POPULAR EDUCATION IN CHINA 1904 - 1919:  
NEW IDEAS AND DEVELOPMENTS

by

PAUL JOHN BAILEY

B.A., The University of Leeds, 1973  
M.A., The University of London, 1976

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ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of changing attitudes towards education in China from the turn of the twentieth century to the May Fourth Movement in 1919. The focus is primarily on popular education (e.g., public lectures, spare-time schools, libraries), although there is discussion of education in general, since an overall context is required in order to highlight changes of attitudes. With the abolition of the traditional civil service examinations, which had been designed to recruit government officials, in 1905 and the implementation of a modern, government school system designed to train a patriotic, loyal and hard-working citizenry, Chinese officials and educators began to stress the importance of general and popular education.

In contrast to previous English-language studies that have tended to emphasize the "democratic" aspect of western educational influence on China (especially with relation to the philosophy of John Dewey), this study will seek to show that Chinese educators were attracted to quite different aspects of western educational practice. With regard to the formal school system, Chinese educators praised the centralisation, uniformity, discipline, strict supervision of textbooks and inculcation of patriotic ideals which characterized education in the West. Popular, or social, education, which "reformed" the lower classes by emphasizing hard work, patriotism and public hygiene was also seen as an important factor explaining the strength of Japan and the West. There was much discussion, for example, of censorship in the West as a useful tool to "reform" popular culture and hence improve the quality of the people.
Another development after 1905 was the change in attitudes towards vocational education. Chinese educators, in fact, argued for a closer link between education and economic development. In order to compete in the international arena, they argued, education had to train people who could "earn a livelihood," thus benefitting themselves and the country. The promotion of vocational education was also accompanied by changes in attitudes towards manual labour. Such a trend was fully evident in the work-study movement, which was promoted among Chinese workers and students in France.

Another feature of discussions on popular education during these years was the idea that formal school education was not fulfilling its required task, that of training a united and patriotic citizenry. Schools were criticized for fostering elitism, division and individualism. Thus it was hoped that public lectures, for example, would stress the virtues of cooperation, unity and concern for the public good. The work-study movement was designed, amongst other things, to break down the traditional social barrier between intellectuals and workers.

This study also helps to place educational debate in China during these years within a wider context—in two ways. Firstly, reference is made to educational debates in the West which were often very similar to the discussions being carried out in China. The debate on vocational versus a humanist education, for example, which raged in Germany at the turn of the century was occurring in China at the same time. In other features of Chinese educational practice at this time, such as the elimination of the Confucian Classics from the primary and middle school curricula and the overriding importance Chinese educators placed on a single-track system in order to preserve a
certain egalitarianism in education, China was in advance of countries such as England or France.

Secondly, this study will show that the issues debated in China at this time were to have a crucial relevance for educational debates in post-49 China. Such issues included the relative merits of a well-structured, formal school system versus a wider network of less well-equipped spare-time schools, and the importance of intellectuals participating in manual labour.

The primary sources used in this study comprise contemporary educational journals, the writings of educators at the time, and educational laws and regulations. In 1909 the first Chinese journal specifically devoted to education—"The Educational Review" (Jiaoyu Zazhi)—was published. During the early years of the Republic, a number of journals on education appeared, most of them only lasting a few years. Such journals contained essays on educational topics, the texts of educational laws and regulations and educational news from individual provinces. These journals, in addition to the 5-volume and 4-volume collections of documents on education edited by Taga Akigorō and Shu Xincheng respectively have proved indispensable to this study.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1900 a deep sense of crisis was felt among Chinese officials and intellectuals. China's defeat at the hands of Japan in 1895, and the Boxer uprising and subsequent allied occupation of Peking in 1900 convinced many Chinese of the time that China's very existence was threatened. In 1901 the Qing court embarked on a series of reforms, many of which echoed the earlier proposals of the 1898 reformers, designed to "strengthen" the state and secure the position of the Qing monarchy. Such reforms included preparation for the convening of a national assembly, the formation of provincial and district assemblies, the re-organization of the army and the implementation of a national school system.

The latter reform was part of a wider change in attitudes towards education that was to have relevance beyond 1911. Little has been written in English on educational reform and change in early twentieth century China. It is true that just after the establishment of the Republic in 1912 and during the 1920s and 1930s a number of English-language works on Chinese education appeared, many of which were written by Chinese doctoral students in the United States. Whether such works were optimistic or pessimistic about recent Chinese education, most of them were superficial in their approach. Kuo Ping-wen, writing in 1914, declared that traditionally China had always had a "democratic educational spirit," which was reflected in the modern school system established in 1912. In contrast to China, Kuo claimed, where the new schools were "being utilized by all classes of society," other countries such as England, France and the United States were undemocratic. H. Galt, writing in 1929, praised China's traditional system of education which, he thought, had had a beneficial effect on the modern system after 1912. He even went so far as to suggest a
revival of the traditional civil service examinations, which "maintained a series of academic degrees that conserved educational standards and promoted respect," and social forms and ceremonies "valuable for social control and for maintaining kindliness and courtesy in social life."

Other writers, like C. Peake and V. Purcell condemned recent Chinese educational development. Peake expressed horror at the growth of what he perceived as an intolerant nationalism in Chinese education, which had been developing since the last years of the dynasty. The one ray of hope, according to Peake, was the brief interlude of 1919 - 1922 when Dewey's influence on Chinese educational thought led to more emphasis on democratic values and the importance of individual development. V. Purcell took issue with Kuo Ping-wen, claiming that he did not give due credit to Christian influence on Chinese education which, Purcell implied, was more or less responsible for any improvements that did occur. Like Peake, Purcell noted that from 1918 to 1925, when nationalism again became the order of the day, the Chinese jettisoned the German and Japanese educational model and leant in favour of the American model.

However, since the 1930s, not much has been written in a western language on Chinese education during the early years of the twentieth century. The few studies that have been done concentrate, on the one hand, on the attempts of self-strengthening officials to establish modern schools and reform the traditional civil service examinations at the end of the nineteenth century and, on the other, on the burst of enthusiasm for democratic and popular education that was supposed to have been aroused after 1918 by the May Fourth movement and the influence of John Dewey's educational philosophy. The period between the abolition of the civil service examinations in 1905
and the May Fourth movement has been neglected and, in fact, seems to have been considered of little significance in China's educational development. Yet this was the very period when attitudes towards the role and function of education changed dramatically. New questions were raised and solutions proposed in a lively educational debate that was to have relevance beyond the Republican period.

One pioneering study has been made of changes in educational ideas and practice, but only covers the period 1902 - 1912 as seen through the activities and writings of Zhang Jian, an entrepreneur and educational reformer. The study is useful in pointing out how and in what ways Japanese influence played a role in the reform of Chinese education during the last years of the dynasty, as well as showing that it was during this period that importance began to be placed on such things as vocational education and specialized teacher training. However, an analysis that will encompass the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic is needed, since there is a very real continuity in attitudes towards education that spans the 1911 revolution. This study will therefore describe, primarily, changes in educational ideas from the early years of the twentieth century to about 1919.

The study will concentrate on popular education. The focus will be primarily on ideas, rather than on implementation or results. Descriptions of the 1904 and 1912 school systems, for example, are given only to analyze changes of attitude towards education in general. This is necessary in order to establish the context in which discussions of popular education took place. For the Chinese, popular education referred to all educational activities outside the regular school and hence included not only public lectures, spare-time schools and newspaper reading rooms, but also the "reform" of popular
literature, entertainment and customs. The Chinese terms for popular education, shehui jiaoyu (lit: social education), which was borrowed from the Japanese, and tongsu jiaoyu (lit: common education) were introduced into the Chinese educational vocabulary in the early twentieth century. In the 1920s and 1930s, although new terms were used, such as pingmin jiaoyu (common people's education) and minzhong jiaoyu (mass education), they still referred to educational activity outside the formal school. Thus a journal entitled Pingmin Jiaoyu (Education for the Ordinary People) declared in 1919 that such an education was not to be confined to the schools. "Everything in society," it commented, "has an educational function." In 1930 "mass education" was defined as an education that would enlighten the people on hygiene, culture and politics, as well as providing instruction on earning a livelihood.

Some sources list mass education as an element of social education, along with public lectures, entertainment and spare-time schools.

In addition to describing developments in popular education, as the Chinese defined it, I shall also look at developments in primary and vocational education (which the Chinese defined as "general education"). Since primary education had never traditionally been considered as a function of the state, official and non-official attitudes towards primary education after 1905 when a national school system was proposed are an important indicator of attitudes towards popular education in general. Changes in the primary school curriculum, such as the elimination of the Classics, made education more accessible and therefore can be considered as contributions to popular education. Changes in attitudes towards vocational education also have significance for popular education. By providing more facilities for vocational training and/or introducing practical subjects into the formal school curriculum, Chinese officials
and educators during this period admitted the need for education to serve the people in more concrete ways other than simply being used as an instrument of social control. Finally, a chapter will be devoted to the work-study movement, which took place in the early years of the Republic. Although work-study was promoted among Chinese students and workers in France, the ideas raised during the course of the movement are relevant in a study of changes in Chinese educational attitudes during this period. The purposes behind work-study, according to its promoters, included using education to "reform the people's customs," combining mental with manual labour, and changing attitudes towards physical labour, all of which were discussed by other Chinese educators.

Four caveats must first be mentioned with regard to this study. Unlike eighteenth century France, where changing attitudes towards popular education led to a spate of essays and articles outlining the purposes of popular education and defining for whom it was designed, no such abundance of materials exists in the Chinese context. Although statements were frequently made by Chinese educators and writers on the importance of popular and general education, there were no systematic attempts to define the kinds of people for whom it was designed. At various times they advocated political education, literacy training, vocational instruction and moral indoctrination for the "people," but it is not always clear whether they have certain groups of people in mind. Thus, when they talked of using education to reform the "people's customs," such as gambling or adherence to superstitious beliefs, they evidently had in mind the lower classes, but when they talked of using education to change people's selfish attitudes into a concern for the collectivity and country it is evident that they had a wider range of people in mind.
Secondly, although details are given of educational developments when possible, it must be noted that apart from the fact that there are no systematic and detailed figures on such things as the funding of popular education (e.g., half-day schools and literacy schools), what educational statistics are available are not always reliable. Despite requests by the Education Ministry after 1912 for the provinces to send in information many provinces did not do so (or if they did it was often incomplete). Furthermore, figures from the same or different sources often do not match. Thus in the First Chinese Education Yearbook (published in 1932) the number of lecture institutes in 1928 and 1929 are given as 551 and 2,071 respectively in volume four, while in volume three of the same publication the numbers are given as 535 and 2,894.\(^\text{17}\) A similar discrepancy occurs with the number of libraries. In volume four the total number of libraries in 1930 is given as 1,273 while in volume three the total is given as 1,582.\(^\text{18}\) Statistics are given, therefore, only to indicate general developments.

Thirdly, it should be noted that educational developments during this period took place primarily in the urban areas, although the increase in number of half-day schools, literacy schools and lecture institutes did mean that the benefits of education were being spread to more outlying areas than before. Articles on rural education \textit{per se} began to appear in 1919,\(^\text{19}\) but it was not until the 1920s and 1930s that nongmin jiaoyu and xiangcun jiaoyu (both meaning rural education) became commonly-used terms, particularly in connection with the rural reconstruction movements in the 1930s.\(^\text{20}\)

Fourthly, most schools and spare-time schools at this time were for boys. Although a beginning was made with girls' education and attitudes began to change, progress was very slow. I have not included the debate on
women's education in this study since it requires a more extensive study in its own right.

With these considerations in mind, this study will show the following:

1. Interest in popular and vocational education predated the May Fourth movement. This even applies to seemingly trivial aspects of popular education. For example, in July 1922, after the first mass education campaign initiated by Yan Yangchu and his followers in Changsha, there was a "graduation ceremony" at which the Hunan governor presented certificates to 967 former illiterates who had passed the course. The event was hailed as unique since for the first time, it was claimed, ordinary people, many of whom had never seen the inside of a school, now possessed certificates testifying that they had attained a certain level of literacy. However, such an innovation had already been proposed and carried out in the late Qing, when the government ordered that graduates of the literacy schools were to receive a certificate testifying to their attainment of a basic literacy.21

2. The education debate during the years 1905 - 1919 raised many questions that were to have a long-term relevance. The discussion over the dual-track system, or whether to assign priority to primary or higher education, for example, has played, and continues to play, an important part in educational developments in the People's Republic. It will also be noted that Chinese educators confronted very early in the century a number of issues that were subjects of contemporary debate in the West, such as the role of the Classics in the school curriculum, or the relative importance of vocational education.

3. The increasing importance that was attached to vocational education during this period led to the beginning of changes in attitudes towards manual labour, exemplified by the work-study movement. It will be shown,
therefore, that the espousal of the slogan "the spirit of labour" (laodong shensheng) and the importance attached to labouring people by radical intellectuals during the May Fourth movement was not simply due to the influence of the 1917 October Revolution, but rather was the culmination of a trend that had begun in the early years of the Republic. A corollary of this was the desire to see education more linked with the economy and thus helping produce economically productive, as well as hard-working, citizens.

4. Although the most important model for Chinese educators in this period was Japan, from whom they derived the concept of "social education" as a means to "reform the people's customs," other countries such as Germany and France provided inspiration. The educational philosophy of Kerschensteiner, for example, influenced Chinese educators' ideas on vocational education, while the work-study promoters looked to France as the embodiment of republican education. The fact that Chinese educators often looked to Germany and France for their inspiration provides a useful corrective to the undue emphasis on the importance of the Anglo-American model in accounts of Chinese education after 1912.

5. The whole question of western influence on Chinese education in general is much more ambiguous than has been supposed. Previous works have described the western impact on Chinese education in terms of its "democratic" influence, associated usually with the theories of John Dewey. Yet Chinese educators during this period looked to quite different aspects of western educational practice. Centralization, uniformity, strict supervision of textbooks, the inculcation of patriotic ideals and the extensive surveillance over popular culture (e.g., censorship) were all, at one time or another, focused on by Chinese educators as factors contributing to western strength. All
Chinese educators, whether progressive or conservative admired the "paternalistic" aspect of popular education in the west, whereby the authorities ensured that the proper ideals of patriotism, hard work and moral uprightness were inculcated in the minds of the people.

6. Finally, a common theme ran through all educational discussions during this period; whether the purpose of education was to instill loyalty to the dynasty, create a united and patriotic citizenry, produce an economically productive people, or raise the social and cultural level of the lower classes, everyone shared a common faith in the power of education to achieve such aims. The ultimate expression of this faith was the assumption by many that widespread education would eliminate classes in society by, as Chinese educators often put it, "breaking down the divisions between rich and poor, and between the knowledgeable and foolish." It was this faith in education that explained the absence of mistrust of the lower classes that was so characteristic of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe when popular education was discussed.
Notes

1. See, for example, Chai-Hsuan Chuang, Tendencies Toward a Democratic System of Education in China (Shanghai, 1922); Kuo Ping-wen, The Chinese System of Public Education (New York, 1914); Yen Sun Ho, Chinese Education from the Western Viewpoint (New York, 1913); Chiling Yin, Reconstruction of Modern Educational Organizations in China (Shanghai, 1926); T.Y. Teng and T.T. Lew, Education in China (Peking, 1922); Tao Chih-hsing, Education in China (Peking, 1925); You-Kuang Chu, Some Problems of a National System of Education in China (Shanghai, 1933); Chiu-sam Tsang, Nationalism in School Education in China Since the Opening of The Twentieth Century (Hong Kong, 1911); H. Galt, Oriental and Occidental Elements in China's Modern Educational System (Peking, 1929); C. Peake, Nationalism and Education in Modern China (New York, 1932); V. Purcell, Problems of Chinese Education (London, 1936). A number of accounts were also written in Chinese at this time, but they were mostly concerned with a description of government regulations and laws on the schools. See, for example, Jiang Shuge, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyu Zhidu (Shanghai, 1934), and Chen Qitan, Zujiin Sanshinian Zhongguo Jiaoyushi (Shanghai, 1936). Recent Chinese accounts continue this practice and contain little in-depth analysis of, for example, changes in educational attitudes. See Cheng Jingpan, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyushi (Peking, 1979) and Chen Yuanhui, Zhongguo Xiandai Jiaoyushi (Peking, 1979).

2. Kuo Ping-wen, p. 4. Like Chinese officials during the last years of the Qing, Kuo insisted that during the Zhou period China had had a well-organized school system, providing education for all. Furthermore, Kuo claimed, the curriculum combined Spartan (physical) and Athenian (mental) ideals of education. Ibid., pp. 17–18. Additional proof Kuo gave to support his argument that Chinese education had been in advance of the west was his observation that Wang Yangming anticipated the educational philosophy of Pestalozzi. Ibid., p. 57. Another study of Chinese education commented that during the Zhou the first attempts were made to introduce a "liberal education." Yen Sun Ho, p. 15. B. Russell, in 1922, also attempted to show that Chinese educational development was not necessarily behind that of the west. He pointed to the position of women at Peking University, which he thought was better than that of women at Cambridge, as an example. The Problem of China. (London, 1922), p. 236.


4. Peake's views contrast with those of Chiu-sam Tsang (Nationalism in School Education in China, p. 44) who noted that the "period from 1912 to 1922 shows decreasing emphasis on nationalism and an increasing emphasis on democracy in the aims of education." Peake's unsympathetic
and, at times, rather ludicrous approach is shown when he gives an example of what he calls "selfish" nationalism—the decision taken by the Tenth Annual Conference of the National Federation of Education Associations in 1924 to remove English from the primary school curriculum and to make it "elective only" in junior middle schools. The idea of teaching a foreign language at primary level has hardly been adopted widely today, least of all in the United States. Peake, as an American, could also have done well to study the results of a survey carried out among American educators in the late 1920s (cited in You-Kuang Chu, Some Problems of A National System of Education in China, p. 30). 81% of those questioned agreed with the statement that "every boy and girl in American schools should be taught to give unquestioned and unlimited respect and support to the American flag for whatever cause it may be unfurled."


6. V. Purcell, p. 51.

7. Ibid., p. 71.

8. See, for example, W. Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China (Mass., 1971); K. Biggerstaff, The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China (Ithaca, 1961); W. Franke, The Reform and Abolition of the Chinese Examination System (Mass., 1960). Other studies of this period (E. Rhoads, J. Esherick, C. Lewis) refer to education only in the context of increasing gentry control over local organs of government. Japanese scholars have also devoted attention to the establishment of modern schools during the late Qing. See, for example, Abe Hiroshi, "Shinmatsu no kindai gakkō, kōsei-sho o chūshin ni" in Rekishi Hyōron, no. 1 (Jan., 1965) and no. 3 (March, 1965); Saito Akio, "Chugoku gakusei kaikaku no shiso to genjitsu" in Senshu Jimbun Ronshu (Dec., 1969).


11. Pingmin jiaoyu was applied specifically to the movement initiated by James Yen (Yan Yangchu) in 1922, which aimed at giving literacy classes to children and adults who had not attended school. See Pingmin Jiaoyu Chubu Chengji Baogao (Shanghai, 1925); Yang Maoru, "Pingmin jiaoyu yundong di jingguo" in JYZZ, 19:9, pp. 1-5. Minzhong jiaoyu was used by the Education Conference of 1928 in calling for the widespread
establishment of "mass schools," which would give training in literacy and arithmetic to 15 - 50 year-olds. For a report on the conference proceedings, see Quanguo Jiaoyu Huiyi Baogao (Shanghai, 1928), 2 vols. The resolution on mass schools is in vol. 2, pp. 398-399.

12. Wusi Shiqi Qikan Jieshao, vol. 1, pp. 337-338. Social education was defined in no less as wide a scope. Thus Chen Guofu wrote in the 1940s that it "has the intention of taking all of society ... and constructing a giant educational organ." Zhongguo Jiaoyu Gaige Zhi Tujing, p. 82.


15. By way of contrast, Kuo Ping-wen, p. 100, regards "popular education" as encompassing literacy schools, primary schools, half-day schools and middle schools.

16. See H. Chisick, The Limits of Reform in The Enlightenment (Princeton, 1981). In 1779, for example, the Academy of Chalons-sur-Marne proposed for the subject of its essay contest "What is the best plan of education for the people?" There were over 15 entrants. In fact, Chisick is able to draw on a number of essays in such contests for his analysis of attitudes towards popular education in eighteenth century France.


