camp such as artwork, cooking utensils, clothing and photographs have also been used. More information has surfaced than was previously known by the researcher to have existed and all newly discovered sources were used to corroborate the study question.

All of this data has been used to establish a chain of evidence by citing primary and secondary sources throughout this study. The rough drafts of Chapter One "Nature of the Problem," Chapter Two, "The Shadow Case Study," Chapter Three, "Historical Content" and Chapter Four, "Eyewitness History" were read by all of the key informants as recommended by Yin. Chapter Three and Appendix B, "Expanded Historical Background," were reviewed by David Michell and Norman Cliff, former Chefoo students, Weihsien internees and authors of books about their experiences. Editing and informational corrections were made as needed without any compromises to the content of the work.

Internal Validity

Validity is a major strength of a qualitative study because data is collected and analyzed over a long period of time and uses the empirical categories of the study participants. In this case, the study was done over a period of four years. The empirical categories were derived from the informants which straightens the compatibility between researcher categories and participant realities. Throughout

the collecting, analyzing and writing of the study, the researcher incorporated continual questioning, reflection, reevaluation, and self-monitoring of personal biases with those of the informants in order to have credible representations of the informants reality constructs. (20)

Internal validity has to do with whether the investigator has captured the informants' constructions of reality, or how they understand their world. It is up to the researcher to demonstrate an "honest rendering of how informants actually view themselves and their experiences," and present a holistic interpretation of the events and informants' perceptions. Certain strategies can be employed to reduce threats to qualitative internal validity. How these threats relate specifically to this study and the strategies that were used to prevent them are discussed in the following paragraphs. (21)

By triangulating the study—using multiple sources of data, methods of collection and means of confirming the emerging findings, the threats of *observer effects* and *spurious conclusions* are confronted. The relationship that is established between the informant and the researcher affects the type of information disclosed and therefore the validity of the study. However, the information provided is valid within the contexts that it represents a single point of view or is shaped by special characteristics of, or relationships with, the researcher which need to be made explicit.

Because of the length of time spent interviewing and corresponding, and due to the personal nature of the stories, close relationships of mutual sharing were formed with some of the informants. The two main informants stories presented in this study do match the range of variation of opinions found in the population as suggested by LeCompte and Preissle. Other informants from the population were used as member checks to augment, corroborate or disconfirm the information that was generated. They also helped to establish the credibility of the key informants. The nature of the specific associations between the researcher and the two main informants has been discussed further under the area of subjectivity and researcher bias covered in Chapter Five (22) Participant reaction and confirmation conducted throughout the research were the most effective means for revealing researcher-induced distortions.

Five strategies recommended by Merriam were employed to ensure the internal validity of this study. The first strategy was the triangulation of multiple sources and data to confirm the emerging findings. Secondly, through member checks, the data and interpretations were continually taken back to the people from whom they were derived for their concurrence that the results were plausible. Third, the data was gathered over a period of time in order to increase the validity of the findings. Fourth, the informants were involved in all phases of research from conceptualizing the study to writing up the findings. And finally, the researcher's

biases, assumptions, worldview, and theoretical orientation were clarified within the study. (23)

Reliability

Reliability of a qualitative study is problematic as it is nearly impossible to replicate the results or findings of a unique event interpreted by eyewitnesses. However, after reviewing the same or similar data, the reader's or another researcher's interpretations should be consistent with the results presented in the original study. And, according to Guba and Lincoln, as cited by Merriam, "since it is impossible to have internal validity without reliability, a demonstration of internal validity amounts to a simultaneous demonstration of reliability. " (24) Dependability and consistency of results in this study have been enhanced through the implementation of the internal validity checks previously described.

External Validity Concerns

Questions of the validity and reliability of this study will begin to be addressed by meeting the "tests" as outlined in the works of LeCompte and Preissle, McMillan, and Yin.25 The nature of the historical data gathered for this study means that issues of *historical criticism*, or the historicity of the documents, must be addressed. It is up to the researcher to evaluate the collected sources to determine their worth and significance. Two types of evaluation are used: external and internal criticism. *External criticism* judges whether a document is genuine rather than forged. Thus far all of the documents used in this study were retrieved from various archive centers or from personal collections and are authentic documents as dated. Their authenticity has been validated by eyewitnesses from that time period, or by other experts in the field who have reviewed the documents in question.

