

# architecture institutions and change

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## **The YMCA and YWCA in Early Twentieth-century China: Effecting Change Locally and Internationally**

*This paper explores the role of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) as western institutions with international aspirations, as exemplified in the design and organisation of their national and local headquarters in Shanghai, China. In 1933, five separate YMCA premises existed in Shanghai, and two separate YWCA premises. While the YMCA and YWCA had similar aims and mission, both organisations operated within China in radically different ways.<sup>1</sup>*

YMCAs and YWCAs were established in Britain and the United States in the mid-nineteenth century with the aim of providing young men and women with Christian alternatives when they moved from country areas to the cities in search of work.<sup>2</sup> YMCAs aimed to provide young men with alternatives to taverns and brothels, while YWCAs aimed to provide young women with safe accommodation, camaraderie and skills training.<sup>3</sup> Both organisations sought to put Christian principles into practice by developing a healthy “body, mind, spirit” – which became symbolised by the three sides of the ‘Y’ triangle. By 1850, there were numerous YMCAs in Europe, Australia and the United States. The first world congress of 99 YMCAs was held in Paris in 1855 with the aim of enhancing co-operation amongst individual YMCA societies.<sup>4</sup> The first world conference of the YWCA met in London in 1898, following which the world YWCA was founded with the aim of raising the status of women worldwide.<sup>5</sup> International departments within local and national YMCAs and YWCAs were formed with the purpose of training men and women before sending them abroad to work. The twentieth century saw both organisations embarking on evangelical missions to Africa, India, China, Japan and South America.<sup>6</sup>

In China, the first YWCA and YMCA National Committees met at the end of the nineteenth century, with the two organisations growing and developing rapidly in the period up to the Second World War.<sup>7</sup> Although sharing similar aims and aspirations, the YMCA and the YWCA operated in different ways in China, finding expression in different built forms. The YMCA’s building program tended to cement entrenched societal differences, while the YWCA sought ways to connect with its Chinese members at a grass roots level and to foster internationalism over nationalism. Consistent calls for an amalgamation of the two organisations was resisted by the YWCA throughout the twentieth century, not only because of a fear of loss of power, but due to the fundamental difference of the YWCA being an international women’s organisation that transcended national boundaries, while the YMCA remained focused on providing services for its members at a local level.<sup>8</sup>

## YMCA

By the early twentieth century, YMCAs in the United States had sprung up in central business districts as “manhood factories”<sup>9</sup> where middle-class men would practice Christian behaviour within an efficiently managed building that usually included an athletics club, all contained within a conservative Beaux-Arts<sup>10</sup> edifice. Around the same time, this “environmental evangelism” began to be exported to places with existing missionary activity such as China. From 1910, the International Committee of the United States YMCA began inviting American architects to work on projects in China and between 1911 and 1935 dozens of YMCAs were constructed throughout China, three of them in Shanghai alone.<sup>11</sup> These buildings, to be discussed in detail later, include the National YMCA headquarters (1921), Chinese YMCA (1931) and foreign YMCA (1933). A Japanese YMCA and a Navy YMCA (1923)<sup>12</sup> occupied rental premises in Shanghai’s International Settlement. Each building provided residential, recreational and administrative accommodation for each arm of the Association, reflecting a desire for separation of various kinds, based on administration, race or occupation.

Among the many foreign trained architects engaged to design YMCAs in China, three approaches emerged regarding the design aesthetics of the new buildings. The first approach saw American architects such as William Hussey<sup>13</sup> and Elliott Hazzard<sup>14</sup> continuing to design structures in China in the Beaux-Arts style of their American training following the American YMCA model. The second approach saw American architects, such as Henry K. Murphy, cultivating an appreciation for traditional Chinese architecture and developing a notion of “adaptive architecture” which attempted to find a bridge between traditional Chinese and modern architecture.<sup>15</sup> American trained Chinese architects such as Li Jinpei, Fan Wenzhou and Zhao Chen, who collaborated on the design of the Shanghai Chinese YMCA, began working in China in the adaptive style, eventually discarding it in favour of what they termed modernity. The discussion of modernity amongst Chinese architects in the early twentieth century was an intense one, and continues today, as described by architect and academic, Yung Ho Chang:

Modernity is an extremely complex issue. In the China of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, modernization has been more a concern than modernity. For Chinese architects, the notion of modernism is more familiar. However, both modernization and modernism are too specifically about technology and style, respectively. Modernity, on the other hand, defines a broad modern mentality, and that is why modernity should be used in a discussion about Chinese architecture more than modernism or modernization.<sup>16</sup>

The question of the correct aesthetics for new YMCA buildings in China was debated by the International Committee of the YMCA; should they be in a foreign, a Chinese or a hybrid style? Would the Chinese style make the buildings more acceptable to their Chinese users, or would the foreign style bring its own cachet, denoting progressiveness? In the end, aesthetic questions were often over-ridden by financial pragmatism, the elaborate roof structures required for the Chinese styles proving financially unacceptable. Thus the majority of the first YMCA structures in China were built using western paradigms. Two major exceptions to this were Shenyang’s YMCA (1926), designed by Johannes Prip-Møller, and Shanghai’s Chinese YMCA (1931), designed by Li, Fan and Zhao.

Hussey, one of the first architects to be invited by the American International Committee of the YMCA to become involved in designing new YMCAs in China, had studied architecture at the Chicago Art Institute before setting up in practice with his professor, Walter F. Shattuck. He began to specialise in work for the YMCA after winning a competition to design three YMCA buildings in the United States.<sup>17</sup> Hussey arrived in China in 1911, settling in Beijing and designing his first YMCA building in Tianjin.<sup>18</sup> The YMCA did not use Hussey exclusively for their work, and Hussey worked for other clients, notably the Rockefeller Foundation for whom he completed the Peking Union Medical College in 1918. Hussey’s modus operandi was to prepare sketch designs in China, send them by steamer and rail to Chicago where working drawings were prepared under the supervision of his partner Walter F. Shattuck,

which were then shipped back to China. At the time, the efficiency of this method was debated amongst the YMCA Committee who questioned why more use wasn't made of local architects.<sup>19</sup>

The first YMCA building completed in Shanghai was the headquarters of the National Committee located at 131 Museum (Huqiu)<sup>20</sup> Road by Shattuck and Hussey. Work had begun on the headquarters in 1919, nine years after the purchase of the site, and was completed in 1921. The building's restrained Beaux-Arts exterior and entrance foyer, combined with modern equipment and elevator, were consistent with the ideology of the American YMCA at that time (Figures 1 and 2). The National Committee had their headquarters on the ground floor of the five-storey building, with the remaining floors leased out.<sup>21</sup> The faint remains of the words "The National Committee of the Y.M.C.A." are still visible within the entablature today.



**Fig. 1** Entablature of YMCA National Headquarters Shanghai. Shattuck & Hussey, architects, 1921 (l). Detail shows faint outline of the words 'NATIONAL COMMITTEE Y.M.C.A.', and the YMCA torches above surrounding a shield, which may have held the international 'Y' triangle (r). Photographs by Anne Warr, May 2015.



**Fig. 2** YMCA National Headquarters Shanghai, Shattuck & Hussey, architects, 1921. Photograph by Anne Warr, May 2015.

The Navy YMCA, located a block away from the YMCA National Headquarters on the corner of Hong Kong Road and Sichuan Road, was a result of an initiative by the American Shanghai Women's Club (AWC) dating from 1910 when four of America's largest battleships had arrived in Shanghai during a period of bitter cold and endless rain, leaving the sailors to come ashore with nowhere to go except the local bars, or to "sit wet and dripping in the parks."<sup>22</sup> A prominent and energetic member of the AWC, Dr Anne Walter Fearn, enlisted the help of the AWC and leading American citizens including the American Consul-General, to rent an empty building on Nanking Road and furnish it with chairs, reading matter, a piano, phonograph and "Sam Joe, a Chinese *compradore*<sup>23</sup>... grilling the beefsteaks for the grateful sailors."<sup>24</sup> Eight thousand sailors patronised the place during the ten days the fleet was in Shanghai, and Fearn learnt later that their efforts "to give some sort of hospitable shelter to our sailors led directly to the building of the present Navy Y.M.C.A."<sup>25</sup> This genesis of the Navy Y reveals the fundamental mission of the YMCA, which was to provide alternate, and morally acceptable, accommodation for itinerant male visitors to cities.