18. JYNJ, vol. 3, pp. 798-799; vol. 4, p. 183. More extensive research will have to be done in local gazeteers in order to even begin compiling a detailed picture of educational developments (such as funding, availability, distribution of schools) that is characteristic of the sophisticated studies of education that are being done, for example, in France. For two recent examples, see W. Frijhoff, Ecole et Société dans l'Ancien Régime (Paris, 1975), and F. Furet and J. Ozouf, Lire et Ecrire: l'Alphabetisation des Français de Calvin à Jules Ferry (Paris, 1977).


20. For rural education in Ding xian, Hebei, see the two-volume collection edited by Wu Xiangxiang, Dingxian Nongmin Jiaoyu (Taipei, 1971). For rural reconstruction in Shandong, see G. Alitto, The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity (Berkeley, 1979), pp. 192-278. One result of the increasing interest in rural education was the publication of a number of manuals for potential rural teachers. Two examples are Cheng Benhai, Xiangcun Shifan Jingyantan (Shanghai,
1939), and Gan Cao, Xiangcun Jiaoyu (Shanghai, 1938). Gan noted that rural education as a distinct phenomenon only began when capitalism was introduced to China, making the urban-rural gap increasingly wider. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

21. For the Xuebu's proposed graduation certificate, see *Liangguang Guanbao*, 1911, no. 3, pp. 26a-28a.

22. For an example of this view, see Ding Shouhe, *Shiye Geming Dui Zhongguo de Yingxiang*, pp. 134-135.

23. See, for example, B. Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China*. In a wider sense, other scholars have argued that Chinese nationalists advocated change "in terms of western democratic and scientific ideas and values." See Lin Yu-sheng, *The Crisis of Chinese Consciousness*, p. 11.

CHAPTER ONE
THE DEBATE 1904–1911

Introduction

Chen Qitian, in his history of Chinese education written in 1928, distinguished the education of the past from the education of his day by defining the former as "education for talent" (rencai jiaoyu) or "education for officials" (guanshi jiaoyu) and the latter as "citizen education" (guomin jiaoyu), which meant that only after every citizen had received an education would "education for talent" be carried out.¹ The years immediately preceding 1911 witnessed the beginning of this change and, in fact, Chen observed this when he referred to the 1902–1911 period as a "construction period" characterized by the introduction of two kinds of education thought—that of "citizen education" and "militant-citizenry education" (junguomin jiaoyu), which involved honouring the martial spirit and teaching military and physical education at school.² Chen defined "citizen education" as "taking the education of the majority of patriotic citizens to support the state, to reform the state and to enable the state to really stand (on its own feet) in the international sphere."³ Another study of education, written in 1936 by Chen Qingzhi, also referred to this "citizen education" / "education for talent" dichotomy by attributing the former educational thought to the pre-1911 constitutional monarchists and the latter education thought to the pre-1911 absolute monarchists.⁴

These two studies are useful in pointing to the change in official educational thought in the years preceding the 1911 revolution. These were crucial years in China's educational development. A new school system had been
formally promulgated in 1904 but until the abolition of the civil service examinations in 1905 many were still attracted to the traditional way of acquiring official rank and social prestige, rather than attending "modern-style schools." Shu Xincheng, a prominent educator and writer of the 1920s and 1930s, recounted in his autobiography the disdain with which the new higher primary school was met in the capital of his native district of Xupu, Hunan. In 1903 the district magistrate was ordered to convert the Lufeng academy into a higher primary school but the inhabitants, including Shu's mother, dismissed it as a "foreign-type school" and preferred to see their children continuing their preparation for the civil service examinations. It was not until Shu had convinced his parents that he would receive a traditional degree after graduating from the new school and that it would not involve any increased costs for the family that Shu was allowed to attend.⁵

If it was difficult for ordinary people to change their perception of the purpose of education the same can be said of the group of officials who first sponsored the introduction of western technology, either in the form of special schools or as a subject category in the civil service examinations.⁶ Since education traditionally was associated with the examinations, and hence with the pursuit of an official career, it was inevitable that officials like Li Hongzhang, Zhang Zhidong, Yuan Shikai and Sheng Xuanhuai would think of the schools they sponsored as fulfilling the same function. Just as the examinations were regarded as a channel through which to recruit government "talent," so too would the specialist schools provide the talent necessary to make the country wealthy and strong. From the 1890s to 1904 the primary purpose of new educational institutions was precisely this.
This chapter will describe the shift in emphasis that occurred during this time through an analysis of the 1902 and 1904 school systems and the educational aims of 1906. Not all officials agreed with the prevailing view and the proposals put forward by Li Duanfen in 1896 and Kang Youwei in 1898 for a national school system foreshadowed the changes in official attitudes that took place after 1904 when more concern was shown in educating all the people, both as a means to foster patriotism and to provide practical knowledge for the general populace. Accompanying this development was a call for the establishment of different kinds of schools, enabling students to perform other tasks than just "studying to become an official" (dushu zuoguan), a malaise which seems to have affected Chinese education right up to the present.7

Just as Meiji Japan was able to draw on a tradition that stressed the efficacy of education in inculcating obedience,8 Chinese officials also were able to draw on a faith in the potential of education that had long been a feature of traditional thought in China. The confidence and optimism expressed by Chinese officials concerning the benefits to be gained from extending education to a wider range of people contrasts sharply with attitudes in eighteenth and nineteenth century England, where popular education was regarded with mistrust and fear.9

Finally, the educational views expressed by journals in China and by Chinese reformers and student radicals in Japan before 1911 will be described. As with the Qing court, education for all or, in the phrase commonly used at this time, "expanding the people's knowledge" (kai minzhi) was considered the essential ingredient in the building of a strong and wealthy nation. It was at this time that the concept of "social education"
(shehui jiaoyu) was introduced (via Japan), but whereas educators like Luo Zhenyu saw it as a means to cement the social order, student radicals defined it as revolutionary propaganda to be carried out amongst the lower classes.

**Official Attitudes From the 1890s to 1904**

When Sheng Xuanhuai established the Sino-Western school in Tianjin, in 1895, he asserted:

> I investigated the road to self-strengthening and saw that cultivating talent was the basis (of it). For the way to seek talent, it is especially fitting that schools be established first.¹⁰

Sheng thus regarded the new schools as a means to cultivate and select talent for government service. A joint memorial by Zhang Zhidong and Liu Shenyi in 1901 continued with this theme:

> (We say) that China is not poor in resources but poor in human talent. (She) is not weak in weapons but weak in will. The lack of human talent is due to the fact that knowledge is not widespread and that study is not firmly established.¹¹

Although Zhang bewailed the fact that "knowledge was not widespread," and despite the correlation he perceived between Japan's growing strength and the number of schools she had, he saw a more immediate task, to take precedence over establishing a wide network of elementary schools:

> Today, in order to save the situation ... it is first necessary to establish middle schools and higher-level schools ... then select energetic and bright shengyuan of character and quickly educate them, first studying general subjects and then specialized subjects.¹²

Zhang Zhidong's contention that a specialized education for a restricted few took priority over everything else was borne out in the schools he founded in the 1890s. In 1893 he established the Self-Strengthening School (ziqiang xuetang) in Wuchang. It was to be restricted to 120 students (aged
between 15 and 24), coming from families of officials or gentry above the rank of shengyuan. One of the aspects of "western educational systems" that impressed Zhang (in addition to their organization, centralization and emphasis on military drill, uniforms and discipline) was the fact that students paid tuition fees. Zhang made known his intention in 1897 to charge tuition fees at the Self-Strengthening School as well. This would have further restricted access to the school. In 1896 Zhang established the Hubei Military Preparatory School (wubei xuetang). Application to the school, again restricted to 120 students, "was permitted to all expectant civil or military officials, men with civil or military degrees, students of the Classics and the sons of reputable gentry." Later, Zhang noted that more than 4,000 people had applied and he made it clear that an extremely selective choice would be made in order to make training quick and easy. This was inevitable, Zhang maintained, since the schools "were for training talent and their school experience would be the basis for an official career." Zhang's purpose in creating the Agricultural School (nongwu xuetang) in 1898 was to train "upright gentry" to teach the populace, in an official capacity, new agricultural techniques. Finally, it should be noted that in Zhang's proposed national school system of 1901 candidates for the higher schools had to come from gentry families.

W. Ayers' claim that Zhang Zhidong contributed to the spread of schooling throughout China is not convincing, at least up until 1902 -1903. Even after 1903, when Zhang did change his emphasis, he refused to countenance women's education. Ayers' other claim that Zhang anticipated the C.C.P. in urging a higher status for soldiers and artisans and in criticizing students' reluctance to engage in manual labour is somewhat misleading since
other officials had broached the subject well before Zhang.\textsuperscript{18} Zuo Zongtang, for example, a prominent official who participated in the suppression of the Taiping rebellion and became Governor-general of Min-che (Fujian and Zhejiang) and Shen-gan (Shaanxi and Gansu), had drawn attention to the traditional contempt held for manual and technical work in his proposal for the establishment of a shipyard in the 1870s. In his memorial Zuo argued that increased prestige be given to manual and technical work, and called on students to embark on technical, rather than academic or official, careers.\textsuperscript{19}

In 1903 a joint memorial from Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai proposed the abolition of the traditional civil service examinations because, since they were still considered the only route to "profit and emolument" (\textit{lijū}; i.e., an official career), they were obstructing the development of modern schools. Yet it was evident that they thought of the schools as fulfilling a similar function as that of the examinations:

If the examinations are not abolished, then the schools will not greatly develop, scholars will never have any concrete knowledge and the state will never have any talent to suit the times.\textsuperscript{20}

Yuan Shikai, in another 1903 memorial advocating the abolition of the traditional examinations, maintained that:

Human talent is really the essence of a state, the basis of governing, it is just like the need for food and drink when hungry or thirsty .... Seeking talent is most urgent. If there is no talent, then all talk of helping the poor and weak borders on mere empty abstractions. If there is talent, then planning for the wealth and strength of the country will be easy.\textsuperscript{21}

Although Yuan referred to the common practice among western nations of extending education to everyone between the ages of 7 and 12, he ultimately continued to view schools merely as channels through which to recruit government talent:
Government must rely on talent. Talent must come from the schools. From time immemorial it has always been like this.22

However, there were other officials who perceived different priorities. Li Duanfen, a vice-president of the Board of Punishments, presented a memorial in 1896 which has been hailed by some Chinese writers as a pioneering proposal for "popular education."23 One source sees in Li's proposal to expand the number of schools the beginnings of "mass education" (minzhong jiaoyu).24 Others see Li's memorial as the beginning of the advocacy of "social education" (shehui jiaoyu) in that it referred to education outside the school, reaching a wider range of people.25 Li began his memorial by stressing the urgent need for talent, a common theme in most reform proposals:

Times are difficult and the need for talent is extremely urgent. I humbly propose to expand the number of schools in order to encourage human talent and to provide the means necessary to withstand national shame.26

The amount of talent a country had, Li continued, determined whether a country was strong or weak. Li was astounded that so few talented men existed in China, given the large size of her population:

Now the Chinese people number hundreds of millions, (but) scholars amongst them (only) number 100,000 or so. For human talent to be so deficient as this (fact) signifies is not a question of no natural talent being born but rather that the direction teaching is going is not perfected.27

Li listed five reasons for this state of affairs, of which the fifth one was the most significant:

As for a large building, it is not one (beam) of wood that supports it, nor is it just one pillar that resists stress. The empire is large. Times are changing quickly. (We) have to seek for more scholars (shi) and make a beginning in solving our problems. Today the eighteen provinces only have a few official schools. Each school has only several tens of students. Those who want to study cannot, either because
they live in remote rural areas and cannot get to school, or because the quotas for students are full up and they are not permitted to attend. Even if every student in the schools now were useful (afterward), it still would not be sufficient to produce enough talent for serving the kingdom.28

Li advocated the establishment of schools at provincial, prefectural and district levels, and while Zhang's regulations for his various institutions had called for recruitment from among the families of "upright gentry," Li proposed selecting students from among the people so that youths from the ages of 12 to 20 could enter school. Li evidently had in mind continuing the traditional practice whereby no tuition fees were levied and grants were given to students. In Hunan, for example, many new schools did not originally levy tuition fees, the result being that many of them were forced to close down.29 In 1910 the Governor of Hunan, expressing concern that schools could not expand because of a lack of funds, ordered that henceforth all students were to pay fees and were to be responsible for their own lodgings.30

Li proposed that schools below the provincial level should have a "mixed" curriculum, including the Four Books, foreign languages, elementary mathematics, geography, and simple histories of foreign countries. Schools at provincial level would select students below 25 years of age (again no specific requirement concerning status). The curriculum would comprise the Classics and Histories, in addition to manufacturing, agriculture, commerce, mining, current affairs and communications. To counter protests that his scheme would cost too much Li advised converting provincial and district academies (shuyuan) into modern schools. Li brushed aside potential objections that there would not be enough qualified teachers by commenting that at the preliminary stage sophisticated and complicated knowledge need
not be taught. With this system, Li explained, China's school system would approximate the ideals of her Golden Age and the western system of education.

Li went on to note that:

Those who go to schools can advance daily, but those who cannot go to school do not have the help of classroom lectures. This is not the way to improve customs.

Li suggested five ways to overcome this problem, two of which have led some Chinese writers to regard Li as a pioneer in the development of mass or social education. The first method Li suggested was to establish public libraries in all the provinces, especially for those who wanted to study but who were too poor to afford a formal education or to buy books. These libraries would purchase useful books and would

"... allow people to come in and read them. From each area those who are good at studying and who are competent would be selected to manage the library. Being like this, those who formerly had no books with which to study will all be able to exert themselves and there will be no wastage of talent."

The other important proposal Li made was that more newspapers and newspaper branches be established so that more people would know what was going on in the world. As with the case of libraries, Li pointed to the example of the west where hundreds of different kinds of newspapers enabled everyone from the "monarch at the top to girls at the bottom" to be acquainted with current affairs. As a result of reading newspapers, Li commented:

Those at the top can carry out their daily duties without being able to cover up any errors, while those below can be thoroughly acquainted with the political situation and can use this in their dealings with those above. The source of wealth and strength is certainly in this.
Although those "below" were not given the chance of participation in government, neither, in Li's estimation, were they to be merely passive observers in the political process. He assumed that an active acquisition of knowledge by those "below" would automatically induce those "above" to act more circumspectly. Li went on to criticize the contemporary Chinese press, which was limited to big cities like Shanghai, Canton, and Hangzhou. Henceforth, Li urged, newspapers should be widely distributed. More people would be acquainted with current affairs and "talent would increasingly emerge." Li did not specify which classes of people should or would be affected by newspapers but it seems evident that he was thinking in wider terms than "upright gentry and merchants."

Although the Zongli Yamen, to whom Li addressed his memorial, endorsed all of Li's proposals, it specifically focused on Li's suggestion to send students abroad as the key issue. Li's idea of a national school system was revived and given fuller expression by Kang Youwei in 1898 during the 100 Days Reform. Echoing Li's suggestion, Kang proposed that all academies, as well as ancestral and clan temples, be converted into a structured hierarchy of primary, middle and higher-level schools. Only by everyone going to school, Kang maintained, could the "people's knowledge be expanded" and the country become strong like Japan and Germany. Schools were not to be considered as the stepping stone to an official career, Kang declared, but as places that would contribute to the development of agriculture, commerce and industry.

Provincial officials, also, were showing an interest in extending education to a wider populace. Duan Fang, the Governor of Hubei, noted in 1902 that the number of vagrants (yumin) in Wuchang was large. They had no
occupation and often starved. The result was that many resorted to criminal activities. The reason for all this, Duan maintained, was the fact that the benefits of education had not been extended to all. To combat this Duan proposed the establishment of what he called "universal schools" (puji xueshu). There were to be 30 such schools in Wuchang and its environs; they would be for 15 to 20 year-olds, and they were to be officially subsidized. Although Duan noted that these schools were to benefit the illiterate and unemployed, it is evident that he had more groups in mind. Thus item 8 of the proposed regulations stipulated that before attending a puji school the student had to register his address and occupation. Item 20 of the regulations stated that employers were not to discourage their employees from attending these schools and noted that they would especially benefit petty shop clerks, traders, peddlers and labourers (e.g., rickshaw-pullers). At the same time parents of unemployed fifteen year-olds who had not ensured their attendance at school were to be held responsible for any crime committed by their "vagrant" children. (It was at this time that an interest in the problems of juvenile delinquency arose. An article in the first issue of Jiaoyu Zazhi was devoted to the question in other countries and it noted the world-wide trend of an increase in crime amongst 14 to 21 year-olds. An article on English education referred to the existence of "corrective institutions" and borstals for wayward youth.)

With the establishment of these schools, Duan confidently predicted, the streets would henceforth be cleared of crime. Furthermore, once everyone had received an education, Duan continued, it would be impossible for anyone to be cheated or deceived by others:

The more they (i.e., people) are literate the more they understand the principles of human intercourse (li), and this is beneficial to the shop (puhu) and to the family.
It is significant that Duan did not insist that any uniform be worn, in marked contrast to the regulations of charity schools in eighteenth century England which deliberately insisted on the wearing of a sober uniform to impress upon the children their lowly status and the fact that they were the recipients of charity, or to the insistence on uniforms in Japan as a means of cultivating military discipline. It was not until 1906, after his investigation of education in Europe, that Duan Fang advocated the wearing of uniforms at school as a way of imposing discipline upon children. Some educators, however, continued to maintain that insisting on children wearing uniforms at primary school would be harmful, since the costs involved would inevitably prevent children from poor families attending school.

Another example of provincial officials' interest in extending education to a wider populace is provided by the regulations on xiangyue issued by the Governor of Hunan in 1903, which went beyond the traditional function assigned to it of simply expounding on the Sacred Edicts of the Kangxi and Yongzheng Emperors. The "lectures," in addition to moral exhortation, were to cover the new government administrative system and current affairs, as well as encouraging the opening of kindergartens and girls' schools. Furthermore, item six of the regulations stipulated that the text of the lecture was to be written in baihua (colloquial language) to ensure that it was easily understood by everyone.
The 1904 School System

A joint memorial by Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi in July 1901 had outlined a school system modelled on that of Japan. In fact, Zhang praised the western system of schools (in addition to that of Japan) as being like that of China's Three Ages. Characteristics of the two included simultaneous study of wen (civil affairs) and wu (military affairs), an understanding of nei (inner affairs) and wai (outer affairs), and the teaching of both dao (morality) and yi (technique). This latter dichotomy of "morality" and "technique" bears some resemblance to the Maoist distinction between "red" and "expert." More interestingly, another feature of western educational systems that greatly appealed to Zhang was their efficient organization and centralized control. He particularly pointed to the national system of textbooks and supervisory officials. According to the 1901 plan, each district would establish primary schools (xiao xuexiao) and higher primary schools (gaodeng xiao xuexiao). The curriculum for the primary schools (for the 12-15 year-old age group) would include the Five Classics, in addition to elementary geography and mathematics, Chinese history and institutions. For higher primary schools (15-18 year-old age group) a more in-depth instruction of the Classics would be given as well as Chinese and foreign geography, mathematics, Chinese history, one foreign language and military drill. At eighteen students would enter a middle school in the prefectural capital where, after three years, graduates would be awarded the traditional civil service degree of lingsheng. All this Zhang defined as "general education" (putong jiaoyu). After three years at a higher school in the provincial capital the graduate was to be sent as an "apprentice" (lianxisheng) to a government office. At 25 the student would
again be examined and thereupon would be given an official appointment or would be allowed to enter the Imperial University.\textsuperscript{56}

As Franke points out, the whole thrust of the memorial was to train future officials rather than to give an education to the general public.\textsuperscript{57} Zhang concluded the memorial in terms typical of official suggestions hitherto proposed:

These four items (i.e., the establishment of civil-military schools, the reform of the civil service examinations, the abolition of the military examinations, and the sending of students abroad) are the first task in seeking talent for administration ... if one does not raise talent one cannot count on the survival of the country. If one does not encourage the establishment of schools talent cannot be cultivated. Without reforming the civil and military examinations the establishment of schools cannot occur. Without sending students abroad one cannot supplement the deficiencies in the schools.\textsuperscript{58}

Another system of schools was proposed in 1902 by Zhang Boxing.\textsuperscript{59} The imperial edict approving Zhang's plan expressly stated that the provinces should carry out the plan's provisions "with the general expectation that real talent will emerge to be made use of by the state."\textsuperscript{60} In his memorial Zhang, like many other reforming officials, cited tradition as justification for his proposals. He pointed to the passage in the \textit{Li Ji} (Classic of Rites) which stated:

According to the system of ancient teaching, for the families of a hamlet there was the village school; for a neighbourhood there was the \textit{xiang}; for the larger districts there was the \textit{xu}; and in the capitals there was the college.\textsuperscript{61}

These, Zhang noted, were the equivalent of kindergarten, primary school, middle school, and university respectively. Zhang maintained that to establish a system of schools would be merely reviving a school system that had existed before the Zhou dynasty but which, since then, had fallen into disrepair.\textsuperscript{62}
However, the plan made no provision for women's education and little provision for any kind of supplementary education.

