Rights and Citizenship in Chinese Educational Discourse, 1895-1937, with Contemporary Reflections

by

Danqing Wang

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University of Alberta

Abstract

Intellectual awakening from Confucian traditionalism to modern nationalism, along with social movements from subjecthood to citizenship, emerged in the late Qing dynasty and flourished in early Republican China. Accordingly, the practice of using education to nurture a modern citizenry came into existence. This study is an attempt to understand intellectual influences on the rise and development of citizenship education in China at the turn of the twentieth century through a historical inquiry into the works of leading intellectuals on rights and citizenship, as well as textual analysis of curricula and textbooks in relation to civic education.

The evolution of the rights discourse and citizenship education in the late Qing dynasty and early Republican China reflects the ambitions and efforts on the part of intellectuals to create a modern China. This study shows that Chinese intellectuals and educators had gained as much sophisticated understanding of rights and civic education as their Western counterparts by the late 1930s. Tensions between nationalists and liberals over the ultimate goal of rights advocacy, whether to strengthen China among nations or to enhance individual liberty, dominated the rights discussion and affected the content of civic curriculum and textbooks. In contrast to the rights discourse in the late Qing dynasty that tended to associate subjects of rights with state/collectives, rights advocacy in the early Republic began to place greater emphasis on individual rights. In consequence, civic education was led by the military-civilian ideal aimed at strengthening the nation-state, followed by a period of policy adjustments echoing the prevailing appeals to individual rights. Nevertheless, there was too little social and political stability in the early twentieth century for Chinese intellectuals and educators to pursue republican ideals and to carry out civic education in accordance with the spirit of democracy.

Inspired by the civic education practices in the early Republican era, a rights-based citizenship education framework is proposed as a conclusion of this study to connect past experiences with contemporary practices in teaching civics.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

Western-originated ideas of rights and citizenship began to gain popularity among the Chinese intelligentsia at the turn of the twentieth century as a result of exposure to Western civilization and technology. Drawing on the writings of the leading late Qing dynasty[1] as well as Republican[2] intellectuals and educators, this study intends to reconstruct the development of rights discourse in China from the 1860s to the 1930s. Also, by analyzing the curricula and textbooks pertaining to the cultivation of a modern citizenry used in the schools, this study relates the impact of conceptualizations of rights on the evolution of citizenship education between the last decade of the Qing dynasty and the Republic's first two decades. In addition to recounting the efforts and achievements of Chinese intellectuals in the promotion of rights and citizenship education, this study will also reveal the difficulties and frustrations involved in the integration of Western concepts into Chinese thinking and education system.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the development of ideas regarding rights and citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century and examine its influence on the making of citizenship education in China. By relating the main schools of thought concerning rights to citizenship education in the early Republican era, this study consolidates the understanding of distinctive Chinese perceptions of rights and citizenship and also highlights the early-twentieth-century Chinese intellectuals' efforts and contributions to the incorporation of the ideas of rights and citizenship in education. Moreover, informed by the dialectical interaction between the

[1] The Qing dynasty (Qing 清) (1644-1912) was the last imperial dynasty of China.

[2] The Republic of China (Zhonghua minguo 中華民國) was founded in 1912, ending over two thousand years of imperial rule in China. It was based on Mainland China until 1949 when the Nationalist government was defeated by the Communist Party in the civil war and withdrew to Taiwan. This dissertation is concerned with the ideas of the intellectuals who were active prior to 1949.

preservation of Confucian values and the promotion of Western-originated concepts of rights during the early Republican era, this study seeks to propose a conceptual framework for citizenship education in contemporary China.

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its unique way of relating rights discourse to citizenship education through a historical perspective. There are large bodies of research literature on China's human rights and citizenship education respectively, but few seek to link them together. This historical study of rights discourse and citizenship education offers an alternative approach to studying rights as well as civics education. One of the values of historical research in the field of education, as Borg and Gall (1996) pointed out, is that it can yield insights into some educational problems that could not be achieved by any other means. In present-day China, the regime's controversial attitudes toward human rights make it difficult to conduct field studies that could yield informative and meaningful results. For example, renowned rights activists, such as Liu Xiaobo (born 1955), the Nobel Peace Prize winner, and Xu Zhiyong (born 1973), the initiator of the Chinese New Citizens' Movement (Zhongguo xin gongmin yundong 中國新公民運動), are kept in prison for their promotion of human rights and citizenship in China. Another indicator of the tensions around the concepts of rights and citizenship in education in present-day China is that a set of civics textbooks titled *New Citizen Reader* (Xin gongmin duben 新公民讀本), the first of its kind since 1949, was published in 2005 but banned immediately without notice (Mengma, 2003).

Historical study provides an alternative, and more importantly, it is a necessity when preparing for a change. What is more, the assertion of the Chinese Communist Party (abbreviated as CCP or CPC; this study adopts CCP) that the concept of human rights is the product of

historical development, and its rejection of the idea of universal values[3] (pushi jiazhi 普世價值) prompted me to explore the historical origin of the advocacy of rights and democracy in the Chinese context. In Chinese academia, there has been a considerable lack of effort to reflect on the recent history of China's encounters with the Western concepts of rights and citizenship.

The examination of the historical origin of rights advocacy in China and its impact on civics education enriches and supplements the existing studies on the interactions between the conscientious promotion of rights and the emotional attachment to traditional cultural values. What is more, this research adds to an understanding of the distinctive roles that education and intellectuals played in the history of China in terms of their contribution to the integrity and historical continuity of Chinese culture. In the Confucian tradition, change in education was preceded and consolidated by intellectual development. A review of the evolution of the Chinese rights discourse provides background information helpful to understanding the modern transformation of Chinese education and characteristics of civics education.

Key Assumptions

The adoption of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) in 1948 is a significant achievement in human history. The rights recognized in the UDHR embody a universal value system that transcends differences across borders. With the establishment of the international human rights regime, a human rights culture has been taking shape at a global level. To date, all member nations of the United Nations have signed the UDHR. China's position on

[3] The term "universal values" emerged around 2008 in the Chinese political discourse, though its associated concepts, such as freedom, democracy and human rights, were existent for a long time. Since 2008 the *People's Daily* (renmin ribao 人民日報), the CCP's mouthpiece, has published a series of commentaries denouncing universal values. For a further discussion, see the *Economist* (2010, Sep 30th) and Qi, J. (2011).

human rights was elaborated in a speech presented by Mr. Liu Huaqiu, head of the then Chinese delegation, at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in 1993:

> The concept of human rights is a product of historical development. It is closely associated with specific social, political, and economic conditions and the specific history, culture, and values of a particular country. Different historical development stages have different human rights requirements. Countries at different development stages or with different historical traditions and cultural backgrounds also have different understanding and practice of human rights. Thus, one should not and cannot think of the human rights standard and model of certain countries as the only proper ones and demand all countries to comply with them. (Liu, 1995, p. 214)

In addition to insisting that the notion of human rights is the product of historical and cultural development, the Beijing authorities demand more flexibility in the interpretation of human rights in order to find a place for other value systems such as Confucianism. However, a deliberate and self-serving distortion of Confucianism evident in the Chinese government's assertion that human rights are incompatible with Confucian cultural tradition calls for careful scrutiny. In fact, except for the dominating "official" interpretation of rights, the Chinese have had little exposure to other explanations of rights. Though the Beijing regime insists on the creation of a distinctive interpretation of human rights based on China's own reality and own experience gained in practice, there has been a considerable lack of effort to reflect on the recent history of China's encounters with the Western ideas of human rights and citizenship. Against this backdrop, my first point of argument is that human rights are not a new concept to the Chinese. Chinese intellectuals since the late nineteenth century had integrated rights thinking into Chinese conservative political thinking and had gained as much sophisticated understanding as their western counterparts by the late 1930s. A second point of argument is that along with the rise of rights discourse, education for citizenship emerged and became a key concern of educational policy. The development of citizenship education in Republican China was a

reflection of intellectual awakening and efforts to transform China from an autocratic society into a democratic nation.

The notion of "citizenship" regained attention in 2001 when the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party initiated a *Program for Improving Civic Morality* (Gongmin daode jianshe shishi gangyao 公民道德建設實施綱要). This time the initiative was regarded as a "historical transformation," for it stressed each student's independent social position and personality, and recognized rights along with duties (Li, et al, 2004). However, some were concerned that Chinese citizenship education remains a form of political indoctrination designed for the benefit of the government (Fairbrother, 2003, 2004; Leung, 2003). In his study of Chinese citizenship education in contemporary China, Lee (1998) observed that Chinese teachers placed the emphasis on the concepts of patriotism and nationalism in their discussion of good citizenship. Fairbrother (2004) obtained similar findings; in addition, most teachers in his study were concerned that the widening discrepancy between the ideal society depicted in moral education in the classroom and the reality outside the classroom may have affected the outcome. These same teachers also pointed out that it was difficult, if not impossible, to evaluate students' patriotism, and it was even difficult for teachers themselves to determine if patriotic education was effective in developing students' conceptions of citizenship. With respect to pedagogical concerns, Li et al (2004) argued that the pedagogy for moral education remained "teacher-textbook- and class-centered," with little room for developing critical thinking and reasoning skills. To continue with first two, my third point of argument is that in contrast to the current regime's indifference to individual rights in citizenship education, citizenship education in early Republican China incorporated the concept of rights with an emphasis on individual development. Led by the liberal-minded returned students from overseas studies and supported

by a number of prominent philosophers and educators from the West, the New Education Reform was aimed at bringing Chinese education into accord with the ideals of democracy, with the emphasis on the development of individuality.

A fourth argument presented here is that knowledge of the history of ideas of rights and citizenship education prior to 1949 sheds light on the discussion of the compatibility of human rights and Chinese culture, which may enable us to envision the future of human rights and citizenship education beyond present restrictions.

Scope and Limitations of the Study

Historical research can only provide a partial view of the past since it is derived from the surviving records of a limited number of past events. This study draws predominantly on written words or an elite discourse. Moreover, it only deals with the conceptualizations of human rights, citizenship, and citizenship education as reflected in citizenship education policy, curriculum, and textbooks, not in areas of legalization and institutionalization of these concepts. Nor do I evaluate the quality and result of citizenship education. Thus, the intended contribution is limited by these omissions that might have helped to develop a broader picture of rights discourse and citizenship education in the early Republican era.

Another limitation concerns the availability and accuracy of sources/material used. Some sources were difficult to locate. For instance, this study initially intended to examine fourty textbooks, but only thirty were finally obtained. Some information was incomplete or obsolete. Among the books, many of which were loaned through the interlibrary loan service, some had missing volumes or pages. These are general limitations of any historical study that need to be acknowledged.

Delimitation of the Study

Although this historical study is intended to provide an understanding of the knowledge of human rights and citizenship/citizenship education obtained at the turn of the twentieth century, the focus is on the ideas of a few intellectuals who arguably represent the main schools of thought concerning rights and citizenship. A study of intellectuals and their ideas helps us comprehend the changes in a society. Chinese intellectuals, in particular, played distinctive roles in the history of China in terms of their contribution to the integrity and historical continuity of Chinese culture. After Chinese civilization lost its prestige in the face of Western powers in the mid-nineteenth century, Chinese intellectuals before 1949 were caught between the preservation of tradition (generally considered as the Confucian tradition) and the promotion of Western values (known as liberal and democratic values) (Levenson, 1958). This historical study of rights discourse and citizenship education in early twentieth-century China extends and supplements the existing studies of Chinese human rights and citizenship. As Giroux (1988) pointed out, an analysis of the interplay between various voices enables the historian to gain a clear perspective on the struggle for power, meaning, and authorship in educational contexts. The changing ideas of intellectuals reflect a continuous adjustment to the changing needs of a modern China.

Organization of the Study

This study is divided into six chapters. The first chapter gives a general introduction to the topic and the study. The second chapter is concerned with the historical methodology adopted in this study and presents a statement of research purpose and questions. The third chapter reviews the development and theorizations of rights and citizenship in the West, which serves as reference for an examination of the reception of the idea of citizenship in the Chinese context. The fourth chapter traces the rights discourse in the last few decades of the Qing and its development until

the 1930s. The fifth chapter is devoted to a survey of curricula and textbooks on citizenship used in the primary and middle schools from 1895 to 1937. The final chapter relates historical practices to rights advocacy in contemporary China and proposes a rights-based bottom up approach to citizenship education.

CHAPTER 2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study seeks to trace the emergence of rights in China and to examine its effects on curricula and textbooks devoted to citizenship. The evolution of citizenship education in China at the turn of the twentieth century closely followed and reflected the changing and contested meanings of rights. This study associates a historical inquiry of reception of the Western ideas of rights and citizenship in China with a textual analysis of the textbooks pertaining to civics education between 1895 and 1937. There are large bodies of research literature on China's human rights and citizenship education respectively, but few seek to link them together. This historical study of rights discourse and citizenship education offers an alternative approach to studying rights as well as civics education in China.

Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of this study is to reveal the motives and achievements of the Chinese intellectuals who were responsible for the introduction of the notions of rights and the citizen from the late Qing until the outbreak of war with Japan in the 1930s and also to examine the impact of rights debates on civics education. A review of the evolution of the Chinese rights discourse provides background information helpful to understanding the modern transformation of Chinese education and characteristics of civics education. In addition, the study of China's experience with the promotion of rights at the turn of the twentieth century provides insights into the reception of liberal ideas of rights and citizenship in non-Western cultures.

The study is intended to seek answers to the following questions:

1. In what context did the notions of rights and citizenship, as well as civics education, evolve in China?

2. What knowledge of citizenship education had the Chinese educators attained and how did their personal experiences and observations affect their conceptions of citizenship education?
3. What were the complexities involved in the early undertaking of citizenship education programs?
4. What lessons can be drawn from China's early experience of citizenship education in terms of cross-cultural interaction?

Historical Research

Borg and Hall (1996) define historical research as the systematic and objective location, evaluation and synthesis of evidence in order to establish facts and draw conclusions about the past events. History differs from the natural sciences that are based on experiment. In historical research, the evidence usually is available before the historian sketches a research plan. However, historical research is not just a list of chronological events. It is a process of examining past events in a systematic way so as to recapture what happened in the past. As Rousmaniere (2004) asserts, any historical narrative that is beyond a mere chronicle of dates is one in which the historian sees relationships between events and explains that connection with a theory. Theory forms another important part of historical study, for it provides the explanatory categories with which historians expand their research questions into an argument that is the stated proposition of the research. The source, theory, and argument lead to interpretation, and that will be the historian's "results." Since the source and theory evolve simultaneously in historical research, the role of the historian as an interpreter is always present. As Jenkins (2003) concludes, history is an account of the relationships between persons, events, times and places and that a historical

narrative is driven by the questions asked by the historian, the theories relied on, and the arguments created.

In this study, written texts comprise the major research data. Ideas of rights and citizenship that only appear in texts are the object of this study. Written texts are classified into primary and secondary sources. Primary sources involve the writings of individuals, which include books, articles, letters, diaries, speeches, etc. Ideas do not evolve in isolation from the people who create them. Study of ideas may lead us to comprehend the change in a society. Moreover, ideas change by time, and they can be defined and comprehended only in its relation to contemporary alternatives. Thus, the meaning of ideas should be situated and understood in a particular historical and social setting. As Levenson (1959) notes, the changing ideas represent a continuous adjustment of changing outer perceptions to a fixed inner need. Secondary sources refer to those that interpret the primary sources. The most common secondary sources are those on the history of the topic written by previous historians, which also is called historiography. Any historical study needs to be well grounded in the historiography of the subject. Furay and Salevouris (1988) define historiography as "the study of the way history has been and is written … When you study 'historiography' you do not study the events of the past directly, but the changing interpretations of those events in the works of individual historians" (p. 223).

The main methodological concerns of historians are not only historical sources but also the way in which they interpret them. History epistemologically is a literary narrative about the past that carries within it people's philosophies about life. "The past" is gone and can never be re-experienced, but history is a comprehensive knowledge of what happened and can have different interpretive readings over time. Rousmaniere (2004) reminds us that when historians seek to recover fragments of the past and then use them to represent the past in a meaningful way, their

own values and positions influence this process. In the similar vein, Howard Zinn (1989) argues that historians write from their own subjective experience and perspective about the world and derive from the raw material their own ways of reading and representing. Such reconstructive understanding as opposed to strict evaluation enables historians to draw creative connections between different sorts of texts and also allows them to think about intellectual meaning in a more open-ended fashion. Thus, historical study provides an alternative, and more importantly, it is a necessity when preparing for a change. One of the values of historical research in the field of education, as Borg and Gall (1996) point out, is that it can yield insights into some educational problems that could not be achieved by any other means.

Methods

Data Collection

Data in historical research is known as historical evidence, which consists of a body of validated facts or information accepted as trustworthy for the testing and interpretation of a hypothesis (Borg & Hall, 1996). In this study, written texts comprise the major data. Written texts are classified into primary and secondary sources.

The primary sources used in this study consist of three parts. The first part includes government policy documents, departmental records and reports. Official education policy documents and regulations are mainly drawn from the following sources: *Jindai Zhongguo jiaoyu shiliao* 近代中國教育史料 (Historical Materials for Modern Chinese Education) edited by Shu Xincheng in 1933, *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao* 中國近代學制史料 (Historical Materials for the Modern Chinese School System) edited by Zhu Youhuan from 1983 to 1992, *Minguo jiaoyubu wendu zhengling huibian* 民國教育部文牘政令匯編 (Collected Decrees and Orders of the Ministry of Education in Republican China) published by the National Library of China in

2004, and *Minguo jiaoyu gongbao huibian* 民國教育公報匯編 (A Collection of Educational Bulletins in Republican China) compiled by Yin Mengxiang and Li Qiang in 2009.

The second category is the educational writings of the influential intellectuals and educators of the time, including their books, articles, letters, diaries, and speeches, as well as their memoirs. The intellectuals reviewed in this study are selected, based on their unique contributions to rights advocacy as well as their substantial influence on education. These sources present a fairly comprehensive picture of intellectual life and educational movements in China at the turn of the twentieth century. For instance, Kang Youwei (1858-1927) was the first Chinese scholar who undertook a thorough study of theories of human rights. Yan Fu (1854-1921) was the first intellectual in Chinese recent history who recognized and upheld the priority of individual rights over collective rights. Liu Shipei (1884-1919) was involved in the founding of the Institute for the Study of Socialism that later gave rise to the Chinese version of Marxism. Liang Qichao (1873-1929) was considered as the most influential intellectual in early-twentieth-century China. His serial essay *Xinmin shuo* 新民說 (On New People), revealing the importance of nurturing citizens in modern times, heralded the beginning of citizenship education in China. Hu Shi (1891-1962) and Jiang Menglin (1886-1964), graduates of Columbia University and ardent disciples of Dr. John Dewey, represent the new generation of liberals. Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) was the leader of the May Fourth Movement and cofounder of the Communist Party of China. Cai Yuanpei (1867-1940) was a leading liberal educator of the late Qing dynasty and the first Education Minister of the Republic of China. It is worth noting that these intellectuals were not only great thinkers but also took active roles in political and educational reforms at the turn of twentieth century.

The third category is school curriculum and textbooks. The textbooks to be examined in this study (listed in Appendix A) were mostly published are selected based primarily on their popularity as reflected in the sales volume. Although the omission of other textbooks might affect the creation of a broader understanding of citizenship education in early twentieth century China, it is safe to say that the textbooks examined in this study constitute a representative sample from which a good picture of the educational discourse around rights and citizenship can be developed.

Secondary sources are removed from the historical events in time and place and interpret the primary sources. In this study, the historiography of the particular period of events, e.g. the 1911 Revolution, the May Fourth Students' Movement, Nationalist Party's military takeover, etc., are consulted. What is more, biographies of the prominent intellectuals mentioned above are consulted to understand their thoughts in the context of their life. Ideas do not evolve in isolation from the people who create them. As Levenson (1959) argues, history can be deducted from biography, and society derived from the individual.

Data Analysis and Interpretation

This study is composed of two parts – a historical inquiry of ideas of rights and citizenship in the late Qing dynasty and early Republican era and an examination of citizenship education as reflected in policies, curriculum and textbooks. Historical research is an act of reconstruction of data in a spirit of critical inquiry (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). This historical study seeks to discover the knowledge that has long been evident about rights and citizenship, and also to explore the role of Chinese intellectuals and education in "those historically specific moments and those particular cultural configurations" (Kincheloe, 1991, p. 237).

Based on the writings of the selected intellectuals on the ideas of rights and citizenship, this study intends to recapture the evolution of the Chinese rights discourse as well as the factors that affected the reception of foreign political and educational thought. The study not only reviews individual intellectuals' thoughts on rights and citizenship, but also traces the traditional Chinese philosophy or foreign thought, contributing to their speculation concerning rights and citizenship. Moreover, the study will develop an argument that the main obstacle facing the Chinese intellectuals and educators at the time was the dilemma between cultural preservation and modern development. As Benjamin Schwartz (1996) observed, Chinese intellectuals caught between the civilizations of East and West would adjust their borrowings from abroad to fit their own perceptions of China.

In addition to the discussion of the conceptualization of rights and citizenship, this study also examines the impact of rights discourse on as well as the contributions of intellectuals to the making of citizenship education policies. In analyzing policy documents regarding citizenship education, focus will be on the following:

1. a systematic account of selected past events initially through their analytical separation from those that do not contribute to an understanding of 'citizenship' and then through their subsequent 'division' into distinctive historical epochs;
2. a critical examination of the data that is concerned with an episode in the history of ideas of rights.

With regard to the first intention, I will avoid representing these historical periods and their policies as self-evident and consensual, or treating the transition from one to another as a consequence of "progress." Informed by the works of Hall (1984), Offe (1984), and Ball (1994), I am convinced that the temporary policy settlements are "a moving discursive frame" (Ball, 1994,

p. 23) which defines the specifics of policy production at a particular historical and geographical moment. Thus in my analysis of citizenship education policies during the early Republican era, I will characterize varied settlements as asymmetrical, temporary, and contextual.

Another task of this study is to describe and explain how the notions of "national identity", "citizenship" and "democracy" were constructed and represented in the textbooks of Chinese language arts, ethics/civics, history and geography in early twentieth century China. According to Fairclough (1993), textbooks are active in constructing the social reality by offering value-laden definitions and categorizations, and they are linked to wider social and cultural structures, relations and process. Based on the data analyzed above, this study will continue and extend the discussion of the dialectical relationship between the preservation of traditional values and the promotion of Western-originated concepts of rights to inform new approaches to citizenship education in China. According to Hill and Kerber (1967), a good historical study enables solutions to contemporary problems to be sought in the past, helps to make meaning about the present, throws light on the present and future trends, and recommends improvements as a result of enhanced understanding.

As to the question of translation, I did my own translations for the textbook excerpts. For the works of the selected intellectuals, I compared various published translations and chose the best translation in the English scholarship. These sources included: *The Chinese Human Rights Reader: Documents and Commentary, 1900-2000*, compiled by Angle, S. C. and Svensson, M.; *Sources of Chinese Tradition* edited by de Bary, W. T. and Lufrano, R.; and *China's Response to the West: A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923*, edited by Teng, S and Fairbank, J. K.

Trustworthiness

Once the data are gathered, they will be carefully evaluated to attest their worth for the purpose of the study. Evaluating materials is important in historical research. This process includes external criticism and internal criticism. External criticism concerns with the establishment of the authenticity or genuineness of the data because historical sources might be forged. Internal criticism involves evaluating the accuracy and worth of a statement contained in a historical document, including the historian's judgment about the truth of the statements in a historical source and also an evaluation of the author. Cohen et al. (2007) point out that researchers are more likely to encounter difficulties in dealing with internal criticism than external criticism, because the sources may be genuine, but they may not necessarily reveal the most faithful picture.

In terms of the bias of the author, factors such as the ethnic background, political party, religious affiliation and social status of an observer (Borg et al., 2003, p. 542) will be considered carefully. There are several tests that may help one determine the competence of an author and the value of his or her writings. These tests include examining the status of the author as a trained observer or eyewitness, the extent to which his or her position for making observations was favorable, to what extent memory was relied on after a lapse of time, and the use of original sources. In addition, the knowledge of the level of the moral standards existing at the time will help one check the author's standpoint and conviction (Travers, 1969). In particular, when evaluating the truthfulness and honesty of an author, attention will be given to the following questions posited by Brillantes and Singson (2007):

1. Was the author motivated by personal or vested interest in producing the material?
2. To what race, nationality, religion, ideology, social class, party, economic group, or profession did he [sic] belong, which might led him to have biases and prejudices?

3. Was he writing seriously, ironically, humorously, or symbolically, or was he voicing his real convictions?
4. Was he presenting the views of the establishment for public notice, using conventional language, to write what he did not know or to conceal his own views?
5. Was there evidence of vanity or boasting by the author?
6. Did he [sic] make distortions, exaggerations, and embellishments, to achieve colorful effects? (p. 122)

With regard to the internal criticism for policy documents, Gale (2001) suggested avoiding interpretation of them as "self-evident and consensual, and transition from one to another as a consequence of 'progress,'" and instead viewing them as "asymmetrical, temporary and contextual" (p. 386). Furthermore, different eras have different beliefs and attitudes about certain notions, thus the researcher should pay more attention to the meaning of the words in older documents since their definitions may differ from contemporary interpretation.

Besides taking into consideration the above trustworthiness concerns pertaining to historical research, I also apply the triangulation approach to increase the validity of the findings of this study. Triangulation is premised on the belief that one single method cannot satisfactorily shed light on a phenomenon. Thus in order to achieve rich, comprehensive, and deeper understanding of an account, triangulation incorporates multiple sources of data and methods. Denzin & Lincoln (2000) identifies four types of triangulation: (a) data triangulation, (b) investigator triangulation, (c) theory triangulation, and (d) methodological triangulation. This study employs data triangulation. The triangulation of sources of data consists of (a) government policy documents in relation to rights and citizenship education, (b) autobiographies, letters, diaries, memoirs, and the collected works of the selected intellectuals and educators, and (c) biographies and studies on these intellectuals as well as the historiography of citizenship education and related events of the Republican era. By combining these three sources of data, this study intends to look at the factors affecting the reception of foreign political and educational

thought in China. In addition, this study also examines the impact of rights debates and the contributions of intellectuals to the development of citizenship education. Consistent comparisons with similar analyses conducted by other historians of the Republican era will also be carried out throughout the research process.

CHAPTER 3 RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP: THE WEST AND CHINA

Ideas of human rights and citizenship are the unique intellectual legacy the West contributes to world civilizations. They were introduced to China in the late nineteenth century along with other notions, such as nationalism and democracy. This chapter first briefly reviews the development of rights and citizenship in western history, since from the very beginning western theories and studies of rights and citizenship have been the inspirations and resources on which Chinese scholars and politicians drew to conceptualize rights and citizenship. Second, I look into the traditional Chinese perceptions of government and society in an attempt to account for China's failure to develop the concepts of rights and citizenship on its own prior to the encounter with Western tradition.

Conceptualizations of Rights and Citizenship in the West

In the West human rights were born in the modern age as a result of the Industrial Revolution and thrived in the age of the "liberal state." With the establishment and consolidation of modern democratic political structure since the late eighteenth century, the value of individual freedom was substantiated and power of individuals recognized. Consequently, the mentality instilled in people for centuries that sovereignty belongs to the ruler broke off and was replaced by the new mindset that the nation is rooted in people. It was John Locke (1632-1704) who first set rights on the political agenda. He asserted that every man has the right "to preserve his life, liberty and estate" (Locke, 1962, p. 87). This ideal was later echoed and embodied in the American *Declaration of Independence* (1776) and the French *Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen* (1789). Rights were believed to be given by the Creator to human beings, not by the state to citizen. As the *US Bill of Rights* prescribed in its first Article:

> No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or

> property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Bills of Rights were first issued in America and France and quickly spread throughout the Western world. The significance of rights discourse in the Western tradition thus emerged in the context of a legal discourse in which legal texts were privileged and exercises of authority were restrained by rigorous reference to these.

The fact that the concept of human rights originated in the West does not undermine its universal applicability. The creation of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) signifies the recognition of human rights across the world. Forty-eight states voted in favor of the adoption of the UDHR in 1948. By 2011 the number of United Nations member-states had increased to 193 (United Nations Human Rights, 2014). However, in reality the confrontation between universalism and cultural relativism as to whether human rights are universally applicable underlies the discussion of human rights in theory and practice. The rationale behind the universalist interpretation of human rights is that its genuine concern for human dignity and flourishing finds echoes in all cultures, religions, and traditions that have survived the transition to the modern era. In contrast, the theory of cultural relativism holds that an individual's beliefs and activities can only be comprehended in terms of their own culture; therefore there are no objective standards by which others can be judged. Thus, moral values are historically and culturally specific rather than universal. Jack Donnelly (1989), a renowned human rights scholar, maintained that cultural relativism in reality had little to do with local or indigenous cultures and often ended up as the tool with which certain behavior was legitimized to preserve a power structure. Donnelly categorized the substance of human rights into three levels. At the top are "concepts," very general formulations, such as the rights to political participation or work. Little cultural variability at this level is justifiable. Below are "interpretations," and some interpretative

variability is plausible for internationally recognized human rights. At a more detailed third level is implementation. There is room for considerable variation in the particular form in which an interpretation is implemented. According to Donnelly, substantial variations are likely to be legitimate only in relatively specific and detailed matters of implementation. Therefore, Donnelly (1998) suggested a form of weak cultural relativism on both descriptive and prescriptive grounds. In his opinion, contemporary international human rights norms have near universal applicability. He argued that deviations from international human rights norms may be justified and that relatively modest adjustments were required in the name of cultural diversity. Nevertheless, he insisted that the possibility of justifiable modifications must not obscure the fundamental universality of internal human rights norms.

The concept of citizenship can be traced back to ancient Greece. In classical Greek societies, the city-state was a public realm for free men to participate in the affairs of the state and act as a collective insurance against external threats and internal conflicts. It should be noted that citizenship in the Greek city-state was an inherited privileged status. It was not until the Hellenistic and Roman times that the status of citizenship was conferred on commoners. The Romans assigned citizenship of various levels, offered opportunities to slaves to acquire citizen status, and extended the title to individuals, to whole communities, and later to the terrains of its "world empire" (Heater, 2004a). Citizenship was temporarily lost as a political concept with the demise of the western portion of the Roman Empire. After the Empire fell, Christian bishops assumed political as well as pastoral leadership in civic communities. In medieval and early modern times, European nation-states began to emerge, with sovereignty being personified by the monarch. The state was the king or queen, not a combination of citizens and magistrates. Yet, the monarchical form of government was frequently threatened by civil wars and wars of religion.

Since the eighteenth century, the word "nation" has become synonymous with "country" or "fatherland." Meanwhile, the word "citizen" was gradually detached from its municipal boundary and became attached to the state. Eventually, the term "nation" was tied to the state, and citizenship to nationhood (Heater, 2004a, 2004b).

The relation between state and individual is the primary concern of citizenship. Modern citizenship takes various forms, and among many, state-focused citizenship is the primary model acceptable to most countries. Inherent in the idea of state-focused citizenship is nationalism. Ignatieff (1993) distinguished two forms of nationalism: "civic nationalism" and "ethnic nationalism." Civic nationalism defines nationhood by common citizenship in accordance with the entitled rights and individuals' subscription to a shared political creed regardless of ethnicity, race, color, religion, or gender. Thus, civic nationalism emphasizes pride in the nation. Immersed in civic nationalism, people believe in the worth of the group and in one's own self- worth as a member of that group. In contrast, ethnic nationalism relates nationhood to religion, language, and traditions. According to ethnic nationalists, it is the pre-existing ethnic characteristics, not the shared political rights, that hold people together. Thus for them, it is the nation that creates the state, not the other way around.

Striking changes and developments in Eastern Europe and Russia in the early 1990s revived interest in and concerns with the complex relationship between nationalism, political identity and citizenship participation. What is more, intensifying globalization has driven the development of citizenship into a new era by challenging the conventional understanding of citizenship identified within boundaries of nation-states. Concurrent with changes and developments in domestic and international environments, the meaning of citizenship has taken on new characteristics, manifested in concerns about minorities, nationality of global refugees,

migrant labor, and the relationship between the individual and macro-societal structure. Consequently, there have emerged various new notions, such as "multicultural citizenship" (Kymlicka, 1995), "multicultural democratic citizenship" (Torres, 1998), and "cultural citizenship" (Rosaldo, 1994), all of which have been aimed at ameliorating social differences and inequality. Moreover, the idea of "global citizenship" or "world citizenship" has regained popularity as another variant within the concept of citizenship. Global citizenship, according to Kriegman (2006), denotes all of humanity belonging to a single moral community with the common goal of a socially just and ecologically sustainable global society. A new holistic set of global ethics that emphasizes equity, sustainability, and universal human rights is sought to link the ecological with the social, the local with the global and the present with the future (Hoepper, 1996; Barr, 2005). *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* is deemed to be a guideline that enables people, regardless of difference, to make judgments about global issues and about the responsibilities to respect the rights of others (Osler & Starkey, 1998, 2000).

T. H. Marshall's analysis of citizenship spearheads the contemporary efforts to enrich the liberal theory of citizenship and also gives rise to heated debates in western sociology about the nature of contemporary capitalism (Mann, 1987; Turner, 1990). Based on the analysis of social policy in Britain between 1890 and 1945, Marshall pointed to the contradiction between formal political equality and the persistence of social and economic inequality, which could also be thought of as the tension between the ideal of democracy and the actual consequences of capitalism (Marshall, 1981; Marshall & Mottomore, 1992). Marshall's solution to this was the welfare state. He maintained that the welfare state would limit the negative consequences of class division so that individuals' commitment to the society would be enhanced. Accordingly,

citizenship, in Marshall's view, is composed of three aspects, namely, the civil, political, and social. The demarcation and definition of each element are elaborated as follows:

> The civil element is composed of the rights necessary for individual freedom – liberty of the person, freedom of speech, thought and faith, the right to own property and to conclude valid contracts, and the right to justice … By the political element I mean the right to participate in the exercise of political power, as a member of a body invested with political authority or as an elector of the members of such a body … By the social element I mean the whole range from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to right to share the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in the society. (Marshall, 1992, p. 8)

Marshall argued that these three components of citizenship evolved in chronological order, though with some overlap: civil rights emerged in the eighteenth century, political rights in the nineteenth century, and social rights in the twentieth century. Civil rights or liberties are reckoned as what citizens enjoy against intervention or repression by the state and its representatives. The emergence of political rights was a result of working-class struggle for greater access to political institutions to pursue political equality. Political rights were institutionalized in the parliamentary political system of opposing parties. An exclusion of people from politics is now deemed as a breach of human rights. As claimed in the UDHR:

> Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives. … The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government. (Article 21)

The notion of social rights emerged in the twentieth century. The immeasurable suffering of European peoples in the Second World War stimulated the creation of the idea of "welfare state" which asserted that the state had an obligation to provide sufficient welfare to its citizens. Social rights were institutionalized in the welfare state, including various social entitlements, such as unemployment benefit and provision for health and education. Social rights demand redistribution of wealth and property in society; thus they challenge the hierarchical class structure as well as the earlier expansion of civil and political rights. Marshall described capitalist

society as a "hyphenated society" in which inevitable tensions existed between the need for economic prosperity, the taxation obligations of the modern state and the rights of citizens to welfare provision.

Marshall's theory exerted much influence in the development of American sociology in relation to race and ethnicity and the British sociology in the analysis of the welfare system. The theory however is not without criticism. The objections to Marshall's theory concentrate on four aspects. First, Marshall was criticized to view the development of civil rights compatible with that of political rights as if both supported capitalist relations. Jessop (1978) pointed that while civil rights gained recognition and were expanded in capitalism, political citizenship may often be rejected. In addition, Anthony Giddens (1982) contended that citizenship rights were not an integrated, steady set of social arrangements and that there was no necessary parallel between different rights. He thought civic rights were the product of bourgeois struggles while social welfare rights were developed by socialism associated with working-class struggles. Marshall was also criticized to neglect economic rights in his list of the rights associated with citizenship. From the point view of Marxism, the absence of the analysis of economic participation by the mass is a major deficiency with the liberal theory of rights. Within the framework of capitalism, the notion of worker's control of capitalist enterprises is more radical than the idea of the civil right to a fair trial. Besides economic rights, other rights could also be added to Marshall's list. For instance, Parsons proposed cultural citizenship which emphasized the social right to participate in the culture of a particular society through educational reform (Parsons, 1971; Parsons and Platt, 1973).

The second kind of criticism of Marshall's theory is targeted at the teleological character of his evolutionary view of citizenship. According to Marshall, the emergence of citizenship was

an irreversible process. But disputation arose as to whether civil and political rights must come before social rights. In some modern societies, people may have enjoyed certain social rights, but their civil and political rights have been somewhat underdeveloped. Therefore, it is possible that different societies may experience a different sequential order of social change given different social and historical conditions. Marshall was also criticized to not provide a causal explanation of how citizenship expands. His historical description of the development of social rights in Britain led to an impression that it was a peaceful transition toward social citizenship. Various social movements were ignored in the process of promoting citizenship rights.

Third, Marshall's theory is ambiguous about the relationship between social citizenship and capitalism. It is not clear whether social citizenship conflicts with the market principle of capitalism by requiring some redistribution of wealth based on need, or whether social citizenship supports capitalism by assimilating the working class into society by means of welfare configuration. Marshall failed to provide some explanation as to how the resources that are necessary for welfare are to be generated and re-distributed. Some scholars contended that the growth of social citizenship was the outcome of violence, but they also recognized that mass struggles in some way promoted democratic participation (Gallie, 1983; Turner, 1990). Therefore, social citizenship may generate social conflict by raising expectations of redistribution that cannot be fully achieved; but it may also create solidarity that transcends class and gender divisions.

The final problem about Marshall's theory is whether there is a universalistic version of citizenship or whether there could be different formulations of citizenship principles in different social and cultural traditions. Michael Mann (1987) criticized the ethnocentric nature of Marshall's theory of citizenship and proposed a comparative framework of five strategies of

citizenship in human history, namely liberal, reformist, authoritarian monarchist, fascist, and authoritarian socialist.

Marshall's theory, though subject to escalating criticism, stands out as the classical model of analyzing citizenship. I adopted it as a conceptual framework for my study. Based on Marshall's classification of citizenship into three kinds of rights, namely the civil, political and social rights, I will examine the conceptualization of these three rights in the early twentieth-century Chinese intelligentsia. The criticism of Marshallian theory will also be taken into consideration, particularly Mann's comparative perspectives of citizenship. The development of citizenship is unique to Western tradition and social evolution. Its introduction to non-Western societies may generate varied understandings and take different trajectories. One of the objectives of this study is to identify uniqueness and similarities between the Chinese and western conceptualizations of citizenship.

In what follows, I first examine the Chinese perceptions of society and government in order to reveal why China did not conceive the idea of rights on its own in its long history.

Traditional Chinese Perceptions of Society and Government

It is generally believed that the idea of rights never occupied an important place in traditional Chinese thinking (Angle, 2002; Svensson, 2002; Weatherley, 1999; Zarrow, 1998). The concept of freedom as a right, such as the right to freedom of thought and religion, to freedom of speech and assembly, was never clearly articulated in the Chinese context until the late nineteenth century under Western influence. In modern times the Chinese language had to coin the words for "freedom" (ziyou 自由, literally, self-determination) and "rights" (quanli 權力, literally, power and strength).

