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**THE SELF AND THE NATION: NEW YOUTH AND EDUCATIONAL REVOLUTION
IN CHINA, 1911 TO 1925**

An Honors Thesis

Presented to The Faculty of the Department & Program of History

Bates College

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

By Zhengda(Chris) Lu

Instructed by Dr. Wesley Chaney

Bates College

Lewiston, Maine

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Introduction: New Youth and Education

In 1916, a group of Chinese intellectuals from Peking University began publishing a magazine that advocated new culture, new missions, and new philosophies of life to the country's youth. This magazine was named as *New Youth*(Xin Qingnian 新青年). Chen Duxiu(陳獨秀), the editor of the magazine and soon-to-be Dean of Peking University(北京大學), wrote the following mission statement in the magazine's very first article: "Be autonomous rather than slavish; Open up to the globe rather than locking down the nation; Be pragmatic rather than be formulaic."¹ Chen Duxiu's article marked the watershed of a new revolution in thoughts and education. He urged Chinese youth to be autonomous and open-minded to save and reform the country. These were two of the most fundamental elements to the new Chinese education philosophy, but also in tension. The modern Chinese citizen was to be free thinking and not tied to the Chinese past. At the same time, however, they were to realize their place as just one person within a larger collective Chinese nation.

From 1911 to 1925, China's reform in education was revolutionary and disruptive. From the Xin Hai Revolution(辛亥革命) in 1911 to the New Culture Movement in 1919, each step represented the transformation in China from monarchy to democracy, from an empire to a republic nation, and from following the traditional culture to embracing global culture.

Education, since it centers the values of a country, is a fruitful place to investigate larger cultural transformations. The arguments of whether young Chinese should study the Confucian classics or the theories of physics were not obscure. They went to the very heart of what it means to be Chinese. The rise of intellectuals played an essential role in China's reformation into a modern

¹Chen Duxiu. *Jinggao Qingnian*. Xin Qingnian: Er Shi Shiji Zui Juyou Yingxianglide Zhongguo Minkan(New Youth: The most influential magazine in 20th century China), 1st ed. Beijing: Zhongguo Shudian, 2011. 2.

country because they proposed new life philosophies and ideologies that their legacies remain in nowadays education. Chen Duxiu, for example, argued in *New Youth* that young people must maintain the value of being autonomous, willing to improve, scientific, and intellectually open.² In contemporary Chinese society, large population caused an increase in competitiveness in China's education system—the college entrance exam(Gaokao 高考) became one characteristic of China's education. However, such competitiveness eventually caused many students to think more practically, such as pursuing a degree in a higher-ranking university that could ensure a high-salary job. This instrumental focus, centered less on preparing students to think critically and creatively, all for the well-being of others, is quite different from that of the Republican. It is necessary to explore the differences between these time periods.

Intellectuals who contributed to the New Culture Movement, such as Chen Duxiu, are still remembered as “great teachers in the Republic Era(minguo daxiansheng 民国大先生)” because they were pioneers who learned and adopted global cultures and principles of education to pursue China's modernization and enlightenment. They recognized culture and ideology as the most important goals of education. Nowadays, China's regular education system understands material achievements as more critical than personal development goals, which is different from the Republic era. Nowadays education seems at odds with the educational values of curiosity and intellectual openness. Therefore, to understand how education cultivates republicans' ideology among society, it is necessary to look back about one hundred years ago to reflect on how China's modernization unfolded through the contested ideological approaches to education. More importantly, what historians understand in early 20th century China development will be

² Chen, *Jinggao Qingnian*, 2.

more beneficial in investigating the direction of the developing education system in today's world.

This research looks at the change in the principles of the education system from the Late Qing(清) Empire to the Republic regime as well as the impact of the modernization movement on China's education system reform from 1911 to 1925. Through analyzing Chen Duxiu and other Chinese intellectuals' perspectives in Chinese education, culture, and ideologies, I develop an argument focusing on two major education philosophies during the Republic period. The first philosophy concentrates on self-actualization, independent and autonomous learning, and critical thinking based education. The second philosophy concentrates on nationalism, patriotism, and civil-identity cultivation based education. In education reform during the early 20th century, it was a process of "reinventing" a new education system that was completely different from the previous civil service examinations system. This research mostly addresses how intellectuals, or more specifically social elites, interpreted Chinese social, cultural, and ideological discrepancies between late Qing and early Republic to investigate new guiding principles of education. These elites considered the reform in terms of saving the state as well as creating new cultural and civic identities, so their contributions to education were mostly in ideological, philosophical, and cultural concentrations. Intellectuals made proposals of educational reform, but local governments and the local ministries of education were the key institutions that coordinated with intellectuals and scholars to implement reforms. Like historian Peter Zarrow argues, intellectuals imbued education with a reformist zeal that local officials sometimes disdained.³ There were still critics of the Chinese education system both at the time and since have accused it of not meeting

³ Peter Zarrow. *Educating China: Knowledge, Society, and Textbooks in a Modernizing World, 1902-1937*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. 40.

China's real needs.⁴ However, this does not mean that intellectuals' effort in educational reform failed to meet the most demands of Chinese learners. Alternatively, since the civil service examination system was abolished, intellectuals kept learning from Western models to design a universal education curriculum and create new philosophies of education. From May Fourth Movement, 1919, popular education that promoted public lecturing began wide spreading among China.⁵ Therefore, educational reform in the early 20th century was reform for elite education, and Chinese intellectuals' contribution to educational reform from 1911 to 1925 was constructive and enlightening in beginning modernization of the state and its nations. New youths, as the new group of learners in this period, became the hope of intellectuals for contributing in achieving their personal objective following their minds and strengthening the state by cultivating their own civic identities.

Historiography

Historians have identified intellectuals' motivation for modernizing China in the early 20th century. To explore early twentieth century pedagogical revolutions, this thesis engages with three bodies of scholarship. The first scholarship is the history of Late Qing and imperial China which serves as the historical background resulting in Chinese intellectuals' reform. Benjamin Elman and Philip Rieff are two representative historians who build their analysis upon the origin of the civil service examination system. These scholars concentrate on an important historical period when the examination system became doubted and even criticized by Chinese reformers in the late nineteenth century, and eventually resulted in the abolishment of this

⁴ Zarrow. *Educating China*, 40.

⁵ Elisabeth Forster. *1919 – the Year that Changed China : A New History of the New Culture Movement (Volume 2)*. Vol. 2. Berlin/München/Boston: De Gruyter, 2018, 108.

education system which lasted for over one thousand years. To emphasize the “reform” of Chinese education, Elman, Rieff, and scholars concentrating on late Qing history provide sufficient historical evidence in explaining what the civil service system was and how reformers, seeking to address the threat of Euro-American and Japanese imperialism, believed this system should be abolished in the late nineteenth century. Their scholarly interpretation of pre-Republican history also offers an explicit transition from an empire to a Republic state, and makes connections to early Republic’s reform of education, culture, and ideology inherited from late Qing dynasty.

The second scholarship concentrates on China’s cultural history in the early twentieth century. Scholars’ interpretation of ideology, culture, and language offer a significant identification of China’s reform and modernization. Peter Zarrow has addressed in his work *China in War and Revolution* that the New Culture Movement(新文化運動) as well as the May Fourth Movement(五四運動) was the process of cultural and ideological reform of society after the political reform in 1911.⁶ Zarrow defines new cultural identities and patriotism raised during the May Fourth Movement. Elizabeth Forster argues that the New Culture Movement was to market an even wider variety of competing agendas, which includes topics like popular education, the national language, etc., and all that had existed before 1919.⁷ She has identified that the entire movement was a standard description of the period since 1911, when the Xin Hai revolution marked the beginning of the Republic Era. The New Culture Movement was recognized as a set of events when Chinese intellectuals began raising modernization in various

⁶ Peter Zarrow. *China in War and Revolution, 1895-1949*. London: Routledge, 2005. 127.

⁷ Forster, 1919, 3.

aspects of the national culture. I build on their frameworks to provide valuable evidence in addressing the historical background of China in revolution during the late 1910s.

Vera Schwarcz argues that intellectuals during the twentieth-century China Enlightenment aimed to forsake the examination system mentality, arbitrary credulity, and a national temperament all too accustomed to being “overcome by society.”⁸ Schwarcz has mentioned the founders of the *New Youth* magazine, who concluded that China needs a radical transvaluation of values.⁹ To seek modernization, it was necessary for Chinese intellectuals to overthrow the traditional values from the Qing dynasty, and this process was the revolution of culture leading to educational value changes. Henrietta Harrison, in *The Making of the Republican Citizen*, has analyzed Chinese ethnicity and nationalism aspects, arguing that the Republic of China gave rise to a contrasting ethnic identity as Chinese which portrayed itself as traditional and old.¹⁰ Modernization was not only the process of transformation to a republic nation, but also “educating” citizens their identities of a nationalism based society. From two scholar’s opinions in terms of China’s enlightenment raised by intellectuals and the Republic Government establishment of new ethnic identity, the ideological reform learning to modernity was in both cultural and national perspectives. Furthermore, scholars also have identified the importance of ideological change during the New Culture Movement and its role in developing China’s education.

The third scholarship is the education history of the Republic period. In providing both historical evidence of the two major education philosophies, Peter Zarrow’s work from both

⁸ Vera Schwarcz. *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919*. Vol. 27. Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1986. 3.

⁹ Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 6.

¹⁰ Henrietta Harrison. *The Making of the Republican Citizen: Political Ceremonies and Symbols in China 1911-1919*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. 240.

Educating China and *China in War and Revolution* have covered the construction of the modern school system from late Qing to early Republic period, the development of textbooks and curriculum, and how intellectuals and scholars discovered the importance of emphasizing self-actualization and nationalism based education principles. Zarrow believes that investigating intellectuals' contribution and the evolution of textbooks in educational reform will answer several questions: what does it mean to be Chinese; what are the rights and duties of citizens; what is the correct attitude toward the past; and how much traditional Chinese culture should be continued or modified.¹¹ Building on Zarrow's work on the larger background of curriculum and textbook reform, I combine primary sources such as *New Youth* to incorporate intellectuals' opinion into my analysis. More importantly, Zarrow's reference connect to various Chinese intellectuals' opinions about Chinese education during the 1910s, which offer explicit connections to primary sources for my analytical writing process. Zarrow's work offers me an explicit explanation of a general and explicit view of early Republic education, while combining his analysis with my interpretation of intellectuals' view of education. Therefore, I develop my research direction of discovering what inspired intellectuals for advocating self-actualization philosophy as well as what caused intellectuals to create a new cultural and civic identities for Republic China that differed from both Western nations and late Qing period.

This thesis is based on a close, critical reading of primary sources, especially the revolutionary journal *New Youth*, giving first-hand information addressing the importance of two educational philosophies that established my argument. Chen Duxiu, the founder of the journal, explained that education should cultivate the publics' patriotic virtues of self-improvement and

¹¹Zarrow, *Educating China*, 6.

self-confidence.¹² By interpreting the four principles of education policy that Chen argued for, China's education principles aimed to cultivate citizens to be confident in their country, be realistic rather than being confined by superstition, be respectful to professions to raise the economy, and let the public be the significant power of the country. The source indicates China's new education policy in the Republic period was corresponding to the principle of the modernization movement, which reshaped culture by clearing away ancient culture despotism. It also served as a guide to answering the question of the main principle that China's education system followed from 1911 to 1925. *Today's Education Policy* was one of the most representative sources that is central to my analysis of self-actualization based education principles. Intellectuals' beyond Chen Duxiu expressed their concern and suggestions of Chinese education in *New Youth*, and their perspectives in viewing inherited culture, ideological reform, as well as the necessity of educational reform also play a significant role in shaping my analysis of China's reform in education philosophies.

Chapter Organization

This thesis is divided into four chapters. Chapter one discusses the late Qing dynasty's education system and the revolution of Republic reformers in the early 1900s. This chapter analyze the historical background of China's education system in the Late Qing period and how the modernization movement eventually overthrew the Qing Regime and established the Republic of China. This part address the education system in the late Qing Dynasty such as the Civil Service Exam as well as major history events that modified the Qing education system

¹²Chen, *Jiaoyu fangzhen*, 83.

around the Xin Hai Revolution, as well as how education curriculum changed from the abolishment of civil service exam to the early Republic period.

Chapter two, continuing from chapter one, analyzes the historical background from 1917 to 1925. This chapter analyzes the impact of the New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement's impact on Chinese culture and ideologies. Meanwhile, I also discuss how the curriculum changed since 1917. In terms of two movements, chapter two focuses on interpreting the definition of "new culture" in multiple perspectives. The analysis also supports establishing the basis evidence that corresponds to two education philosophies in both chapter three and chapter four.

Chapter three focuses on one main principle that China's education system followed since the founding of the Republic Era—seeking for individualism, independent-thinking based, and self-actualization based education principles that were affected by western learning. This part involves analysis from primary sources such as the *New Youth*, finding out intellectuals' theories related to this principle, assisted by secondary sources. Modernization movements raised new principles that brought change to the guiding principles of education, such as the Xin Hai Revolution and the New Culture Movement. Analyzing these movements' impact on developing the independent-learning principle regarding the education system is also the central task of chapter three.

Chapter four focuses on another principle of education developed from the Republic period—a nationalism, patriotic, and social-contribution based learning. Chen Duxiu has already emphasized that the country carries the public in *New Youth*, showing that nationalism and patriotism are significant features for another perspective of education in the Republic period. Both section 2 and 3 focus on how ideological, cultural, and literature reform during the Xin Hai

Revolution and New Culture Movement connected to the education system's reform. Throughout making connections with various perspectives, this thesis investigates how intellectuals discover what modernized Chinese citizens should be like. It is not only an education reform in early 20th century China, but also a revolution for Chinese citizens seeking for new individual and social identities under the urgency of saving the nation.

Chapter One: The Educational Transition from An Empire to A Nation

Prior to the Republic of China, civil service system(kejuzhi科举制) dominated the late Qing society. The Civil Service Examination system was the core national examination for choosing imperial officials. From the Sui Dynasty(隋朝) when this examination system was founded, the examination maintained its sole criteria that determined the future destiny of Chinese learners who were seeking to access bureaucratic positions, dominating education and officialdom of Imperial China. Civil service system experienced reforms and modification from traditional learning concentration to Westernized learning concentration under the invasion of foreign powers in the 1840s. This reform resulted in the abolishment of the examination but also offered a bedrock of the modernized Chinese education system.

The main content inside the Civil Service Exam was Chinese classics, referring to the *Four Books and Five Classics(Sishu wujing四書五經)* that recognized Confucianism as the syllabus. Among them, the Four Books, including *the Analect*, *the Mencius*, *the Great Learning*, and *the Doctrine of the Mean*, incorporated the core values of Confucianism such as being respectful to your superiors, being respectful of fulfilling filial piety, seeking for the way of balance instead of being too radical, and understanding the logical connections between things. Since the Tang Dynasty, intellectuals such as Han Yu published the Neo-Confucianism based on the Learning of the “Way(Daoxue道學)”, and Song Dynasty intellectuals Cheng Yi and Zhu Xi developed Neo-Confucianism to the Ethic Learning(Lixue理學). The Qing Dynasty Dominated local society, including the ruling house, state bureaucracy, and elite literary families through Neo-Confucianism because its content and meaning varied widely, and education meant different

things to different constituencies.¹³ Since the flourishing of civil service examination in Tang Dynasty, Hanlin Academy(翰林院) became the major institution of where bureaucratic officials and imperial officials conveying about the content of examinations. Hanlin Academy also collaborated with the Ministry of Rites to establish accredited cultural institutions together.¹⁴ Taixue, also recognized as National University, was the highest educational institution in Imperial China. It was initially found in the Han Dynasty even before the existence of Imperial Examination. Civil service system served as a tool in cultivating officials and maintaining the balance between social classes. The education curriculum based on this system served as a political, social, and cultural institution to defend and legitimize the differentiation of Chinese society into aristocratic rulers, gentry-officials, and illiterate or non-classically literate commoners.¹⁵ The social hierarchy was further stated explicitly under the institution of the civil service examination.

Civil Service Examination: the education system that dominated Qing

By incorporating Confucian learning, the civil service system created a curriculum that consolidated gentry, military, and merchant families into a culturally defined status group of degree holders who shared a common classical language, memorization of a shared canon, and a literary styles known as eight-legged essay(Baguwen八股文).¹⁶ Among the three shared aspects of the civil service curriculum, an eight-legged essay was invented in the Ming and Qing

¹³ Benjamin Elman. *A Civil Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013. 2.

¹⁴ Benjamin Elman. Civil Service Examinations. *Berkshire Encyclopedia of China* Berkshire Publishing Group LLC, 2009. 408.

¹⁵ Hsiao Kung-chuan. *Rural China: Imperial Control in the Nineteenth-Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1960. 67-72.

¹⁶ Elman, *A Civil Examinations*, 3.

dynasty. It required all candidates to compose essays in a rigid-parallel prose. The cultural expectations were added to the gentlemanly requirements that candidates be adept in the art of calligraphy, which was one of the most characteristic Chinese cultural forms of training to master in written Chinese characters.¹⁷ The examination's inclusion of Confucian values indicated that Confucianism dominated the main education values of Imperial Chinese society, so Confucian values was the mainstream culture that represented China until the end of the Qing. Since classical learning and state crafts were indicated by *Four Books and Five Classics*, their power to motivate Chinese to become public officials serving far from home and family was one part of the education philosophy in the Qing Dynasty. Apparently, the Qing state institutions were already penetrated by Confucian culture through both political and social partnership between imperial interests and local elites, and they promulgated a classical curriculum for the selection of officials and the production of classically literate candidates.¹⁸

Before the Republic Era, imperial China did not advocate popular education in the civil service system. As mentioned earlier that Civil Service Examination enabled gentry and local elites to have their opportunities of becoming officials in either local or imperial government, this system separated the qualities of elites and most Chinese publics in the Qing and former dynasties. The requirement to master non-vernacular classical texts created a linguistic barrier between people who were licensed to complete in the empire's examination compounds and people who were kept out because of their illiterate nature.¹⁹ The Civil Service Exam was not only a criteria for evaluating a person's eligibility to become an official by testing their understanding of Confucianism based culture, but it was also a tool that blocked the way of

¹⁷ Elman, *A Civil Examinations*, 51.

¹⁸ Elman, *A Civil Examinations*, 318.

¹⁹ Benjamin, Elman. *A Cultural History of Civil Examinations in Late Imperial China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. 239.

illiterate people to engage in political and social affairs. Educational, cultural, and religious institutions in late imperial China have reflected the complex order of authority by which literati culture became operative practices within a hierarchy of values and statuses in social, religious, and political life.²⁰ Therefore, the Civil Service System underscored the inequality of education in imperial China due to that the partnership between the court and the bureaucracy was monopolized by gentry literati who maximized their knowledge of Confucian cultural resources. Such resources, compared to most people who were illiterate, could be recognized as a level of degree of success.

The civil service system and the imperial examination changed its curriculum in the late nineteenth century because the Qing Government was under attack from the British, Japan, France, and other global powers. The Qing Government's defeat in two Opium Wars from 1840 to 1860, the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, and Siege of International Legations against the Qing in 1900 caused billions of compensations of silver currency from the Qing Government, and the Qing Government lost their sovereignty to vast amount of lands, including Hong Kong, Macau, Taiwan, Penghu Peninsula. Besides financial compensation and loss of territories, China was also forced to open a number of port cities for foreign nations' free trade, and they gained extraterritoriality on those ports. From the defeat of wars, the Qing government realized the importance of military technologies because they found that their weapons were already in relatively older conditions, which caused the Qing Army to fail to fight against foreign powers. Therefore, since the 1860s, Prince Yixin invited military strategist Zeng Guofan, Zuo Zongtang, imperial commissioner Li Hongzhang, and Shanxi Province's governor Zhang Zhidong to form *Yangwu Pai* (Westernization Party 洋務派). They emphasized the principle that Chinese Learning

²⁰ Philip Rieff. *The Feeling Intellect: Selected Writings*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. 247-248.

as Substance, Western Learning for Application(Zhongti xiyong中體西用), and this movement was recognized as Self-Strengthening Movement. The conceptual shift that would transform Chinese international relations after two Opium Wars also transformed ways of thinking about education. Civil service system began to integrate Western technologies, knowledge, and the school system as an educational approach among the Self-Strengthening Movement.

In the 1860s, the Qing government began concentrating on Western technologies as well as western learning. In a macro scale of defining “Western learning,” it incorporated science, technology, and education curriculum. While the western learning was recognized by Qing government officials as a necessary method of saving the country, it also impacted the civil service examination system that concentrated on classical studies for hundreds of years. During the Taiping Rebellion(太平天國運動), which had shaken the government of the Qing regime in the 1850s and 1860s, new Confucian academies were founded with the support of officials and gentry.²¹ These academies began to Westernize their curriculum, and even rose to new schools when groups of teachers and students broke the traditional Confucian learning way to focus more on Western subjects.²² China’s education, on the other hand, regarded science learning as an important approach under the Western Learning for Application motto. In 1867, Li Hongzhang(李鴻章) proposed establishing eight categories for civil examination(Bake Qushi八科取試), within this curriculum were mathematical science as well as technical science as a single category.²³ This curriculum was corresponding to Li’s role as one of the leaders of the Self-Strengthening Movement. Due to that Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan(曾國藩), Zuo Zongtang(左宗棠) and Zhnag Zhidong(張之洞) developed military industry in major cities such

²¹ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 12.

²² Zarrow, *Educating China*, 13.

²³ Elman, *A Cultural History*, 578.

as Shanghai, Nanjing, Wuhan, and Lanzhou, more employees that understand the fundamental knowledge of science and technologies were necessary demands to ensure these industries' functioning. Qing scholar Feng Guifen(馮桂芬) prepared an essay around 1861 entitled a proposal for reforming the civil examination. He began reviewing earlier proposals for reforming the civil examination system, and most proposals he read called for overthrowing the contemporary-style eight-legged essay due to its lack of pregnancy.²⁴ By considering the rising Westernization movements from the Qing Government, Feng divided the civil examination system in two parts, with the new group required to master machinery and physics. He also called for abrogating the military examinations because the best way to select men of real talents based on Qing's condition was to have them all take the same exam without any arbitrary distinction between civil and military examinations.²⁵ By incorporating military and technologies based examinations into the traditional civil service system, Feng had made an impact in fulfilling Qing intellectuals' responsibilities of the "self-strengthening" slogan. The civil service examinations began its reform to fit into the "nation saving" progress for China during the late nineteenth century.

By the 1890s, reformers who were usually the degree-holders of China's civil service examination opened several new styles of private academies.²⁶ These academics specifically focused on the western pedagogies, including courses such as politics, history, and geography. As Feng Guifen called for increased attention to Western studies in 1867, especially mathematical education, the civil examination system gradually entered the standing of both Chinese learning and Western studies. However, while the Western learnings were introduced in

²⁴ Elman, *A Cultural History*, 579.

²⁵ Elman, *A Cultural History*, 580.

²⁶ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 15.