Zhang's plan did contain, however, the first mention of compulsory education. In the section on primary schools Zhang declared:

"Children from six years of age will enter lower primary school for four years. At the age of ten they will enter higher primary school for three years. After each area has established a school, then everyone of whatever rank should receive these seven years of education. After this they can follow whatever enterprise they like."\(^63\)

When the 1902 "system" (which was never put into practice) is compared to the 1904 school system proposed by Zhang Zhidong, Zhang Boxing and Rong Qing (which was to be in force until the 1911 revolution), it is apparent that a further change in official attitudes had taken place.\(^64\) It was more elaborate, outlining a system of supplementary education. The officials had been requested to devise a school system with the rationale which seemed common to all educational reform efforts during the late nineteenth century. An imperial edict explained:

"Today there are many difficulties. To encourage the establishment of schools and to nourish talent is really the urgent task of the present."\(^65\)

Although the memorialists began by declaring that the aim of schools was to create "all-round talent" \(\text{(tongcai)}\), they continued:

All perverse theories and slander will have to be strictly resisted and condemned by teachers. This will enable the students to succeed in the future so that no matter whether they become scholars, farmers, artisans or merchants, they will all, on the one hand, be patriots, and, on the other hand, establish themselves firmly.\(^66\)

The official aim of a school system had been broadened—schools were now not only to nourish and train talent for government service, but also to encour-
age feelings of patriotism and to allow students to acquire a training with which to maintain their livelihood.

The officials then went on to distinguish the underlying rationale for specialist and general education. The aim of elementary education, they declared, would enable all the people, whether "rich or poor, aristocrat or commoner," to understand the li and be transformed into virtuous citizens. Higher primary and middle school education would equip students with the necessary knowledge to plan their livelihood. Higher level education, on the other hand, sought expertise in government and administration through instructing students in various specialized fields. Vocational schools were described as an important element of general education since their aim was to provide the necessary "knowledge and techniques" (caizhi zhiyi) with which the individual could make a living. This, the memorialists noted, was the basis for a wealthy people and wealthy nation. The importance of teacher training was also emphasized, especially that which provided competent teachers for primary schools. It was pointed out that in all states primary education was regarded as compulsory (both in terms of the state's duty to provide education—yiwu jiaoyu—and the obligation of parents to send their children to school—qiangbo jiaoyu). Unlike Zhang's earlier proposal of 1901, lower primary schools were now to be for the 6-11 years olds. Higher primary schools were for the 11-15 years olds, while middle schools were for the 15-20 year olds.

It must again be mentioned that high government officials like Zhang Zhidong ruled out the possibility of establishing schools for girls:

Since the Three Dynasties girls have also had education so as to be equipped to read the Classics. What was taught was that which prepared girls to be wives and mothers. However, in China the distinction between the sexes is prudently
adhered to. It is not appropriate to allow young girls to enter school in large groups and to wander about the streets. Moreover, it is even more inappropriate to let them read western books and study foreign customs which will gradually cause them to act independently and have contempt for their parents-in-law.\textsuperscript{71}

Zhang concluded that "if at this time, with China's situation as it is, we establish girls' education the damage done will be extensive."\textsuperscript{72} What was appropriate was very clearly expressed:

Therefore, girls can only be educated within the family and receive instruction from the mother or from the nurse to enable them to have a basic grasp of literacy and to be conversant with necessary family affairs ... and with the appropriate tasks befitting a woman.\textsuperscript{73}

Although regulations for girls' primary schools and normal schools were later promulgated in 1907, the official aim was still to train "virtuous wives and good mothers." In the final analysis, whatever educational benefits girls were to receive were seen more in terms of the advantages for future generations than for the girl herself.

Unlike earlier plans, the 1904 plan provided for a system of vocational and supplementary education. In addition to lower and higher vocational schools for primary school graduates, general supplementary vocational schools were to be established for those who had either worked before or who wanted to learn a trade. A three-year course was to be offered, giving the basic knowledge and techniques of a certain trade in addition to the general instruction characteristic of primary schools.\textsuperscript{74} Such schools were to be attached to already existing primary, middle or vocational schools and use was to be made of their teachers, equipment and dormitories. Fees were to be charged in accordance with local conditions but, if possible, it was recommended that no fees be charged so that children from less well-off families could make use of the schools. General subjects to be taught were moral training (xiushen),
Chinese civilization, arithmetic and physical education. Vocational subjects to be taught were subsumed under agriculture, industry and commerce. Within each branch there was to be a wide variety of courses among which students could choose to specialize in. (Under commerce, for example, eight subjects were listed, including accountancy and foreign languages.) These schools could also teach certain vocational subjects which were appropriate for local conditions, such as machine-manufacture, printing or brewing. Even the general subjects had to bear some relation to the vocation taught. Item five of the regulations stated:

> The general supplementary vocational schools, although they teach general subjects, must pay attention to coordinating them with reality and make them relevant. For example, if a school stresses agriculture, then the study of Chinese language must relate to agriculture.

Hours were to be flexible and teaching could take place at night-time, during the slack season, on rainy days or in holiday periods. Normally, only lower primary school graduates could be admitted, but those over 16 who had not graduated were also eligible.

To provide a basic vocational education for those between 7 and 12 years of age who had not or could not go to lower primary schools, the 1904 system proposed the establishment of "apprentice schools" (yitu xuetang). They were to be attached to lower or higher primary schools and to make use of their teachers and equipment. As with the supplementary vocational schools, these apprentice schools were specifically to benefit the less well-off and, if possible, no fees were to be charged. General subjects were to comprise moral training, Chinese civilization, arithmetic, drawing and physical education. Although item 2 of the curriculum regulations pointed out that
moral training and Chinese civilization were indispensable, the main purpose of the schools was for the student to learn an occupation. The courses offered at these apprentice schools were to last from six months to four years and, like the supplementary vocational schools, teaching hours could take place in the evening or during the slack season. An interesting aspect of the regulations was that only textbooks for moral training and Chinese civilization were to be inspected by the official in charge of education (xuewu dachen); this rule did not apply to textbooks used for other subjects.78

To ensure the supply of teachers for the new vocational schools, the 1904 system called for the establishment of vocational teacher training institutes.79 The regulations stipulated that graduates of lower normal schools, middle schools or vocational schools were qualified to apply but they also allowed those with a "good grasp of literacy" to take a year's preparatory course before embarking on the regular training course. The most significant aspect of the regulations was the stipulation that graduates had to undergo a compulsory teaching period of not less than six years. M. Bastid has pointed to Zhang Jian's 1902 memorial which stressed the importance of normal schools for training teachers as an end in itself (in this case for the new primary and middle schools).80 The regulations on vocational teacher training institutes thus continued the trend of emphasizing the importance of training professional teachers.

The 1904 school system therefore represented a change in attitude amongst reforming officials. Taga Akigoro has noted that before this Zhang Zhidong thought of primary and middle schools merely as the preparation ground for the higher level schools and not as the foundation for "citizen
education" (kokumin kyōiku). In other words Zhang had been limited by the prevailing ethos of the yangwu group (i.e., those who advocated the adoption of western technology), that of "education for talent." Taga concludes that with the 1904 school system Zhang had begun to emphasize the importance of "citizen education." This view contrasts with that of Chen Qingzhi, whose study of Chinese education was published in 1936. He maintained that Zhang was never able to free himself from "feudal thought" and the concept of rencai zhuyi (the philosophy of training talent), which resulted in his stressing higher rather than primary education. W. Franke, also, is unimpressed with the 1904 system. According to Franke, the new schools were to be primarily viewed as the path "to social prestige and privileged position as well as a civil service career." Thus "it remained the ambition of the average middle school or college student outside the industrialized treaty ports and even to some extent inside them to become an official." Generally, this is true, especially as the regulations acted on an earlier suggestion by a censor, Pan Qinglan, in 1903, that official degrees be awarded to the graduates of modern schools.

However, the provision for supplementary vocational schools to enable those who had not had a primary education to learn a trade, in addition to the increasing importance attached to primary education, did reveal a certain shift in emphasis. It was also at this time that officials became interested in the idea of establishing elementary schools (mengyangyuan) as a preparation for primary education. In 1904 Duan Fang declared that "family education" was no longer suitable to prepare children for primary schools and proposed that China emulate Japan by establishing a nationwide system of elementary schools for children aged between 3 and 6. Such schools, according to Duan, would promote love and appreciation of the province and country through
music and lay the foundations for future technological skills through the

teaching of handicrafts (shouzhi). They were also to contribute to the

training of a united citizenry. Duan remarked in 1905 that:

The original purpose of establishing elementary schools is to
take the children of the poor and cultivate them so that
wealthy and aristocratic parents will not fear their children
picking up bad habits by being in the same place with them.
With these good intentions, in the future primary schools
will not discriminate between rich and poor, aristocrat and
commoner, and will be able to carry out education in common.
This is the method through which equal education (tongdeng
jiaoyu) will be carried out.

The Board of Education and the Educational Aims of 1906

A joint memorial by Zhang Zhidong, Yuan Shikai, Zhou Fu, Duan Fang,
and Cen Chunxuan in August 1905, calling for the abolition of the civil service
exams, is further evidence of a change in official attitudes. In the memorial
the officials declared:

The establishment of schools is not only for accumulating
talent but is mainly for expanding the people's knowledge
and to enable everyone to receive an education.

Universal education was seen as the reason for Prussia's defeat of France in
1871 and Japan's defeat of Russia in 1905. More specifically, the memorialists'
justification for extending education to the people was that it would, firstly,
instill a sense of patriotism among the populace and, secondly, equip the
people with the knowledge and skill to "plan their livelihood" (zimou qi sheng).

Although Franke sees this memorial as representing a "new note" in official
attitudes towards education, it is probably better to regard it as a continua-
tion of a trend begun a few years previously. Furthermore, Franke remarks
that this "new note" could have been facilitated by traditional ideas on educa-
tion, manifested in such institutions as the shexue (village school). The
point is that traditional educational thought must have influenced ideas on educational policy at this time. The traditional faith in education and the belief that everyone could benefit from it, a belief which set Chinese thought apart from traditional educational thought in the west, would have certainly facilitated the shift in emphasis from an education designed for recruiting government talent to an education designed to reach the people as a whole.91

The official debate over education in China during this period was not characterized by a fear that education for the lower classes would result in their thinking "above their station" or that it would result in their being transformed into idlers or potential rebels. Such a fear was at the heart of discussions over popular education in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In England it was argued that ignorance for the poor was their opiate, "a cordial administered by the gracious hand of providence." An "ill-judged and improper education" would only frustrate this benevolent purpose. Thus in the 1780s a certain George Hadley opposed teaching the poor how to read:

By diffusing the knowledge of reading we shall enlarge the minds of the vulgar, true, but does it necessarily follow that the lower classes will become more industrious, more virtuous, more happy? Certainly not.

Antagonism to popular education in England continued on until the nineteenth century. During a House of Commons debate in 1807 the following comments were made:

Giving education to the labouring classes of the poor ... would be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture and other laborious employments. Instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them fractious and refractory.92
When education for the poor was reluctantly acquiesced to by some, it was to comprise of a very limited curriculum, to be limited solely to religious and moral training. Someone remarked in 1742:

It is but a cheap education that we would desire for them (the poor), only the moral and religious branches of it, which indeed is the most necessary and indispensable part. The sole design of this charity is to inculcate upon such ... the knowledge and practice, the principles and duties of the Christian religion.

The purpose of such religious training was made very clear by a Reverend Wilson in London, who wrote in 1819:

In every country, but especially in this free state, the mass of your poor, like the base of a cone, if it be unsteady and insecure, will quickly endanger every superincumbent part. Religious education, then, is the spring of public tranquillity ... by infusing the higher sentiments of penitence and faith and gratitude and the love of God, communicates the elements of a cheerful and uniform subjection to all lawful authority.

When other subjects were allowed, they were mainly limited to arithmetic and drawing for boys and needlework for girls. Until 1870 education for the poor in England was mainly carried out by two religious societies, the Society For Promoting The Education Of The Poor In The Principles Of The Established Church and the British And Foreign School Society. Neither society's readers contained much vocationally instructive material "given that children were trained to know their place in life, and that only limited occupations would be available to them." When the Mechanics' Institutes were established in 1823 for the diffusion of science among the working classes they met with bitter opposition, despite the fact that they were under middle class leadership and that moral and political science was barred from the curriculum. One typical reaction came from a prominent conservative publication in 1825:
We cannot be ignorant that the education of the working adults of a great nation is without precedent and on which experience throws no light, save what is abundantly discouraging. We cannot be ignorant that hitherto wherever the lower orders of any great state have obtained a smattering of knowledge, they have generally used it to produce national ruin.99

In England, therefore, popular education was reluctantly granted only when it was seen as a way to preserve the status quo. Even then it was primarily limited to religious education. With such an education, it was hoped, the lower classes would continue to be compliant and submissive.100 For Chinese officials, also, extending education to more people would result in greater social harmony but there was more confidence in the people's potential and less fear that education might make them lazy and rebellious. Whereas the eighteenth century writer, Mandeville, attributed idleness and criminality among the lower classes to the fact that they had received too much education,101 Duan Fang, the Governor of Hubei, attributed criminal behaviour to the fact that education was not widespread enough. Neither are there any references in the official Chinese writings to the naturally depraved character of the lower classes, which was a frequent observation made by English educators in the nineteenth century.102 Rather it was confidently expected that once education was extended to all the people they would act according to the prescribed norms of behaviour. Typical of the confidence shown was the remark of the Governor-General of Yunnan and Guizhou, Cen Chuxuan, in 1906, that spreading education would allow the li to unite all the people, and gradually level off the divisions between "knowledgeable and foolish, cultured and barbaric."103

With the establishment of a separate Board of Education (Xuebu) in December 1905 more attention was focused on the schools.104 The Board
was headed by a Secretary (shangshu) and two assistants. It comprised five departments: a general affairs department (zongwusi), a department of general education (putongsi), a department of specialist education (zhuanmensi), a department of vocational education (shiyesi) and an accounts department (huijisi). The department of general education was to supervise teachers' training, middle schools, primary schools and "popular education" (tongsu jiaoyu), which dealt with such matters as public lectures. The general vocational supplementary schools and the apprentice schools were to be supervised by the department of vocational education. Libraries evidently were not considered an item of popular education at this time since they were under the supervision of the department for specialist education.

The new provincial organization of education comprised an educational commissioner (tixue), who was to oversee an education office (xuewu gongso). This education office comprised six sections, those for general affairs, specialist education, general education (in charge of normal schools, middle and primary schools, and popular education), vocational education, accounts and textbook supervision.

Duan Fang, on his return from a journey to Europe in 1906 to investigate education there, reinforced the idea that general education was the most important priority for the state. He criticized the educational systems in Russia and Italy because they laid too much stress on higher level education at the expense of general education, and praised the system in Germany (noting that Japan had copied wholesale from the German system) because of its attention to general education. Unlike China, Duan lamented, where people only have regard for their personal interests, Germany has produced a patriotic citizenry trained in the virtue of "performing their duties and keeping order."
He proposed that higher tuition fees be charged at the specialist schools so as to provide the funds necessary for an increase in the number of primary schools.110

When the Xuebu issued its educational aims in March 1906, the change in emphasis from training talent to educating the people was made even more explicit.111 This is apparent in the opening statements which, although referring to the practice in foreign countries, imply that China should adopt the same approach:

Looking at the educational systems of foreign countries, there are two main divisions—one is called specialist and the other is called general. But general education is paid more attention to. It does not lie in creating a talented few, but in creating a majority of citizens (guomin).112

This general education was to inculcate the five principles of honouring the monarch, Confucius, the public good, a martial spirit, and practical study. The first two were part of Chinese tradition, the Xuebu maintained, but needed to be proclaimed in order to combat heterodoxy (yishuo). The two countries singled out for praise were Germany and Japan, whose educational systems ensured the unity of the country and the protection of the monarchy. Referring to Japan, the Xuebu remarked that all the people were aware of national events and that because of their education and training they associated their own interests with those of the monarch and state:

Therefore, everyone has the public-minded desire to wash away national shame, and regards the monarch's joy or sorrow as the nation's glory or insult, and thus the glory or shame of the country is their own happiness or sadness. This is what is meant by monarch and people being one (junmin yiti).113

The Xuebu asserted that exactly the same thing would happen in China once education was extended to all the people.
Another justification for extending education to all was that a country's strength was not just dependent on a few heroes, but on the collective will and strength of the people. This will would be fostered by education—in the schools a sense of camaraderie and cooperation extending beyond the traditional group loyalties of clan and family would be developed. Patriotism, the Xuebu commented, would have to be fostered early, hence the importance of primary education. Textbooks were thus to stress "public morality and the benefits of collective unity."

As for honouring a martial spirit, the Xuebu referred to the west and Japan, where military service was compulsory:

Thus old and young, male or female, there is no one who does not greet military service with joy and who does not regard death in battle as glorious.

It was in the schools that enthusiasm for military service was first fostered. But, the Xuebu continued:

The Chinese people's concern with daily living is large, while their loyalty and devotion is meagre; their own lives count for much, while they have little concern for the state. If we want to solve these deficiencies, then we must use education as the tool to improve customs. All textbooks in middle and primary schools must contain elements of 'militant citizenry-ism' (junguomin zhuyi) in order to enable children to become thoroughly acquainted with it. History and geography textbooks should describe battles on land and sea and contain illustrations of cannons, battleships and flags...

The theme of patriotism was also to permeate such subjects as music, which would be used to popularize songs "praising past heroes."