Wejen Chang (1998) identified three reasons accounting for China's inability to conceive the idea of rights. First is that the Chinese perceptions of the rise and function of government differed from those of the West. Many of the early Chinese thinkers traced the origin of society back to a remote past, noting that society had begun in the human struggles with the nonhuman species. For instance, Xunzi (313-238 BC) spoke of human beings coming together in society to achieve the strength and harmony without which they cannot conquer other beings, such as the birds and beasts. Han Feizi (281-233 BC), a defender of the ruler's rights and an opponent of Confucian political philosophy, contended that the people are the ones who make a ruler:

> In the most ancient times, when men were few and creatures numerous, human beings could not overcome the birds, beasts, insects, and reptiles. Then a sage appeared who fashioned nests of wood to protect men from harm. The people were delighted and made him ruler of the world, calling him the Nest Builder. (Trans. by Watson, 1964, p. 96)

Actually, before Xunzi and Han Feizi, Mozi (468-376 BC) had already observed that social authority was established through the emergence of wise leaders who were considered most capable to lead people in the struggle against the harsh conditions. Mozi also discovered the principles of "universal love" (jian'ai 兼相愛) and "mutual benefits (jiao xiangli 交相利)." According to Mozi, these represented the will of Heaven. He maintained that only when a ruler is aware of these principles could he become a sage and govern the people. Based on Mozi's principles of "universal love" and "mutual benefits," Xunzi added that sage-rulers should also recognize that benefits are achieved through social principles of "differentiation" (fen 份) and "collectivity" (qun 群), which would persuade people to accept patriarchy or monarchy. All these ideas conveyed the message that human beings freely surrendered their rights and liberties for the good. As Chang (1998) remarked, in China there was no trace of the Rousseauistic idea of giving up one's right of self-government in exchange for protection as an explanation for the rise of

Western sovereign power in kingship. On the contrary, traditional Chinese political thinking always had an assumption that human beings would be governed by monarchy.

The second reason, according to Chang, is that the concept of law (fa 法) was understood differently in the Chinese context. While the rights discourse in the Western tradition emerged in the context of a legal discourse in which legal texts were privileged and exercises of authority were restrained by rigorous reference to them, Confucian society was governed by forms of decorum (li 禮), a term rooted in the ancient religion, which originally presumed a distinction between nobility and commoners. *Li* is interpreted as customary, uncodified law, and internalized by individuals and governing gentlemen in their personal and social lives. Chinese classical education was an education in the rites aimed at preparing the young nobles for life. In contrast, law, as a penal code, was regarded as applied to commoners who lacked the privilege of a ritual education. Thus, law played a mainly penal role in Chinese society, which consolidated passive obedience on the part of the subjects. Moreover, the frequent arbitrary manipulation of law by the authorities resulted in general fear among the Chinese for law.

The second reason leads to the third that China never produced a political system that would protect human dignity and equality. Although the ideas of human equality appeared very early in Chinese thought, such awareness did not help produce a political structure that would protect human dignity and equality (Conner, 1998; Twiss, 1998). In contrast to Western Europe, where the disintegration of feudalism followed by the empowerment of the propertied classes gave rise to the extension of rights to the whole population, power in ancient dynastic China was centralized in the hands of the monarch, rather than shared with others. The old Chinese political system was a government of bureaucrats selected in accordance with Confucian principles. Confucius' belief in personal fulfillment through education and political participation laid the

foundation of the construction of the ideal of meritocracy. Of the three levels in traditional Chinese society – the emperor, the scholars, and the masses – the scholars were responsible for remonstrating with the emperor and court above and directing the masses below. Although the Censorate system served as a channel for political criticisms, there never appeared an independent judiciary that would be committed to the protection of human dignity and equality. Therefore, in the traditional Confucian society, the populace was instructed more to preserve social harmony than to assert their own rights.

The three reasons discussed above may explain why until the mid-nineteenth century, there was no single term in Chinese that corresponded to the English term "rights." However, this may not necessarily lead to a conclusion that human rights and citizenship are incompatible with the Confucian ideal of society. Though Confucianism does not have a discussion about "human rights," it upholds that people should treat each other as fellow human beings and help one another to live a good, humane way of life. Confucius' humanistic concerns are reflected in his thinking and teaching of *ren* 仁. Literally, *ren* means benevolence and compassion. The virtue of *ren* originally refers to the kindness that characterizes the man of high birth. Confucius transformed the idea into the universal virtue of humanness that makes every person who practices it *junzi* 君子, a gentleman (Ching, 1998). Mencius (372-289 BC), the best-known disciple of the Confucian school, further developed Confucius' thought to articulate that every human being could become a sage. Implicit in this doctrine of the universal accessibility of sagehood, is the teaching of human equality, and what some may call, "equal moral opportunity." What is more, Mencius put forward the idea that "the people come first; the altars of the earth and

grain come afterwards; the ruler comes last[4].” Bloom (1998) remarked that in an age when the altars of earth and grain signified political authority, Mencius’ thinking was revolutionary. In short, Confucianism sought to achieve the harmonious society by cultivating moral character in the elite of society, including the ruler, the scholar, the sage, and through them all members of society. Such belief in human perfectibility is compatible with the respect for human beings embedded in the human rights values.

While the Qing court suffered from Western imperialism since the First Opium War (1839-1842), Chinese intellectuals and officials gradually came to admire the military strength, technological development, economic vitality, and political morale of the West. Against this backdrop, a multitude of political and philosophical concepts and ideas, alongside the knowledge of science and technology, entered China and were attractive to Chinese intellectuals. The earliest Chinese accounts about rights and citizenship can be traced in the writings of a small number of scholars/officials who encountered Western intellectual works in different fields. These scholars were the first generation exposed to and influenced by the Western intellectual legacy. The discussions of rights and citizenship soon drew more intellectuals to join and reached a wider audience by the end of the nineteenth century. It is fair to say that intellectual deliberations on rights and citizenship, as well as other liberal ideas stood out as one of the key driving forces that led to the political and educational reforms carried out from above, and cultural and social changes from below in China at the turn of the twentieth century. In the following chapter I examine the change in the Chinese conceptualizations of rights and citizenship during the period from 1860s to 1930s.

[4] The original in Chinese is “民為貴, 社稷次之, 君為輕。” See Mencius, *Commitment* (Jinxin zhangju 盡心章句).

CHAPTER 4 CHINESE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF RIGHTS AND CITIZENSHIP: 1860S-1930S

The review of the development of citizenship and rights in the West shows that since the French and American revolutions in the eighteenth century, conceptualizations of citizenship have been closely associated with rights. The modern notion of citizenship not only claims that citizens are entitled to legal, social, and moral rights but also asserts that the state exists for the benefit of its citizens with an obligation to protect their political and economic rights. Unlike the dependent subjects in despotic society who are submissive to the government, citizens in modern Western society are autonomous, equal, and active in political affairs.

Since the mid-nineteenth century, the increasing exposure to Western political thought and practices had led Chinese politicians and scholars to probe the issue of the proper relation of citizen/subject to state and the scope of proper autonomous individual or group activity. Moreover, the urge to resist imperialism and preserve the civilization stimulated a reexamination of the national life and traditional moral values among the intelligentsia. Against this background, the Self-Strengthening Movement[5] took place in 1861. The progressive scholar-official leaders, such as Zeng Guofan (1811-1872), Zuo Zongtang (1812-1885), and Li Hongzhang (1823-1901), proposed to adopt Western arms and promote modernization projects in the hope that it would strengthen China's military status. After the Sino-Japanese War between 1894 and 1895, Western learning received escalating attention. The defeat by Japan, traditionally regarded as "inferior," was a great shock to the Qing Empire. Under the leadership of Kang Youwei (1858-1927) and Liang Qichao (1873-1929), scholars called on Guangxu Emperor to

[5] The original in Chinese is 洋務運動 or 自強運動. It lasted through 1895. For a further discussion see Spence, J. (2013)., pp. 208-215.

carry out reforms in all spheres. It was known as the Hundred Days' Reform of 1898[6]. Though the reform was short- lived, it heralded the ensuing reforms initiated by the Qing court. Among these reforms were the establishment of a modern school system in 1903 and the abolishing of the imperial system of recruitment in 1905. The short time extending between 1905 and 1911 witnessed a rapid expansion and growth of Western learning.

Change, when it finally came, was systemic in scope. The 1911 revolution brought an end to the imperial system and led to the establishment of Republican China. The New Culture Movement[7] immediately followed. As its name suggests, it was an effort mainly on the part of intellectuals to replace traditional Confucian culture with something new. The movement went through six major stages, including (1) the attack on Confucianism, (2) the Literary Revolution, (3) the advocacy of a new philosophy of life, (4) the debate on science and the philosophy of life, (5) the "doubting of antiquity" movement, and (6) the debate on Chinese and Western cultural values (de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 352). Iconoclasm, admiration for Western democracy, and confidence in the power of education and cultural reform dominated the New Culture Movement until the outbreak of the nationalistic May Fourth Student Movement in 1919. After that, the New Culture Movement was channeled into new directions, from nonviolent reform to political violence, from mass spontaneity to party organization, from gradualism to political and social revolution due to growing skepticism over the efficacy of Western democracy. Meanwhile, the Bolshevik experiment in Russia had incited new interest and generated a new trend among Chinese intellectuals since the early 1920s. Advocates of communism also spoke passionately of

[6] It is also known as the Reform Movement of 1898. The original in Chinese is 戊戌變法 or 百日維新. For a further discussion see Spence, J. (2013), pp. 215-221.

[7] The original in Chinese is 新文化運動. It emerged in 1915 and lasted through the early 1920s. For a further discussion see Chow, T. (1960). *The May Fourth movement: Intellectual revolution in modern China*.

democracy, but they were in favor of the collectivist and revolutionary approach of Bolshevism, instead of the voluntarist, gradualist approach of Western liberalism[8].

The Chinese intelligentsia underwent a significant enlightenment, as reflected in the passion for the study and dissemination of Western political concepts. They were seeking an alternative to solve China's imminent social problems for which Confucian tradition failed to provide solutions. Their conceptualizations and experiments of rights and citizenship exerted a far-reaching effect on the distinctive development of rights and citizenship in China. In what follows I will examine the reception and conceptualizations of the Western notions of rights and citizenship in China during the period from 1860 to 1937.

Burgeoning Awareness of Rights and Citizenship: 1860-1900

The treaty of Tianjin, ratified in 1860, as a result of the second war between Britain and the Qing empire, in which France also joined, marked the beginning of China's Western learning and China's modern experience among the nations. Beset with foreign oppression, the Qing court was compelled to undertake reforms in the hope that it could negotiate as an equal with Western powers. During this period, new vocabulary was fashioned to accompany the advocacy of Western thought. Some of the new words had roots in the traditional Chinese political discourse while others were neologisms borrowed from Japan or coined by Chinese scholars. As Svensson (2002) noted, it was a complex process of rendering new concepts into the Chinese language, and different translations competed with each other until a consensus was attained. In what follows I trace the emergence of the notions of rights and citizen in late-nineteenth-century China.

[8] For a review of the rise of the CCP, see Spence, J. (2013), pp. 295-300.

Rights

In 1862, the American missionary W. A. P. Martin translated Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* into Chinese, wherein "human rights in general" was rendered as *shiren ziranquan* 世人自然權 (literally natural rights of people in the world). It was the first time the notion of human rights appeared in the Chinese language. After refining the text's style, the diplomatic agency of the Qing court published Martin's translation in 1864, under the title *Wanguo gongfa* 萬國公法 (the General Laws of the Myriad Nations; hereafter, the General Laws). As the first translated textbook on international law, the *General Laws* produced immediate effects. Using the regulations defined in the *General Laws*, Prince Gong (1833-1898), director of *zongli yamen* 總理衙門 (Foreign Affairs Bureau), not only successfully forced Prussia to release the Dutch merchant ships seized by a Prussian warship in a Chinese port but also managed to compel Prussia to pay China financial compensation for encroaching on China's jurisdiction (Angle, 2002, p. 107). In addition to foreign laws and regulations, the *General Laws* also brought in the concepts and vocabulary associated with rights. *Quan* 權 was found as the most frequent word used to render the term "rights" in the *General Laws.* For instance, natural rights was translated as *ziran zhi quan* 自然之權, personal rights as *siquan* 私權, rights of equality as *pingxing zhi quan* 平性之權, and so on. The character *quan* originally is concerned with weighing. For instance, it appeared in the *Mencius*, referring to the moral judgment of a virtuous person when faced with a choice or decision between following a rule and bending a rule in order to achieve a greater good. Lau's (1970) translation of the *Mencius* rendered *quan* in the above context as "discretion." Besides its connection with morality, *quan* actually is more often used to refer to power (Zhang, 1973). As a matter of fact, in the *General Laws,* Martin sometimes

mingled “rights” and “authority” and translated them in the same way, though *quan* was taken as a normative notion grounded on reason, justice, and agreements.

Along with *quan*, a compound word *quanli* 權力 was also frequently used to render “rights” in the *General Laws*, which later was accepted throughout the twentieth century as the standard translation for “rights.” Like *quan*, the compound *quanli* also has a long history. The earliest use of *quanli* can be traced to the Confucian philosopher Xunzi who argued that when people have perfected their learning and self-cultivation, *quanli* cannot move them to do wrong (Xunzi, 1986). *Quanli* in the traditional sense is generally interpreted as “power-and-profit” or personal profit and benefit (Li, 1979, p. 20; Zhang, 1973, vol.5, p. 525). Like many Confucians who disregarded any kind of utility, Xunzi attached a negative connotation to *quanli*. As Angle (2002) observed, though *quanli* was used in many classic texts, there were “no uses of the term prior to the nineteenth century that gave it a positive connotation” (p. 109). In the *General Laws, quanli* went through two stages of transformations. First, it retained its traditional meaning but with a positive connotation. It was defined as “advantages of trade” or “privileges” with a reference to the embedded powers and benefits that came along with trade or diplomatic status. Second, *quanli* was used to directly correspond with “rights.” Being aware of the potential ambiguities concerning the uses of *quan* and *quanli*, Martin made the following comment:

> International law is a separate field of knowledge and requires a special terminology. There were times when we could not find a proper Chinese term to render the original expression, so our choice of words would seem less than satisfactory. Take the character *quan* 權, for example, in this book the word means not only the kind of power one has over others, but also *fen* 份 (the lot) that *li* 禮 (moral pattern) prescribes to each person. Occasionally, we would add the word *li* 力 (to form a compound), as, for example, in the expression “the original *quanli* of the common people,” and the like. At first encounter, these words may seem off and unwieldy, but after seeing them repeatedly, you will come to realize that the translators have really made the best of necessity. (Quoted in Angle, 2002, p. 110)

Though Martin's uses of *quanli* sometimes confused the nature of rights as to whether it is a normative or empirical notion, *quanli* became a popular term to render "rights." Japanese scholars picked up *quanli* to translate rights once the *General Laws* was imported from China in 1866 (Angle, 2002, p. 115). *Quan* and *quanli* coexisted for some time to refer to rights. It was not until the appearance of Yan Fu's influential translation of Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* that the terminological development of "rights" in China was settled with the use of *quanli* for rights. Though Yan expressed his reservations about *quanli* as a satisfactory translation for "rights" and even considered several alternatives, he returned to *quanli* in his translation of Edward Jenks's *A History of Politics* in 1904 (Liu, 1995, pp. 20-21). Ever since then, *quanli* became the standard Chinese translation for rights.

In addition to *quan* and *quanli* used to denote rights, it is noteworthy that another compound *liquan* 利權 is seen sporadically in the writings of some late Qing elites. In fact, inspired by the publication of the *General Laws*, many officials were actively engaged in the talk of rights. Pong (1985) observed in the discussions among Self-Strengthening advocates who prepared for negotiations with Western powers that

> Of the seventeen officials involved in the deliberations, five used the term *quan*, and of [this] group, three did so to mean preserving China's authority or control over specific matters, while Chonghou and Li Hongzhang used it to convey the notion of inherent rights as well …. Thus from its original meaning, it denotes China having the ultimate say in protecting its traditional socio-political order from foreign encroachment – a defensive position – the concept of *quan*, and especially its derivation, *liquan,* had come to connote as well China's right to pursue its own course of development. (pp. 34-35)

As Pong indicated, two meanings of *quan* emerged in these discussions – one was more traditional referring to authority and control while the other was the new concept of "inherent rights" rendered as *liquan*, which became the self-strengthener's key concern. By its original meaning, *li* 利 refers to benefit or profit, whereas *quan* is power. Like the term *quanli*, it is hard

to tell whether they are intended as a compound term or as two separate terms in classical texts. Nevertheless, it is evident that *liquan* used in post-classical texts was a compound term, meaning "economic control." Li Hongzhang, one of the leading high officials of the Self-Strengthening Movement, spoke of *liquan* in many situations. The following excerpt from Li's writing reveals his understanding of *quan* and *liquan*:

> In addition to (a variety of demands made by Western powers), there are still other demands. Above, none fail to invade our nation's *liquan*; below, they inevitably seek to wrest away our merchants' livelihoods. These can all be denounced on the basis of the upright words of the *General Laws of the Myriad Nations*: "All nations have the *quan* of protecting their people and administering their financial affairs." (Li, 1930, p. 55. Trans. by Angle, 2002, p. 113)

Drawing on the *General Laws,* Li made a striking movement by separating *quan* and *liquan* from the value-neutral notions of power and control. He equated *liquan* to "economic rights" and saw China as a nation among nations enjoying inherent rights to economic sovereignty (Li, 1930).

From *quan*, to *quanli*, then to *liquan*, the Chinese intellectuals' perceptions of rights were getting closer to those of their Western contemporaries. However, it should be noted that the nineteenth-century Chinese rights discourse has a tendency to take the subjects of *quan* as collectives rather than individuals. Liang Qichao's argument with respect to the nature of rights provides an insight into the preference of collective rights to individual rights among the Chinese intelligentsia.

In an 1899 essay titled *The Right of Strength* (Lun Qiangquan 論強權), Liang contrasted " 權力" and "權利," both of which are romanized *quanli.* The second character in the former term means "strength," which explicitly renders the compound with power. The latter is the term that had been used to translate "rights," with the second character meaning profit or benefit. Liang defined "權力" (*the quan of strength*) as the " '權利' (right) of those who are strong"

(Liang, 1899, 1989c, vol. 4, p. 29), which corresponded with the social Darwin's *Survival of the Fittest* theory (Angle, 2002; Du, 2004). By 1900 social Darwinism had immense impact on progressive thought in China. In the eyes of Chinese advocates of social Darwinism, Western expansion and domination over Asia and Africa seemed to be logically justified and was an unavoidable process in civilization within the framework of social Darwinism. Under the influence of the social Darwinian notion of competition, Liang argued in *The Right of Strength*: "In the world there is only power. There is no other force. That the strong always rule the weak is in truth the first great universal rule of nature. Hence, if we wish to attain liberty, there is no other road: we can only seek first to be strong" (Liang, 1899, 1989c, vol. 6, p. 29, Trans. by Levenson, 1953, p. 117). In contrast to his idealist contemporaries who believed that people were born with rights, Liang asserted that rights belonged to whoever was stronger and that the means to this end was none other than war and struggle. In the essay *On Rights Consciousness* (Lun quanli sixiang 論權力思想) written in 1902, Liang argued "when there are mutual invasions, there is mutual resistance, and so long as the invasions do not cease, the resistance will also not end. The essence is simply that rights are born from competition" (Liang, 1902, 1989e, vol.6:4, p. 32). Following is a vivid analogy Liang made to elaborate on rights:

> From where are rights born? They are born from strength. Lions and tigers always have first-class, absolute rights with respect to the myriad animals, as do chieftains and kings with respect to the common people, aristocrats with respect to commoners, men with respect to women, large groups with respect to small, and aggressive states with respect to weak ones. This is not due to the violent evil of the lions, tigers, chieftains, and so on! It is natural that all people desire to extend their own *quanli* and never are satisfied with what they have attained. Thus it is the nature of *quanli* that A must lose it before B can invade and gain it. (Liang, 1902, 1989e, vol.6:4, pp. 31-32. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 7)

Liang considered the desires for material improvement as motives for the struggle for rights. What is more, he linked individual rights to the rights of the group to which individuals

were attached and asserted that only when national rights were secured against competition among nations can individual rights be realized.

Concern for national rights dominated the early Chinese rights discourse. Buds of individual rights grew slowly but surely. It is noteworthy that Protestant missionaries played an important role in introducing and promoting individual rights in China. With the growing influence of Christianity, religious writings began to flourish in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Among various religious works, *Wanguo Gongbao* 萬國公報 (The Globe Magazine) was the most widely read religious periodical in China prior to 1896 (Shek, 1976, p. 196). Besides religious teaching, the periodical was also devoted to the rights discussion. For instance, a good many articles discussed the statement as to *renren you zizhu zhi quan* 人人有自主之權 (every person has the right of self-mastery). The term *zizhu zhi quan* first appeared in Martin's translation of *The General Laws* to refer to "independence." Literally it means "the power to rule oneself," being independent from the control or authority of another. In contrast, Alexander Williamson, in his article for the *Globe Magazine,* adopted the term *zizhu zhi quan* to convey the idea of free will. He argued,

> The source of (man's) ability to distinguish between good and evil lies entirely in his having self-mastery (zizhu) over his opinions. If he lacked mastery over his opinions, he could act neither for good nor for evil. … It is like when God created the archangels: he had to endow them with the power to be masters of themselves *zineng zuozhu zhi quan* 自能做主之權. As a result when these angels did good, it was certainly through self-mastery; when they did evil, this was also through self-mastery. (Trans. by Liu, 1994, p. 6)

Williamson's discussion of free will to his Chinese readers was not conceptually new, but his idea of associating "powers" with "individuals" rather than "people" was novel. Although the Confucian *minben* 民本 thought (people as the basis) acknowledges the importance of people and calls for a benevolent government, it is concerned with the relationship between people and

government rather than the right of an individual. The recognition of individual rights marked the start of the modern conceptualization of citizenship in China. Angle (2002) remarked that this kind of moral right of self-determination or "the power to be master of oneself" entailed "the concept of basic human rights" (p. 131).

To conclude, the Chinese perception of rights in the beginning was something close to economic rights or rights to economic sovereignty. Rights were associated with "advantages of trade" or "privileges" with a reference to the embedded powers and benefits that came along with trade or diplomatic status. In the eyes of the Self-Strengtheners of the late nineteenth century, it was more important for China as a nation to enjoy rights to economic sovereignty than for individuals to be endowed with rights. Although with the increasing exposure to Western thought, the notion of giving rights to individuals gradually found its way into the minds of Chinese intellectuals, the nineteenth-century Chinese rights discourse still had a tendency to identify subjects of rights with state/collectives rather than with the individual. National survival and harmony was considered first priority for the nation, to which individual interests were subordinated.

Citizenship

With the rise of modern republicanism since the seventeenth century, the word "citizen" was gradually detached from its municipal boundary and became attached to the state (Heater, 2004a). As Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712-1778) revealed, the people of a state are both citizens and subjects: citizens when devising the General Will – for the community's best interests, and subjects when obeying those decisions. To ensure the equality between citizens, Rousseau proposed a social pact or contract. According to him, society was produced by a "contract" that defined the rights and duties between citizens and the state (Wraight, 2008). Rousseau's idea of

Social Contract laid the foundation for the modern conceptualization of citizenship in which the focus of sovereignty shifted from the absolute rulership that emphasized the duties of the subject to a more contractual rulership that acknowledged the active agency of citizens.

"The people" is not a new ontological term in China. It actually constitutes the basis of the Confucian tradition of *minben* 民本 (people as the basis). Though *minben* thought might be considered as a prehistoric idea of mutual obligation or even popular sovereignty, China never developed an equivalent of the polis that nurtured Western thinking about citizenship. It is hard to find in Chinese philosophy any notion of autonomous individuals forming a social unit (Monroe, 1985; Ames, 1988; de Bary, 1988; Rosemont, 1988). The major tension lying in traditional Chinese political thought was between the legitimate powers of emperor and the proper role of the literati rather than competing forms of governments. As Zarrow (1997) noted, the Chinese "existed in mutuality only, and individuals were defined by their relationships or obligations" (p. 13). Discussing the relationship between the state and the people in terms of citizenship did not appear in China until the late nineteenth century under Western influence. The late Qing intellectuals came to realize from the experiences of the modern West and Meiji Japan that some significant portion of the population had to be brought into the political process. The notion of "citizenry" consequently received great attention among the Chinese intelligentsia. *Guomin* 國民 was used to render the new concept "citizenry." In fact, this is a long-used compound word referring to *min* 民 (the people) of *guo* 國 (the nation). It was reintroduced from Japan in the late nineteenth century to embody the new meaning (Liu, 1995).

With the increase of citizenship consciousness, Chinese culture was under attack. Many intellectuals of the time began to abandon the Confucian notion of *junzi* 君子 (the exemplary gentleman) while emphasizing the role of the common people as subjective actors. Yan Fu (1854-

1921) published several essays in 1895, criticizing the Confucian notion of imperial sovereignty. Comparing Chinese culture with Western culture, Yan made the following insightful observation:

> Chinese most assert the three bonds while Westerners primarily uphold equality; Chinese practice nepotism while Westerners esteem the meritorious; Chinese order the empire with filial piety while Westerns rule through *gong* 公 (public-spiritedness); Chinese venerate rulers while Westerners glorify the people; Chinese prize the orthodoxy that creates conformity while Westerners follow their interests yet maintain unity; and Chinese mostly honor taboos while Westerners emphasize criticism. (Yan, 1895, 1986a, p. 52. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 67)

In 1898, Yan Fu translated Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*. He was devoted to advocating new theories such as "natural selection and survival of the fittest," hoping to *gu minli* 鼓民力 (promote the people's strength), *kai minzhi* 開民智 (improve the people's intelligence), and *xin minde* 新民德 (renew the people's morality). Yan argued, "evolution is what enables those who can form groups to survive while those who cannot form groups perish, and those who form groups will survive while those who do not form groups will perish" (Yan, 1898, 1986b, p. 1376). According to Yan, the term *qun* 群 (group) is equivalent to the Western notions of assemblages, civic associations and political parties formed by autonomous individuals. Yan further argued that such kinds of groupings should be formed by individuals who possessed citizenship consciousness, rather than based on blood and locality. Yan Fu's advocacy of Western theories as well as his ideas of "improving the people's intelligence" and "promoting group utility" played a significant role in arousing citizenship consciousness in the late Qing.

Liang Qichao (1873-1929), another influential scholar and activist at the turn of the twentieth century, wrote extensively on citizenship. He remarked in his essay written in 1898 that China should "awaken from the great dream of four thousand years" (Liang, 1898, 1954, p. 99). Liang criticized the Chinese view of the world as *tianxia* 天下 (literally, all under heaven). The concept of *tianxia* differs from the modern notion of nation-state in the sense that *tianxia* is not a

sovereign state but symbolizes both a cosmic and a moral order through the transcendent authority of heaven. Moreover, the *tianxia* system was not stratified by race, religion, or language, but by the presence or absence of the ritual system of *wen* 文 (culture), namely Chinese civilization. According to Liang, the mindset of *tianxia* held people from producing the concept of citizenship. As he noted in his essay written in 1899, "Chinese people do not know what a nation is. For 2000 years they have just known the two characters, *guo* 國 (state) and *jia* 家 (family), and not once have they heard the two-character terms of *guojia* 國家 (the state) and *guomin* 國民 (the citizen)" (Liang, 1899, 1989d, p. 58). According to Liang, *guojia* implied that the state was the private property of a single family, whereas *guomin* denoted that the state became the public property of the populace.

In 1897, Liang wrote *On Grouping* (*Shuo qun qu* 說群序), arguing that "grouping" was both a natural principle of integration working through evolution and a political ideal. Liang was greatly influenced by social Darwinism and thought it explained the success of Western imperialism. He defined grouping as active political participation of all members of the group, and he himself was actively engaged in organizing voluntary associations such as study societies. However, it should be noted that Liang expected no conflicts between individuals and the state. He insisted that in his times grouping would only occur at the level of the nation-state rather than the tribe or the world (Liang, 1897, 1989b). By the end of the nineteenth century, Western oppression had threatened the very existence of the Chinese state and people. Against this backdrop, Liang did not consider the Manchus ruling as foreign oppressors but advocated programs of national improvement. He hoped that reforms could transform the imperial empire into a modern nation-state. Therefore, Liang's nationalism is in great contrast to the more conservative nationalism represented by Zhang Binglin (1869-1936), who developed a distinctly

racialist anti-Manchuism in which Manchu rulers were blamed for cutting the Han Chinese people off from their traditions. In spite of differences, both Liang and Zhang sought to identify the Chinese national community among the competing nation-states in modern times.

The *Social Contract* was translated into Chinese as *minyue* 民約 in the late 1870s and published in 1882 (Fogel, 1989). It should be noted that the late Qing intellectuals interpreted Rousseau mostly through the lens of constitutionalism rather than his call for egalitarianism. With the loss to Japan in 1895, reformist groups stepped onto the political stage in the form of various associations, urging to establish a parliament, reform the bureaucracy, abolish the examination system, advance commerce and industry, improve the military, and so forth. The political associations they created, such as *Qiangxue hui* 強學會 (the Strengthening Study Society), *Nanxue hui* 南學會 (the Southern Study Society), and *Baoguo hui* 保國會 (the National Preservation Society), in some sense were similar to modern political parties. In the meantime, journals like *Shiwu bao* 實務報 (the Current Affairs Journal), *Qingyi bao* 清議報 (Journal of Disinterested Criticism), and *Guowen bao* 國文報 (National News) and the like became the literary frontier to promote the establishment of civic associations and political parties. According to the historian Zhang Yufa (1971), during the time of the 1898 reforms, around 668 study societies of various kinds had appeared, including more than 360 dedicated to the reform of politics, education, scholarship, and so forth, and more than 300 related to commerce, religion, and so on. With regard to political parties, numerous discussions emerged to talk about the features such as the definition, requirements, functions, membership, and leadership of political parties. As one journal remarked, “From now on, the survival of China depends on whether political parties exist …. Only if we establish a great party, will we save a dying China” (Quoted

in Liu & Liu, 1997, p. 45). From the above discussion, we may conclude that the citizenship consciousness was transmitted through these modern associations.

In contrast, Rousseau's notion of equality received less recognition during the late Qing. Part of the reason was that class differences at the time were relatively small compared with the West. In fact, the notion of class struggle was not brought to attention until the 1920s in China. For the late Qing intellectuals, the most pressing concern was the suppression by foreign powers. They did not find the cure for oppression to lie in individual rights but rather in peoplehood. Thus, they believed that the project of citizenship would help ultimately wipe out the boundary between state and individual so that national harmony would be achieved. In a tradition in which the state was compared to a family and family relationships were taken as the model for other relationships in society, it is not easy to accept antagonism between citizen and state embedded in the "contract" theory. For instance, in such terms as *tongbao* 同胞 (compatriot, literally "shared paternity") and *zuguo* 祖國 (ancestral nation), national identity was conceived in terms of kinship. As Price (1994) noted, such ancestral conception of the nation made it difficult for citizens to control the state or to resist state control. Thus, the Chinese considered the sense of peoplehood as complementary to citizenship, or even the basis of citizenship. What is more, the western belief of utilitarianism was generally denounced in the late Qing. From the Confucian view of point, utilitarianism was tied to selfishness (the principle of happiness) and calculation (social tradeoffs).

To conclude, by the end of the nineteenth century, the Western notions of rights, citizen, and nation enjoyed high admiration among the late Qing intelligentsia. China's elites at the turn of the twentieth century were preoccupied with the discussion as to which rights should take

priority, individual rights or national rights. These themes are to be elaborated on in greater detail in the section below.

Rights and Citizenship Theorization: 1900-1911

During the short time between 1900 and 1911, the Qing government made substantial efforts at political reforms. Local and provincial elections appeared in 1909. Men who met certain educational or property requirements became "citizens" in the legal sense of suffrage (Reynolds, 1993; Thompson, 1995). For both reformers and revolutionaries in the final decade of the Qing dynasty, pursuit of rights became a desirable goal as it symbolized a modern and civilized society. Svensson (2002) noted that the Chinese rights advocates against the Manchu despotism resembled the Americans and the French who used the idea of human rights to fight against the English and *l'ancien régime*. The rights discussed among the Chinese scholars revolved mostly around civil and political rights, including the rights to freedom of thought, speech, and publication. In what follows I will examine the writings of a few prominent scholars who shaped China's rights discourse at the turn of the twentieth century.

Kang Youwei on the Ideal of Great Unity

Kang Youwei (1858-1927) is best known as the leading figure of the 1898 Hundred Days Reform. He was an expert on Chinese classics and at the same time was interested in Western science, religion, and philosophy. The success of western nations stimulated Chinese intellectuals to reexamine the traditional moral values. Kang Youwei's observation of the West led him to make the following conclusion:

> Why is it that all of the Western nations, similarly from France to America, tend toward wealth and power? It is because they all regard the people as the basis of national culture. Since all the people have the right to participate in assemblies and they all have the responsibility to be concerned about their country, they are called citizens. All the people regard the country as their own family, and they are all involved, whether there is loss or gain, whether the times are good or bad. Although the members of a family may be young

> or old, humble or reputable, when there are problems they will still come together to deal with the problems and go through the difficulties for mutual benefit. (Kang, 1902, 1960, p. 173. Trans. by Zarrow, 1997, p. 20)

It is noteworthy that Kang used *gongmin* 公民 (literally, public persons) to refer to citizen. *Guomin* 國民 and *gongmin* were used interchangeably in the late Qing, but *gongmin* gradually replaced *guomin* and became the only rendition for citizen (Angle, 2002).

Kang was the first Chinese scholar who undertook a thorough study of theories of human rights. He incorporated many of the Western ideas into his writings. *Datong shu* 大同書 (The Book of Great Unity) was his most well-known and probably most controversial work. The idea of this book derived from Confucius's anticipation of a utopian society. Kang envisioned a utopian future free of political boundaries and under democratic rule. In his times, the terms *renquan* 人權 (human rights) and *minquan* 民權 (people rights) were interchangeable[9]. In Kang's writing, *minquan* denoted rights in both individual and collective senses. He associated rights with equality to repudiate the deep-rooted feudal moral doctrines, namely *sangang wuchang* 三綱五常 (known as the Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant virtues)[10]. He also exalted *tianyu renquan* 天予人權 or *tianfu renquan* 天賦人權 (heavenly-endowed rights) to criticize the monarch – subject relationship embodied in a monarchial system.

[9] The term *minquan* 民權 (people's authority) emerged in the 1890s to recognize people's institutionalized, consultative role in a constitutional monarchy. It affirmed people's authority as a collective but failed to articulate individual rights and authority. The purpose of the *minquan* advocacy was to consolidate the power of the ruler so as to increase the ability of the state to defend itself from external enemies. Later on *renquan* 人權 was settled to refer to human rights emphasizing the rights of an individual, and *minquan* the rights enjoyed by a people as a collective entity.

[10] *The Three Cardinal Guides and Five Constant Virtues* is the embodiment of Chinese value system and constitute the foundation of Chinese traditional society and politics. The three cardinal guides include: the sovereign guides the subject, the father guides the son, and the husband guides the wife. The five constant virtues are: benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom, and fidelity.

Kang Youwei's theorization of *tianfu renquan* to some extent was influenced by the traditional Chinese concept of *Mandate of Heaven* (tianming 天命). He deemed human rights as a kind of sacred *tianquan* 天權 (literally, heaven right), as given by heaven. However, in contrast to the purpose of Confucian advocacy of *Mandate of Heaven* that was to exhort the ruler to take the well-beings of his subjects as the foundation of his governing, *tianquan,* in Kang's eyes, was aimed at empowering individuals by denouncing the three Confucian principles of moral bonds. Kang maintained that when heaven gave birth to humans, rights came along with one's physical existence and no one can infringe on others' rights. According to Kang, what rights violators abuse were in fact *tianquan*, and those who gave up on their rights were deprived of *tianzhi* 天職 (heaven duty). Equality underlies Kang's concept of rights, and it was also extended to the rights of women. He reasoned as follows:

> Men and women, though physically different, are children of heaven and enjoy the same heaven-endowed rights. When men know of the existence of heaven and rights and seek to contribute to state politics, how should they ask women to give up their rights? Why should women listen to men to withdraw rights and their heaven-appointed duty? …… Based on the principle of equality, the ruler is equal to his subjects, let alone men to women. (Kang, 1956, p. 199. Trans. by Angle 2002, p. 92)

Confucian tradition was partly responsible for this as it made women dependent on their fathers, husbands, and sons. Women's rights were as much violated in imperial China as in pre-democratic Western society. The exclusion of women from public political life was historically contingent in Western traditions. Women were given citizen status after the French Revolution but were denied full citizenship. It was not until the twentieth century that women were given the franchise in most western societies. By contrast, the conceptualization of citizenship in modern China was inclusive from the start. Chinese rights discourse at the beginning was in favor of collective rights, that is, to associate rights with the nation or the people, instead of the individual. Thus, the notion of equality was accepted more easily in China than the idea of liberty. As

indicated in the above quotation, Kang maintained that people were equal with respect to rights and that there existed no differences between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, man and woman. The revolutionary Zou Rong (1885-1905), who was famous for his pamphlet *The Revolutionary Army*, maintained that all human beings are free and equal at birth. He wrote: "Everybody in the country, whether male or female, is equal. There is no distinction between upper and lower, base and noble. All inalienable rights are bestowed by nature. The freedom to live and all other privileges are natural rights" (trans. by Lust, 1968, p. 123). In the same vein, Liang Qichao argued that only educated women could educate their children, and the country would become rich and strong only if women were active in the production of goods and services (Liang, 1898, 1989g). Therefore, the fight for women's rights in China at the very beginning was tied closely to the fight for national salvation.

Kang also placed an emphasis on the right of autonomy. The earliest example of the claims of self-mastery can be found in Kang Youwei's *Shili gongfa quanshu* 實理公法全書 (Complete Book of Substantial Principles and General Laws). The book was based on Kang's knowledge of Western mathematics. Each section begins with "substantial principles," which are taken as axioms or general truths. Then from these axioms, Kang derived some "general laws," each of which was contrasted to "lesser alternatives" that did not generate from the axioms. Some contemporary Chinese customs, values, and institutions are found among these lesser alternatives. In the section titled *Zonglun renlei men* 總論人類門 (General Discussion on Humankind), the term *zizhu zhi quan* 自主之權 (right of self-mastery) constitutes the main focus. The general truth of *zizhu zhi quan* is stated as below:

> *Substantial Principles* …. (1) Human rights are formed by taking their respective share of the primordial substance of heaven and earth. (2) Every individual possesses a soul and hence possess reason …

> *Universal Laws* …. (1) People have the *quan* of self-mastery. Note: This is a law derived from geometrical axioms and is wholly in accordance with the substantial principles that human beings are formed by taking their respective share of the primordial substance and that every individual possesses a soul …. (Trans. by Angle, 2002, pp. 132-133)

According to Kang, equal relationships between people were also derived from *zizhu zhi quan* (equal right of self-mastery). Thus, people should be the masters of themselves and benefit from the rights bestowed by heaven; in so doing, people, whether men or women, were equal and independent in family, work place, and society.