China's civil service education, many literati inside and outside the bureaucracy felt after 1865 that "Chinese learning," which were mainly Confucianism theories and classics, should remain dominant in the examination curriculum instead of Western studies.²⁷ Concerns about whether Western learning should surpass Chinese learning's dominant position remained. Prior to 1862, some scholars stood on the conservative sides, arguing that Western learning would not practically function in saving the nation. Woren, a Mongol Neo-Confucian moralist, also working as tutor to the Emperor as well as head of the Hanlin Academy, opposed the founding of College of Foreign Languages in Beijing(tongwenguan同文館).²⁸ Woren worried that Western learning in astronomy and mathematics would function with very little use in efforts to "establish a state" because establishing a state required sovereignty and legitimacy.²⁹ However, his opposition did not change the general plan of the Qing government, and Woren was eventually silenced in 1871 and died in the next year.³⁰ In 1887, candidates specializing in mathematics were allowed to pass the provincial examinations under a special quota, but they were still required to fulfill the classical requirements.³¹ While the new schools marked the change of China's education focus, the civil service examination system was also experiencing reform in the late 1890s. At this period, to fit the demands of China's higher education under the moving Hundred Days Reform(百日維新), the Imperial University of Peking was established as the supreme education institution in China. Examinations since this period began including questions about current affairs, which was an additional part of the questions based on the traditional

²⁷ Elman. *A Cultural History*. 584,

²⁸ Arthur W. Hummel, ed., *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period(1644-1912)*. Washington: GPO, 1943-1944 861-863; Cai Guanluo, ed., *Qingshi liezhuan*, 88-89.

²⁹ Yeh Wen-Hsin. *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937*. Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University: Harvard University Press, 1990. 9.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Elman, *A Cultural History*, 580.

Confucian classical questions. Passing the civil service exam from the 1890s still required candidates to have a systematic classical training and broad reading in the contemporary press rather than the modern schooling.³² Although the Self-Strengthening Movement brought Westernization of China's education system, the civil service examination system based on Confucian values dominated public's ideology about behavior and life. But this system undoubtedly reflected changes in conception of knowledge from a complete Confucianism-based evaluation to a more practical approach under the urgency of saving the country.

Approaching the 1900s, Reformers gradually recognized the nature of the civil service examination system as well as eight-legged essay frustrated reformers became revolutionary education systems. They saw the inequality of opportunities for everyone to get educated from the civil service examination. From the 1890s to early 1900s, reformers including Yan Fu(嚴復) not only believed that Western schools should be the object for the Qing Dynasty to emulate, but Japan's Westernized education system can be another inspiration for the Qing empire to learn from. On the other hand, Yan criticized the civil service system which hindered public's understanding of the social dynamics under the invasion of foreign power.³³

It is important to take the classics that everyone venerates and believes in, and have people study them deeply and repeatedly. But the principles of the classics often lie between seeming distant and near, useful and useless. Establish standards to attract these scholars, so that even the smartest ones worry about not necessarily succeeding, and the most ignorant ones can celebrate occasional success. Then, cast the wide net of the eight-legged essay to capture those with outstanding wisdom and ideas from all over the world.

³² Elman, *A Cultural History*, 16.

³³ Yan Fu, *Lun Shibian Zhiji*.

Yan believed that the classical studies under the civil service examination limited publics' freedom in investigating further knowledge in science and technology. But more importantly, Yan discovered that Western countries, including Western Europe and the United States, treated science and democracy in a prioritized position. China, however, did not create the environment of scholars' freedom of pursuing advanced science and technologies despite the government's encouragement of learning from the West. The purpose of the Self-Strengthening Movement was mostly to maintain the governance of the Qing dynasty instead of creating a democracy society which conflicted with the emperor's autocracy. Different from China, Japan experienced Meiji Restoration in the late nineteenth century prior to the First Sino-Japanese War, the entire country had already entered the process of Westernization, including education system in which a standardized classroom system and homogenous or equal groupings of students for each class was established.³⁴ However, Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education declared in 1890 set Japanese on a path that was in many ways unique from Western education.³⁵ The Imperial Rescript on Education (Kyoiku Chokugo きよいくちよくご教育勅語) aimed to reinforce the indigenous dynamism and flexibility of Japanese culture, aiming to encourage Japanese mastery of modern technology and science from Western civilization with less social dislocation than occurred in other nations.³⁶ Shimizu Ikutaro (清水幾太郎), working as a sociologist at Tokyo University, appealed Japanese to acknowledge that the values of cooperation and self-restraint were deeply rooted in the daily lives and beliefs of the common man.³⁷ He believed that Western

³⁴ Elman, *A Cultural History*, 586.

³⁵ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 15.

³⁶ Sharon H. Nolte, and Ōnishi Hajime. "National Morality and Universal Ethics. Ōnishi Hajime and the Imperial Rescript on Education." *Monumenta Nipponica* 38, no. 3, 1983. 283.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

ideologies such as democracy should transform to incorporate Japanese domestic history and culture to support Japan continuing developing a modernized society.³⁸ But considering the purpose of the Self-Strengthening Movement of maintaining the Qing Regime' governance without political reform, Chinese reformers eventually did not adapt Japanese education system to modify the civil service system or democracy to the political system. In 1902, the emphasis of the exam shifted from classics exegesis to discussions of China and world's history, politics, as well as technologies.³⁹ Despite the Qing government trying to reform this system, a complete break in the concordance between expecting the country's wealth and power based on the traditional education and reforming the country throughout Western model of education occurred in 1905. Prior to 1904, Zhang Zhidong proposed *Declaration of the School Charter*(奏定學堂章程), which categorized primary education, secondary education, and advanced education as a reformed education system of the Qing Dynasty. Soon in 1905, Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai(袁世凱) proposed to the government to abandon civil service examinations to develop Westernized schools and curriculum such as social and natural sciences. In the same year, the Qing government stopped all civil service examinations in the entire China and declared all local governments to develop new Westernized schools.

In 1906, the regulation of Qing's Ministry of education required that all students start formal schooling from lower primary schools to higher primary schools, middle schools and eventually universities or Confucian academies. The essential school structure from lower primary school to middle school in this period is shown in Table 1, Table 2 and Table 3 as follows.⁴⁰

³⁸ Kenneth B. Pyle. "The Future of Japanese Nationality: An Essay in Contemporary History". 1982. 223-264.

³⁹Zarrow, *Educating China*, 15

⁴⁰ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. Ed., 20 *Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun*(20th Century China Primary and Middle Schools' Curriculum Standards), vol. 1, 23-26, 34-36, 44-46.

Lower primary schools, grade 1-5(30 hours/week)	Hours
Classics	12
Arithmetic	6
Chinese	4
Physical education	3
Self-cultivation	2
History	1
Geography	1
Sciences(including optional handicrafts)	1

Table 1

Higher primary schools, grade 6-9(30 hours/week)	Hours
Classics	12
Chinese	8
Arithmetic	3
PE and military-style drill	3
Self-cultivation	2
History	2
Geography	2
Sciences(agriculture and commerce optional)	2
Art	2

Table 2

Middle schools, grade 10-14(36 hours/week)	Hours
Classics	9

Chinese	3-4
Foreign language	6-8
History	2-3
Geography	2-3
Mathematics	4
Sciences	2-4
PE and military-style drill	2
Self-cultivation	1
Art	1

Table 3

Lower primary schools covered the primary education from grade 1 to 5 students. It focused more on Chinese Classics, which took twelve out of thirty hours per week. Besides teaching classics were subjects coming from Western learning, including arithmetic, science with optional handicrafts subjects, history, geography, self-cultivation, and physical education. Higher primary schools covered students' education from grade 6 to 9, and it added arts courses based on higher primary schools and military-style drill as part of the PE curriculum. Middle school covered secondary education from grade 10 to 14. Foreign language was added into this education stage. Throughout the curriculum before higher education, late Qing's policies on education became the bedrock of the modernized Chinese education system, and a set of Westernized subjects also maintained their position even after the end of Qing. Until 1911, Sun Yat-Sen(孫中山) declared the Xin Hai Revolution from the Wuchang Rebellion. General Feng Yuxiang exempted the last Qing Emperor, Puyi, out of the Forbidden city. Sun established the Republic of China, marking the political transition of China from a two-thousand-year-long

empire to a modernized republic nation. The traditional civil service examinations had eventually passed away accompanied by the demise of the Qing Dynasty.

The Revolution of Education System in the Republic Era

In 1907, Taozhou(洮州), a small town located in today's Gansu Province, recorded a fire incident that caused the burnt abundance of Chinese classics, including *Four Books and Five Classics*, ritual textbook, and history textbooks and archives from the Han Dynasty.⁴¹ However, the rest of the books that remained were mostly textbooks from Western and Japanese textbooks. These textbooks covered various studies including physics, geography, botany, mathematics, historiography, gymnastics, and modernized history textbooks for both Western and Chinese history.⁴² There was a pattern from these reserved books that burned books represented the ideology, knowledge, and culture inherited from ancient imperial China, while books protected from fires were introduced from Western countries and Japan from the late nineteenth century. The year 1907, between the abolition of civil service examinations and the Xin Hai Revolution, was a transition period of Chinese education from adapting Western learning in the inherited education system to reconstructing a new education system that incorporated both Chinese and Western cultures and ideologies. The fire in Taozhou, despite the reason was unknown, was a precursor of the educational revolution from textbook to curriculum, followed by the making of the Republic era.

Education system experienced radical changes in the immediate revolution in 1911. Westernized private schools continued to flourish, and vocational schools also began appearing

⁴¹ Zhang Junli. *Taozhou Tingzhi*. Vol. 1. 441-447.

⁴² Zhang, *Taozhou Tingzhi*, 447-454.

in China.⁴³ But one major change to the school system was the disappearance of the classics from the curriculum, and a specific perspective was that morality and history textbooks were rewritten to highlight China's transformation into a republic polity.⁴⁴ The Republican values began dominating the educational system, and prior to this domination was to make students understand China's position since 1911 which was completely different from the past. In 1912, Imperial University of China was officially changed its name to Peking University, and it was the first national university among Chinese history. The academic circle rose from Peking University, as the dominant group setting out to reform Chinese culture, in order to "save the nation(jiuguo救國)" from the weakness when Western imperialism has plunged into the country.⁴⁵ Another way to emphasize the republican value was to replace the curriculum inherited from the Qing period. To reach this purpose, the Commercial Press(Shangwu Yinshuguan商務印書館), the China Bookstore began publishing new textbooks even before the collapse of the Qing Dynasty. A group of editors from Commercial Press established China Bookstore Publishing Company(Zhonghua Shuju中華書局), marked as a capstone of publishing textbooks. In 1912, the new Ministry of Education prohibited all use of old textbooks from the late Qing, and the Commercial Press soon updated its textbook with a cover of the "Republican Series."⁴⁶ This action brought the competition of other book publishers such as World Bookstore(Shijie shuju世界書局) and the Enlightenment Bookstore(Kaiming shudian開明書店) to publish different versions of the textbooks designated for the Republic teaching curriculum. This competition indicated that China's publisher of textbooks began recognizing the 1911 revolution as an

⁴³ Paul Bailey. *Reform the People: Changing attitudes towards popular education in early 20th-century China*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press. 1991. 81.

⁴⁴ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 27.

⁴⁵ Forster, *1919*, 27.

⁴⁶ Forster, *1919*, 27.

opportunity, and so they followed the nation's policies to rewrite textbooks for adapting the new curriculum in the Republic era. The essential school structure from lower primary school to middle school in this period is shown in Table 4 and Table 5 as follows.⁴⁷

Lower primary schools, grade 1-4(22-29 hours/week)	Hours
Chinese	10-14
Arithmetics	5-6
Self-cultivation	2
Handicrafts	1-2
Art	1-2
Singing and PE	4
Higher primary schools, grade 5-7(30-32 hours/week)	
Chinese	8-10
Mathematics	4
History and geography	3-4
Science	2
Handicrafts	1-2
Art	1-2
Self-cultivation	2
Singing	2
PE	3
Agriculture/needlework	2-4

Table 4

⁴⁷ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. Ed., 20 *Shiji*, 66-67, 70-71, 98, 103-104.

Middle schools, grade 8-11(33-35 hours/week)	Hours
Chinese	5-7
Foreign Language	5-8
History	2
Geography	2
Mathematics	3-5
Sciences	3-6
Art	1-2
Self-cultivation	1
Handicrafts	1
Music	1
PE	2-3

Table 5

Compared with the curriculum before 1910, the post-1910 curriculum had little modification. One notable change was that foreign languages which used to start teaching in middle school had begun offering in higher primary schools. Besides the addition of foreign languages, mathematics courses were introduced in higher primary school, and middle schools. Arithmetic was no longer an independent course besides in lower primary schools, but integrated into the mathematics curriculum. Handicrafts also became an independent course in all three stages of schooling, and singing was separated from art courses in primary school, and was integrated in music during middle school. Generally, compared to the curriculum in the pre-republic period, the new curriculum abandoned classical learning and increased focus on mathematics, art studies, and foreign language learning. By comparing two tables of two

education systems before 1911 and post 1911, China's education system was experiencing reform from a private and classical focused curriculum to a liberal, public focused curriculum in the transition from the Qing to the Republic government.

Meanwhile, political chaos rose after the 1911 revolution. Sun Yat-Sen handed the total governance of the republic government to Yuan Shikai in 1913, so Yuan became the president of China. The Republican political order collapsed almost as soon as it was created. Yuan Shikai, the military leader and Provisional President, assumed increasingly dictatorial powers, eventually proclaiming himself Emperor. The political experiment thus failed. Intellectuals and education reformers subsequently split along two lines. There were the "liberals" who wished to repair the bleeding republican political system by focusing on long-term and gradualist solutions, and "radicals" who favored direct political street protests and the mobilization of students, workers, and women.⁴⁸ However, one sense of education that both intellectual groups agreed with was the importance of promoting citizenship education that would enable people to truly determine their own fates under the country that still needs revolutions.⁴⁹ This sense eventually led to one important educational philosophy of a nationalism citizenship based education which I discuss later in chapter four.

From the 1840s to early 1910s, China's general cultural, educational, and ideological reform went to the climax. From the Self-Strengthening Movement to the Xin Hai Revolution, China's education system experienced from reform to revolution. Educators began to reflect and criticize the schools for their isolation from society and their excessive scholasticism under the impact of the New Culture Movement.⁵⁰ Chen Duxiu, working as the Dean of the Peking

⁴⁸ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 31.

⁴⁹ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 31.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

University, made a speech in Nankai University(南開大學) to criticize the problem of the education system since the late Qing as well as early republican era. He casted two questions on reflecting education reforms: why everyone must have opportunities to get educated and why China's education must learn from Western nations. For the first question, Chen argued that education should be accessible to the public by using a simile of using wood to make different tools, believing that human's perfectness is always reachable regardless whether a person is literate or illiterate.⁵¹ Chen was doubtful about whether the Westernized education system is completely beneficial to China's education system, and he did not agree with a group of Western scholars claiming that education is not working on everyone because of people's distinction depending on their intelligence and morality. Chen hopes China's education system could reach most publics, to increase citizens' general knowledge and national qualities, and even an illiterate person could also become a well-educated person through appropriate pedagogy. From the late Qing to the early Republican period, China has been adapting Western education curriculum. Chen Duxiu, for his second question, argued that China's civilization, economic development, and ideology were falling behind the Western nations.⁵² He found that China's national power, even economy, still could not catch up Western nations in the early 20th century. Chen also criticized about Chinese education system that the Civil Service Examination System caused whether traditional academy that taught classics of new schools that taught Western thinkings kept teaching either classics that no longer kept up the pace of modernization or a limited amount of foreign humanities and sciences textbooks; such teachings were still far away from Chinese schools understanding the essence of Western education.⁵³ He also stated that the

⁵¹ Chen Duxiu, *Jindai Xiyang Jiaoyu*. Xin Qingnian: Er Shi Shiji Zui Juyou Yingxianglide Zhongguo Minkan(New Youth: The most influential magazine in 20th century China), 1st ed. Beijing. Zhongguo Shudian, 2011. 324.

⁵² Chen, *Jindai Xiyang*, 324-325.

⁵³ Chen, *Jindai Xiyang*, 325.

underlying philosophy of Western education is to actively pursue learning rather than passive instilling education, to be life related rather than over sacred, and to be whole-body education rather than sole-brain education.⁵⁴ Chen Duxiu's speech in Nankai University marked the self-reflection for educators about the general situation of Chinese education from the late Qing dynasty to the early 1910s education, and it also served as a bedrock for another essential educational principle of the Republic of China—an individualism, independent-thinking based, and self-actualization based education, which I further discuss in chapter two.

⁵⁴ Chen, *Jindai Xiyang*, 325.

Chapter 2: Reform of Culture, Literature, and Interpretation of Traditional Philosophy

Culture is inherently political and as there were changes in political institutions there were also transformations in culture. However, with the demise of the Qing Dynasty, this inherited culture led to the product when approaching 1919—the New Culture Movement. Intellectuals during what Vera Schwarz has called China Enlightenment aimed to forsake the arbitrary nature of the examination system , and establish a national identity that differed from the Qing period.⁵⁵ From the transition into a republic state, the Chinese ministry of education declared its reform on the education system from civil service examination based to a liberal . Intellectual's effort in a radical break of the education system made the early republic's education system totally distinct from that in the late Qing period. It is undoubtedly that the Republic education system originated from the Westernized schools since the abolishing of civil service examinations in 1904 and the later New Policies of education mandated prior to 1911. China's educational change was not only experiencing ideological and political reforms in the 20th century, but wrapped up in a larger cultural transformation. This chapter builds on what I've already discussed, but widens the aperture to take a larger look at the ways in which intellectuals began to articulate a new Chinese culture. One important objective is exploring how what's happening post-1915 builds on the reforms of new policies in education.

Curriculum Reform from 1917 to 1925

Chen Duxiu's speech at Nankai University in 1917 argued that Chinese education should focus on learning from the core values such as autonomous and active learning from Western education system. Under his appeal, intellectuals declared reforms in culture during the late

⁵⁵ Schwarz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 3.

1910s, establishing a new education system that was different from early 1910s.⁵⁶ Reform of schooling became the next step for Chinese education reform since the founding of the Republic. Chinese education circles entered modification progress by intellectuals who had Westernized education backgrounds. Most students coming back from American universities began promoting school reforms.⁵⁷ Western educators also began their journey in China to spread their thinking followed by Chinese international students returning to their homeland. American educator John Dewey toured China for two years between 1919 and 1921, and he had a brief lecture series as a visiting professor.⁵⁸ Intellectuals, such as Hu Shi(胡適) who studied with Dewey in Columbia University before 1917, learned deeply from Dewey, promoted Dewey's educational philosophy, and increased Dewey's popularity through his extended lecture tours in China. Dewey spoke on political theory, science, and philosophy, but above all on education. He also explained one significant philosophy of education for life and education for self, which will be further discussed in Chapter three. Dewey's ideology led to a new consensus on school reform approved by the presidential office in 1922, and the ministry of education also mandated new curriculums for primary school, lower middle school, and higher middle school based on Dewey's ideology. Table 6, 7, and 8 list the idealized curriculum reformers drawn from Dewey's visit.⁵⁹

Primary schools, grade 1-6(approximately 24 hours/week)	Hours
Chinese	6-8
Arithmetic	2-3

⁵⁶ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 31.

⁵⁷ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 32.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, ed., *20 shiji*, vol. 12, 105-107., Zarrow, *Educating China*, 33.

Society(hygiene, civics, history, geography)	4-6
General science & gardening	2-4
Handicrafts	1-3
Art	1-2
Music	1-2
PE	1-3

Table 6

Lower middle schools, grade 7-9(approximately 30 hours/week)	Hours
Society(civics, history, geography)	4
Languages(Chinese, foreign language)	12
Mathematics	5
Sciences	2.5
Arts(art, handicrafts, music)	2
PE(physiology, exercise)	2.5
Optional courses and prep	2+

Table 7

Higher middle schools, grade 10-12(approximately 30 hours/week)	Hours
Chinese	4
Foreign language	4
Life Philosophy	1
Social problems and social sciences	1-2
Cultural history	2-3
Sciences, math, logic	3-6

PE(hygiene, health, exercise)	2-3
Optional courses and prep	10+

Table 8

According to the table above, the major concentration on Republic school curriculum was the concentration on science courses as well as social studies courses. Higher middle school introduced the “cultural history” course distinct from primary and lower middle schools. The New Culture Movement brought significant influence on defining the “culture.” From 1919 to 1925, intellectuals’ re-identification of Chinese culture between inherited Confucianism-based traditions and “democracy and science” modernized culture. Therefore, the emphasis of teaching “cultural” history was the product under the cultural transition during the movement, cultivating students to identify traditional Chinese culture while learning the “new culture.” Foreign language courses remained the same hours as Chinese courses. PE not only taught health and exercise as two main portions, but the reform from self-cultivation to civic courses in 1923 also brought hygiene as part of physical education.

New Episteme & Framework of Thinking about New Terms

Culture, or wenhua(文化), was a classical term meaning the “transformation by civilized patterns” used by Meiji-period Japanese to translate the Western concept.⁶⁰ Advocating culture, society(shehui社会), and science(kexue科学) became the major objective of the curriculum. Culture was an analytical concept. In 1871, British anthropologist E.B. Tylor defined culture as “a complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society”.⁶¹ Culture was an abstract

⁶⁰ Zarrow, *China in War*, 128.

⁶¹ Leon J. Goldstein, “On Defining Culture.” *American Anthropologist* 59, no. 6. 1957. 1075.

concept, but it covered everything related to the composition of a society. However, ancient China had already identified the term culture. Liu Xiang(劉向), the pioneer of Chinese Bibliography in the West Han Dynasty, made a statement governing the country.

The rise of military action is due to non-compliance; without altering the culture, then punishment is added. (凡武之興，為不服也，文化不改，然後加誅)

Liu Xiang directly used the term “culture” to explain his suggestion of educating the public in the approach to culture, from belief to art and to custom. Comparing Liu’s emphasis of culture to Tylor’s statement, both of them emphasized the term that culture was the core that establishes a collective identity of a society. For China’s modernization, the term culture was introduced in The Ministry of Education mandated the curricular reform during the 1920s aimed to put new pedagogical ideas into practice, therefore resulting in the abolishment of self-cultivation course to civic course which focused more on “philosophy of life” and “social problems” in higher middle school.⁶² The plethora of subjects combined into six main categories: society, language, mathematics, science, art, and PE.⁶³ Reviewing the Table 3 above, cultural history, social problems, social science, and life philosophy could be recognized as the society category. Courses in this category took up almost half of the curriculum in higher middle school.

The concept “society” was significant in Chinese intellectual life. Late Qing had a strict social hierarchy from the emperor to the ministers and then to citizens. The term “society” was a general term that describes the social hierarchy. However, this term was a neologism to Chinese intellectuals. In late 19th century, when Yan Fu was translation Spencer’s *Study of Sociology*, he

⁶² Zarrow, *Educating China*, 34.

⁶³ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, ed., *20 shiji Zhongguo* vol.12, 108-115.

initially translated sociology as “collective studies(qunxue群学),” which meant the study of collective groups. But after 1900, the Chinese translation of “society” turned to Japanese term Shakai(しゃかい社会), which became “shehui(社会).”⁶⁴ Japanese translated Shakai from the English term “Society” during the Meiji Restoration, originally from *Study of Sociology*.⁶⁵ In 1903, Late Qing reformist Liang Qichao(梁啟超), in his published work *Xin Erya*(新爾雅), defined society as the composition of two and more people’s life, was named as collective group(qun群), and also named as society.⁶⁶ Since the publication of *Xin Erya*, Liang officially suggested using the word shehui to define society. In the late Qing, society emphasized the organic unity of the nation, but the early Republic suggested society as a less hierarchical and more integrated entity in contradistinction to the state.⁶⁷ Therefore, society was a neologism that was originally introduced from foreign culture in the late 19th century.

The Republic regime aimed to create a nationalist and democracy-based society without strict social hierarchy. The term society here also changed its nature to a collective citizen community. Chinese educators aimed to teach the umbrella category of “society” through topical units such as the past history under foreign powers’ invasion, stories of citizens, and the lives of primitive people.⁶⁸ Primitive people here were necessarily referred to people living in the past. However, the concentration of teaching the lives of primitive people and stories of citizens were already introduced by a few intellectuals in the late 1900s. Historian Liu Shiwei(劉師培), the focus of chapter four, initially wrote the first modernized history textbook called *Chinese History Textbook* in 1904 when the civil service examination system was abolished. His style of writing

⁶⁴ Zhang Xiaojun, Rang shehui you wenhua(Let Society Have Culture). *Qinghua Shehuixue Pinglun*.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Liang Qichao, *Xin Erya*.