In England, also, in the second half of the nineteenth century, educators were pointing to the utility of history and geography in arousing patriotic feelings among the masses. One writer commented in 1897:

It (i.e., history) furnishes excellent material for teaching moral lessons. What could better assist in promoting
contentment and thankfulness among the people than comparing the condition of the working classes at the present day with that of their forefathers, or even with that of our foreign neighbours? It calls forth feelings of patriotism. It stimulates the national pride, promotes a love of virtue, gives powerful object lessons against vice, and tends, rightly taught, to make good citizens.\textsuperscript{118}

An interesting difference, however, is that whereas the \textit{Xuebu} stressed the importance of military drill insofar as it trained a public-minded, martial people prepared to fight for their country, in England drill was seen more in terms of reinforcing social relationships. Thus in 1880 the advantages of teaching drill in voluntary and board schools were described as:

> The habit of obedience to authority, of immediate obedience to demands, may tend to teach the working classes a lesson ... that immediate obedience and submission to authority, deference to others, courtesy to equals, respect to superiors —these are the real marks of manly self-respect and independence, and not the vulgar and pernicious doctrine that one man is as good as another, and that courtesy or deference is the property of a servile nature.\textsuperscript{119}

By associating the welfare of the state with the survival of the monarchy, of course, the Qing hoped that the patriotism to be encouraged in the schools would ensure the people's loyalty to the dynasty. By insisting that schools "honour" Confucius (e.g., they were to celebrate his birthday), the Qing also perceived schools as an important element of social control.\textsuperscript{120} In addition to this, however, the educational aims manifested a concern to see education benefit the people in a practical way. Citing Wang Yangming as a pioneer advocate of practical study,\textsuperscript{121} the \textit{Xuebu} declared that education was only valuable insofar as it could be put to practical use:

> If one talks in an elevated way about human nature and reveres the abstract, then this has absolutely no benefit for the country's or people's livelihood .... In the past we have had abundant scholarship but no literature of every-day books or letters; we have had subtle studies of mathematical principles but have found no ways for doing everyday accounts.\textsuperscript{122}
In addition to Chinese and moral training, the Xuebu noted, practical and concrete subjects should be taught in primary and middle schools, such as arithmetic and handicrafts. The Xuebu continued:

In each country of the world, practical benefits are stressed; especially, industry is considered important; everyone must obtain the skill of being a farmer, industrial worker, or merchant. On the one hand, this benefits people's livelihood, on the other, it benefits the state. This is the key element in making the state wealthy and strong, and the most beneficial part of education.*

Thus not only a shift from a 'narrow' education to a more varied one was proposed, but also more prestige was attached to vocational education. In other words, attaining officialdom or obtaining a degree was not to be the sole aim of education—learning a trade with which to benefit oneself and the country was to be considered equally important.124 It is from this time onward that an interest in vocational education occurred, rather than during the May Fourth period as some have maintained.125

The stress on general education after 1906 bore fruit in the rapid expansion of primary schools (see Table 1). Thus in Zhili, in 1907, there were 7,596 lower primary schools, with 133,884 students. In 1909 the number had increased to 10,259, with an enrollment of 209,688 students. The number of middle schools during this period remained the same. Most other provinces registered a considerable increase in primary schools, while the number of middle schools remained the same or even, in some cases, decreased. The number of middle schools in Sichuan, for example, decreased from 52 to 51, while the number of lower primary schools increased from 6,924 to 9,132. Statistics do not reveal a large expansion of vocational education before 1911 (see Table 2) and vocational schools constituted less than 1% of the total number of modern schools in 1909.126 However, what increase there was occurred amongst lower vocational schools. Thus the number of lower
Table 1
Number of Middle Schools and Lower Primary Schools in 1907 and 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Middle schools</th>
<th>Lower primary</th>
<th>1907a</th>
<th>Middle schools</th>
<th>Lower primary</th>
<th>1909b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>31 2,039</td>
<td>7,596</td>
<td>133,884</td>
<td>31 2,419</td>
<td>10,259</td>
<td>209,668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>4 342</td>
<td>1,208</td>
<td>37,566</td>
<td>5 505</td>
<td>2,460</td>
<td>84,284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>4 331</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>5 526</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>7,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>2 169</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1,280</td>
<td>1 156</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>3,882</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>19 1,050</td>
<td>3,201</td>
<td>39,872</td>
<td>22 1,206</td>
<td>3,536</td>
<td>46,174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>25 1,639</td>
<td>510</td>
<td>12,173</td>
<td>15 1,360</td>
<td>1,650</td>
<td>46,804</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>13 771</td>
<td>1,879</td>
<td>36,839</td>
<td>14 943</td>
<td>2,324</td>
<td>50,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>22 1,331</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>23,309</td>
<td>22 2,551</td>
<td>2,948</td>
<td>63,770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>12 1,473</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>18,335</td>
<td>11 1,639</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>26,309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>21 988</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>2,262</td>
<td>25 1,844</td>
<td>421</td>
<td>10,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>32 2,025</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>12,571</td>
<td>23 2,430</td>
<td>1,288</td>
<td>42,850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>23 1,473</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>3,588</td>
<td>33 2,286</td>
<td>555</td>
<td>11,675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>17 1,391</td>
<td>1,306</td>
<td>40,645</td>
<td>21 2,560</td>
<td>2,437</td>
<td>72,937</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>39 3,220</td>
<td>419</td>
<td>11,492</td>
<td>47 3,992</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>25,061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>52 5,356</td>
<td>6,924</td>
<td>202,923</td>
<td>51 5,828</td>
<td>9,132</td>
<td>294,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>25 2,600</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>29,338</td>
<td>29 3,122</td>
<td>862</td>
<td>33,347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>8 458</td>
<td>916</td>
<td>26,279</td>
<td>15 1,700</td>
<td>819</td>
<td>27,394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>1 146</td>
<td>325</td>
<td>12,181</td>
<td>4 445</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>16,968</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>14 1,095</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>4,909</td>
<td>15 1,044</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>9,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>11 477</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>8,233</td>
<td>11 372</td>
<td>977</td>
<td>19,637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>- 99</td>
<td>1,080</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 21</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>2,126</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Number of students are in bold type.

aSource: Diyici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao (1907), pp. 35-36.

bSource: Chen Qitian, pp. 97-100.
### Table 2
Number of Vocational Schools in 1907 and 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1907 Higher</th>
<th>Lower</th>
<th>1909 Higher</th>
<th>Lower</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>0</td>
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**Note.** Number of students in bold type.

*aSource:* *Diyici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao* (1907), pp. 31-32.

*bSource:* Chen Qitian, p. 134.
vocational schools in Zhili increased from 6 in 1907 to 14 in 1909, while the number of higher vocational schools remained the same. Henan had no higher vocational schools in 1909 but had 16 lower vocational schools. (See Chapter 2 for individual examples of vocational education.)

Non-Official Educational Views 1902 - 1911

In 1902 Luo Zhenyu, a scholar and educator who at various times advised officials like Zhang Zhidong and entrepreneurs like Zhang Jian on educational matters, founded a journal entitled The Educational World (Jiaoyu Shijie). Its primary purpose was to introduce the Japanese school system to Chinese educators. The first issues, for example, contained the translation of the regulations for the Japanese Education Ministry (Monbusho), Japanese primary, middle and normal schools, as well as information on supplementary vocational training, half-day schools and literacy schools in Japan. The journal also published a lengthy series of articles (translated from the Japanese) on vocational education in Germany, which marks the beginning of a specific interest in German education that was to continue with Duan Fang's praise of the German educational system in 1906 and on through the early years of the Republic (see Appendix A).

One of the articles published in Jiaoyu Shijie, translated from the Japanese by Luo Zhenyu, was concerned with "social education" (shehui jiaoyu), a term that was to become synonymous with "popular education" (tongsu jiaoyu). The article divided society (defined as a "collectivity of people with an ordered hierarchy") into three classes (jieji)—the upper, middle
and lower levels. The upper levels comprised all those to whom society looked up because of family influence, knowledge or great wealth. The middle levels of society were the most important because they played a harmonizing role between the upper and lower levels. The lower levels (or "poor people") comprised all those dependent on others (the sick, poverty-stricken, orphans), the uneducated, those lacking in morality (such as convicts and juveniles) and the physically or mentally handicapped. The task of social education was to train the lower levels to see that hard work and obedience lay in their best interests, while at the same time teaching the upper and middle levels of society to live up to their social responsibilities (i.e., setting a moral example and having concern for the poor). In this way, the article concluded, the struggle between rich and poor and between capitalism and labour occurring in the west could be avoided.

A similar definition of social education was presented in Liang Qichao's reformist journal, the New People's Miscellany (Xinmin Congbao). A 1904 article on educational aims, again translated from the Japanese, emphasized the importance of teaching the upper classes to love and cherish the lower classes while, at the same time, inculcating among the lower classes a subservient nature (fucong xingzhi) and a love of work. Social education would also "reform the people's customs" by teaching them general knowledge and hence dispelling their superstitious beliefs. Like the article in Jiaoyu Shiji emphasis was placed on the crucial role of the middle levels of society in bringing together the upper and lower levels. The reason why China was weak, the article continued, was that her middle classes did not assume their responsibilities in actively promoting the unity of the country.

Chinese student radicals in Japan, also, described society in terms of upper, middle and lower levels but unlike the more moderate educators, they
defined social education as revolutionary propaganda aimed at the lower classes. A 1903 article in a journal edited by Hunanese students argued that the lower classes constituted the "backbone" (zhongjian) of the revolution, while the middle levels (i.e., intellectuals and students) were to be the "vanguard" (qianli) of the revolution. Social education, comprising, for example, public lectures, would forge a link between the two. As with journals like Jiaoyu Shijie and Xinmin Congbao, student radicals assigned the leading role in social education to the middle levels of society. Yang Dusheng, in his tract entitled "The New Hunan," declared that the middle levels of society had to "give guidance and help to the lower levels in the task of transforming the upper levels of society", while Chen Tianhua claimed that "only the middle levels of society know the significance of revolution, and this awareness will gradually reach the lower levels of society."

The potential revolutionary alliance between the middle and lower levels of society was precisely what more conservative Chinese educators feared. One wrote in 1911, citing Francis Bacon, that such an alliance was the most dangerous threat to social order and that it was therefore essential for the middle levels of society (e.g., school graduates) to be given the job opportunities so that they could play their proper "harmonising role" in society.

Others preferred to define social education in more utopian terms. One educator, Gu Shi, writing to Zhang Jian during the meeting of the Central Education Association, discussed social education as a means to transcend both "nationalistic" and "individualistic" education. What Gu meant by social education was partly, in fact, what Cai Yuanpei would call later "cosmopolitanism" (lit: an education based on a world outlook). Since the world was getting smaller due to improved transportation and communications,
Gu argued, national barriers were breaking down. It was not advisable for China to limit herself to a "nationalistic education" (guojia zhuyi jiaoyu). Another feature of society to which Gu referred was the increasing tendency of it to be composed of interdependent groups. The individual could no longer function outside these groups and therefore, Gu claimed, the education of the past, which was designed to train the individual and encourage everyone to think of their own private interests (geren zhuyi jiaoyu), was no longer relevant.

Gu predicted that future human organization would not be based on the state, race or family, but on functional groups of people (not necessarily from the same country). As preparation for this Gu advocated the implementation of "collective education" (tuanti jiaoyu) or social education to aid in the development of "people's groups" that would transcend family and national barriers. Social education was also defined in more grandiose terms by a student radical journal. Social education, one article maintained, was a means of "developing various groups among the people (so that they would not have to expect everything from the authorities), raising the level of knowledge in society, and increasing patriotism and the principle of one world." Social education was also defined in more grandiose terms by a student radical journal. Social education, one article maintained, was a means of "developing various groups among the people (so that they would not have to expect everything from the authorities), raising the level of knowledge in society, and increasing patriotism and the principle of one world.

Gradually, however, social education came to be regarded as having two functions. Firstly, it would "improve" the lower classes by giving them general and scientific knowledge, instruction in hygiene, and various forms of vocational training. A wide variety of facilities, ranging from theatres and cinemas to public lectures and museums came to be regarded as suitable vehicles for the promotion of social education. Secondly, social education came to be considered as a complement to school education. The 1902 article in Jiaoyu Shijie on social education noted the fact that school education was invariably concerned with the individual and individual interests. Hence social educa-
tion, through such measures as public lectures, would reinforce the importance of the collective interest. This view of social education was to be shared by all Chinese educators, whether progressive or conservative. Shu Xincheng, for example, the promoter of modern educational methods like the Dalton plan, commented in 1927:

To use these public institutions (i.e., reading rooms, cinemas, museums) to educate the general public is social education. The aim is to promote the people's general knowledge and encourage public order.142

The discussion over the upper, middle and lower levels of society that accompanied the introduction of the concept of social education brought into focus the attitudes of educators and scholars towards the lower classes. Such attitudes often ranged from one of contempt to one that emphasized the people's potential. Thus there are constant references at this time to the people's "lazy and pleasure-seeking nature" (duoyì), which contrasted with the hard working and productive citizens of western countries.143 The idea that the Chinese people were "backward" in comparison to those in the west had first been raised by Kang Youwei in an 1898 memorial proposing the establishment of Confucianism as a state religion.144 Kang pointed out that to western visitors the Chinese were objects of scorn and ridicule because of their "extravagant and decadent superstitions and beliefs" (yìnji). Unlike other countries, Kang remarked, where only one god was worshipped, the Chinese worshipped many spirits and gods. Because of their "barbaric customs," Kang lamented, westerners regarded the Chinese as no different from the "uncivilized" peoples of Java, India and Africa. Kang suggested the creation of Confucian churches in every locality at which all the people would assemble and regularly worship Confucius. In this way, he concluded, the Chinese would be able to keep on the right moral path as their counterparts in the west were able to do. (Kang
also referred to the western contempt for Chinese abroad because of their "evil customs." \( ^{145} \)

A contributor to the *Dongfang Zazhi* argued in 1905 that the people were poor because they were lazy and squandered their resources on gambling and "decadent and extravagant forms of worship" (yinsi). He suggested the widespread establishment of industrial training centres (gongyi zhuchang) to train the people in productive work.\(^{146}\) Popular education, in fact, was often described in terms of changing the people's "lazy nature" into a "hard-working and diligent one."\(^{147}\)

Meng Zhaochang, a member of the Jiangsu education association, advocated the creation of "citizen schools" (gongmin xuetang), defining "citizen" as one who had an independent means of livelihood (farmers, artisans, merchants and traders). He excluded all those without a trade (ye) and who were therefore "vagrants." Even amongst the "citizens," however, Meng claimed that idleness and irresponsibility prevailed so that, for example, farmers would lose their land because of gambling debts or general negligence. He suggested that the time they spent whiling away the hours "going to tea-houses" or watching "decadent entertainment" could be used for education. For Meng such an education would produce a hard-working and self-sufficient citizenry, who would come to realize that "working to profit one's person and family was the way to work for the public interest of the locality and the way to build a healthy state."\(^{148}\)

Chinese student revolutionaries in Japan wavered between contempt for the lower classes and an optimism in their potential, an ambivalence that was very much part of work-study philosophy (see Chapter 5). Chen Tianhua, for example, declared that China had nothing to fear from foreign aggressors.
With 400 million people ready to die, Chen argued, China would not need to stand in awe of any foreign power, no matter how advanced their military technology was. On the other hand, Chen pointed to westerners' contempt for Africans because they were "uneducated" and implied that the Chinese, also, would soon become the targets of western scorn. In another article Chen painted a gloomy picture of the Chinese people:

The upper, middle and lower levels of society no longer have any conscience and they have no sense of shame or sincerity. They are not in any way enlightened and they do not have the slightest knowledge. They have a stubborn attachment to outmoded ideas and resolutely adhere to corrupt customs, believing in ghosts and demons. The men smoke opium and the women have bound feet. Vagrant bands form everywhere and thieves and brigands spread across the land. Places of residence are like livestock pens and behaviour is like that of savages. Words have no sincerity and people love money as if it was their life.

Chen concluded that the Chinese, having no sense of shame, were not even aware of how contemptuously westerners viewed them.

A similar ambivalence was evident in an article published in the *Hubei Students World*. Contrasting the backwardness of China's lower classes (the writer referred to them as "brutes and animals") with more "far-sighted and civilized" peoples elsewhere, the article declared that it was up to students to perform the tasks necessary to build China into a prosperous and strong nation because they were the only ones with the patriotic commitment. Later on in the same article, however, the writer observed that the lower levels of society were the "masters (zhuren) of a country" and that students had to inculcate in them a "spirit of independent self-sufficiency" which alone would make China strong enough to compete in the international arena.

The idea that education should produce a self-sufficient and hard working citizenry was frequently expressed by educators in China and Chinese reformers
and student radicals in Japan. The translation, from the Japanese, of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* appeared in several issues of *Jiaoyu Shijie* and was to become part of the public lecture material used in the early Republic (see Chapter 4). Articles on Spencer's educational thought appeared in *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, which stressed his philosophy of self-autonomy and "not depending on others." Chen Ronggun, an educator who promoted the use of *baihua* at school (see Chapter 2), argued that the reason why the Chinese were lazy and dependent on others was because of the tradition of inheritance (*yichan guannian*). Whereas in the west people often donated their money to the nation's affairs or other worthwhile causes, Chen claimed, in China the people scraped and saved for their sons and grandsons. This prevented them from being independent, mentally and economically.

An article in *Dongfang Zazhi* argued that success or failure in life was dependent on whether one was hard-working and diligent (*qin*) or lazy (*duo*). It was hard work and diligence that enabled one to become rich and laziness that led to poverty. In the struggle for survival, the article continued, those who worked hard would come out on top and those who did not would fall behind. The article concluded:

> What I call rich is not a reference to the great rich capitalist of American trust companies or European corporations. The rich merchants and traders of our country must exist throughout the land and be evenly distributed, with each one capable of managing his own business. If the number of those who depend on others and who detract from the benefit of the whole daily decreases, then our country will be fortunate indeed and will avoid the fate of extinction. (Emphasis mine.)

This emphasis on economic self-sufficiency led some educators and writers to analyse Chinese society in a different way (rather than the traditional approach of describing society in terms of a hierarchy of scholar, peasant,
artisan and merchant). In contrast to the view that condemned the people as lazy and pleasure seeking, an editorial in the *Dongfang Zazhi* divided the Chinese population into two groups, those that "produced wealth" (*shengcai zhi ren*) and those that "consumed wealth" (*fencai zhi ren*). China's weakness, the editorial claimed, was that the latter group, which comprised superfluous and petty officials, yamen clerks, slaves and servants, priests and monks, bandits, women, teachers and degree-holders, and "profligate sons of the rich," outnumbered the former.\(^{158}\) A 1910 article divided the Chinese population into six "classes" (*pinlei*). The first three "classes," comprising the peasants, artisans and workers, merchants and small traders, were "productive" (*shenglizhe*), while the other three, comprising officials, soldiers (and all others dependent on officials and gentry), priests and monks, were "consumers" (*fenlizhe*). Taking into account the unproductive members of the first three classes (e.g., the old, young, handicapped and unemployed), the article continued, the number of "consumers" far outweighed that of the productive population. As such, it concluded, China was unique in the world and it was imperative that education train more productive citizens.\(^{159}\) This stress on the importance of economic productivity led to more prestige being attached to manual labour, which was a significant feature of educational debates in the early Republic (see Chapters 4 and 5). An article in *Xinmin Congbao*, for example, noted that schools had to inculcate "a love of labour" (*hao laodong zhi xiguan*).\(^{160}\)

No matter whether positive or negative assessments were made of the lower classes, however, educators in China and reformers and student radicals in Japan continued to share a faith in the power of education to produce a patriotic and economically productive citizenry.\(^{161}\) For Chinese student radicals in Japan a widespread system of schools in China would result in a
strong and prosperous nation in which there would be no division between "aristocrat and commoner, rich and poor."\textsuperscript{162} With education, one student wrote, "the people's strength (minli) will expand and will extend the country's authority abroad."\textsuperscript{163} Education would achieve three aims, the student continued; firstly, it would train a "complete individual" (i.e., a patriotic and economically productive citizen), secondly, it would consolidate the unity of the country and hence transform it into a "great collectivity" (da tuanti), and, thirdly, it would equip people to "struggle with the outside world."

Another article in the same student journal claimed that "citizen education" (guomin jiaoyu) would make everyone "independent in spirit, naturally inclined to become part of the collectivity, self-autonomous, capable of striving for progress, plan in common for the public good, and spirited enough to resist foreign oppression."\textsuperscript{164} One student radical noted that the Chinese people were "naturally diligent and hard working, patient and intelligent." It was merely that a lack of education had prevented them from having the necessary knowledge to compete economically in the world.\textsuperscript{165} One radical journal even pointed out that the poor in China had much to teach those who were not. They were patient, had stamina and were naturally intelligent (since they had to continually think of ways to survive). Unlike those with money who never took any risks, the article continued, the poor had a "spirit of adventure" (maoxianxing), as well as the hopes and ambitions necessary for an entrepreneurial outlook. All they lacked was the means, which education would provide them.\textsuperscript{166}

Reformers like Liang Qichao also expressed their faith in the power of education to produce a "new people," aware of their rights and duties and contributing to the "public good" (gongde).\textsuperscript{167} Just as Liang described education
as a "tool" (zhu) that would produce a new people, so radical students described education as an "instrument (gixie) which would create citizens.

Educators and writers in China expressed a similar optimism in the power of education. An editorial in the Dongfang Zazhi declared that within thirty years, when all the people were educated, their virtue (daode) and intelligence (zhihun) would be restored. Another editorial in the same journal made the interesting comment that it had been a good thing traditional education (which emphasized literary qualities) had not been widespread. Thus the martial spirit which existed in the poor rural areas because of the constant struggle for resources had not been vitiated. Such a martial spirit existed also, the editorial claimed, among bandits and pirates, as well as being a characteristic of the Boxers. With a widespread education emphasizing the importance of patriotism, the editorial concluded, the spontaneous energy and courage exhibited by rural people and bandits in their "private" feuds could be channelled into a united, patriotic struggle against all foreign aggressors. It was also assumed that the general populace possessed a similar confidence in education. Thus, in a proposal reminiscent of the eighteenth century physiocrat ideal, a contributor to Dongfang Zazhi suggested that authorities display publicly the amount of taxes needed for specific purposes. Once the people knew that a certain sum was destined for education, the writer predicted, people would willingly pay taxes.