The Shanghai foreign YMCA located at 150 Bubbling Well Road (Nanjing Rd West) was designed by New York architect Elliott Hazzard (Figure 3). Born in South Carolina, Elliott Hazzard<sup>26</sup> had worked for one of America's most prominent architectural firms and exponents of Beaux-Arts, McKim, Mead and White, before arriving in Shanghai in 1920 to work for the Shanghai Municipal Council. By 1924 he was running a successful private practice from premises at 6 Avenue Edward VII<sup>27</sup> (Yan'an Road). Although construction of the Foreign Y commenced in 1926, it was to be another seven years before the foreign YMCA finally opened for business, two years after the Chinese YMCA had opened. The Beaux-Arts styling of the foreign YMCA supported its function as an exclusive men's club, of which there were many such examples in Shanghai.<sup>28</sup> The upper six floors of residential accommodation form a south-facing u-shape over the solid base of the first three floors. Windows are set into recessed vertical panels finished with blocks of dark brown bricks to emphasise the recess, with the panels continuing up to form a battlement-like parapet. A row of Italianate-arched windows appears along the top floor. The lower three floors, containing the recreation and dining facilities, are finished with an extraordinary display of contrasting yellow and brown



**Fig. 3** Foreign YMCA Shanghai, Elliott Hazzard, architect, 1933. Photograph by Anne Warr, May 2015.



diapered brickwork. The architect's pleasure, and skill, in creating a variety of texture and pattern with brickwork is clearly evident. Internally the foyer is sumptuously finished with marble as befits a foreigners' club.<sup>29</sup> The Foreign Y provided many activities for its guests including basketball, volleyball, badminton, handball, swimming, bowling, gymnastics, boxing, wrestling, dancing lessons and a golf driving range – plus a good view of the racetrack.<sup>30</sup> The building is still used as a club today – appropriately as the Shanghai Sports Club and Sports Museum.

The two examples above – the National Headquarters and Foreign Y – demonstrate the almost formulaic application of the American YMCA's mission to China, complete with American architects and American Beaux-Arts aesthetic. It is the third example, the design of the Chinese YMCA, which demonstrates institutional change in all its complexities (Figure 4). Like the foreign YMCA, the Chinese YMCA, located at 123 Thibet Road (Xizang Road), overlooked the Shanghai racecourse, but well separated from the Foreign Y. It was designed by a group of American trained Chinese architects – Li Jinpei, Fan Wenzhou and Zhao Chen – using a hybrid, “adaptive” architectural style. Answers to the questions of why there needed to be a separate Chinese Y in such close proximity to the Foreign Y, why Chinese architects were employed for the design, and why the adaptive style was used, will be attempted to be provided in the discussion which follows.



**Fig. 4** Chinese YMCA Shanghai, Li, Fan & Zhao, architects, 1931.  
Photograph by Anne Warr, May 2015.

Li Jinpei, an American-born Chinese, graduated from the Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, New York, and worked in the offices of H. K. Murphy in New York (Murphy & Dana) on YMCA projects before being invited to China by the National Council of the YMCA on a three year contract.<sup>31</sup> Shanghai-born Fan Wenzhou<sup>32</sup> and Zhao Chen were both graduates of the University of Pennsylvania's architecture school run by one of the foremost practitioners of the Beaux-Arts style in the United States, Paul Phillippe Cret. Fan returned to Shanghai from the United States in 1922, and in 1927 teamed up with Zhao to open one of the first Chinese-operated architectural firms in Shanghai. When Li's contract with the YMCA's Building Bureau expired in 1927, during which time he had designed at least twelve centers throughout China, he

also opened his own practice in Shanghai,<sup>33</sup> with his office located in the same building as that of Fan and Zhao.<sup>34</sup> Although it is not surprising that these three architects collaborated to design the Chinese YMCA, given the close proximity of their offices, and the fact that all three had worked at some time for H. K. Murphy, the leading proponent of “adaptive architecture” in China,<sup>35</sup> it remained their only joint project. In 1930, Zhao split from Fan and formed Allied Architects<sup>36</sup> with Chen Zhi and Tong Jun, while Li and Fan continued to run separate practices.