⁶⁷ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 34.

⁶⁸ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, ed., *20 shiji Zhongguo* vol. 12, 137-138.

history was distinct from ancient historical writing due to the concentration on cultural and lives of primitive publics. Liu's new concentration of Chinese social studies and history initiated the path of Chinese education emphasizing on teaching the history of citizens, or more specifically, the nation(minzu). Both Liu Shipei's contribution to modern Chinese history education and the concentration of nationalism education will be further discussed in Chapter four. From culture to society, they were both new epistemes and frameworks that supported the modernization of Chinese society as well as the reform of education. Combining ancient Chinese values, Western interpretation, as well as Japanese's understanding, both terms also led intellectuals to further investigate the ways of defining new culture compared to the inherited culture from imperial China.

Defining “New Culture”

In 1914, Huang Xing(黃興), Sun Yat-sen's former colleague, raised funds for a loosely organized group of intellectuals seeking for national consensus in support for constitutionalism and resisting the remaining imperialist power in China.⁶⁹ This group's members, including Chen Duxiu, Chen Jiongming(陳炯明), and Cai Yuanpei(蔡元培), concluded that the Xin Hai Revolution had only produced dictatorship and chaos against the Chinese imperial regime.⁷⁰ But the Republic government's corruption and tyranny was a symptom of the deeper morbidity—Chinese Culture.⁷¹ Whether Yuan Shikai's attempt to re-establish monarchy after becoming the president of China or Zhang Xun's(張勳) attempt to revive Manchu's regime in the 1910s revealed the Republic government's symptom that the thinking and cultural awareness

⁶⁹ Zarrow, *China in War*, 127.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Ibid.

inherited from imperial China remained among Chinese society and even rulers. In other words, Chinese culture and society were fundamentally repressive despite the fall of the Qing dynasty, and mere political change would only scratch the surface of China's problem as long as these were not attacked at the root.⁷² Intellectuals discovered the issue that a reform in Chinese culture was required for Republic society's modernization and the total-abolishment of inherited traditions and mind from the Qing empire. Therefore, they made the commitment to contribute to China's modernization in culture as the priority goal.

By the 1920s, the concept of "culture" became a popular term among intellectuals. In Japan, Meiji Restoration suggested a Westernized movement that brought Japan into a modernized empire. The term culture identified the transformation between Japanese and Western civilized patterns, specifically in changing people's daily life styles such as costumes, diet, etiquette, etc. More deeply in ideology, Educator Fukuzawa Yukichi(福沢諭吉) proposed the necessity of pursuit of knowledge and virtue for individuals to shape humanity as an ideology learned from Western civilization. His philosophy of education also impacted Chinese intellectuals in seeking new principles of education. Culture recognized how the livelihoods and lifestyles of citizens transformed. This transformation became significant for intellectuals' commitment to cure the problem in Chinese society. In 1919, before the New Culture Movement, Zhang Boling(張柏嶺), the principal of Nankai University, hosted the construction of the college classrooms which was completed in September. During the construction, Zhang claimed that the Nankai University was born from China's calamity, so its purpose was to reform old habits of life and to train youth for the salvation of the country.⁷³ Therefore, as the revolutionary journal

⁷² Zarrow, *China in War*, 127.

⁷³ Sun E-tu Zen, "The Growth of the Academic Community, 1912-1914" in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 13, Republic China, part 2. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986. 373.

New Youth published, 1915 marked the beginning of mainstream intellectuals coming to the same conclusion that the path reform lay through changing young minds.⁷⁴ The product of this commitment was the New Culture Movement. It marketed an even wider variety of competing agendas, which includes topics like popular education and the national language that had existed before 1919.⁷⁵ This movement marked the beginning of Chinese society embracing the modernization in culture and civic living patterns that differed from Imperial China. During the New Culture Movement, there were several perspectives of “new culture” that impacted Chinese education. Next section will specifically address each perspective and discuss how they have impacted Chinese education since 1919.

Entering 1919, the New Culture Movement followed the principles of *Democracy and Science* to construct new cultures. Chen Duxiu promoted Western values in the names of “Mr. Democracy(德先生)” and “Mr. Science(赛先生).”⁷⁶ But on the other hand, he criticized Western nationalism and elitist social systems because he did not encourage Chinese society retrieving social hierarchy as part of the nationalism. In contrast, his written work in *New Youth* urged Chinese youth to be independent, progressive, masculine, open-minded, practical, and scientific, rather than servile, conservative, retiring, close-minded, formalistic, or superstitious.⁷⁷ Chen’s objective was to encourage youth to become self-aware to reach their target through independent learning, which is a crucial perspective in his self-actualization-based educational philosophy. As leaders among the New Culture Movement, Chen and other intellectuals proposed several reforms that could define “new culture” distinct from Qing society while demonstrating the

⁷⁴ Zarrow, *China in War*, 128.

⁷⁵ Forster, *1919*, 3.

⁷⁶ Zarrow, *China in War*, 133.

⁷⁷ Zarrow, *China in War*, 133.

transformation of civilized pattern into modernization—the overthrow of inherited Chinese traditions and the advocacy of vernacular Chinese language and literature.

The Overthrow of Inherited Chinese Tradition

The New Culture Movement was not the first modernized attack on Confucianism and its traditions. Prior to 1911, Tan Sitong condemned both the monarchy and the “three bonds” from Confucianism. Anarchists also demanded that modern science replace traditional religion.⁷⁸ During the Xin Hai Revolution, reformer Zhang Taiyan(章太炎) had begun attacking Confucianism for monopolizing Chinese learning.⁷⁹ As China became modernized, the collapse of monarchy became inevitable, Confucianism, as the dominating school of philosophy in imperial China, was recognized as “pedantic” culture by reformers and intellectuals. But the New Culture Movement powerfully attacked Confucianism, and intellectuals and their students aimed to remove much of the glory from the traditional high culture.⁸⁰ Intellectuals’ attitudes of a total overthrowing Confucianism indicated their purpose of creating a new civic identity of Chinese nation differed from imperial China.

Starting from 1917, Chen Duxiu and his colleagues’ investigation of human rights, science, and democracy began. Under Western and Japanese philosophers and educators’ thinking, such as John Dewey and Fukuzawa Yukichi, intellectuals took stand for seeking science, human rights, and democracy, and this move also opposed to Confucianism, traditionalism, and what they called “the dictatorship” of ancient cultures inherited from Imperial China. Historian Chen Weiping argued that the New Culture Movement aimed to criticize

⁷⁸ Zarrow, *China in War*, 139.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Zarrow, *China in War*, 139.

ancient monarchical despotism and reach the goal of rebuilding the foundation of a new culture by clearing away “dregs” in traditional culture.⁸¹ Indeed, Chen Duxiu and his supporters linked Confucianism to “feudalism(fengjian zhuyi封建主义)”, and identified this inherited tradition as immoral and backwardness.⁸² On the other hand, Chen Duxiu addressed that the reason for overthrowing Confucianism was also because the New Culture Movement itself was to culturally and spiritually modernize China while the Xin Hai Revolution modernized politically. Political Scientist Gao Yihan(高一涵) also argued that Chinese people already knew full well how to carry out a revolution in political institutions; they do not yet know how to carry out a revolution in political spirit and educational principles.⁸³ The New Culture Movement’s objective in anti-Confucianism mobilized the revolution of Chinese culture from the imperial regime.

Indeed, while Confucianism was the major study of Qing’s education system, its ideology has dominated Chinese society for about one thousand years. However, Confucianism had been tied to the imperial state for much longer, approximately two millennia. During the New Culture Movement, scholar Yi Baisha(易白沙) wrote the article *Kongzi Pingyi*(Critiques of Confucius孔子评议), soon published in *New Youth*, as one representational article in the anti-Confucianism movement. He argued that since Western Han period, Dong Zhongshu(董仲舒) marked Confucianism as the sole school of philosophy, so Confucianism began its domination and even monopoly of Chinese schools of philosophy in both politics and society.⁸⁴ Yi also criticized Confucius’ in four issues that would hinder China’s modernization. The first issue was Confucius and his ideologies’ unlimited respect to the emperor and the royal authority, which would lead to

⁸¹ Chen Weiping, “An Analysis of Anti-Traditionalism in the New Culture Movement.” *Social Sciences in China* 38, no. 2, 2017. 176.

⁸² Zarrow, *China in War*, 134.

⁸³ Jerome Griender. *Intellectuals and the State in Modern China*, Free Press. 1983. 225-226.

⁸⁴ Yi Baisha, *Kongzi Pingyi*, Xin Qingnian, 384.

the autocracy of the state.⁸⁵ The second issue was Confucius' prohibition in asking questions or doubting, which would lead to the autocracy of thinking while ignoring the variety of philosophies.⁸⁶ The third issue was Confucius' lack of specificity, which is easy for people to misuse.⁸⁷ The fourth issue was Confucius' emphasis on how to become an official but ignored on how to fulfill the mundane needs of common citizens, which will make people become feeble.⁸⁸ All four issues Yi stated in his work served the purpose of enlightening Chinese publics to respectively be independent rather than to be the tool of others, be thinking critically and inclusive rather than isolate, be self-awareness rather than unconsciously follow others' opinions, and be utilitarian rather than solely seeking for formulaic success. Therefore, the anti-Confucianism movement was not only the method of overthrowing the tradition that no longer kept pace of China's modernization, but was also an educational process of reminding new youths to reach their full potential in become self-awareness to reach their target through independent learning, which corresponded to Chen's objective during the New Culture Movement. In terms of discussing the educational philosophy of self-actualization, chapter three addresses deeper in analyzing how Yi's interpretation of Confucianism aligned with this philosophy inspired from global educators.

Advocation of Vernacular Chinese Language and Literature

Classical language was an inherited tradition as well during the New Culture Movement. In the past two thousand years' imperial period, literary Chinese(wenyan文言) was the major way of communications. In other words, wenyan was recognized as a sacred language before the

⁸⁵ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 385.

⁸⁶ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 386.

⁸⁷ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 387.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

popularity of vernacular Chinese. Similarly, in medieval Western Europe, Latin was the only language taught because it was the official language of Christianity among Europe.⁸⁹ Due to the superior power of Christianity, its language was also recognized as sacred and even became the sole language to study. Similarly, wenyan was the official language communicated between officials and the Emperor, its sacredness also remained in China even in post-imperial China. During the New Culture Movement, vernacular Chinese, or baihua(白话), was introduced and advocated by intellectuals as the major Chinese language substituting literary Chinese. Historian Eugene Weber explained the similar language movement as the social function that permits members of a society to understand each other.⁹⁰ A similar example of Weber's statement was after the French Revolution, the center and southern France developed a series of compromises between official or school French on one hand and the local speech on the other—buffers between patois and French, which drew on both language and applied the structure and the accent of patois to French.⁹¹ The new French mixture language was recognized as *meteil*, and it performed the significant role of vernacular language to represent the local reality in France. The purpose of the *meteil* language aimed to establish communication between officials, peasants, and all types of citizens in France under the modernization impact of the French Revolution. Turning back to China, baihua had the similar function as *meteil* did to become an universal language to communicate between different classes of Chinese people.

However, I must clarify that baihua was not invented by an individual or a group of people but an evolution of language through history. Prior to 1917, Hu Shi returned to China

⁸⁹ Benedict Anderson. *Imagined Communities: Reflections On the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Revised ed. London: Verso, 2016. 18.

⁹⁰ Eugene Weber. *Peasants into Frenchmen : The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 1976. 89-90.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

with a call for the “improvement of literature,” and his call was the first well-thought-out proposal for vernacular written language.⁹² Hu believed that the classical literary Chinese copied through generations from earlier texts and layered with allusion and erudition, so such language was distant from ordinary speech.⁹³ In other words, Hu worried that the traditional literary language made communication less accessible for most Chinese citizens. Literary Chinese was mostly used by elites whether in late imperial China or early Republic period. But to let more people communicate in an easier-communicating language, vernacular’s nature of direct speech and simple grammar brought people from different communities together through communication. Hu Shi’s proposal of vernacular language launched the “vernacular movement(白话文运动),” and it grew to form the core of a new Chinese culture while replacing inherited classical language. But on the other hand, even vernacular language was not a completely unified language. While vernacular movement was a significant step to create a relatively easier language to communicate, there were many types of vernaculars in various Chinese regions while the concept of mandarin(putonghua普通话) was yet to exist in early 20th century China. In 1923, Lin Yutang(林語堂), English professor of Peking University, returned to China from the United States and became a regular contributor to the weekly journal *Folksongs Weekly* from the end of 1923 to 1924.⁹⁴ As Folksong Movement began in late 1910s, led by scholars Liu Bannong and Zhou Zuoren, Lin figured out that the core of folksong, dialects(fangyan方言), should be further studies according to the methodologies of comparative linguistics.⁹⁵ Scholar Dong Zuobin(董作賓) defined fangyan as the “typical language spoken by the people of a certain

⁹² Zarrow, *China in War*, 135.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Gina Anne Tam. *Dialect and Nationalism in China, 1860–1960*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. 121-122.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

place.”⁹⁶ From scholars’ effort in investigating the studies of fangyan, there were various vernacular Chinese languages that composed the larger scale of new Chinese languages—from sacred official language to various and local languages that represented the culture of different Chinese regions.

One notable fact of social elites’ spoken language was that they still preferred literary Chinese in official communication, but they advocated public speaking vernacular language. One significant example was Yan Xishan(閻錫山), the warlord of Shanxi Province. He originally received a classical education but then joined a military academy, which soon pushed him forward to become a warlord.⁹⁷ Yan began his reform in Shanxi Province during the New Culture Movement by hiring foreign-educated professors, establishing science courses at Shanxi University, recommending basic four-year education for all children and building “people’s schools,” as well as promoting women’s education.⁹⁸ Besides his contribution to Shanxi province corresponding to New Culture Movements’ principle, Yan supported using a “phonetic spelling” system in vernacular newspapers and government documents that recognized publics as audience.⁹⁹ In Yan’s opinions, despite the fact that he himself used literary Chinese due to his elite position, it was better to issue documents in baihua rather than in literary Chinese, and better yet to talk to the people directly in simple words.¹⁰⁰ The advocacy of vernacular Chinese aimed to ensure most citizens read, write, and to communicate in a relatively easier and accessible way. Similarly, Hu Shi’s proposal of advocating vernacular Chinese was written in literary Chinese, but this was his concern that people he wanted to reach might not take the

⁹⁶ Tam, *Dialect and Nationalism*, 122.

⁹⁷ Forster, *1919*, 51.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Forster, *1919*, 52.

¹⁰⁰ Yan Xishan. *Shanxi sheng zhengfu shi Shilou zhishi han*.

vernacular essay seriously.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, Hu urged writers to be unambiguous, direct, and unpretentious, and vernacular Chinese could achieve all three criteria.¹⁰² Therefore, Chinese elites still believed that the popularity of baihua required more time to spread among the entire Chinese society, while literary language maintained its sophistication in official communication. Vernacular Chinese widespread indicated the power of the written word would filter down into society and most public life, through simple schooling instead of years of mastering sacred texts.¹⁰³ From youth to peasants, vernacular Chinese let their communication and interpersonal connection become more accessible and easier in reading and writing, eventually transforming Chinese citizens into cultural-modernized citizens.

May Fourth Movement and Literature Reform

Under the influence of both anti-Confucianism and the vernacular movement, Chinese vernacular literature began flourishing during the New Culture Movement. Most of this literature also addressed the existing problems of inherited traditions that will hinder China's modernization while advocating nationalism and independent thinking as two major education philosophies. Meanwhile, the May Fourth Movement also promoted Chinese nations' belief in nationalism and patriotism. Literature also incorporated the topic into their authors' expression as a propaganda of saving the country.

After the failure of Germany during World War I, it lost its territories in Shandong province, which the conqueror was recognized by intellectuals as "national humiliation" from Qing. However, the Treaty of Versailles transferred both countries' right to Japan instead of

¹⁰¹ Zarrow, *China in War*, 136.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

returning its sovereignty to the Chinese government, which failed most citizens' expectations. On the other hand, working as a Qing official and the aide of Yuan Shikai, Cao Rulin led Zhang Zongxiang and Lu Huixiang conducted their negotiations with Japan over Twenty-one Demands(二十一条) since 1915, resulting their agreement to lend Shandong to Japan, which also raised the anger of Chinese publics. Protests against Japanese governance in Shandong began spreading from Beijing to regions around China, and from students to workers and businessmen.¹⁰⁴ Eventually, approximately 3000 students burned Cao's house and arrested Zhang who was working as China's ambassador to Japan. But this protest in Beijing also caused 32 students to be arrested and one death. May Fourth Movement was a large scale of advocating nationalism and patriotism, especially Chinese writers recognized it as the awakening of China through modernization and reform.

Among writers during the New Culture Movement, Lu Xun(鲁迅), in an article from his essay collection *Na Han*(Call To Arms呐喊), described the situation in China in as an indestructible iron house without any window.¹⁰⁵ Dying in sleep inside this house will not feel the pain of death, but if several people were raised to break the house, there would still be hope to destroy it.¹⁰⁶ Lu recognized these "several people" as protesters during the May Fourth Movement who expressed their hope of saving the nation through protecting the national sovereignty, despite these people were not strong enough to defeat invasive powers. Lu Xun frequently used metaphors to implicitly depict the scene of China in revolution, and his writings used these metaphors as ironic comment to use pessimism and detachment to the revolutionary stance, a way distinct from culturally supporting the new hope of reforming China.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Zarrow, *China in War*, 148.

¹⁰⁵ Lu Xun, *Na Han*(Call to Arms).

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Zarrow, *China in War*, 150.

Besides supporting China's reform to demonstrate Lu Xun's patriotism, he also used his satirical writing style to criticize inherited ancient culture during the New Culture Movement. In his novel *Kuangren Riji* (A Mad Man's Diary 狂人日记), Lu Xun depicted a Chinese family with an entire 4000-years inherited tradition—eating people. *Kuangren Riji* was officially the first Chinese literature written in the vernacular language. He believed that many inherited traditions such as filial piety would harm youth and was meaningless to achieve the authentic Chinese virtues. The underlying meaning of eating people was “prosecuting and harming” people, especially those who proposed changing their thinking and overthrowing Chinese ancient culture during the 1910s. The Mad Man in the story opened the history archive without the period. He found all pages were written by the character “Benevolence, Ways, Duty, and Moral (Ren Dao Yi De 仁道义德).”¹⁰⁸ The four virtues mentioned above were the key evidence of the New Culture Movement's purpose of overthrowing traditional values and turning them into new thinking from Western regions or enhancing traditional values that fit the social norms. But combining the interpretation of scholars' view towards inherited traditions, these four values obfuscated the violence at the heart of the old order. The Mad Man recognized that those people were also about to eat him.¹⁰⁹ Eating People's origin was a way of filial piety from Song Dynasty—cutting flesh from leg to cure parents (gegu liaoqin 割股疗亲). In Republic China, such tradition was recognized as piety. Lu Xun modified this tradition from cutting flesh from legs to contributing the entire body to fulfill the duty and moral perspectives of a “foolish” filial piety. The word “Eating People” revealed that the so-called virtues were gradually prosecuting the Chinese public. Lu Xun conveyed his message of recognizing traditional culture as the opposite side from

¹⁰⁸ Lu Xun. *Kuangren Riji* (A Mad Man's Story).

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

intellectuals, further solidifying his position against traditional values during the New Culture Movement.

In *A Mad Man's Story*, Lu Xun emphasized that the major problem of inherited tradition was that the culture inherited from the past that solidified the social norms. He believed that such tradition will not be a right path to insist anymore. The mad man in the story was asked by a twenty-year-old man to eat people, but he refused. This young man therefore told the mad man that eating people has always been the rule of their community. “Just because it has always been so, does it mean it's right?”¹¹⁰ Said the mad man. This quote was not only the central thought of the mad man, but also Lu Xun's attitude towards the inherited culture that lasted for thousands of years. Lu Xun's critiques, compared to Yi Baisha and other scholars, implicitly address his question of whether Chinese publics always have to follow the traditional culture even if it no longer pushes forward China's enlightenment in education or modernization in culture. Under the New Culture Movement, *A Mad Man's Story* achieved the enlightenment purpose of promoting more Chinese citizens to realize the modernization of culture requires overthrowing cultures that hindered the modernization. The most important class of publics—as the last sentence of the story mentioned—was Chinese youth learners: Save the Child(救救孩子).¹¹¹ Lu Xun's voice from *A Mad Man's Story* made his consent of implicitly educating more youth learners of pursuing enlightenment and knowledge, as well as escaping from the traps of inherited traditions.

A Mad Man's Story was soon included in the *Na Han* collections, and all essays in this collection were written in vernacular Chinese. *A Mad Man's Story* was the first essay of Lu

¹¹⁰ Lu, *Kuangren Riji*.

¹¹¹ Lu, *Kuangren Riji*.

Xun's objective—overthrowing inherited cultures as well as eliminating the bedrock of feudalistic ideologies. This story identified most of Lu Xun's future writings, such as *Blessing*(Zhufu祝福) which also revealed the prosecution of inherited culture by depicting the tragedy of Xianglin Sao. Lu Xun's effort in saving the Chinese nation chose the path of literature. His satirical language not only criticized the problem of inherited culture from imperial China, but also implicitly enlightened Chinese nations to be responsible for strengthening the country through reforms. During the on-going enlightenment and modernization movement toward culture, Intellectuals declared modification of culture from multiple perspectives: curriculum, literature, language, and inherited cultures. All these perspectives were interconnected, and they all promoted the reform of education embracing new cultures and Chinese identities.

Chapter 3: Be Autonomous: The Philosophy of Independent and Self-Actualized Education

In the 1917 speech at Nankai University, Chen Duxiu criticized the existing Westernized schools for not grasping the essence of authentic Western education.¹¹² He claimed that if China's education system needed to grasp Western education philosophy thoroughly, it was essential to let educators enlighten students to learn instead of instilling knowledge without thinking process.¹¹³ Chen also encourages students to be autonomous rather than passive in receiving knowledge.¹¹⁴ Among the educational reforms in China since the demise of the imperial system, Western education's enlightenment and self-actualization of knowledge were interpreted and advocated by Chinese intellectuals. Intellectuals recognized Western education and philosophy as modernized and enlightened ways of cultivating individuals. From the curriculum textbook and the cultural and ideological reform, individualism and self-autonomous objectives have also been incorporated since the founding of the Republic of China. Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Cai Yuanpei, and abundant intellectuals began absorbing Western learning and combined it with China's national conditions to create new education philosophies. In re-thinking the question "What is education" during the revolution period, Western scholars also guided Chinese intellectuals' path of educational reform. This chapter concentrates on one new philosophy—self-actualization as the objective of China's new, modern education system. I focus on Chen Duxiu's theories about education policies—realism and national masculinity—to investigate how and why his theories provided the foundation for self-actualization. This chapter then analyzes how Chinese intellectuals critically revisited those aspects of traditional Chinese culture that they found

¹¹² Chen Duxiu. *Jindai Xiyang Jiaoyu*(Modern Western Education), Xin Qingnian, 324.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

hindering individuals' independent and critical thinking. Finally, I discuss how pedagogy and curricula were manifested to align with the core philosophy of self-actualization.