Luo Zhenyu's confidence in the power of education to create a strong nation, as well as to preserve social order, was evident in his call for the speedy implementation of rural education. If this was not done, Luo warned, villagers would become salt smugglers, bandits and secret society members. Although Luo was thinking primarily in terms of moral education (which, he
argued, would be easier to carry out amongst the rural population because it was less "corrupted" than the urban population), he also had in mind more practical vocational training since he suggested that the primary school curriculum in rural schools be different from that in urban schools (e.g., there had to be more emphasis on such things as accountancy and arithmetic relevant to agricultural problems). 175

The beneficial effect of vocational training for the poor was stressed by Li Weihan, a primary school principal, in a series of articles on poor people's education. 176 Li suggested that graduates of poor people's schools, having studied arithmetic, languages and various commercial subjects, should form trading groups (fufantuan) that could be sent abroad to investigate market conditions and consumers' tastes. In this way they would be able to contribute to the improvement of China's trading position by suggesting which were the most appropriate goods for China to export. (Li also suggested that such trading groups could "spy" for the Chinese government and investigate the situation of foreign countries in general.) Li also pointed out that poor people's education was not simply to train them for menial and lowly jobs and he referred to the lowly origins of "heroes" in the past to justify his belief that poor people could benefit just as much from education as the more well-off. 177

Confidence was also expressed in literacy training. One article even suggested using the army to carry out such training, to be based on the Peking dialect, amongst the populace. Once literacy training had been carried out amongst the soldiers themselves, they could return to their home districts and instruct the local inhabitants and then, afterwards, the people of the various areas to which they were transferred. In this way, the article confidently predicted, "how would there not be tens of thousands of knowledgeable
citizens?"\textsuperscript{178} The stress on the importance of literacy training may have been given extra urgency by the need some educators felt to preserve China's "educational rights." Luo Zhenyu, for example, declared that it was essential for a country to control its own education; otherwise it would become an "appendage" of another country. As an example of how education could be used by one country to dominate another, Luo pointed to the Russian occupation of Poland, where Polish was forbidden in the schools and Russian was the medium of instruction.\textsuperscript{179} In another article Luo referred to the expansion of the colonial powers' influence because of educational domination.\textsuperscript{180} However, there are very few other articles that deal with China's "educational rights" being usurped.\textsuperscript{181} As for the implementation of literacy training there is no mention in the memorials or regulations of the need to implement such training in order to ward off potential foreign educational influence over the Chinese populace (see Chapter 2).

Despite a few references to the necessity of educating the people for political participation,\textsuperscript{182} the main purposes of education as expressed in the writings of this period were to be vocational training (in order to ensure economic self-sufficiency), moral education (in order to stimulate patriotism and concern for the public good), and literacy training (in order to improve the people's general knowledge). Although a scholar like Wang Guowei could adopt a negative attitude towards the potential benefits of popular education, preferring that the lower classes simply be taught religion so as to offer them hope for a better life after death,\textsuperscript{183} most educators and writers, whether moderate or radical, had firm faith in the power of education to create a patriotic and united citizenry. This faith in education was as much a part of
official thinking at the turn of the century as it was a feature of work-study philosophy promoted by Chinese anarchists in the early Republic.
Notes


2. Ibid., pp. 65-66.

3. Ibid., p. 61.


5. Shu Xincheng, *Wo he Jiaoyu*, pp. 49-50. See also Saitō Akio, "Chūgoku gakusei kaikaku no shisō to genjitsu" in *Senshū Jimbun Ronshū*, no. 4 (Dec., 1969), pp. 1-8. Saito's article also contains an interesting account of a Hangzhou middle school on the eve of the 1911 revolution as seen through the diary of one of the students, Xu Zhimo (later to be a celebrated poet). Shu's assertion that the modern school in his district did not cost more than traditional education contrasts with modern studies which claim that modern education was more expensive than traditional schooling. See, for example, M. Bastid, *La Réforme de l'Enseignement en Chine au Détbut du XXème Siècle*, p. 84. Many parents did not transfer their sons from a traditional school to a modern school until 1912. Thus the father of Lai Jinghu allowed his son to go to a modern school only after the establishment of the Republic when he realized that "everything was new and different." Lai's reminiscences are in *Zhuanji Wenxue*, 16:3, pp. 37-40.


7. Thus in 1975 both Liu Shaoqi and Lin Biao were accused of using the philosophy of dushu zuoguan to influence educated youth and hence obstructing one of the key elements of Mao's educational philosophy (i.e., sending intellectuals to the countryside). See *Hongqi*, no. 12 (1975), p. 29. T. Bernstein, *Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages: The Transfer of Youth from Urban to Rural China*, p. 5, notes that the campaign to send intellectual youths to the countryside was designed, amongst other things, to combat the idea of dushu zuoguan.


9. L. Stone (Ibid., p. 227) remarks that since the seventeenth century the English upper classes had tended to "associate lower class education with political and social radicalism."


14. Zhang Wenxiang Gong Quanji, vol. 4, p. 2226. Room and board, in addition to school supplies like ink and paper, continued to be supplied free of charge.


16. Zhang Wenxiang Gong Quanji, vol. 4, p. 2222. Zhang's Industrial School (Gongyi Xuetang), established in 1898, did, however, relax its entrance requirements because not enough gentry were interested. The school called for "intelligent and healthy 12 - 16 year-olds" who could read 2,000 characters and the Four Books. Su Yunfeng, op.cit., p. 145.

17. Ziliao, vol. 1, p. 158. In 1902 the Agricultural School moved to a new site where 2,000 mu of uncultivated land outside Wuchang could be used as an experimental farm. W. Ayers, p. 132.


19. Yangwu Yundong, vol. 5, pp. 5-9. Another recent study of Zhang Zhidong attempts to portray him as a reforming bureaucrat who advocated nationwide change at the expense of conservative, locally-based gentry. D. Bays, China Enters the Twentieth Century: Chang Chih-tung and the Issues of a New Age, p. 220. This attempt to show, like Ayers, that Zhang led the way in "modernizing" China is again misleading, especially as far as education is concerned. M. Bastid has shown, for example, that whatever ideas Zhang and other high officials had on educational reform were very much influenced and shaped by the proposals and advice of local notables and scholars like Zhang Jian and Luo Zhenyu.


22. Ibid., p. 4980.
23. Li's memorial is in *Donghua Lu*, vol. 27, pp. 3773-3776. It is also reprinted in Mai Zhonghua (comp.), *Huangchao Jingshi Wen Xinhuan*, vol. 1, pp. 368-372; Shiliao, vol. 1, pp. 1-5; Jian Bocan (comp.), *Wuxu Bianfa*, vol. 2, pp. 292-297. Li's memorial is referred to in W. Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System*, pp. 37-39, but more in the context of proposals for establishing a formal education system. There is also a reference to Li's memorial in C. Peake, *Nationalism and Education in Modern China*, pp. 25-28, but since the sole purpose of Peake's extremely biased study is to condemn what he feels is an unforgivable outburst of nationalism in Chinese education it is of no surprise that he shows little interest in the development of popular education in its own right. Li Duanfen (1833-1907) was from Guizhou and was a *jinshi* and Hanlin compiler. Before 1896 he had been an educational commissioner in Yunnan. In 1898 he was appointed Secretary of the Board of Rites but was later dismissed from his post for his association with the 100 Days Reform. For information on Li, see YNJ, vol. 5, p. 437. See also the chapter on him by Liang Qichao (his brother-in-law) in Beizhuan Jibu, zhuang 5, pp. 5b-8b. According to one source, Liang Qichao helped Li with the draft of the memorial, although Liang makes no mention of this in his chapter on Li. See Luo Dunhe, "Jingshi daxuetang chengli ji" in Yongyan (June 1913), pp. 1-5.


25. Jiang Jianbai, *Zhongguo Shehui Jiaoyu Xingzheng*, pp. 7-8; Zhong Lingxiu, *Shehui Jiaoyu Xingzheng*, p. 17; Shehui Jiaoyu Yanjiu, pp. 1-2. Jiang Jianbai (op.cit., p. 2) perceives two developments occurring in the late Qing. On the one hand, the government imitated western countries and adopted a new-style education in order to create talent. On the other hand, it carried out "mass education" in order to extend education to adults. In fact, Li's memorial contained both aspects. The terms "mass education" and "social education" as used, for example, by Gao Xiansi and Jiang Jianbai are synonymous in that they both refer to educational projects which seek to reach those who have not had a formal education. Such projects would include newspapers, public libraries and public lectures.


27. Ibid. The phrase that I have translated as "not yet perfected" is *wei jin* (未尽). In the version printed in *Wuxu Bianfa* the phrase appears as *wei shan* (未善). Jin seems to imply quantity rather than quality, whereas shan perhaps implies the reverse. If this is the case, when Li refers to the imperfect state of teaching he means that not enough people are receiving an education rather than that the methods of teaching or the schools themselves are of an inferior quality.

28. Ibid. The other four reasons were that, (1) the modern schools simply taught western languages and civilization and ignored basic questions such as how to govern the state and make it strong; (2) those studying
science and manufacturing were not committed to the subjects; (3) students were not encouraged to specialize in a particular skill or vocation; (4) there were no practical demonstrations or investigations abroad to consolidate what had been learnt academically.

29. See the report on modern schools in Hunan by M. Rocher, the son of the French Consul, in Asie Francaise, no. 113 (Aug., 1910), pp. 340-344.


32. Ibid., pp. 3774-3775. Li was not the only one to justify educational reform by citing tradition. Zhang Zhidong, in his wide-ranging reform proposals of 1903, also cited the traditional Golden Age (of the three sage emperors Yao, Shun and Yu) as a precedent.

33. Ibid., p. 3775.


36. Ibid., pp. 3775-3776. The other three methods proposed were the establishment of "machinery shops" attached to schools, the sending of students abroad, and, finally, the creation of a translation bureau, which would supply more up-to-date translations. Ma Jianzhong, a returned student from France and the first Chinese to receive the baccalaureat had made a similar proposal to Li Hongzhang. See Shike Zhai Jiyan, pp. 89-94.

37. Donghua Lu, vol. 27, p. 3776. In 1859 Hong Renkan, a Taiping leader, had proposed the use of newspapers to "gather public opinion" and to allow the people to know what the rulers were doing. By 1894 - 1895 there were about 12 newspapers issued in the major port cities. Yuan Shikai and Zhang Zhidong at this time both revived the practice of issuing official newspapers (guanbao). In 1908 the first press law was promulgated, requiring all editors and publishers to be registered and all copy to be checked by the authorities before publication. R. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, pp. 37, 108, 110. See also A. Iriye, "Public Opinion and Foreign Policy" in A. Feuerwerker et al., Approaches to Modern Chinese History, pp. 216-238.

38. Neither did Li specify if newspapers should be privately or government-owned.


40. Zhiliao, vol. 1, pp. 80-82. It is interesting that Kang associated academies, which were highly respected seats of classical Confucian learning and scholarship, with clan temples, which he described as yin
("licentious" or "decadent"). Hsiao Kung-ch'uan translates yin as "unauthorized," which does not convey the scorn that Kang had for popular culture. A Modern China and a New World, p. 380. Zhang Zhidong proposed in 1898 that the property of Buddhist monasteries be used to finance education. Wang Ermin, Wanqing Zhengzhi Sixiang Shilun, p. 95.


42. The notice and regulations concerning these schools are in Ziliao, vol. 1, pp. 100-102.

43. The sick and disabled, as well as opium dealers and smokers, were excluded.

44. JYZZ, 1:4, zazuan, pp. 25-26.


48. Jiang Weiqiao, for example, later to be an official at the Ministry of Education in 1912, declared in 1909 that insisting on the wearing of uniforms would prevent poorer children from attending school. JYZZ, 1:7.

49. In 1652 the Shunzhi emperor promulgated six maxims (liuyu), which urged his subjects to practice virtue and lead a peaceful life. A xiangyue, nominated from among shengyuan degree-holders over 60 years of age, was to expound on the maxims in each locality. In 1670 the six maxims were superseded by a new set issued by the Kangxi emperor (called the Sacred Edict). These were supplemented by the Shengyu Guangxun (Amplified Instructions of the Sacred Edit), promulgated by the Yongzheng emperor in 1724. The main concern was to impress upon the people the need to obey the laws, pay taxes, and to avoid "heretic creeds." According to one scholar the xiangyue system was gradually transformed from a "lecturing device" to an institution of police surveillance. See Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, Rural China, pp. 185-205.

50. These regulations are cited in Jiang Jianbai, pp. 8-10.


52. Ibid., p. 940.

53. Ibid., p. 940. Zhang's admiration of what he perceived as the highly organized and centralized western educational systems was originally expressed in his famous treatise "Exhortation To Learning" (Quanxue bian), which he wrote in 1898. See Zhang Wenxiang Gong Quanjii, vol. 6, p. 3729.
54. Ibid., p. 942. For Zhang's stress on the importance of military drill in school, see Donghua Lu, vol. 27, p. 3735.

55. Ibid., p. 940.

56. Ibid., p. 943.

57. W. Franke, p. 50.


60. Taga, vol. 1, p. 119.


63. Taga, vol. 1, p. 167. The regulations also stipulated that charitable and private schools (yishu, jiaoshu) were to be converted into primary schools. In addition, it should be noted that, according to Zhang's plan, the school system and educational administration were combined. Thus the Imperial University was the highest administrative organ, and higher schools had administrative authority over lower schools.

64. The aims outlined by these officials (xuexu gangyao), as well as the description and regulations of the new schools, are in Zouding Xuetang Zhangcheng. The xuexu gangyao is reprinted in Ziliao, vol. 1, pp. 199-220, and in Taga, vol. 1, pp. 208-225. The regulations for the new schools are also in Taga, vol. 1, pp. 226-408. A memorial written by Zhang in 1902 on educational progress in Hubei showed that he was already beginning to change his approach. In the memorial he noted the importance of primary education in other countries and the fact that it was regarded as the state's duty to provide it. Such an education, Zhang remarked, taught morality and practical skills, as well as laying the foundations for patriotism. He called such a training "citizen education" (guomin jiaoyu). See Zhang Wenxiang Gong Quanji, vol. 2, p. 1016.


66. Ibid., p. 45.

67. Ibid., p. 46. The "aim" (zongzhi) of lower primary education as stated in the 1904 system was more extensive than that of the 1902 proposals.
Thus while in 1902 the aim of primary education was "to teach morality, knowledge and things beneficial to physical health," in 1904 the aim of lower primary schools was "to teach the necessary knowledge for the people's livelihood, to establish clear understanding of human relationships, to establish the basis for patriotism and, moreover, to build up the child's bodily health in order to let the child fully develop ..." In 1902 middle schools were regarded primarily as the foundation for higher level education, whereas in 1904 middle schools were also "to enable those who do not want to go on (i.e., up the educational ladder) to practise various trades." Taga, vol. 1, pp. 157, 166, 279; Zouding Xuetang Zhangcheng, p. 431. In 1909, however, it was decided to adopt the German pattern and divide middle schools into specialist branches of arts and sciences (wenshi). They were thus seen more as preparation for advanced and specialized learning. This division was abolished in 1911 and the more general middle school re-adopted.

68. Zouding Xuetang Zhangcheng, pp. 46-47.

69. Ibid., p. 49. It was also proposed that all western books be translated quickly so as to reduce dependence on foreign teachers.

70. Ibid., p. 53. The more frequent use of yiwu jiaoyu rather than qiangbo jiaoyu suggests a concern with "persuasion" rather than arbitrary force, although both terms are translated as "compulsory education." D. Munro has pointed to the tension in contemporary China between "persuasion" (shuofu) and "coercion" (zhenya). See his The Concept of Man in Contemporary China, p. 180. Perhaps this explains the use of the two terms for "compulsory education." When plans for compulsory education were put forward in the early part of the century, they were generally phrased in terms of building more schools rather than in terms of passing laws that would penalize parents who had not sent their children to school. It seemed to be assumed that once the schools were built and once the people were aware of the government's call for universal education, parents would automatically send their children to school.


72 Zouding Xuetang Zhangcheng, p. 485.

73. Ibid., pp. 492-493.

74. Regulations for these schools are in Ziliao, vol. 2, pp. 775-778. One study sees these schools as marking the beginning of adult education. Jiang Jianbai, p. 11.

75. The idea of "moral training" (xiushen) had come from Japan (shushin in Japanese). In 1880 Nishimura Shigeki, in charge of the newly-formed compilation bureau (hensankyoku), brought out the forerunner of the shushin texts which were to be a constant feature of the Japanese school curriculum—the Shogaku Shushin Kun (Moral primer for elementary schools). These shushin texts became exclusively concerned with Japan and stressed the traditional virtues of loyalty and concern for the
collectivity. This trend represented a reaction to the Educational Code of 1872 (Gakusei), under which shushin had been western-oriented, drawing on a wide range of sources. In fact, the Japanese Education Ministry had borrowed the idea of moral training from French educational practice during the Third Republic, which prescribed moral instruction (drawn from Roman Catholicism) as part of the curriculum. See I. Hall, Mori Arinori, pp. 351-353.


77. Regulations for these schools are in Ziliao, vol. 2, pp. 783-785.

78. Ziliao, vol. 2, p. 784. An interesting feature of the regulations for these apprentice schools, as well as for the general vocational schools, was the provision for a "consultative group" (shangyiyuan) comprising those experienced in industry or commerce to "discuss matters concerning the school."


80. M. Bastid translates Zhang's memorial and notes that Zhang's normal school was specifically designed to train teachers and not to produce officials, "toutes choses inconnues dans l'éducation d'alors." La Réforme de l'Engseignement, p. 125. A similar problem had occurred in Japan, and after Mori Arinori became Education Minister in 1885 he issued an ordinance on normal schools which tightened admission procedures and stipulated that graduates had to serve as primary school teachers for at least ten years. This was to stop the practice, prevalent since 1872, of students enrolling in normal schools simply to get a general secondary education. I. Hall, p. 419.


82. Chen Qingzhi, pp. 631-632.

83. W. Franke, p. 67. Not only school graduates in China thought along these lines; students trained abroad were particularly prone to assuming that their studies would lead to a high official position. Thus the World Chinese Students Journal commented in 1911: "An education has in China always been identified with an official career; the new educational system, in spite of its western influence, has not been successful in separating the two from the minds of our students (i.e., students studying abroad). The result is a contempt for the ordinary routine of work." Cited in Y.C. Wang, Chinese Intellectuals and the West, p. 95.

84. W. Franke, p. 58. Graduates of higher primary school admitted to middle schools were to be awarded the degrees of lingsheng, zengsheng or fusheng. Graduates of middle school admitted to higher level schools were to be awarded the degrees of gongsheng, yu gongsheng or suigongsheng. Graduates of higher level schools were to be awarded the degree of zhuren, while graduates of the Imperial University were to receive the jinshi.

86. Ibid., p. 395.


88. Ibid.

89 W. Franke, pp. 69-70.

90. On traditional schools, such as the shexue, see Hsiao Kung-ch'uan, Rural China, pp. 235-244, and E. Rawski, Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China, pp. 33-53. Academies (shuyuan), also, were not necessarily all bastions of traditional studies, and the conversion to modern educational facilities stressing more practical subject-matter may well have therefore been facilitated. Ruan Yuan's Gujing Qingshe academy in Hangzhou (established in 1801), for example, examined students in astronomy, mathematics and geography. See B. Elman, "The Hsueh-hai T'ang and the Rise of New Text Scholarship" in Ch'ing-shih Wen-t'i, 4:2 (Dec., 1979), pp. 51-71.

91. For a discussion of early Confucian theories on the nature of man, theories which had a profound and lasting influence on educational thought, see D. Munro, The Concept of Man in Early China, pp. 13-15, 22, 48-51, 82-83, 163-165.


93. As H. Silver points out, the actual term "popular education" was not used in England during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but rather the term "education for the poor." Only with the emergence of a wider philosophy of education did the terms "education for the people" or "popular education" begin to be used. The Concept of Popular Education, p. 13.

94. V. Neuberg, p. 6. G. Chapman in a Treatise On Education (1773) remarked: "To reconcile the lowest class of mankind to the fatigues of constant labour ... pains should be taken to convince them, when young, that subordination is necessary in society ... that happiness does not consist in indolence, nor in the possession of riches;... but in the habits of industry and contentment, in temperance and frugality, and in the consciousness of doing our duty in the station in which we are placed." Ibid., p. 10.