The Chinese Y is nine storeys high and arranged in a U-shape, as is the foreign Y. However, instead of English medieval battlements, a Chinese roof gently hovers over the essentially tripartite Beaux-Arts elevation below (Figure 4). Chinese decorative elements are used internally and carved into the stonework surrounding the entrance door case. During the 1930s, the Chinese Y hosted educational programs, seminars, concerts, drama and art exhibitions in the spirit of the Y’s dedication to healthy pursuits. The cafeteria on the ninth floor allowed excellent views of the racetrack opposite. After the liberation of Shanghai in 1949, the building became a hotel, but reverted to use as Shanghai’s YMCA headquarters in the late 1970s, providing accommodation for all, regardless of sex or nationality.

The YMCA’s hybrid design caused much debate amongst the Chinese architects practicing in Shanghai, and may have caused the split in the Li, Fan and Zhao collaboration. Fan had become a leading architectural figure in Shanghai, being elected first president of the Society of Chinese Architects established in 1927,<sup>37</sup> and he later wrote in the Society’s professional journals, *The Chinese Architect* and *The Chinese Builder*, that he regretted his early design “using western patterns for the body, and Chinese patterns for the roof,” and appealed to architects to “correct these faults.”<sup>38</sup> From 1930, Fan abandoned his Beaux-Arts training in favour of modernist designs, which were “designed from inner to outer, but not from outer to inner,” promoting “science first, beauty second.”<sup>39</sup> Tong Jun joined the debate, graphically writing: “The Chinese roof, when made to crown an up-to-date structure, looks not unlike the burdensome and superficial pigtail.”<sup>40</sup> Other University of Pennsylvania trained architects, such as Liang Qichao, returned to practice in China and “struggled with the tendency of other contemporary architects to put a Chinese ‘hat’ on a Western building.”<sup>41</sup>

Murphy, however, refuted these criticisms and promoted his adaptive architecture, not as “an ornament to be applied to a foreign plan or elevation,”<sup>42</sup> but as a “living organism” that was adaptable to western scientific methods. Just as the West had proved the adaptability of Classical and Gothic architecture to meet the needs of modern scientific planning and construction, so Murphy felt that Chinese architecture could be similarly adapted. This fundamental Beaux-Arts philosophy, of applying the best of classical architecture, whether Western or Eastern, to contemporary structures may have been at the heart of the debate that saw many Chinese architects rejecting adaptive architecture and avidly seeking modernism.

These debates on architectural style were taking place during a period of intense political and revolutionary change in China. When the Nationalist Party led by Chiang Kai-shek



gained power in 1927 it sought to challenge the power of the foreign concessions by showing that China was a modern country, using modern technology, while in essence retaining its Chinese soul. In 1928, the Nationalist Government hired Murphy as the chief architectural advisor for the re-planning of Nanjing, his ideas on adaptive architecture fusing perfectly with the Nationalist's vision for the new China. Known as the *ti-yong* principle (*ti* – essence, *yong* – form), the planning schemes sought to combine Chinese cultural “essence” with the “practical use” of Western technology by stipulating that all public buildings in the Chinese municipality should employ not only the “scientific principles developed from Europe and America” but also the “excellent aspects of the artistic tradition of our nation.”<sup>43</sup> However, many Chinese intellectuals rejected this architecture as feudal and antiquarian, while the growing number of overseas educated Chinese architects saw the separation of a building's functional core from its outward appearance as fundamentally dishonest, and not in the spirit of modernism.

## YWCA

Unlike the YMCA, which required three purpose-built structures in Shanghai and two rental premises, the YWCA needed only one administrative building in Shanghai and one rental premises for the local Shanghai branch.<sup>44</sup> Unlike the YMCA, the YWCA operated as a more integrated organisation whose specific mandate was to ensure that management of the organisation was handed to the Chinese membership as quickly as possible. Existing boundaries of nationality and/or profession were actively broken down to ensure that a Chinese YWCA run by Chinese members operated within the framework of an International YWCA.<sup>45</sup> While the YMCA was predominantly providing accommodation and recreational activities for various groups of foreign male visitors to Shanghai, the YWCA was putting down firmer foundations amongst local Chinese women, reflecting the organisation's mandate for connection to “a world-wide fellowship of women.” A YWCA brochure, originally written in Chinese, describes the purpose of the association as being one that endeavours to

develop the local associations throughout China and seeks to unite with the Y.W.C.A. of all countries in the common effort to promote the moral, intellectual, physical and social development of womanhood, in order to attain healthy and ideal personality and the spirit of fellowship for the purpose of rendering service to society and promoting the welfare of mankind.<sup>46</sup>