Internal criticism judges how well the documents and oral accounts reflect what occurred and correspond with one another. Internal criticism raises concerns for whether different written and oral accounts of the same event agree. It also evaluates the competency and biases of the persons who wrote the documents or who contributed oral accounts. While one could debate whether currently recorded oral histories of an event witnessed over fifty years ago would give an accurate accounting, accuracy is not the prime objective of this study.

Rather, it is the emotional impact that the historical events had on the informants and how they interpret the long-term effects of such events on their lives that is the main issue of this study. The majority of the written documents are used only to provide the backdrop. time-line, and signposts of the external events while the informants' stories give the descriptive personal details of how they perceived and internalized the explicit and implicit messages from their schooling experience.

As the previous pages have recounted, the informants of this study had a unique historical experience. This uniqueness, however, poses a limitation to the study and a threat to its external validity. Validity concerns itself with two basic, interrelated parts. The first is an internal validity issue of whether the researcher really observed and measured what she thought she observed and measured. The second deals with external validity which means to what extent the abstracted constructs and postulates generated are applicable across groups. Issues of internal validity will be dealt with in Chapter Three. For now the focus is on external validity.

External validity depends on identifying and describing characteristics of a study's findings for comparison with other, similar situations. (26) However, the uniqueness of a case study makes it difficult to generalize the results to other situations. "One selects a case study approach because one wishes to understand the particular in depth, not because one wants to know what is generally true of the many." It is necessary, therefore, to "reconceptualize generalization to reflect the assumptions underlying qualitative inquiry." In essence, the general can be found in the particular. (27)

External validity credibility

Measures can be taken though to enhance a study's generalizability. Foremost, the researcher should use rich description to provide a base of information about the participants and setting. LeCompte and Preissle give four other factors that increase the credibility of external validity. The first, selection effects, deals with the ability of constructs to be compared across groups. It is the researcher's responsibility to determine how well designated categories match with the experiences of the group under study.

Selection effects may be controlled when the participants derive the categories instead of just the researcher. In this study, the participants did have critical input on the categories and constructs that were derived by the researcher. Both the researcher and the informants also agree that similar categories and responses would be identified by other adults from different groups and time periods who have experienced boarding or separation issues as children.

Setting effects is the second factor. This pertains to the effect that the researcher has on the group and their setting. These effects may prohibit comparisons of constructs generated in one context to others. Due to the historical nature of this study, there was no established group location for the researcher to influence as an observer. However, the potential exists for interviewer effects on the responses of the informants. This comes under the realm of internal validity and will be explored further in Chapter Three.

History effects is the extent of the unique historical experiences of the groups being compared. Threats to external validity occur when historical

differences between groups are not taken into consideration and the constructs and assumptions of one group are thought to apply equally to another group. However, not all group phenomena are completely unique prohibiting any comparison. Common features and patterns can be found when dealing with the human condition. (28)

Construct validity

The final factor is construct effects or construct validity. Construct validity is the extent to which abstract terms, generalizations, or meanings are shared across times, settings and populations. Three tactics are recommended for establishing case study construct validity. They are the use of multiple sources, an established chain of evidence, and having key informants review drafts of the study. (29) In this study the multiple sources included the key informants' as well as other participants' interviews, along with archival primary and secondary sources. Artifacts from the school and the internment camp such as artwork, cooking utensils, badges and photographs have also been used.

These primary and secondary resources have been used to establish a chain of evidence as displayed in the Historical Context section of this chapter. Eventually this chain of evidence will link the final outcomes to the initial study questions. The rough drafts of each chapter of this study have been read by all of the main informants. Chapter One, Historical Context, has been reviewed by two former Chefoo students, David Michell and Norman Cliff, who were also Weihsien internees and authors of books about their experiences. Though a case study does not readily lend itself to generalizing findings from one study or setting to another, "what one learns from a particular situation is indeed transferable to situations subsequently encountered. This is, in fact, how people cope with the world every day. " (30)

Summary

This last appendix has been an explanation as to why a descriptive case study method combined with life history has been used. It has also discussed how the population of Chefoo students were selected and reviewed and how the collected data was analyzed, coded, triangulated, and tested for validity and reliability. Through the employment of the life histories, resources, methods and analytical strategies previously explained, a formal theory of the moral component of curriculum as experienced in the lives of students emerged.

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