96. V. Neuberg, p. 7.

interesting to note that in nineteenth century England some sections of the working class established their own schools, where more stress was laid on practical subjects and less on religious and moral instruction. S. Frith, "Elementary Education in Leeds Before 1870" in P. McCann (ed.), op.cit., pp. 83-84.

98. H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals, p. 41.


100. As P. McCann observes, many of the provisions for popular education in the early nineteenth century were, for this very reason, counter-revolutionary in nature. P. McCann (ed.), op.cit., p. 18.

101. In his Fable of the Bees Or Private Vices and Public Benefits, Mandeville condemned the provision of education for the lower classes. Noting the increasing crime rate in London, he remarked: "I intend to examine into the real causes of these mischiefs so justly complained of, and doubt not but to make it appear that charity schools, and everything else that promotes idleness, and keeps the poor from working, are more accessory to the growth of villainy, than the want of reading and writing, or even the grossest ignorance and stupidity." He concluded that "to make the society happy and people easy under the meanest circumstances, it is requisite that the greatest numbers of them should be ignorant as well as poor." Ibid., pp. 271, 287-288.


104. Zhang Boxing had suggested the creation of a board of education in 1902, and in 1904 Zhang Zhidong had proposed the appointment of a special minister for education, separate from the post of Director of the Imperial University. JYNJ, vol. 1, p. 27. Accordingly, Sun Jianai was appointed the first xuewu dachen (official in charge of studies).

105. JYNJ, vol. 1, p. 28. Overseas students were the responsibility of the department of specialist education.

106. Later on, supplementary schools and apprentice schools were to be regarded as items of popular education.

107. The regulations for the new Board of Education are in Taga, vol. 1, pp. 418-421. The first Secretary was Rong Qing. Jiang Jianbai, p. 19, thinks that the subordination of popular education to the department of general education already indicated Qing mistrust of mass education because of the increasing influence of revolutionary thought, which would have made enlightening the people a risky business. However, if one considers that the establishment of half-day schools and literacy was called for after 1905 it is evident that the Qing was still pinning its hopes on the benefits of widespread education which, it was hoped, would rally support for the throne.
108. Regulations for provincial education are in Taga, vol. 1, pp. 421-423. See also Kuo Ping-wen, pp. 94-95.


110. Ibid., p. 970. Another article in Jiangning Xuewu Zazhi, vol. 2 (1907), zalu, pp. 5-12 reiterated Duan's proposal that higher level education should be made more expensive so that primary and middle level education could be provided free.


113. Ibid., p. 5475.

114. There are many references in this period to mingqi (people's anger or spirit); during the nineteenth century officials like Lin Zixu and Ye Mingchen, in their dealings with foreigners, showed an apparent confidence in relying on it. F. Wakeman, "The Canton Trade and the Opium War" in J. Fairbank (ed.), The Cambridge History of China, p. 193; J. Wong, Yeh Ming-ch'en, pp. 159-168. See also footnote 171.


116. Compulsory military service was in force in Japan, Germany and France, but not in England. The Chinese view of the Japanese as a militaristic people was a persistent one in writings of this period. In the early part of the century Liang Qichao had drawn attention to the bushido tradition in Japan and bewailed the fact that such a tradition had been lacking in China (with the exception of the "knight-errants"—yuxia—during the Warring States period), while Hu Shi, regretting the fact that the Chinese had not shown enough enthusiasm for military affairs, pointed to the universal acceptance by the Japanese people of military conscription in the 1870s. The Chinese Renaissance, p. 17. Recent studies have pointed out, however, that widespread resistance to conscription occurred among the rural population, often leading to riots. J. Halliday, A Political History of Japanese Capitalism, p. 23.


119. Ibid., p. 180. By this reckoning, of course, the upper classes had no need for drill. Team sports such as football and cricket were considered quite sufficient.

120. In justifying the call to honour Confucius in the schools, the Xuebu pointed to the role of national religions in the west in creating a well-ordered society. Kang Youwei in 1898 had made a similar observation.
121. The citing of Wang Yangming as a model by the Xuebu is somewhat unusual because Wang Yangming's philosophy was not part of the official canon. During the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic, in fact, Wang Yangming was often praised as the pioneer of "practical study." See Chapter 4.


123. Ibid.

124. One Chinese writer thinks the Xuebu's 1906 educational aims mark the beginnings of "utilitarian educational thought" (shili jiaoyu sixiang) in China. See Ren Shixian, Zhongguo Jiaoyu Sixiangshi, p. 341.

125. See, for example, Chow Tse-tung, The May Fourth Movement, pp. 259-260; M. Gewurtz, "Social Reality and Educational Reform: The case of the Chinese Vocational Education Association 1917 - 1927" in Modern China, 4:2 (April, 1978). Gewurtz does refer to the isolated attempts of people like Zhang Jian before 1911 to stress vocational education, but generally she ignores the basic change in attitudes towards vocational education that occurred in these years. Furthermore, in her contrast between Chinese and western education Gewurtz claims that "western culture had never so sharply separated mental and manual labour, nor so avidly disparaged specialization while championing the 'amateur ideal'." (Ibid., p. 159) This is simply not true and betrays an imperfect understanding of educational development in the west. To give but two examples, the amateur ideal and disdain for specialization was (and still is in many respects) an important part of upper class education in England, while in Germany a fierce and bitter debate broke out at the turn of the century between the inheritors of von Humboldt's ideal of humanist education, which had long held sway over educational policy, and those who advocated a more practical and vocational education.


127. Luo Zhenyu (1866 - 1940) came from Shangyu, Zhejiang. In 1896 he established the Agronomy Society in Shanghai, which translated over one hundred books on agriculture, primarily from the Japanese. He served as an adviser to Zhang Zhidong's Bureau of Agriculture in Hubei and was sent by Zhang to Japan in 1901 to investigate education there. In 1906 Luo became a school inspector for the newly-established Xuebu and toured Zhili and Shanxi, in 1907, and Shandong, Henan, Jiangsu and Anhui in 1908. For an analysis of Luo's report on education in Jiangxi, see Abe Hiroshi, "Shinmatsu no kindai gakko kosei-sho o chushin ni" in Rekishi Hyoron, no. 1, pp. 47-61, and no. 3, pp. 56-67. In 1909 Luo was appointed dean of the agricultural college at Peking University. See Hashikawa Tokio, Chugoku Bunka Kai Jimbutsu Sokan, pp. 785-786.

128. Jiaoyu Shijie, nos. 1, 2, 12, 28. M. Bastid has ably described the influence of Japan on Chinese entrepreneurs and educators like Zhang Jian and Luo Zhenyu. Liang Qichao, in a 1902 article, had also praised
Japan's education system as well organized and structured. Ziliao, vol. 3, pp. 947-954. For a list of translations from the Japanese on education that appeared in Jiaoyu Shijie see Saneto Keishu, Chūgokujin Nihon Ryūgaku Shi, pp. 257-258. Between 1901 and 1904, out of 48 works on education that were translated into Chinese, 39 were from the Japanese. Ibid., p. 283.

129. Jiaoyu Shijie, no. 44, pp. 2a-10b; no. 45, pp. 2a-10b; no. 46, pp. 3a-10b; no. 47, pp. 6b-10a; no. 48, pp. 5b-10a.

130. Ibid., no. 31, pp. 1-33.

131. Xinmin Congbao, 13:67, pp. 1-19. The low regard in which some Japanese educators and writers held women's education (and, indeed, women in general), which is evident in this article and many others that were translated into Chinese at this time, may have reinforced Chinese traditional attitudes towards women's education. Thus it was frequently observed in Japanese writings that girls were naturally less competitive, less daring and more subservient than boys. If girls had too much knowledge, according to some Japanese educators, they would lose their subservient natures and this would therefore be a dangerous thing. See JYZZ, 2:12, jiaoshou guanli, pp. 147-152, for an article, translated from the Japanese, on the physical and mental differences between boys and girls. It made the usual assertion that boys were equipped, physically and mentally, to work in society, whereas girls were suited to working in the home. Another Chinese newspaper cited the opinions of a Japanese criminologist who argued that women were the source of all crime. Jindai Zhongguo Nuquan Yundong Shiliao, vol. 1, p. 709.

132. Youxue Yibian, no. 10 (1903). The lower levels with which students had to forge links were referred to as "secret societies, labouring society and military society." For a brief discussion of the educational ideas of Chinese revolutionaries in Japan, see M. Rankin, Early Chinese Revolutionaries, pp. 35-38.


134. Cited in Chen Jingpan, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyushi, p. 214. Zhang Ji, another revolutionary, referred to students as the "driving force of the revolution." Zhang Nan et al. (ed.), op.cit., 1:2, p. 683. The potential revolutionary role (as opposed to the harmonizing one) of the middle classes was referred to in a 1919 article in Dongfang Zazhi (vol. 16, no. 6). The middle classes, whether relying on property or on their brains, the article claimed, were at the mercy of big capitalists and as such suffered the same fate as the labouring classes. It was incumbent upon them to lead the labouring classes in the solution of the "social problem."

135. Both Liang Qichao and Chen Tianhua argued that Chinese revolutions in the past had failed because they had not been under "middle class
leadership." For Liang's ideas on the subject, see Zhang Nan et al. (ed.), op. cit., 7:2, pp. 803–812; for Chen's ideas on the subject, see Sun Zhifen, "Chen Tianhua di aiguo geming sixiang" in Xinhai Geming Wushi Zhounian Jinian Lunwenji, vol. 2, p. 387.

136. JYZZ, 3:6, yanlun, pp. 62–68. The importance of the middle classes continued to be emphasized during the early years of the Republic. In 1914, the Education Minister, Tang Hualong, lamented the fact that China's educational system was incapable of producing an independent middle class that would mediate between the upper levels of society (e.g., officials) and lower levels (peasants, workers, tradesmen). Jiaoyu Gongbao, no. 5, fulu, pp. 1–7.

137. Minli Bao, no. 287 (July 31, 1911).

138. Gu pointed to the stock company (gongsi) in the west which, he claimed, was based on "people's groups," as evidence of the existence of social education there.

139. Jiangsu, nos. 3 and 6.

140. A Chinese report on the Brussels World Exhibition of 1911 referred to France as the foremost exponent of social education, and pointed to the existence of adult night classes, libraries, physical education associations, and anti-alcoholic associations in that country. JYZZ, 3:9, diaocha, pp. 96, 100.


142. Shu Xincheng, Jiaoyu Tonglun, pp. 180–181. Shu went further and argued that social education could be used to promote government policy, especially in the realm of foreign affairs.

143. JYZZ, 2:6, sheshuo, pp. 69–72. The Governor-general of Liangguang, reporting on industry and agriculture in his area, noted that it was difficult to promote economic development because the people were "vagrants and idlers" (youduo). In order to eliminate their idleness, he remarked, gambling had to be prohibited first. Zhengzhi Guanbao, vol. 44, no. 1, 529, p. 115.

144. Kang's memorial is in Wuxu Bianfa, vol. 2, pp. 231–236.

145. The 1895 manifesto of Sun Yat-sen's first revolutionary organization, the Revive China Society (Xingzhonghui), attributed China's ills to the fact that "people's minds were not united, and that they only thought of themselves rather than having any concern for wider interests ..." One of the society's aims was to find ways "to reform the people's customs" (huamin chenyu) by acquainting them with patriotism and the concept of the nation state. Geming Wenxian, vol. 3, pp. 275–276.

146. DFZZ, 2:5, shiye, pp. 45–47.
147. DFZZ, 1:9, jiaoyu, p. 198. The writer interestingly went on to justify education for the poor on the grounds that if they had the means to earn wealth social order would be preserved and the rich would not need to fear for their property.

148. DFZZ, 4:2, jiaoyu, pp. 105.

149. Sun Zhifen, p. 380.


151. Ibid., p. 133.


153. Ibid., p. 453.

154. Jiaoyu Shijie, no. 46, pp. 1-19b; no. 47, pp. 20a-50b; no. 48, pp. 51a-79b; no. 49, pp. 80a-109b; no. 50, pp. 110a-126b.

155. JYZZ, 1:2, zazuan, pp. 11-12.


157. DFZZ, 1:8, sheshuo, pp. 175-177.

158. DFZZ, 1:8, sheshuo, pp. 115-120. Although the writer did not specify who the "productive" group was, the implication was that it included peasants, workers and traders.

159. This article is printed in Laodong, no. 1 (March, 1918), pp. 25-28. I am indebted to Professor Bastid for lending me a copy of this issue. Unfortunately, there is no reference to the origin of the article. Since it is similar in approach to the previous one just cited in Dongfang Zazhi it is likely that the article was published in a reformist journal. It is significant that when a revolutionary like Zhang Binglin analysed classes in Chinese society, he distinguished them on the basis of their moral qualities rather than their economic capabilities. See his essay "Geming zhi daode" in Zhang Nan et al. (ed.), op.cit., 2:1, pp. 509-520.

160. Xinmin Congbao, 11:59, jiaoyu, p. 6. The article was a report of a speech on education by a Japanese educator, Eguchi Tatsutarō.

161. Some revolutionaries, like Zhang Binglin, saw no need for education and argued that only revolution could increase the people's knowledge: "The intelligence and wisdom of the people will only be discovered after they have participated in struggle. The people's knowledge today does not need to depend on other things to expand it; it has only to rely on revolution to expand it." Cited in Chen Jingpan, p. 207.

162. Hubei Xueshengjie, 1:1, jiaoyu, p. 1. One of the founders of the journal was Huang Xing. See Chun-tü Hsueh, Huang Hsing and the Chinese Revolution, p. 9.
163. Ibid., p. 3.

164. Ibid., 1:2, p. 9. The article pointed to the heroic resistance of the Filipinos against the Americans to show what a "spirited citizenry" could do. The encouragement of individual autonomy and the inculcation of the desire to become part of the collectivity as educational aims were often juxtaposed by educators and writers during this period. Abandoning egoistic interests and particularistic loyalties (such as to the family or clan) in order to work for the "public good" (i.e., the country) was considered an act of individual self-assertion.

165. Hubei Xueshengjie, 1:4, p. 5. An article in Xinmin Congbao, 1:3, jiaoyu, p. 4, noted that the Chinese people were basically "intelligent, hard-working and loyal." The only problem was that they were "stuck in old ways and thought." With the right education, the article claimed, "our people's strength will expand to even greater limits."

166. Zhang Nan et al. (ed.), op.cit., 1:2, pp. 918-921.

167. Excerpts from Liang's series of articles, entitled "Xinmin Shuo" (The theory of the new people) are in Zhang Nan et al. (ed.), op.cit., 1:1, pp. 118-157. See also Hao Chang, Liang Chi-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, pp. 151-157; P. Huang, Liang Chi-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism, pp. 58-65. Liang perhaps more than anyone else at the time stressed the relationship between "democracy" (minquan) and education. "In the past," he declared, "when rulers wanted to suppress the people's rights, they were forced to block the people's knowledge as the first priority. Now, if they want to promote people's rights they have to expand the people's knowledge." Cited in Chen Jingpan, p. 137. For Liang, education was to be the basis for political reform and he therefore stressed political education as the most important part of the curriculum, with vocational training as the supplement. Ziliao, vol. 3, p. 945. The idea that education in the past concentrated on making the people "foolish" also appears in an article in DFZZ, 1:5, sheshuo, pp. 82-86.

168. Xinmin Congbao, 1:1, jiaoyu, p. 3.

169. Hubei Xueshengjie, 1:4, p. 4.


171. The Chinese term that I have translated as "people's martial spirit" is minqi, which can also be translated as "people's spirit" or "people's energy." An article in Liang Qichao's journal Qingyi Bao, in 1901, described the Boxers as the "representatives of the Chinese people's minqi and the pioneers in expelling the foreigner" (Zhang Nan et al., 1:1, p. 62), while the Xuebu, reporting on the increasing number of non-official schools in 1908, declared that this was proof the people's minqi was "expanding" (JYZZ, 3:3, jishi, pp. 21-22). Others refer to the minqi being suppressed by the old education system and that it needed to be "released" by a more suitable education system that would stress
practical and creative studies (DFZZ, 2:8, sheshuo, pp. 154-156). It is therefore misleading to simply define minqi, as J. Chen does (Yuan Shih-k'ai, p. 204), as "anti-foreign sentiments" of the Chinese people.

172. DFZZ, 1:1, sheshuo, pp. 107.

173. DFZZ, 1:4, jiaoyu, p. 77.


175. The noted Chinese sociologist, Tao Menghe, also wrote in 1922 that life in the Chinese village was based on trust and cooperation, and that it contained no class enmities. Villagers were thus able to become law-abiding, honest, frugal and cooperative much quicker than their urban counterparts. With the invasion of urban values, Tao remarked, the strong, healthy and virtuous peasant had become like the soft, weak and lazy city-dweller. Shehui Yu Jiaoyu, pp. 170-171. During the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic, there was not much written about rural education per se. One article that did discuss rural and urban education criticized those who claimed that education in the rural areas would be better because the environment was less corrupting and the life less expensive. On the contrary, the article maintained, students in the countryside would be more liable to exaggerate their wasteful habits. In the cities, however, students would be more disciplined and education cheaper because of the greater availability of teachers and facilities. Besides, the article concluded, the countryside was altogether a dirty, unsafe and uncivilized place. JYZZ, 1:10, sheshuo, pp. 120-129.

176. These articles appear in the first issues of Jiaoyu Zazhi. They are reprinted in Jiaoyu Conggao, pp. 1-136.

177. Li also showed a sensitivity (rare for the time) to the feelings of poor students. He warned that a danger existed of poor children's innate sense of inferiority being confirmed by the arrogant attitudes of teachers. He suggested that teachers conduct "self-criticism" at regular periods in order to increase students' confidence and self-respect.

178. Jiangning Xuewu Zazhi, no. 5 (1907), xuandai, pp. 1-5. An article in Xinmin Congbao, 4:22, junshi, pp. 1-20, actually proposed the "militarization" of society. With the military becoming a model for society to emulate, military organization, order and discipline, according to the article, would then produce a "new people." I know of no other proposal at this time to militarize society although, of course, there were frequent calls for an education that inculcated martial values.

179. Jiaoyu Shijie, no. 9. Another article in a student radical journal pointed to the use of language in fostering loyalty and referred to the examples of Russia forcing Poles to use Russian and Americans forcing Filipinos to use English. Hubei Xueshengjie, 1:1, pp. 1-7.
180. Jiaoyu Shijie, no. 141, pp. 1-12. Luo, incidentally, suggested that China do the same thing and he advocated more education be carried out among overseas Chinese in Thailand. With a well-educated Chinese population in Thailand, Luo assumed, China's influence there would automatically increase.

181. One of the few others is in a 1907 issue of Waijiao Bao (Zhang Nan et al., 2:2, pp. 577-579). It discussed private western schools in the treaty ports, the university at Taiyuan, Shanxi (subsidized by English funds), the University at Changsha, Hunan (financed by American funds), and various missionary schools.

182. See, for example, DFZZ, 3:3, sheshuo, pp. 44-47; 2:11, sheshuo, pp. 221-225; 2:12, sheshuo, pp. 243-249.

CHAPTER TWO
POPULAR EDUCATION DEVELOPMENTS 1904 - 1911

Introduction

Following the establishment of the Xuebu and the Qing court's call for the expansion of education, regulations were issued on half-day schools, literacy schools, girls' schools and vocational schools. As frequently occurred throughout the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic, government regulations often sanctioned a process that had already begun. Thus half-day schools and literacy schools had already appeared before the regulations on such schools were officially promulgated in 1906 and 1909 respectively.

After a brief look at the new educational administration at the local level, this chapter will deal with the lecture-halls and education associations, which were seen as key institutions in spreading and promoting the benefits of education. Secondly, the half-day schools and literacy schools will be described. The scholar gentry and other notables who established these schools tended to emphasize the "vocational" role such schools could play. For the Qing court, despite its call in 1909 for universal education as preparation for constitutional government (which would allow the people's level to be sufficiently high for them to "participate" in local self-government), popular education was seen primarily in terms of benefitting people in a practical way and instilling a sense of loyalty to the monarch. The confidence that officials had in the benefits of education, described in the last chapter, was evident in the Xuebu's hope that once all the people were educated (i.e., literate) there would be no opportunity for "perverse theories" to inflame people's discontent.
The last chapter noted how vocational education had been provided for in the 1904 school system and that increasing emphasis was placed on the importance of individual welfare. Individual examples of vocational schools, as described in contemporary journals, provide evidence of a determined effort by many gentry members and merchants to establish facilities for vocational training.