Over the nearly 50 years that the YWCA operated in China prior to 1949, it radically changed the role of Chinese women within Chinese society by identifying itself “with the actual social scene in such a way as to enrich and make more meaningful the lives of women and girls in the midst of the problems which they face.”<sup>47</sup> The YWCA used whatever means it could to improve the condition and status of women in China, including turning the lack of status of women in the community into an advantage, as explained by American YWCA secretary, Maud Russell:

women were not so significant in a community as men were, so women could do things that they got away with ... because on the part of the authorities they were just women ... We could get away with things the YMCA couldn't get away with.<sup>48</sup>

Russell claimed that "there was a period in China when some people said that next to the Communist party, the YWCA was the most radical movement in China!"<sup>49</sup>

The first YWCA national headquarters operated in rented premises in the International Settlement<sup>50</sup> from 1908 until 1920 when the American National Board purchased property in Yuanmingyuan Road, behind the British Consulate and a block away from the YMCA national headquarters. The new building was in the planning stages for a decade finally opening in 1932. In the interim, an existing building on the site, "a ramshackle but charming and colorful old place,"<sup>51</sup> was utilised as the national Hostess House, with Abbie Shaw Mayhew<sup>52</sup> serving as official hostess and residing in the property along with Ding Shuching who had become the first Chinese General Secretary of the China YWCA in 1926. Russell describes the house as being where one can find "the most truly international gatherings in town" and where "China's beautiful grace of hospitality is here extended to as many visitors as possible who come 'within the four seas'."<sup>53</sup>

The first blueprints for the YWCA headquarters, dated 20 December 1921 by the Mission Architects Bureau of Museum Road Shanghai, show a conservative Beaux-Arts design similar to the design of the YMCA National headquarters in Museum Road by Shattuck & Hussey. By 1929, Li Jinpei had been appointed architect for the new headquarters, and the design had moved from Beaux-Arts to a form of adaptive architecture, and an Australian woman, Eleanor Hinder, had been appointed as project manager. Hinder had arrived in Shanghai in 1926 on a two year Rockefeller Foundation Grant to work with the YWCA on the issues of Chinese women and children employed in factories in China. When the two year contract came to an end in 1929, and Hinder had "no compelling need to return to Australia", the National Committee of the YWCA of China asked her whether she would "would take responsibility on its behalf in connection with the erection of an eight-storey building on Yuen Ming Yuen Road, which would be the headquarters of the Association" in return for "a modest salary."<sup>54</sup> In more contemporary language, Hinder was to become the project manager, acting on behalf of the client, to oversee the completion of the building project for the new headquarters. Hinder was answerable to a National building committee chaired by Mrs H. C. Mei. The importance of the project in recognising Chinese women as clients of a major building was promoted by Hinder who wrote in Shanghai's leading newspaper, the *North China Daily News* of 1932: "It is Shanghai's first building, responsibility for which is being taken up by a group of women most of whom are Chinese." Hinder's article continues to describe the YWCA's mission behind the new headquarters:

More, however, than being the home of the National Committee and staff, it is the home of the whole movement. Every member even in the remotest part of China can feel a sense of pride in its possession, knowing that it houses the

movement's national life, of which each local unit is an integral and vital part. Yet not only geographically does the whole movement gather in its adherents to the central building, but it aims also to be totally inclusive socially. The Association Movement recognizes no class distinction, but on the contrary, is conscious of its incompleteness until all classes of girls and women shall find fellowship together.<sup>55</sup>

Li's eight-storey building, with a later ninth floor, has a u-shaped courtyard facing west. The building steps back above the fifth floor reducing the building bulk while providing a functional roof terrace flowing out from the cafeteria (Figure 5). The concrete framed structure is rhythmically divided by vertical brick panels offset by rendered spandrel patterns containing a well measured sprinkling of Chinese Art-Deco design. The International "Y" motif is incorporated within the Chinese patterns carved into the Suzhou granite of the central door case. The entrance foyer ceiling features Chinese seal patterns in traditional red, green and gold colouring reflected in a similarly coloured terrazzo floor – western modern design meeting Chinese traditional design throughout the building. Li managed to design a modernist structure which demonstrated the YWCA's fundamental meeting of east and west through the use of applied Chinese decorative elements and without the need for an elaborate and expensive Chinese traditional roof structure.