Many of Kang's contemporaries shared his view of rights. For instance, Tan Sitong (1865-1898), a martyr to the Hundred Days Reform, reiterated the equality of rights, arguing "When Christianity was first founded … it established (the concept of) the Heavenly Kingdom that gave each person *zizhu zhi quan* 自主之權 (the right of autonomy) and all inequalities were abolished" (Translated by Shek, 1976, p. 198). Liang Qichao also exhibited interest in the "power (or right) of self-mastery." He identified *zizhu zhi quan* as "each person doing all he ought to do, and receiving all the benefits he ought to receive" (Liang, 1896, 1989a). It is fair to say that Kang's theorization of rights serves as the source from which his contemporaries and successors drew inspiration for human rights discussions.

Yan Fu on Evolution and Progress

Yan Fu (1854-1921) was the first intellectual in Chinese recent history who recognized and vigorously upheld the priority of individual rights over collective rights. Yan was a prominent translator. Among his copious translations, the most influential ones include Thomas Henry Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics* (1898). Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (1901-1902), Herbert Spencer's *A Study of Sociology* (1903), John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* (1903), and Montesquieu's *Spirit of Laws* (1909). More than just an interpreter of Western liberal thought,

Yan was also a distinguished reformist thinker. He called for a thorough transformation of Chinese people's old habits and values so as to embrace liberty and equality. Yan renounced the traditional idealization of the ruler and asserted that the power of the Chinese emperor was nothing but a kind of loot obtained through theft. Yan also was the first Chinese scholar who drew on Social Darwinism to substantiate his rights thinking. He believed that the principle of natural selection applied to not only the natural world but also human society as well. His account of the competition among people can be found in the essay *On Strength* (Yuan qiang 原強) written in 1895:

> At first species struggled with species, and when they advanced somewhat, one group (*qun* 群) struggled with another. The weaker regularly became the prey of the stronger, and the more stupid were dominated by the more intelligent. Those who survived to perpetuate their kind were inevitably the strong and ruthless, the quick and clever, as well as those best adapted to the times and the natural human circumstances. (Yan, 1895, 2000. Trans. by de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 257)

To Yan Fu, the survival and competitive instincts were the driving forces behind the evolution of society. People survive on what the natural environment provides and struggle over the means of survival. He also found in social Darwinism the explanation accounting for the difference between strong, dynamic Western society and weak, stagnating Chinese society.

Yan's advocacy of Social Darwinism led the Chinese rights discourse to a new direction. Yan justified human desires and self-interest, arguing that seeking personal benefits was fundamental to human nature and aimed at survival. Accordingly, Yan attacked the traditional Chinese ethical teaching that suppressed the pursuit of self-interest, confined individuals to hierarchical relationships, and tied them to various duties towards others. Yan called for the recognition of individual rights and insisted that only the establishment of a reciprocal relationship between benefitting oneself and benefitting others could drive the development of society.

Yan also pointed out the importance of enforcing law to ensure people's full enjoyment of freedom. He compared Western laws with Chinese laws, noting: "Western laws are based on the spirit of freedom while Chinese laws are based on autocracy. No matter tolerant or severe, the Chinese rulers all treat people as slaves" (p. 257). Yan criticized the traditional Chinese political ideal of *renzhi* 仁治 (benevolent ruling) that depended on the character and ability of the ruler. He insisted on the establishment of modern laws to protect the freedom people enjoy and need to develop their strength, wisdom and virtue. In *On Strength* Yan asserted that people must rely on themselves to attain freedom rather than expecting rulers to be kind and merciful. He wrote:

> It is laws rather than monarch's kindness that creates a peaceful nation without domestic disturbance. When people hold rights, they make rulers to be kind to them. But when rights are in the hands of rulers, it's up to them whether they should be kind to their people. Thus, people with rights are free people, without rights defeated people. (Yan, 1895, 2000. Trans. by de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 258)

Unlike his contemporaries who thought national strength and survival were more important and pressing than improving the livelihood of individuals, Yan insisted that the upgrading of *minli* 民力*, minzhi* 民智*,* and *minde* 民德 (people's strength, intellect, and virtue) was a bigger priority than the pursuit of national wealth and power. He explained:

> The existence and prosperity of human species is determined by three principles, namely, the power of strength, the power of intelligence, and the power of virtue. The western scholars on politics all used these three principles to differentiate races. (Yan, 1895, 2000. Trans. by de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 258)

Yan's argument of improving people's intelligence through providing them with freedom is essentially concerned with individual rights. According to Yan, since the end goal of a nation's wealth and power was to benefit the people, so benefiting people must start with strengthening each individual's ability to benefit oneself. He went on to argue that the ability to benefit oneself began with each one's enjoyment of freedom. Yan made reference to the West, noting that the prosperity of the Western countries lay in their respect for and protection of liberty of individuals:

> They (Westerners) reject taboos, discard onerous obligations, and eliminate cover-ups. People pursue their aims and speak their minds. There is no great gulf between the power of rulers and ruled; monarchs are not overly honored nor are the people too lowly. Rather, they are linked as in one body. (Yan, 1895, 2000. Trans. by de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 259)

Yan was also impressed by the mutual prosperity among the Western nations and attributed it to the practice of freedom and democracy. He argued:

> The peoples of one continent have spread over seven or eight, vying with each other as they advance together, honing each other's skills, beginning as adversaries but ending in mutual development, each employing his intelligence to the fullest, so that one's daily progress is matched by another's monthly innovations. This is what is awe-inspiring. (Trans. by de Bary & Lufrano, 2000, p. 259)

Yan believed that individual freedom and rights laid the foundation for a free country enjoying equal status on the world scene. He wrote, "I've never seen a free country with its people deprived of their freedom; nor have I seen a nation composed of people who have no rights enjoying equal rights with other nations" (p. 260). According to Yan, without individual freedom and rights, there was no such thing as rights of a nation, let alone the prosperity of the nation.

Among various kinds of rights, Yan deemed freedom of thought as the basic right of human beings. He was opposed to any charges related to thoughts, ideas, and expressions. He differentiated law from ethics, maintaining that that the principles by which good and bad was determined in ethics were not the same as adopted in law. According to Yan, as long as one's behavior and actions did not cause harm to others, law could not place charges against his or her ideas or speeches, even though they were morally inappropriate.

Yan Fu's translations and discussions on Darwinism, social Darwinism, and utilitarianism had immense influence on his contemporaries. His advocacy of individualism exerted even more far-reaching impact on his successors.

Liu Shipei on Human Desires and Ethical Responsibilities

Liu Shipei (1884-1919) was brought up and educated in a distinguished family known for their studies of the classics. Before he became a freethinker and outspoken radical in 1903, Liu was a well-learned scholar of *guwen* 古文 (the Old Text). Liu spoke condescendingly of the Manchu's "racial inferiority" and called to free China from Manchu rule. In practice, Liu was involved in the founding of the Institute for the Study of Socialism that later gave rise to the Chinese version of Marxism. Nevertheless, Liu soon departed from radical politics and converted to anarchism in 1907. Between 1903 and 1907, Liu composed four important books, including the 1903 *The Essentials of the Chinese Social Contract* (Zhongguo minyue jingyi 中國民約精義), the 1903 *Book of Expulsion* (Rang shu 攘書), the 1905 *Textbook on Ethics* (Lunli jiaokeshu 倫理教科書) coauthored with Lin Xie, and the 1905 *General Explanations of Neo-Confucian Terminology* (Lixue ziyi tongshi 理學字義通釋). While *The Essentials of the Chinese Social Contract* and *Book of Expulsion* distinguished him as an ethnic nationalist, *Textbook on Ethics* and *General Explanations of Neo-Confucian Terminology* earned him a reputation as a rights advocate and educator. The following discussion is mainly drawn on *The Essentials of the Chinese Social Contract* (hereafter *Essentials,* Liu, 1936a) and *Textbook on Ethics* (hereafter *Textbook,* Liu, 1936b)

Liu Shipei related individual rights to the traditional Chinese philosophical notion of *si* 私 (personal) that means *ziying* 自營 (seeking oneself) (1936b, I, p. 6). Liu noted that *si* in the traditional sense had a negative connotation and was reckoned as a hindrance to moral cultivation, as opposed to the concept of *gong* 公 (general) meaning *beisi* 背私 (turning one's back to the personal). As an indicator of desire, *si* was rigorously opposed by neo-Confucians

until a new strand of the Confucian tradition emerged after the sixteenth century. This new Confucian school, represented by Chen Que (1604-1677), Huang Zongxi (1610-1695) and Gu Yanwu (1613-1985) and Dai Zhen (1724-1777), placed an emphasis on *li* 利 (benefit) and desire-satisfaction. The common belief shared by these pro-desire Confucians was that people had both legitimate desires and responsibilities. Liu Shipei inherited their thinking. He interpreted individual rights and *si* positively and regarded them as vital aspects of human life. Liu's optimistic attitude toward rights had much to do with his views of human nature. In the *Essentials* he maintained "From the first moments of life, there is not a person but that has thoughts of seeking their personal interests" (Liu, 1936a, III, p. 17). Such traits, argued Liu, constituted basic features of human nature that were impossible to be wiped out, neither could they be ignored nor eliminated. Moreover, Liu denounced the traditional Chinese ethic system for failing to recognize and endorse personal desires as one's primary concern. In this regard, Liu was an admirer of Wang Fuzhi (1619-1692), a Qing-dynasty Confucian who acknowledged and advocated human desires. Liu shared Wang's conviction that "*tianli* 天理 (heavenly pattern) lay in the midst of people's desires" (1936a, III, p. 20) and that the fulfillment of desires was inseparable from the exercising of moral relationship. Though he agreed to Wang's conceptualization of human desires, Liu was aware of the limitations of Wang's theory. He contended that Wang was too concerned with the proper responsibilities that rulers should follow in accordance with the heavenly pattern, but ignored individuals' responsibilities and capabilities, including the basic "ability to act freely" (1936a, III, p. 12).

Although Liu attached positive connotations to *si*, he was not opposed to Confucius' inclination to *gong* (the public/general). Liu believed that humans are constituted by and dependent on their relationships with others. Personal freedom cannot be without limits, and

rights and responsibilities come together like a package deal. Liu attempted to make personal (*si*) and general (*gong*) compatible through harmonizing one's rights with one's ethical responsibilities. Liu believed in the existence of an ideal pattern of human interrelationships for a harmonious society made up of self-motivated people. According to Liu, effective government action depended on the recognition and handling of the proper patterns of human role-responsibilities containing the legitimate desires, interests, and realms of activity of the common people (Liu, 1936a, III, p. 1).

Liu saw rights work within human society as a whole. The concrete human relations, such as the daily lives of workers, farmers, and women, were the basis on which Liu developed his sense of equality. He used the concept of *tianfu renquan* 天賦人權 (heaven-endowed rights) to challenge the sources of suffering he perceived as oppressing people. Nevertheless, Liu did not define rights or ground them in a sense of the autonomous individual. He maintained that liberty was an outcome of equality and if necessary, equality could override liberty. The following excerpt reflects Liu's stance:

> I believe that human possesses three great rights: *pingdeng quan* 平等權 (the right of equality), *duli quan* 獨立權 (the right of independence), and *ziyou quan* 自由權 (the right of liberty). "Equality" means no more distinction between rights and duties. "Independence" means neither controlling others nor depending on others. "Liberty" means neither being coerced by nor being controlled by others. I consider these three rights to be *tianfu* 天賦 ("heaven"-endowed). The two rights of independence and liberty are applied to individuals while the right of equality will appear only when it is applicable to the whole of humanity. Therefore, greater weight should be placed on equality when seeking the happiness of the whole of humanity. The right of independence is a means of maintaining the right of equality. Only when the right of liberty is used excessively and conflicts with the liberty of others, will it contradict the goal of equality of humanity. Therefore, if we want to maintain humanity's right to equality, we should rather limit the individual's right to liberty. (Liu, 1936a, III, p. 12. Trans. by Zarrow, 1997, pp. 16-17)

Liu made it clear that when liberties interfered with equality, it was necessary to restrict liberties. This is an early example of the opinion that individual liberty could have to be curbed

for the interest of the majority. Yet, Liu did not go so far to claim that the rights of the individual would have to be sacrificed in the interest of the nation; for him "independence-right" and "liberty-right," or in other words autonomy and freedom, were necessary but secondary. Therefore, Liu's notion of rights did not go beyond the traditional sense of the organic, holistic nature of society as well as Confucian interest in the development of the moral autonomy of the individual. All of these limited him to envision an atomistic individual or conceive of the individual as the bearer of liberty-rights and independence-rights. As Zarrow (1998) remarked, Liu's conception of human rights was "premature."

Liang Qichao on the New People

As a journalist, teacher, political activist, historian, and philosopher, Liang Qichao was the most influential intellectual in early-twentieth-century China. Teng and Fairbank (1967) summarized the contribution and influence of Liang's thought as follows:

> While he was less of a political organizer than Sun Yat-sen, Liang symbolized for the student class the great tradition of Chinese scholarship, face to face with the unprecedented problems posed by the West. His wide-ranging interests and eloquent style gave his writings great force, and there is little doubt that he taught his generation many lessons in the principles of patriotism and citizenship, as well as in political theory generally. (p. 220)

From 1902 Liang began writing his most notable serial essay *Xinmin shuo* 新民說 (On New People). Liang emphasized the importance of nurturing citizens in modern times. He defined *guomin* 國民 as people who were not merely attached to the nation but also exercised their popular sovereignty and political participation. Liang reflected on Chinese history and identified the factors contributing to China's inability to conceive the idea of citizenship as follows:

> In ancient times, we Chinese were people of villages instead of citizens. This is not because we were unable to form a citizenry but due to circumstances. Since China

> majestically used to be the predominant power in the East, surrounded as we were by small barbarian groups and lacking any contact with other large states, we Chinese generally considered our state to encompass the whole world. All the messages we received, all that influenced our minds, all the instructions of our sages, and all that our ancestors passed down qualified us to be individuals on our own, family members, members of localities and clans, and members of the world. But they did not qualify us to be citizens of a state. Although the qualifications of citizenship are not necessarily much superior to these other characteristics, in an age of struggle among nations for the survival of the fittest while the weak perish, if the qualities of citizens are wanting, then the nation cannot stand up independently between Heaven and Earth. (Liang, 1902, 1959, p. 6. Trans. by Zarrow, 1997, p. 19)

Liang used the term *xinmin* to signify the renovation of the people. He maintained that it was the key to saving China from imperialism and attaining wealth and power. According to Liang, a national community should involve and engage the people as both rulers and ruled. He even made an attempt to incorporate *ziyou* 自由 (individual liberty) and *quanli* 權力 (rights) into his idea of nationalism. He asserted:

> The citizenry is an assemblage of individual persons. The rights of the state are composed of the rights of individuals. Therefore, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of a citizenry will never be obtainable without the thoughts, feelings, and actions of each individual member (Liang, 1902, 1959, p. 7. Trans. by Chang, 1971, p. 195).

In *Xinmin shuo,* Liang Qichao drew a connection between the strengthening of the nation and the establishment of the *gongde* 公德 (public morality). Public morality, argued Liang, tied the individual to society and was the key to progressive social development. The aim of Liang's proposal of renewing the people actually was to arouse people's concerns about public affairs and enhance their political abilities. Liang distinguished *gongde* from *si'de* 私德. *Si'de* refers to "personal morality" and is a means of producing individuals for the group. *Si'de* forms the foundation of imperial Chinese social organization and is reflected in the hierarchical relationships between, e.g. fathers and sons, husbands and wives, and rulers and subjects. Liang criticized the localism of the Chinese people and attributed it to the Confucian priority of *si'de* over *gongde*. He also argued that the focus of *si'de* on personal, dual relations hindered the

development of the individual's sense of responsibility to society. In order for China to be transformed into a modern and united nation, Liang called for the promotion of a civic morality to supplement personal morality. In Liang's view, nations were not chance collections of individuals, families, or tribes, but composed of a people which, in modern times, had to become a citizenry. As Angle (2002) remarked, Liang's interpretation and comparison of *gongde* and *si'de* exerted influence on the eventual choice of *gongmin* 公民 for the rendition of "citizen," instead of *guomin* 國民.

Liang also wrote extensively on rights. He distinguished humans from animals and argued that among numerous aspects of metaphysical existence, rights were most important. According to Liang, if people did not preserve their rights, they lost their qualifications to be human and degraded themselves to the same position as animals. Liang stressed the importance of law in consolidating rights. He based a large portion of his discussions of rights and laws on *Der Kampfums Recht* (The Struggle for Law) by Rudolf von Jhering (1818-1892), a German jurist and legal scholar. Nonetheless, Liang and Jhering differed strikingly in opinions concerning the relation between rights and law. Jhering was influenced by a positivist tradition of jurisprudence and divided rights into "subjective rights" and "objective rights." Liang, in contrast, was working in the Confucian framework that considered ethical concerns as most meaningful (Angle, 2002). Therefore, Liang built rights on ethics rather than law and even made a distinction between good laws and bad ones, new and old. Liang's discussion of the relationship between rights and law is illustrated as follows:

> Being untiring in one's competition for *quanli* (rights), and *quanli's* (eventual) establishment and protection, all rely on the law. Thus those who have *quanli* consciousness must take struggling for legislative *quan* as their most important principle. Whenever a group has law, no matter whether they do good or bad, they all follow that which has been determined by those who have legislative *quan* (power) in order to protect their *quanli*. The law of citizenries who are strong in *quanli* consciousness will be ever

> improving, each day getting closer to perfection…. As *quanli* consciousness gets increasingly developed, people's duties become increasingly strong. Strength meets strength, *quanli* is weighed against *quan*, and thus an equal, excellent new law is created. In the period when both new and old laws are transmitted there is often the most intense and cruel competition. When a new law appears, those who had previously relied on the old law to enjoy special *quanli* must necessarily be particularly harmed. Thus those who promulgate a new law are as good as issuing a declaration of war against those people who previously had power. Thus out of the wrangling between progressive power and reactionary power, a great struggle arises! (Liang, 1899, 1989d, p. 37. Trans. by Angle, 2002, p. 159)

According to Liang, rights were defined by ethical norms, something for which people should struggle and may later turn out to be protected by laws. In regard to the origin of laws, Liang maintained that "it is not the case that one leader invents them in order to restrain the people. Instead, they come from the innate *liangzhi* 良知 (good knowledge) common to all people's hearts" (p. 38). Drawing on Mencius's theory of *liangxin* 良心 (human conscience), that was a universal character featuring one's kindness and concern towards others, Liang held that when people were endowed with conscience at birth, they were also endowed with the inherent abilities to defend and preserve themselves, including innate qualities of *liangzhi* and *liangneng* 良能 (good ability), which enabled them to know and distinguish good from bad.

It is worth noting that though Liang placed an emphasis on the ethical dimension of rights and laws under the influence of Confucian framework in his early discussion, he moved away from the Confucian tradition and turned to social Darwinism by the end of the nineteenth century. In fact, Liang even attacked *ren* 仁*,* the core value of Confucian humaneness. He criticized the weakness of humaneness as embodied in Chinese culture in comparison with the Western tradition as follows:

> In general, Chinese excel at talk of humaneness, while the Westerners excel at talk of *yi* 義 (righteousness). Humaneness is concerned with others. If I benefit others, they will benefit me: the emphasis is always on the other. Righteousness, on the other hand, is concerned with oneself. I don't harm others, and they are not allowed to harm me: the

> emphasis is always on me. Of these two ethics, which is, in the end, correct? As for what's correct in the great utopian world of one or ten thousand years hence, I don't dare say. As for today's world, though, I want to say that the world-saving great ethic is truly that of righteousness. (Liang, 1899, 1989d, p. 35. Trans by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 10)

Liang related humaneness to the passive expectation, arguing that the best policy was to make people each able to stand on his or her own, not having to rely on others. Liang was in favor of the sense of righteousness that urged one to defend his or her own judgment.

It is important to note that though Liang recognized individual rights, he insisted on the priority of national goals over individual ones. To Liang, the individuals owe duty to both themselves and society because society relies on its members for its solidity and strength. In the early Chinese rights discourse duties were closely related to rights. Many Chinese intellectuals attacked selfish individualism that they found among their fellow countrymen. Liang also criticized the lack of the feeling of public morality and the feelings of nationalism among the Chinese (Liang, 1902, 1989f). He argued that before the Chinese would be able to enjoy rights and freedoms they had to develop an independent spirit and have the ability to self-rule (Liang, 1902, 1989g). Renovation of people, in Liang's view, was the key to preserving and advancing China as a nation-state.

To conclude, most intellectuals in the late Qing period believed in the universality of human rights and its applicability in China. They attempted to synthesize Chinese tradition with the borrowed ideas in their theorization of rights and citizenship. With few exceptions, Chinese intellectuals regarded national survival and harmony as the ultimate goal and implied that individual interests should be subject to national interests. In what follows I will examine the rights discourse and theorization of citizenship from the establishment of the Republic to 1930s.

Rights and Citizenship Theorization: 1912 to 1930s

The overthrow of the Qing dynasty followed by the establishment of Republican China in 1911 signified the start of a new era. Despite frequent alternation in power among domestic warlords, democratic spirit thrived and culminated in the occurrence of the New Culture Movement in 1915. The movement was liberal and cosmopolitan until the outbreak of the May Fourth student demonstration in 1919 in response to the Paris Peace Conference's decision to hand over the German concessions in Shandong to Japan. The May Fourth incident marked the turning point of the New Culture Movement. After it the ideological gap among the intelligentsia became increasingly widened, though they still united from time to time to attack government's violations of human rights. This section delineates the development of the conceptualization of human rights and citizenship between 1915 and 1930s.

The Content of Rights

Civil and political rights continued to be the focus of rights advocacy. Freedoms of thought, speech, and publication were especially prioritized. Known for his vigorous attack on various elements of Confucianism and often regarded as a radical anti-traditionalist, Chen Duxiu (1879-1942), leader of the May Fourth Movement and cofounder of the Communist Party of China, argued that the freedoms of thought and speech were necessary things in life and indispensable for the development of one's personality (Chen 1915, 1984c). He insisted on the absolute freedom of speech, arguing that law should restrict one's activities but not one's speech. According to Chen, freedom of speech was conducive to exposing the deficiencies of society, without which development was impossible (Chen, 1919, 1984h). Chen was also a proponent and advocate of the Darwinian notion of change. He insisted on the necessity of change for the existence of the nation as well as for the existence of the individual. In the article *Call to Youth*

(Jinggao qingnian 敬告青年), Chen claimed that "it is impossible (for anything) to avoid the struggle for survival," which was like "the rotten (cells) incessantly being replaced by the fresh and living (cells)" (Chen, 1915, 1984d, Trans. by Teng & Fairbank, 1967, p. 242). According to Chen, a healthy society depended on whether vigorous people could seize power from the hand of the old and corrupt regime. He even went far as to use natural law to justify the wars among nations. He maintained that based on the principle of natural selection, the unchanged would be eliminated and the strong nations would overthrow the weak ones as a result of their superior abilities to advance in the process of evolution.

In 1920, several scholars, including Hu Shi (1891-1962) and Jiang Menglin (1886-1964), issued *Manifesto of the Struggle for Freedom* (Zheng ziyou de xuanyan 爭自由的宣言) in support of individual freedom. Both Hu and Jiang were graduates of Columbia University and ardent disciples of Dr. John Dewey. In the manifesto, they called for abolishing six regulations proclaimed between 1914 and 1919, concerning issues about the public security police, publication, the press, the publishing industry, precautionary regulations, and martial law. These regulations abrogated the freedoms stipulated in the Provisional Constitution that contained freedoms of political association and assembly, demonstrations, speech and expression, publishing, residence, movement, privacy of correspondence, property, and business activities, and so forth. The signers of the manifesto accused the executive agencies, the military, and the police over the past few years of detaining and punishing people without due process. They called on issuing a law on "The Protection of the Human Person" to protect the freedom of the individual. Moreover, they pointed to the election fraud prevalent at the time and proposed to create an "Election Oversight Committee" made up of citizens with no party affiliation (Hu, Jiang, et al., 1920. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, pp. 88-92).

In addition to civil and political rights, economic rights (such as the rights to subsistence), began to emerge in the Chinese rights discourse in the early 1920 and was thereafter held by people of different political ideologies, ranging from liberals to socialists. Dai Jitao (1891-1949) and Gao Yihan (1884-1968) were two of the first Chinese writers who brought forward the idea of the right to subsistence. Dai Jitao was a political activist and scholar. He was concerned about the predicament of workers and the impact of capitalism on Chinese society. In an article published in 1919, Dai attacked economic inequalities resulted from capitalism. He maintained that people had a right to subsistence (e.g., rights to food, clothing, and shelter). Moreover, Dai argued that the government had a duty to protect this right, because food and clothes were not conferred by nature but gained through labor (Dai, 1919, 1990).

Gao Yihan was another zealous promoter of economic rights. In an article published in *New Youth* in 1921, Gao (1921) criticized earlier rights declarations for exclusively concentrating on civil and political rights and pointed to the flaw in previous constitutions that emphasized political rights while neglecting economic rights. Gao categorized economic rights into the right to full compensation for one's work, the right to subsistence, and the right to work. He contended that civil and political rights would be meaningless if people's livelihoods were not guaranteed and protected. He termed this requirement *shengcun quan* 生存權 (the right to subsistence). According to Gao, the right to subsistence included the right to education and the right to economic assistance for the old, the handicapped, and those who had lost their ability to work. He argued that people needed corresponding life capacities in order to enjoy all kinds of freedom stipulated in the constitution. Thus, the right to subsistence guaranteed the distribution of all wealth based on the needs of the people, as opposed to the right to the whole value of one's labor, by which labor is the criterion for distribution of wealth.

Founded in 1925, the magazine *Renquan* 人權 (Human Rights), in its foreword, summarized three fundamental rights all people should enjoy; namely, economic rights, political rights, and educational rights. It further elaborated that to enjoy economic rights meant all people should have rights to the minimum essential level of clothing, food, and housing. The editors criticized the Western laissez-faire economic system for allowing the strong to seize things from the weak and failing to provide the minimum essential materials for subsistence for the great majority. They argued that this was no different from permitting people to starve others to death while considering it as societal justice. In order to safeguard people's economic rights, the editors proposed the following three principles:

1. All people should have work that, at a minimum, enables them to support their lives. The state has the duty to assist those who have become unemployed or whose work is insufficient.
2. The level of private property should have an upper limit.
3. The distribution of production should be according to criteria laid down by the state. (Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 122)

Educational rights, the rights to receive a free and equal education, were another focus of the discussion. The editors emphasized that a just society should provide all people with fundamental educational rights, because only then could the people carry out any legal and moral responsibilities. Likewise, the editors outlined three principles in order to protect people's educational rights.

1. The state shall establish institutions for universal vocational education and supplementary education up to the level of independent research. It shall not collect tuition fees.
2. All people have the right and duty to freely receive vocational educational and supplementary education up to the level of independent research.
3. The state should supply all people with the facilities to equally enjoy the opportunities of the higher education. (Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 123)

In 1931, the Nationalist government promulgated a provisional constitution for the tutelage period[11]. Despite much criticism questioning the genuine motive, many people, both within the legislative assembly and outside, sincerely believed that the constitution would serve as a vital vehicle to protect people's rights and freedoms.

Women's and Workers' Rights

In the early 1920s, Chinese women were active in fighting for women's liberation and equal political rights. The rise of feminism in China was linked to the promotion of human rights. Several magazines were devoted to distributing Western feminist works, including Olympe de Gouges's *Déclaration des Droits de la Femme et de la Citoyenne* and Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women,* along with other contemporary suffragist works in the West (Shang, 1922). As Ye Shaojun (1919) noted, those who advocated human rights but denied women the right to political participation were not really concerned about human rights, only about men's rights.

Workers' rights also began to receive much attention during the May Fourth Movement. Arguments for the protection of the rights and human dignity of workers and demands for the liberation of workers from capitalist oppression became frequent and widespread. With an increasing awareness of social and economic injustices, the concept of class struggle entered the Chinese rights discourse and appealed to Chinese radicals. For example, in the essay *Laodongzhe di juewu* 勞動者底覺悟 (The Laborer's Enlightenment), Chen Duxiu asserted that economic independence was more essential than moral independence, arguing that only if the workers had

[11] According to Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the Peoples," three steps were required to build a democratic China, that is, military rule, political tutelage, and constitutional rule. After the Nationalist Party completed the first step by unifying the nation in 1928, under the leadership of Chiang Kai-shek, the second period of "political tutelage" began.

management rights would they be their own masters. He predicted that the enlightenment of the world's workers would take shape in two stages. First by demanding better treatment, such as shorter working hours; second by demanding the rights to manage politics, production, and military affairs (Chen, 1920, 1984i). After converting to Marxism, Chen increasingly pressed on the need for workers to enjoy the social and economic rights. In a similar vein, Li Dazhao argued that in a democratic system, people, irrespective of race, gender and class, had equal opportunities to enjoy their rights and develop their personalities (Li, 1919, 1984b). The May Fourth movement also raised awareness of racial oppression that led to calls for global racial equality. Both Chen (1919, 1993) and Li (1917, 1984a) also attacked racial prejudice and the oppression of non-whites by Westerners. Such development from a preoccupation with family and gender oppression to economic and national oppression epitomizes changes in the Chinese rights discourse of early Republic.

Individual Rights and People's Rights

The notion *minquan* 民權 emerged during the 1890s, with the meaning close to "people's rights." Though "people's rights" is the translation most close to its original Chinese meaning, *minquan* did not connote complete popular sovereignty and was not an equivalent to the Western ideal of democracy, because there had not appeared the notion of full-scale democracy in China in the 1890s. *Minquan* was used to refer to people's institutionalized, consultative role in a constitutional monarchy. Starting from 1911, *minquan* took on new meaning as collective rights as opposed to individual rights/human rights. The debate with regard to collective rights or individual rights, which is more fundamental and should take precedence given China's situation, dominated the Chinese rights discourse of the early Republic. In what follows I will examine the views from three most prevalent schools of thought of the time.

Sanmin zhuyi: Nationalists' perceptions of rights

The *minquan* advocates of the late Qing dynasty argued that individuals' participation in national and provincial assemblies would reinforce the power of the state. The goal of *minquan* was to consolidate the power of the ruler so as to increase the ability of the state to defend itself from external enemies (Angle, 2002, p. 128). After the Chinese Nationalist Party[12](Guomindang 國民黨, abbreviated as GMD) achieved the nominal unification of the country in 1928, *minquan* constituted one of the three key elements of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義 (Three Principles of the People). Sun's *minquan* was rendered as "people's power" or "people's political force" rather than "people's rights," because Sun defined "people's power" as "people administer political affairs." The emphasis on *minquan* distinguishes Sun's *Sanmin zhuyi* from the slogans of the French and American revolutions. Whereas freedom was the ultimate goal of the European and American revolutions, Sun did not perceive the pursuit of individual freedom as imperative for the Chinese, nor did he think Chinese people were lacking freedom. In the 1924 speech *The Principle of People's Power* (Minquan zhuyi 民權主義), Sun described China as "a sheet of loose sand" and attributed China's failure of resisting foreign aggression to the lack of a sense of collectivity resulting from too much freedom (Sun, 1924, 1996, p. 67). Sun also criticized the excessive individual freedom in Western societies as a result of advocating individual freedom and rights without specifying any limits. He argued that freedom was not some sacred and inviolable thing and that one had to draw limits to it. In order to change China's situation as "a sheet of loose sand," Sun proposed a revolution that would add and mix water and cement to loose sand and make it a solid stone. In contrast to European revolutions fighting for freedom,

[12] It was created by Sun Yat-sen in the late Qing and was renamed as Guomindang in 1912.

Chinese revolution, according to Sun, should wipe out individual freedom and unite people into a solid group (pp. 78-82).

In his later years, Sun Yat-sen denied that the individual owned inalienable rights and insisted that the concept of human rights was not suitable for China. In his opinion, the primary task for the Chinese people was to fight for national freedom instead of individual freedom. What is more, he called upon people to sacrifice their individual freedoms in order that the goal of national freedom be attained. He maintained:

> The individual should not have much freedom, but the nation must have complete freedom. When our nation is able to take free actions, then our nation is a strong and prosperous one. To achieve this goal, however, we must all sacrifice our (individual) freedom. When the students have sacrificed their freedom, they can work hard every day and put their efforts into their studies, and when their studies are completed, their knowledge developed, and their capabilities enriched, they can serve our nation… (Sun, 1924, 1996, p. 89. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 118)

To Sun, human life depended on the state, and outside of the state human life had no value. Thus, the state was considered to be the final end of human life. This mindset gave rise to the prevalence of the ideology of state omnipotence. Influenced by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek also dismissed the language of human rights. He criticized the idea of rights as not only inconsistent with historical facts, but also as unsuitable for the Chinese situation. Like Sun, Chiang urged that in face of crisis the Chinese people should sacrifice their individual freedoms in order to realize national freedom. What is more, he encouraged people to join the GMD, noting that only membership in the GMD and participation in the revolution could safeguard the welfare of all people and achieve national salvation (Chiang, 1947).

Wu Jingxiong (1899-1986), chairman of the drafting committee of Constitution of 1933, was an American-trained lawyer and jurist. He drew unalienable connection between rights and society and insisted that people did not have rights prior to or outside of society. In his words,

"Rights are given to the individual by society. Society is the source of rights. If the individual leaves society he will have no rights. Since society bestows rights, it can also in terms of need deprive the individual of his or her rights, or at least restrict the scope of rights" (Wu, 1933, p. 22. Trans. by Svensson, 2002, p. 178). This was consistent with the nation-oriented rights thinking of Sun Yat-sen. What is more, Wu adopted a relativistic view of rights, arguing that rights reflected and echoed different social and political circumstance:

> In philosophical parlance, rights of man are not given a priori but acquired a posteriori and therefore subject to modification with the change of circumstances. This may be called a theory of relativity of rights. With Dr. Sun Yat-sen, as with (Justice) Holmes, rights are no longer conceived as solid substances existing from eternity to eternity with invariable size and weight, but as little creatures born out of the bowels of history and subject to all the vicissitudes of mortality. (Wu, 1933, p. 24. Trans. by Greiff, 1985, p. 443)

Wu saw rights as historical and relative to different societies, so he doubted that eighteenth-century notions of rights could fit contemporary Chinese society. Wu (1936) compared the political situation in China with that of the West and concluded that the constitution movement in the West arose as a struggle for individual salvation against feudalism and authoritarianism, while the Chinese started from the struggle for national freedom and salvation. According to Wu, since the interests of the nation took precedence over individual freedom, individual rights could be restricted or sacrificed for the interests of society. Despite the fact that Wu contended that rights were historical and relative, he was in favor of a synthesis of Western rights ideas and Chinese conditions. He spoke highly of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Three Principles of the People*, considering it combined the best of Chinese and Western ideas. He wrote:

> (*The Three Principles of the People*) is broad and cosmopolitan in spirit, and at the same, it is deeply rooted in the native soil. It represents a magnificent harmony between the one and the many, doing justice at once to the urgent claims of unity and universality and to

> the vital urges of diversity and uniqueness. (Wu, 1933, p. 66. Trans. by Greiff, 1985, p. 455)

It is worth noting that the GMD claimed itself to be fighting for the rights of all people, albeit excluding counterrevolutionaries. As Zhou Fohai (1897-1948), a prominent GMD ideologist, pointed out, although the goal of the GMD was political rights for all, it could deprive counterrevolutionaries of their rights in order to attain this goal (Zhou, 1928).

Xinyue group: Liberals' perceptions of rights

In the late 1920s a group of liberal intellectuals known as *Xinyue* 新月 group, or the "human rights group," used the *Xinyue* magazine to attack the Nationalists for their violation of civil liberties. The *Xinyue* magazine was initially purely literary and became political when the editors were convinced that they had a duty to contribute to the construction of a new future in China. The editors included many renowned literary figures of the day, such as Hu Shi (1891-1962), Xu Zhimo (1897-1931), Wen Yiduo (1899-1946), and Liang Shiqiu (1903-1987). They shared the same liberal ideals and were united to demand freedom of thought and freedom of publication. The *Xinyue* liberals believed that human rights belonged to the individual person, not given by the state. They argued that national interests should never be used as an excuse to suppress individual freedoms. To them, no correlation existed between the sacrifice of individual freedom and the realization of national freedom. They also opposed one-party dictatorship and advocated the rule of law and constitutionalism (Hu, 1930; Luo, 1930a). Although it only lasted three years before *Xinyue* reverted to its former position as a purely literary magazine, the human rights discussions initiated by the *Xinyue* group marked the summit of rights thinking since the notion was introduced to China. In 1929, the nationalist government promulgated an order with regard to the protection of human rights. It was written as follows:

> Human rights are protected by law in every country in the world. Now that our tutelage government is in existence, a foundation for *fazhi* 法治 (the rule of law) definitely needs to be established. All those entities within the Republic of China's legal jurisdiction, whether individuals or organizations, shall not engage in illegal behavior that harms the physical being, freedom, or property of others. Those who violate this order shall be harshly punished according to the law. Each department of the administrative and judicial organs are instructed to follow this order. (Quoted in Hu, 1930. Translated by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 131)

Hu Shi, one of the leading figures of the New Culture Movement as well as the *Xinyue* group, criticized the above order in his article *Human Rights and the Provisional Constitution* (Renquan yu yuefa 人權與約法) in 1929. First, he asserted that although "human rights" in the order was defined as "physical being," "freedom," and "property," these three concepts lacked precise and clear definitions. Second, the declaration prohibited destructive conducts by individual or organizations, but overlooked government agencies. Hu pointed out that at the time people's physical being, freedom, and property were mostly abused by governmental, quasi-governmental, or party institutions. Therefore, in actuality, the order did not bring about any changes to previous restrictions on freedom of speech and publication, and arbitrary confiscation of people's property by government bodies. Third, Hu pointed to the lack of law by which to protect the people's human rights. Although there was a "crime of interfering with freedom" in the Republic of China's penal laws, most of the time interference with freedom was carried out in the name of the government or the party. Therefore in such cases people had no protection of their human rights at all. Hu criticized all sorts of violations of human rights done by the GMD and insisted that "no single, murky order can achieve the protection of human rights nor the guarantee of rule of law" (Hu, 1930, pp. 7-8. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 135).

Moreover, Hu Shi insisted that human rights belonged to the individual person and were not given by the state, and that the state ought not to infringe on these rights. He called for the creation of a constitution truly protecting people's human rights. According to Hu, citizens

should be protected from arbitrary actions by the government through the constitution and laws. Meanwhile, Hu noted that rights cannot be written into the law without people's conscious struggle. Civil rights were won by the struggle of people rather than given by sovereigns or granted by the law. Hu also emphasized the importance of individuals' cultivation of the good habit of defending their rights. Like his contemporaries, such as Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi denounced Confucianism, arguing that the Confucian tradition of favoring "to be wronged, yet not retaliate" precluded people from defending and struggling for their civil rights. According to Hu, under the shadow of Confucianism, people's capability of understanding their rights was constrained, which gave rise to their indifference towards rights and endurance of misfortunes. Hu also pointed to another important reason that caused the deficient rights consciousness in ancient China – that was the lack of the profession of lawyers throughout the history of law. In the Confucian tradition, law was not taken a subject of study, and literati did not study law. Therefore, specialists in law did not receive proper respect in society, among whom, the haughty ones served as *yamen* 衙門 secretaries helping officials to settle criminal cases, while the less dignified ones became legal pettifoggers writing legal complaints for people who wanted to file a lawsuit. In the law court, people had to defend themselves, and their fate relied on the competence of officials. Thus, the last thing the Chinese would want in their lives was to go to law court. Thus, Hu attributed the reluctance of the Chinese to engage in lawsuit to the lack of a profession of legal defenders to stand up for people's rights. Hu called for the establishment of legal education and fostering of public legal defenders; otherwise the civil rights in constitutions were nothing but empty words.