Before going into the central discussion of self-actualization, it is necessary to clarify how Chinese intellectuals defined what “Western(Xiyang 西洋)” is. From the flourishing of the Western school system under the Self-Strengthening Movement to the Ministry of Education's modification of the curricula in the Republican Period, the Chinese school system was part of global mass schooling.¹¹⁵ This school system began spreading in Western Europe, the United States, and Britain in the early 19th century.¹¹⁶ On the other hand, intellectuals usually used the word *Euro-America*(欧美) or *British-America*(英美) as an integrated pronoun of Western nations. Therefore, Western European countries and the United States were generally recognized as “Western” nations. As a representative journal focused on modernization and revolution in the Republic period, *New Youth*'s articles frequently mentioned education policies and philosophies from Germany, France, Britain, Italy, and the United States, all grouped under the broad definition of “Western nations.” Philosophers and educators from these five countries contributed various modern education theories that inspired Chinese intellectuals' understanding of Western education and forwarded China's educational reform, which I concentrate on in the next section.

New Philosophy: Self-Actualization, Individualism, and Independence

Throughout the intellectuals' discovery of Western philosophy and their reflection on the education atmosphere in post-Qing China, they realized self-actualization as a guiding philosophy of Republic China's education. In the transition from the Qing to the Republican era,

¹¹⁵ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 11.

¹¹⁶ Francisco O Ramirez and John Boli, “The Political Construction of Mass Schooling: European Origins and Worldwide Institutionalization.” *Sociology of Education* 60, no. 1. 1987. 15.

the doctrine of self-actualization occurred from Western learning widespread in China. Educators and philosophers from Europe, the United States, and Japan contributed valuable ideologies to Chinese intellectuals. Self-actualization was defined as an intrinsic growth of what is already in the organism, or more accurately, of what is the organism itself.¹¹⁷ It stood at the top of Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, and it was beyond an individual's physical and mental demands, pursuing one's complete talents and potential. Self-actualization is motivated by a person's growth rather than their deficiency.¹¹⁸ In other words, people reach self-actualization because they've been seeking to grow up. Motivation is the critical factor that encourages learners to pursue what they need to learn to achieve goals, which is why autonomy is the prerequisite for self-actualization. Self-actualization's intrinsic growth identified that such a goal must originate from an individual's mindset. Individuals must recognize themselves as essential to have their minds growing up to fulfill their demands. Thus, individualism pushes people to seek their ultimate needs, eventually reaching self-actualization. When pursuing one's goal, a person must have unique and independent thinking, which will motivate their intrinsic growth in self-actualization.¹¹⁹ They must think critically about knowledge, facts, and other peoples' opinions to grow independent thinking. Therefore, independent and critical thinking abilities are necessary for reaching self-actualization. Whether in behavior or cognitive abilities, Chinese intellectuals tried to promote the idea that learners should equip themselves with a mindset toward independent thinking, an identity based on their interests, and a motivation toward self-autonomous learning.

¹¹⁷ Abraham Maslow. *Motivation and Personality*. Harper & Row, 2nd. Ed, 1954.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Maslow, *Motivation*.

Among intellectuals pursuing the goal of self-actualization, Chen Duxiu paid attention to investigating the education policies that would help achieve his hoped-for education objectives. In the late 1910s, with abundant learning from “Western” political, ideological, and educational cultures, Chen Duxiu proposed a new focus on China’s educational policies. He argued that China’s education system must focus on two policies: Realism and national masculinity, a gendered idea of individual and national strength that included the spirit of overcoming challenges. Realism refers to teaching based on the real-life experiences of this world rather than a sacred world. “National Masculinity” was closely related to Social Darwinism, emphasizing that education should cultivate students' courage and power to overcome challenges physically and mentally. As China urgently needed reform, Chen believed that these two perspectives were necessary to ensure China’s education would keep pace with the transformative changes of the Republican era. Among the two doctrines, Realism aims to teach learners to understand the “self” and their responsibilities of pursuing their goals in their lifetime. At the same time, national masculinity seeks to let learners have the power of will and ambition to achieve their personal goals. Both national masculinity and realism were necessary policies responding to the overall self-actualization objective, and they intended to overthrow “enslavement” in the post-monarchy society.

Nietzsche, Master Morality, and Independence

In the first article of *New Youth, A Message to Youths*(敬告青年), one of the doctrines Chen Duxiu expected of youth learners was to be autonomous rather than be enslaved.¹²⁰ He

¹²⁰ Chen Duxiu. *Jinggao Qingnian*(A Message to Youths). Xin Qingnian. 2.

recognized European history in the 19th century as “a history of liberation.”¹²¹ Chen specifically quoted from German philosopher Nietzsche, who distinguished morality into two categories: Morality of the Noble and Morality of the Slave.¹²² The morality of the Noble belongs to Nietzsche’s primary theory of Master morality, and nobility is the essence of it. Nietzsche believed that in master morality, people define “good” based on whether something benefits them and their pursuit of self-defined personal excellence.¹²³ Defining “good” did not need others’ approval but required strong willpower from the person himself. Therefore, Nietzsche’s theory of master morality correlated with what self-actualization emphasized—a spontaneous, independent, and intrinsic judgment of the ultimate excellence by the individual. Slave morality is opposed to the morality of nobility, and its essence is utility.¹²⁴ Utility did not seek to transcend to the masters of nobility, but it made weak people follow the influential people.¹²⁵ Slave morality brought pessimism and cynicism to the public. It made them followers and even slaves of people, which Chen hoped the youth of China would avoid—becoming slaves of others and losing their independence. Self-actualization was an explicit summary of Nietzsche’s doctrine between the morality of nobility and slaves. Chen Duxiu’s understanding of Nietzsche inspired him to design education policies to reach self-actualization as the ultimate goal of the Republic’s education system. If tracing back to Maslow’s definition of self-actualization, we can see that Nietzsche’s master morality’s ultimate purpose was to seek a person’s intrinsic value that defined them as a personal excellence. Nietzsche’s philosophy was central to the guiding mission of *New*

¹²¹ Chen, *Jinggao Qingnian*, 2.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Robert C. Solomon and Kathleen M Higgins. *What Nietzsche Really Said*. Schocken House, 2012. 111.

¹²⁴ Friedrich Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*. Part Two, 1886.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

Youth, and Chen expected new youths to have autonomous thinking and avoid becoming ideologically enslaved.

John Dewey and Realism

Chen Duxiu's discovery of Chinese education policies based on self-actualization philosophy and realism was one of the policies he stated in explaining the path of China's education, which corresponds to the perspective of understanding education beyond schooling and the meaning of life. Chen defined education in both a broad and narrow sense. Education from teachers and seniors in the school setting is the narrow sense.¹²⁶ But if standing on a broad sense, philosophies proposed by celebrities, analysis of an event from books and journal articles, family instruction, and experiences from traveling are all resources of broad education.¹²⁷ This statement aligned with American philosopher John Dewey's opinion towards education. Dewey argued that the importance of education was not only a place to gain content knowledge but also a place to learn how to live. In the book *Democracy and Education* by John Dewey, he posted a similar argument that education, in its broad sense, is the means of the social continuity of life, and experience forms the sense of this continuity.¹²⁸ John Dewey's philosophy of education as a continuity from life experiences impacted Chinese intellectuals in the early twentieth century. Although Hu Shi introduced him 1919 during the New Culture Movement, several Chinese intellectuals interpreted and analyzed Dewey's educational philosophies since the early 1910s.

Dewey discovered that there will be the notion that the material of formal instruction will be merely the subject matter of the schools, which is isolated from the subject matter of life

¹²⁶ Chen Duxiu. *Jinri Zhi Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, Xin Qingnian, 79.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

¹²⁸ John Dewey and Patricia H. Hinchey. *Democracy and Education by John Dewey: With a Critical Introduction by Patricia H. Hinchey*. Bloomfield: Myers Education Press, 2018. 4.

experience.¹²⁹ By connecting this statement to Chen Duxiu's argument, Chen emphasized that education is not limited to what was taught in school, and people are learning knowledge everywhere beyond schools. As for the broad sense of education, Chen believed that talented learners will always find opportunities to observe the importance of education, eventually achieving their objectives. On the other hand, if tracing back to the Qing Dynasty's civil service examination system, small-sized and private academies teaching Confucianism theories for passing the examination were isolated from the subject matter of life experiences because the civil service exam did not examine how to live in daily life. Confucianism learning mostly came from *Four Books and Five Classics*. Even though the examination experienced its reform, changing its content to discussing global history and politics in 1902, the examination's purpose was to let candidates compete for the opportunity of officials, which had no direct relation to ground-level life experience. One example of emphasizing ground-level life experience in education was curriculum reform during the Republic period. Since 1906, optional courses such as handicrafts, commerce, and agriculture (designated for male students) were included in the curriculum from primary to middle schools.¹³⁰ After the Republic reform, these three courses became mandatory, and needlework (designated for female students) was also included in the higher primary school curricula.¹³¹ All courses mentioned in the curriculum change had the similarity that they were not technically academic courses but more real-life related options. Transitioning from an optional course to a mandatory one is not simply turning ground-level life learning into students' daily life abilities. Instead, the transition emphasized to the students that schools also have the responsibility to cultivate in students a commitment to lifelong learning

¹²⁹ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 4.

¹³⁰ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. Ed., 20 *Shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* (20th Century China Primary and Middle Schools' Curriculum Standards), vol. 1, 23-26, 34-36, 44-46.

¹³¹ Ibid.

while having academic learning. Chen Duxiu and Dewey proposed that life refers to a broad context of education and offers education from individuals' experiences. Since individual experiences vary, each person's experience was one's unique learning instead of traditional schooling. Therefore, Chen Duxiu's statement that aligned with Dewey was an implicit meaning of encouraging learners to reach their educational goals through schooling and personal experiences that will reach self-education.

Chen Duxiu drew inspiration from the Western education system. He believed that educators must manage education in three dimensions: the people receiving education, the education policies, and the education pedagogy. In his reasoning, education's objectives are all Chinese citizens; education policies need to develop an ideology that the entire education system will follow, and pedagogy is the specific way to get alignment with education policies.¹³² However, Chen's adoption of Western education policies was tied to his assumptions about how education strengthens a nation. For instance, Chen claimed that the British focused on personal freedom and individualism in education; Germany focused on militarism that achieved high military power; France focused on art acquisition learning, making the country famous for art; America concentrated on economic productivity and profit-based education, and the country achieved high economic growth.¹³³ Different countries had their own political backgrounds and national objectives to achieve. In Western countries, education was a tool for advocating ideologies corresponding to the national goal to the national public. For instance, France's art education flourished since the Enlightenment Movement during the 17th century, so art acquisition learning stood in a fundamental position of encouraging nationals to develop a

¹³² Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 79.

¹³³ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 80.

cognition of arts. In the late 19th century, America was captivated by capitalism. Businessmen began seeking ways to monopolize a specific field for more profit, such as Rockefeller and his gasoline industry, so education also concentrated on the objective of “profit” for achieving America's economic growth. Each Western nation had its unique conditions, resulting in different education policies.

Similarly, Western nations proved that education policies and even ideologies are correlated to the objectives of a country's government. By comparing education policies in various Western countries, Chen revealed the problem that China still lacks education policies that align with the country's reform. Therefore, he concluded two perspectives—realism and national masculinity—as a summary and a lesson learned from Western powers. These two education policies set objectives for learners' both physical and mental, both internal and external aspects.

Realism also corresponds to the perspective of understanding the meaning of life. Chen argued that it is impossible to figure out the meaning of life by referring to divinity, but science quickly proved that the meaning of life to the world was just like a cell to the human body, indicating that each individual formed the world.¹³⁴ On the other hand, Chen also explained that cell metabolism was just like humans' inheritance of civilization, in which human life was short and therefore valuable.¹³⁵ Chen applied scientific understanding to indicate that to make human life meaningful; education has to teach learners in a real society rather than the divine world outside of human society. The Duxiu's example of using cells indicated the nature of immortality that the ancient Chinese pursued. Chinese traditions documented the notion of seeking

¹³⁴ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 81.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

immortality. From Taoism to Buddhism, notions such as *no death* (不死), *long-live*(长生), and *transcending the world*(渡世) showed the unit idea of immortality, which was avoiding death and misery after death.¹³⁶ These terms were highly related to religions. But their meaning, instead of serving humanity's philosophical purpose, was mainly trying to make a breakthrough in human life. These were more likely recognized as “superstitions” that contradicted nature. Cells’ life, connecting to the mortal life of humanity, stood in a scientific perspective that showed its nature, revealing the “unreal” perspective that originated from religions. Realism functions here to tell youths that superstition would not extend one’s life, and science showed the reality of human morality, encouraging them to reach personal goals as soon as possible within their limits, such as self-actualization. Chen Duxiu’s reference to Western learning and governance also showed that religion has already separated from political governance—whether militarism or individualism was both real-life-based education.¹³⁷ China was experiencing the transition from the Qing empire to the nation. The culture that consists of traditional values such as Confucianism remained. Instead of directly criticizing traditional culture, which needs to be reformed for China’s modernization, Chen implicitly criticized that the religious elements of ancient Chinese values should turn into real-life values for modernity. The difference between a sacred belief and a reality belief for nations was that the sacred belief came from people's internal thoughts. In contrast, a reality belief came from the external interactions of people. Science was the way of explaining the truth of life in real life. Since life was not immortal to humanity, the purpose of believing, in reality, was that reality is the only way to reach a person’s self-actualization in their limited life.

¹³⁶ Yu Ying-shih, “Life and Immortality in The Mind of Han China.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 25, 1964. 87.

¹³⁷Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

Chen emphasized the significance of teaching pragmatic learning in education and Chinese new youths' responsibility of saving the nation within a lifetime—the meaning of life. Pragmatic learning in education was the “realistic” part benefiting learners in their daily lives, which belongs to what realism suggested.¹³⁸ Pragmatic learning commonly refers to non-academic subjects that cultivate students' daily life experiences, so its ultimate goal was to reach students' self-cultivation skills in their daily lives in an independent situation. Chen's concern originated from the transition from the Qing Empire to a republic nation. The civil service examination system did not begin concentrating on science and humanities subjects as the criteria until the late 1860s. Still, classical studies remained the dominant position of the examinations even if eight categories were introduced. Yan Fu, in the 1890s, criticized that the eight-legged examination essay was wasting the minds of the generations, while his voice was associated with the power of the West with modern schools in industry, arsenals, and shipyards, where students were trained in a modern subject requiring training.¹³⁹ The concerns of Qing reformists were also what Chen Duxiu was concerned about, that the eight-legged essay, as the core of the civil service examination, was not a way to cultivate pragmatic learning. As the Self-Strengthening Movement was a mark of Qing developing industries and technical science curriculum was first introduced in China's education system, China's focus on practical learning had begun but still experienced barricades until the form of the Western school system in 1906. In this period, traditional forms of knowledge about the natural world, originating from Confucianism and Daoism, were uncritically labeled as “superstition.”¹⁴⁰ On the other hand, due to the Western curriculum being widely introduced in China's school system, western learning,

¹³⁸ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

¹³⁹ Elman, *Civil Examinations*, 307-308.

¹⁴⁰ Elman, *Civil Examinations*, 9.

and courses such as sciences, agriculture, and handicrafts were recognized by intellectuals in the post-Qing period as enlightenment and practical skills learning.¹⁴¹ Therefore, Chen Duxiu's investigation of realism in practical learning was already happening in the dynasty transition.

The education policy of realism also corresponds to what Dewey argued: that education teaches a person how to live in this world. Realism, in the educational context, reminds nations to realize their future personal tasks and achievements yet to be complete, whether in academic, ideological, or mundane life environments. The Qing Dynasty's civil service education system required students to learn orthodox Confucianism because it lasted for approximately two thousand years as the primary school of philosophy. Qing did not become an exception. However, whether the *Four Books and Five Classics* or the eight-legged essay pointed directly to the problem by intellectuals, their doctrines lack learning that offers teaching of life or increasing social well-being. But from the perspective of Confucianism as a religion, it will be easier to understand why Confucianism became the "superstition" claimed by late Qing reformers and early intellectuals. Orthodox Confucianism's values can be summarized as benevolence, righteousness, etiquette, wisdom, and belief.¹⁴² These doctrines served as not only the guiding principle of the emperor for governing the country but also the moral criteria of the public in Imperial China. The underlying nature aimed for a spiritual achievement under a collective environment where people must always recognize interpersonal interaction and morals at a superior position. But this school of philosophy did not offer direct teaching of necessary skills in real-life situations, nor any physical education, which was gradually recognized more importantly by the Republic's Ministry of Education.¹⁴³ The morality of education in

¹⁴¹ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. 20 *Shiji* vol 1, 23-26, 34-36, 44-46.

¹⁴² Mencius. *Mencius: Gao Zishang*.

¹⁴³ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. 20 *Shiji* vol 1, 23-26.

Confucianism is one necessary portion of a person's learning, but it is not the only portion of education. Philosophy under Orthodox Confucianism was still a spiritual perspective of learning. Still, it did not substitute the effort of China's national reform under the revolution, nor did it will not directly let learners understand what they need and what kind of life they would like to pursue. Realism, as a novel education policy advocated by Chen Duxiu, was a change of education's concentration from solely spiritual and moral education to a societal and individual perspective, and realism was also a pathfinder for learners thinking out their meaning of life and understanding their targets. Here, it shows the correlation that realism encourages learners to reach self-actualization under the moving society as a reality.

Fukuzawa Yukichi and National Masculinity

While realism guided China's education system to focus on students' self-cultivation from daily life while learning academic knowledge, intellectuals also recognized China's national situation under the threat of Western superpowers since the fall of the Qing Dynasty. Therefore, National Masculinity was another policy to warn Chinese publics to become responsible to strengthen themselves. From the first Opium War to the Eight Alliance's invasion, China had been gradually losing its power in Asia, and it accumulated more economic compensations and loss of territorial sovereignty. Under this historical situation, China, especially in the Qing Dynasty, was recognized by Britain as *Dongya Bingfu* (Sick Man of East Asia 东亚病夫). In the Chinese publics' vision, this rhetoric was certainly an insulting but also a realistic description. After the 1911 revolution, the Republic government aimed to overthrow this rhetoric because China was no longer the previous empire that kept stepping back and compensating for the Western power. But before showing China's modernization's outcome to

the world, the government first need to bring nations' cohesion to believe the Republic government and encourage them to equip citizens with spirit to overcome challenges happening in either the individual's path of reaching their goal, as well as avoiding relying on others to reach self-actualization. Masculinity is a word that is more focused on a gender language that refers to male power. However, this word was also used for classifying a person. Western scholars recognized a person with masculinity in several traits: strength of will, ambition, courage, independence, assertiveness, aggressiveness, hardness, and rationality.¹⁴⁴ Therefore, masculinity here is not only an adjective of describing what a man should be, but it serves as the characteristic of people who are active with willpower to achieve their goal. Traits such as independence correlated with the philosophy of self-actualization, and ambition was also the interior mind of a person who began having his/her ultimate goals to achieve. But from having the mind of self-actualization to reach the goal, masculinity played a role of supporting a person with sufficient courage and willpower to overcome any challenges standing in front of him. For a country's path of modernization, the logic of masculinity is also adaptive in terms of having publics equip their ambition of saving the country and not to be cowardly in front of the revolution.

In *New Youth*, Chen Duxiu originally proposed the word National Masculinity as *Shouxing Zhuyi*(the ideology of beast 兽性主义).¹⁴⁵ He initially referenced Japanese educationist Fukuzawa Yukichi that educators should teach children how to be a beast before ten years old, and they should teach children how to be human after ten years old.¹⁴⁶ Fukuzawa Yukichi, prior to China's revolution, began seeking for ways leading to Japan's restoration in the late 19th

¹⁴⁴ Mary Vetterling-Braggin. *Femininity, Masculinity, and Androgyny: A Modern Philosophical Discussion*. Totowa, NJ: Littlefield, Adams, 1982. 6.

¹⁴⁵ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 83.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

century. Although there were no direct evidence proving that Fukuzawa actually claimed the concept of the ideology of beast or national masculinity, his ideology of civilization proposed in the mid-nineteenth century encouraged Japan's Meiji Restoration, and this modernization movement demonstrated the national masculinity of Japanese society in terms of the ambition and willpower to overthrow the ancient social and political modes and embrace Westernization. Fukuzawa proposed five stages of social conditions: the Savage, Barbarous, Half-Civilized, Civilized, and Enlightened.¹⁴⁷ Fukuzawa recognized China and Japan as Half-civilized nations because both countries were jealous of strangers and were conducted with a degree of skills of art and adorn cities with abundant learning in literature.¹⁴⁸ Considering that the Civil Service Examination system had made a group of gentry population eligible in literature learning, China met the standard of a half-civilized country. However, China still hasn't reached the extent of a civilized and even an enlightened nation. Fukuzawa recognized these nations as countries where people are rendered, contended, and prosperous, and the United States, Britain, France, and Germany were the typical examples of enlightened countries.¹⁴⁹ Fukuzawa detected the national power's gap from Western countries, and he realized that Japan still requires an improvement in science, mechanical industry, agriculture, arts, and people's prosperity.¹⁵⁰ Social Darwinism caused the motivation of Fukuzawa's mind of Japan's gap for keeping up the pace of Western nations. To make Japan become a civilized nation like Western powers, Fukuzawa believed that the pursuit of knowledge and virtue should be centered on the perspective of social forces that

¹⁴⁷ Albert M. Craig. *Civilization and Enlightenment: The Early Thought of Fukuzawa Yukichi*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009. 47.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment*, 48.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

shape humanities.¹⁵¹ From this pursuit, the result was the concept of the individual and freedom, the equality of rights, higher standard of living, and the identity that drives community.¹⁵² Meiji Restoration was the product of Japan's seek for modernization. But on the other hand, it also showed that Japanese society had the ambition to seek to save the nation by modernization. The restoration was also the response of Japan towards Social Darwinism coming from the United States which acted the similar role with Britain to China during the two Opium Wars. National Masculinity served as the origin of Japanese society's motivation to strengthen the nation. But in terms of individuals, Fukuzawa's philosophy encouraged people to seek knowledge by themselves to reach their freedom, life quality, and identities that pushed the community forward. These were all the traits that national masculinity encouraged to gain self-actualization.

China, compared with Japan, did not initially realize the changing of the environment in the late nineteenth century until 1840. The Self-Strengthening Movement was still a technical perspective of westernization, but the Qing's structure remained an imperial system which remained unchanged for two thousand years. China's unchanging nature made the country away from best-fitting for the late nineteenth century environment, so the country was facing its survival issues since 1840. Comparing China's Self-Strengthening Movement and Japan's Meiji Restoration, Fukuzawa Yukichi's ideology of civilization and enlightenment not only brought impact on material development, but also spiritual development that brought both reforms to the country.¹⁵³ However, the Self-Strengthening Movement was based on the Qing's value for maintaining the empire's governance. The ideology of modernization remained unchanged.

¹⁵¹ Matthew Jones, "A Comparative Analysis of the Civilizations of Fukuzawa Yukichi and Sun Yat-Sen". *Global Tides*: Vol. 9., 2015. 3.

¹⁵² Fukuzawa Yukichi. *An Outline of a Theory of Civilization*, trans. David A. Dilworth and G. Cameron Hurst III. New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. 48.

¹⁵³ Craig, *Civilization and Enlightenment*, 48.