The YWCA's offices were located on the seventh floor with a "Hostess House" occupying the penthouse. The remainder of the building was for rent.<sup>56</sup> The Hostess House is described in more detail below, from a YWCA publication:

In the Hostess House are living and dining rooms, large enough to house the sometimes large groups which oftentimes crowded into the old house, which would always hold one more. The living room especially is gracefully planned: a large fireplace, long windows and doors opening out on to the roof. Four bedrooms on the top of the world will make it possible for there to be two residents and two rooms available for transient guests.<sup>57</sup>



**Fig. 5** National YWCA Headquarters, Li Jinpei, architect, 1932.  
Photograph by Anne Warr, May 2015.

During the 1930s, the YWCA continued as a radical organisation promoting grass roots change amongst its Chinese women members, and also its international members. As Russell writes of her 25-year experience with the YWCA in China: “I went to China as a pacifist. I went to China as a church member. China affected both of these positions. I stopped being a pacifist. And I stopped being a church member.”<sup>58</sup> In 1949, the YWCA was one of the few foreign-based organisations allowed to continue operating in the new People’s Republic of China by Mao Zedong. By this time, the YWCA was managed entirely by Chinese secretaries, with only one or two foreign secretaries remaining. The YWCA continued to operate throughout the Maoist Communist Era, with the exception of the decade of the Cultural Revolution, and continues to operate today.

Both the YMCA and YWCA National Headquarters are located in an area north of Shanghai’s famous Bund now known as Waitanyuan. Having lain dormant during the period of Maoist Communism, by the 2000s Waitanyaun was being recognised by the Shanghai Government as an area of unique and important historic value to Shanghai with most of the buildings being individually protected as items of municipal heritage and the area as a whole proclaimed a Conservation Area in 2004.<sup>59</sup> Many of the buildings, including both National Headquarters had been used to accommodate local workers and their families. When the last of these families had been re-located by around 2009, the buildings became available for adaptive re-use as part of the Huangpu Government’s extensive conservation program for the Waitanyuan area. When the author visited the area in June 2014, many of the buildings, including the former YMCA and YWCA buildings, were still vacant, awaiting tenants. However, by May 2015, most of the buildings along Yuanmingyuan Road, including the YWCA, had been converted for upmarket retail and restaurant use (Figure 6). The YMCA in Huqiu Road, however, remained un-renovated.



**Fig. 6** Entrance to former YWCA building, now converted for retail and restaurant use. Photograph by Anne Warr, May 2015.

## Conclusion

This paper has sought to demonstrate institutional change within the YMCA and YWCA as their mission was transferred to China in the early twentieth century. The construction of separate YMCA premises in Shanghai demonstrates the application of the YMCA American model without concession to local conditions. The adapted architectural style of the Chinese Y demonstrated a patronising concession to Chinese members which was eventually rejected as a model by its own architects. The YMCA continued to provide club-type services to its mainly foreign male members in China, with little real integration between foreign and Chinese community.

The YWCA National Headquarters was a more successful model of integration, reflecting the needs of its Chinese clients, with its Chinese members empowered to direct the design process for the new headquarters. The resulting design successfully balanced western functionality with Chinese decorative elements without the need for revisionist references to traditional Chinese architecture such as Song dynasty roof structures constructed from modern materials. The building answered one of the most widely discussed questions of the time, which was how to achieve modernisation by means of Westernisation, without losing Chinese identity and being overpowered by Western Imperialism.