Hu supported and participated in *Zhongguo minquan baozhang tongmeng* 中國民權保障同盟 (the Chinese League for the Protection of Civil Rights), which was founded in Shanghai

and Beijing in 1932 in response to the GMD's increasing suppression of leftist intellectuals and suspected Communist supporters. The league issued a Manifesto, and the aims were declared as follows:

1. To fight for the release of all political prisoners in the country, and for the abolition of illegal arrests, torture, and massacres. The League will first of all devote itself to the majority of prisoners who are unknown and who do not receive any attention from society.
2. To give political prisoners in the country legal and other assistance, investigate prison conditions, publish the facts about violations of civil rights in the country, and arouse the general will.
3. To provide help in the struggle for the freedom of association and assembly, the freedom of speech, the freedom of the press, and various other civil rights. (China League for the Protection of Civil Rights, 1985, p. 150. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, pp. 173-174)

The league sought the release of all political prisoners and called on the Chinese people to fight for the freedoms of the press, assembly and association, and all interests associated with civil rights. Hu Shi saw this declaration as the starting point for the Chinese people's consciousness of the need of the protection of civil rights. It is worth noting that Hu supported the defense of civil rights but meanwhile insisted that it should abide by the rule of law. He argued that the movement struggling for civil rights should respect and follow the law, by which he meant that the protesters ought to discipline themselves to adopt legal means to protect their rights while demanding the government's respect for the law. However, Hu's position was criticized by the majority of the League's members, and he was eventually expelled.

Like Hu Shi, many liberals who joined the human rights discussion of the *Xinyue* group were in favor of the priority of the individual rights over people's rights. Luo Longji, a professional political theorist trained in America, had a deeper insight into Western political thought than Hu Shi, and his political analysis was more systematic (Angle, 2002). Luo was a disciple of the British political theorist Harold Laski. Laski's rights thinking was the primary source on which Luo based his article *On Human Rights* (Lun renquan 論人權). Luo shared with

Laski a utilitarian approach to human rights, maintaining that human rights were the rights that enabled one to be a person. These included rights to material goods like food, clothing, and shelter by which to preserve life, as well as rights that provided people with the opportunity to develop their individuality and personality, such as freedom of speech. Luo summarized: "Human rights, to put it simply, are all those rights that enable one to be a person. Human rights are those necessary conditions in order to be a human being" (Luo, 1930a, p. 37. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 140). Luo also insisted that rights were not granted by the state and actually existed prior to the establishment of the state. Quoting Laski, Luo argued, "The state, to put it simply, does not create human rights, it can only recognize them, its merits at any given point of time are decided by using its recognition of human rights as a standard" (p. 49. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 144). Though Luo held that rights existed prior to and independent of the state, he did not believe in the existence of natural rights. In fact, he tried to avoid using the term *tianfu renquan* (heavenly endowed rights) but insisted on using the word *renquan* (human rights).

Under the influence of Laski, Luo justified rights by their function as an essential means for human existence and held that human rights were instrumental in promoting "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" (1930b). Therefore, Luo's understanding of human rights was based on needs. He maintained that rights were needed to be a human being, so they were pre-social and an outcome of man's moral and physical needs. Luo (1930a) also emphasized the historical and relative aspects of human rights, arguing that human rights were not eternal and universal but changed with varying needs and circumstances. He enumerated a list of thirty-five rights that included civil and political rights, such as freedoms of thought, speech, belief, the press, and association. He in particular stressed that free speech should not be subject to any infringements and regarded it as a means to develop one's personality and enable people to

contribute to society. Luo (1929) distinguished society from the state, arguing that rights were claimed against the state but not against "public welfare" or society. The state and the general welfare, according to Luo, were two different things. He argued that rights belonged to individuals and the function of the state was to protect human rights. If a state failed to protect, or itself violated people's rights, it would lose its justification and moral claim to allegiance. In the mean time, Luo emphasized the social side of rights and asserted explicitly that all individuals shared the same goal to enrich society. For Luo, an individual who declared rights against the common welfare was not only acting unsociably and irresponsibly, but also against his own good. Luo believed that the enjoyment of rights was linked to and depended on the fulfillment of one's duties. Yet, it should be noted that Luo was careful about speaking of duties, because he was suspicious of those politicians who used national goals as an excuse to suppress people's rights and demand unconditional obligations of the people.

By 1930, some intellectuals began to doubt the appropriateness of pursuing civil rights. They argued that civil rights were the objective of eighteenth-century European revolutions but not suitable for twentieth-century China. *Xinyue* liberals, however, maintained that China must embark on the eighteenth-century task, regardless of temporal and special differences. They insisted that human rights were more fundamental than people's rights, for people were first and foremost members of society and only second were they citizens of a particular nation.

The rise of Marxism and Leninism: Leftist perceptions of rights

The success of the Bolshevik revolution in Russia triggered interest in Communism among Chinese intelligentsia. After the Versailles Treaty, the unrealized promises of Wilsonian idealism forced Chinese intellectuals to reconsider the meaning of the war and to find a way to adjust to the disappointment of the Versailles settlement (Keenan, 1977). The nationalistic

indignation was soon to lend fuel to a Marxist movement in China, culminating in the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921. Advocates of communism spoke fervently of democracy, but they were in favor of the collectivist and revolutionary approach of Bolshevism, instead of the voluntarist, gradualist approach of Western liberalism. For those Chinese who were concerned with national revival and reluctant to trade off national unity for individual liberty, the Marxist-Leninist doctrines that stressed the strength of the nation-state through the collective will of the populace seemed to have provided more satisfactory solutions to Chinese problems. In what follows I focus on the writings of Chen Duxiu and Gao Yihan on rights. Although Chen and Gao followed different career paths, they both viewed rights primarily as relevant to groups as they were to individuals.

Chen Duxiu was a reform activist and leader of the New Culture movement. Like many of his contemporaries, Chen embarked on his public career with the concern over the fate of the nation. In a 1904 article *Wangguo pian* 亡國篇 (The Loss of the Nation), Chen diagnosed the trouble facing China and listed three types of losses: loss of territory, loss of economic control, and loss of sovereignty. He explicitly attributed the loss of territory and economic control to the loss of "the power of individual self-mastery." When discussing the loss of sovereignty, Chen did not accuse the foreigners or the Manchu royal court, but instead the Chinese people's fatalism as well as their priority of the family over the nation. Disappointed at the apathy of the Chinese, Chen criticized the Confucian culture of engaging people in empty formalism and impracticality (Chen, 1904, 1984a).

Chen thought highly of individualism and attributed the West's supremacy to its respect for science and human rights, and inferred that in order for China to catch up with the West, it must adopt these two principles that he later termed *Sai xiansheng* 賽先生 (Mr. Sai, science) and

De xiansheng 德先生 (Mr. De, democracy) (Chen, 1915, 1984d). According to Chen, the spirit of human rights and equality were applicable to all countries and were required in a modern civilized state. As he asserted:

> If we want to establish a new state and society of the Western model in order to be fit to exist in the contemporary world, then the fundamental question must first of all be to import the foundation of the Western societies, that is the belief in equality and human rights (Chen, 1916, 1984f, p. 148. Trans. by Angle & Svensson, 2001, p. 74).

It is noteworthy that Chen's individualism was associated with his nationalism. He intended for the individual to be liberated from the fetters of traditional Chinese culture so that the liberated individuals could make contribution to both their own good and the good of their nation. Chen held that the strength of the nation depended on the strength of the individuals. He noted:

> When people have come together to form a nation, if the personality of the individuals is elevated, then the personality of the nation will be likewise. If the power of the individuals is consolidated, then the power of the nation will be likewise. (Chen, 1916, 1984g, p. 103. Trans. by Angle, 2002, p. 186)

What is more, Chen called for an alliance of the people to move the nation forward. In *Jinri zhi jiaoyu fangzhen* 今日之教育方針 (The Direction of Contemporary Education) written in 1915, Chen argued that Chinese education must be directed toward *weimin zhuyi* 為民主義 (populism) wherein the people have sovereignty regardless of the existence of the monarch (Chen, 1915, 1984e). In the essay *Ai'guo xin yu zijue xin* 愛國心與自覺心 (Patriotism and Self-consciousness) of 1914, Chen identified emotion and reason as two key features controlling one's mind. According to Chen, emotional commitment to one's *guojia* 國家 (nation) was where patriotism arises. He asserted that *guojia* only existed for the sake of the individual and that the end of *guojia* should be "to protect individual rights and to enrich individual happiness" (Chen, 1914, 1984b). Chen warned that people who loved *guojia* without consciousness of such an end

would easily be deluded and used by a self-centered ruler. However, it is noteworthy that Chen was opposed to the blind praise of *guojia.* He insisted that although patriotism was critical for the development of a *guojia*, it should be regulated by reason. He objected to an unconditional love of, or an irrational commitment to, one's government. Chen argued, "It is quite proper to love one's *guojia*, if the *guojia* can protect its people; but why should the people love their *guojia* when it is actually oppressing them?" (Chen, 1914, 1984b, p. 6). According to Chen, irrational nationalism may lead to an overconcentration of power in the hands of the rulers that would threaten the rights of the people.

Chen Duxiu had joined Hu Shi in endorsing Dewey's experimental form of liberalism in China until the late 1919. However, in the spring of 1920, Chen and Hu broke with one another ideologically and personally. Chen began to support the student demonstrations against the government and admonished his friends in the university for working with the status quo rather than changing it. Chen committed himself to Marxism in 1921 and cofounded the Chinese Communist Party the same year. After converting to Marxism, Chen turned to advocate workers' revolution, maintaining that all interests would be harmonized once the worker's state was established (Chen, 1921, 1984j). He no longer believed in natural rights that were granted by the state or derived from law, but argued that rights were something people would have to struggle to gain in society.

Gao Yihan was among the earliest and most influential Chinese thinkers advocating economic rights. He graduated from Meiji University in Japan in 1916 and was well informed about Western political thought. Gao never joined the CCP but was sympathetic to socialism. Throughout his life, Gao remained an independent academic as much as he could. Gao treated rights more as a means than an end. He distinguished *minquan* 民權 (people's rights) from *guojia*

quanli 國家權利 (state rights), arguing that the state had rights against the people and people had rights against the state (Gao, 1915). According to Gao, the people had responsibilities toward the state, and the state had responsibilities toward the people. In a 1916 essay *Leli zhuyi yu rensheng* 樂利主義與人生 (Utilitarianism and life), Gao rejected the ideas that individuals should sacrifice for the state, contending that individuals must make their own decisions and contribute to communal decision-making through participation in governance. Gao thought highly of self-sovereignty. He viewed it as a necessary condition to achieve one's fully developed *renge* 人格 (personality) that he termed as "the master of rights." According to Gao, without personality, rights would have nothing on which to rely. In other words, one's rights were in the service of one's personality, and the fulfillment of rights brought happiness. The responsibility of state, Gao (1916) maintained, was to harmonize the disparate interests of various people. However, later in his career, Gao became skeptical about the role of the state in unifying its populations. He argued that in practice, harmonizing the freedoms of all people would result in giving all sovereignty to the state. In his opinion, regardless of what form of government a state adopted, it would lapse into authoritarianism (Gao, 1926). Comparing and assessing Western schools of political thought, Gao (1930) arrived at a synthesis to solve the conflict between sovereignty and the state. He suggested ascribing the ultimate sources of authority to various groups (each with its realm of sovereignty), such as labor unions, rather than to the state. Meanwhile, the state continued to play a role as mediator to harmonize competing interests. Gao argued that mediating distinct sources of sovereignty was fundamentally different from assigning all sovereignty to the state. He reasoned that when people owed their loyalties to various sources of authority rather than having the same interests and loyalties, they would work together toward cooperation and mutual aid.

To conclude, discussions of civil and political rights continued after the establishment of the Republic in 1911. In contrast to the rights discourse of the nineteenth century that tended to associate subjects of rights with state/collectives, human rights advocacy in the early Republic placed greater emphasis on individual rights. Many came to realize that the strength of the nation lay in individuals exercising their rights rather than the government repressing individuals' rights in the name of a strong and unified nation. According to rights advocates, the nation's responsibility was to strengthen the individual's personal rights as well as to preserve social order. Meanwhile, the rights to subsistence (i.e. rights to the minimum essential level of clothing, food, and housing) and social rights emerged in the early 1920s; they immediately found favor among Chinese intellectuals regardless of their political stances. It is noteworthy that when economic and social rights gained increasing recognition, civil and political rights were subject to escalating criticism. Nationalists argued that pursuit of civil rights was the objective of eighteenth-century European revolutions and not suitable for twentieth-century China. Liberals, however, insisted that China must first embark on the eighteenth-century task regardless of temporal and spatial differences. The conflicts between nationalists and liberals lay on their divergent conceptualizations of human rights and people's rights. Believers in people's rights rejected human rights as an abstract idea and maintained that rights were given by the state. According to them, individual rights could be sacrificed if national interests were at stake. Liberals, in contrast, upheld the priority of individual rights and civil rights, arguing that rights existed prior to and independent of the state. Moreover, they maintained that civil rights were won by the conscious struggle of people rather than given by sovereigns or granted by the law.

Discussion

A comparison of the conceptualizations of rights and citizenship between the reform generation of the late Qing dynasty and the May Fourth generation of the early Republic suggests a significant intellectual shift in terms of outlook, approach, and commitment. The reform generation attempted to synthesize Confucian tradition with the ideas borrowed from abroad in their theorization of rights and citizenship, whereas the May Fourth intellectuals went far to question the authority of Confucianism and even boldly attempted to substitute it for Western culture. As Chow (1960) remarked, the May Fourth elites "expressed their personal feelings and fought for their concerns with greater passion than any of their predecessors" (p. 220). Unlike their predecessors who judged values, institutions, ideas based on the criteria of whether they preserved and strengthened the nation-state, the May Fourth generation was more concerned with individual freedom and happiness. For them, the primary purpose of a nation-state was not to restore past glory but to guarantee its people dignity and peace. Nevertheless, there was too little social and political stability for individualism to prevail in early twentieth-century China that was afflicted with foreign encroachment, political crisis, and poverty. As nationalism rose in the 1920s, the Marxist-Leninist doctrines that stressed the strength of the nation-state through the collective will of the populace began to appeal to those who were concerned with national revival and were reluctant to trade off national unity for individual liberty. Thus, rights debate revolved around which rights took precedence, individual rights or people's rights. While liberals upheld that rights existed prior to and independent of the state, nationalists questioned the appropriateness of pursuing individual rights in war-torn China. What is more, despite differences between the CCP and the GMD, both parties rejected liberal rights proposals and

placed the group's interests over those of individuals, and "revolutionary people's rights" over human rights.

In response to the growth of rights awareness and nationalistic sentiments, the idea and practice of using education to nurture a modern citizenry emerged in the late Qing and flourished in early Republic. In the next chapter, I will explore the development of citizenship education in China at the turn of the twentieth century by examining relevant educational policies, curricula, textbooks, as well as the ideas that caused changes.

CHAPTER 5 CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION (1895-1937): AIMS, CURRICULA, AND TEXTBOOKS

For many centuries the teaching of Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was considered the primary source of inspiration for traditional Chinese educational philosophy. Confucian learning constituted the basis of the civil examination system[13] from which the administrative elite was recruited in imperial China. Despite their evident merits contributing to the stability of the imperial system, Confucianism and the examination system had begun facing unprecedented criticism since the late nineteenth century. In regards to the social reasons behind it, Shu Xincheng (1929, 2007) provided some insight as follows:

> The changeover to a new system of education at the end of the Qing appeared on the surface to be a voluntary move by educational circles, but in reality what happened was that foreign relations and domestic policies were everywhere running against dead ends. Unless reforms were undertaken, China would have no basis for survival. Education simply happened to be caught up in a situation in which there was no choice. (Shu, 1929, 2007, pp. 6-7. Trans. by Borthwick, 1983, p. 38)

This observation revealed that education reform became imperative in the late Qing. With the rise of rights discourse, as discussed in the preceding chapter, intellectuals and educators started attempting to incorporate the notions of rights and citizenship into the traditional curricula. Everything from dress code to military service was identified as proper citizenship. Citizenship education between 1895 and 1937 in China went through three major transitions following the broader educational reform of the time: first, from 1895 to 1911, with the creation of the first modern school system; second, from 1912 to 1925, after the establishment of the Republic; third, from 1925 to 1937, with the founding of the Nationalist Government led by Guomindang in Nanjing in 1927.

[13] The civil examination system came into existence during the Sui dynasty (581-617 A.D.). During and after the Song dynasty it became the most important political recruitment institution and social mobility mechanism in China.

Tracing changes in educational aims from 1895 to 1937 is the first objective of this chapter. In this study, official education policy documents and regulations were mainly drawn from the following sources: *Jindai Zhongguo jiaoyu shiliao* 近代中國教育史料 (Historical Materials for Modern Chinese Education) edited by Shu Xincheng in 1933, *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao* 中國近代學制史料 (Historical Materials for the Modern Chinese School System) edited by Zhu Youhuan from 1983 to 1992, *Minguo jiaoyubu wendu zhengling huibian* 民國教育部文牘政令匯編 (Collected Decrees and Orders of the Ministry of Education in Republican China) published by the National Library of China in 2004, and *Minguo jiaoyu gongbao huibian* 民國教育公報匯編 (A Collection of Educational Bulletins in Republican China) compiled by Yin Mengxiang and Li Qiang in 2009.

Curriculum and textbooks followed closely the changing educational aims. An examination of curricula and the selected textbooks used for the courses on ethics/civics, Chinese language arts, history, and geography is the second objective of this chapter. These four courses formed the core subjects of citizenship education. From its inception, the Ministry of Education entrusted private publishers to print textbooks and gave its approval to those that were pedagogically sound and ideologically correct. The Ministry had always attempted to publish its own textbooks, but it never worked out due to financial constraints (Peake, 1970, pp. 97-98). With regard to censorship, the Ministry of Education set up a bureau in 1906 to inspect textbooks and issued twenty-two guidelines concerning the publication and examination of textbooks (Darroch, 1906, p. 211). Teachers were ordered to use only those textbooks approved by the Education Ministry. After the establishment of the Republic in 1912, the re-organized Ministry of Education planned on setting up provincial investigating committees, but the project was abolished in 1914 (Yin & Li, vol.1, p. 32). The Ministry re-assumed the supervisory role and

dealt with the publishing houses directly. After the Nationalist government was set up in Nanjing in 1928, the censorship became more rigid. Yet, despite the centralized control of the publication of textbooks, there existed many textbooks that did not obtain the approval of the Ministry. According to one bulletin in 1917, the Ministry of Education distributed a decree to the provincial bureaus of education to order all draft copies of texts on ethics and Chinese language arts readers to be sent to the Ministry for its examination and approval; yet many writers did not follow that order (Peake, 1970, p. 118).

By the late 1930s, private publishing houses had developed a nationwide distribution system with branch offices in major cities throughout the country. Among many, *Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館 (the Commercial Press) and *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 (Zhonghua Book Press) dominated textbook publishing. These two presses published about 70 percent of the textbooks used in the schools, and furthermore, provided the standard for the many small presses that supplied the remainder (Culp, 2007, p. 44). The textbooks to be examined in this study (listed in Appendix A) were mostly published by these two presses, and are selected based primarily on their popularity as reflected in the sales volume. Although the omission of other textbooks might affect the creation of a broader understanding of citizenship education in early twentieth century China, it is safe to say that the textbooks examined in this study constitute a representative sample from which a good picture of the educational discourse around rights and citizenship can be developed.

The First Modern School System: 1895-1911

Although some elements of Western learning and modern education entered China via missionaries after the signing of treaty of Nanjing in 1842, the importance of modern knowledge was not taken seriously until the treaty of Tianjin, ratified in 1860 as a result of the Second

Opium War. With the establishment of *Zongli Yamen* 總理衙門 (the Foreign Affairs Bureau) in 1861, the introduction of Western learning, including educational material and technique, was underway. Under the direction of *Zongli Yamen*, *Tongwen Guan* 同文館 (the School of Interpreters) was set up in Beijing in 1862. In addition to training translators and interpreters of Western languages, and later teaching Western sciences, *Tongwen Guan* also published works introducing Western knowledge about politics. Meanwhile, the prevailing epigram "Chinese learning as basics and Western learning as application" (zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong 中學為體，西學為用), upheld by the proponents of the Self-Strengthening Movement, was considered to be a compromise between holding onto the traditional values and embracing new approaches to education. Such partial understanding of the value of Western education at first only gave rise to the establishment of arsenals in a number of port cities in the Empire, among which were Shanghai (1865) and Fuzhou (1866). With the deepening of the reform, progressive officials realized the importance of teaching science at the arsenals. In 1866 Zeng Guofan ordered General Zuo Zongtang to collaborate with the Frenchman M. Prosper Giquel in founding the College for Marine Navigation and Engineering (Chuanzheng xuetang 船政學堂) in Fuzhou. A similar school was established in Shanghai, affiliated to the Shanghai arsenal in 1869 (Peake, 1970, p. 8). What is more, between 1872 and 1875, each year 30 students were sent to America to study (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 1, p. 161). In 1885 in Tianjin Viceroy Li Hongzhang established Tianjin Military Academy (Tianjin wubei xuetang 天津武備學堂), the first modern military school in China. It was modeled after Western military academies and appointed German military officers as instructors (Peake, 1970, p. 12). These efforts marked the beginning of the militarization of China along modern lines. Prior to the war with Japan, two more schools were founded: a railroad engineering college in Wuchang and a telegraph school in Tianjin in 1879 (p. 15).

Nevertheless, the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 proved the failure of the Self-strengthening Reform. The defeat by Japan, traditionally regarded as "inferior," was a great shock to the Qing Empire. This brought Chinese officials to realize the necessity for a thorough change in the traditional educational system. Between 1895 and 1898, a large number of memorials submitted to Guangxu Emperor were aimed at incorporating mathematics, geography, and modern languages into the traditional curricula (Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 229). It is worth noting that the mentality behind these memorials was still confined to elite education, that is, to cultivate people of talent. Public education was not yet on the table. Nevertheless, these memorials exerted influence and strengthened the Emperor's will to modernize the Empire. As a result, imperial sanction was granted to the founding of modern colleges, though the priority was given to military education.

Two memorials presented by Zhang Zhidong and Sheng Xuanhuai were examples that received Imperial sanction. Zhang Zhidong, then Viceroy of Hu Guang[14], earnestly pushed for the establishment of military schools following the German model. Zhang gave his reasons in his 1896 petition as follows:

> The reason why Germany's army is foremost among those of the Western nations is not only because everyone in the nation is a soldier, but also because there is sufficient leadership due to the practice of training all commissioned and non-commissioned officers in military schools. Now if we wish to adopt the German military system and develop a strong army, then more (military) schools must be established and strict training enforced or capable generals will not be forthcoming. (Zhang, 1896, 1970, p. 66. Trans. by Peake, 1970, p. 21)

Zhang also suggested that military officials be recognized and treated the same as civil officials. He took it as "a most vital point in the achievement of a state of military preparedness."

[14] Hu Guang 湖廣 refers to provinces of Hubei and Hunan.

Moreover, Zhang suggested that military drill-grounds be provided not only for the middle schools but for all the primary schools as well.

In 1895, Sheng Xuanhuai, then Director/General of the China Merchant's Steam Navigation Company, as well as of the Imperial Chinese Telegraphs, presented a memorial to the Superintendent of Trade for the northern ports and proposed a plan for the establishment of a *Zhong Xi Xue Tang* 中西學堂 (Sino-Western School). In his memorial, Sheng wrote:

> I humbly observe that the best way to strengthen the nation is to educate men of talent. The way to discover men of talent is to first of all establish schools. … Japan since the Restoration (1868) has adopted western methods and opened modern schools and colleges. Both military and naval officers are selected from among the graduates of these schools. From the law schools come (Japan's) foreign representatives together with their staffs. Workers engaged in making guns and ammunition, in working mines and in building roads, come from schools of engineering (with training in) geology and chemistry. Prosperity has thereby been attained within a period of ten years.
>
> In China there are intelligent people to be found everywhere, but the method of selecting a general is from a multitude of people lacking in special training; the selecting of ministers from those taking examinations in poetry, and on the writing of essays; while those selected for industry come from the working classes and lack a knowledge of literature and of mathematics. It is impossible to compare this situation with that obtaining in other countries! (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. v, pp. 23-35. Trans. by Peake, 1970, pp. 31-32)

Sheng also maintained that schools should be devoted to industrial training in technical schools after eight years of common schooling. In 1897, under Sheng's initiation, a public school, *Nan Yang Gong Xue* 南洋公學 (South China Public School), was established.

In the meantime, some scholar-officials began to question the appropriateness of giving exclusive priority to military reforms, arguing that the scope of study had been too narrowly confined to techniques in relation of war. After 1895, an increasing number of progressive officials and reformers urged the Throne to reform the traditional curricula and education system. Among many memorials, the one presented by Li Duanfen (1833-1907) in June 1896 was considered one of the first of its kind to promote the adoption of a modern educational system. Li

pointed out four reasons causing the failure of the education reform of the preceding twenty-five years. They included that students had studied western subjects too much but neglected to consider how to apply them in a practical way; that the courses were too general and lacking in technical training; that the students did not do actual experimental work; that the schools were too few, as well as the number of students. Li went on to devise a plan to set up a modern educational system in China. He first demanded to establish schools in each province and county and recruit exceptional youths between the ages of twelve and twenty. As to the curricula, he proposed to add courses on foreign languages and literature, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, international history for the prefectural and county schools, and science, astronomy, mathematics, manufacturing, silk cultivation, soldiering and mining for the provincial schools. What is more, Li called for the establishment of public libraries and newspaper-translation bureaus in all principal cities so as to inform people of important events in the world (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 1-6). Although Li's plan was not fully recognized until 1903, the Court adopted some of his suggestions. In October 1896, *Zongli Yamen* approved Li's proposal of expanding schools in metropolitan cities, prefectures, and counties and incorporating technical courses into the curricula of the *Shu Yuan* 書院 (the Provincial College).

In 1898, in support of a group of reformers represented by Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, Guangxu Emperor instituted a series of reforms[15]. The important decrees in relation to education included the establishment of a system of modern schools, the abolition of *bagu wen* 八股文 (the eight-legged essays)[16] in the examinations, the introduction of short, practical essays upon subjects suitable to modern needs and conditions, and the dispatch of young Manchus

[15] It is called the Reform Movement of 1898, see note 6.
[16] These essays were divided into eight heads in an artificial manner. The style was stilted, sentences of four or six characters alternated, and each set of ten characters had to be antithetical.

abroad for a western education (Ren, 1936, 1974, pp. 325-326). However, the reform was short-lived and suppressed by the Empress Dowager Cixi in September 1898. The outbreak of the Boxer Uprising in 1900 further disrupted educational reforms. After putting down the rebellion, the Empress Dowager Cixi was forced to resume educational and governmental reforms under the pressure of public opinion. The first significant reform decree was issued in January 1901. It demanded all officials at home and abroad to investigate western methods of governing and report their findings within two months. Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi (1830-1902), Viceroy of Liang Jiang[17], submitted three memorials that formed the basis for the subsequent reforming decrees. The first memorial was on education. According to Zhang and Liu, the most efficient and effective means to make a "self-strong" nation included: 1) establishing modern literary and military schools; 2) changing and improving literary examinations; 3) abolishing military examinations; 4) encouraging students to go abroad (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 1, pp. 77-94. Trans. by Teng & Fairbank, 1967, pp. 197-204).

Many suggestions presented in Zhang's and Liu's memorials with respect to educational reform were immediately adopted and carried out. For instance, An Imperial decree issued on August 29, 1901 abolished the former military examinations for boys. It was followed by another decree on September 11, 1901 to establish military schools of the modern type (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 108-113). In contrast to the immediate reform of military examinations, the process of reforming literary examinations was gradual. On August 29, 1901, the Empress Dowager Cixi promulgated a decree, similar to the one issued by Guangxu Emperor three years earlier, giving the sanction to abolish the "eight-legged essay" writing and replace it with a discussion of current affairs. The decree also commanded that starting from 1902 the district examinations should be

[17] Liang Jiang 兩江 refers to provinces of Jiangnan and Jiangxi.

conducted on the subjects on Chinese political history and current affairs, the subjects on international politics, and in the ability to expound the *Four Books* (vol. 2, pp. 96-97).

Along with accelerated militarism, nationalism grew and intensified towards the end of the Qing Empire. The educational reform mentioned above was aimed at strengthening the hearts of people and consolidating the foundations of the Empire. The earliest indication of nationalistic spirit in the educational system can be traced in Zhang Zhidong's notable memorial *An Exhortation to Study* (Quanxue pian 勸學篇) of 1898. Five essays were devoted to the promotion of nationalistic spirit. In the preface Zhang stated:

1. Unite your hearts. It is clear that the protection of your country, the protection of your religion and the protection of your race is one and the same idea.
2. Teach loyalty (to the nation). From the reigning dynasty you have obtained many blessings. Therefore, all officials and people should cherish the utmost sentiments of loyalty toward it in order to protect the country.
3. Clarify the fundamental principles … in order to protect the national doctrine (Confucianism)
4. Know your (racial) characteristics … in order to protect your race.
5. Pay due reverence to the Classics … (Zhang, 1896, 1970, p. 23. Trans. by Peake, 1970, pp. 123-23)

The memorial was extensively published and widely read. It was so influential that Guangxu Emperor ordered it to be distributed to the viceroys, governors, and literary examiners (Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 321).

Zhang Zhidong's memorial echoed Liang Qichao's proposal of renovating the nation and the people. As reviewed in the preceding chapter, Liang Qichao was one of the ardent advocates of modern nationalism. After witnessing the recurrent failures of reform, from the Self-Strengthening Movement carried out by government officials to the 1898 Reform led by scholars, Liang came to realize that "not only must China's institutions, political and social systems undergo a change, but also the Chinese people themselves must basically be reborn or rejuvenated" (Teng & Fairbank, 1967, p. 220). He extolled the virtues of *gongde* 公德 (public

morality) as well as compulsory submission to a uniform system. Comparing the traditions of Chinese and Westerners, Liang observed:

> Chinese most assert the three bonds while Westerners primarily uphold equality; Chinese practice nepotism while Westerners esteem the meritorious; Chinese order the empire with filial piety while Westerns rule through *gong* 公 (public-spiritedness); Chinese venerate rulers while Westerners glorify the people; Chinese prize the orthodoxy that creates conformity while Westerners follow their interests yet maintain unity; and Chinese mostly honor taboos while Westerners emphasize criticism. (Liang, 1898, 1954, p. 98. Trans. by Levenson, 1953, p. 97)

According to Liang, the world was made up of citizens, not active gentlemen and passive commoners. Thus, the common people should be accepted as individual actors. He conceived of the spirit of nationalism as the only way by which the Chinese race could be preserved.

After the failure of the 1898 political reform, the advocates of nationalism broke up into two factions: *lixianpai* 立憲派 (the constitutionalist) and *gemingpai* 革命派 (the revolutionary). The constitutionalists, in order to prevent revolutionary chaos, were insistent on the preservation of the Qing court, but called for the establishment of a constitutional monarchy. In contrast, the revolutionaries were determined to overthrow the Manchu regime and create a republican government based on the Han ethnicity. Nevertheless, despite differing political agendas, both groups supported nationalism and were in favor of a constitutional government.

In keeping with the promotion of nationalism, nationalization of education became imperative, as a compulsory public education system could be a useful means to advance cultural homogeneity and to heighten nationalist spirit. Against this background, the plan to establish a modern school system was set forth in 1903 by a special commission, composed of Sun Jianai (1827-1909), Zhang Baixi (1847-1909), and Zhang Zhidong. In 1904, the imperial court introduced a range of courses in the Western natural and social sciences, e.g., geography, law, finance, biology, physics, chemistry, and mathematics into the curriculum (Ren, 1936, 1974, p.

316). Meanwhile, it promulgated *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 奏定學堂章程 (Official Regulations Governing Schools) in which the first modern school system was defined and implemented. According to the decree, education consisted of three levels – primary school education, middle school education, and higher education. Primary school education spanned ten years, four years in the pre-school, five years in the lower primary, and four in the higher primary. Middle school education was five years. Higher education consisted of three years of pre-university program and three years of university (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 78-81).

For the lower primary school, the aim was "to give to children about seven years of age the knowledge necessary for life, to establish in them the foundation of morality and patriotism and to promote their physical welfare" (trans. by Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 80). The curriculum included: morals, Chinese classics, Chinese language, mathematics, history, geography, nature study, and physical culture. To be specific, over one-third of the time was to be employed in the study of Chinese classics and language, the rest in morals or ethics, Chinese history and geography, nature study, physical culture and mathematics. The aim and curriculum of the higher primary schools were similar, except for the addition of the subject of drawing. The purpose of the middle schools was to "provide a higher general education for children between the ages of fifteen and nineteen, so as to prepare them to enter political and industrial life, or the various higher institutions of learning" (p. 81). The curriculum included twelve subjects: morals, Chinese classics, Chinese literature, foreign languages, history, geography, mathematics, biology, physics and chemistry, civics and economics, drawing, and physical culture. In middle school, just as in primary school, one-third of the time was to be devoted to the study of the classics. Foreign language was to be taught from six to eight hours per week with foreign and Chinese geography, history and economics, as well as the sciences of biology, physics and chemistry (p. 82).

Despite the growing number of middle and primary schools, it was soon realized that unless the literary examinations were abolished, students would not attend the new kind of schools in great numbers. Yuan Shikai and Zhang Zhidong submitted a joint petition to the Throne in 1903, blaming the old method of eight-legged essay for failing to discover the real ability of the students. Referring to the school systems of Japan and Western nations, Yuan and Zhang argued that education should be aimed at cultivating the individual's real ability. According to them, China's very existence depended on the establishment of the modern school system (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 117-122). In a similar vein, another important petition presented by Zhang Baixi and Zhang Zhidong in 1903 pressed for the abolition of the old literary examinations. They pointed out that money would not be gathered from the people to establish the modern schools as long as the literary examinations existed (pp. 122-124). However, these two memorials were not sufficient to compel the government to take action immediately. It was not until the appearance of another memorial that the literary examinations were finally abolished. This jointly written memorial was submitted on August 21, 1905, just after the war between Russia and Japan. The petitioners urged the immediate ending of the examinations, arguing that the Russo-Japanese treaty of peace would bring about greater danger to China (pp. 124-128). This urgent memorial produced effect. The Court issued a decree on September 2, 1905, putting an end to the lower examinations at once and the higher from the start of 1906. After that, modern schools (e.g. primary schools, middle schools and colleges) multiplied rapidly.

In December 1905 the Qing Court established *Xuebu* 學部 (the Ministry of Education), replacing the old *Guozi jian* 國子監 (Imperial Academy of Learning). The new Ministry had absolute control over the educational system and had taken up responsibility for issuing decrees, instructions and orders, holding conferences, inspecting and approving textbooks. It should be

noted that since the Taiping Uprising[18], the Qing Empire had picked up the pace of decentralization. Viceroys and governors, such as Li Hongzhang, Zeng Guofan, Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai, were virtually feudal lords who implemented reforms in the provinces where they took office. The creation of the Education Ministry marked the beginning of the nationalization of the educational system. The newly established Ministry of Education unified the educational systems that had already existed in the provinces of Shandong, Zhili[19], Shanxi, Hunan, Guangdong and Zhejiang, where the viceroys and governor mentioned above were in power. This shows that despite the increasing decentralization in politics, unification of education was regarded as a necessary means to strengthen the Empire.

The Ministry of Education issued a decree in March 1906 to rectify the educational aims set forth in the 1903 proposal for the establishment of the modern school system. The aim of the modern educational system was brought forward as to promote the following virtues: *zhong jun* 忠君 (loyalty to the Throne), *zun li* 尊禮 (respect for Confucius rituals), *shang gong* 尚公 (devotion to public welfare), *shang wu* 尚武 (high regard for militarism), and shang shi 尚實 (respect for industrial pursuit) (Kuo, 1915, 1972, pp. 89-90; Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 330; Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, p. 102). The details of the decree are elaborated on below:

The first aim/virtue – loyalty to the Throne – was desirable for the cultivation of patriotism. The people should respect the head of the nation regardless of the forms of government. This was thought to be the basis of the nation's strength. Using the examples of Germany and Japan, the memorial emphasized the value of educating the people to be loyal to the Throne.

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[18] The Taiping Uprising (Taiping tianguo qiyi 太平天國起義) prevailing between 1850 and 1864 directly threatened the rule of the Qing. For a further discussion, see Spence, J. (2013), pp. 215-221.

[19] Zhili 直隶 refers to the provincial jurisdiction over the area, including Beijing, Tianjin, most part of Hebei Province, and small part of Shandong Province.

The second aim/virtue – respect for Confucius rituals – was sought for the fostering of moral integrity. The memorial noted that distinctive cultural traits were embodied in Chinese language arts, literature, history, customs and religion. In China, the time-honored principles of Confucius were held most admirable and used as a means of moral cultivation among the youth. Thus, the students should be required to learn the classics and observe Confucius' birthday in the schools. This shows that Confucianism continued to be the moral basis of China's first modern educational system.

The third aim/virtue – devotion to public welfare – was essential to the cultivation of a co-operative spirit. As indicated in the memorial, the Chinese people of the time were divided and self-centered. It was imperative to awaken the people and instill in them a sense of responsibility towards their country, because a strong nation relied on the collaboration among a committed people, rather than a few heroes. The memorial maintained that the cultivation of a sense of public duty could only be realized through education. Therefore, textbooks must give emphasis to public morality and duty. In this way, students would extend their love and concern from their families, villages, districts, and provinces to their country.

The fourth aim/virtue – high regard for militarism – was necessary for the creation of a strong nation capable of maintaining its existence and defending itself from foreign assault. While much time and energy were devoted to the establishment of a modern educational system from 1895 to 1911, the earlier conception of education as a means to militarize the nation was not dismissed at all. Modern military and naval schools continued to be established, and Japanese military instructors continued to be invited to assist the Chinese. Chinese politicians and educators attempted to find in modern nationalism a substitute for the cohesive force of Confucianism and to use education as the medium for instilling nationalist philosophy and

sentiments into the minds of the youth. Inspired by the military success of Japan and the West, the memorial emphasized the importance of military education. In order to promote the spirit of militarism, the memorial demanded that textbooks to be filled with knowledge of military affairs. For example, textbooks on literature, history and geography should include accounts of battles and illustrations of modern weaponry. The music course should teach military songs. The course in physical education should be aimed at strengthening the children's physical fitness. To be specific, the younger students were to be taught to play games, whereas the older ones to perform military drills. It was believed that such military instructions would teach the students to respect order, maintain their dignity and construct a sound personality.

The fifth aim/virtue – respect for industrial pursuits – was beneficial for the full utilization of China's natural resources for the benefit of the country as well as the life of the people. The memorial attributed the economic and technological success of the West to the emphasis on the ability to apply theory to practical use. Scientific research and industrial pursuits were neglected or even despised in traditional Chinese education. Since the humiliating encounter with the West in the nineteenth century, the Chinese had begun to realize that education was an essential tool for social change. In order to arouse students' interest in industrial pursuits, the memorial demanded that scientific research and courses in drawing and handwork be included in the curricula. Moreover, the textbooks should emphasize more facts than theory.