China was defined by Britain as a “weak” nation in the early 20th century. But Qing’s weakness was not only in its interior unchanging ideology to develop toward an enlightened nation defined by Fukuzawa. A deeper interpretation of “weak” was that the Qing China was yet to have the ambition to have both ideological and industrial reform in the mid 19th century. Chen Duxiu had also claimed his concern was not only about Chinese new youth lacking strong physical powers and willpower, but also in a nation’s perspective lacking courage to overcome the challenge of reforming the country to fit in the 20th century environment. Powered by national masculinity and concerns of Fukuzawa Yukichi throughout enlightenment, Japan’s Meiji Emperor encouraged the country to break away from old habits and establish the universal justice of heaven and earth.¹⁵⁴ For 19th century China, critical and independent thinkings of ideological modernization were generally suppressed by the Qing government, which revealed the lack of ambition and willpower from the governing level of reforming China, eventually causing the country under the threat of Western powers through Social Darwinism. Therefore, Chen Duxiu’s thought on China’s national masculinity education was encouraging students to challenge difficulties, as well as be strong in both mental and physical perspectives.¹⁵⁵ The ultimate goal was to lead Chinese society to seek for modernization in cultural, educational, and ideological perspectives that will help China survive in the competitive 20th century world. Despite that the 1911 Revolution overthrew the monarch system, China was still in the situation of investigating ways of modernization beyond political perspectives. Under this moment, the invasive examples by Chen Duxiu showed that to avoid ineligibility of survival in the 20th century world under the

¹⁵⁴ *Gokajō no Goseimon*(*The Charter Oath*五箇条の御誓文). 1868.

¹⁵⁵ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 83.

Social Darwinism doctrine, Chinese learners should be courageous and brave in preparing to seek for national reform.

Darwinism established and showed the organic necessity of the natural inequality of capabilities.¹⁵⁶ The struggle for existence necessarily causes the survival of the individuals best fitted for the environment and the particular historical period in which they live.¹⁵⁷ As this doctrine was published in the late nineteenth century, when imperialism and colonialism became popular in Europe and Japan, it was reasonable to connect Darwinism's nature of inequality with the invasion of imperial powers. Colonialism and imperialism were the sign of ambition of European nations such as Britain, France, Spain, and Germany, as well as Japan after their modernization. In the 19th century, Western industrial revolution strengthened the military power and productivity in European countries, while the Meiji Restoration marked Japan's Westernization. What was similar between European countries and Japan was that they had the ambition of expanding their national power by invading other countries and establishing colonial power to gain more resources and national income. Aggressiveness, ambition, and strength of will were therefore three significant traits of masculinity that arose from the country. Chen Duxiu's use of evidence from Japan and Europe's invasion originated from National Masculinity was that Social Darwinism pushed Japan into a colonialist country so it survived and became powerful in the late nineteenth century. The Meiji Restoration symbolized that Japan must Westernize under the growing power of Europe and America. Social Darwinism indicated that Westernization was a way to let a country survive in the late nineteenth period, so Japan westernized as its reform and national masculinity gave them courage to invade Asian countries,

¹⁵⁶ Ferri, Enrico, and Robert Rives. La Monte. *Socialism and Modern Science. (Darwin -- Spencer -- Marx)*. New York: International library publishing co., 1900. 18.

¹⁵⁷ Ferri, Enrico, and Rives, *Socialism and Modern Science*, 51.

which was the same action of how Europe expanded their power. Therefore, Chen Duxiu's emphasis on national masculinity was an appeal of strong willpower to individuals to have courage preparing for strengthening the nation, as well as the necessity that China must modernize to survive under Social Darwinism of the international relation during the 20th century.

Chen Duxiu's theories of realism and national masculinity aligned with the doctrine of self-actualization. He proposed realism to expect learners to understand the education's universality in both academic and real-life atmosphere, and encouraged learners to understand their personal goals within their life and pursue to reach their ultimate goals. Based on Fukuzawa Yukichi's theories of civilization, enlightenment, as well as his concern of Social Darwinism under the global contest, Chen claimed national masculinity to ensure China's youth will have their willpower and ambition to seek for knowledge and self-identities. This pursuit for an individual's ideological growth will eventually motor social and national reform. Self-actualization became a broad term in the education perspectives, and it incorporated a variety of western values which Chen and other Chinese intellectuals learned. Beyond its nature of pursuing one's ultimate goal, self-actualization has become an ideological teaching that gave path to Chinese new youth under the historical background of modernization.

The New Education Philosophy and the Change of Inherited Chinese Traditions

Beyond realism and national masculinity as two education policies that Chen Duxiu argued, self-actualization philosophy also influenced intellectuals' vision on Chinese traditions that were inherited for over a thousand years. From Chapter One, we saw the transition of China's education system from an orthodox Confucianism-based civil service examination to a

Westernized education curriculum incorporating both academic and non-academic courses. Orthodox Confucianism, in fact, was frequently discussed by intellectuals in determining whether its ideologies were eligible to maintain as the main school of philosophy in Republic China. In 1919, the New Culture Movement offered intellectuals the opportunity to re-interpret ancient monarchical traditions and reach the goal of rebuilding the foundation of a new culture by overthrowing the traditional culture.¹⁵⁸ Orthodox Confucianism was the most representative inherited traditional culture, and its nature of obedience and loyalty was facing the conflict against self-actualization and independence. Chinese intellectuals, inspired by self-actualization, proposed their opinions and critiques towards orthodox Confucianism's situations during the Republic era, which played a crucial role in the modification of curricula in the late 1910s. They believed that orthodox confucianism's nature and its education pedagogy hindered the flourishing of self-actualization philosophy in the early 20th century reforming China.

The Collision between Obedience and Independence

One major characteristic of inherited tradition from the orthodox Confucianism was obedience and centering on the family. Intellectuals believed that despite obedience maintaining the social norms between different levels of society, constant obedience will cause individuals losing their personal critical thinking and independence, which conflicted with the philosophy of self-actualization. Chen Duxiu addressed his concern of family-centered social norms in China, as a representative tradition originated from Confucianism. He argued that Chinese society should re-center on individualism for protecting their right of pursuing freedom and

¹⁵⁸ Chen Weiping, *An Analysis*, 176.

well-being.¹⁵⁹ Chen doubted China's Confucianism values which put family on the center of individuals rather than self-determination. He proposed the statement of human rights as the core of individualism to emphasize that new youth should avoid enslaving themselves even in a family setting.¹⁶⁰ Chen compared and contrast between China and Western nations' education policies as his alternative interpretation of why it was necessary to mark independent and individualism ideology in education

Chen Duxiu discovered that individualism was the consistent ideology in these Western countries, and what their government was pursuing was to protect the individual's right of freedom and well-being.¹⁶¹ Western individualism has made citizens capable of reaching their goal and developing their thinking, while the laws made everyone equal. However, Chen recognized China's monarch system as a patriarchal society, in which a family holds the main ideology among each member, so one in the family must obey the order from parents.¹⁶² Similar to the ancient Chinese society, when social hierarchy, from the royal to gentry and to peasants, dominated the main ideology of China's society. This was how orthodox Confucianism thinking as well as the civil service system emphasized respecting superiors. Chen acknowledged that despite being loyal, filial, and respectful was valuable moral virtues among the Chinese history, maintaining the patriarchal system in the Republic period will lead to the loss of self-respect personality, hindering individuals' freedom of making decisions, exploiting individuals' right of equality in law, and decreasing individuals' productivity as well as making them over dependent on other people.¹⁶³ He revealed the nature of China's problem of ideology which was maintained

¹⁵⁹ Chen Duxiu. *Dongxi Minzu Genben Sixiangzhi Chayi*. Xin Qingnian, 1916. 232.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Chen, *Dongxi Minzu*, 231.

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Chen, *Dongxi Minzu*, 231.

in the Qing period. Throughout comparison, he summarized that Western nations put emphasis on individuals while Eastern nations put emphasis on family.¹⁶⁴ Chen's statement of Chinese culture's emphasis on family aligned with how the orthodox Confucianism concentrated, especially the theory of obedience.

Obedience, beyond its literal definition showing that an inferior group or individual must follow the order and expectation from his/her superiors, was the principle that maintained people's responsibilities of contributing for others. Confucius proposed the theory that the emperor should act as an emperor, the minister should act as a minister, the father should act as a father, and the son should act as a son.¹⁶⁵ This statement was exactly how people in different social levels should act. A son should not exceed his behavior beyond his role or even his father, and this was how filial piety works in ancient China. Therefore, Confucius' value indicated children should always act as children and be supposed to meet the expectations of their parents rather than doing anything which might go away or against their families. Here was the obedience of youth as their responsibility to their family, but intellectuals believed that such obedience would hinder youth's critical thinking and pursuit to freedom under the educational philosophy of self-actualization. Responsibility in the orthodox Confucianism's filial piety gradually turned into an unconscious obedience which intellectuals aimed to overthrow.

Hu Shi clarified the underlying meaning of responsibility by comparing it with interest. Hu argued that responsibility, more precisely, unconscious obedience, tended to be like "what I have to do", while interest concentrated more on "what I love to do".¹⁶⁶ Hu stated Western Han's politician Dong Zhongshu as an example of recognizing unconscious obedience as the main

¹⁶⁴ Chen, *Dongxi Minzu*, 231.

¹⁶⁵ Kongzi, *The Analects*.

¹⁶⁶ Hu Shi. *Duwei De Jiaoyu Zhexue*(John Dewey's Philosophy of Education). *Hu Shi Quanjì*(Hu Shi's Collections), 1919. 408.

theory of philosophy among Confucianism. Dong Zhongshu proposed *Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues*(Sangang Wuchang 三纲五常). Three Fundamental Bonds mainly claimed the obedience of children to parents, wife to husband, and minister to emperor. The bonds demonstrated how Confucius' value emphasized people's unconscious obedience to their superiors. In contrast, the concept of interest came from John Dewey. He believed that there was no actual conflict between responsibility(or duty) and interest because even when a person claims to be acting from a principle or duty, he is acting as he does because there is something in the action for himself.¹⁶⁷ In other words, since people have their interest in pursuit, they will recognize their pursuit as the duty they follow. Dewey's interpretation between responsibility and interest suggested how self-actualization functions on people to have their personal duty and responsibility, which is "what I love to do" and "I need to follow my own duty to reach my goal." Hu Shi's interpretation of Dewey's theory about interest and responsibility corresponded to Western nations' concentration on self while Chinese nations' concentration on responsibility. Interest motivated learners to have their goal, so they grew up with an internal duty for guiding them achieve their goal, and this was what Chen explained Western nations primarily focusing on individual development rather than complete consideration on obeying families' expectations.

In viewing how inherited Chinese traditions should change under the popularity of self-actualization philosophy, intellectuals stood on the perspective of what an individual should achieve. Confucianism inherited from over thousand years ago prioritized duty and responsibility to elder family members as the mainstream culture. However, inspired from John Dewey's theory of interest and duty emphasizing between the duty and self-interest, Chinese scholars gradually discovered that the responsibility from orthodox Confucianism was an obedience that

¹⁶⁷ Dewey, *Democracy of Education*, 324.

prevented learners seeking for what they really want to do, instead working on what they must do in the family terms. The connection between self-interest and internal duty was the symbol of Western nations' emphasis on individualism. When it collided with inherited Confucian values, intellectuals discovered that reducing the influence of unconscious obedience binded with family collectivism was necessary to ensure self-actualization philosophy's widespread in education.

Yi Baisha's Interpretation of Orthodox Confucianism

During the New Culture Movement, a group of intellectuals re-examined Confucius and his doctrine's impact on imperial China. Led by scholar Yi Baisha, their interpretation of Orthodox Confucius' experience in Chunqiu periods' history revealed the nature of hindering individualized critical thinking. But on the other hand, Confucius' thinking should not be the sole consideration resulting in the notion that Confucianism hindered independent thinking as education philosophy. As we learned about Yi in chapter two, his article *Kongzi Pingyi* argued that Confucianism, as a governing tool in the ancient China, limited Chinese publics' self-determination and independence by becoming the mainstream school of philosophy spreading the doctrine of *Three Fundamental Bonds and Five Constant Virtues*. Yi also believed that Chinese nations should critically reflect on themselves to determine what is "good" and "evil" from thinking about the impact of orthodox Confucianism.

Yi's interpretation of Chun Qiu history emphasized that orthodox Confucianism was an ideology utilized by the kings and emperors since the Warring States(战国) and Han Dynasty. Confucius has never become the king of philosophy schools because other philosophers such as Yan Ying from Qi(Country of Qi齐国) had different opinions from Confucius.¹⁶⁸ Yi believed that

¹⁶⁸ Yi Baisha, *Kongzi Pingyi*, Xin Qingnian, 384.

Confucianism was only one of many schools competing in Chunqiu China, instead of a dominated philosophy that the empire followed. However, when entering the Han Dynasty, Han Emperor Wu(Han Wudi汉武帝) modify the philosophy of governing the country because Confucius students advocated revolution, resulting in Chen She's rise of peasant revolution against the Qin Dynasty, a dynasty that persecuted Confucianism.¹⁶⁹ As Han Gaozu(the founder of Han Dynasty汉高祖) was shocked by the revolutionary ideology from Confucianism, he began respecting the Confucianism after the found of Han Dynasty, resulting in later Emperor Wu's policies of blocking intellectuals from various schools of philosophies and set Confucianism as a "puppet" for monopolizing all ideologies among China.¹⁷⁰ Yi believed that the Han Emperor set the Confucian as the only school of philosophy which became more like a tool of the government maintaining its ideological control over the public. Confucianism maintained as the sole school of philosophy in the imperial China from Han to Qing Dynasty because of Wu Emperor's decision and Dong Zhongshu adding *Three Fundamental Bonds*(Sangang三纲) as the mainstream Confucian social norms. These norms also became the criteria of civil service examinations combining with the ideologies from *Four Books and Five Classics*.

By discovering *Sangang Wuchang*, how significant was how this Orthodox Confucian social norms was interpreted by Chen Duxiu as a patriarchal system that hindered China's educational philosophies to be autonomous and independent learners. In *Chunqiu Fanlu*(春秋繁露), Dong Zhongshu concluded *Sangang*(Three Fundamental Bonds) from the relationship between the heaven and human, reasoning that the heaven is always superior to the humanities. *Sangang's* reasoning also rose from the superior and inferior theory. Dong argued that *Following*

¹⁶⁹ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 384.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

the King with People, Following the Heaven with King(以人随君, 以君随天)¹⁷¹ to identify the original theory of *Sangang*. Dong Zhongshu argued that the relationship between the king and minister, husband and wife, as well as father and son was exactly the relationship between Yang and Yin. Yin cannot exist without Yang because they bring balance by holding together. This simile was also used to describe the relationship between wife and husband, son and father, as well as the subject and ruler. All three relationships established *Sangang*. Dong further emphasized the prohibition of isolation between three relationships, and argued that their merits were also shared. Here showed the binding relationship brought by Confucianism.

Chen Duxiu argued that Eastern nations, especially Chinese, concentrated more on family than individuals.¹⁷² From Dong Zhongshu's perspective, Orthodox Confucianism transitioned to *Sangang* to make a group of people as counterparts of their superiors, and these groups of people's thinking were also required to get aligned with their superiors. Therefore, Chen believed that peoples' individual thinking and independence disappeared when following the *Sangang* as being loyal and respectful to their superiors. Due to Confucius' respect for the emperor's authority was strong and even unlimited, Confucianism was easily becoming the authoritative philosophy of autocracy.¹⁷³ Tracing back to Dong Zhongshu's statement that the king and the subjects' relationship was how *Sangang* functioned in early imperial China. Therefore, Confucianism's obedience of king's authority will make autocracy unstoppable. Imperial China's dynasty, from Han to Qing, kept the governing model that the emperor holds the sole supreme authority. As Hu Shi's argument is that Dong Zhongshu was one representative minister who recognized duty and responsibility from the perspective of obedience, importantly, Dong's

¹⁷¹ Dong, Zhongshu. *Chunqiu Fanlu*.

¹⁷² Chen, *Dongxi Minzu*, 231.

¹⁷³ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 385.

doctrine of *Sangang* was the tool of spreading the notion of obedience to ancient Chinese individuals.¹⁷⁴ Obedience was not only a universal doctrine among ancient Chinese society, but also an nationwide ideology. Confucian governance made publics unconsciously obey the order from their superiors, regardless of their parents, teachers, or governors.

Combining Yi Baisha's interpretation of Confucianism as a governing tool, this ideology, impacted by the Han Dynasty, turned to the universal philosophy of Imperial China. As Yi emphasized the nature of ancient Chinese pushing orthodox Confucianism on publics, this nature aligned with Morality of Slave, which the public sought for unconsciously following the powerful, but not considering how to strengthen themselves internally.¹⁷⁵ Dewey's democracy education theory emphasizing personal pursuit and duty coming from this pursuit stood on the contrary side of obedience. Combining with Yi Baisha's analysis on Confucianism' governing perspective, intellectuals discovered that it was not only necessary to instruct youth learners pursuing their goals for self-actualization, but also crucial in avoiding education pedagogies to instill the notion of unconscious obedience to students, which would hindered the main objective of autonomous.

Beyond interpreting Confucianism's power of ruling, Yi Baisha also criticized Confucius' pedagogy that lacked critical and independent thinking process for learners in ancient Chinese society. Yi criticized Confucius that prohibiting having doubts about his teaching will result in the autocracy of ideology. Confucianism was still one of many schools of philosophies in the Chunqiu Period, he further indicated that Confucius' apprentices usually felt doubtful about Confucianism due to their learning from other schools of philosophy. Yi indicated that due to

¹⁷⁴ Hu, *Duwei*, 408.

¹⁷⁵ Nietzsche, *Beyond Good and Evil*, 122.

lacking doubts and questions to Confucius, the teaching of Confucianism lacks dissertations and debates between him and his apprentices which might possibly solidify Confucianism doctrine. Here is what he doubts about Confucius' education attitudes.¹⁷⁶

Confucius, considering himself as a sage of prior enlightenment, did not engage in repetitive debates over right and wrong. Instead, he used turn words to reject questions. This not only obstructed the thinking of later scholars but also made it difficult for Confucianism itself to develop academically. For truth is clarified through debate, and academic progress is achieved through competition.

The perspective of academics' nature—debate, desertion, and competition were necessary in pushing forward a theory's solidification.¹⁷⁷ Confucianism, however, was rarely debated by Confucius' students. In another word, what Yi interpreted about how Confucius refused questioning of his theory was how knowledge was indoctrinated to students without thinking critically. His critique of Confucianism pedagogies revealed the general issue of this education system—lacking independent thinking, engagement between teacher and learners, as well as the hidden unconscious obedience of students following their teachers. Comparing the relationship between father and son and that between teacher and student, both relationships have a relatively superior and a relatively inferior role. Same as a son's need to obey their parents was to set off the authority of parents in imperial Chinese society, the teacher was also the character with higher authority that should not be doubted by students. This obedience based pedagogy eventually resulted in the indoctrination of knowledge, and Chen Duxiu also addressed this education issue in late 1910s. During his speech at Nankai University in 1917, He claimed that

¹⁷⁶ Yi, *Kongzi Pingyi*, 386.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

ancient people's books and ancestors' lessons were sacred and cannot be judged.¹⁷⁸ Confucius' pedagogy and his attitudes of teaching had transcended until the end of the Qing Dynasty. Despite that the Westernized school reformed the content of curriculum, the main pedagogy remained passive for students to learn, and passive for teacher to teach.¹⁷⁹ This education model made no slight difference with Confucius' pedagogy of disallowing doubt. Both education, interpreted by intellectuals, hindered learners' independent learning and critical thinking abilities by forcing students to be obedient in terms of student-teacher relationship. As a inherited ancient Chinese culture, Confucianism's pedagogy faced conflict in front of the philosophy of self-actualization through the contest between indoctrination knowledge and enlightenment democracy education.

Liu Shiwei and New Perspectives of Viewing History Education

The history education was another perspective that re-examined ancient Chinese culture and history. Among intellectuals who contributed to history education, Liu Shiwei was one of them who wrote and edited China's history textbooks during the Republic period. Under his summary of Chinese history, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu* (Chinese History Textbook 中国历史教科书) was written between 1905 and 1906. The history of this set of textbooks was written from the origin of China, and the later histories before the founding of the Republic government. The set of textbooks has thirty-six lessons in total. Starting from the origin of the Han nation, Liu's textbook not only has the chronological explanation of a dynasty's rise and fall, but also spent several chapters in analyzing the culture of a certain historical period or a dynasty. The history

¹⁷⁸ Chen, *Jindai Xiyang*, 324.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

curriculum in the pre-1911 period was supposed to show students the relations among facts and the different origins of various cultures.¹⁸⁰ Liu, in the preface of the textbook, also claimed that the new historical studies should be different from the past. He argued that China's previous history narratives were generally detailed at the royal history but not the citizens' and detailed at historical events but not the policies.¹⁸¹ Therefore, he aimed to let the textbooks' objectives to be the following focuses: the similarities and differences of regimes through the ages, the origins and conclusions of racial divisions and unifications, the outline of institutional reforms, the strata of social evolution, and the general trend of academic advancement and decline.¹⁸² Liu's strategy of writing textbooks made different approaches to simply record past history. The objectives showed that he aimed to let students understand that beyond the replacement of different dynasties, he also expected students to understand how culture, society, and ideologies vary between dynasties. In this purpose, the history teaching will draw more attention on cultivating learners' understanding of the continuous nature of cultures among a civilization, as well as the pattern of how dynasties rise and fall. Both attention depicted history's properties of reflecting the past and treating the past as a lesson for learners gaining insights into societal dynamics in the 20th century.

Compared the traditional Chinese historical writings including *Twenty-Four Histories*(Er Shi si shi 二十四史), *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*(Zizhi tongjian 资治通鉴), *Comprehensive Institutions*(Tongdian 通典), and *Comprehensive Examination of Literature*(Wenxian tongkao 文献通考), Liu's history textbook was chapter-categorized, chronologically and culturally written, and internationally referenced aiming to reach the concise

¹⁸⁰ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 151.

¹⁸¹ Liu Shippei. *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*(Chinese History Textbook), Guangling Shushe, 2016. 2.

¹⁸² Ibid.

but explicit goal of teaching history.¹⁸³ What Liu expected from a more citizen and societal approach of history was to explicitly teach students self-realization of their citizenship. If Yi Baisha viewed the history of how orthodox Confucianism became the governing tool of the empire China to reflect why Confucianism conflicted with the new philosophy of self-actualization, Liu Shipai, on the other hand, viewed history different from the inherited traditional ways but concentrate on the perspectives that a democracy society will focus—culture society, and public life, as a way of enlightening students' self-identity as an independent citizen. New interpretations of China's history in both re-examining orthodox Confucianism and re-concentrating on the cultural and social history of ancient China were under realism theory emphasized in previous analysis of self-actualization, which was the doctrine that the meaning of life marks social continuity.¹⁸⁴ A general glance of chronological history and a Microscopic Case Study in cultural history combined together to ensure students to learn detailed history on citizens and policies while learning the royal history and major events. Yi's understanding of Confucianism also made the view of history less sacred to the public but more rational, and critical-thinking based. From these culturally based history, students will understand how society continues flourishing from both the reform of politics and culture. For democracy, Liu's textbook's concentration of public and social history was mostly connected to "nation" and "citizens",¹⁸⁵ which I will discuss in the next chapter. He aimed to emphasize public life in the history to reach the teaching objective that citizens were always the core of a country, and citizens' well-being kept evolving through the reform of political system, laws, academics, as well as the cultural reforms.

¹⁸³ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 4.

¹⁸⁴ Dewey, *Democracy and Education*, 4.

¹⁸⁵ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 4

Throughout intellectuals' interpretation of orthodox Confucianism's doctrine of obedience as both a governing ideology and an education pedagogy, they interpreted that this inherited ancient Chinese culture brought obedience and counterparts as citizens' role to their superiors to the public. The way Confucius taught his theories involved knowledge indoctrination instead of independent and critical thinking, but intellectuals believed that due to the necessity of encouraging youth to cultivate their own mindset and achieve their personal goal through self-actualization, Confucian teaching stood on the contrary side of them. Intellectuals such as Chen Duxiu, Yi Baisha, and Hu Shi saw the confrontation between inherited and noble values. But at a crucial historical moment when China must reform its education philosophy and ideologies to save the nation, intellectuals have chosen the noble values for benefiting each individual to achieve their personal acknowledgement of their values. Therefore, they viewed Confucianism's perspective of obedience should no longer be indoctrinated in the Republic's education system to ensure the widespread of new philosophy of self-actualization. Intellectuals also re-examined history education as a way of teaching social and cultural flourishing, instead of solely teaching the royal and political events. Liu Shipei realized the importance of cultivating learners' self-realization as an independent citizen, so he wrote ancient history in an alternative method to emphasize the importance of individual and society relations to how history was established. Compared with Yi's interpretation of Confucianism focusing directly on individual development of independence and avoiding unconscious obedience, Liu Shipei's rethinking of inherited Chinese cultures was also a new analysis of the collective Chinese nation in relation to democracy. His textbook focused more on public learning than private learning, and I will further discuss his contribution to the nationalism and patriotism philosophy of the education system in the next chapter.