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- 1 This paper builds on the work of the author's PhD thesis, *Women in the Modern City: 1930s Shanghai*, submitted in April 2015.
  - 2 Mayer N. Zald and Patricia Denton, "From Evangelism to General Service: The Transformation of the YMCA," *Administrative Science Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (September 1963): 214-234.
  - 3 William J. Baker, "To Pray or to Play? The YMCA Question in the United Kingdom and the United States, 1850-1900," *International Journal of the History of Sport* 11, no. 1 (1994): 42-62.
  - 4 Clarence Prouty Shedd et al., *History of the World Alliance of YMCAs* (London: SPCK, 1955).
  - 5 Anna Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association* (New York: The Women's Press, 1947), 111.
  - 6 Rice, *A History of the World's Young Women's Christian Association*, 113-119.
  - 7 YWCA National Committee and Miscellaneous, "YWCA 1900-1949," reels 50 and 53, Records File Collection, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, USA.
  - 8 Nancy M. Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906-46* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007).
  - 9 Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories: YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010).
  - 10 The definition of Beaux-Arts used throughout this paper is as defined by the Oxford Dictionary: "Relating to the classical decorative style maintained by the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris in the 19<sup>th</sup> century."
  - 11 Shirley Garrett, *Urban Reformers in Urban China: The Chinese Y.M.C.A., 1895-1926* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1970).
  - 12 The Shanghai Directories list the Japanese YMCA as located at 23 Quinsan Gardens, just south of Quinshan Road and the Navy YMCA as being located on the corner of Hong Kong Road and Sichuan Road.
  - 13 Jeffrey W. Cody, *Building in China: Henry K. Murphy's "Adaptive Architecture," 1914-1935* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001), 70-71.
  - 14 Carol Lunt, *The China Who's Who 1927 (foreign): An Autobiographical Dictionary* (Shanghai: The China Digest).

- 15 Cody, *Building in China*, 5.
- 16 Yung Ho Chang, "Zhang vs Zhang. Symmetry and Split: A Development in Chinese Architecture of the 1950s and 1960s," in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, ed. Jeffrey W. Cody et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011), 309.
- 17 Cody, *Building in China*, 96n.
- 18 By 1918 Hussey had designed the following YMCA buildings, all of which had been constructed: Tianjin, Hankou, Fuzhou, Guangzhou, Hong Kong and Manila. Letter from Edward R. Jenkins, International Committee of YMCA to John R. Mott, May 22, 1918, Rockefeller Board Archives, China Medical Board, R.G. III, 2, O, Box 13, folder 3.1.
- 19 Cody, *Building in China*.
- 20 Foreign Street names were changed to Chinese names in 1946 following the handing back of the foreign concessions in Shanghai to a single Chinese Government under Chiang Kai-shek.
- 21 An additional floor was added post 1949.
- 22 Anne Walter Fearn, *My Days of Strength* (New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1939), 157.
- 23 *Comprador* is a Portuguese word meaning "buyer," used in early twentieth-century Shanghai to describe the Chinese manager of a foreign organisation.
- 24 Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 157.
- 25 Fearn, *My Days of Strength*, 157.
- 26 Hazzard was interred by the Japanese in the Lunghwa internment camp to the south of Shanghai, and died there in 1943.
- 27 *Shanghai Directory* (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1925-1935), 1924.
- 28 The earliest of Shanghai's clubs was the (British) Shanghai Club located at 2 The Bund. Other men's clubs included the the American Club at 209 Fuzhou Road with 40 rooms, opened 1925, the Concordia Club at 23 The Bund (now the site of the Bank of China) and the Cercle Sportif Francais on Rte Cardinal Mercier in the French Concession, first club established 1914. These clubs prepared food from home, celebrated national days with balls and dinners and provided a round of social engagements for the Shanghailanders. The foreign clubs maintained the foreigner/Chinese boundary in varying degrees and did not initially permit women members.
- 29 Anne Warr, *Shanghai Architecture* (Sydney: Watermark Press 2007).
- 30 *The Flying Tigers' Guide to Shanghai*, published in 1945, and reproduced on Graham Earnshaw's website, *Tales of Old Shanghai*, [www.earnshaw.com/shanghai-ed-india/tales/t-tigers.htm](http://www.earnshaw.com/shanghai-ed-india/tales/t-tigers.htm) (accessed March 2015) gave the following advice to its pilots:

The Foreign YMCA should be your down town headquarters. They are ideally equipped to help you use your spare time to its best advantage. Read their daily list of activities giving the hours for tours, dancing lessons, lectures and all sorts of special events (*Flying Tigers' Guide to Shanghai*, 1945).
- 31 Cody, *Building in China*, 182.
- 32 Born in 1893 in Shanghai, Fan graduated with a B.Sc. degree from St John's University, Shanghai, in 1917 before traveling to the United States to study architecture at the University of Pennsylvania where he graduated in 1921. He worked for two leading architects in Philadelphia, Day & Klauder and Ch. F. Durang, before returning to Shanghai in 1922. In 1924 he won second prize in the international competition to design the Dr. Sun Yat-Sen Memorial at Nanking. Carol Lunt, *The China Who's Who 1927 (foreign): An Autobiographical Dictionary*.
- 33 In 1929 Li was appointed to complete the Sun Yat-sen mausoleum in Nanjing, designed using the "ti-yong" combination of Chinese cultural "essence" with the "practical use" of Western technology.
- 34 *China Architects and Builders Compendium* (Shanghai: North China Daily News and Herald, 1926).
- 35 Cody, *Building in China*, 4.
- 36 By 1933 Allied Architects was one of 16 Chinese run architectural practices in Shanghai out of a total of 52 practices listed in the *China Architects and Builders Compendium*.
- 37 Cody, *Building in China*, 182.
- 38 Wenzhao Fan, "Chinese Architecture," *Wen Hua Jian She* [Cultural Construction], 6, no. 1 (October 1934): 135.
- 39 Beisi Jia and Yunyan Jia, "Modernism or Revolution: The Dilemma of China's Architectural Pioneers," in *Research on China's Modern Architectural Academia* (Shanghai: Tongji University, 2003), 33.
- 40 Jia and Jia, "Modernism or Revolution," 33.



- 41 Tony Atkin, "Chinese Architecture Students at the University of Pennsylvania in the 1920s," in *Chinese Architecture and the Beaux-Arts*, ed. Jeffrey W. Cody et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press: 2011), 63.
- 42 Cody, *Building in China*, 5.
- 43 Jia and Jia, "Modernism or Revolution," 33.
- 44 In 1931 the local Shanghai branch of the YWCA, with a majority of membership being Chinese women, relocated to downtown premises on the fifth floor of the new Chinese Women's Bank Building located at 393 Nanking Road. *Green Year Supplement* 23 (February 1931): 20.
- 45 In 1925, Ding Shuching (Shu-Ching Ting) became the first Chinese general secretary of the national YWCA following the death of Grace Coppock, the first General Secretary, in 1921.
- 46 YWCA National Board Archives, Records File Collection, Sophia Smith Collection, Smith College, USA.
- 47 Maud Russell papers, Rare Books and Manuscripts Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, 2/16/1938.
- 48 Maud Russell papers, oral history transcript, 1976, 8.
- 49 Maud Russell papers, oral history transcript, 8.
- 50 Karen Garner, *Precious Fire. Maud Russell and the Chinese Revolution* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003), 16.
- 51 Maud Russell papers, NYPL, 1926, 2.
- 52 Abbey Shaw Mayhew had arrived in Shanghai in 1915, specifically recruited by Coppock to develop the physical education program of the YWCA in China, and later becoming official hostess at the national headquarters.
- 53 Maud Russell papers, NYPL, 1926, 2.
- 54 Eleanor Hinder papers, Mitchell Library, SLNSW, MLMSS770. Unpublished autobiography, 1929, 2e.
- 55 Eleanor Hinder, "History of YWCA Headquarters," *North China Daily News and Herald*, March 31, 1932.
- 56 YWCA, *The Green Year Supplement* 26 (December 1931): 23.
- 57 National Committee YWCA, *Our New Home* (Shanghai, China: National Committee YWCA, 1932), 4.
- 58 Maud Russell papers. Interim transcript of oral history interview with MR, 1976, by Midwest China Study Resource Center, St Paul, Minn. Conversation with Don MacInnes, 6.
- 59 Fifteen Conservation Areas were proclaimed by the Mayor of Shanghai at an international conference on heritage and development held in Shanghai in 2014 and attended by the author of this paper.