Lastly, changes in the primary schools curriculum will be described to show how attitudes towards education continued to change. Perhaps the most significant aspect of these changes was the reduction in time spent on teaching the Classics, which came increasingly to be regarded as irrelevant for primary school children. Some educators even argued that they were harmful for children.

The Quanxueso, Lecture-halls and Education Associations

In addition to a Board of Education and the establishment of a new provincial directorship of education, a new educational administration was organized at the local level in May 1906. Education at the zhou and xian levels was to be under the jurisdiction of a new office, the quanxueso, which has been translated as the Education Exhortation Office or the Education Promotion Office.1 The director of the quanxueso, appointed by the district inspector of education, selected assistants from among local "upright" gentry (quanxueyuan) and assigned them to supervise an educational district (qu), comprising 3,000 to 4,000 households.2 The duties of the quanxueso included lecturing to the populace, researching methods in school administration and pedagogy, training assistants, and "advertising" the new schools. The duties of the quanxueyuan also included lecturing to the populace and encouraging school attendance.3
The quanxueso was also expected to establish lecture halls (xuanjiangso) and newspaper-reading rooms. The traditional stress on the Sacred Edict was henceforth to give way to more lectures on the Xuebu's educational aims. Other subjects to be covered by lectures were to include history, geography, science, moral training and readings from baihua newspapers. If possible, lecturers were to be normal school graduates or, at the very least, lower primary school teachers. Although regulations stated that anyone could attend, women were expressly forbidden since it was considered contrary to the rules of propriety to have men and women mingling together in a public place. The lecture hall could be established next to the Education Promotion office, in a Confucian temple or other public buildings, or even on the street. Education officials were instructed to persuade the people to send their children to school on the basis that there was no other way to "advance" now that the civil service examinations had been abolished. Attending schools was to be shown as a beneficial way to "plan one's livelihood and manage the family" (mousheng zhijia). Officials were also to encourage the less well-off to attend half-day schools and to encourage private traditional schools to convert into modern primary schools.

Statistics reveal that the establishment of local educational administration was very uneven. In 1907 Zhili had established the highest number of quanxueso - 154—while Sinjiang had only established one. The number of quanxueyuan also varied greatly from province to province. Thus while Shandong had less quanxueso than Zhili, the total number of quanxueyuan employed in Shandong came to 1,299 compared to only 713 in Zhili. Similarly, Guangdong had 1,366 quanxueyuan and Sichuan 1,029 even though the former had over 50 less quanxueso than the latter. The number
of *quanxueso* was not necessarily correlated with the number of lecture halls. Thus while Anhui had 36 *quanxueso*, it had not established any lecture halls by 1907; and although Shanxi only had 40 *quanxueso*, over 200 lecture halls had been established there (see Table 3). Another notable feature of the 1907 statistics is that Guangxi, Yunnan and Guizhou, which are traditionally placed among the poorer provinces, had established a considerable number of lecture halls, indicating a widespread interest in the promotion of modern education. By 1910, for example, Guizhou had established 1,167 lecture halls. Shandong had the highest number of lecture halls in 1907, a position it retained during the early years of the Republic (see Chapter 4).

In September 1906 the Xuebu issued a list of material to be used by the lecture halls. All such material, the Xuebu noted, was beneficial for popular education (*tongsu jiaoyu*). The people were to be fully informed of the new educational system, particularly as it related to primary education. Material from which lectures were to be taken included Zhang Zhidong's 1898 treatise *Exhortation to Learning* (*quanxue bian*), a *baihua* text on law and order, a text on "missionary cases" (to show that each anti-missionary disturbance was a danger for the country), a book on European and American education, translated from the Japanese, a text entitled "Ardent Words from Primary School Teachers" (which would encourage parents to take their children out of traditional schools and put them in modern schools), *Robinson Crusoe* (which would stimulate "an adventurous spirit and eliminate subservient and dependent attitudes"), a biography of Nelson and a novel about the English colonization of Australia (also to stimulate an adventurous spirit), a text on practical agricultural matters, a text on general commerce and, finally, a translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which, it was hoped, would arouse feelings
Table 3
Number of Quanxueso, Lecture Halls and Education Associations in 1907

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Quanxueso</th>
<th>Lecture halls&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</th>
<th>Education associations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>234</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td></td>
<td>No Figures Available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td></td>
<td>No Figures Available</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>a</sup>By 1909, the number of lecture halls had increased considerably in most provinces. For example, Jilin had 35, Shanxi had 265, Sha'anxi had 327, Anhui had 60, Zhejiang had 117, Sichuan had 392 and Guizhou had 1,176. (Di Sancti Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, pp. 40-41.)

Source. Di Yici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, passim.
of patriotism among the people by warning them that they might meet the same fate experienced by the blacks in the United States. Public lectures, therefore, were aimed at securing a loyal and law-abiding populace. In addition to being a vehicle for moral indoctrination, however, the lectures were to stress the importance of patriotism and individual initiative. By pointing out the benefits of education with regard to "planning one's livelihood" the lectures were also designed to appeal to people's self-interest. Such a trend was to continue in the early years of the Republic and resulted in a debate among educators over the relative merits of individual versus the public good.

In July 1906 another institution was established to help spread education. In this month regulations for the establishment of education associations (jiaoyuhui) were issued. The preamble to the regulations stated that the way of education lay in making it universal. It was not practical to rely only on a few officials to accomplish this. The Xuebu concluded that gentry help would have to be enlisted and pointed to the general enthusiasm shown by the gentry for the new education since the abolition of the civil service examinations.

The Xuebu gave another reason for the establishment of education associations. It noted that many "study societies" had been founded and that it wished to make them uniform. A prominent educator of the time remarked later that the establishment of education associations was a clever scheme by the Qing government to halt the independent development of informal gentry associations. There had, in fact, been a proliferation of "study societies" (xuehui) since the founding of the Self-Strengthening Society (qiangxuehui) in 1895 by Kang Youwei. They included agricultural study
societies, like the one founded in Baoding, Zhili, by Wang Shushan in 1906; mathematics research societies; anti-footbinding societies, like the one founded in Shanghai by Liang Qichao in 1896; and a Society for the Promotion of Education, established in Nanjing in 1898. Just before the promulgation of official regulations on education associations two more important gentry associations were founded: the General Association for the Reform of Traditional Schools, founded in Shanghai by Shen Liangqi and the Jiangsu General Study Association, organized by Zhang Jian, Ma Liang, Meng Zhaochang and Huang Yanpei. M. Bastid has noted that the old xuehui often formed the base for the education associations. Thus the gentry founders of the Jiangsu Association were all prominent in the new education association.14

The aim of the education associations was to "aid in the administration of education, plan for the universalisation of education and work in harmony with the provincial and district offices of education."15 Prominent gentry, provincial education inspectors and principals and directors of schools were all eligible to establish a provincial education association. At the local level district education inspectors, quanxueyuan, and school principals could establish branch associations (fenhui). It was made clear that education associations were "public institutions" (gongli) under the supervision of the provincial education office. The functions accruing to the education associations included: the establishment of pedagogical research societies; the collection and compilation of education statistics; the organization of training institutes (shifan zhuanxiso) to give "crash courses" in teacher training; and the establishment of lecture halls "in order to correct people's minds and improve customs, to destroy superstition, emphasize hygiene and
to reform immoral and corrupting plays and songs.” Education associations were also encouraged to build libraries and plan educational exhibitions.

Education associations were quite active in the years preceding the 1911 Revolution. The Jiangsu Education Association established a school of law, a teacher training institute and worker education programmes. The Fujian education association established a training institute in law in 1907. The education association of Hangzhou organized its own society for the reform of traditional schools while the education association of Taigu district in Shanxi opened a girls' school and kindergarten in 1909. After the promulgation of the regulations general provincial education associations were established in Fujian (1906), Jiangxi (1907), Henan (1907), Fengtian (1907), Hunan (1908), Anhui (1909), Zhili (1909), Shanxi (1909) and Guangdong (1911). As with the quanxueso, the number of branch education associations varied greatly from province to province (see table 3 for 1907 figures). Thus in 1910 Zhili and Sichuan each had 65 education associations, while Gansu and Heilongjiang only had 4 and 1 respectively. Overall, the number of education associations increased from 262 in 1907 to 506 in 1908. By 1909 there were 723 with a reported total membership of 48,432.

Half-day Schools and Literacy Schools

The commitment to general education, as stressed in the Xuebu's educational aims of 1906, was already evident two months earlier with the promulgation of regulations for half-day schools (banri xuetang). A memorial from a councillor in the Xuebu, Liu Xuelian, had drawn attention to the fact that poorer children were unable to attend modern schools. The Xuebu echoed Liu's concern and ordered the establishment of half-day
schools, which would specifically benefit children from poorer families. Only the rich benefitted from the modern schools, the Xuebu noted, since the poor had neither the resources nor the time for such "luxury." It requested that each zhou and xian establish a wide network of half-day schools, which would not charge fees or insist on any age qualifications. At least one half-day school was to be established for every 200-300 households regardless of whether they were located in an urban or rural area. In this way, the Xuebu commented, "people's education (minzhong jiaoyu) will be able to become universal." Some officials had already begun to establish half-day schools before the Xuebu's initiative in 1906. Thus in Hunan there were 24 such schools in 1904, while in Shandong the first half-day school was opened in the provincial capital in 1904. In addition to reading and writing, it was hoped that half-day schools would also teach arithmetic, and elementary history and geography. One half-day school in Henan included Japanese in its curriculum.

Statistics on half-day schools for the year 1907 show a total of 614, with a reported total enrollment of 18,222. Sichuan recorded the highest with 160, followed by Zhili with 149 (see Table 4). It has often been noted that the establishment of modern schools in the early years of the twentieth century was very much an urban phenomenon, with little benefit for the rural masses. This is certainly true for modern primary and middle schools. Thus in Henan most district primary schools were located in district capitals or large towns. In 1907 21 of Zhili's 31 middle schools were located in Peking, while in Shandong in 1911 there were 7 government schools at the secondary level and above in the provincial capital of Jinan, more than in any other place in the province. However, the distribution of half-day schools
### Table 4
Number of Half-Day Schools in 1907 and 1909

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1907a</th>
<th>1909b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,026</td>
<td>3,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>161</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>797</td>
<td>884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
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<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>149</td>
<td>622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>313</td>
<td>1,240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangning</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
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<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3,887</td>
<td>457</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
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<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>481</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
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<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1,518</td>
<td>2,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>206</td>
<td>246</td>
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<td>319</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>576</td>
<td>1,215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4,725</td>
<td>6,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>601</td>
<td>715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
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<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>312</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>211</td>
<td>76</td>
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<td></td>
<td>51</td>
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<td></td>
<td>130</td>
<td>137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>152</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3,788</td>
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<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>614</td>
<td>941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18,219</td>
<td>24,699</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

aSource: *Di Yle Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao*, pp. 35-36.
bSource: *Chen Qitian*, pp. 97-100.

**Note.** Number of students in bold type.
may present a different picture. In Zhili half-day schools were not necessarily established in the large towns and cities. Twenty-four such schools were situated in six districts in the south-western part of Zhili—an area not noted for large urban centres. In 1909 Xinjiang, still very much a frontier region, had the highest number of half-day schools, reporting a total of 241 with 3,788 students.

According to the 1907 statistics the Xuebu spent 12,000 taels on the quanxueso, lecture halls and half-day schools. In contrast, 150,072 taels were spent on overseas students, 192,000 taels on the Imperial University, 100,000 taels on higher-level education for the Eight Banners and 24,000 taels on lower-level education for the Eight Banners. These figures show that the Xuebu's stress on general education had not yet been fully translated into financial commitment, although it should be noted that expenditures for the quanxueso and half-day schools were shared with the provinces. In the case of provincial budgets, also, a small proportion seems to have gone towards the establishment and maintenance of half-day schools (see Table 5). This is brought out more clearly when one considers the average number of taels spent per student for the various categories of schools. Thus in Shandong 256.341 taels were spent per student in higher level or specialist schools; 85.83 taels per student in vocational schools; 34.667 taels per student in general schools (middle and primary schools); and 4.308 taels per student in half-day schools. Since Hunan had 15 half-day schools, Guangdong 11, and Hubei 9 in 1907 while provincial expenditures on these schools only totalled 355, 682 and 511 taels respectively, it is apparent that non-official funds must have played a considerable role in the maintenance and support of half-day schools. The same can be said for education associations. Shandong, for
Table 5
Provincial Expenditures on Quanxueso, Lecture Halls, Education Associations and Half-Day Schools in 1907 and 1909
(in taels)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Total 1907</th>
<th>Total 1909</th>
<th>Quanxueso 1907</th>
<th>Quanxueso 1909</th>
<th>Lecture Halls 1907</th>
<th>Lecture Halls 1909</th>
<th>Education Associations 1907</th>
<th>Education Associations 1909</th>
<th>Half-Day schools 1907</th>
<th>Half-Day schools 1909</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,404,443</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>104,344</td>
<td>7,650</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2,893</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4,683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>1,059,502</td>
<td>1,879,742</td>
<td>34,138</td>
<td>107,875</td>
<td>7,478</td>
<td>6,217</td>
<td>5,737</td>
<td>9,834</td>
<td>1,765</td>
<td>1,477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>404,488</td>
<td>1,015,596</td>
<td>8,615</td>
<td>41,475</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>8,022</td>
<td>7,856</td>
<td>1,251</td>
<td>439</td>
<td>1,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>122,739</td>
<td>351,405</td>
<td>11,412</td>
<td>47,799</td>
<td>833</td>
<td>955</td>
<td>4,864</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>915</td>
<td>266</td>
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<td>Shandong</td>
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<td>911,369</td>
<td>1,742</td>
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<td>7,576</td>
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<td>100</td>
<td>1,746</td>
<td>28</td>
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<td>475</td>
<td>14,815</td>
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<td>1,891</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14,640</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>113</td>
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<tr>
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<td>-</td>
<td>639,236</td>
<td>9,938</td>
<td>22,599</td>
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<td>2,866</td>
<td>7,773</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>546,838</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>17,499</td>
<td>32,345</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1,462</td>
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<td>2,357</td>
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<td>Jiangsu</td>
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aSource: Di Yici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, pp. 42-44.

bSource: Di Sanci Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, pp. 17-20.
example, reported a total of 33 education associations in 1907, although provincial expenditures on them amounted to only 100 taels. Official expenditures on half-day schools and lecture-halls did, however, increase over the next few years. In Shandong, for example, expenditures on half-day schools increased from 28 taels in 1907 to 2,024 taels in 1909 (see Table 5).

In 1909 the government issued regulations on "basic literacy schools" (jianyi shizixuetaing).34 Again, as with half-day schools, provincial officials had already begun experimenting with the idea. In 1904 the Hunan education office proposed the establishment of a "literacy association" to organize literacy programmes.35 In early 1909 the education commissioner for Jiangsu reported that 10 model literacy schools had been opened in the provincial capital.36 He also reported that each district had been requested to send four people to the provincial capital to embark on a training programme at a special institute, which was housed in the former building of the provincial education office. On completion of their subsidized three month training period, the trainees were to return to their local areas and establish literacy schools. The educational commissioner noted that these literacy schools were to comprise approximately 50 pupils each, and were to be open to youngsters and adults. No fees were to be levied and subjects to be taught would include moral training, reading, writing and arithmetic. Courses were to be of one, two or three years' duration.37 In Tianjin, also, a literacy school had been opened in front of the city god temple. Two hours of classes were given each evening, one hour being devoted to guowen (Chinese) and one hour to basic arithmetic. Everything was supplied and classes were open to everyone.38
In a memorial the Xuebu proposed that literacy schools be attached to the more prosperous schools, whether public or private. It also suggested that temples and other public buildings be made use of. Since there would be no need to equip the schools with expensive equipment or hire highly qualified teachers, the Xuebu noted, it would not be necessary to charge tuition fees. Courses at the literacy schools could last from one to three years. The memorial concluded:

The more there is one additional person who can study in school, then that area has one more person who understands the li, and this is really a big benefit for the development of constitutional government.\textsuperscript{39}

Item one of the regulations stated that the literacy schools were specifically for adults and children from poor families. The two main texts to be used were an Essential Reader for the Citizen and a simple character textbook. The former was to enlighten the people with respect to "being loyal to the monarch and grateful for the sincere benevolence of the state." The latter was to instruct adults and children in characters for everyday use and to teach them "practical ethics." With such a training those who could not advance on to a higher school could "plan a livelihood" without "slipping into evil and heretical ways."\textsuperscript{40} A significant part of the regulations was item two, which stipulated that graduates of the three year course at a literacy school could transfer to the fourth year of a lower primary school.\textsuperscript{41} Thus the way was left open for the less well-off to enter the regular stream; there was not to be a rigid dual-track system as existed, for example, in pre-World War One Germany, where the Volksschule (folk schools) were strictly separated from the preparatory schools leading to higher institutions of learning. Local officials were urged to set an example in establishing one or two literacy schools, after which it was hoped local gentry would follow suit.
The quanxueso was to report to the provincial director of education every three months on the number of such schools. It was further stipulated that the schools should copy the Japanese system of erbu jiaoshou (two-section teaching method), whereby the class would be divided into morning and afternoon sessions. Theoretically, students were to be divided according to age and how many years they were going to study, but the regulations noted that if the number of students was not large, the danji (one class) teaching method could be used.

Some studies have commented that although regulations for popular education were promulgated, there was not a systematic attempt to implement them before 1912. This statement can in fact be applied to all aspects of the Manchu reform effort. However, it should be noted that there were attempts by officials and local gentry to establish facilities for popular education, and contemporary journals like Dongfang Zazhi (The Eastern Miscellany) and Jiaoyu Zazhi (Educational Review) furnish many examples. In 1910 the provincial education commissioner of the Nanjing metropolitan area reported that 92 literacy schools had been opened in his district. The education commissioner of Jiangsu reported that 57 literacy schools had been established in his province, only three of which were situated in Shanghai. In Suzhou 15 literacy schools were reported to have been established, each school comprising 50 students. Classes lasted five hours daily and, in addition to literacy training, moral training was added to the curriculum. In Qining district, Shandong, 4 literacy schools were opened with a total enrollment of 100. At these schools ten characters a day were taught.

A variety of buildings were used in which to house literacy schools. In Tianjin it was decided to establish literacy schools in the form of night
classes to be held in the lower primary schools. One such "night class" in Tianjin had 60 - 70 pupils, with ages ranging from twenty to forty. Most of them were industrial and agricultural workers. They studied for two hours each evening, one hour comprising reading and writing, and the other comprising basic arithmetic. In Changzhou, Jiangsu, a night class was held at a primary school and use was made of the school's facilities and equipment. Teaching duties were carried out by the school director. In Hangzhou, also, literacy schools were attached to higher and lower primary schools. Various temples were also used. A literacy school in Tianjin was located in the city-god temple. In Xiushen district, Zhejiang, a literacy school was established in a temple for the god of war (Guandi), while in Dinghai district, also in Zhejiang, use was made of the local official temple (didian) to house a literacy school. In the Anhui provincial capital a half-day school was housed in a temple for the Five Sacred Mountains. Chinese and arithmetic were taught to children "of peasants, workers and merchants" so that "the people's knowledge would be expanded and they would be acquainted with earning a livelihood and with society." In Hankou a number of charitable halls (shantang) established a half-day school for those who could not afford to stay in a regular school for a long time. Sometimes even former academies were appropriated, as was the case of the one in Yusheng district, Henan, which was converted into a half-day school with over 80 students.