Modification of Pedagogy Under the Self-actualization Philosophy

During the late 1910s, the Ministry of Education modified the existing curriculum to emphasize the self-actualization doctrine under intellectuals' advocate. From intellectuals' understanding of self-actualization and how this theory impacted their re-interpretation of inherited orthodox Confucianism, the new curriculum's most important move was dropping the classical studies from the curriculum.¹⁸⁶ But on the other hand, self-actualizations' core values, including independence, critical thinking, and national masculinity also guided the general curriculum focus. Two most significant modifications of Republic China's pedagogy's manifestation in the late 1910s were the reform of self-cultivation courses and the emphasis of physical education, respectively corresponding to the value of independence and national masculinity.

The Reform from Self-cultivation to Civic Courses

The transition from self-cultivation courses to civic classes was a crucial change that emphasized learners to become independent individuals in 1910. Self-cultivation course was established in the late Qing in the late 19th century, and it was designed to supplement the civic morality (gongmin daode 公民道德) lessons that educators thought Chinese traditional classic to provide.¹⁸⁷ Its nature was still to teach students filial piety, trustworthiness, loyalty and other Confucian values. However, after the 1911 revolution, moral education sought to construct the republican citizen by modifying Orthodox Confucian ethics. One of the Four Books, the *Great Learning* (大學), served philosophy of connecting social order and political rule to individual

¹⁸⁶ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, *20 shiji*, 8.

¹⁸⁷ Zarow, *Educating China*, 77.

self-cultivation.¹⁸⁸ But when entering the Republic era, this principle was broken down into private and public perspectives. Private learning referred to the interest of individuals and families, which aligned to the impact of self-actualization. Public learning refers to the shared interest of the Chinese nation or even humanity as a whole, which I will discuss in the next chapter. The interest of the individual was the initial value that focused on “individual” as the principle. Cai Yuanpei, enrolled as Minister of Education under the Nanjing revolutionary government of 1912, believed that the civic moralities in the Late Qing self-cultivation courses were eligible to continue as the principle of public mindedness, as pursuit to citizenship.¹⁸⁹ He summarized Qing's Self-education principles into several topics: loyalty to the king, respect to Confucius, pursuit to citizenship, pursuit to martial spirit, and pursuit to reality.¹⁹⁰ Cai believed that the pursuit of citizenship, martial spirit and reality were necessary education principles to transcend to the Republic Era's education. Among these three education principles, pursuit to martial spirit also corresponds to Chen Duxiu's emphasis on national masculinity. Martial spirit has its underlying meaning of willpower and ambition in both physical and mental perspectives. Pursuit to reality responded to how Chen interpreted Dewey's theory of how education is important in both academic and life perspectives, as well as an appeal to learners to understand their demands and pursue their goals in their lifespan. Nevertheless, Cai completely rejected the education policies of being loyal to the king and respect to Confucius because respect to Confucius violated the freedom of religion beliefs, and loyalty to the king confronted the nature of the Republic government.¹⁹¹ Cai's identification of late Qing's definition of self-cultivation left the importance of citizenship cultivation. Under intellectuals' understanding of

¹⁸⁸ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 78.

¹⁸⁹ Cai Yuanpei. *Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian*(Opinion towards Education Policies). 77-84.

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

¹⁹¹ Cai, *Duiyu jiaoyu*, 77-84.

self-actualization principle, late Qing's self-cultivation courses, eliminating the perspective of respecting Confucianism and monarchy, still had its inherited education policies to modify for aligning the new education philosophy.

In the early 1910s, self-cultivation classes mainly taught students ethical norms, dealing with responsibilities to state and society, and responsibilities for family, self, humanity and all things.¹⁹² From lower primary school to middle school, students learned the concept of school, family, and society, as well as citizenship to moral thought and practice.¹⁹³ Self cultivation course was a typical example that focused on collectivist education between individuals and society. However, in the late 1910s, civic classes began replacing self-cultivation. The Commercial Press, the official press for publishing the Republic of China's textbook, published a new civic textbook series that explained a combination of individual virtues and social knowledge or manners, including orderliness, hygiene, and self-help, etc.¹⁹⁴ The textbook showed the class structure of individual morality, which aimed to teach students that they should learn to become self-sufficient, depending less on other people. Besides teaching students, teachers were responsible for emphasizing the goal of independence, which did not mean that students should not ask others for help when necessary. The course value under the effect of textbooks meant that when students became independent, the country and society would receive blessings.¹⁹⁵ In other words, civic classes set the target to let students avoid relying on other people in cultivating individual moral virtues. By connecting back to the definition of self-actualization, less dependence, self help, and self-sufficient was how growth-motivation rather than deficiency-motivation pushed learners to achieve their demand for internal independence. From

¹⁹² Zarrow, *Educating China*, 86.

¹⁹³ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo. Ed., 20 *Shiji Zhongguo* vol. 12, 135-136.

¹⁹⁴ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 101.

¹⁹⁵ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 102.

Late Qing's principles of respecting the monarchy and Confucianism to the Republic's principles of self-sufficiency and self-help, civic courses demonstrated the impact of self-actualization on China's education principles. But on the other hand, civic courses also modified the understanding of obedience in the Republic era, which was a reflection of intellectuals' re-interpretation of inherited orthodox Confucianism culture.

In the Orthodox Confucianism value, obedience was natural between children and their older brother and sisters, their parents, and their teachers. This obedience, according to the teachers' manual of civic classes, was identified as conscious(youyishi有意识) obedience.¹⁹⁶ Beside this type, obedience without thinking and even improper reasons were recognized as unconscious(wuyishi无意识) obedience, which also came from confucian values.¹⁹⁷ One example of unconscious obedience was filial piety: a child will sacrifice their personal goals for obeying his parents' order of taking care of them, even such piety will harm this child's future. However, the civic classes' goal was to avoid unconscious obedience because while conscious obedience covered the behavior of moral courtesy and also prohibition on causing disturbance to the right of other people, unconscious obedience will cause students to be easily affected by others and unable to become independent individuals.¹⁹⁸ By overlooking China's education system's self-cultivation courses' transformation, the Republic period's education is changing the concentration from general collectivism pedagogy to a more individualistic moral based pedagogy. Throughout this transformation, the Orthodox Confucian value of obedience also experienced its change of definition to learners—as a courtesy of respecting other people's position and rights rather than an unconditional superstition to other people, especially superiors'

¹⁹⁶ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 102.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ Ibid.

opinion. As Chen Duxiu argued that a patriarchy society will cause losing self-respect personality,¹⁹⁹ civic courses had concentrated on obedience as one perspective. It taught learners how to maintain their personalities and independent thinking without losing courtesy from Confucianism. By overviewing the flourish of Dewey's theory of self-interest and duty, education's importance in both academic and life perspectives, and Nitzche's Master or Morality theories, civic courses' manifestation of distinguishing between conscious obedience and unconscious obedience was the product of cultivating both individuals' independent identities and their moral citizenship, which did not conflict in education. Teaching students not to be unconsciously obedient was to avoid them becoming the followers of their superior without thinking critically and independently, as both Nitzche and Chen emphasized of avoiding becoming enslaved.

Physical Education and National Masculinity

Beyond the reform and manifestation of the civic courses that both cultivated learners' moral citizenship and independent identities that corresponded to the philosophy of self-actualization, another significant manifestation of curriculum was the introduction of physical education. Similar to the self-cultivation courses, the former physical education was named as military-style drills in the late Qing middle schools in 1906.²⁰⁰ This course aimed to correspond to the education policy, pursuit to the martial spirit, in the late Qing. However, late Qing's physical education courses were still military concentrated, and there had yet to have a general education policy emphasizing the physical education. Therefore, when entering the

¹⁹⁹ Chen, *Dongxi Minzu*, 231.

²⁰⁰ Kecheng Jiaocai yanjiusuo, *20 shiji*, 23-25, 34-36, 44-46.

Republic era, intellectuals began seeking the importance of physical education which was initially introduced from Western nations.

When Chen Duxiu was discussing the importance of national masculinity as one guiding education policy, he saw educated youth lacking both physical and spiritual power, and unable to endure in either hot or cold weather.²⁰¹ His concern, while emphasizing that such youth would be unable to take the responsibility and willpower to protect the country if becoming a soldier, also emphasized the fact that lacking of physical power would also lead to the lack of spirit in achieving their personal goals.²⁰² In 1917, Chen's speech in Nankai University further addressed that China's education should be full-bodies rather than solely brainpower-based.²⁰³ Chen's concern revealed that early Republic's education still concentrated more on academic education but lacked physical education, whereas Western nations had already focused both academic and physical education from the popularity of gymnastics as well as in-class games that trained limbs and sensory organs. Under Social Darwinism and the international threat from civilized countries, national masculinity became necessary for cultivating the ambition of new youths as well as enhancing their physical and mental health which will lead to cultivating this ambition. Physical education, therefore, was the path of strengthening nations' power prior to cultivating their spiritual power that motivated their self-actualization.

Intellectuals also explained the relationship between the physical and spiritual power that further emphasized PE's importance. In other words, to reach self-actualization, a healthy body trained through PE was the prerequisite for the education objective. In 1917, Mao Zedong(毛澤東), based on his experiences of swimming and mountain climbing experiences in Hunan First

²⁰¹ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 83.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Chen, *Jindai Xiyang*, 325.

Normal University(湖南第一師範學院),²⁰⁴ He gradually understood the importance of physical education. He believed that the body is the chariot that contains knowledge, the chamber that houses virtue.²⁰⁵ Without the body, a person would no longer be capable of grasping and storing more knowledge. Mao Zedong also recognized that physical education occupied the first place in a person's life because when the body is strong, then he/she can advance speedily in knowledge and morality, and reap far-reaching advantages.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, Mao argued that physical education trained ears, eyes, and brains to enhance the sensory abilities of people, which would lead to a faster cognitive ability of learning knowledge in terms of enhanced vision, listening, and brain mindedness.²⁰⁷ Physical education was not simply a course in the Republic curriculum, but it was a universal education in real-life situations. PE can work in both academic and real-life environments which will help learners strengthen their health and body powers. In relation to self-actualization, PE served as the prerequisite for motivating learners to have the ambition and willpower of reaching their goals.

National masculinity identified the necessity of independence and strength of will, but it also defined a spirit of ambition, aggressiveness, and hardness. Intellectuals believed the importance of independently seeking knowledge to reach one's objective was the main path of education in the Republic era. But to ensure this path works on everyone, the primary goal was to ensure learners to have a body of storing knowledge that will afford the path. On the other hand, intellectuals believed that a strengthened body from physical education will also increase the ability of learning knowledge as well as training people to have stronger spiritual powers to overcome challenges. The word *Sick Man of East Asia* was not only in revealing China's national

²⁰⁴ Edgar Snow. *Red Star over China*. Victor Gollancz Ltd, Random House 1996. 64.

²⁰⁵ Mao Zedong, *Tiyu zhi yanjiu*(Research of Physical Education), Selected Works of Mao Zedong, 1917.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

powers' fallen behind, but also underscoring the "sickness" of Chinese nations—commonly weak in both physical and mental perspectives. Social Darwinism forced Chinese intellectuals to seek ways of education reforms, and overthrowing the stereotype of *Sick Man* was thus a primary target. The introduction of physical education in the Republic curriculum marked the capstone of China's education system, which began focusing on whole-bodied, both academically and life-based, and both physical and spiritual based education, for the ultimate goal of encouraging learners to overcome challenges to achieve self-actualization.

The manifestation of civic courses concentrating on self-cultivation as well as physical education demonstrated the widespread of self-actualization doctrine as well as its co-related education policies including realism and national masculinity. Throughout the early 20th centuries, Chinese scholars kept learning Western education philosophies to find an alternative path of reforming and modernizing China's education system. Dewey, Fukuzawa, and Nietzsche's educational philosophy inspired Chen Duxiu and more intellectuals by emphasizing how to cultivate self both physically and spiritually, as well as how to understand oneself's objective and achieve it. From the late Qing's innovation of Western school systems in 1906 to Chen Duxiu's speech about Western education in 1917, Chinese intellectuals gradually discovered the difference between importing Western curriculum and Western education policies. While the curriculum was the practice of the self-actualization philosophies for the Ministry of Education to inspire, the self-actualization based philosophy was the core that Chinese intellectuals must understand to reform. On the other hand, intellectuals' focus on self education collided with the inherited Chinese traditions, represented by orthodox Confucianism which focused more on obedience and loyalty. Influences of self-actualization made intellectuals re-interpreting traditional cultures' value in the Republic era, and they eventually realized that Confucianism

doctrine should modify to a more individualism focused rather than unconscious obedience based culture. The conflict between noble ideology and traditional ideology created the educational reform in early 20th China. Self-actualization's flourish, beyond a philosophy of Westernization of Chinese education, was also a capstone of the overall ideological reform of China in its transition from an monarch empire, concentrating on patriarchal and hierarchy society, to a republic nation, centering on individual development and equality of self-cultivation.

However, although self-cultivation courses and physical education were two specific practices in early Republic's education curriculum, such curriculum was still yet to become manifested in public education. Urban schools indeed implemented this practice since 1911, but for rural areas, students cohorts were still unable to receive systemic schooling. The education system, followed by the self-actualization philosophy, produced vast majority of learners but also exacerbated the urban-rural split.²⁰⁸ Early 20th century China still had large amount of regions that were rural, where youths there remained a relatively lower literacy rate that caused them inaccessible to the forwarding philosophy of self-actualization.

²⁰⁸ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 40.

Chapter 4: To Save the Nation: Nationalism, Citizenship, and Patriotic Education

Beyond emphasizing the self-actualization philosophy of education in early Republic China, this chapter will concentrate on this new philosophy by analyzing the origin of the dominating term that serve as the core of nationalism and patriotism—*minzu*— and discusses how historian view the state history differently based on the ideology of *minzu* and nationalism. This chapter also investigates how nationalism and patriotism impacted intellectuals to develop civic education that help cultivating new identities of republic nations.

In 1915, Chen Duxiu argued in *Today's Education Policies* that the national cohesion has been scattered since the collapse of Qing, and nationalism would be the primary panacea of saving the country.²⁰⁹ In transitioning from an empire to a nation, China experienced a total revolution of the political system which emphasized the importance of individuals now having a political responsibility. After Sun Yat-Sen mandated Three Principles of the People, democracy dominated the ideology of Republic China, emphasizing a collective society that centered citizens as the main body of the country. On the other hand, citizens' responsibility was raised to save the country from the fallen Qing Empire. When entering the 1920s, scholars emphasized more about nationalism, and it returned to a significant role in national education policy.²¹⁰ Derived from Sun Yat-Sen's doctrine, nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood were the core of the Republic Government's pursuit.²¹¹ Patriotism was also part of nationalism education because its essence concentrated on being loyal to the country, which aligned with democracy education's core value that citizens are responsible for saving and flourishing the country. In the

²⁰⁹ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

²¹⁰ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 35.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*

1920s, the Ministry of Education modified the curriculum to further approach patriotism and nationalism. But from the early 1910s to late 1920s, democracy and nationalism education were already maintained as a guiding philosophy of education apart from self-actualization.

Origin of Minzu

Nationalism, a core ideology that the Republic government pursued, served as a guidance of China's modernization, and this term was frequently used in the modern world since the 1800s.²¹² Prior to China's revolution in 1911, reformers during Japan's Meiji Restoration in 1868 brought the ideology "official nationalism" to their government. Reformers recognized that to reach nationalism, the country still needs Tenno(てんの天皇) as the superior figure but also needs to abolish of the Bakufu(幕府).²¹³ Japanese reformers were inspired from Hohenzollern Prussia Germany, where it had Prussians establishing the territory of the Prussian nation in the 16th century. Reformers adopted official nationalism to dissolve Japanese local "feudal" military units.²¹⁴ Japan's Meiji Restoration symbolized the revolution of social norm that made the state step into a modernized country and overthrew the inherited tradition from feudal system through official nationalism. However, Japan still had the Tenno remained as the superior ruler despite the concentration of nationalism, but this nationalism eventually evolved into an imperialism that motivated Japan to rule nearby countries. Comparing to Japan's nationalism which aimed to strengthen the state to have power evolve into an imperial state, China also experienced transition of overthrowing inherited traditions which came to be called "feudal traditions" as well as developing nationalism. Democracy required society and the government to recognize the

²¹² Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 3.

²¹³ John Maki. *Japanese Militarism, Its Cause and Cure*. New York: Knopf, 1945. 146-147.

²¹⁴ Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 95.

public as the owner of the country, so both the government and citizens have their rights, eventually reaching national cohesion.

Chapter three discusses the significance of the gendered idea of national masculinity that encourages Chinese people to become responsible to strengthen themselves for the survival of the nation. The core of national masculinity was inspired from Fukuzawa Yukichi's theory of centering on social forces that shape humanities. Chen Duxiu emphasized that a democracy is of public concern, rather than of the private property of the state. He summarized European and American politicians' definition of nation: that a nation is a group gathered by the public, managing the interior society of the nation and defending the exterior of the enemy, aiming to protect all citizens' well-being.²¹⁵ By explaining that a group of people must sacrifice their profit to pursue the good of all people of a country, and all people must sacrifice their authority for the strength of a country, Chen Duxiu indicated that China's education system need to teach publics to understand the relationship between individual and the country, and cultivate the value that a country is established, contributed, and governed by publics.²¹⁶ Connecting with the Three Principles of the People, democracy education's goal was to let learners understand their position as the owner of the country. While the government is paying effort for the good of citizens, citizens also have their responsibility to sacrifice themselves for the good of the country. Chen Duxiu's interpretation of democracy education as a collective, citizenship based patriotic education for learners. From making students understand their self-cultivation as a civic citizen, intellectuals were seeking other education goals to cultivate students' responsibility as a citizen,

²¹⁵ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*

as an individual power prepared for contributing to China. This is the patriotic and nationalist philosophy of education, which I discuss in the next section.

Nationalism came from the existence of a nation and aiming for the sovereignty of the nation and its people. A core philosophy of early Republic's education, nationalism also represented a collective national cohesion between citizens. Under the impact of Western Imperialism in the last nineteenth century, Chinese intellectuals were convinced that a modern sense of nationalism was necessary to strengthen the country to resist the foreign powers.²¹⁷ Nationalistic intellectuals presented involved the rejection of elements inherited from traditional and cultural sense of nationhood.²¹⁸ Intellectuals' effort, such as Yi Baisha, in re-interpreting orthodox Confucianism's value during the New Culture Movement was not only a declaration of emphasizing the importance of self-actualization from reflecting on inherited traditions, but also a purpose of advocating nationalism that redefined Chinese nations' identities from unconscious obeyers of rules to self-realizing citizens. Another important concept in nationalism based education is the term nations(minzu民族). This word minzu was connected to a modern state. As Swiss politician Johann Bluntschli wrote, there are men combined in every state; without a nation(Volk), there is no State.²¹⁹ Sun Yat-Sen, on the other hand, explained minzu in Civic Nationalism, recognizing that all citizens, regardless of ethnicity, living in China's borders are collectively one ethnic, which is Chinese nations(Zhonghua Minzu中华民族).

In 1910s, a Commercial Press textbook for upper-level primary students wrote that the extension of the family is the clan(jiazu家族), and the extension of the clan is the nation.²²⁰ With

²¹⁷ Harrison, *The Making of the Republic Citizen*, 5.

²¹⁸ Ibid.

²¹⁹ Johann Bluntschli, translated by Henry Frowde. *Theory of State*. London: Oxford At The Clarendon Press, 1892. 16.

²²⁰ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 52.

the contrast between *jiazu* and *minzu*, the textbook further claimed that the government is established to control the nation, which then becomes the state(*guojia*国家).²²¹ From this textbook, nation, or *minzu*, is the crucial idea connecting lineage and the state. In imperial China, when there was no concept of a nation, the emperor served as the superior ruler and the public must unconsciously follow the orders from the government. Such a political system resulted in less connections between the royal government and citizens, as well as a weak group consciousness between citizens.²²² Nationalism emphasizes national sovereignty and the changing identities of publics through abandoning traditions inherited from the imperial period. Since the democracy ideology recognized publics as superior while publics had responsibility to their nation, nationalism clarified the importance of a collective consciousness between citizens. Under the transformation of focus from empire to nation, from imperial governance to a citizen-centered society, intellectuals also brought educational reforms to advocate nationalism and democracy. From individual to family, nation, and state, nationalism-based education aims to teach new youths that a country is formed by people, governed by people, and will be strengthened by people.

Origin of Chinese Nations

This subsection emphasizes how reformers from late Qing to early Republic period define “Chinese nations,” as well as discuss how Chinese nations became an important concept that influenced the early Republic educational philosophy. Nationalism kept playing the vital perspective of Chinese education philosophy from 1910s even till 1920s. In the late 1920s, the

²²¹ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 52.

²²² Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 81.

Ministry of Education rewrote the curriculum of the Republican education system since nationalists formed a new government based in Nanjing. As Sun Yat-sen's secretary, Dai Jitao(戴季陶) led his effort to “nationalize” and “partify” the schools.²²³ Historian Peter Zarrow argued that Partification(danghua党化) required compliance in letter and spirit with Guomintang policies, as explained in official exegesis of the Three People's Principle—nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood.²²⁴ In other words, there was a transition away from the liberal idea of education espoused in 1915. However, nationalism values had impacted revolutionaries prior to the founding of republics. Nationalism originally referred to anti-Manchuism, based on the idea that overthrowing the Qing and returning power to the Han Chinese people would make China a modern nation-state.²²⁵ In 1903, reformist Liang Qichao found the work of Swiss legalist Johann Bluntschli's work in distinctions between the legal concept of guomin(citizenry) and ethnological term minzu in Bluntschli's *Theory of Modern State*, and Liang interpreted Bluntschli's argument that the word guomin is a larger term that contained different minzu together.²²⁶ Bluntschli defined the state as a unity of people of a distinct territory in which government and governed citizens are mutually related as an ethical-organic, masculine person.²²⁷ He believed that a modern state should have its people unified and the government should recognize them as a new ethnic, and his explanation of masculinity also foresaw Chen Duxiu's emphasis of developing national masculinity to raise new

²²³ Chiu-chun Lee, “Liberalism and Nationalism at a Crossroads: The Guomintang's Educational Policies, 1927–1930,” in *The politics of Historical Production in Late Qing and Republican China*, ed. Tze-ki Hon and Robert J. Culp. Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2007.

²²⁴ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 35.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ James Leibold. *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism : How the Qing Frontier and Its Indigenes Became Chinese*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016. 33.

²²⁷ Christian Rosser. “Johann Caspar Bluntschli's Organic Theory of State and Public Administration.” *Administrative Theory & Praxis* 36, no. 1, 2014. 98.

youths' self-awareness to save the nation in the early Republic era. One important detail to notice is that the term *minzu* mentioned by Liang was still referring to ethics' definition, rather than an ideological definition. However, Liang's analysis of *guomin* that unites various *minzu*, including Han, Manchu, Mongol, Hui, Miao and Tibetan people, was the predecessor of the ideological term *minzu* used by republic reformist, also aligned to the Nationalism of Three People's Principles. His belief in unifying diverse ethnic groups and integrating them into one nation followed Bluntschili's definition of a modern state in terms of an ethnic group. During the Qing Dynasty, the early Qing governed through segregation, in the late nineteenth century, however, the state began to support Han Chinese settler colonists as a way to shore up territorial claims. By maintaining these people under the Qing governance as well as saving the country by establishing national cohesivity, Liang proposed the initial concept of *minzu* prior to Sun Yat-sen's Republic revolution.