The curriculum was revised in response to the new educational aims set forth in 1906. The lower primary school spanned five years. Eight courses were to be taught, including ethics, Chinese classics, Chinese literature, mathematics, history, geography, natural sciences, and physical drill (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 89). In 1909 a change was made to this curriculum. History, geography, and natural sciences were combined and merged with the Chinese language Arts. The

higher primary school studies covered a period of four years. Nine subjects were taught with the drawing course added to the courses mentioned above. In middle schools, a foreign language, usually English or Japanese was to be taught with the history of the world (p. 90).

The decree for the first time emphasized the importance of public education aimed at educating the people of the nation instead of a talented few. In consequence, the last decade of the Qing dynasty witnessed a rapid expansion and growth of primary schools, middle schools, and colleges at various regional levels. The system of public education was gradually taking shape. Nevertheless, although the new public educational system achieved a high degree of sophistication in theory and in practice, traditional education in the first modern educational system was not completely discarded. In fact, as revealed in the studies of Borthwick (1983) and Bastid (1988), there arose a protest aimed at preserving the ancient classics, and the classics still occupied the approved curriculum at all levels. As for women's education, although the 1903 Curriculum made no provision for girls' or young women's education, but the perceived need to train female teachers for kindergartens along with the nationalist goal of educating women to prepare children for citizenship, pressed the Qing court to open girls' primary and normal schools in 1907. Girls' normal schools, equivalent to secondary-level boys' lower normal schools, became the highest level of public education available to women between 1907 and 1912. The purpose of female schools was not only to train them to manage their homes scientifically, according to the modern standards of efficiency as "good wives," but also prepare them to raise their children to be modern citizens as "wise mothers." In keeping with this aim, the curriculum for these female schools focused on ethics and training in household skills (Bailey, 2001; Judge, 2002; Kuo, 1915, 1972; McElroy, 2001; Shu, 1929).

In what follows I will examine the textbooks of the core subjects pertinent to citizenship education during this period.

Ethics

Xiushen 修身 (ethics) became a required course following the decree of *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 奏定學堂章程 (Official Regulations Governing Schools) in 1904. In 1905, the Commercial Press published a series of textbooks on ethics; ten volumes for lower primary schools, four for higher primary schools, and five for middle schools. Among them, *Zuixin Chudeng xiaoxue xiushen jiaokeshu* 最新初等小學修身教科書 (Ethics for Lower Primary Schools) (see Appendix A) reached 158,000 copies for its first edition (Darroch, 1906). As stated in the preface, "Moral culture is the root of education, upon which ancient and modern, Chinese and foreigners all have agreed." Unlike the traditional moral books filled with abstract discussions of principles and applications, this set selected the material, such as kindness, charity, self-control and duties in the household, to suit the children's minds. Moreover, it selected the sayings of the ancient sages and their admirable acts and set them forth as examples for the children. In terms of pedagogy, it took into consideration children's learning capacities. For instance, volume one contained no lessons. It was virtually a book of pictures, with each telling a story without words. Short sentences were given in volume two but pictures still occupied most of the book. From this volume onward the printed lessons gradually became longer and the pictures were curtailed. The stories were mostly moral tales and copied from ancient Chinese books. In volume three the first three lessons discussed duties in the home. The fifth and following lessons dealt with the necessity of resolute self-discipline. Volume seven dealt with the concept of nation-state. For instance, lesson 19 on *Ai'guo* 愛國 (patriotism) introduced the stories of Confucius and Mencius respectively. They took initiative and urged their disciples to defend

their motherlands when facing foreign invasions (vol. 7, p. 20). It is worth noting that the idea of nation took precedence over the notion of Throne. This distinguished it from former ethics textbooks that associated individual righteousness with the loyalty to Throne.

In 1906 a book *Tongsu guomin bidu* 通俗國民必讀 (What the People Should Read) (see Appendix A) written by Gao Buying (1873-1940) and Chen Baoquan (1874-1937), mirrored the perspective of late-Qing elites about modern education. Both Gao and Chen had pursued study in Japan. The book was endorsed by Yuan Shikai and issued by the Board of Education of the province of Zhili. It was distributed among the students of the province, and one hundred thousand copies were printed in the first edition (Peake, 1970, p. 57). In the first chapter, the authors discussed the relationship between the nation and the people. They criticized people's apathy toward the nation's affairs and asserted that the nation and the people were one and inseparable. The second chapter focused on the duty of the nation and the people. It stated that the nation should give its people their benefits; in return, the people should be willing to sacrifice their lives when the nation was in danger. The third chapter conveyed the idea that the protection of the nation implied the protection of the people. The fourth chapter emphasized education as a means to build a strong nation. Using the examples of Prussia and Japan, the authors argued: "China's greatest need at the present time is education; once the people become intelligent they will with united hearts give themselves to the help of their country, and the state will then become strong" (Gao & Chen, 1906, p. 79). The next three chapters were devoted to the promotion of public education and military training. The authors used the examples of militaristic Japan and peace-loving America to urge China to revive military spirit and pursue "armed peace" so as to gain its proper place among the nations. The eighth chapter grieved for China's weakness. The following three chapters discussed the strength of other nations. The final chapter

concluded with four methods as to how the Chinese people could save their country. First, eliminate social and official distinctions so that there might be peace among the classes. Second, people must be brave and ready to sacrifice themselves for the country, and they should not be lazy. Third, each person should be encouraged to develop his own trade or industry so that in this way the state would become prosperous and strong. Finally, people should be warned not to be greedy about money and to donate money to the schools or the community rather than waste it on a spoiled child. Such self-conscious methods intended for the militarization of the people were thought to be necessity "in a world of wild beasts (the states) sharpening their claws to tear each other's flesh" (p. 120).

The majority of the textbooks on ethics in this period were blamed for relying too much on Western ethical theories while neglecting China's national characteristics (Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 330). Against this background, the Commercial Press printed *Zhongxue xiushen jiaokeshu* 中學修身教科書 (Middle School Ethics) edited by Cai Yuanpei in December 1907 (2 vols.) and March 1908 (3 vols.) (see Appendix A). This set critically assessed and integrated Western and Chinese ethical theories. The first four chapters of volume one dealt with ethics in four respects, namely, self, family/clan, society, and nation. This was presented as corresponding with the development of an ideal Confucian scholar-official that started with *xiushen* 修身 (cultivating oneself), then *qijia* 齊家 (regulating family), *zhiguo* 治國 (governing the country), and at last *ping tianxia* 平天下 (giving peace to the world). However, Cai adopted new Western concepts to interpret and expand the old Confucian doctrines. For instance, in the section on self-cultivation, Cai gave top priority to physical education, arguing that "morality depends on self-cultivation, whereas the way of cultivating oneself lies in physical education" (Cai, 1907, 1984, p. 172). He

went on to explain: “if one does not have a healthy body, he or she is hardly able to achieve success regardless of their intentions” (p. 172).

Cai suggested several ways to strengthen an individual’s physique and improve psychological well being. The topics he discussed included eating habits, smoking and drinking, personal hygiene, physical exercises, leisure activities, sleeping habits, etc. Cai remarked: “Energy is the foundation of the human body. Prolonged periods of low energy and improper eating and sleeping habits will lead to illnesses” (p. 174). What is more, he condemned those who committed suicide, arguing: “If one’s suicide is caused by emotions, though their motives are worthy of compassion, their actions are despicable. Those who think suicide is a solution to their problems are lacking in social consciousness. Taking good care of one’s body is a citizen’s responsibility towards society and the nation” (pp. 175-176). Physical education-based ethics class is a far cry from the Confucian teaching of self-cultivation that was imbued with immense knowledge of the Confucian canon. In effect, placing such an emphasis on physical strength resonated with the advocacy of military-citizenship education. Besides physical education, Cai also incorporated ideas of self-sufficiency, self-dependence, and self-determination into the ethics course. Cai defined the social traits of a person in chapter two as follows:

> People are identified through their relation to family, society, and nation. In the domestic lives, one plays roles as parent, child, sibling, and spouse. In society, people gather in groups out of common concerns; they become *gongmin* 公民 (public people). The people of a nation-state are called *guomin* 國民. Each domain demands loyalty and responsibility. These responsibilities are different but compatible. (pp. 192-193)

Cai clarified the differences between society and nation-state, as well as *gongmin* and *guomin*. As revealed in the preceding chapter, the two terms *gongmin* and *guomin* were used interchangeably to denote the concept of citizen in the late Qing.

Cai went on to elaborate on one's responsibility towards his or her family/clan, society, and the nation in accordance with their respective roles. With respect to the child-parent relationship, Cai emphasized the traditional ethical value of *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) but opposed blind obedience to *xiao*. He maintained that "if parents give insane orders, the children should not blindly follow them but make every effort to stop them" (p. 196). As to the husband-wife relationship, Cai denounced *sancong side* 三從四德 (the Three Submissions and the Four Virtues for women)[20] and advocated equality between men and women. He also criticized social stratification, noting that people should enjoy equal rights and fulfill equal responsibilities.

Chapter Three discussed *gongyi* 公義 (social justice), *gongde* 公德 (civic-mindedness) and *bo'ai* 博爱 (philanthropy). According to Cai, these virtues constituted public morality required for building a harmonious society. Cai maintained that every citizen should have a strong sense of social justice and civic-mindedness regardless of occupation. Moreover, he emphasized people's rights to life, to property, and to reputation, arguing that these rights can't be infringed and should be protected by laws (p. 208). Philanthropy, according to Cai, was key to a healthy society, from which arose a sense of social justice and civic-mindedness. It is noteworthy that in Cai's view, philanthropy referred to not only helping the poor and sick but also devoting various resources to charitable activities, such as repairing dikes, building harbors and roads, and establishing hospitals, schools, libraries, orphanages, and nursing homes (p. 219). Cai contended that only through promoting the industrial development, encouraging charitable giving, and advocating social justice can a strong and harmonious society be realized. Moreover, he made reference to Confucius' mottos "don't do onto others what you don't want others to do

[20] Three Submissions refer to obeying father before marriage (從父), and husband in marriage (從夫) and sons in widowhood (從子). Four Virtues include morality (德), modesty (容), propriety in speech (言) and diligent house management (功). For discussion on this, see Henricks, R. (1994), p. 12.

onto you"[21] and "the man of perfect virtue, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others"[22] (trans. by Legge, 1893, 2004). The former, Cai explained, was negative morality intended to discourage people to do harmful things, whereas the latter was positive morality encouraging people to take action to defend *gongyi* (social justice) and cultivate *gongde* (civic-mindedness) (p. 220). According to Cai, *gongyi* and *gongde* are indispensible to a good society. It is noteworthy that Cai's ideas of *gongyi* and *gongde* resonate with and is far ahead of the theory of negative and positive rights emerging in the 1980s.

Chapter four discussed state ethics. Cai argued that patriotism was key to survival of a people and should be compulsory for every citizen. However, he pointed out that "loving the country" was not equal to "loving the monarchy," as power was shared between people and the government. Cai insisted on citizens' duty towards the nation, but at the same time he also emphasized the nation's responsibility to protect citizens' rights. He listed a variety of rights, including the right to life, the right to work, the right to property, and the right to freedom of thought. He stressed that every citizen was entitled to these rights. Moreover, Cai maintained that people shall defend themselves when their rights were violated; if necessary, they could resort to *guojia zhi quan* 國家之權 (the power of the nation) to claim their rights. According to Cai, rights and responsibilities were inseparable. On the one hand, protecting people' rights is the responsibility of a nation and also is *gongquan* 公權 (the right of a nation). On the other hand, the people should defend the right of their nation when facing foreign invasion, for it is the foundation of a nation (pp. 223-224).

[21] The original in Chinese is " 己所不欲，勿施於人。"
[22] The original in Chinese is " 夫仁者，己欲立而立人，己欲達而達人。"

In addition, Cai put forward the concept of law-governed state, arguing that observance of law should be the primary duty of citizens towards the nation. He pointed out the importance of laws as follows:

> Law is the basis on which a nation is built and people's rights are protected. Man's will is inevitably affected by emotions or tempted by desires, which may lead to wrong doings. Law ensures impartiality and equal rights for all people. (p. 224)

Opposed to the traditional idea of ruling the kingdom by a monarch, the idea of governing the state by law was bold and thought provoking. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the traditional Chinese concept of law is interpreted differently compared with the Western notion of law. Confucian society was governed by *li* 禮 (forms of decorum). *Li* is defined as customary, uncodified law, and internalized by individuals. Accordingly, Chinese classical education was an education in the rites. By contrast, law played a mainly penal role in Chinese society. The purpose of lawmaking was to consolidate passive obedience on the part of the subjects. Moreover, the frequent arbitrary manipulation of law by the authorities resulted in general fear among the Chinese about law. Cai Yuanpei's advocacy of ruling by law reflects change in Chinese attitudes towards law.

A brief review of the life of Cai Yuanpei may shed light on the creation of this set of textbooks. Cai was a leading liberal educator of the late Qing dynasty and early Republican China. Growing up and prospering under the Confucian educational system, Cai had served in the Imperial Academy by his early twenties. In his youth, Cai had displayed great concern for ethics and was committed to the Confucian objective of self-cultivation and service to the community. The belief in order, harmony, and the ultimate goodness of man was strongly rooted in his thought throughout his life. However, as the country grew more and more impotent militarily, culturally, and politically, Cai gradually lost faith in the old values and gave up hopes for reform

within the traditional system. After the 1898 movement, Cai resigned from the Imperial Academy and began his journey of seeking a solution to the problems of China in Europe. Influenced by the European Enlightenment, Cai attempted to reconcile the nationalism of the Chinese revolutionary movement with Confucian universalism. He suggested that in order to build a better world one should start with him or herself and then extend his or her concern to the nation, and finally, to the whole world. As Duiker (1977) summarized, Cai's intellectual contemplation was a collection of Chinese and Western ideas prior to 1907. Following the prevailing principle of "Chinese learning as a base and Western learning for practical application" in the late Qing, Cai did not discard the old ethical doctrines but critically assessed and blended them into Western ethical theories. Such effort is reflected in the set of ethics textbooks discussed above.

Chinese Language Arts

Following the establishment of the first modern educational system, in 1905 the Commercial Press published a set of Chinese language arts textbooks for primary schools – *Zuixin chudeng xiaoxue guowen jiaokeshu* 最新初等小學國文教科書 (New National Readers for Lower Primary Schools) (18 vols.) (see Appendix A) – to meet the demands of the new educational system. By 1906, 335, 000 copies were published together with 67, 000 teachers' manuals (Darroch, 1906, p. 214). Compared with the traditional classics textbooks, the content in this set more suited a child's age and mentality. It consisted of short stories on various subjects, such as filial piety, courtesy, and patriotism, with the purpose of instilling in students love towards family and the nation. For instance, a lesson in volume four posed a question, "How can we not love a country that has given us all we have?" (vol. 4, p. 45). The same volume had illustrated lessons on the defense of a city and country. Volume six mentioned that Huang Di (the mythological sage king thought to have founded China) invented the compass and then it was

introduced to Europe. The same volume discussed the Boxer uprising[23] as well as the nationalists' reaction to the attempts of foreigners to build railroads and operate mines in China. Volume nine presented a brief history of China's commercial relationship with the rest of the world and listed the countries which had diplomatic relations with China and the dates of the various treaties. Volume ten dealt with China's foreign relations from the Tang dynasty to the Boxer uprising, with an emphasis on the territorial losses in the nineteenth century.

It is interesting to note that in volume five, there was a lesson titled *Si guo* 死國 (Die for the State). It presented a story of Zhuang Shan, a minister of *Chuguo* 楚國 (Chu kingdom). Zhuang left his mother to commit suicide for the king. When his mother questioned his motive, he replied: "I received salary from the king. As minister, to die for a noble cause is what I should do when the king is betrayed." According to the traditional Chinese notion of patriotism, being loyal to the state meant being loyal to the Throne. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the Chinese view of *tianxia* 天下 (literally, all under heaven, the world) differed from the modern notion of nation-state in the sense that *tianxia* is not a sovereign state but symbolizes both a cosmic and a moral order through the transcendent authority of heaven. The Chinese rulers considered themselves as *tianzi* 天子 (the Son of Heaven) whose political authority was given by Heaven. From this story, we may conclude that up till then, although the Western notions of nation-state and patriotism had been introduced to China, they were confused with the old Confucian concept of loyalty. Therefore, the modern sense of citizenship had not appeared in Chinese textbooks.

[23] The Boxer uprising (Yihetuan yundong 義和團運動) emerged around 1898 and culminated in 1900. It was targeted at Western missionaries and their Chinese converts. For a further discussion, see Spence, J. (2013), pp. 222-225.

History and Geography

In the final years of the Qing dynasty, the demand of establishing a nation-state required for the first time marking out national boundaries so as to establish the boundary of the nation's territorial sovereignty. In addition to ethics and Chinese language arts, geography and history courses worked to formulate "an image of the Chinese nation as a cohesive territorial unit with fixed boundaries and unified sovereignty" (Culp, 2007, p. 72). Following the 1903 School System Reform, in the lower primary school, both history and geography classes were given one hour for each week. The instruction in history consisted of reading short stories and the biographies of famous people in Chinese history. Pictorial maps with plentiful texts, rather than mathematical mapping, dominated geography texts. Maps and other images of the Chinese territory became one medium through which students were exposed to the model of the fixed national space. It should be noted that neither the history nor the geography course in the lower primary school related the world at large. In the higher primary school, history and geography courses were treated in a similar way. In middle school, the history of the world was taught together with a foreign language (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 87).

In 1903, the Commercial Press published *Yinghuan quanzhi* 瀛寰全志 (Complete Geography with Colored Maps) compiled by Xie Honglai (1873-1916). It was designed for advanced classes in schools and for general readers. In the preface, Xie stated that the material drew on a number of books on Chinese geography published both in China and in the West. The author aimed to reveal the importance of racial conflict and competition so as to stimulate the patriotic spirit in the readers. He began with a brief discussion of the world from a physical viewpoint, then of the peoples on it and their various languages. Xie also outlined the stages in the development of civilizations which were moving toward the ultimate goal of the world

community. According to Xie, the nation was a stage on the way to the world community, composed of a group of people dwelling in an area and possessing the right to promulgate laws.

To summarize, the short time between 1895 and 1911 witnessed a rapid expansion and growth of Western learning. The abolition of the old civil examination system and the establishment of a modern system of education were the result of continuous efforts on the part of the progressive intellectuals and scholar-officials who aimed at modernizing and strengthening China's military forces to preserve the Empire. After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, notions of the "nation" and "citizenry" emerged as a new symbol of the ethnic community. Many late-Qing elites attributed the success of Western societies to citizenship, whether of the community or of the state. According to Turner (1993), the relation between state and individual is the primary concern of citizenship, and the concept of citizenship is closely associated with the notions of nationalism, civil society, and democracy. In this period, Chinese perception of citizenship was mainly concerned with the promotion of nationalism and the creation of civil society. In the meantime, modern militarism was introduced to China along with nationalism. Many late-Qing officials and intellectuals believed that militarism and nationalism were the necessary means for consolidating the Empire. Therefore, civics education during this period was dominated by the military-civilian ideal, aimed at heightening citizens' awareness of duties and obligations to the nation through military training and moral cultivation. The curricula and textbooks were drawn up on this basis. This resonates with Heater's (2004b) definition of military citizenship as one type of citizenship combining military preparedness and extending a martial spirit to the whole population.

Although there emerged calls for promoting individual rights during this period, national salvation was consistently held to be the ultimate goal, and all other aims such as strengthening

the power of the individual were secondary. Accordingly, the aim of education was to safeguard and promote the welfare of the state as a collection of individuals, rather than to attach importance to the value of individuals. The idea that the interests of the common people could be sacrificed for the benefit of society in fact continued traditional concepts of loyalty and filial piety. It only re-oriented people's commitment and loyalty from their family and clan to the sovereign nation-state.

Republican Education: 1912-1925

The rise and development of the modern educational system in China contributed a great share to the 1911 revolution. Dr. Sun Yat-sen once claimed that education was the chief factor contributing to the successful overthrow of the Monarchy and the establishment of the new Republic (Bailey, 1990). However, during the days of revolution, education went through hardships, and school activities were suspended. While some students volunteered for service in the battlefield or joined the army, others volunteered to give lectures in public to propagate the facts about the revolution and to instruct the masses about the principles of the republic (Peake, 1970, p. 74).

On January 1, 1912 a republican form of government was established in Nanjing with Sun Yat-sen as the provisional president. The Ministry of Education of the provisional government was founded in Nanjing on January 9, 1912. It adopted a new name *Jiaoyu bu* 教育部. At the very inception of the re-established ministry, it issued a decree to the 17 governors of the various provinces to reconstruct the public education system as well as the curriculum (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol.2, p. 146). The provisional education policy placed importance in social education. It asserted that the flourishing of a republic depended on the intelligence of its citizens. In response to the call of the Education Ministry, quasi-educational institutions, such as public lectures,

newspapers, and public libraries, were established to distribute civic knowledge. These offered an alternative to formal education, drawing all sorts of uneducated men and women, as well as young people who were unable to go to school. Among the topics suggested by the Ministry of Education to discuss in the lectures were: "the duties and privileges of republican citizens; the importance of developing a military spirit; the importance of improving the economic and industrial welfare of the country; and the importance of emphasizing public virtues" (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 112). Later, the Ministry of Education established the Bureau of Social Education to oversee the investigation and the planning of mass education (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, p. 148).

Soon after Yuan Shikai was elected as President of the Republic on April 1, 1912, a new Ministry of Education was formed on May 11 and made its headquarters in Beijing. One of the primary tasks facing the reorganized Ministry of Education was to re-construct the educational system and re-define educational aims so as to accord with the spirit and ideals of a Republic. The Education Ministry issued an order to all educational authorities in which nine changes were made to the old educational system. They included:

1. To change the word for school from *tang* 堂 to *xiao* 校.
2. To revise all textbooks in line with the spirit of a Republic.
3. To abandon the Chinese classics in middle and primary schools.
4. To emphasize handwork courses in primary schools.
5. To teach abacus in third year primary arithmetic courses.
6. To allow boys and girls to study together in lower primary schools.
7. Middle schools need not have departments as in colleges.
8. To abolish the old literary degrees.
9. To designate the students as graduates of normal, middle or primary schools. (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 113)

Two of the changes were most significant: first, to permit boys and girls to attend the same primary schools; second, to eliminate classics entirely from the curriculum. These measures showed the determination of the new Republic to get away from the old educational system.

Cai Yuanpei was made the first minister of education in the new Republican government. He made haste in setting about reforming the educational system upon his return from Germany in 1912. Cai's ideal of education was conveyed through his famous article *Duiyu xin jiaoyu zhi yijian* 對於新教育之意見 (My Views on New Education). In line with the republican ideals, Cai (1912, 1984a) called for a new philosophy of education aimed at serving the needs of the individual and of society as a whole. As a returned student from Germany and France, Cai was in favor of the French educational system that was aimed at inculcating in the minds of the youths the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity. Therefore, Cai asserted that the goal of Republican education was to create modern Republican citizens. Through education, argued Cai, the Chinese people should be equipped with the capacities to fulfill their duties and enact their rights in society. What is more, Cai attacked the formality of Confucianism and urged to abolish the worship of Confucius in the schools. He replaced the Confucian five moral relationships[24] with the concept of liberty, equality, and fraternity as the ethical basis of a new modern Chinese society (Cai, 1912, 1984a, vol.2, p. 131). Accordingly, Cai proposed a form of education composed of five elements: *junguomin jiaoyu* 軍國民教育 (military-citizen education), *shili jiaoyu* 實利教育 (utilitarian education), *gongmin daode jiaoyu* 公民道德教育 (civic morality education), *meiyu* 美育 (aesthetics education) and *shijieguan jiaoyu* 世界觀教育 (education for world-outlook).

Military education, utilitarian education, and ethics education formed the first part of Cai's educational proposal that was aimed at serving the political aim of strengthening society.

[24] According to Confucius, there was a proper order to all things in the universe, including human society. Thus, his teaching was intended to make people know of their places in society and therefore upheld the responsibilities entailed with that place. Five human relationships included: the relations between sovereign and subject, father and son, husband and wife, the younger and elder siblings, as well as relationships between friends.

According to Cai, the purpose of military-citizen education was to not only strengthen national defense but also to prevent soldiers from forming a privileged class (p. 135). Utilitarian education was aimed at improving the nation's technology and industry (p. 135). The purpose of ethics education was to lay a moral foundation for society by instilling in citizens moral standards and respect for law (pp. 135-136). The proposal of these three forms of education was meant to appease conservative members in the new government who were more concerned with national survival than with a utopian imagination. In fact, these three aspects of educational reform, by themselves, were hardly innovative. The importance of public morality, military training, and utilitarian education had already been recognized and initiated by Cai's predecessors and contemporaries, among whom were Liang Qichao, Zhang Zhidong, and Huang Yanpei (1878-1965).

In effect, it was the second part of Cai's proposal – transcendental education – that distinguished him from his predecessors and contemporaries. As humanist, Cai stressed the individual's role in human development. He maintained that the aim of education under a republic was not merely to satisfy the needs of the government but to develop the abilities of individual students, so he pointed to the necessity of supplementing military and utilitarian education with transcendental education. Cai's proposal of transcendental education was composed of world-outlook education and aesthetics education. World-outlook education was designed to expose students to religions, philosophies, and cultures of all mankind so as to reduce localism and superstition (pp. 133-135). Aesthetics education was aimed at helping individuals discover and develop their own talents so as to achieve greater spiritual happiness (p. 135). On the whole, the purpose of transcendental education was to transcend politics and introduce a concept of internationalism.

Cai's ideas about education not only challenged traditional doctrines but also evoked uneasiness in some people of the new government. In order to win the support of the educators throughout the country during the period of readjustment, Cai Yuanpei convened a *Quanguo linshi jiaoyu huiyi* 全國臨時教育會議 (Provisional Central Educational Conference) in Beijing from July 10th to August 10th, 1912. The body of delegates attending the conference consisted of two from each of the twenty-two provinces, one representing Chinese residing abroad, fifteen from the teachers and administrative officers of schools, ten from the Ministries of the Interior, of Finance, of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, of Army and Navy, and others invited by the Ministry of Education (Kuo, 1915, 1972, pp. 113-114; Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 3, pp. 216-230).

In his opening speech, Minister Cai asserted that the goal of Republican education was to create modern Republican citizens. In addition to his proposal for a new form of education as discussed above, Cai also emphasized the need to use education to unify the nation, to decentralize the school system, to ensure equal treatment for minority races, and to work toward a unified written language for China (Cai, 1912, 1984b). Many of Cai's ideas were accepted by the representatives, such as co-education and elimination of the classics in all lower and middle-level schools, but the heart of his reform – the promotion of internationalism and individualism – encountered considerable resistance, for many at the conference conceived the aim of education more as mobilizing people for social goals than as developing individual character. The government at last incorporated only the proposals of military, utilitarian, and ethics education into the new statement of educational aims. As for the transcendental education, only aesthetics education was approved and carried out, but world-outlook education was entirely denied.

In September of the same year, the Education Ministry issued a decree endorsing the educational aims. Education was defined as "a means of cultivating virtuous or moral character in

the young. This moral training was to be supplemented by an industrial and military education and rounded out by an aesthetic one" (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 114). In comparison with the educational aims set forth by the Qing Court in 1906, the real changes made were that education would no longer uphold respect for the Emperor; nor would the school observe Confucius's birthday. Any implied imperial indoctrination was to be eliminated from textbooks, and the formal teaching of the classics was to be abandoned in both primary and middle schools. According to the decree, the nation's cultural heritage could be instilled into the students through the courses, such as ethics, Chinese language arts, history, and geography, instead of classics. The other three educational aims set up in 1906 – devotion to public welfare, high regard for militarism, and respect for industrial pursuit – remained in effect. In all, education was taken as the means of reinforcing the people's awareness of their duty to the nation. Specifically, the aims of the primary school included: 1) to secure the physical and mental development of the child; 2) to lay the foundation of the virtues of citizenship; and 3) to develop in children the knowledge and ability necessary for them to make their way in the world (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 120). It is noteworthy that the new decree also called for unification in education among the "five races" (Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, Tibetans and Muslims) and pointed to the importance of drawing up plans for the education of the Mongolians, Tibetans, and Muslims in the Chinese language for the purpose of unifying the nation (p. 121).

In the same month, an instructional order was issued to urge the establishment of middle schools for girls on the same basis as those for boys. With respect to curriculum, compared with their male counterparts, female middle school students were to study less foreign language, mathematics, and physical training. Instead, female students were taught home economics, gardening, and sewing for the final three years of school (the National Library of China, 2004,

vol. 3. p. 136). These differences between the curricula for boys' and girls' secondary schools suggest that for many early Republican educators secondary education was to prepare girls for household-oriented activities and boys for more public roles. However, it should not be ignored that after 1912 female students were taught many skills that enabled them to seek careers outside the home. They studied courses on history, geography, language, and ethics in which they were informed of the same messages about citizenship as their male counterparts (Bailey, 2001; McElroy, 2001).

The attempt of President Yuan Shikai to restore the monarchy and revive Confucianism between 1913 and 1916 disrupted the educational reform. In effect, Cai Yuanpei resigned from the Ministry of Education in 1912 due to his disappointment with Yuan Shikai's dictatorial behavior. In September 1913 Yuan issued an order through the Ministry of Education demanding that Confucius's birthday should be observed in the schools. Moreover, the official worship of Confucius was also restored with the rehabilitation of the Confucian Temple. Yuan intended to make Confucianism the national religion. Accordingly, in May 1914 the Minister of Education Tang Hualong (1874-1918), successor of Cai Yuanpei, issued a decree to the textbook writers demanding them to emphasize the teaching of Confucius in ethics textbooks (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, p. 52). The following month the Ministry of Education issued an order to the primary and middle schools calling for the incorporation of more classical instruction into the ethics course. By referring to the teaching of the Bible as a regular course in the West, the order maintained that China should base itself on Confucian morality (p. 61). The aim of it was to improve the morality of the people so as to strengthen the nation.

It was not until Yuan's death in 1916 that the republican spirit was revived. From 1916 on, the educators became increasingly concerned with the problems of education itself and

attempted to free the educational system from political influences. The union of *zheng* 政 (political matters) and *jiao* 教 (teaching) was used to connect the literati with the Confucian political mechanism in imperial China. Cai Yuanpei was one of the earliest advocates of freeing education from political influence. His standpoint is reflected in the following excerpt from *My Views on New Education*:

> There are two great kinds of education: one is subordinate to politics, the other is above politics. During the monarchical period (I refer also to constitutional government of a monarchical nature) educators followed the policy of the government and considered the model education to be purely subordinate to government. In the republican period, educators can set up a standard based upon the situation of the people and thus we may have education beyond political control. (Cai, 1912, 1984a, Trans. by Teng & Fairbank, 1967, p. 235)

In another declaration titled *Jiaoyu duli yi* 教育獨立議 (The Independence of Education) in 1922, Cai further argued, "politics is the concern for immediate profit on a short-term basis, while teaching prepares for the long-term advantage" (Cai, 1922, 1984c. trans. by Duiker, 1977, p. 87). What is more, Cai was keen on establishing universities in China, which he regarded as the priority of the education reform. He proposed to divide the nation into semiautonomous university districts, each with a university and in charge of all elementary and secondary education in its jurisdiction. Cai also called for the decentralization of authority within the university so as to restrict the power of the Ministry of Education. Many liberals favored Cai's idea of institutionalizing a certain independence of education from government. In February 1917 another attempt was made to free the educational system from ulterior political influences. The Education Ministry issued a decree demanding all students, teachers, and officers not to enlist in political parties or engage in political activities (the National Library of China, 2004, vol. 3, p. 146).

With the increasing decentralization in policy, regional and non-governmental educational leaders began to have relative freedom to promote their professional standards of good education. They drew up curricula, wrote texts, improved teaching methods, and set up experimental schools, in the hope of bettering education so as to solve the problems of China. Moreover, they were able to organize in associations and to establish a system of education based on their ideals of education. From 1915 to 1922, numerous national educational conferences were held, and the Ministry of Education relied more and more on them to carry on education reform. In 1919, *Xin jiaoyu gongjin she* 新教育共進社 (the Society for the Promotion of New Education) was created, consisting of five organizations, namely *Jiangsusheng jiaoyu hui* 江蘇省教育會 (Jiangsu Education Association), *Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyu she* 中華職業教育社 (the National Association for Vocational Education), National Peking University, *Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 南京高等師範學校 (Nanjing Higher Normal School, and *Jinan xuexiao* 暨南學校 (Jinan Institute in Nanjing). The Society, along with one older national organization, *Quanguo jiaoyuhui lianhehui* 全國教育會聯合會 (the National Federation of Education Associations), attempted to pull provincial educational associations into a national unit and became the vanguard of progressive education reforms. In February of the same year, its monthly magazine *Xin jiaoyu* 新教育 (the New Education) came into being, with the aim of cultivating citizenry able to think independently, express themselves, and assume public responsibilities. The magazine promised the introduction of new currents of thought from throughout the world (Keenan, 1977, p. 69-72).

Under the rule of General Yan Xishan (1883-1960), Shanxi province was a pioneer in promoting citizenship. Yan wrote and published the first modern civics textbook in Chinese history called *Renmin xuzhi* 人民須知 (What People Ought to Know). Between 1918 and 1919,

2,700,000 copies were sold (Zhuang, 1923, p. 22). Topics discussed in this book ranged from family, civic virtues, society, to nationality and patriotism. This book was accompanied by another one titled *Jiating xuzhi* 家庭須知 (What Family Ought to Know). Yan distributed both books to almost every family in Shanxi (Shen, 2008). According to him, education is an indispensable tool via which the Republican spirit may take root in China. He noted: "people's knowledge is the basis on which a constitutional democracy can be founded and strengthened. How possible is it for people to exercise their rights without knowing what constitutional democracy is?" (Yan, 1918, p. 1) It is worth noting that Yan was the first one who successfully implemented compulsory education. In the preface of *What Family Ought to Know,* Yan claimed:

> Regardless of being rich or poor, children of Shanxi province aging from seven to thirteen are required to receive education for at least four years. This is called *guomin jiaoyu* 國民教育 (national education). Through education, people's minds will be broadened and bodies strengthened. No matter how poor they are, parents are responsible for their child's education. This is called *yiwu jiaoyu* 義務教育(public education). When government makes laws to implement compulsory education, those parents who don't observe the law will be fined and forced to send their child to school. This is called *qiangpo jiaoyu* 強迫教育 (compulsory education). (Yan*,* 1918, p. 2)

What is more, in order to encourage parents to sent their children to school, Yan advocated a type of education called *jiaxing jiaoyu* 家性教育 (family-based education). The practice of it was to modify educational contents based on varied farming work of the student's family. Farming skills became part of curriculum, and students were required to help their family with farming work in addition to taking regular courses. According to Yan, the school should teach students useful skills to make them helpful to their family among other things. He argued that family-based education supplemented *gexing jiaoyu* 個性教育 (child-centered education). In his words, "Child-centered education is a way to educate individuals whereas family-based education is a way to run education. Schools won't survive without family-based education" (p.

4). Yan's educational experiment made a great success. Tao Xingzhi (1891-1946), the renowned educator of the time, made three trips to Shanxi in 1925 to investigate the implementation of compulsory education. He concluded:

> Since the late-Qing dynasty, the central government had made attempts to carry out compulsory education. It wasn't until 1920 that a clear and detailed plan was drawn up. However, it was difficult to carry it out due to constant political turmoil over the past years. Shanxi Province is the only exception. From 1918 to 1925, over 70 percent of children of Shanxi province have received education, far ahead of Jiangsu province that had a little more than 20 percent. (Tao, 1925, p. 147)

In April 1919, the Ministry of Education held the first conference for *Jiaoyu diaochahui* 教育調查會 (the Investigation of Education) in Beijing. Sixty educational leaders including Cai Yuanpei, Jiang Menglin, and Fan Yuanlian (1876-1927) attended the conference (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, p. 113). The main task was to set forth new educational aims. With the defeat of Germany in World War I, the esteem for the German educational system as well as the Japanese system promptly faded away. Chinese educators felt that the educational aim of China should be altered to follow the world trend that was opposed to militarism. Comparing the differences in educational aims of England, France and the United States, the educators suggested China adopt the American model. Inspired by the Allied victory and Wilsonian spirit in World War I, Chinese republicans saw it a great opportunity to build a modern democratic state in which the strength of the state relied on the strength of the individual citizen, rather than on military power. According to them, a new China was in need of citizenries capable of thinking independently and taking up public responsibilities (pp. 115-116).

At the conference, Jiang Menglin submitted a motion *Jiaoyu zongzhi yanjiu'an* 教育宗旨研究案 (Study of Educational Aims), calling to abolish the educational aim set forth in 1912 and to refine it along American lines. The new aim was phrased as "to cultivate a sound personality and develop a republican spirit." Jiang went on to explain that "a sound personality" denoted 1)

attaining moral excellence, one relating to *si'de* 私德 (the individual) and the other to *gongde* 公德 (the public); 2) acquiring the knowledge and ability to meet the demands and needs of daily life; 3) getting a healthy and strong body; and 4) staying positive. Jiang contended that the republican spirit was embodied in self-governance. According to him, people's lack of a republican spirit and being incapable of self-governance led to the political turmoil in China (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 116-117).

Later, in October of the same year, *Quanguo jiaoyuhui lianhehui diwuci huiyi* 全國教育會聯合會第五次會議 (the Fifth Annual Conference of the National Federation of Educational Association) endorsed the change to the educational aims. This conference actually marked the beginning of the educational reorganization along American lines. It passed many motions aimed at developing students' individual aptitudes. It also called for the establishment of clubs for the youth in order to cultivate patriotism and citizenship. At the conference, the Ministry of Education passed a resolution to expand the Boy Scout movement. The object of the movement was "to cultivate in the youth the sentiment of public and national loyalty as well as the habit of obeying regulations" (Zhu, 1983, vol. 4, p. 12). These "student clubs" and "youth clubs" recruited not only students but also other young people from society. They engaged the youth in all sorts of political movements to enhance their awareness of their responsibility in school and national affairs.

It is worth noting that during this period many American professors, including John Dewey (1859-1952), Paul Monroe (1869-1947), G. R. Twiss (1863-1944), and William A. McCall (1891-1982), visited China and helped their Chinese contemporaries to reorganize the educational system. Among them, Dewey played an incomparable role in the promotion of liberalism and democratic education in China. As students of Dewey at Columbia University,

Jiang Menglin and Hu Shi arranged a visiting professorship for Dewey from 1919 to 1921. They hoped that Dewey would point the direction and define the content for China's new education reform (Keenan, 1977, p. 23).

Dewey's lectures in China were mostly derived from his book *Democracy and Education* and compiled into the Chinese version *Du-wei san da yanjiang* 杜威三大演講 (Dewey's Three Major Lectures) in 1924. His Chinese audiences were introduced to democracy and the philosophy of experimentalism in the same breadth. According to Dewey, democracy, the experimental method, and democratic education formed an equilateral triangle connected through modern science (Dewey, 1924). Dewey criticized the traditional perception of the role of the school as simply to impart a defined body of knowledge rather than to focus on the growth of the child's intelligence. The concept of modern education that Dewey introduced to China began from the child's instincts and focused on individual development through the child-centered curriculum. Dewey argued that the natural instincts and inherent dispositions of a child formed "the natural foundation of education" (Dewey, 1924, p. 240). Dewey also criticized the way ethics was taught in Chinese schools and pointed to the false belief that morality could be presented as a body of facts and knowledge. He maintained that child-centered education should be a priority for China and that education be liberated from the model of teachers' passing knowledge and students' passive learning.

What is more, Dewey emphasized the role of "socialization" in school. According to him, socialization in school could select appropriate elements of the present society and incorporate them into school life so as to promote social progress. Thus, Dewey suggested including current issues in the curriculum so that a "miniature society" would be created in the schoolhouse and students' reformist attitudes would be fostered. He maintained that socialization of the child

should not only develop his or her critical attitude toward tradition, but also develop his or her critical judgment about contemporary social and political conditions. In other words, educational socialization was aimed to prepare the child to participate in and help build an open, democratic society. Moreover, Dewey intended to use educational socialization to prepare the world for international understanding and cooperation. With increasingly close contact among nations, it was Dewey's hope that teachers in different countries could convey a clear understanding of other cultures so that international contacts could gradually be on the level of cultural exchange and replace the past record of military conflicts. When Dewey left China, he gave his audiences the following advice:

> The program of educational development for China must be worked out on the spot by those engaged in actual educational work. Prescription and detailed borrowing will both be fatal. Moreover the program must not only be worked out on the spot but it must be developed experimentally, and be flexible and not uniform" (Dewey, 1921a, p. 211).

Throughout his two years in China, Dewey was frequently compared to Confucius by his Chinese disciples (Keenan, 1977, p. 11). At the moment of Dewey's visit, the May Fourth Student Movement took place. Dewey observed the movement with more than passing interest. He reported frequently back to the United States about it. According to Dewey, the May Fourth Movement was "stirred by democratic ideals, and is starting out with the premise that democracy must be realized in education and in industry before it can be realized politically" (1921b, p. 584). He thought highly of the student movement and regarded it as an intellectual awakening as well as a new source of hope for China. The following excerpts revealed Dewey's opinions:

> A universal feeling operates that the comparative failure of the Revolution [of 1911] is due to the fact that political change far outran intellectual and moral preparation; that political revolution was formal and external; that an intellectual revolution is required before the nominal governmental revolution can be cashed ……" (p. 584)

> It was the manifestation of a new consciousness, an intellectual awakening in the young men and young women who through their schooling had been aroused to the necessity of

> a new order of belief, a new method of thinking. The movement is secure no matter how much its outward forms may alter or crumble. (p. 585)

These echo Chow's (1960) description of the May Fourth elites who "expressed their personal feelings and fought for their concerns with greater passion than any of their predecessors" (p. 220).

Nevertheless, seeing an increasing number of school strikes and violent confrontations, more and more educators began to renounce political activities and voice the necessity of getting the students to return to the school. The liberal reformers and educators such as Hu Shi, Jiang Menglin, and Tao Xingzhi rejected political confrontation as a tactic. They hoped that student demonstrations would serve as non-political alternatives for social change and claimed that the best way to change imperialistic power politics was through a democratic alliance of the world's powers. Moreover, they insisted on the priority of building a new intellectual and cultural base before more political change was attempted. However, in reality student patriotic protests had gone out of control. Students not just reacted against the undemocratic political environment and demanded the independence of their institutions from warlord conspiracy but even confronted their liberal teachers and accused them as the representatives of status quo (Keenan, 1977, pp. 74 -79).

The sixth annual conference of the National Federation of Educational Association in 1920 passed a resolution for the promotion of student self-government. It was aimed at stimulating a love of the nation and developing a sense of responsible citizenship among the students, for they would be the future leaders of the nation. Student self-government played an important role in the May Fourth Movement. At the same conference, another resolution was passed urging for the democratization of educational control so that teachers, students, local administrators, and the people of the community might have more say in conducting educational

affairs. This same conference also passed several resolutions concerned with the promotion of Chinese education among the Mongols and Tibetans. The aim was to consolidate the Republic by bringing the culture of these people into harmony with that of China. A Mongolian Educational Committee was to be set up to draw up suitable textbooks, compile Mongolian literature and to promote lectures on Mongolian life and customs. The government was also urged to establish and provide for financing of a Mongolian University. Mongolian and Tibetan literature and language were to be taught along with Chinese literature and language. Nevertheless, political instability and lack of funding prevented the implementation of these plans to any great degree (the National Library of China, vol. 4, p. 112).

In 1922, the Education Ministry accepted the demands of the American-trained Chinese educators and promulgated the 1922 school reform decree that was intended to reorganize the Chinese education system along American lines. It is worth noting that despite a tendency to reinstate the status of the classics under the reign of Yuan Shikai, who attempted to make Confucianism the national religion between 1913 and 1916, the curricula and textbooks formulated in 1912 remained unchanged until the creation of the New School System in 1922. Administratively the reorganization of elementary and secondary school years was legislated to follow the United States model of a 6-3-3 system, with three years each for junior and senior high school (Zhu, 1983, vol. 4, pp. 45-47). Both John Dewey and Paul Monroe participated in the meetings where Chinese reformers had drafted the reform decree. The aims of the new system were stated as follows:

1. To adapt itself to a changed and changing society
2. To promote the spirit of democracy
3. To develop individuality
4. To take into special consideration the economic status of the average citizen
5. To adjust education to the needs of life
6. To facilitate the spread of public education

7. To make education flexible enough to allow for local variations (Trans. by Luh, 1923, p. 1)

In contrast to the traditional perception of education as a command of a fixed body of classical knowledge and a means of obtaining official appointment, the new education reform emphasized the growth of the child and associated the training of the individual to social needs by introducing more practical and vocational instruction. The School Reform Decree of 1922 also incorporated several of the aims of the reform movement into a new school system. For instance, the promotion of the spirit of democratic education formed the cardinal principle of reform sentiment, which was intended to bring Chinese education into accord with the ideals of a democratic republic. Moreover, in line with the goals of gender equality, the New School System made few distinctions between the curriculum standards for boys' and girls' schools. Both boys and girls were expected to learn to be modern citizens. Yet, gender distinction can still be perceived in the curricula of lower middle school handicrafts classes, particularly in the area of skills training. The boys' curriculum focused on woodwork, metalwork, and design skills while the girls' handicraft curriculum emphasized household skills such as cooking, sewing, embroidering, and tending gardens (Bailey, 2001; Judge, 2002; McElroy, 2001; Shu, 1929).

The School Reform Decree of 1922 was interpreted as the high point of the influence of the United States on Chinese education (Keenan, 1977; Pepper, 1996). In fact, the provisions of the decree were drafted and carried out by a group of educators without the sanction of the Ministry of Education. This suggests a relatively liberal environment at the time. However, it did not last long. The educational aims of 1922 became too liberal for China after 1925. In what follows I will examine the curriculum and textbooks of the core subjects of citizenship education during this period.

Ethics/Civics

Revisions were made to the curriculum in line with the educational aims set forth by the Ministry of Education in 1912. The primary school curriculum adopted a new subject "Social Studies," which included courses on hygiene, citizenship, geography and history. The aim of the civics course was to train students to be members of a home, of a community and citizens of a nation, who meanwhile appreciated the spirit of democracy. Specifically, the first year of the primary school was focused on the home; in the second year general conditions of the school and the community; in the third year, the conditions in the district and the province; the fourth year the state and the responsibilities of national citizenship; in the fifth year the organization of the function of school and local government, and the citizen's responsibilities, and finally the organization and function of the country, province, and state, and duties of the citizen in the sixth year. Pedagogically, the virtues easier to teach were covered first and followed by the virtues relating to the community and finally to the nation. Moreover, it provided for instruction in ethical judgment and attitude along with the promotion of the spirit of patriotic and social service.

At the secondary level, more practical, vocational instruction was introduced so as to meet the existing social needs. At the lower middle school level, the civics class consisted of ethics, law, and economics. Specifically, the object of the ethics course in the first year was to instruct about the general relation of a person to his/her world; in the second, students were to be taught their duty toward the nation; in the third, their duty to their race and to themselves; and in the fourth year, general principles of ethics were to be taught along with the peculiar characteristics and virtues of China. In the final year, students were instructed about legal and economic systems. Law and economics courses mostly focused on a factual recitation of the constitution, the main institutions of the state, and an introduction to basic concepts of legal theory and

market-oriented economics. At the higher middle school level, the civics course was one of elective courses. The emphasis was on social issues. It not only gave students a foundation in common moral knowledge but also exposed students to the organization of social life that included both interest groups and local self-government organizations. It also paid attention to international relations (Kuo, 1915, 1972; Peake, 1970; Ren, 1936, 1963; Shu, 1933, 1990).

Following the foundation of the Republic, the Commercial Press compiled and published *Gongheguo jiaokeshu* 共和國教科書 (Republican Textbook Series). This series fit the demands set forth by the Ministry of Education that all the textbooks should accord with the Republican objectives. Besides complying with the educational aim of cultivating republican citizens, the editors also took into consideration children's cognitive development. They published an article, *Bianji gongheguo jiaokeshu de qiyuan* 編輯共和國教科書的源起 (Birth of Republican Textbook Series), in the *Journal of Education*, revealing 14 key ideas behind the compilation of this set of textbooks. Below are listed the first five points:

1. To emphasize the spirit of liberty and equality, the virtue of cooperation, and the habit of obeying the law.
2. To promote the peculiar characteristics of China.
3. To popularize knowledge about forms of government along with the general facts about politics.
4. To advocate egalitarianism among five races (Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, Tibetans and Muslims).
5. To promote a culture of philanthropy through extending love to others. (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, pp. 260-261)

It is noteworthy that this series was named after the form of government. This was for the first and only time in the history of Chinese education. Moreover, it holds the record in the publishing history of textbooks in terms of the number of the reprints (Shi, 2011). Between 1912 and 1925, The *Republican Textbook Series* produced 20 varieties, 140 volumes of textbooks and teacher's manuals for the lower primary school, 25 varieties, 118 volumes for the higher primary

school, and 36 varieties, 53 volumes for the middle school (Wu & Shi, 2013). It is noteworthy that in 2011, scholars in Mainland China reprinted the sets of *Republican Chinese Language Arts* and *Republican Ethics,* which triggered a new wave of interest in education of the Republic.

In June 1912 the Commercial Press finished the complete set of *Gongheguo jiaoheshu xin xiushen (Chuxiao)* 共和國教科書新修身 (初小) (Republican New Ethical Readers for Lower Primary Schools) (8 vols.) and for *Gaoxiao* 高小 (Higher Primary Schools) (6 vols.) (see Appendix A). They were accompanied by 14 volumes of teachers' manuals. Illustrations filled the first two volumes of the lower primary school textbooks. These pictures reflected the new look of the country as well as the new appearance of the people. For instance, the first lesson in volume one titled *Going to School* (See Appendix B) depicted the five-color flag of the Republic hanging on the school gate, students in school uniform, and parents in suits or traditional *changshan* 長衫 (long gown). It is interesting to note that in the picture the girls were among their boy peers. This suggests that co-education had been implemented in the primary school.

The objective of *Ethical Readers for Lower Primary Schools* was stated in the preface as "to cultivate citizens of the Republic." The editors went on to explain:

> With the establishment of the Republic, the immediate priority for the Republican government is to improve the people's morality. A nation is made up of many different individuals. The power and prosperity of a nation depends on its people's moral and intelligent development. Thus this set of *Ethical Readers* is aimed to cultivate *guomin* 國民 (citizens) for a great nation.

With respect to the pedagogy, the editors emphasized learning through practice. Textbook content focused primarily on common sense rather than the abstract moral preaching. The lower primary school textbooks were mostly filled with local and foreign stories, fables, and adages, whereas the higher primary school textbooks incorporated moral stories into didactic teaching. What is more, some topics frequently appeared throughout the entire set and were arranged from

simple to complicated to suit children's cognitive development. Among the most frequent topics were: filial piety, sibling love, friendship, hygiene, proper eating habits, good saving habits, valuing time, diligence, concentration, self-efficacy, introspection, integrity, bravery, public morality, fairness, caring for animals and nature, caring for people, etc. For instance, the theme of fairness in volume two of the lower primary school textbooks was conveyed through an illustration with a parent giving a pomegranate to each of three children (vol. 2, p. 9, See Appendix C). In volume eight, this theme was extended to the concept of *pingdeng* 平等 (egalitarianism). The text stated: "In a Republic, there is neither a monarch nor aristocrats. All people are born equal and not divided into classes. Rights and duties of citizens are protected and enforced by law and can't be infringed. This is called real equality" (vol. 8, p. 10).

Gongde 公德 (public morality) is another frequent theme. It appeared five times throughout the series and was extended to the notion of *gongyi* 公益 (public welfare) three times. In the second volume of the lower primary school textbooks, the lesson on "public morality" was conveyed through an illustration depicting a woman picking up broken pieces of a pot from the street ground with a child standing aside watching (vol. 2, p. 13. See Appendix D). In volume five, this theme was discussed in the form of a dialogue between a grandfather and his seven-year-old granddaughter at the dinner table. The grandfather asked: "Why shouldn't one place his/her forearms on the table when sitting with others side by side?" The granddaughter replied: "To avoid inconveniencing others" (vol. 5, p. 9). Then in the sixth volume of the higher primary school textbooks, lesson thirteen applied the Confucian motto "don't do onto others what you don't what others to do onto you" to define public morality. It was followed by a list of guiding principles, among which were: "not vandalizing; respecting others' privacy; being punctual; not burdening others with difficult tasks; caring for the elderly and the young; and

providing help for people in need" (vol. 6, p. 9). The idea of public morality was also associated with the notion of public welfare. An adage in volume four of the higher primary school textbooks summarized the relationship between public interest and private interest, noting that "Public interest is compatible with private interest" (vol. 4, p. 11).

As discussed in the preceding chapter, many late-Qing intellectuals such as Liang Qichao, Yan Fu, and Kang Youwei sternly criticized the localism of the Chinese people and attributed it to the Confucian priority of *si'de* 私德 (personal morality) over *gongde* 公德 (public morality). They argued that the focus of *si'de* on personal, dual relations hindered the development of the individual's sense of responsibility to society. According to them, public morality tied the individual to society and was the key to progressive social development. Thus, they called for the promotion of a civic morality to supplement personal morality. From the analysis of the textbook content above, it is fair to say that the notion of public morality was conveyed in a didactically sound manner.

In addition to improving the people's morality, this set of *Ethical Readers* also discussed rights and duties of citizens. The second volume of the higher primary school textbooks had topics on liberalism, peacemaking, and humanitarianism. The lesson on liberalism discussed the concept of freedom as follows:

> As human beings, we are endowed by heaven with freedoms and rights that include freedom of the person, freedom of thoughts, and freedom of religion. To be more specific, personal liberty cannot be deprived unless one is convicted of a crime. Freedom of thoughts cannot be violated if one is the owner of his or her ideas, publications, and literary works. Freedom of religion denotes religious believes cannot be interfered by force or threat of force. Our nation is built on the rule of law and governed by the republican form of government. Thus, people are entitled to exercise rights and enjoy freedoms. (vol. 2, p. 10)

Volume six had lessons on charity, philanthropy, human rights, international law, and citizens of the Republic of China. With regard to rights, it stated:

> Rights belong to every citizen and shall not be infringed. There are two sorts of rights – political rights and individual rights. Political rights include rights of participation in society politics such as freedom of association and the right to vote. Political rights are beneficial to the society. Individual rights include the protection of people's life and safety, private property and freedom of religion. Where there exits individual consciousness, there are uninfringeable individual rights. (vol. 6, p. 14)

This is for the first time that the concept of political and civil rights appeared in Chinese textbooks. This is an indicator of increasing awareness of rights among the Chinese intelligentsia.

It is worth noting that in 1914 the Zhonghua Press published an influential book *Gongmin mofan* 公民模範 (the Model Citizen) by Weng Changzhong. Though not a textbook, this book was the earliest treatment of the concept of modern citizenship in the Chinese language. The author criticized the Confucian idea of *xiushen* 修身 (cultivating oneself) for not being suitable for the present need. He urged replacing the *xiushen* texts with civics readers so as to extend the old loyalty to the family to the nation as well as the world. According to Weng, civics education should be primarily concerned with the modern world. He selected passages from famous western writers on the general subject of citizenship. Many of the translations were taken from the speeches of great western patriots rendering a nationalistic interpretation of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. The book had a wide sale and reached its sixth reprint in 1926. In effect, it paved the way for the flourishing of citizenship education in the 1920s.

Gongmin xuzhi 公民须知 (What Citizens Ought to Know) (see Appendix A) published by the Commercial Press in January 1916 was the first textbook that the word *gongmin* 公民 (citizen) was adopted in the textbook title. In October of the same year, the Ministry of Education issued a decree requiring that *What Citizens Ought to Know* should be jointly taught with *Ethical Readers*. *What Citizens Ought to Know* consisted of five sections and fifteen chapters. Topics ranged from citizens' rights (freedom, equality, voting and political participation), citizens' duties

(paying taxes, purchasing government bonds, performing military service, obeying the law, and compulsory education), local autonomy (resident registration and policing service, charity organizations, public security department), to organization of the country (state system, the form of government, legislation, judiciary, and administration).

In 1913, commissioned by the Ministry of Education, Fan Bingqing wrote *Gongheguo jiaokeshu xiushen yaoyi* 共和國教科書修身要義 (the Republican Series: Essentials of Ethics for Middle Schools)(2 vols.) (see Appendix A). This series was intended for use in the middle school. Volume one carried on with the discussions, but in depth, about the cultivation of personal morality as well as citizenship. Topics included: self-governance, self-cultivation, career, citizen's rights and duties, public morality, and justice. Volume two placed an emphasis on the students' duty to their family and clan, the traditional five relationships of society, and the peculiar characteristics of Chinese culture. Although it argued that the former loyalty of the subject to the Emperor should now be replaced by loyalty to the nation, the second volume of this series seems too preoccupied with the teaching of Confucianism and the classics. The author might have attempted to seek for a synthesis by combining Chinese morals with Western notions of rights and citizenship, but confusion arose as modern ideas and ancient moral teachings were discussed in different ways and separate volumes rather than through a holistic approach.

During the New Culture Movement, the leading educators urged to substitute the *xiushen* texts with civics readers modeled after the West. The fifth conference of the National Educational Association in 1919 passed two resolutions. One of them provided for the general revision of primary and middle school textbooks and suggested more local material should be put in the texts with less of a nationalistic nature. The other resolution motion claimed that the authority and power of the Republic should be embodied in its citizens; thus it was essential to teach the

students the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. It revised regulations on civics education, asserting that the main objective was to teach the students what a citizen ought to know. The same conference also defined the content of the new civics curriculum and textbooks. The civics education consisted of four parts: hygiene, ethics, law, and economics. Hygiene was to teach students how to fortify their bodies. Ethics was to teach all kinds of virtues, ranging from the relationship with the family, the community, the race, to the national and the international society. Law was to inform the students on the national legal system and its function in regulating the society, as well as the basic principles of international law. In addition, students were also to be taught about their civil rights and responsibilities. As to economics, the emphasis was to be placed on national economy. Students were to be taught how the nation gained its livelihood. They were also to be informed on industrial and labor problems (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 2, p. 120).

In December 1922, a committee was appointed to outline the *New Educational System Curriculum.* They drafted *Zhongxiaoxue kecheng gangyao* 中小學課程綱要 (Curriculum Outline for the Primary and Middle School). It officially put an end to the *xiushen* (self-cultivation) course and replaced it with *shehui* 社會 (society) for the lower primary school and *gongmin* 公民 (civics) for the higher primary school. With civics course replacing ethics class, citizenship education made its first appearance in education in China. In 1925 *Jiangsu jiaoyu hui* 江蘇教育會 (the Educational Association of Jiangsu) held a conference on citizenship education and drew up eight citizenship creeds. They included: 1) developing self-mastery; 2) nurturing the spirit of cooperation; 3) promoting the spirit of fair play; 4) cultivating the habit of respecting public order; 5) performing legal duties 6) protecting public property; 7) paying attention to the public hygiene; 8) developing interest in international affairs (Ren, 1936, 1974, pp. 373-374). What is more, in 1924 *Jiangsu sheng jiaoyuting* 江蘇省教育廳 (the Education Department of

Jiangsu), *Shanghai jiatingri xinhui* 上海家庭日新會 (the Shanghai New Association of Family Day), the Chinese YMCA, and *Zhonghua zhiye jiaoyushe* 中華職業教育社 (the National Association of Vocational Education of China) jointly launched the citizenship education movement across the nation. In their manifesto it stated: "The primary reason for China's feebleness facing foreign invasions lies in its people's indifference to and ignorance of their duties. Enforcing citizenship education is the only solution" (p. 371).

It is worth noting that the Chinese YMCA played a leading role in promoting the citizenship education movement and spreading citizenship education from school to society. The Chinese YMCA was founded in 1885 and consisted of *chengshi qingnianhui* 城市青年會 (Urban Youth Group) and *xuexiao qingnianhui* 學校青年會 (School Youth Group). After the establishment of the Republic, the Chinese replaced their American leader and assumed the executive director position (Wu, 2010, p. 55). In 1924 the Chinese YMCA issued *Gongmin yundong de xuanyan* ji jihua 公民運動的宣言及計劃 (the Manifesto and Plan of the Citizenship Education Movement), proposing to organize an event of citizenship education week every year during the commemorating period of the May Fourth Student Movement. What is more, it suggested to ally the local educational groups and interested individuals to establish the citizenship education study society. The objective of the study society was "to examine all sorts of issues relating to citizenship education, to enhance people's awareness of the importance of citizen's duty, and to engage in social services and other activities" (p. 56).

In response to the advocacy of the Chinese YMCA, educational groups across the nation launched the citizenship education movement between 1924 and 1927. Among various activities were crafting citizen badges, singing civic songs, giving speeches, organizing discussion forums, debates, and tests on current affairs, as well as simulating elections and voting (Wu, 2010, p. 27).

The press also contributed to this movement by reporting events, publishing books and special issues, and organizing book exhibits. *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* 教育与人生 (Education and Life), a weekly journal affiliated to *Shen bao* 申報 (Shanghai Newspaper), published a special issue on the citizenship education movement on May 26, 1924. *Shen Bao* printed a special issue in its education column on May 3, 1926, discussing the nature and importance of citizenship education, as well as the new trends of citizenship education. *Xin jiaoyu pinglun* 新教育評論 (New Education Review) published in 1926 *Gongmin jiaoyu zhuanhao* 公民教育專號 (the Special Issue on Citizenship Education), focusing on interpretations of the eight citizenship creeds set forth by the Educational Association of Jiangsu. The Commercial Press organized a book exhibit during the citizenship education week of May 1926. It displayed over two hundred varieties of civics books (Wu, 2010, p. 57). It is noteworthy that the Commercial Press played an important part in the promotion of citizenship education. In addition to textbooks and teachers' manuals, it also published a wide range of complementary books on citizenship education. Among many were *Xiaoxue gongmin xunlian zhi lilun yu shijin* 小學公民訓練之理論與實際 (Theory and Practice of Citizenship Training in the Primary School), *Gongmin jiaoxuefa* 公民教學法 (Pedagogy of Citizenship Education), *Minquan chubu zhaiyao* 民權初步摘要 (Brief Introduction to Rights), *Hao gongmin* 好公民 (Good Citizen), *Zenyang zuo gongmin* 怎樣做公民 (How to Become a Citizen) (Fu, 2011).

In 1924 the Commercial Press published *Xin xuezhi gongmin jiaokeshu* 新學制公民教科書 (The New Educational System Civics Textbook) (see Appendix A); four volumes were intended for use in the higher primary school and three volumes for the middle school. Each volume of the higher primary school textbooks covered sixteen chapters. Volume one was aimed

at developing a good child in family, school, and society. Topics ranged from filial piety and mutual aid in family, regulations and standing order in school, simulated civic meetings to village autonomy. Volume two discussed career, community welfare, respect of the rights of others, county and municipal autonomy, public-spiritedness, voting, and ruling by law. In chapter eleven on *Social Leaders,* the text pointed out: "Chinese people used to be indifferent to social affairs. Among various reasons was the lack of social leaders. Good social leaders should meet at least three requirements: being enthusiastic, being prudent, and having knowledge of politics along with common sense" (vol, 2, p. 39). Chapter sixteen *The Spirit of Laws* discussed the importance of ruling by law. After listing shocking examples of ruling by man, the text explained: "Parliament was established following the foundation of the Republic. Members of parliament elected by the people propose, write, and help to pass laws. ……. The law binds people but also protects them. This is called the rule of law" (vol. 2, p. 43).

Volume three introduced the forming and function of the provincial council as well as parliament, outlined the voting process, and explained the representative system, citizens' rights and duties. Chapter five detailed the representative system as follows:

> As far as parliament is concerned, members of parliament should be aware that they represent the people. No matter what they propose, it should be premised on the welfare of the people. As for the government, first, the administrative leader should present to the parliament a detailed report on financial and political matters. Second, all laws should be approved by the parliament. As for the people, although they choose members of parliament to represent them to exercise the administrative power, they have responsibility for supervising members of parliament. This is called the spirit of the representative system. (vol 3, p. 66)

Chapter sixteen further discussed what constituted good government. Good officials and laws were no doubt the primary driving force behind a good government, but the most important impetus was good citizens. Good citizens should keep themselves interested in politics and take voting seriously. Volume four focused on international relations and laws. Overall, this set of

civics textbooks was aimed at preparing students to be members of a home, of a community, citizens of a nation, and members of an international society.

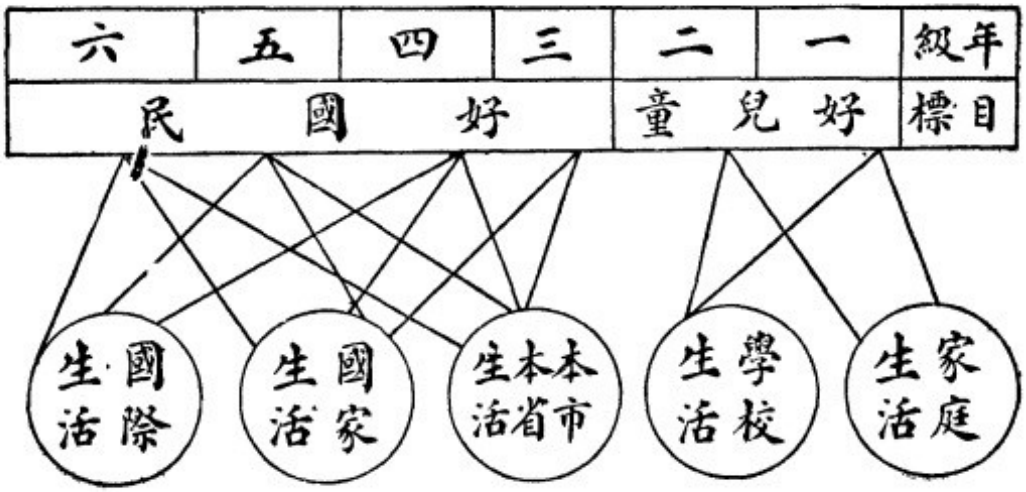
In 1923 the Commercial Press published *Xinzhu gongmin xuzhi* 新著公民须知 (Revised: What a Citizen Should Know) (see Appendix A) for use in the middle school. The authors, Gu Shusen and Pan Wen'an, defined citizens as the people of one nation who enjoyed various rights within the nation and in turn were responsible for the development of the nation. Gu and Pan attributed China's weakness to the lack of a sense of responsibility on the part of its citizens. They made distinctions between the Confucian morality and the modern conception of citizenship, arguing that the highly developed family organization was the reason for the lack of patriotism among the Chinese. Accordingly, they advocated the nuclear family as in the West. In the discussion of public morality, the authors extolled the United States as being an example of a nation whose people are motivated by national morality and ruled by laws. They also talked about nationalism and internationalism, asserting that at present it was the period of nationalities. According to Gu and Pan, international morality should be developed along national lines, for a world community as yet far distant. They contended that in a real democracy the people should be in charge of the conduct of foreign affairs. On the whole, this set of civics textbooks was broad and liberal in their treatment of the subjects, with an emphasis on nationalist ethics.

Drawing on the practice of citizenship education during that period, Zhang Limin (1924) drew a chart outlining the goals and focuses of the civics courses taught in the primary school as follows:

A、教學綱要

茲將各學年之教材中心及教學綱要述之於下：

(a)教材中心



As the chart shows, the civics courses of grade one and two were aimed at developing a good child. Textbook contents were focused on school and family life. From grade three to six, the objective was to cultivate a good citizen. Emphasis was given to local, national, and world-related matters. This chart made a good summary of the implementation of civic education in the primary school in line with the New Educational System of 1922.

Chinese Language Arts

Along with ethics and civics textbooks, Chinese language arts of this period shared the responsibility of promoting citizenship education. Between 1912 and 1913, the Commercial Press published *Gongheguo xin jiaokeshu xin guowen (Chuxiao)* 共和國新教科書新國文〈初小〉 (Republican Chinese Language Arts for Lower Primary Schools) (8 vols.) and for *Gaoxiao* 高小 (Higher Primary Schools) (6 vols.) (see Appendix A).These two sets were similar in scope and

viewpoint but for the lower primary students the language used was simpler. It sold more than 70,000,000 copies within ten years (Shi, 2011, p. 7).

Texts for the lower primary school were mostly concerned with students' daily life, ranging from household activities, games, animals, plants, geographic and historical facts, to historical stories. The first lesson of volume one was on the Chinese word *ren* 人 (person), with an illustration of a three-generation family (see Appendix E). In the picture, there was no sign of *bianzi* 辮子[25]. From subjects to the Throne to an independent person, this is a noteworthy milestone. Lesson ten used an illustration of the five-color national flag of the Republic to teach the words of red, yellow, blue, white, and black (see Appendix F).

From grade four on, texts with respect to Western technology and general knowledge of politics were covered. What is more, the selected texts also attached great value to practical knowledge. For instance, there was a text *Postal Services* in volume eight in the lower primary school series, in which a detailed introduction to the types of postal services along with their respective prices was provided. Other topics introducing practical knowledge included traditional productions such as growing tea trees, silk making, pottery making, cotton plantation, mining, and pearl hunting, as well as modern economic knowledge such as public bonds, monetary policy, rent tax, insurance, and business. Traditional Confucian education ignored and even despised industrial pursuits. But after the humiliating encounter with the West, the Chinese began to realize the importance of industry. Both the 1906 and 1912 Educational Aims emphasized respecting for industrial pursuit.

Promoting social awareness among children was another important goal of *Chinese Language Arts* textbooks. Lower primary school series were primarily focused on traditional

[25] It is a male hairstyle (long and braided into a ponytail) worn by the Manchu people. It was imposed on the Han Chinese in the Qing dynasty.

ethical virtues, such as filial piety, caring for younger siblings, honesty, repaying favors, perseverance, diligence and frugality, etc. Modern ideas of freedom, equality, rights and responsibilities were incorporated into the textbooks as well. In the lower primary school *Chinese Language Arts*, texts included *the Republic* (lesson 3, vol. 7), *Equality* (lesson 4, vol. 7)*, Freedom* (lesson 5 & 6, vol. 7)*, the Republic* (lesson 3, vol. 7)*, Patriotism* (lesson 13, vol. 8)*, Voting Rights* (lesson 15, vol. 8)*, Charities* (lesson 36, vol. 8)*, Laws* (lesson 36, vol. 8)*, How to Treat Foreigners* (lesson 48, vol. 8)*,* etc. These themes were elaborated on in more depth in the higher primary school textbooks.

The objective of Chinese language arts textbooks for the higher primary school was stated in the preface of volume one. The following are the excerpts:

1. To create Republican citizens by emphasizing the spirit of liberty and equality, the virtue of cooperation, and the habit of obeying the law.
2. To arouse patriotic feeling among the people by promoting the peculiar characteristics of China.
3. To improve moral intelligence of the people through reforming bad customs and traditions.
4. To develop people's political capabilities and to promote political participation by popularizing knowledge about forms of government along with the general facts about politics.
5. To consolidate the foundation of the Republic by advocating egalitarianism among five races (Chinese, Manchus, Mongolians, Tibetans and Muslims).
6. To raise people's tolerance levels by promoting a culture of philanthropy through extending love to others.

Topics relating to the first aim included: *Equality between Men and Women* (lesson 35, vol. 1), *Respect for Humanity* (lesson 36, vol. 1), *People's Rights and Responsibilities* (lesson 2, vol. 2)*, Independence* (lesson 35, vol. 2), *Benefits of Cooperation* (lesson 20, vol. 3), etc. The second aim was conveyed through a careful selection of classical readings. Texts reflecting the third aim included: *On Habits* (lesson 3, vol. 2), *Quit Gambling* (lesson 12, vol. 4), *Quit Drinking* (lesson 13, vol. 4), *On Early Marriage* (lesson 4, vol. 6), etc. The fourth aim was conveyed

through discussing the topics such as: *State System and Forms of Government* (lesson 1, vol. 1), *George Washington* (lesson 3 & 4, vol. 1), *Republican System of Government* (lesson 22, vol. 1), *the Nation-State* (lesson 32, vol. 3), *Citizens* (lesson 33, vol. 3), *Local Autonomy* (lesson 4, vol. 4), *Exemplary Countries for the Republican System* (lesson 31, vol. 4), *the Spirit of Republicanism* (lesson 32, vol. 4), *Provisional Constitution of the Republic of China* (lesson 33, vol. 4), *Political Parties* (lesson 1, vol. 6), etc. Texts concerning the fifth aim included: *The Rise of the Yuan Dynasty* (lesson 33, vol. 1), *Expatriate Chinese* (lesson 37, vol. 1), *War and Peace* (lesson 8, vol. 5), *Causes of Integration and Division among Ethnic Groups* (lesson 9, vol. 5), etc. Texts on the sixth aim included: *Repay Enmity with Virtue* (lesson 29, vol. 2), *Charities* (lesson 17, vol. 3), *International Red Cross* (lesson 19, vol. 3), *Philanthropy* (lesson 24, vol. 3), *Freedom of Religion* (lesson 1, vol. 5)*, Types of Religions* (lesson 2, vol. 5), *Compassion* (lesson 31, vol. 6), etc.

This set of the Chinese language arts textbooks was concluded with a call for *Great Citizens* (lesson 34, vol. 6). The text stated that great citizens were not determined by the expanse of land they occupied, nor by population. They perform corresponding duties as members of the family, of society, of the nation, and of the world. Such efforts as to incorporate modern civic and political knowledge into textbooks paved the way for a more thorough cultural reform.

It is worth noting that up until then, all textbooks were written in classical Chinese. In the first few years after the establishment of the Republic, the vernacular language was not yet given much attention, but a need was felt for making the classical language as simple as possible. With an increasing call to enforce the new written vernacular, the issue as to whether or how much to reduce reading and writing in classical language become critical. Since the Yuan dynasty, novels, dramas, and romantic histories had begun to adopt the Northern vernacular. By the close of the

Qing dynasty, such literature had fully developed and culminated in the popularity of the novels such as *Honglou meng* 紅樓夢 (The Dream of the Red Chamber*)* throughout the country. The advocacy of the vernacular language in modern China emerged after 1895. The prevailing feeling among the intellectuals of the time was that in order to save China they must first do something for the people. They became more and more aware of the need to simplify the classical language and writing in a language which the commoners could readily understand. Meanwhile, scholars were devoted to the creation of a national phonetic alphabet as an aid to teaching *guanhua* 官話 (mandarin Chinese). After 1919 it was known as *guoyu* 國語 (national language). At the conference for the Unification of the National Pronunciation (Quanguo duyin tongyi hui 全國讀音統一會) held in 1913, an alphabet of thirty-nine symbols was created; yet it was not officially adopted until November 1918.

The movement "to unify the national (spoken) language" became essential to the unification of the country. The vernacular movement was centered at Peking University, and the then President Cai Yuanpei gave it his support. The younger generation of modern intellectuals had exerted much influence in the promotion of the vernacular language. Many professors, including Hu Shi, Chen Duxiu, Zhou Zuoren, began publishing articles urging the use of the vernacular language in the magazines such as *Xin qingnian* 新青年 (the New Youth) and *Xin chao* 新潮 (the Renaissance). Despite opposition, many people, especially in educational circles, supported the use of the vernacular. At a Chinese Language Unification Conference held in April 1919, Hu Shi, Zhou Zuoren, along with others, managed to pass a motion claiming that the best way to promote mandarin Chinese was to change the primary school textbooks from national literature readers to Chinese Language Arts. Almost about the same time the May Fourth Student Movement of 1919 took place. The immediate effect of the Movement was that it hastened the

official adoption of the vernacular language. A motion was passed at the annual conference of Provincial Educational Associations in 1919, ordering all the lower primary schools to use vernacular textbooks and all higher primary schools to use both vernacular and the easy classical textbooks (Yin & Li, 2009, vol. 5, pp. 128-129).

In January 1920 the Ministry of Education commanded that beginning in the fall of that year vernacular textbooks should be used in the first two years of the primary schools (the National Library of China, 2004, vol 8, p. 89). Ye Shengtao, a prominent vernacular-language writer, was in charge of setting the standards of language curricula for the lower middle school language textbooks. Hu Shi was responsible for the middle school standards. The lower middle school curriculum required that a minimum of three-quarters of the first year, half of the second year, and one-quarter of the third year should be devoted to the vernacular language study. Hu Shi compiled a list of readings, including many texts with a cultural reformist agenda, such as fiction by Lu Xun, translations of Ibsen's plays, and collections of essays by Hu Shi, Liang Qichao, and Zhang Shizhao.

In 1923 Zhonghua Press published *Guoyu Duben* 國語讀本 (Chinese Language Arts Reader) (4 vols.) for use in higher primary schools. It was written in the vernacular language. Another series*, Xinzhi Guowen Jiaoben* 新制國文教本 (New Method Series Chinese Language Arts) (4 vols.), were published between 1922 and 1923. Various topics were discussed, including nationalism and international relations, the world war, martial bravery, and so on. The last volume of this set had five lessons on national geography, the peculiar characteristics of the Chinese people, and the duty of all Chinese to protect their country. The new language curriculum standards and textbooks reflected the prevailing vernacular language movement as well as social and cultural reform.

History and Geography

The Ministry of Education came to appreciate the value of courses on geography and history as a means to instill in the youth a sense of national patriotism and the desire to work for the salvation of the nation. Following *the School Reform Decree* of 1922, the aims of teaching history were stated as follows:

1. Cultivation in the students of the power of adjusting themselves to their environment through the study of evolution of the associated life of men.
2. Cultivation of "universal love" and the spirit of cooperation in students through the development of human sympathy.
3. Study of the cause and effect of past events in order to make students understand the truth concerning present affairs and enable them to seek solutions for modern social problems.
4. Guidance of the students constantly through the study of history, especially in its method, so as to develop their interest in, and to form the habit of, studying history. (Trans. by Peake, 1970, p. 113)

In the lower primary schools, the first two years of the history classes were devoted to stories. It usually began with Huang Di (the Yellow Emperor) and was followed by the accounts of main events of the various dynasties as well as the deeds and words of the great men in chronological order. In the third year the focus was on the life of primitive people, and of people in remote lands. The aim of teaching history in the higher primary schools was to inform the students of the general condition of the nation so as to encourage them to be good *guomin* 國民 (citizens) (Kuo, 1915, 1972, p. 142). Specifically, in the fourth year the history of inventions was given, along with the important events in modern history and general conditions of the Chinese people. Further important events in Chinese history were covered in the fifth year and continued in the sixth, with a few important events in world history (the National Library of China, 2004, vol. 9, p. 201). In the middle schools, the history courses in the first and second years were to be devoted to Chinese history; the third and fourth years to the history of eastern Asia and of the

West. World history was taught with the Chinese history in order to make students understand the evolution of the world's civilization as a whole (p. 203).