However, Liang Qichao's ultimate goal of unifying ethnicities was not directly leading China to nationalism. Due to Liang's responsibility to maintain the survival of Qing China through reform, his target was not a Chinese republic, but a Chinese national empire.²²⁸ Although Liang's purpose was to unison Chinese ethnicities, he's actual purpose was to imagine the Han as the ethnic core of the nation, and to see the mighty Han people dominate and assimilate weaker.²²⁹ Liang's initial belief of an integrated *minzu* was still based on a racial core dominated by the Han ethnic between civic and ethnic nationalism, but he hadn't reached the level of equity between ethics among nationalism, which was declared by Sun Yat-sen in 1911. Sun disagreed with Liang's interpretation that the Manchus had already been assimilated by the Han majority

²²⁸ Pamela Kyle Crossley, Henlen Siu, and Donald Sutton, eds. *Empire at the margins: Culture, ethnicity and frontier in early modern China*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006. 146.

²²⁹ Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism*, 33.

and made Han as the leader of unified ethics because this ideology in nations was unable to satisfy the goal of Xingzhonghui in preparing for the Xin Hai Revolution.²³⁰ Scholars recognized both Sun and Liang as leading figures in opposing Zhang Taiyan's "racial revengism" (zhongzu fuchou zhuyi 种族复仇主义) and saw Western Imperialism threatening China's survival in terms of Social Darwinism.²³¹ Racial revengism originated from Zhang because of his opposition to Manchu's governance that led to the fall of Qing, and Zhang believed that Han ethnics should begin their rebellion against Manchu at the moment of China seeking for ways to reform. Therefore, his viewpoint of the Chinese nation did not include Manchus because of their responsibilities of bringing China under Western imperialism's threat. Throughout reformers defining Chinese nations, this Ministry of Education proclaimed since late 1912 that from primary school level, students need to learn the progress of the nation(minzu) as well as the foundation of the Republic.²³² The learning of minzu was soon included in the history curriculum.

Sun Yat-sen, distinct from both Zhang and Liang, proved more inclusive and less radical in defining Zhonghua minzu. In 1899, Sun envisioned a Chinese-dominated state in the form of a republic rather than constitutional monarchy, and he proposed binding Qing territory together into a new Chinese geo-body.²³³ His future vision wove "central China" together with ethnicities including Manchu, Mongol, Uyghur, Tibetan, and East Turkestan as a new national body.²³⁴ In the 1911 Revolution, Sun continued his vision of creating an inclusive Chinese society that unified each ethnic group together to create authentic Zhonghua minzu. Eventually, the

²³⁰ Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism*, 33.

²³¹ Ibid.

²³² Kecheng jiaocai yaniiusuo, ed., *20 shiji*, vol 1, 64; vol 12, 10-11.

²³³ Chong Jey Ray, "Cheng Kuai-yin(1841-1920)" A source of Sun Yat-sen's nationalist ideology?" *The Journal of Asian Studies* 28.2 (February), 1969. 262.

²³⁴ Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism*, 33-34.

overthrow of the Qing Dynasty and the founding of Republican government achieved nationalism by proposing “three great isms(sanda zhuyi三大主义)”: doctrine of the people’s lineage(Minzu民族), doctrine of people’s sovereignty(Minquan民权), and doctrine of the people’s livelihood(Minsheng民生).²³⁵ These three doctrines were the basis of Three Principles of the People, emphasizing the goal of eliminating Manchu’s regime(驱除鞑虏), restoration of China(恢复中华), the establishment of Republic(创立民国), and equalization of lands(平均地权). By the 1920s, when Sun gradually detected that Manchus, Mongols, Tibetans and Hui only stood a minority of the Chinese population, he came to an understanding of nationality that ceased to recognize "China" as made up of different ethnic groups.²³⁶ Since then, Zhonghua minzu was eventually defined as a Han majority dominated with a number of minor ethnic groups unifying together as nations of the Republic China. Through viewing Bluntschli’s theory that there must be nations to establish a state, the Xin Hai Revolution and the origin of Three Principles of Peoples marked the beginning of connecting ethnic groups together to one unified nation, and the nation became the core of the state, which demonstrated the value of nationalism aiming for the sovereignty of the state and its people. Defining a Chinese nation was a process that began prior to the founding of the Republic era. It demonstrated how Chinese reformers sought for a new Chinese identity during the transition from an empire to a nation. From Zhang Taiyan to Liang Qichao and to Sun Yat-sen, reformers and revolutionists prior to the Republic of China gradually created an explicit definition of minzu and nationalism, emphasizing the unification of Chinese publics. After the founding of the republic, nationalism and minzu became

²³⁵ Leibold, *Reconfiguring Chinese Nationalism*, 34.

²³⁶ Sun Yat-Sen, “Minzuzhuyi- Diyijiang” (The Principle of Minzu - Lecture Number One), 1924. 188.

the essence of China and led into the philosophy of democracy and patriotism based education, advocated and emphasized by Republic intellectuals and scholars.

Intellectuals, Nationalism, and Civic Education

Citizenship education was introduced since the founding of the Republic Era. Its purpose was to cultivate learners' identities of a republican citizen rather than simply trying to make different identities transitioning from the Qing Era to the Republic Era. In *Today's Education Policies*, Chen Duxiu argued that the core of a modernized nationalism state needs to be democracy rather than slavery because the state was constructed by groups of nations, and defended national well-being rather than the private property of the rulers.²³⁷ Intellectuals' purpose of advocating nationalism and democracy education was to cultivate new youths' responsibility of making contribution to the nation and the state as well as increasing their self-realization of citizenship which will guide achieving a citizen-centered society. Civic education, therefore, became a demanding curriculum that cultivated "good citizens." Good citizens were linked with harmonious relations, morality, and patriotism in civic education.²³⁸ In Western democracy context, civic education refers to developing knowledge of how the government and other institutions in any given state work, the rights and duties of citizens with respect to state and society as a whole, as well as development of national identity.²³⁹ Chen believed that nationalism and democracy marked the citizen-center nature of the state, and the country's government was responsible for maintaining social well-being for nations. Nations

²³⁷ Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

²³⁸ Li Hui. *The Relationship between Regime "Type" and Civic Education : The Cases of Three Chinese Societies*. 1st Edition 2021. Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021. 14.

²³⁹ Joel Westheimer and Joseph Kahne, "What Kind of Citizen? The Politics of Educating for Democracy." *American Educational Research Journal* 41, no. 2, 2004. 245.

were the core of a state, and cohesive relationship between nation will further maintain the unity of a state, and democracy recognizes nation as the owner of the country to increase the national cohesiveness through elevating social well-being. When Liu Shipei opened the advocacy of citizen-centered society in his unique history lessons through *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, intellectuals stepped into the Republic era through the more explicit concept of minzu and guojia established by Sun Yat-sen. Therefore, viewing the democratic nature of Republic China, civic education's purpose was to cultivate Chinese youths' identities independent from either imperial China or Western countries, especially European nations and the United States.

Etiquette and Self-Cultivation

One important concentration of citizenship education was etiquette. Such studies in European societies have shown that manners can work as a means of orienting and integrating oneself within a particular community.²⁴⁰ However, Chinese inherited values, even Confucianism, also emphasized etiquette in imperial China's education system, which was ritual (礼). Ancient education taught students ritual by using classics, including *Four Books and Five Classics*, through curriculum including costume, manner, and courtesy.²⁴¹ Republic's etiquette education combined both traditional Chinese ritual and Western etiquette together, despite the fact that the ministry of education did not mimic either of two curricula. As the civil service examination system was abolished and the adoption from modern Western-style academies, classical education was replaced by the presentation of personal modernity. New costume, manners, and customs all played a part in presenting oneself as a modern person.²⁴² Etiquette

²⁴⁰ Norbert Elias. *The Civilizing Process*. New York: Urizen Book, 1978.; Anna Clare Bryson, "Concepts of Civility in England c. 1560-1685." Oxford D. Phil., 1984.

²⁴¹ Harrison, *The Making of the Republican Citizen*, 61.

²⁴² Ibid.

education aimed to aesthetically and behaviorally modernize Chinese youth as a revolutionary process in Republic education.

Civic education emphasized patriotism by emphasizing extended love as a guiding principle. In chapter 3, I mention that civic courses were a significant curriculum that helped students develop autonomous skills and taught them independence, as well as avoiding unconscious obedience that inherited from Confucianism culture. But beyond this education objective, civic courses and its predecessors self-cultivation courses reformed after the founding of the republic era also had its primary target of teaching students identities of republic citizen as well as patriotism. For example, a Commercial Press textbook for upper primary students in the mid 1910s presented a sophisticated explanation of patriotism. This textbook began with a explanation of “extended love”(boai博爱), a word originated from Confucianism of love extending out from family relations as well as to translate the more radical notion of “fraternity” from the French Revolution.²⁴³ Fraternity(*fraternité*) symbolized both liberty(*liberté*) and equity(*égalité*) during this revolution.²⁴⁴ French revolutionists held this ideology to establish social connection between people to build up a democratic regime as the revolution succeeded. China’s revolution, on the other hand, also pursued the overthrow of the autocracy monarch system to establish a republic state that emphasized unity of nations into one minzu, and emphasizing democracy as the main ideology of the state to bring equity and liberty to the public. Republic textbooks reached self-cultivation from both traditional Chinese values and modern Western thinking. The textbook indicated the nature of etiquette education was that the republic identity was not totally abolishing inherited traditions or completely Westernize

²⁴³ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 51.

²⁴⁴ Pierre Nora ed. *Lieux de Mémoire [Places of memory]* (in French), vol. tome III, Quarto Gallimard, 4353–89.

education from curriculum to pedagogies, but making a balance between two distinct cultures and use this balance to establish new republic civic identities. The example textbook also explained that patriotism was specifically rooted in the natural feeling of self-love.²⁴⁵ Zarrow further argued that natural love was not limited to the individual self but also immediate family and a child's social circle including relatives and friends who help teach him/her what is right or wrong.²⁴⁶ In late 1910s, *The Most Up-to-Date Chinese Textbook* had begun the lesson the an orthodox way by claiming "The love of friends should be no different from that of family and kin."²⁴⁷ This was the transition from self-love to extended love, raising the significance of love from the perspective of being responsible to oneself to being responsible for familiar people surrounding oneself. Therefore, Zarrow concluded that the equal love of friends, family, relatives, and self combined together as the righteousness lying in defending and protecting the nation.²⁴⁸ Both fraternity and boai had their ideology of extended love and national cohesiveness that cultivates learners' duty of loving, respecting, and protecting people surrounding them, creating individual social circles that help each learner achieve their "extended love". Love, in the civic education context, followed the principle between nations and states, as Bluntschli claimed that there will be no state without volks. Civic education offered learners the importance of national cohesiveness through a micro scale of loving surrounding people and bringing each individual's social circle together in forming a socially connected, mutually respectful and responsible, as well as an ideologically unified minzu to achieve patriotism from nation to state.

²⁴⁵ Gao Fengqian, Zhang Yuanji, and Jiang Weiqiao. *Zuixin guowen jiaokeshu*(The Latest Chinese Language Textbook), 2: 1a-2b.

²⁴⁶ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 52.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

Civic education also developed several etiquette that demonstrated the modernity of republic students and showed their unique identities different from Western manners and inherited Chinese traditions. Primary school textbook introduced direct class norms and instructions such as bowing to teachers. For example, bowing to teachers was a typical norm first introduced in early republican textbooks.²⁴⁹ Pupils needed to take off their hats while the teacher wore a Western-style suit.²⁵⁰ This norm aims to keep students respectful to teachers in future, and its origin can trace to ancient Chinese culture in the perspective of “ritual”. Bowing to the teacher was also the first lesson in primary school ethics textbook, showing that being respectful was the most fundamental and necessary norm for students to remember as their academic life began. However, being respectful to teachers belonged to conscious obedience rather than unconscious obedience. As discussed in Chapter three, conscious obedience was mostly showing a person’s respect and understanding to his/her senior or elder people, including teachers, parents, and even brothers or sisters. Adapting and modifying inherited traditions during the Republic education system was indeed a modernization of Chinese culture. Bowing to teachers was also not only an independent class norm developed in the republic period, but also a respect to inherited Chinese traditions that lasted for a thousand years.

Another significant etiquette cultivating patriotism was the ceremony of students bowing to both teachers and the national flag. School terms usually begin with an opening ceremony in which teachers and students gather in the school hall and bow to the national flag and then to each other.²⁵¹ The original textbook wrote that there were three bows to the flag.²⁵² One important

²⁴⁹ Harrison, *The Making of the Republic China*, 61.

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Shen Yi, Dai Kedun ed.. *Gonghe guomin jiaokeshu xin xiushen*(Republican citizens’ textbooks New Ethics), ShanghaiL Shangwu yinshuguan, 1922(1st edition 1912) vol. 1. 3.

feature to notice was that after students and teachers bow to the flags, they begin to bow to each other, meaning that while students bow to their teacher, the teacher will also bow to students, too. Bowing to national flags symbolized students and teachers' respect to their state, as a necessity of patriotism education. In fact, even in contemporary China, public schools, from elementary school, middle school, to high school, ceremony of raising flags and all students and faculties staring at flags rising was still required. Despite that contemporary China was already governed by CCP and the ideology also followed socialism, flag raising ceremonies were still maintained as a necessary portion of patriotism education. Etiquette played as a crucial role in Chinese civic education by creating a set of norms that aligned with the ideology of nationalism and patriotism, and these norms were inspired not only from inherited Chinese rituals and Western manners, but also had innovative methods that fits China's national identity such as demonstrating love to both surrounding people and to the state.

Liu Shiwei and Re-evaluating Chinese History under Nationalism

Nationalism education centered the nation on the priority of the country, and it also represented the overthrow of inherited traditions from imperial China to reshape Chinese nations' identity. Combining both perspectives of nationalism, history education's reform was a representative change that aligns with nationalism philosophy. Prior to the writing of *New Historiography*, China's history curriculum has not generally imported Western scholars' perspectives in viewing Chinese history. Therefore, China's history teaching was based on the traditional historical writings such as the *Twenty-Four Histories*(Er Shi si shi 二十四史), *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*(Zizhi tongjian 资治通鉴), *Comprehensive Institutions*(Tongdian 通典), and *Comprehensive Examination of Literature*(Wenxian tongkao 文

献通考) were the mainstream literature for historical studies and teaching references in the Late Qing period. Even in the late 1900s, intellectuals and historians started to establish new historical studies as well as history textbooks. Among these intellectuals who contributed to history education, One representational scholar was Liu Shipei who wrote and edited China's history textbooks during the Republic period. His summary of Chinese history, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu* was written between 1905 and 1906, when the civil service exam was abolished in 1905. It became the primary text over the following decade after the revolution. The history of this set of textbooks was written from the origin of China, and to the founding of the Republic government. The set of textbooks has thirty-six lessons in total. Starting from the origin of Han minzu and the Yellow Emperor, Liu's textbook not only has the chronological explanation of a dynasty's rise and fall, but also spent several chapters in analyzing the culture of a certain historical period or a dynasty.

Compared to the civic education and self-cultivation courses which taught the national identity to achieve learners' nationalism and patriotism, history education began in an earlier period even prior to the founding of the Republic government. In October of 1903, the Qing's official press in Shanghai published world history's archives, named as *Wanguo Lishi Huibian*(The World's History Compilation万国历史汇编). Liu Shipei wrote the preface for the book, claiming that with the great unity of domestic and foreign realms, China's traditional methods of history were not sufficient enough to encompass the capabilities of Western histories.²⁵³ In 1905, *Newspaper of Chinese Cultural Essence*(Guocui xuebao国粹学报) criticized that even though China preserved thousands of ancient history works from the past, most Chinese history textbooks were translated from Japanese textbooks because ancient

²⁵³ Wang Ziyun, Guo Shuying, and Li Beiqiao, *Wanguo Lishi Huibian*.

Chinese history work were too difficult to transform into textbooks.²⁵⁴ Liu believed that methods of documenting history must change, do so out of necessity; and with the change of historical methods, there is also a necessity to employ both Chinese and global history to write history textbooks. Therefore, Liu believed that in historical studies, especially under the Twentieth Century when Western learning became popular in China's academia, scholars should not simply rely on the ancient Chinese historical statutes. Liu Shiwei believed that global historians' perspectives and their interpretation in ancient Chinese history need to be incorporated into the modernized historical studies.²⁵⁵ This new historical study concentration was also called *Xin Shixue* (New Historiography 新史学). Liu aimed to combine international historical learning with Chinese history to open up how the world understands history to scholars and learners. *New Historiography* was also adapted in Liu's writing of Chinese History Textbook.

Citizen-centered History and Royal History

To correspond with the *New Historiography's* principles as well as the advocacy of nationalism, Liu Shiwei's history textbooks had several features that made them suitable for higher primary schools and middle schools' students. To follow rising nationalism and the new concept "minzu," Liu argued that China's previous history narratives were generally detailed as they were histories of the royal house, but not histories of the nation, of the minzu.²⁵⁶ He aimed to let the textbooks' objectives to be the following focuses: the similarities and differences of regimes through the ages, the origins and conclusions of racial divisions and unifications, the outline of institutional reforms, the strata of social evolution, and the general trend of academic

²⁵⁴ Guocui xuebao. *Volume 1*. Guangling Shushe Yingyinben, 2006. 4.

²⁵⁵ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 2.

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

advancement and decline.²⁵⁷ These topics were all highly related to how a country was established from both state and nation aspects. As Sun Yat-sen, Liang Qichao and Zhang Taiyan in the same period identified what is nation(minzu), Liu's objective in teaching history also aligned to the goal of teaching students what is nation by emphasizing the important role of racial divisions and unifications as well as the strata of social evolution. Prior to Liu Shipei writing *Chinese History Textbook* in 1904, the history curriculum's goal was to convert the "great" and virtuous deeds of the sage rulers, so students learned how Chinese culture originate and the sacredness of government of the "peasant dynasty" in imperial China in order to cultivate national loyalty(guomin zhongai国民忠爱).²⁵⁸ Loyalty was still the primary philosophy of history education. Through Learning history concentrating on rulers, students were to understand how past emperors contributed to strengthen China, resulting in them having more respect and even loyalty to their rulers. However, the word "loyalty" was more based on the deed of rulers. The beginning use of the term "nations" by Chinese reformers was a word that imperial China, especially late Qing, had never used before. Precisely, the word nation, whether referring to people(minzu) or the state(guojia), was already itself a break with the past imperial China.²⁵⁹ In 1905, Liu Shipei wrote *Ethics Textbook*(Lunli jiaokeshu伦理教科书) and began his career as a middle school teacher. When he saw his works as offering students an overview of Chinese moral tradition, he sought to "arouse the spirit of Chinese people so they may rise up", as a reference to his attitude of following revolutionary nationalism.²⁶⁰ From his education objectives through *Ethics Textbook*, we can see Liu Shipei had begun investigating new pedagogies,

²⁵⁷ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 2.

²⁵⁸ Qu Xingui and Lang Liangyan. *Zhongguo jindi jiaoyushi ziliao huibian*, vol.1. 295; Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, ed., *20 shiji Zhongguo zhongxiaoxue kecheng biao zhun*, vol.12. 5.

²⁵⁹ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 150.

²⁶⁰ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 95.

curriculum and textbooks that focus more on nationalism as the future education path even prior to the founding of the Republic era.

In 1907, Liu Shipei and his wife He Zhen(何震) established the Society for the Study of Socialism(*Shehuizhuyi jiangxi hui*社会主义讲习会) in Tokyo, Japan.²⁶¹ He then became the center of Chinese anarchism. His study proposed two journals of the core values: *Natural Justice*(*Tianyibao*) and the *Balance*(*Hengbao*). Historian Arif Dirlik argued that Liu advocated Tokyo Anarchism aimed to stress the virtues of agrarian society and preferred the freedom from political interference that prevailed under the imperial state in China to despotism.²⁶²Liu's attitudes in creating anarchism aimed to eliminate the social hierarchy created by the emperor and the royal family, while advocating equalities between individuals as well as raising women's social position from a relatively inferior position. Here showed Liu Shipei's goal in creating a new Chinese society that concentrated on the rights of the public instead of the rulers, despite in a relatively radical way of reaching anarchy. On the other hand, his strategy of writing textbooks made different approaches to simply recording past history. Liu aimed to let students understand that beyond the replacement of different dynasties, he also expected students to understand how culture, society, and ideologies varied between dynasties. In this purpose, the history teaching will draw more attention on cultivating learners' understanding of the continuous cultures among a civilization, as well as the pattern of how dynasties rise and fall. Both attention was addressed to the education objective of strengthening learners' cultural identity to increase their self-realization as a unique Chinese nation, while understanding the past to reflect on the

²⁶¹ Arif Dirlik. *Anarchism in the Chinese Revolution*. Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991. 14.

²⁶² Dirlik, *Anarchism*, 63.

historical patterns that encourage learners to own Chinese nations' responsibility of saving the state.

In the *Chinese History Textbook*, Liu Shiwei discussed cultural history in most lessons, which distinguished it from ancient Chinese historical writing that recorded dynastic history as the common way. In the content of the first volume of *Chinese History Textbook*, Liu not only concentrated on the chronological contents of a dynasty as the main content, but rather most of the content in both volume 1 and 2 were the culture, the society, and the civilizations of each dynasty. Liu also separates these "cultural topics" into several lessons to chronologically document the progress of a certain culture's evolution. One example in volume 1, which contained 36 lessons in total, has only 5 lessons teaching the chronological history of the dynasty. In the other 31 lessons, Liu concentrated on politics, geography, ethics, religion, military, laws, education, and even trades to form a multiperspective overview of Chinese history before the Zhou period. From the sixth lesson, the volume began talking about the Ancient Geography(古代之地理) in China until the 36th lesson, which was the Discourse of Ancient Diet(古代飲食述略).²⁶³ Between these two chapters are all lesson topics that discussed ancient cultures rather than chronological history. Liu's purpose of adding cultural history as the majority of the textbook was to emphasize citizen-centered history. The history curriculum in the pre-1911 period was supposed to show students the relations among facts and the different origins of various cultures.²⁶⁴ However, upper primary school history classes were revolving around the stories of how a dynasty was established or collapsed chronologically.²⁶⁵ Middle schools' history curriculum also focused on narratives of each dynasty's great events.²⁶⁶ Therefore, before Liu's

²⁶³ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 98-106.

²⁶⁴ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 151.