As for history textbooks of the 1910s, Culp (2007) noted that they sought to construct a deep historical root of the Chinese people by telling myths of the sage kings and the legendary heroes. For example, in 1913 *Gongheguo jiaokeshu: benguoshi* 共和國教科書:本國史 (Republican Textbook Series: Chinese History), the writer began the history of China with Huang Di, followed by a chronology of the main events of the various dynasties along with the deeds and sayings of the great men. In the similar way, Zhong Yulong in his *Xinzhi benguoshi* 新制本國史 (New System Textbook of History), published between 1914 and 1915, adopted tales of the mythical kings to reveal the creation of Chinese culture. Moreover, Zhong stressed a spirit of unification and offered evidence of the contribution of other ethnic groups that formed the Chinese nation (e.g. Mongol, Manchu, Muslim, and Tibetan) to the progress in China's past. In order to create the sense of unity, Zhong also traced a common racial origin of these different peoples and presented this common racial origin as a historical foundation for national unity. Nevertheless, these accounts of the origins of a proto-national Chinese community seemed almost primordial.

Influenced by critical methods of Western historiography, history textbook writers began to rely on more dependable written sources and archaeology, rather than mythic accounts of the past, when narrating Chinese history. The evidence of these methodological changes can be found in *Xiandai chuzhong jiaokeshu: benguoshi* 現代初中教科書:本國史 (Chinese History for Use in Lower Middle Schools) by Gu Jiegang and Wang Zhongqi in 1923. Gu and Wang were two leaders in China's modern schools of historical criticism. In the preface they stated that history should concern itself with real affairs and not confine itself to mere dynastic annals. This

book commenced with a long introduction to the geographical and racial basis of Chinese civilization. Drawing on various theories of the origins of the races of Eastern Asia, the authors identified seven races of China and came to a conclusion that the Chinese "race" was only a collective name and not a pure ethnographic group. It is worth noting that the authors omitted the model emperors. According to Gu and Wang, stories of the mythical ancient sage kings, such as Huang Di, Fuxi, and Shennong, had been created much later and used to support particular social institutions and political claims. They also criticized different theories about the origins of the Hua or Chinese people, arguing that they rested on unreliable sources. Therefore, rather than basing the modern unity of the Chinese people on a mythic ancient origin, the authors defined it as the product of continual evolution, through which the Han people assimilated other peoples.

With respect to geography courses, the aims of teaching geography were stated in the New Educational System as follows:

1. To study the relation of man to nature, in order to enable the student to adjust himself to his physiographic, economic, social, and political environment.
2. To explain to the student the real situation of economic interdependence among the nations, so as to develop international sympathy.
3. To tell students the position of China in the world, in order to cultivate the spirit of self-reliance and self-determination of a nation.
4. To lead (them) to a deep appreciation of the beauties of nature, so as to give (them) some aesthetic enjoyment. (Trans by Peake, 1970, pp. 113-114)

Geography courses in the primary schools worked to produce an image of Chinese nation as a geo-body. Students were taught not only the conditions within China and its political and economic relations with the other countries but also the geography of their birthplaces. In middle schools, the most part of the first two years was engaged with China; the third year dealt with foreign countries, and the fourth year provided an overview of natural and human geography (the National Library of China, 2004, vol. 9, p. 146). Publishers continued to produce separate world and Chinese geography textbooks throughout the 1920s (Peake, 1970, p. 115).

As Culp (2007) noted, most Republican-period geography textbooks took the boundaries of the last decade of the Qing as standard. For instance, in *Gongheguo jiaokeshu: benguo dili* 共和國教科書:本國地理 (Republican Textbook Series: Geography Textbook) of 1913, the editor Xie Guan took boundaries of the Qing dynasty as the basis for the contemporary national territory. The portrayal and maps of China's territory helped to define the national territory as a fixed shape and contributed to a normative conception of the national territory. Complementing the perception of a nation as both bounded and coherent, the schools also distributed the so-called *Map of China's National Humiliation* 中華國恥地圖 (Zhonghua Guochi Ditu). The map outlined the paradigmatic Qing-era boundaries while shading in the territories that had been "lost" to the imperialist powers and dating the time of their loss. In Xie's textbook, he revealed China's geo-political crisis by describing imperialist political and economic invasion into Tibet, Mongolia, and Xinjiang. He called for civic action to recover the old territory by suggesting that Han Chinese build better transport into these areas and improve the administration in order to consolidate the state control. In *Xiandai chuzhong jiaokeshu: benguo dili* 現代初中教科書:本國地理 (Modern Lower Middle School Textbook: Chinese Geography), Wang Zhongqi described the national territory metaphorically as being like a "mulberry leaf." Wang recounted the disasters as a result of the Qing's encounters with foreign imperialism: "Since the loss in the Opium War, there was a precedent for ceding territory to other people, surrendering Hong Kong to England as thanks for making peace. From this point on the national situation was ruined and the territory lost and concession areas surrendered with each defeat and treaty" (trans by Culp, 2007, p. 81). From the above examples, we detect two forms of geo-nationalism appeared as a result of two constructions of national territory. One is a defensive version that sought to consolidate the borders ultimately inherited from the Qing. The other is a more aggressive,

expansionist version that sought to reclaim China's place as a continental empire by absorbing territories under Qing influence at the dynasty's height.

In addition to their narrative of national unification, geography textbooks also revealed prominent differences and pluralism in custom, language, and religion between Han and other ethnic groups as well as within the Han majority itself. The diversity was reflected most clearly in the textbooks' discussions of language. For instance, Li Tinghan, in his *Xinzhi benguo dili jiaoben* 新制本國地理教本 (New System Series: Chinese Geography Textbook) of 1914-1915, documented many cultural and phenotypic differences among China's ethnic groups. This, as Culp (2007) concluded, suggested that the Chinese community was internally divided, despite ostensibly being unified by sharing a common racial background (p. 56).

To summarize, the 1911 revolution overthrew the Manchu dynasty and ended the imperial system, but it did not herald a successful republican state immediately. Instead, the old empire disintegrated into the feuding politics of the warlord era. Political, military, intellectual, and regional leaders went their separate ways, striving to find a consensus on which to build a new social order. Within the realm of education, intellectuals followed the shifting "world trends" by introducing one foreign-inspired model after another as they could not agree on how best to reconstitute the system of learning. In the first two years following the establishment of the Republic, the new government undertook a major reorganization in education, aiming to bring Chinese education into accord with the ideals of democracy, with an emphasis on the development of individuality. Although Yuan Shikai's restoration of monarchy between 1913 and 1916 disrupted the educational reform, the ensuing New Culture Movement and May Fourth Student Movement witnessed substantial Westernization and iconoclasm. The most dominant intellectual trends during this period included the adoption of Western science, admiration for

Western democracy, confidence in the power of education and cultural reform, and rejection of the cultural heritage of the Chinese past. As Duiker (1977) remarked, "there was general agreement in the progressive movement that one of China's urgent needs was to establish a new code of behavior" (p. 31). Accordingly, the objective of education was redefined as to cultivate republican citizens, and the function of education was to help construct a democratic society and produce competent citizens who could perform in representative government. In the textbooks the citizen was depicted as one of many social groupings, beginning with the family and culminating in the world community. Diverse avenues of instruction and training, including classroom instruction, lectures, reading groups, scouting activities, student self-government, conveyed mixed messages about citizenship and exposed students to various forms of citizenship. What is more, children's individuality was also the focus of citizenship education. Among various foreign liberal models, Dewey's idea of democratic education received a wide reception among the Chinese educators.

The rise and development of republican and democratic citizenship education in effect resonates with the emerging trends of individual rights advocacy of the time. As discussed in the preceding chapter, the rights advocacy between 1916 and 1925 placed greater emphasis on individual rights. This was a period when central authority was collapsing and was accompanied by a developing concept of federalism and local autonomy. In the eyes of progressives, the subordination of the individual, embodied in the traditional Confucian political system, was incompatible with democracy that emphasized freedom and self-realization. This, as Chow (1960) explained, showed that the May Fourth generation was more concerned with individual freedom and happiness than their predecessors (p. 222). Nevertheless, despite the efforts of the liberal reformers to separate education from political control and to create a democratic

citizenship education in China, the suppression from militarist governments coupled with May Fourth activism drew education even closer to politics. In the meantime, liberals' efforts to create a democratic citizenship education in China were thwarted when Japan's invasion threat was imminent. While Grieder (1972) concluded that the fierce environment in China at the time hindered the fulfillment of the principles of modern democracy, Meisner (1967) pointed to the inadequacy of Dewey's melioristic reformism in the Chinese society of 1919 where there was little social and political stability for problem-oriented gradualism to generate efficiency. Keenan (1977) and Chow (1960) came to similar conclusions. Keenan (1977) noted the frustrations that the May Fourth liberals encountered were not only attributed to China's unusual cultural and political conditions, but also stemmed from the inherent weakness of Dewey's experimental political philosophy. Chow (1960), in his groundbreaking study *The May Fourth Movement*, conceived of the May Fourth movement as an "intellectual revolution," but he attacked the pragmatic liberals' weakness of not taking the social and political "problems" more seriously.

The liberal failure in the May Fourth period proved that there was too little social and political stability for individualism to succeed in early twentieth-century China. While the liberal reformers called for a separation of education from political control, political parties such as Sun Yat-sen's Guomindang and the emerging Communist party were trying to enlist students in the revolution against warlordism. As Hu Shi gravely admitted: "The strong desire of every one of these political parties to enlist the support of younger intellectuals had the effect of making almost everybody politically minded, and directly and indirectly weakened what I had considered a non-political movement for intellectual and literary reforms" (Hu, 1967, p. 100). Educational reform and political reform was an unsolvable dilemma for the early Republican liberal intellectuals.

Revival of Nationalism: 1925-1937

The spirit of nationalism intensified and reached its zenith in May and June 1925 when the killing of Chinese students and civilians by foreign forces occurred in Shanghai and Guangzhou. These incidents had an immediate impact on education. At the eleventh conference of the Federated Provincial Educational Associations in October 1925, the educational aims were redefined to stress the racial peculiarities of China. Accordingly, the history and civics textbooks were to be designed to arouse students' racial consciousness by emphasizing the culture of China as well as the humiliating experiences the nation had suffered over the past century. Military training was re-emphasized in the middle and higher schools. In addition, it was proposed that girls should also be disciplined in military tactics to strengthen their bodies, for they would become the mothers of the nation (Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 411). All of these were intended for developing a militaristic people. Nationalistic political thought dominated the field of education since 1925.

The *Zhonghua* Press promoted nationalism through its monthly periodical *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 中華教育界 (The Educational Review). One article *Questions of Nationalism and Middle School Citizenship Teaching* (Guojia zhuyi yu zhongxue gongmin jiaoxue wenti 國家主義與中學公民教學問題), written by Li Guanqing in 1925, reflected the general mood surrounding the field of education. Li urged educators to emphasize the nationalistic type of citizen above all others. He explained that since World War I, despite efforts of peace movement, there still existed imperialistic forces. The only way to world peace, according to Li, was through strengthening each nation. Therefore, citizenship education should be aimed at making the nation strong and independent. Meanwhile, in line with the "National Salvation" movement, Li suggested civics courses connect the interests of the nation with the interests of the people so as

to cultivate the spirit of patriotism and even to instill in the students a willingness to sacrifice all for the nation (Li, 1925, pp. 38-42). Likewise, *Xin Jiaoyu* 新教育 (The New Education) magazine published a special issue (volume 7, issue 2) in 1925, dedicated to the educational motions. One motion called for the establishment of military training in the middle and high schools. The purpose of it was to develop a militaristic people (p. 147). Another motion argued that more emphasis should be placed on the humiliating episodes in China's international relations in primary school textbooks so as to arouse patriotic sentiment (p. 209). Educators also urged to integrate racial-oriented materials into the textbooks of civics, history, geography, social science and even arithmetic and drawing in order to arouse racial consciousness among the students (pp. 235-237). Zhonghua jiaoyu gaijinshe 中華教育改進社 (the Association for the Advancement of Education), which was founded in 1921 and had been liberal in its educational policy, also shifted to the nationalist position after May 1925. At its fourth annual conference in 1925, Tao Xingzhi in his opening address claimed that education must aim to develop patriotism. Moreover, he urged Mongolian and Tibetan educators to promote the spirit of Republicanism and equality along with the Chinese (Tao, 1925, pp. 147-148).

The nationalization of the educational system continued and was reinforced with the nominal unification of the country under the GMD in May 1928. The party was avowedly nationalistic; its policies were drafted and carried out in that spirit (Peake, 1970, p. 92). The Education Ministry was replaced by *Daxue yuan* 大學院 (the National University Council) with Cai Yuanpei as chairman (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 4, pp. 33-34). Between 1927 and 1928, the government acquiesced to Cai's plan for a system based on the French model. This plan called for regionally independent education districts under university management. However, the experiment was short-lived, ostensibly due to administrative difficulties. In addition, the

principles upon which the experiment was based – educational independence combined with continuing overt dependence on a foreign model – ran counter to the new demands of the GMD for education that called for more nationalistic content and centralized control (Linden, 1968; Duiker, 1977).

In May 1928 the National University Council convened the first national educational conference under the new regime in Nanjing. Seventy-seven delegates attended the meeting. Among these delegates, forty-nine had studied abroad (Peake, 1970, p. 93). At this conference Dr. Sun Yat-sen's *Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義 (Three Principles of the People)[26] were adopted as the ideological foundation of the educational system. According to Dr. Sun, the aim of the three principles of the people was to "elevate China to an equal position among the nations in the international affairs, in government, and in economic life, so that she can permanently exit in the world" (trans. by Teng & Fairbank, 1967, p. 263). Dr. Sun had doubts about the suitability of ideas of cosmopolitanism and internationalism for China in his days, claiming: "China must first make itself into a strong state and then there may be talk of cosmopolitanism or internationalism" (p. 263). He went on to argue: "I think that in the relation between the citizens of China and their state, there must be family loyalty, then clan loyalty, and finally national loyalty" (p. 264). On the one hand, Dr. Sun called to recover the national spirit by reviving the traditional virtues. He contended: "China's old virtues of loyalty, filial devotion, kindness, love, faithfulness are in their very nature superior to foreign virtues" (p. 264). On the other hand, Dr. Sun thought highly of

[26] *The Three Principles of the People* is a political philosophy proposed by Sun Yat-sen and considered as the philosophical foundation of the Republic of China. The three principles are: *Minzu* (民族), commonly rendered as "nationalism"; *Minquan* (民權) translated as "democracy"; *Minsheng* (民生), translated as "the People's welfare/livelihood". Sun denoted nationalism as freedom from imperialist domination. He proposed to unite all of the different ethnicities of China to form a "China-nationalism," as opposed to an "ethnic-nationalism." Democracy, to Sun, was similar to Western constitutional government. The concept of livelihood was in some way similar to social welfare. Sun divided livelihood into fours aspects: food, clothing, housing, and transportation. According to Sun, an ideal government should take care of these for its people.

democracy and took it as a means of destroying Imperial domination and of unifying the nation. He reasoned: "…..we have chosen democracy. First, that we may be following the world trend; second, that we may reduce the period of civil war" (p. 267).

Before nominally unifying the nation, the GMD had termed its education as *danghua jiaoyu* 黨化教育 (Party Transformation Education). However, the name *danghua* gradually created suspicions among the people at large. This conference decided to replaced *danghua* education with *Sanmin zhuyi* Education. This type of education demanded to incorporate Dr. Sun Yat-sen's teachings in the textbooks and moreover to promote in reality to put into practice the three principles of the people. In particular, educators should promote the observance of law, the spirit of cooperation, the labor movement, scientific education, and the arts (the University Council, 1928, pp. 2-8). Cai Yuanpei extolled *Sanmin zhuyi* as a contemporary manifestation of China's belief in the Golden Mean. The principle of nationalism, in Cai's point of view, mediated between the nationalist advocates, who believed that internationalism impeded patriotic spirit, with internationalists, who upheld that nationalism offended the spirit of international harmony (Cai, 1928, 1984d). According to Cai, Sun's *Sanmin zhuyi* kept China away from political and economic revolutions. It was congenial to patriotic spirit and also committed to the political and racial equality of all races and nationalities. Moreover, Sun's ideas of land equalization and regulation of capital limited the extremes of capitalism and Marxist communism (Cai, 1931, 1984e).

In addition, the conference passed a motion that teaching materials in the primary and middle schools should highlight the humiliating experiences the nation underwent during the last century in order to stimulate a sense of racial consciousness among the students (the University Council, 1928, p. 3). The promotion of the nationalistic spirit was also found in the motions

calling for the integration of the five races and encouraging the use of the Chinese language arts in the schools in order to establish the foundations of the nation (pp. 6-7). Moreover, the conference passed a motion promoting the development of Chinese education among the overseas Chinese, especially in Southeast Asia (p. 8). The purpose of it was to preserve the Chinese racial integrity and enable China to establish itself as a nation in the world. The conference also passed a motion advocating physical-military education. It called to set up both Boy and Girl Scouts in the junior middle schools and to provide army officers to conduct military drill in the schools. The purpose of military drill was to teach the students the care of body, obedience, the sense of responsibility and above all to instill in them nationalism. Girls were given nurses' training in the middle schools instead (pp. 11-13).

In September 1928, the nationalist government abandoned the 1922 school reform decree and defined new educational aims as follows:

1. To revive the national spirit and promote Chinese culture; to enhance morality of the people as well as strengthen their physical quality; to spread scientific knowledge and cultivate interest in the arts.
2. To equip students with knowledge of political science and cultivate their ability to exercise four rights – referendum, initiative, recall, and impeachment – make them aware of boundaries of freedom; to cultivate obedience to and observance of the law; to promote equality and increase students' keenness to serve society; to discipline the students in the spirit of cooperation.
3. To promote physical labor and scientific knowledge so as to increase production capacity of the nation.
4. To advocate international justice and understanding; to achieve world peace through national self-determination. (Shu, 1933, 1990, vol. 4, p. 16)

The new educational aims were drawn in accordance with the principles of *Sanmin zhuyi*. The first objective was based on Dr. Sun Yet-sen's ideal of nationalism. The teachers should promote Chinese culture as a means of developing the "people's character" in order to strengthen the foundations of the nation. On the other hand, teaching materials should emphasize the humiliating experiences the nation had undergone in its international relations in the last century

so as to arouse racial consciousness among the students. The second objective was aimed at attaining democracy. Educators should cultivate obedience to and observance of the law among the students and discipline them in the spirit of cooperation and republicanism so that the people's rights might be realized. The third was intended to improve livelihood through the promotion of the labor movement and scientific education. The fourth reflected the ultimate goal of education. Students should be informed of the existence of many kinds of citizenships, including a village, a district, a provincial, and a national, as well as a world citizenship. In March 1929, the Ministry of Education reaffirmed and endorsed the new educational aims.

It is interesting to note that against the background of escalating nationalism in the late 1920s, the GMD government invited the League of Nations experts to help reform education. Upon the invitation of the League of Nations, a mission of experts spent three months in China during 1931. Four key members included professors: C. H. Becker (1876-1933) from Germany, M. Falski (1881-1974) from Poland, P. Langevin (1872-1946) from France, and R. H. Tawney (1880-1962) from Great Britain.

The experts co-wrote the report on Chinese education in 1932. It provided a direct link between past and present development concerns (Pepper, 1996). In the report, China's modern schools were defined as "independent organisms modeled on the forms and ideology of private education instead of being included in an organized system of public education" (League of Nations Report, 1932, p. 19). The experts attributed this weakness to China's lack of public spirit and social organization. Specifically, two reasons accounted for the origins of the weakness. First, it was rooted in the tradition of family, clan, and village schools. Among the remains of that educational tradition was the truncated custom of autonomous locally supported schools. Second, the new twentieth-century compulsion to adopt foreign models reinforced this traditional

remnant. Although the new generation of intellectuals who returned from the overseas studies attempted to reform curricula, textbooks, and teaching methods, in the eyes of the experts, this was the "mechanical imitation" of foreign educational models and resulted in an "enormous abyss between the masses of the Chinese people, plunged in illiteracy, and not understanding the needs of their country, and the intelligentsia educated in luxurious schools and indifferent to the wants of masses" (p. 21).

The experts provided recommendations. First, extending elementary schooling to all children. Yet, as for the secondary schools, the League suggested improve quality rather than increase quantity (p. 108). Second, stop following the U.S. model. The experts found the American model too expensive and inappropriate for China. On the issue of foreign influence, they were strongly against intellectual dependency, arguing that the structure of the school should be determined by the actual requirements of that culture and the needs of the people. According to the experts, for China at that time, still in search of a new national identity following the collapse of the old order, it would have to have some new fusion of tradition and modernity. They suggested creating such a culture and maintaining an appropriate education system was the task for Chinese intellectual leaders, not their foreign advisors. Meanwhile, they pointed out the "false argument" made by many Chinese educators that modern Europe and America were the products of science and technology and that China had only to acquire Western science and technology in order to become similarly advanced. The experts suggested Chinese intellectual leaders borrow instead the "spirit of originality with which Americans have succeeded in adapting the culture of Europe to American conditions" (p. 112). The League of Nations 1932 report was another milestone in the growth of Western-style education in China after its widespread introduction around the turn of the century. As a consequence, a new curriculum,

developed in the early 1930s, abolished the American-style comprehensive secondary school and formalized the separation of academic and vocational education. The Education Ministry issued an order of intent that academic secondary schooling should be restricted in favor of vocational education (Ren, 1936, 1974, p. 435). The new government's attempt to minimize overt dependence on foreign models gained support from more and more educators by the 1930s (Peake, 1970).

It is also worth noting that the educational reform of the Nationalist government achieved overall uniformity in curriculum standards for male and female students. They received many of the same messages about citizenship. Military exercises were held to be good for girls as well for they would become the mothers of the nation and they needed strong bodies (Bailey, 2001; McElroy, 2001). In what follows I will examine the curriculum and textbooks of the core subjects of citizenship education during this period of time.

Civics

After the "May 30th Incident" of 1925, the educational aims, curriculum, and textbooks were revised in accordance with nationalism. At educational conferences that followed, motions were passed in favor of a more nationalistic type of education. The new Nationalist government after 1927 made efforts to politicize primary and secondary education. In 1928 the University Council issued the *Xiaoxue zanxing tiaoli* 小學暫行條例, (Provisional Regulations for the Primary School), incorporating the *Sanmin zhuyi* course in addition to the civics course. Later, the two courses were merged, and the title was changed to *dangyi ke* 黨義科 (the Party Principles course). In *Zhongxue kecheng biaozhun* 中學課程標準 (the Curriculum Standards for Middle Schools) published in 1929 by the Ministry of Education, the civics course was completely replaced by the Party Principles course. The textbooks used in this course

incorporated Dr. Sun's lectures and writings, the doctrines and philosophies of the GMD, and orthodox party histories.

In 1927 the Commercial Press published *Xin shidai sanmin zhuyi jiaokeshu (Chuxiao)* 新時代三民主義教科書〈初小〉(New Age Sanmin Zhuyi Readers for Lower Primary Schools) (8 vols.) and for *Gaoxiao* 〈高小〉(Higher Primary Schools) (4 vols.) (see Appendix A). The series was written under the supervision of Wang Yunwu (1888-1979), editor-in-chief of the Commercial Press and was approved by the University Council. The third volume of the lower primary school textbooks introduced many of China's talented inventors and sages. Students were taught that China invented the compass, the printing press, and gunpowder. When discussing gunpowder, the text acknowledged that China first discovered it but also gave credit to foreigners as they perfected it and turned it to be an instrument of destruction. There were several lessons on the rise of science in the West, giving a list of the mechanical achievements that the foreigners had developed. It came to the conclusion that if the Chinese were to solve the problem of people's livelihood they must study science, manufacture their own goods, and boycott foreign goods. The fifth volume discussed commercial taxation and economic politics from a national point of view. Volume six discussed the French Revolution and was followed by a plea to abolish the extortion and slaying of Chinese by foreigners. It asserted that the Chinese must be one in spirit and in body and then will liberty and equality be achieved. There was also a lesson devoted to the criticism of Western legal conceptions and practices. It concluded with the claim that the GMD would safeguard the rights of the people, whereas Westerners in their own countries had failed to protect their countrymen. The seventh volume discussed government and its

administration. It explained the ideal of "Five-Power Constitution"[27] which the GMD was striving to set up. Students were taught that only through the GMD would the salvation of the people and of the nation be attained. The last volume introduced the history of the GMD and its proposed program. It clearly stated that the GMD program was uniquely Chinese, being different from anything in the West. The set of the higher primary school textbooks presented not only Sun Yat-sen's *Sanmin zhuyi* thought, but also his other major lectures, as well as the resolutions and important proclamations of the GMD. Each of the first three volumes discussed one of the three principles. The fourth volume introduced the history of the party.

In 1929, the Commercial Press published *Xin shidai sanmin zhuyi jiaokeshu (Chuzhong)* 新時代三民主義教科書〈初中〉(New Age Sanmin Zhuyi Readers for Middle Schools) (3 vols.) (see Appendix A). The first two volumes were for use in the junior middle schools and approved by the University Council. This series differed from the ones discussed above in that it included a chapter in the first volume on the World Community that was lacking in all the other series. The third volume did not obtain the approval of the University Council for it supported Communism. In his interview with Wang Yunwu, editor-in-chief of the Commercial Press, and Lufei Kui (1886-1941), general manager of the Zhonghua Press, Peake (1970) was told of the difficulty of writing *Sanmin zhuyi* readers, as "a little too much emphasis in one direction led to Communism, and in the other direction to Imperialism" (p. 117). Both Wang and Lufei thought the *Sanmin Zhuyi* readers were not as good as the former civics readers.

[27] Five-Power Constitution (五權憲法) is a system of government proposed by Sun Yat-sen in 1906 as the means through which democracy would be established in China. It refers to a government composed of five branches: legislative, executive, judicial, examination, and censorate. The examination branch was to administer the selection of candidates for the bureaucracy. The censorate branch was to prevent corruption and to watch over the efficiency of the government.

Sanmin zhuyi and *dangyi* texts were noticeably lacking in the concept of citizenship and in relating the student to the family, the community, and international society. All problems and relationships of life were interpreted from the national viewpoint. Because of this, educators fervently criticized the *dangyi* course. It was eventually abolished in 1932, and the civics course was brought back to the curriculum (Fu, 2011). In October of the same year, the Ministry of Education issued *Xiaoxue kecheng biaozhun* 小學課程標準 (the Curriculum Standards for Primary Schools), listing the civics course among other nine subjects. In February 1933, the Ministry released *Xiaoxue gongmin xunlian biaozhun* 小學公民訓練標準 (the Standards of Citizenship Training for the Primary School), aimed at cultivating all-around citizens. In lower middle schools one or two hours per week were devoted to civics instruction, and students were introduced to basic social institutions, modes of government and political participation, basic economic systems, and the civic mores and responsibilities of citizens. High school civics, also ranging from one to two hours per week, discussed contemporary social issues, systems of government, economic mechanisms, legal structures, and ethical systems. Between 1933 and 1934, the Commercial Press published a series of *Fuxing jiaokeshu* 復興教科書 (Revival Textbooks). It was aimed at cultivating citizens sound in both mind and body. It should be noted that although the *dangyi* course was abolished, the new civics curriculum and textbooks still made reference to Sun Yat-sen's thought and Guomindang platforms.

Fuxing gongmin jiaokeshu 復興公民教科書 (Revival Civics Textbook) (see Appendix A) was among various Revival Textbooks. It had four volumes and was for use in the higher primary school. Topics in volume two included: impartiality, honesty, mutual-aid, forgiveness, sympathy, respecting others' opinions, fair play, etc. The lesson on *Respecting Others' Opinions* maintained: "We should keep in mind that our opinions are not necessarily better than others',

even though we might be more knowledgeable or intelligent. Thus, we should respect different opinions. When disagreement occurs, even if others' views prove wrong, we ought to confine ourselves to facts rather than personal comments" (vol. 2, p. 78). The lesson on *Fair Play* listed five principles ensuring fair and honest competition. These were considered to be the basic and important moral codes for being a good citizen. Volume four was filled with inculcation of Sun Yat-sen's *Sanmin zhuyi* and Guomindang principles.

In 1933 the Commercial Press published *Fuxing chuji zhongxue jiaokeshu gongmin* 復興初級中學教科書公民 (Revival Middle School Textbook: Civics) (3 vols.) (see Appendix A). The first volume was on ethics, the second on politics and law, and the third on economics. The first volume clarified the definition of some terms. It differentiated the word *gongmin* 公民 (citizen) from *guomin* 國民 (people of a nation). The text maintained that *guomin* referred to the people who formed a nation and acquired nationality, whereas *gongmin* was the people who enjoyed civil rights. The self-governance system was defined as the foundation of democracy as well as an opportunity for citizens to exercise their rights. A citizen ought to understand the importance of self-governance, to cultivate democratic spirit, to exercise rights, and to perform duties. In the section of *Guojia daode* 國家道德 (National Ethics), there was a chapter devoted to "public opinion." Below are the excerpts of the text:

> Politics of democracy is also *yulun zhengzhi* 輿論政治 (politics of consensus). People entrust the state power to the government, and they can supervise government. People's opinions about politics and government form public opinion.
>
> Public opinion represents views of the common people. Propositions of a certain political party don't count as public opinion, nor are the ideas put forward on the press. The genuine consensus is reached after many rounds of discussions among the commoners. When disagreement occurs, people should follow the majority rule.
>
> State politics is complex. One single problem may be related with more than one cause. One solution may create more than one result. All state issues are concerned with national

> welfare and people's livelihood. Thus, public opinion should rely on experts' arguments and suggestions. It also should tolerate opposing opinions. If the majority oppresses the minority because of their critical comments, this cannot be called real consensus. (vol. 1, p. 89)

From the content analysis above, we may conclude that although nationalism had picked up pace during this period, citizenship education was still devoted to popularizing knowledge of citizenship and cultivating responsible republican citizens.

Chinese Language Arts

Chinese language arts continued to be a major part of compulsory education. The use of mandarin Chinese in the schools was promoted as a means to unify the national spirit and establishing the foundation of the nation. The Chinese language arts curriculum of this period continued the standards of the New School System curriculum of 1922.

In 1927, the Commercial Press published *Xin shidai guoyu jiaokeshu (Chuxiao)* 新時代國語教科書〈初小〉(New Age Chinese language arts Textbook for Lower Primary Schools) (8 vols.) (see Appendix A). This set was written under the supervision of Cai Yuanpei and Wang Yunwu. It had a large sale, and the first volume reached its 290th reprint within two years (Peake, 1970, p. 184). The purpose of the set was revealed in the preface as follows:

1. To pass on the Kuomingang *dangyi* 黨義 (Party principles and manifesto), adopting terms suitable to children of the lower primary school age.
2. To promote democracy by introducing revolutionary and progressive thought, as well as the practicality of science and of physical education
3. To emphasize the peculiar characteristics of China.

It is noteworthy that the amount of space devoted to the propaganda for the spirit of nationalism tended to increase from volume to volume until it filled one-third of the space in the last volume. Many lessons recounted the military heroes in China's history. While many materials were focused on arousing patriotism among the students, little was devoted to relate the

children to their family and community life, and nothing concerned with the World community. The same author wrote similar readers for higher primary school students, *New Age Chinese Language Arts for Higher Primary Schools* (4 vols.).

Language arts textbooks of the 1930s were eclectic, consisting of readings from classical and vernacular literature, early Republican-era social and cultural reform writings, articles concerning science and technology, and materials promoting the GMD's ideology. But one thing is worth noting: that although the party's curriculum standards urged teachers and publishers to incorporate party-centered materials into language arts classes, teachers were still allowed to choose the materials for both selective and intensive readings, and they even compiled their own textbooks of selected readings (Peake, 1970, p. 119).

History and Geography

Race and culture were two important markers of national identity. In order to create an ideal image of a unified national community and to arouse a sense of national cohesion, history and geography textbooks of this period portrayed national unity in diverse ways, combining myths of racial origin with narratives of cultural assimilation. Meanwhile, Japan's claim to German concessions in Shandong during the Paris Peace Conference after World War I, its occupation of Manchuria in the fall of 1931, and its expeditions into North China throughout 1930s intensified issues of borders and secure territory. All of these reinforced the sense that the national geo-body was under threat and conveyed a message that China's viability as a modern nation-state depended on self-defense to secure the borders. During the Nanjing-decade (1927-1937), Chinese and world history were taught separately, but with more weight given to Chinese history. At the lower middle school level, class time was divided into four semesters of Chinese history and two semesters of world history. For higher middle schools, class time was evenly

assigned to Chinese and world history. Chinese history curricula during this period had two aims: first, to explain the origins of imperialism and how it had affected China's modern history; second, to trace China's ethnic and cultural development throughout history and to show how those trends of development formed the basis of China (Culp, 2007, p. 41).

One of the popular history textbooks used in the primary schools during this period is *Xin shidai lishi jiaokeshu* 新時代歷史教科書 (The New Age History) (4 vols.) (see Appendix A) published by the Commercial Press in 1927. In this set, only Chinese history was presented. The set had a very large sale. Approximately 800, 000 copies were sold to four hundred thousand students in one year (Peake, 1970, p. 168). The first volume commenced with the traditional mythological account of the origin of the Chinese people, recounting the unique and glorious history of sage kings such as Huang Di, Fu Xi, Yao and Shun. By the middle of the second volume the whole history of China to the Opium War of 1839-1942 was covered. After recounting indignities China had suffered at the hands of the imperialistic powers, it recorded the history of the Revolution in its political aspects, including a biography of Sun Yat-sen. In volume three the development of the GMD was set forth, as well as the history of the Republic and of democratic government in general.

At the middle school level, tensions between contrasting narratives of assimilation dominated the textbooks of the 1930s. The 1934-35 version of the high school history textbook – *Fuxing gaoji zhongxue jiaokeshu: Benguoshi* 復興高級中學教科書:本國史 (Revival High School Textbook: Chinese History) (see Appendix A), written by Lü Simian, was a good example recounting interaction and tension between ethnic identity and cultural identity. On the one hand, the author portrayed China as having benefited from the influx of the new cultural constituents from India with Buddhism, from Western regions in terms of new forms of music,

and from Central Asia, bringing changes in Chinese habits of dress and daily life. On the other hand, these examples of powerful outside cultural influences were paralleled with an account of non-Han peoples being "Sinicized" by Han culture. Han ethnic group was taken as the "core" of China. As Culp (2007) revealed, though acknowledging the contributions other peoples made to Chinese culture, the author maintained that the unified ethno-cultural image of Chinese culture would not be changed fundamentally by those outside influences (p. 77). In contrast, other history textbooks of the time exclusively focused on the one-way assimilation of non-Han peoples who were deemed less culturally sophisticated and gave little space to recount how outside peoples and cultures might have transformed the Chinese people and culture. Such a version of Chinese history became dominant in educational circles under the GMD during the 1930s.

As for geography, the textbooks adopted Dr. Sun Yat-sen's perception of China as *zuguo* 祖國 (genealogical nation). Some textbooks attempted to naturalize the national boundaries. For instance, Ge Suicheng in his 1933 Chinese geography textbook, *Xin kecheng biaozhun shiyong: chuzhong benguo dili* 新課程標准使用:初中本國地理 (For Use with the New Curriculum Standards: Lower Middle School Geography), portrayed the national territory as bounded by the sea, rivers, and mountain ranges that "naturally" separated it from other nations or colonies. He described the Ussuri and Heilong Rivers, Altai Mountains, Congling Mountains, Himalayas, and the Pacific Ocean as shaping China's "natural" periphery. Moreover, the textbook presented the political nation in paradigmatic terms, with a functioning central government and a full complement of provinces and special administrative regions. The narrative of territorial loss was stressed in Ge's textbook. There was a chapter devoted to recounting the loss of Korea, the Ryukyus, Taiwan, Annam, Thailand, and Burma. The positioning of "old territory" created a

rhetorical imperative for recovery. Such calls for recovery of a paradigmatic original territory escalated after the Mukden Incident in 1931, when Japanese troops occupied the three northeastern provinces and established the puppet state of Manchu. Nanjing-decade texts recounted Japan's occupation of the rich agricultural land and growing industrial sector of Manchuria in conjunction with statements about the need for the state and the people to struggle for its recovery. Meanwhile, the textbooks stressed the consolidation of Han Chinese authority in those so-called border regions and suggested build better transport into these areas.

While seeking a physical basis for the unification of the Chinese people, the textbooks did not ignore the evidence of diversity in language, religion, and customs. For instance, Liu Huru's 1927 geography textbook, *Xin shidai benguo dili jiaokeshu* 新時代本國地理教科書 (New Era Chinese Geography Textbook), used a dialect map that geographically showed the diversity in language. The author also described China's religious pluralism and claimed that religious beliefs and practices brought about differences in custom between Muslim, Mongols, Tibetans and other ethnic groups. In addition to distinctions of language and religion, some authors drew attention to distinctions of culture, character and phenotype. For instance, Ge Suicheng in his textbook noted how Tibetan's gender division of labor differed from that of the Han and how they often lived in stone houses. Ge also described the distinctive cultures of Tibetans as well as Miao, Yao, and other Southwestern peoples. Liu Huru pointed to the physical differences between Han, Mongol, Tibetan, and Turkic peoples in terms of stature, skin color, and facial features.

The expression of external and internal distinctions provided the nationalist government with justifications for creating a cohesive and homogeneous Chinese national community. Description of linguistic diversity provided a backdrop and justification for programs of language unification, with the dominant dialect of Han Chinese language as the "national" standard.

Textbooks written during the1920s were more explicit in their advocacy of aggressive implementation of the program. Cultural and religious diversity also triggered the call for assimilation to the dominant Han culture. In *Xin xuezhi gaoji zhongxue jiaokeshu: benguo dili* 新學制高級中學教科書：本國地理, (New School System High School Textbook: Chinese Geography). (2 vols.) (1926-1928), Zhang Qiyun described cultural differentiation and pushed a Han-based cultural assimilation. Zhang included a table outlining the attributes of each ethnic group and their roles in Chinese history. At the end of each description Zhang offered an assessment of the relative level of integration of different groups, making clear that the goal was assimilation to a Han Chinese norm. By associating any difference with backwardness, the textbooks attempted to universalize project of "civilizing" and standardize diverse peoples' culture, language, and behavior based on Han linguistic and cultural norms. Such equation of Sinicizing with civilizing was also repeated through other geography textbooks.

Discussion

The review and examination of educational aims, curriculum, and textbooks on ethics/civics, Chinese language arts, history, and geography from 1903 to 1937 revealed changes in the content of the textbooks associated with the changing educational aims and curricula, which in turn were related to the fluctuating political situation of the nation. Citizenship education in early twentieth-century China can be identified as dominated by the military-civilian ideal aimed at strengthening the nation-state, followed by a period of policy adjustments echoing the prevalent appeals to individual rights among the Chinese intelligentsia, and then a trend towards the state-focused citizenship education after the GMD rose to power. Specifically, the military-civilian period highlighted citizens' duties and obligations to the nation along with related civic virtues. It was the general belief of Chinese intellectuals at the time that a military

spirit was most lacking, yet needed in Chinese culture. Though there were some voices arguing for world citizenship, military citizenship education in conjunction with Confucian moral teaching characterized the first few years of Republican China. World War I, followed by the May Fourth Student Movement, marked the beginning of the second period. Despite frequent alternation in power among domestic warlords, a democratic spirit permeated the Chinese intelligentsia and unprecedented cultural and educational reforms were under way. The New Education Reform was aimed at bringing Chinese education into accord with the ideals of democracy, with the emphasis on the development of individuality. Accordingly, citizenship education during this period incorporated liberal features of citizenship, such as autonomy, equality of status, and citizen participation in political affairs. Individuals were encouraged to develop a sense of identity, to conform to societal values, rights and responsibilities, and to participate in public life. However, despite efforts, the new Chinese education system, like the society surrounding it, was in a state of perpetual flux. The Shanghai and Guangzhou incidents in 1925 heralded the beginning of third period. After the GMD set up government in 1928, a form of dogmatic nationalism replaced the spirit of liberalism prevalent in the early Republic. With respect to citizenship education, the regime called for more nationalistic content in the curriculum, aiming to shape the minds of students for political and social purposes. This political conformity model of citizenship education demanded teaching about the positive qualities of the nation as well as the country's history, with an emphasis on the events conducive to patriotism. Moreover, in order to enhance nationalistic spirit, the GMD curtailed the reliance on foreign educational models and incorporated party doctrines in the civics curriculum. It is noteworthy that regardless of frequent requests to rewrite educational aims and textbooks to meet the changing demands of the groups of educators and politicians who took office, one permanent

tendency was detected in all this fluctuation, that is, that education was deemed an effective tool of the state for instilling in the student nationalism as well as the spirit and principles of democracy.

Many of the frustrations and difficulties that Chinese intellectuals and educators encountered in the process of promoting democratic education in the Republican era were largely tied to China's peculiar cultural and political conditions. There was too little social and political stability for melioristic reform to work out in the early twentieth century. As Jiang Menglin once told Paul Reinsch, the United States Minister to China in 1919, that foreign countries had to give China ten years time – freedom from outside interference – which he deemed as an essential condition for the building of a democratic social foundation in China (Reinsch, 1922). Another obstacle Chinese intellectuals and educators faced at the turn of the twentieth century was the dilemma between cultural preservation and modern development. A stable society, as Levenson (1958) noted, is one whose members would choose, on universal principles, the particular culture which they inherited. Levenson maintained that China in its great times was such a society and that Chinese loved their civilization not only because they were born into it but also because they thought it good (p. 1). However, since the nineteenth century, when confronted with Western civilization and weapons, many Chinese intellectuals began to set history apart from value. On the one hand, they were intellectually alienated from the tradition when seeking value elsewhere; on the other hand, they were still emotionally tied to their tradition and history. As Duiker (1977) remarked, in many cases, Chinese intellectuals were trying to "square their emotional commitment to China with their rational belief in the necessity for reform based on Western values" (p. 39). Even until today, like their Republican forerunners, Chinese intellectuals are still

afflicted with the dilemma between their emotional attachment to the Chinese tradition and their rational justification for transforming China into a democratic nation.

CHAPTER 6 CONLUSION: BRIDGING PAST TO FUTURE

Rights are essential to modern politics. This study explored the development of ideas of rights and citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century and examined its influence on the making of citizenship education in China. It revealed that the emergence of rights discourse in China was the result of cross-cultural interaction. China's confrontation with the West in the mid-nineteenth century ended its centuries of isolation from the outside world. From the late nineteenth century, China witnessed a burgeoning interest in the Western concepts of rights, citizenship, democracy, and constitutionalism, followed by the social transition from absolute monarchy to modern capitalism. Although there was frequent alternation in power among domestic warlords, movements from personhood to citizenship, from subject to citizen were prevailing in the late Qing dynasty and early Republican China.

The changing ideas with respect to rights and citizenship reflected a continuous effort and adjustment on the part of intellectuals to the changing needs of a modern China. As discussed in chapter four, in the beginning, the subject of rights was identified with the state. Rights were associated with "advantages of trade" or "privileges" with reference to the embedded powers and benefits that came along with trade or diplomatic status. It was not until the 1890s that a new term *minquan* (people's authority) emerged to recognize people's institutionalized, consultative role in a constitutional monarchy. The subject of rights was then identified with the people. With the increasing exposure to Western thought, the notion of giving rights to individuals gradually found its way into the minds of Chinese intellectuals. Rights advocates called for recognition of individual rights and urged the establishment of laws to ensure people's full enjoyment of rights. This shows that sophisticated understanding of rights and citizenship had been attained in the late Qing dynasty. It also proves that although the ideas of rights and citizenship are the product of

Western civilization, they are not necessarily incompatible with non-Western traditions or unable to be adopted in non-Western societies. Discussions of civil and political rights continued after the establishment of the Republic. In contrast to the rights discourse of the nineteenth century that tended to associate subjects of rights with state/collectives, human rights advocacy in the early Republic placed greater emphasis on individual rights. Meanwhile, the rights to subsistence (rights to the minimum essential level of clothing, food, and housing) and social rights emerged in the early 1920s; they immediately found favor among Chinese intellectuals regardless of their political stances. It is noteworthy that when economic and social rights gained increasing recognition, civil and political rights were subject to escalating criticism. From this, we may conclude that Chinese conceptualizations of rights and citizenship in the late Qing dynasty and early Republican period corresponded with the changing perceptions of the state and the individual among the Chinese intelligentsia. National survival and harmony was constantly considered first priority for the nation, to which individual interests were subordinated. Tensions between people's rights and individual rights dominated the Chinese rights discourse, even until today.

The evolving and changing perceptions of rights and citizenship had direct impact on education. As revealed in the fifth chapter, citizenship education policy in the first two decades of Republican China was dominated by the military-civilian ideal aimed at strengthening the nation-state, followed by a period of policy adjustments echoing the prevalent appeals to individual rights among the Chinese intelligentsia, and then a trend towards state-focused citizenship education. Despite efforts, the new education system, like the society surrounding it, was in a state of perpetual flux as the reform followed one Western model after another in endless succession. Many of the frustrations and difficulties that Chinese intellectuals encountered in the

process of promoting democratic education in the early Republican era were largely tied to China's peculiar cultural or political conditions. On the one hand, the recognition and promotion of rights and citizenship in the late Qing and early Republic led to the increase in distrust of Confucianism. On the other hand, there was too little social and political stability for melioristic reformism to work in the early twentieth century. Another obstacle Chinese intellectuals and educators faced at the turn of the twentieth century was the dilemma between cultural preservation and modern development. Since the nineteenth century, confronted with Western civilization and weapons, Chinese intellectuals began to be intellectually alienated from the tradition when seeking value elsewhere. Yet, emotionally, they were still tied to their tradition and history. Even until today, like their Republican forerunners, Chinese intellectuals are still afflicted with the dilemma between their emotional attachment to the Chinese tradition and their rational justification for transforming China into a democratic nation.

The facts revealed in this study that China was engaged in seeking a constitutional form of government and cultivating republican citizens at the turn of the twentieth century suggest that the Chinese intellectual tradition had been well prepared for accepting liberal concepts of human rights and democratic citizenship. Although the liberals of the Republic failed to bring democracy and democratic citizenship education to China, their spirits and visions keep inspiring generations that follow them. In contemporary China, while many intellectuals have given way to the authority and kept silent in exchange for a "good" living, there have always been a few in each generation who carry on the unfulfilled promises of the late Qing and early Republican intellectuals to democratize China. Moreover, I argue that tradition should not be abandoned in the process of modernization. Critical assessment and wise selection of cultural elements conducive to development are essential to modernization and democratization in non-Western

societies. Confucianism, as a political philosophy, is unfit for modern society; but its moral components are compatible with and complement human rights and democratic citizenship education.

Implications for Citizenship Education in Contemporary China

As China is at the crossroads of change, re-examining and reviving liberal thinking that was pushed to the margins and failed to thrive during the early twentieth century have significant implications for citizenship education in China for today and future. Cai Yuanpei's idea of transcendental education, in particular, deserves recognition. Cai's proposal of transcendental education consists of aesthetic education and world-outlook education. Only aesthetic education was recognized in his days whereas world-outlook education was entirely ignored. Aesthetic education was aimed at helping individuals discover and develop their own talents to achieve greater spiritual happiness. Although the idea itself was more influenced by Kantian philosophy that pointed to the universal nature of human beings' capacities of appreciating beauty, it in some way also resonated with Confucius's views of musical education. Confucius believed that musical education possessed the power of producing an effect on the character of the soul and could help develop a sound personality. Cai argued that education must have a broader aim than just satisfying material needs. According to Cai, aesthetic education based on the appreciation of beauty would help reduce the possessive desire and assist humanity to understand the real world beyond the phenomenal world.

World-outlook education was designed to expose students to religions, philosophies, and cultures of all mankind so as to reduce localism and superstition. Although Cai had claimed that cultural interchange was a two-way street, his response to what contribution China could make to the humanity in the modern world was equivocal before World War I. In his eyes, Western

civilization, with its democratic institutions and material affluence, represented an ideal model of modern society from both a material and spiritual perspective. Convinced that China at the moment had little to enrich the human experience, Cai maintained that the priority for China was to borrow and make up for lost ground. Nevertheless, the outbreak of World War I changed Cai's position toward Westernization and provided him with an opportunity to reexamine the Eastern and Western values. Cai became aware of the flaws in Western society and tradition, for instance, economic inequality, capitalism, and militarism. He began to reassert the two-way process of cultural interchange and argued that China could make a positive contribution to world progress in a number of areas. What is more, Cai attempted to locate a universal world of values which he believed could be found in both Chinese and Western traditions so that no one would be deprived of his/her own native values. Cai Yuanpei was sympathetic to the "standard culture" campaign. He agreed with the synthetic approach but urged to begin with an emphasis on value, not on preserving China's essence in a standard culture. He called for a scientific examination of values of all cultures so as to select what was of value to the development of modern China; and in the same way, to discover what had remained valuable in the traditional heritage. What Cai was trying to emphasize actually was not to study what was of value in the Chinese heritage and then borrow what was needed, but to focus on the determination of value, regardless of national origin. Cai's advocacy of a synthesis of values and his world-outlook education however were largely ignored by his contemporaries who saw Cai's ideas could not provide a satisfactory answer to the problems of China. Meanwhile, the West in his days had found little valuable in Chinese tradition to assist its own development. Hence, the idea of two-way process of cultural interchange was nothing but vain fantasy in early twentieth century China.

Today as globalization is getting ubiquitous and the notion of global citizenship has emerged as a variant within the concept of citizenship, it has become extremely important to learn from studies of values in the East and West, North and South, because the future of human prosperity depends on collaboration within nations and traditions. Advocates of global citizenship education argue that in the globalizing society citizens should be able to view the world globally as well as nationally. Therefore, learning to appreciate one's own humanistic tradition with respect and examine it with duly critical insights is as important as learning to become a globally minded person. In the absence of favorable conditions for human rights activities in present China, education may become a means by which Chinese intellectuals can engage in human rights advocacy. Cai Yuanpei's world-outlook education proposal has particular implications for the promotion of human rights and global citizenship. By examining both the traditional heritage and values of other cultures, world-outlook education selects what is valuable and conducive to development of a country. In the case of China, if China wants to keep in tune with democratic trends, Confucian tradition has to justify on its own terms to participate in human rights dialogues at the international level. Confucian values and human rights differ in their origins and their means of realization. While human rights are devoted to individual rights and dignity, Confucianism places an individual in a hierarchical structure of moral relationship and teaches the importance of being respectful of authorities. Nevertheless, despite differences, Confucian values and human rights values are not mutually exclusive. Belief in human perfectibility inherent in Confucianism is no different than the respect for human beings embedded in the human rights values.

The creation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) signifies a great achievement in human history. Although the legitimacy of human rights as internationally

accepted standards or morality is challenged by cultural relativism that insists moral values are historically and culturally specific rather than universal, the rights recognized in the UDHR embody a universal value system that transcends differences between people. The recognition that the concern for human dignity and flourishing can be found in all cultures, religions, and traditions implies that human rights values are compatible with not only the liberal individualist tradition that emphasizes rights of individuals but also the communitarian tradition in which the interests of community take priority over those of the individual. In this sense, human rights and Confucian values are not only compatible but complementary. On the one hand, Confucian humanistic values could help facilitate the internalization process of human rights values in China. On the other hand, human rights are necessary for the protection of "ren" (humanness, essence of Confucianism) – as a last resort when the Confucian notion of virtue fails to sustain social relationships.

It is noteworthy that China even took an active role in the drafting of Article 1 of the UDHR. As reported by Bori (1994), the first version of this article stated: "All men are brothers. As human beings with the gift of reason and members of a single family, they are free and equal in dignity and rights" (p. 67). In response to this article, the Chinese delegate P. Chang suggested for the inclusion of "two-men-mindedness" (p. 69), that is the fundamental Confucian idea of humanness embodied in sympathy, benevolence, and compassion, in addition to "reason." At a result, the final wording incorporated "conscience" in the opening article of the UDHR, with the understanding that "conscience" is more an emotional and sympathetic basis of morality. This instance implies that the Confucian tradition may have more to contribute to the international human rights discourse. Sor-hoon Tan, in her book, *Confucian Democracy: A Deweyan Reconstruction,* argued that if there existed human rights with Chinese characteristics, it would

be a theory of human rights based on the Confucian theory of human nature and human virtues. Likewise, if there existed Confucian democracy, it would be a democracy based on the perception of individuals as inherently social, on a commitment to building a harmonious community in which every member contributes, participates, and benefits according to his or her abilities and needs (Tan, 2004).

What is more, Confucius' teaching in self-cultivation may even be conducive to reducing the risk of widespread demoralization in modern society. Turner (1986) classifies the self into three aspects -- individualism, individuality and individuation. Individualism is confined to the notion of individual rights and duties, which is seen as essential to civil society. Individuality, by contrast, is a theory of the interior and private nature of personal life. Individuation refers to bureaucratic practices and disciplines that individuate citizens for purposes of duty, social regimentation and political surveillance. While the West talks about individualism in terms of individual rights, individuation and individual responsibility, Confucian notion of "self" is closer to individuality and focuses more on the development of individuality. The belief in human perfectibility as the foundation of Confucian philosophy implies a belief in personal freedom, but it was more a spiritual freedom to improve one's own moral character. Confucianism sees the process of personal cultivation as the path to freedom. Others may help us cultivate ourselves – by deliberately teaching us, providing an exemplar or unintentionally providing a model or an example of what not to do – but coercion results only in external compliance. Confucian freedom lies in realizing a way, not in following one. Realizing a way requires integrating the way into one's experience through learning and reflecting. Neo-Confucians maintain that a neo-Confucian autonomous mind should encompass self consciousness, critical awareness, creative thought,

independent effort and judgments (de Bary, 1983). If self means auto, an autonomous person in the Confucian tradition embraces all these qualities.

Restoring humanistic tradition is as important and urgent as establishing a human rights culture in China. The fact as revealed in this study that China was engaged in seeking a constitutional form of government and cultivating republican citizens at the turn of the twentieth century suggests that the Chinese intellectual tradition has been well prepared for accepting liberal concepts of human rights and democratic citizenship.

Conceptualizing a Human Rights-based Citizenship Education

Drawing on the theories of human rights culture, the citizenship education practice in the early Republican era, Cai Yuanpei's idea of world-outlook education, and Confucian teaching of self-cultivation, I proposed a framework for a rights-based citizenship education. Wronka (2008) identified human rights culture as a "lived awareness" of human rights principles among people throughout the world. According to Wronka, "lived experience" referred to not only the cognitive sense as understanding of human rights norms, but also the behavioral sense as acting upon human rights in ways that ensure the practice of rights. This implies that the establishment of human rights culture relies on each individual's knowledge of, awareness of, and responsibilities towards human rights. In a similar vein, Lohrenscheit (2002) argued that human rights could only be realized when the concept of human rights became an integral part of the attitude and values of each individual. He elaborated as below:

> The hope for the fulfillment of human rights lies therefore in each individual itself: each one has to watch actively the protection of human rights in all areas. Each one should be conscious about the fact that his/her individual social and political attitudes/actions can form an important part of the universal realization of human rights. (p. 4)

Based on Wronka's and Lohrenscheit's ideas of human rights culture, I propose to cultivate a human rights culture in China through citizenship education aimed at integrating the

concept of human rights in the attitude and values of each individual student. The underlying assumption of building citizenship education around human rights was well summarized by Booth (1999): "The rise and spread, particularly since the Second World War, of a universal human rights culture, feeds into the long tradition of ideas about a true politics of common humanity" (p. 61). Central to this framework is the association of human rights with individual, community, and lastly the state, with the UDHR serving as a value system and basis for the curriculum. By combining adaptation and opposition, it is a process of negotiation between functioning within the established norms of society and solidarity acting for human rights advocacy. For the school to play a role in promoting human rights, we should take into consideration all the factors that make human rights education possible, including the different forms and practices of communities and societies, educational policies, processes and tools and the learning environment within which education takes place. As Kennedy (2004) reminded us, citizenship education couldn't stand by itself, independent of cultural norms, political priorities, social expectations, national economic development aspirations, geo-political contexts and historical antecedents. Thus, facing different problems, every society adopts different approaches to citizenship education at the national level.

The proposed citizenship education model also draws on the citizenship education practices in the early Republican period and Cai Yuanpei's idea of world-outlook education. As reviewed in the preceding chapter, civics courses in the lower primary school in early Republic were aimed at developing a good child, with an emphasis on students' school and family life. Then in higher primary schools and secondary schools the objective was to cultivate a good citizen, with an emphasis on local, national, and world-related matters. Students were not only informed of the existence of many kinds of citizenships, including a village, a district, a

provincial, and a national, as well as a world citizenship but also were instructed about the corresponding duties as a member of each domain. Cai Yuanpei's proposal of world-outlook education was designed to expose students to religions, philosophies, and cultures of all kinds so as to reduce localism and superstition. By examining both the traditional heritage and values of other cultures, world-outlook education selects what is valuable and conducive to development of a country. Cai believed in internationalism and saw it transcend national boundaries. However, he was not asking for the total abandonment of cultural identity. Unlike the radical iconoclasts in his days, Cai considered it imprudent to eliminate national and culture traits. He quoted Confucius's saying from the *Analects* to make his point, that was, "the superior man cultivates harmony, but not sameness" (Cai, 1935, p. 68; trans. by Duiker, 1977, p. 21).

The proposed model consists of three stages. The first stage starts with government's partial concession and willingness to implement rights-based citizenship education. Limited by scarce resources on human rights, educators have to make wise use of the existing materials to impart fundamental knowledge, values and skills that pertain to the establishment of a culture of human rights through interaction with family and community members. Teaching about individual rights is the focus and can be fused with discussions of the student's life experiences in school and at home. Being exposed to real-life cases, students acquire the concept of individual rights and are able to identify rights violations. They also learn to protect themselves when violations occur in the school or at home. This first stage aims to shape a school and community-wide human rights culture to prevent school bullying, family, and community violence.

The second stage emerges when the government acknowledges human rights but emphasizes economic, social and cultural rights over civil and political rights. It is important at this point to familiarize students with the genesis, history and fundamental human rights

documents as well as international instruments for their application. What is more, learning and teaching about human rights comprises awareness of the complexity of the domestic and international human rights discourse. Besides historical knowledge, an understanding of the local tradition and its relation with human rights values are also indispensable for developing student's critical thinking and reasoning skills. Teachers encourage students to pay close attention to rights activities in the community and NGO movements, if allowed. The second stage intends to expand and deepen the student's understanding of human rights in a critical way. Moreover, it is aimed at promoting a sense of common humanity and helping young people engage with questions of what it means to live a fulfilled human life.

The third stage is expected when international human rights norms are socialized into domestic practices and ensured by law. Human rights-based citizenship education then plays an important role in facilitating a human rights culture. The goal of it is to empower individuals by developing social competence. Students are expected to gain a comprehensive understanding of human rights norms and encouraged to investigate specific human rights issues according to their interests. For students to develop empathy for rights-deprived groups, educators may expose students to the activities of human rights defenders. In doing so, students' perceptions and concerns about human rights are beyond self-interest; the students become the individual as a member of the human rights community rather as a citizen of any particular state. In contrast to the first two stages that are mostly lecture-oriented, the third stage calls for more complex and reciprocal commitments to learning.

As part of its contribution to the rights discussion, this human rights-based citizenship education ideal echoes Cai Yuanpei's belief that in order to build a better world one should start with him or herself and then extend his or her concern to the nation, and finally, to the whole

world. Nevertheless, realization of this model depends on the extent to which the government perceives human rights and tackles rights-related issues. Without substantial change made to human rights policies on the part of the government, this model may remain as idealistic as Cai's proposal of world-outlook education in his times. While it is praiseworthy that the CCP has started reevaluating Confucianism as opposed to the total rejection of it in Mao's era, recognizing and realizing human rights are as important and urgent as restoring the humanistic Confucian tradition. If China wants to keep in tune with democratic trends, Confucian tradition has to justify on its own terms to participate in human rights dialogues at the international level.

Suggestions for Further Research

This study dealt only with the ideas of human rights, citizenship, and citizenship education as reflected in citizenship education policy, curriculum, and textbooks, not in areas of legalization and institutionalization of these concepts. Thus, the intended contribution is limited by these omissions that might have helped to develop a broader understanding of rights discourse and citizenship education in early twentieth century China. The following are three suggestions for future research in this area.

First, the Chinese modern publishing industry, emerging and prospering at the turn of the twentieth century, played an important role in the dissemination of knowledge and promotion of rights and citizenship. A study dedicated to the effects of the growing press industry as well as the expansion of the textbook market on the creation of republican citizens would be worthwhile. Second, besides using schools and the press, Chinese intellectuals also consolidated civic training through establishing political organizations. Republican-era students not only learned how to be good citizens in the classroom but also experimented with various forms of citizenship through student self-government organizations. They thought themselves as citizens and even sought to

associate themselves with the ideal of active citizenship consisted of direct political participation and concrete contributions. Research on student self-government organizations in early Republican China will enhance understanding of the outcome of citizenship education during that period. Lastly, conceptualizations of rights and citizenship in modern China were inclusive from the start. Chinese women were active in fighting for women's liberation and equal political rights. In line with the goals of gender equality as embodied in the New Culture Movement, educators made few distinctions between the curriculum standards for boys' and girls' schools. A gender study on girls' education about citizenship will enrich understanding of the role women played in the promotion of ideas of rights and citizenship in early-twentieth-century China.

Conclusion

The purpose of this study has been to explore the development of ideas regarding rights and citizenship at the turn of the twentieth century and examine its influence on the making of citizenship education policies in China. In a nutshell, the first chapter gave a general introduction to the topic and the study. The second chapter reviewed methodological issues related to historical research. The third chapter briefly traced the development of rights and citizenship in the West and reviewed the traditional Chinese perceptions of government and society. The fourth chapter looked into the rise of rights discourse in the late Qing and its development until 1937 drawing on the works of leading rights advocates. The fifth chapter examined civic curricula and textbooks for the primary and middle schools from 1895 to 1937. The final chapter related historical practices to rights advocacy in contemporary China and called on a rights-based civic education. This study has revealed that Chinese intellectuals since the late nineteenth century had integrated rights thinking into Chinese conservative political thinking and gained sophisticated understanding with respect to rights and citizenship by the late 1930s. The examination of

curriculum and textbooks on ethics/civics, Chinese language arts, history, and geography from 1903 to 1930s has shown that changes in the content of curriculum and textbooks echoed the changing perceptions of rights and obligations of citizens among the Chinese intelligentsia. Citizenship education from 1895 to 1937 can be identified as dominated by the military-civilian ideal aimed at strengthening the nation-state, followed by a period of policy adjustments echoing the prevalent appeals to individual rights, and then a trend towards the state-focused citizenship education after the GMD rose to power.

The exploration of the historical origin of rights advocacy in China and its impact on civics education adds to an understanding of the distinctive roles that education and intellectuals played in promoting ideas of human rights and democracy. This study has attested that promoting human rights and reforming citizenship education were a negotiation between conservation and change, between intense and gradual change. At the crossroads of change, intellectuals who were traditionally regarded as the backbone of Chinese society should once again emerge as a central pillar in social transformation. Although establishing independent human rights NGOs in China is nearly impossible at present, intellectuals can engage in educational activities to raise human rights consciousness among their fellow countrymen. Meanwhile, international human rights groups may also consider working closely with Chinese intellectuals in addition to pressing the Chinese government into reducing restrictions.

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Gao, Buying & Chen, Baoquan (高步瀛、陳寶泉) (1906). *Tongsu guomin bidu* 通俗國民必讀 (What the people should read). Shanghai: Nanyang guanshu ju.

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Shen, Yi; Bao, Gongyi; Dai, Kedun (沈頤、包公毅、戴克敦) (1912, reprinted in 2011) *Gongheguo jiaoheshu xin xiushen* 共和國教科書新修身 (Republican New Ethical Readers). Beijing, Xinxing chubanshe

Fan, Bingqing (樊炳清) (1913). *Gongheguo jiaokeshu xiushen yaoyi* 共和國教科書修身要義 (Republican series: Essentials of ethics for middle schools). Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Weng, Changzhong (翁長鐘) (1917). *Gongmin mofan* 公民模範 (The model citizen). Shanghai: Zhonghua Press.

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Li, Yang (李楊) (1932). *Xinshidai sanmin zhuyi jiaokeshu (gaoxiao)* 新時代三民主義教科書 <高小> (New age Sanmin Zhuyi readers for higher primary schools). 4 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Hu, Yuzhi (胡愈之) (1929). *Xinshidai sanmin zhuyi jiaokeshu (chuzhong)* 新時代三民主義教科書 <初中> (New age San Min Zhu Yi readers for middle schools). 3 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Zhou, Gan; Wan, Liangjiong; Li, Zhiyan; Wei, Que (周淦、萬良炯、 李之鷗、韋愨) (1933).

Fuxing chuji zhongxue jiaokeshu gongmin 復興初級中學教科書公民 (Revival middle school textbook: Civics). 3 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Zhao Jingyuan & Wei Zhicheng (趙景源、魏志澄) (1934). *Fuxing gongmin jiaokeshu (gaoxiao)* 復興公民教科書 <高小> (Revival civics textbook for higher primary schools). 4 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Chinese Language Arts

(1905). *Zuixin chudeng xiaoxue guowen jiaokeshu* 最新初等小學國文教科書 (New national readers for lower primary schools). 10 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

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Hu, Zhenhui (胡貞惠) (1927). *Xin shidai guoyu jiaokeshu (chuxiao)* (新時代國語教科書 <初小>, New age national language textbook). 8 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press

History

Zhao, Yusen (趙玉森) (1913). *Gongheguo jiaokeshu: benguoshi* 共和國教科書: 本國史 (Republican textbook series: Chinese history). 2 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Zhong, Yulong (鐘毓龍) (1914). Xinzhi benguoshi 新制本國史 (New system Chinese history). 3 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua Press.

Gu, Jiegang & Wang, Zhongqi (顧頡剛、王鐘麒) (1923). *Xiandai chuzhong jiaokeshu: benguoshi* 現代初中教科書: 本國史 (Chinese history for use in lower middle schools). 3 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Fu, Linyi (傅林一) (1932). *Xinshidai lishi jiaokeshu* 新時代歷史教科書 (The New Age History). 4 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

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Geography

Xie, Honglai (謝洪賚) (1903). *Yinghuan quanzhi* (瀛寰全志, Complete geography with colored maps). Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Xie, Guan (謝觀) (1913). *Gongheguo jiaokeshu: benguo dili* 共和國教科書: 本國史, (Republican textbook series: Chinese geography). 2 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

Li, Tinghan (李庭翰) (1914-15). *Xinzhi benguo dili jiaoben* 新制本國地理教本 (New system: Chinese geography textbook). 3 vols. Shanghai: Zhonghua Press.

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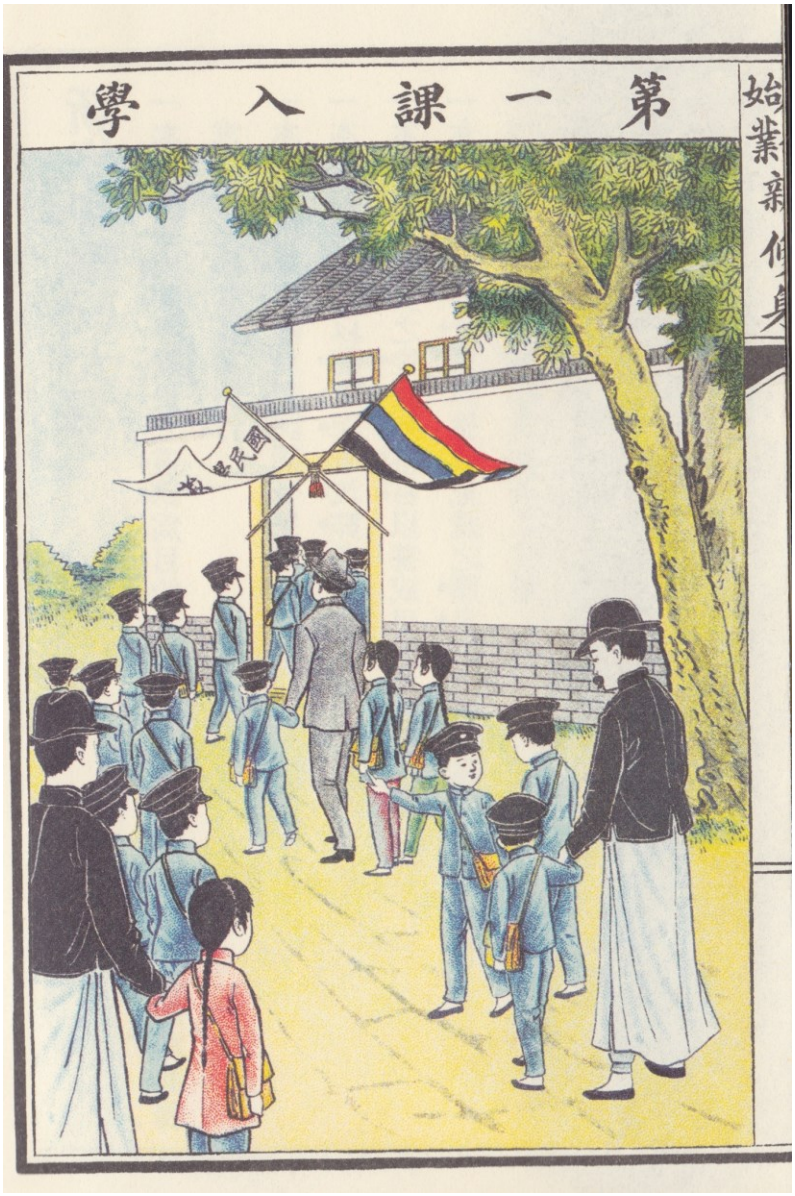
Liu, Huru (劉虎如) (1927-28). *Xinshidai benguo dili jiaokeshu* 新時代本國地理教科書, (New era Chinese geography textbook). 2 vols. Shanghai: Xinshidai jiaoyushe.

Zhang, Qiyun (張其昀) (1926). *Xinxuezhi gaoji zhongxue jiaokeshu: benguo dili* 新學制 (高級中學教科書: 本國地理, New school system high school textbook: Chinese geography). 2 vols. Shanghai: Commercial Press.

APPENDIX B



APPENDIX C

APPENDIX D

APPENDIX E

APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY OF NAMES AND TERMS

B
bagu wen (八股文): eight-legged essays
baihua (白話): the vernacular language
Baoguo hui (保國會): the *National Preservation Society*

C
Cai Yuanpei: 蔡元培
Cen Chunxuan: 岑春煊
Chen Baoquan: 陳寶泉
Chen Duxiu: 陳獨秀
Chen Que: 陳確

D
Daxue yuan (大學院): National University Council
Dai Jitao: 戴季陶
Dai Zhen: 戴震
danghua (黨化): party transformation
De xiansheng (德先生): Mr. Democracy
Duan Fang: 端方
duli quan (獨立權): the right of independence
Dongfang zazhi (東方雜誌): The Eastern Miscellany
dujing jiangjing (讀經講經): classics

F
fa (法): law
Fan Bingqing: 樊炳清
Fan Yuanlian：範源濂
fen (份): differentiation

G
Gao Buying: 高步瀛
Gao Yihan: 高一涵
gong (公): public-spiritedness
gongde (公德): public morality
gongmin (公民): citizen
gu minli (鼓民力): promote the people's strength
Gu Jiegang: 顧頡剛
Gu Shusen: 顧樹森
Gu Yanwu: 顧炎武
guanhua (官話): the national language

Guangxu: 光緒
guo (國): state
guojia (國家): the state
guomin (國民): the people of the nation; citizenry
Guomin bidu (國民必讀): *What the People must Read*
guoquan (國權): the rights of the state
Guowen bao (國文報): *National News*
guoyu (國語): the national language
guozi jian (國子監): Imperial Academy of Learning

H
Hanfeizi: 韓非子
hanhua (漢化): Sinicization
Hu Shi: 胡適
Huang Zongxi: 黃宗羲

J
jia (家): family
jian'ai feigong (兼愛非攻): universal love and mutual benefits
Jiang Menglin: 蔣夢麟
Jiangsusheng Jiaoyu Hui (江蘇省教育會): Jiangsu Education Association
jiao (教): teaching
Jiaoyu bu (教育部): Ministry of Education
Jiaoyu gongbao (教育公報): Educational Bulletin
Junzi (君子): the exemplary gentleman

K
kai minzhi (開民智): improve the people's intelligence
Kang Youwei: 康有為

L
li (禮): decorum; rites
li (利): benefit; profit
li Dazhao: 李大釗
Li Duanfen: 李端棻
Li Hongzhang: 李鴻章
liquan (利權): economic rights
Liang Qichao: 梁啓超
Liang Shiqiu: 梁實秋
liangneng (良能): good ability
liangzhi (良知): good knowledge
liangxin (良心): human conscience

Liu Huaqiu: 劉華秋
Liu Kunyi: 劉坤一
Liu Shipei: 劉師培
Liu Xiaobo: 劉小波
Lu Xun: 魯迅
Lufei Kui: 陸費逵
Luo Longji: 羅隆基
Lü Simian: 呂思勉

M
Manifesto of the Struggle for Freedom (爭自由的宣言): *Zheng Ziyou de Xuanyan*
Mengzi (孟子): Mencius
minben (民本): people as the basis
minquan (民權): people rights
minyue (民約): the social contract
minli, minzhi, minde (民力，民智，民德): people's strength, intellect, and virtue
Min wei gui, sheji ci zhi, jun wei qing (民為貴，社稷次之, 君為輕): the people come first; the altars of the earth and grain come afterwards; the ruler comes last

N
Nanxue hui (南學會): the Southern Study Society
Nan Yang Gong Xue (南洋公學): South China Public School

P
Pan Wen'an: 潘文安
pingdeng quan (平等權): the right of equality
pingxing zhi quan (平性之權): rights of equality

Q
Qiangxue hui (強學會): the Strengthening Study Society
Qinding Xuetang Zhangcheng (欽定學堂章程): *Official Regulations Governing Schools*
Qingyi bao (清議報): *Journal of Disinterested Criticism*
quan (權): rights
quanli (權利): rights
quanli (權力): power; might
Quanxue pian (勸學篇): *An Exhortation to Learning*
qun (群): collectivity; group

R
ren (仁): benevolence; humaneness
renge (人格): personality
renren you zizhu zhi quan (人人有自主之權): every person has the right of self-mastery

renquan (人權): human rights
renzhi (仁治): benevolent ruling

S
Sai xiansheng (賽先生): Mr. Science
san gang wu chang (三綱五常): the three cardinal guides and five constant virtues
Sanmin Zhuyi (三民主義): *Three Principles of the People*
shengcun quan (生存權): the right to subsistence
shiren ziranquan (世人自然權): natural rights of people in the world
Shiwu bao (實務報): the *Current Affairs Journal*
shu (恕): reciprocity
Shu Xincheng: 舒新城
Shu Yuan (書院): the Provincial College
si (私): personal; private
side (私德): personal morality
siquan (私權): personal rights
Sishu Wujing (四書五經): the Four Books and the Five Classics
Sun Jianai: 孫家鼐
Sun Yat-sen: 孙中山

T
Tan Sitong: 譚嗣同
Tang Hualong: 湯化龍
Tao Xingzhi: 陶行知
tigao xueshu (提高學術): to advance learning
tianfu renquan (天賦人權): heavenly-endowed rights
tianli (天理): heavenly pattern
tianquan (天權): Mandate of Heaven
tianxia (天下): all under heaven
tianyu renquan (天予人權): heavenly-endowed rights
tianzhi (天職): heaven duty
tongbao (同胞): compatriot
Tongwen Guan 同文館: the School of Interpreters

W
Wang Fuzhi: 王夫之
Wang Yunwu: 王雲五
Wang Zhongqi: 王鐘麒
Wanguo gongfa (萬國公法): *General Laws*
Wangguo gongbao (萬國公報): *the Global Magazine*
weimin zhuyi (為民主義): populism
wen (文): culture

Wen Yiduo: 聞一多
Weng Changzhong: 翁長鐘
wuguo gonghe (五國共和): union of five peoples in the Chinese Republic
Wu Jingxiong: 吳經熊

X
xiangyue (鄉約): community compact
Xie Honglai: 謝洪賚
Xin Jiaoyu (新教育): *The New Education*
Xin Jiaoyu Gongjin She (新教育共進社): the Society for the Promotion of New Education
xin minde (新民德): renew the people's morality
Xinyue (新月): *New Crescent*
xiushen (修身): self-cultivation
Xi Zhimo: 徐志摩
Xu Zhiyong: 許志勇
xuebu (學部): Ministry of Education
xuefeng (學風): academic trends
Xunzi: 荀子

Y
Yan Fu: 嚴復
Yan Xishan：阎锡山
Ye Shengtao: 葉聖陶
yi (義): righteousness
Yuan Shikai: 袁世凱

Z
Zeng Guofan: 曾國藩
Zhang Baixi: 张百熙
Zhang Binglin: 章炳麟
Zhang Yuanji: 張元濟
Zhang Zhidong: 張之洞
Zhao Erxun: 趙爾巽
zheng (政): political matters
Zhongguo minquan baozhang tongmeng (中國民權保障同盟): the Chinese League for the Protection of Civil Rights
Zhongguo wenxue (中國文學): Chinese literature
Zhongxi xuetang (中西學堂): Sino-Western School
Zhonghua Shiye Jiaoyu She (中華實業教育社): the National Association for Vocational Education
Zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong (中學為體，西學為用): Chinese learning as basics and Western learning as application

Zhong Yulong: 鐘毓龍
Zhou Fohai: 周佛海
Zhou Fu: 周馥
zineng zuozhu zhi quan (自能做主之權): the power to be masters of themselves
ziran zhi quan (自然之權): natural rights
ziying (自營): seeking oneself
ziyou (自由): freedom
ziyou quan (自由權): the right of liberty
zizhu (自主): self-mastery
zizhu zhi quan (自主之權): right of self-mastery
zongli yamen (總理衙門): Foreign Affairs Bureau
Zou Rong: 鄒容
zuguo (祖國): ancestral nation