²⁶⁵ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 150

²⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

textbook was published, the overall curriculum for Chinese history conveyed an impression of “continuity.”²⁶⁷ The word “continuity” here not only indicated the routines of each ancient Chinese dynasties experiencing rise and fall which continued for over two-thousand years, but also represented the similar pedagogy to ancient historical writings that both focus on essential historical events as the major ways of learning history. Liu, in the preface of the textbook, claimed that the new historical studies should be different from the past. History of the public, under history education’s context, has been the connections between public and society through nationalism, the concept of minzu, and patriotism since the late 1900s. A history centering on culture, society, and people rather than solely on the royal empire’s rise and fall’s linear history continued its underlying educational objective from loyalty to the rulers to the loyalty to the nations and state. Liu argued that the Chinese textbook’s narrative focused more on royal family but neglected citizens, focused more on historical anecdotes but less on decrees and regulations, so the past so-called Chinese history actually recorded one single family’s affairs.²⁶⁸

As mentioned earlier, historical writings such as *Twenty-Four Histories* were popular historical works prior to Chinese historical studies’ reform. Liu Shipei believed that *Twenty-Four Histories*’ contents were over complicated, and other writings such as *Comprehensive Mirror for Aid in Government*, *Comprehensive Institutions*, and *Comprehensive Examination of Literature* had long contents that would reduce the teaching and learning efficiencies in China’s history learning. Therefore, Liu Shipei wrote a chapter-categorized, chronologically and culturally written, and internationally referenced history textbook to reach the concise but explicit goal of teaching history. Liu himself was experiencing critical thinking in the academic perspective by

²⁶⁷ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 150

²⁶⁸ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi*, 2.

analyzing Chinese history from various perspectives. *The Chinese History Textbook* was a symbol of pre-republic intellectuals' motivation of contributing independent and critical thinking in interpreting, summarizing, and preparing teaching Chinese history in the education approach. On the other hand, the international sources and documenting methods from Western nations made the *New Historiography* and the textbook's approach to a social, cultural, and public viewpoints instead of solely royal and political perspectives. Such a change of viewpoint in history corresponded to the rising revolution of democracy, preparing cultivating students that citizens were the essence of a continuous and flourishing country throughout history.

In fact, ancient Chinese historical writings, such as *Records of the Grand Historian*(*Shiji* 史记) written by Sima Qian, mostly had their contents in royal families and governmental affairs. In *Shiji*, Sima Qian used three terms to categorize history from the Yellow Emperor to Early West Han. They are Dynastic Chronicles(*Benji* 本纪), recording the rise and fall of each dynasty from Xia to Qin, Vassal States' Chronicles(*Shijia* 世家), recording the rise and fall of vassal states noble houses, and Minister Chronicles(*Liezhuan* 列传), recording the biography of each dynasties' ministers' families.²⁶⁹ As a chronicle of historical writing which aimed to record a general history from the Yellow Emperor to West Han, Sima Qian(司馬遷) centered on dynamics of the emperor, royal ministers, and vessel state governors as the primary perspectives in recording history. One common trait between three categories of *Shiji* was rulers. Compared to Sima Qian as a representative of ancient historians, Liu Shipei focused less on rulers' perspective of viewing history, but rather on the lives of everyday people. The *Chinese History Textbook's* cultural history concentration aimed to break the traditional "continuity" learning, expanding students' view of history from event and state dynamics to a broader range of culture including

²⁶⁹ Sima Qian, *Shiji*.

diplomatic relations, mundane life of publics, and even religions and ethics. On the other hand, under the impact of nationalism and patriotism ideology, Liu's textbook strengthened the concept "minzu" in his writings. Although he did not use the word "minzu" in his writing, the textbook had many lessons using the word publics (renmin 人民) and kept emphasizing that publics were the main body of the country, which aligned with democracy's value that nations are the owner of the country. Liu also implied citizen-centered history's existence in his interpretation from the textbook. For example, in a chapter *Ancient Chinese Government* (古代之政治), he quoted from the Yellow Emperor that "while the king is in danger, publics will also feel insecure (君危其上, 民不安其下)."²⁷⁰ Liu interpreted that in ancient China, emperors had the responsibility to protect the public, and they fulfilled their duties to the people every day, and the rights they enjoyed may not necessarily be reciprocated.²⁷¹ The duty of rulers was to protect their citizens' wellbeing, indicating Liu's attitudes of ancient rulers centering on citizens as the main body of the state. He expressed the underlying ideology of citizen-centered education that aligned with the term "minzu", despite the fact that Liu did not use "minzu" in his writing.

Liu adapted Western historical writings and methods in editing the textbook. Upon with using word "public" and indicating ancient China's citizen-centered society, Liu also used the word "rights (权利)" and "duties (义务)" in explaining the political hierarchy of publics in ancient China.²⁷² However, neither of these two words originated from ancient Chinese writing in representing a person's legal rights, but instead came from *Elements of International Law* (万国公法) written by Henry Wheaton in late 19th century. Wheaton posited a "great society" of the state, which determined rights and duties between this society.²⁷³ The concept of rights and duties

²⁷⁰ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 35.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

²⁷² Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 36.

²⁷³ Henry Wheaton. *Elements of International Law*.

requires the origin of a society, which Liu Shipei also emphasized in ancient Chinese society that also had a society composed of the public. But based on a modern society from the 19th century, Wheaton argued that membership in such a society depended on mutual recognition of states, with sanction enforced by opinions.²⁷⁴ In other words, Wheaton believed that rights and duties existed between nations through mutual relationships. But changing from the context between nations to the context between publics, rights and duties were also representing mutual recognition between people. This was a sense of benevolence among publics in society, centering citizens as the superior position of the society. Liu Shipei's frequent use of rights and duties was not only using a modernized language and term to clearly narrate the ancient Chinese history, but his precise word choice underlined his purpose of expressing his ideology aligning with citizen-centered education in creating new history textbooks. That is, despite that Liu Shipei's history textbook was mostly based on his deep immersion in traditional cultures in ancient Chinese history, he revealed his radical support of upcoming nationalism and democracy prior to the revolution in 1911.²⁷⁵ Although the time Liu wrote the textbook was even prior to the founding of the Republic government, his effort in teaching history in a diverse perspective distinct from ancient concentration marked the re-interpretation of Chinese nations thinking about their history.

The *Chinese History Textbook's* content of each chapter were more concise than traditional textbooks from the late Qing Dynasty, and it used independent chapters rather than chronicles to separate each lesson. Each chapter's word count was strictly controlled between 1500 words for the ease of teaching, and volume was written for one semester's course. Liu

²⁷⁴ Wheaton, *Elements of International Law*.

²⁷⁵ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 26.

himself wrote the first two volumes. The first volume recorded the history from the origin of the Han ethnic to the end of Shang Dynasty. As Han ethnic was the major body of Chinese nations, Liu Shiwei emphasized Chinese nation in the first lesson of the textbook to persist his alternative understanding of Chinese history that Han ethnic was recognized the early 20th century, but its original term was Chinese nation(Zhongguo Remin中国人民).²⁷⁶ The second volume recorded the history of the West Zhou Dynasty. Although the third volume of this set of textbooks was not written because of Liu's visiting Japan to meet with Sun-Yat Sen for the 1911 revolution, the third and later textbooks' content for each dynasty and chapter structure was shown explicitly to the Ministry of Education.

For Imperial China's history documentation, the chronicle was the major format. Taking *Shiji* as an example, it chronologically recorded the dynamic of Chinese dynastic society. Historian Hayden White explained that when historians commence to write from chronicle, the chronicle will be organized into stories.²⁷⁷ However, White also argued that all stories, even the stories of history, are fictional, and chronicles are an arrangement of events in their temporal order.²⁷⁸ Chronicles' principle was to summarize and organize the history into stories in order, so its main purpose was to narrate the events and facts in detail. But for the Western nations since the 19th century, separating historical narratives in chronological history and cultural history to independent chapters became the main structure for documenting history. Liu Shiwei argued that Western historical writing usually separate contents depending on different eras; the history of civilization composed also involves much analysis of different categories of events.²⁷⁹ In other

²⁷⁶ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 4.

²⁷⁷ Hossin A. Moula. "Hayden White's Theory of History as Narrative in the Light of New Historicism." *Eurasian journal of English Language and Literature*, 5(1)-2023. 31-32.

²⁷⁸ Ibid.

²⁷⁹ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 6.

words, Liu discovered that Western historical narratives concentrated more on individual events for case studies, turning out to interpret the impact of each historical event and connecting them together to form an era's general history.

Liu Shipai also investigated that Western history writings used chapters for recording both historical narrative and case studies of culture. As Liu initially discovered that traditional Chinese writing concentrated more on royal chronicles but less on social and civilization history, he comprehended the purpose of using independent chapters to compose a new style of historical writing that covered both perspectives in history. He claimed that by writing history chronologically, accompanied by a political system and culture to make the audience easier to understand sophisticated history.²⁸⁰ Liu combined both linear history and a dynasty's culture, politics, and societies in writing the textbook. He initially wrote the chronological order from the founding of Han ethnics to the Xia, Shang and Zhou Dynasty. However, between these major chronicles, Liu separated them into chapters and added cultural history chapters after the chronological history. This method of documenting history for educational purposes showed multiple perspectives for students in learning history. A general glance of chronological history and a Microscopic Case Study in cultural history combined together to ensure students to learn detailed history on citizens and policies while learning the royal history and major events. From these culturally based history, students will understand how society continues flourishing from both the reform of politics and culture. When China was preparing for a democratic revolution in the late 1900s, democracy was the initial ideological concept that encouraged many reformers and intellectuals to interpret its underlying meaning. For democracy, it was mostly connected to nation and state. Liu aimed to emphasize publics' life in history to reach the teaching objective

²⁸⁰ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 6.

that citizens were always the core of a country, and citizens' well-being kept evolving through the reform of political system, laws, academics, as well as the cultural reforms. By distributing chronological history and cultural history in chapters, the textbook presented a transitional teaching philosophy that let students firstly understand the general history of a dynasty, and then made them learn more specific case studies to enhance their understanding of multiple perspectives of a country in different historical periods. Through learning societal and cultural history, *Chinese History Textbook* was an indication of democratic approach of centering “citizens”, and teaching students the importance of individuals to the culture and society to establish their self-identities of a minzu in China.

Liu Shipai centered foreign scholarship in his writing. He clarified this method in the preface of the textbook. In the 20th century, Liu believed that solely relying on Chinese traditional historical writing will overlook some details, whereas Western scholars studying on Chinese history provided more detailed analysis on historical events during the ancient time prior to the Xia Dynasty, which will compensate for the omission of Chinese history writings.²⁸¹ In the first lesson, *Ancient Time's Brief Description*(上古時代述略), Liu summarized the definition of Chinese people from both Chinese and Western scholars' interpretations. Below is the content of defining the origin of Chinese minzu:²⁸²

The people of China, known in modern times as the Han nationality, belong to the same Mongoloid race as the other peoples of Asia. In ancient times, among the five colors, yellow was revered, and thus the race was distinguished by the color of the earth, with “The Yellow Emperor(黃帝)” being the land of the Mongoloid people, referred to as “people of the yellow race.” However, the rise of the Han

²⁸¹ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 2.

²⁸² Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 6.

nationality began in Gaktai. Ancient texts refer to a "Great Emperor" or "Taigu(太古)," which is a transliteration of "Gaktai." Later, they crossed the Kunlun Mountains, now the Pamir Plateau, passed through Greater Bacteria, or Da Xia(大夏), now Central Asia, and moved eastward to settle in the Central Plains. According to the *History of Chinese Civilization* by the Japanese Shirakawa family, thus the term Hua Xia(華夏) used by Westerners originated from the "flower states(Huaguo花國)" around the Kunlun. "Da Xia" was to the west of the flowing sands and is a transliteration of "flower state." The name "Hua Xia" likely evolved from "Da Xia." Thus, "Hua Xia" signifies the fame of cultural relics, a name passed down among the Chinese people.

Liu Shipai referenced a foreign perspective to trace back to the origin of Chinese ethnicity, as well as explaining the transitioning of how the word Hua Xia, which represented both China's territories and Chinese nations, was initially formed. As mentioned earlier, Liu usually cite the source and reference them in the middle of the main contents for extended history teaching purposes. For the excerpt above, Liu explained further references to explain how Western perspective recognized the origin of Chinese ethnics. In explaining the yellow color of Asians, Liu addressed that Westerners refer to the countries of East Asia, such as Korea, Japan, and China, collectively as "Mongolian race" because during the end of the Song Dynasty in China, they were intimidated by the might of the Mongolian westward conquests and thus adopted the term "Mongol."²⁸³ To explain the character Hua, Liu indicated that this term originated when the founding ancestors of China moved eastward, passing by the Kunlun Mountains, and encountered a magnificent state called "Hua."²⁸⁴ They were so impressed by its

²⁸³ Liu, *Zhongguo Lishi Jiaokeshu*, 4.

²⁸⁴ Ibid.

prosperity that they remembered and passed it down to their descendants.²⁸⁵ Later generations continued their ancestors' aspirations and thus became known as “Hua.”²⁸⁶ Liu’s interpretation originated from French historian’s Terrien de Lacouperie’s Sino-Babylonian Theory. Lacouperie believed that the origins of Chinese civilization lay in Mesopotamia. In fact, from the 1900s to 1930s, Sino-Babylonianism captured the imagination of many Chinese historians. Whether they supported or opposed Lacouperie's view, Chinese historians were intrigued by his boldness in linking early China to the global network of cultural exchange.²⁸⁷ Liu Shipei, Huang Jie, and Zhang Taiyan opposed the Manchu dynasty on the grounds of Han nationalism, especially Zhang who believed in racial revengism against the Manchu regime. Both reformers supported Lacouperies’ theory by re-interpreting ancient texts and promoted patriotism by narrating the past in light of national renewal.²⁸⁸ Although in view from Liang Qichao and even Sun Yat-sen’s interpretation of the Chinese nation, Sino-Babylonian Theory seemed to be a disrespect for Chinese civilization, three Chinese scholars discovered this theory as an alternative explanation against the Manchu regime. Liu concentrated on Han nations in the first lesson of the textbook, so his attitude towards the Chinese nation, similar to Zhang Taiyan, should be Han-dominated. But turning back to history education, Liu Shipei wrote Sino-Babylonian Theory in the textbook and provided another insight of how global scholars recognized China, encouraging learners to re-interpret history from a different perspective rather than a single-version perspective. As Liu Shipei has been engaged in the *New Historiography*, he kept interpreting and even acknowledging Western theories towards ancient Chinese history. Liu’s changing perspective of

²⁸⁵ Hon Tze-ki, “From a Hierarchy in Time to a Hierarchy in Space: The Meanings of Sino-Babylonianism in Early Twentieth-Century China.” *Modern China* 36, no. 2. 2010. 140.

²⁸⁶ Hon, “From a Hierarchy,” 140.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

²⁸⁸ Zheng Shiqu, *Wan Qing guocui pai-wenhua sixiang yanjiu*(The national essence group of the late Qing: a study of culture and thought). Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe.1997.

viewing Chinese history indicated intellectuals' critical thinking when reflecting on their country's history.

As the predecessor of Liu Shipei's history teaching philosophy driven by *New Historiography*, the Republic history education further included Chinese history until the early 20th century into the curriculum. But the Ministry of Education's teaching philosophy in primary school kept the principle of "a deep commitment to the moral standards of citizenship."²⁸⁹ From learning how the Yellow Emperor founded the nation to the establishment of the Republic as well as China's foreign relations in the late 19th century, middle school's history education aimed to make transitions from cultivating the moral standards of citizenship to the nationalism because students would learn closer history that reflected what made China less powerful during the late Qing period as well as why it was necessary to have the Xin Hai Revolution.²⁹⁰ Students will gradually understand the progress of the "nation"--a reference to ethnic identity long favored by revolutionaries--and also learn the change of political systems as well as the foundations of the Republic regime.²⁹¹ Here, history education was gradually cultivating students' self-realization of civic responsibility.

Intellectuals, in fact, held their answers of teaching history to cultivate students' identity of citizenship. As previously mentioned, Chen Duxiu explained four policies in *Today's Education Policies*. One of them he proposed was democracy, which corresponds to the perspective of the meaning of the nation. Chen initially criticized the monarch system that civilians were obeying the emperor's order, but there was no direct interaction between them, eventually causing loss of national cohesion between citizens.²⁹² Chen believed that such a

²⁸⁹ Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo, *20 shiji* vol.1, 10-11.

²⁹⁰ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 60.

²⁹¹ Zarrow, *Educating China*, 153.

²⁹² Chen, *Jiaoyu Fangzhen*, 82.

country would become difficult to survive under the Social Darwinism world during the twentieth century. Therefore, he emphasized the importance of solidifying connections between the public, the government, and the superior leaders. Chen referred to the political system of Britain and Belgium, which monarch systems remained as the main political structure but already applied democracy among them, to indicate that Western nations have achieved to connect citizens and the government together, resulting in their power since the eighteenth century. Although Chen Duxiu emphasized the importance of democracy applied in European nations, he addressed in his argument that China must understand the nature of democracy as well as the definition of the nation—a group formed by citizens, governing domestically and defend from invasion externally, that protect everyone's well-being rather than private properties from governing. Liu Shipei's method of documenting history to write textbooks was to concentrate on mundane public societies instead of the ancient history texts of focusing on monarch's rise and fall. His attitude was to emphasize that a country, or technically speaking, a nation, was established by the public. Similar to Chen Duxiu's philosophy of education policy, both intellectuals aimed to put publics' identity as citizenship into the primary position among the nation in education.

Nationalism and patriotic education was another core philosophy of education in early Republic China. Civic education and history education particularly concentrated on cultivating new youth learners etiquette, behaviors, and the understanding of history from the past culture of the public to totally understand their responsibility of minzu to save the state. From Liu Shipei's history textbook to the self-cultivation curriculum, the concept of minzu and the ideology of nationalism as well as patriotism dominated Chinese education from pre-1911 to post-1911 education. The revolution of history education under Liu Shipei's influence from the emphasis

on royal history to the concentration on society, culture, and publics' life. This transformation represented the impact of the ideology of "nation" and "state" that increased the cohesiveness of Chinese publics when entering the Republic Era. The self-cultivation and etiquette education cultivated a new identity of nationalism and patriotism for Chinese youths. This education pedagogy marked the making of republic youth in modernizing China, which also demonstrated the educational philosophy beyond self-actualization. Moreover, nationalism and patriotism were continuous philosophy that even became the major ideology after the post-1925 China, when the CCP held this philosophy as the spiritual and ideological power among vast Chinese publics.

Epilogue

Throughout the entire thesis, I investigated the transition of education system and revolutionary events that impacted education's philosophy in Chapter one and two, while Chapter three and chapter four analyzed two educational philosophies: self-actualization and nationalism. Despite the fact that they are two different education approaches during the early Republic period, I believe there are correlations between two philosophies and they did not necessarily conflict with each other. The self-actualization educational philosophy advocated by intellectuals was in the perspective of cultivating individual identity. It reminds the learners to be "themselves" rather than "others." Therefore, I emphasized how intellectuals stressed a problematic "masculinity," critical thinking, and avoiding unconscious obedience in chapter three to concentrate on how intellectuals believed it is important to build "self identities." In 2019, the contemporary Chinese Ministry of Education expects students to cultivate themselves from morality, intelligence, physical health, and aesthetic learning. If we go back and take a look at the curriculum structure mentioned in chapter two, we can see all perspectives mentioned above were already posted one hundred years ago. However, terms such as "independence" of "self-autonomous" were not necessarily included in the contemporary education principles. Nowadays' gradual change of focus to examination reduced the focus on independence. What large numbers of students pursued were not independent thinking but attempting to achieve a higher academic performance in standardized examinations. This comparison shows that Chinese education from 1919 to 2019 has transitioned from an elite, small-scale education to a public, large-scale education.

While self-actualization philosophy concentrates on cultivating individuals' self-identity, nationalism and patriotism philosophy focuses on cultivating a collective identity of youth learners' cohort. Two philosophies seem to explain contrary values between learning for oneself and learning for community, as well as learning to reach one's goal and learning to save the minzu. However, I would like to say that intellectuals did not imagine these goals conflicted because they assumed that learning oneself would eventually lead to learning to be part of the minzu. Several perspectives from two education philosophies also aligned with those from the other perspective. For example, chapter three emphasized national masculinity, which aimed to encourage individuals to strengthen themselves both physically and mentally. The reason Chen Duxiu emphasized this perspective was because he saw the Chinese public lacking power and stamina to "endure" the pressure from foreign countries and to intrinsically enlighten themselves from the gradual collapse of Qing. But on the other hand, strengthening the individual was also the process of strengthening the entire minzu. Self-actualization focused on building individual identity, with masculinity that encouraged the individual to be fearless when facing challenges. But when every individual learner, and here the reformers meant *male* learners, realized the importance of masculinity, they were imagined to become fearless in the face of challenges and would combine together and become a collective identity—the realization of individual strength was thus tied up with national strength. On the other hand, when reviewing how intellectuals defined minzu as well as re-interpreting the concept of Three Principles of the People, self-actualization philosophy was the core of people's livelihood. The purpose of education for individuals was to reach their own, unique goals. Like John Dewey's idea that education teaches a person how to live in this world, ensuring people's livelihood within Republican society was the bedrock of supporting individuals to seek a satisfying life. Therefore, self-actualization and

nationalism philosophy were two complementary educational philosophies in early Republican China.

After the 1920s, education changed with the rise of the Communist Party, creating institutional differences between a new ideological education and that of the early Republic. Patriotism remained, but not self-actualization. In 1949, Mao Zedong declared the founding of the People's Republic of China. Beginning from this moment, the education system gradually transformed, as new approaches to public education as well as general education were developed. Patriotism, such as remembering the history of how Chinese revolutionaries contributed to save and establish the country, became central, and even continues today. Due to the rapid economic and population growth in the post-1949 China, more people became eligible to receive education, so public education became a necessary task for education in PRC and even contemporary China period. Standardized test systems, including both Zhongkao(High School Entrance Exam) and Gaokao, are therefore the product of growing competition between learners and the distribution of educational resources in public education.

There are interesting comparisons between the revolutionary educational system of the early Republic and the reforms of the past few decades. One important distinction between Chinese education in early 20th century and contemporary period was that intellectuals in the republic era were required to develop the guiding principles of Chinese education system in terms of modernizing the state and culture, while nowadays education has the goal, if not always realized, to give every learners an equal opportunity to reach education, whether academic or vocational. Compulsory Education policy tries to ensure that most youth learners will have opportunities to learn fundamental knowledge until their graduation from middle school. After that, National High School Entrance Examination, known as Zhongkao(中考) separates learners

into either normal high school academic education or vocational education. Vocational education was initially supported by chancellor of Peking University Cai Yuanpei in 1917, who argued that universities produced a lot of unemployable graduates who were unable to find employment due to lacking practical skills needed in the industry, agriculture, or commerce.²⁹³ Contemporary education in China has returned to Cai's focus, aiming to create more skilled employees for a state-capitalist economy focused particularly on increasing production.

Similar to the Gaokao, Zhongkao was recognized by nowadays Chinese citizens as a fair exam because they both gave students opportunities to choose different paths of education, and they all examined the same criteria—academic performance. I believe that the “fair” not only represents students becoming capable of enrolling in different level of higher education depending on their effort of study, but also represents that students who were not great fits of university education could still enroll in higher vocational college(or known as dazhuan大专). However, as a former Chinese traditional middle school student in the past, most of my classmates now still believed that both Zhongkao and Gaokao are the watershed between students that determined their future paths. The reforms of the 1980s were radical, but the Party remained in power. And, more importantly, the modernist, developmentalist worldview has remained in place, too. There have been no epistemic shifts and the changes in the education system are nothing like the revolutionary changes that marked the transition from empire to nation. What the curriculum in the Republican period was like had many similarities in today's curriculum, including Chinese, English, Math, History, and other subjects that define liberal arts education. However, courses like social problems and self-cultivation are no longer the mainstream courses today because academic achievement, or more specifically the test scores

²⁹³ Forster, *1919*, 54.

and marketable skills recognized by students and their families, are now the major concentration of contemporary education.

Even though contemporary education in China is very different from that of one hundred years ago, and it has transitioned from elite education to public education, in many ways the current Chinese understandings of education are still tied to those elucidated by Chen Duxiu. I believe intellectuals' investigation in reforming Chinese education philosophy from 1911 to 1925, beyond self-consciously modernizing curriculum and pedagogy, sought to mold Chinese people in new ways. It was an "enlightenment," as Vera Schwarz writes, to transform culture and philosophies of life, and one that has had a lasting legacy on how Chinese thinkers imagine the relationships between and responsibilities of the individual and the country.

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