Literacy and half-day schools were established by a variety of groups and organizations. The night class in Changzhou was established on the initiative of the quanxueso. In Jinjiang district, Jiangsu, a literacy school was opened by the local education association. In Wuyang district, Jiangsu,
and Zhoucun district, Shandong, it was the local chambers of commerce which established a night class and half-day school respectively. In Shuntian district, Zhili, a group of middle school graduates founded a half-day school. Twenty volunteer teachers were recruited and sixty students were enrolled.\textsuperscript{56}

If teachers at literacy schools were paid they do not seem to have earned much. In Haijian district, Zhejiang, for example, teachers were paid 4 yuan a month.\textsuperscript{57} One reference in 1906 referred to primary school teachers earning 30 - 40 yuan a month,\textsuperscript{58} while in 1910 shoemakers could earn 21 yuan a month, machine workers 15 yuan, and women textile workers 8 yuan.\textsuperscript{59} The low wage earned by teachers at literacy schools (suggesting that many of them were, for the most part, volunteers) also contrasts sharply with the wages foreign teachers could earn in China. Thus the 11 Japanese teachers hired by the Governor-General at Nanjing to teach at the normal school there in 1903 were each paid 200 - 300 yuan a month, in addition to receiving other benefits such as free board and lodging.\textsuperscript{60}

By 1910 complaints began to be heard concerning the literacy schools. At a meeting of the Jiangsu provincial education association in 1910, one of the resolutions discussed concerned methods to differentiate lower primary schools from literacy schools, which suggested that members felt literacy schools were being used to substitute for lower primary schools. The association proposed that lower primary schools only accept children of school age, while the literacy schools only accept adults. (Some literacy schools were, in fact, only accepting adults as was the case with the literacy school in Changzhou, Jiangsu.) It may be the case that association members felt children at literacy schools were not receiving the required moral
training since they noted that if literacy schools continued to accept children from poor families they should ensure that the children be given lessons in moral training and physical exercise. Adults, they remarked, did not have to be taught such subjects. In late 1910 the Jiangsu provincial assembly stressed that literacy schools were simply a form of "supplementary education" and that their establishment should not be used as an excuse to delay the founding of lower primary schools. Zhuang Yu, a prominent contributor to the Jiaoyu Zazhi and a prolific textbook compiler, thought that literacy schools would be used to perpetuate class differences, and that the children of the rich would come to dominate enrollment in the primary schools, while the children of the poor would only have recourse to the literacy schools, offering an inferior education. Zhuang thus anticipated the criticisms that were levelled at Yuan Shikai's dual-track proposal. The Xuebu reacted to such criticisms by informing the provinces in early 1911 that priority must be given to the establishment of lower primary schools and that such schools had to be clearly distinguished from literacy schools, which were designed for adults only. (This had not been so stipulated in the 1909 regulations on literacy schools.)

However, the Xuebu's insistence on maintaining that it had always intended literacy schools to be for adults only was directly contradicted by its revised regulations for literacy schools in early 1911. Henceforth it would now be possible for graduates of the one or two year course to enter primary school, provided they were of primary school age. (Those who had studied one year at a literacy school could enter the second year of a lower primary school and those who had studied two years could enter the third year of a lower primary school.) A more specific curriculum was also laid down. Thus during the week there were to be six hours of Chinese, two hours
of moral training, and three hours of arithmetic (which would include instruction in the use of the abacus). Physical education was also added as an optional subject.

It seemed that the Xuebu was reluctant to slow down the establishment of literacy schools even though it had taken into account the complaints of provincial organizations that they were blocking the development of primary schools. By providing the opportunity to children of primary school age to enter primary schools via the literacy schools quicker than previously, the Xuebu may have hoped to solve the problem. This apparently did not work since in July 1911 the Xuebu informed the provincial commissioners of education that henceforth the literacy schools were to accept only adults because local authorities had ceased building lower primary schools.

Statistics indicate a rapid growth in the number of literacy schools. Figures released by the Xuebu in 1911 showed that Sichuan had the most. The province had 1,670 such schools attached to primary schools, with 29,137 students; 926 literacy schools had also been established in temples and other public places, with 18,474 students. There were also 7,504 reformed traditional schools which gave literacy classes. Zhili had the second highest number of literacy schools with a reported total of 4,160 comprising 69,405 students. Henan came next with 2,500 such schools and 59,000 students. Hubei had over 1,000 literacy schools, Shandong over 900, Guangdong over 700, Zhejiang, Fujian, Shaanxi and Hunan each with over 500, Heilongjiang over 300, Fengtian, Jilin, and Jiangxi each with over 200, and Anhui over 100. The figure of over 500 literacy schools for Fujian is striking when one considers that in 1910 the Governor-general of Fujian had reported a total of 7 literacy schools throughout the province.
The statistics on literacy schools given by the Xuebu are complemented by the reports of the provincial governors, who often included the number of literacy schools in their general reports on "constitutional preparation" in their provinces. In early 1911 the Governor of Shandong, Sun Baoqi, estimated a total of 901 literacy schools in his province (an increase of 199 from the previous year). Sun made it very clear what he thought was the main benefit to be gained from establishing literacy schools when he remarked that "the more the people's knowledge daily advances, the easier it will be for government orders to be carried out." The Governor of Jilin estimated that in the last half of 1910 there were 212 literacy schools in his province, with an enrollment of 4,630. The Governor of Hunan stated that in early 1911 there were 532 literacy schools, with 9,575 students, in his province. The Governor-general of Huguang reported that every district in Hubei except one had established a literacy school, the provincial figure totalling 1,070. The Governor-general of Fujian and Zhejiang reported in May 1911 that Fujian had 601 literacy schools with 16,165 students. The Governor-general of Shaanxi reported a total of 504 literacy schools for his province, an increase of 188 from the previous year. Even the less prosperous provinces reported an increase in the number of literacy schools. Thus the Governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou reported in 1911 that whereas before there had only been 59 literacy schools in the two provinces there were now 232 such schools with 5,580 pupils. The Governor of Xinjiang stated that many literacy schools in his province had been combined with Chinese-language schools (hanyu xuetang), indicating that educational reform was often accompanied by increased efforts to "sinicize" ethnic minorities.
Vocational Education

According to Huang Yanpei, a member of the Jiangsu education association, vocational education (zhiye jiaoyu) up until the beginning of the twentieth century had been exclusively concerned with state wealth rather than individual livelihood. Huang cited the Fuzhou shipyard and Zhang Zhidong's various schools as typical examples. With the 1904 regulations on vocational schools, Huang commented, more attention was paid to individual livelihood. The first use of the term zhiye jiaoyu (vocational or professional education) appeared in a letter written by the director of the Shaanxi agricultural school, Yao Wendong, in 1904:

As for the main principles of education, then what is most relevant for the people is, firstly, general education and, secondly, vocational education. The two should be coordinated and not be mutually exclusive.

In the same year Yao wrote:

Foreign countries basically take vocational education as the root. To say a state has a citizenry, one must give them a vocation (zhiye).

As was described in the last chapter, the 1904 regulations provided for supplementary vocational education, comprising two types of school—the apprentice school, which stressed practical training of half a year to three years, and the general vocational supplementary school, which would provide vocational and general education (although the Classics were not part of the curriculum). The Xuebu's determination to see the establishment of vocational schools at all levels was apparent in its instructions to the provinces in July 1906, when it again urged the provinces to speed up the establishment of higher, middle, and lower level vocational schools. The Xuebu especially stressed the importance of the general supplementary vocational schools and suggested that each provincial capital establish a vocational teachers' training institute.
In 1907 the regulations for apprentice schools were elaborated upon. As before, their aim was to teach a fairly simple skill and hence "reduce the number of vagrants and unemployed." As with the literacy schools, the regulations left open the possibility that students from these apprentice schools could enter primary school. Apprentice schools could be attached to higher level vocational schools and hence could make use of their equipment and facilities. There were to be rapid courses for 14 - 20 year-olds and more regular ones for 12 - 14 year-olds. The main difference from the previous regulations was that the curriculum was now expanded, comprising moral training, Chinese, arithmetic, general science, history (including foreign history), drawing and physical education. In fact, the curriculum differed little from that of a higher primary school. In addition there were to be specialized courses on wood carving, metallurgy and lacquer work. The main emphasis was on giving students practical knowledge and skills. Moral training, for example, was only to be taught for one hour during the week.

Another significant aspect of the apprentice schools was that no fees were to be charged. The Xuebu had promulgated regulations on the amount of fees to be charged for the various types of school. It justified the levying of fees by pointing to the advantage of having more funds to build schools (and by citing western practice). Half-day schools and apprentice schools, however, were exempt, while lower primary schools and vocational schools could charge reduced fees or even waive them if circumstances so permitted. It is important to remember this when considering M. Bastid's conclusion that the costs of modern education exceeded those of traditional education (it was noted in the last chapter that many "modern" schools in Hunan had to close down because they had not charged tuition fees). Based on a study of modern
schools in Nantong, Jiangsu, Bastid notes that only five or six schools were entirely free. The fees for the other schools were high. She cites the case of primary schools which charged 4 - 8 yuan a year, and the normal school which charged 30 yuan a year. (The Xuebu's fee schedule had stipulated between 3.5 to 7.2 yuan annually for higher primary schools and between 24 and 36 yuan annually for higher level schools.) In the case of boarders 30 - 40 yuan a year were also needed. Bastid concludes that since the average wage of a worker in Zhang Jian's enterprises was 35 - 50 yuan a year and the average wage of an agricultural labourer was 12 - 15 yuan a year, education was largely out of the reach of the mass of the people.85

Yet it was precisely for this reason that half-day schools and literacy schools were established. (It is interesting to note that in the reports relating to the destruction of modern schools by angry mobs during the years 1910 and 1911 there is no mention of half-day schools, literacy schools or basic vocational schools being attacked.) It is difficult to find detailed information concerning the funding of literacy schools, half-day schools or vocational schools. As noted earlier official funds seemed to have played a small part in the establishment of half-day schools, and it can be assumed that this applied to literacy schools as well. Most references to the creation of such schools always begin by stating that a certain "gentry member" or "merchant" has contributed a certain sum of money to the opening of a school. The expenditures for these schools could not have been very high—they were often housed in already-existing buildings, such as ancestral temples,86 equipment was minimal, and teachers seemed to be mostly volunteers (the half-day school in the Shandong provincial capital had 14 voluntary teachers who came at different times of the day to give classes.)87 Vocational schools, also, were often established
privately and, in some cases, were self-sufficient. Thus a certain Wang Mutang established a vocational school in 1909 in Cixi, Jiangsu. The school had 300 pupils and taught principally silkworm breeding. It had 40 mu of land which was used for agricultural practice. The report on the school noted that all operating expenditures for the school were met from the proceeds of crops grown on the demonstration field.\textsuperscript{88} In some cases, also, Buddhist monasteries contributed money for education expenditures, as they seemed to have done in Changde, Hunan and Guangzhou, Guangdong,\textsuperscript{89} despite the many references to Buddhist monks' opposition to schools taking over monastery property and premises.\textsuperscript{90} In Nanzhang district, Hubei, Buddhist monks contributed to school expenditures, while in Peking it was reported that a head of a Buddhist monastery, on his return from Japan, was so enthusiastic about education that he contributed 20,000 copper cash for the opening of a school.\textsuperscript{91}

In 1908 the Xuebu again instructed the provinces to establish lower level vocational schools. Such schools were plagued from the beginning by a shortage of qualified teachers. Many of the higher level vocational schools employed foreigners, while many of the teachers at the lower levels were not school graduates. According to 1909 figures, Zhili had a total of 94 teachers in various vocational schools, of whom 6 were foreigners and 32 were non-graduates. Hunan had 160 vocational school teachers, of whom 11 were foreigners and 48 were non-graduates. Perhaps the most remarkable figure is that for Sinjiang. The province had 73 vocational teachers, of whom 72 were non-graduates.\textsuperscript{92} It is difficult to estimate the number of apprentice schools and supplementary vocational schools since they are not listed as a separate category in the Xuebu statistics for 1907, 1908 and 1909. It may be that they are included in the figures for lower level vocational schools or "preparatory
vocational schools" (shiye yubei). A memorial from the Governor of Hunan referred to the existence of 17 apprentice schools in his province, although this is not borne out by the Xuebu statistics, which note that in 1909 Hunan had 10 "preparatory schools." The Governor of Xinjiang in 1911 referred to the increasing number of apprentice schools in his province but gives no definite figure.

Although general figures are not available, there are many individual examples of attempts to establish facilities for vocational training. A memorial from the Governor of Zhejiang in 1905 reporting the establishment of an industrial training centre showed as much concern for individual welfare as for state wealth. In Jianglu, Sichuan, a certain Zhang Liqi opened an agricultural night school to teach local peasants new agricultural techniques. In Gaoyang, Zhili, Wang Liushi established a lower primary school for boys and girls and held a night class there for local peasants. In Peking a training institute (xiyiso) was opened to accept the unemployed and vagrants. Beggars on the streets were to be compelled to enter. Sometimes entrepreneurs established classes within their factories. Thus in Chongqing, Sichuan, the director of a match factory, Deng Shaoyun, founded a literacy association to teach the workers basic literacy. Every day after work a certain number of characters was taught. In Lincheng, Shandong, Zhang Chengyan established two half-day schools in his spinning factory, designed not only for the workers but also for any poor members of the community who had not attended school. In Zhucheng, Shandong, Wu Yantuan also opened a half-day school in his cotton spinning factory.

There are frequent references in this period to the establishment of training institutes. In Suzhou, Jiangsu, an industrial training institute (gongyi...
zhu) was opened to train apprentices aged between 13 and 30 in such skills as weaving carpets and lacquer work. In the provincial capital of Shandong a training bureau was established near a temple to teach the poor and beggars of the locality an industrial skill (gongyi). Over 500 people were reported to have been trained in such skills as shoemaking and spinning. In Bao'an, Zhili, a mathematics training institute was opened to give courses on "practical arithmetic." No fees were charged and anyone was allowed to attend. In the provincial capital of Jiangxi an industrial training bureau was established. People who attended consisted of 10 textile workers, 20 dye-workers, and 10 students. They were all taught dyeing and weaving techniques, and the workers were also taught how to read and write.

The prominent industrial entrepreneur, Zhang Jian, was also involved in educational reform. In his home district of Nantong he established a normal school (in 1903), a normal school for girls (in 1907), and various primary schools. In addition he created an apprentice school for the children of his workers in 1905, the yu jiao xuexiao (school for preparatory education). Zhang also established a sericulture and silk-weaving school for the women in his district.

Another entrepreneur, Yu Zhimo, founded an apprentice school (gongyi zhuanxiao) for the workers of his towel factory in Changsha, Hunan, in 1903. The worker-students were provided with food and clothing. Yu came from a merchant family in Hunan and had worked in Liu Kunyi's army as an ordnance clerk. After the Sino-Japanese war he went to Japan to study industry in Osaka. One writer thinks that 1902 was the crucial turning point in Yu's career from economic reformer to political reformer. In any event Yu increasingly involved himself in revolutionary activities and, after the establish-
ment of the Tongmenghui in Tokyo in 1905, offered to distribute the organization's journal, Min Bao, throughout Hunan.108

It has been suggested that Yu's factory, although based on capitalist production, possessed features characteristic of "utopian socialism."109 This is somewhat of an exaggeration, but it does seem that Yu was concerned a great deal with the well-being, both physical and mental, of his workers in much the same way as the English reformer, Robert Owen, showed at his New Lanark mill.110 One Chinese commentator has described the situation at Yu's factory in the following way:

He (i.e., Yu Zhimo) slept and ate with the workers, rose and finished work with them, worked with them, talked and laughed with them. The relationship was as close as that between father and children and there was certainly no difference of labour and capital between them.111

At Yu's apprentice school a number of subjects and skills were taught, including chemistry, lacquer work and furniture making. Nakamura thinks that Yu's school represented the first concrete achievement in attempts to forge an alliance between the middle and lower levels of society, an alliance discussed by revolutionary theorists like Yang Dusheng in his treatise "The New Hunan."112 Yu also founded a school especially for the poor. It was housed in the former merchant huiguan (guild hall) and taught Chinese, arithmetic and physical education. Fees were minimal and the teachers were all voluntary workers.113

The attempts to spread education extended to a wide variety of social groups. In Tianjin a night school for shopkeepers' children was opened.114 In Wuhu, Anhui, the chamber of commerce opened a commercial half-day school for shop apprentices to teach them English and arithmetic.115 In Suzhou, a "policeman's school" (jingji xuetang) was established to teach the mostly illiter-
ate local constabulary. In Chengdu, Sichuan, concern was shown for the fact that most of the petty traders and peddlers were illiterate. A night class was therefore established with the high-sounding title "The Enlightenment Night Class Institute" (qiwu yekeguan). A variety of courses were offered, including moral training, general science, Chinese and arithmetic. In Qinlu, Jiangsu, a supplementary commercial study institute was opened in a charitable hall for the local merchants, many of whom were considered illiterate. In Lingzhou, Guangdong, a training centre was opened in the grounds of a temple to teach the unemployed and ex-criminals. Finally, in Songkou, Jiangsu, and in Tianjin special schools for the sons of fishermen were established.

The first attempts at providing vocational instruction for girls and women were also made during this period. Although the official aim of women's education, as stated in the regulations for girls' primary schools and normal schools in 1907, was to "instill knowledge and protect the traditional rites" and thus train "virtuous mothers and good wives" (xianmu liangqi), some preferred to advocate vocational education for women as a means to utilize their skills in the economy. In Shanghai a girls' school for silkworm raising was opened in 1904. In Changzhou, Jiangsu, a certain Yang Xincheng established a girls' vocational school in 1906 which taught Chinese, art, applied science, arithmetic and handicrafts. An industrial training institute for girls was attached to the first public girls' school in Jinan, the provincial capital of Shandong.

The enthusiasm to spread education among the populace reached such heights that even schools within prisons were established. A number of memorials in 1904 and 1905 stressed the necessity of implementing training
programmes for prisoners. The Governor of Guangxi reported that as early as 1892 a "charitable institute" (shangongso) had been opened in Lingui district to teach vocational skills to 120 prisoners and criminals. In Yuanshi, Zhili, a school was opened within the local prison in 1906. In addition to lecturing the prisoners on the "wicked nature" of their crimes, instructors taught reading and writing, arithmetic and handicraft skills. In one district in Zhejiang, two artisans were employed in teaching petty criminals such vocational skills as weaving garments and belts. "Prisoner training institutes" (zuifan xiyiso) were also established in Quansha (Jiangsu), Chengdu (Sichuan), and Lai'an (Anhui), where a number of skills such as spinning and weaving were taught.

**Changes In The Primary School Curriculum**

Changes introduced to the primary school curriculum during the last years of the Qing revealed a tendency to downplay the importance of the Classics and emphasize the teaching of more practical subjects. Such changes reflected a widely-held concern to see general education offer more concrete benefits to the populace. In the 1902 regulations the curricula for lower and higher primary schools had comprised moral training, Chinese, the Classics, history, geography and arithmetic. In the 1904 regulations one hour of science per week was added to the lower primary school curriculum, with drawing and handicrafts as optional subjects. For higher primary schools there were to be two hours per week of science, with agriculture and commerce as optional subjects.

By 1909 the number of courses at lower primary schools had been reduced, including the amount of time spent on the Classics. Henceforth, only the
Analects, Classic of Filial Piety, and the Classic of Rites were to be studied (although not for the first year). In 1909 the Jiangsu education association complained that too many hours per week (12 out of 30) were being spent on the Classics in primary schools. It suggested that more time be spent on Chinese and arithmetic, which would be "more of a preparation for earning a livelihood." The preservation of the "national essence" (guocui), the association commented, had to be combined with practical everyday things.132 Some educators even argued against teaching some of the Classics on moral grounds. One writer declared that not only were the Classics irrelevant for children but also that some of them, like the Zuozhuan (Zuo Commentary to the Spring and Autumn Annals), were harmful for the child's moral upbringing because they dealt with "promiscuous affairs" (yinluan zhi shi).133 A contributor to the Jiaoyu Zazhi remarked that the Classic of Odes was harmful for children because it dealt with "pornography" (nan'nu xiangyue, lit: men and women having fun together).134

In 1910 the time spent on the Classics was reduced even further. During the first two years at lower primary schools they were not to be studied at all. In the third year five hours per week were to be spent on the Classic of Filial Piety and the Analects. In the fourth year five hours per week were to be spent just on the Analects. The time devoted to the Classics in higher primary schools was also reduced. In the first three years eleven hours per week were to be spent on the Classic of Learning (Daxue), the Doctrine of the Mean, Mencius, the Classic of Odes, and the Classic of Rites. In the fourth year only ten hours per week were to be spent on the Classics.135 Singing was also introduced into the curriculum, reflecting the increasing emphasis on stimulating patriotism in the schools. For higher primary schools English was added as an optional subject.136
Educators also promoted the use of baihua (vernacular language) at school instead of the classical language during this period. Chen Ronggun used vernacular readers in the school that he established in Macao in 1899. In one essay he emphasized the relativity of language and its pragmatic function in fulfilling immediate tasks. He argued that the classical language (wenyan) therefore had no absolute value and that common speech used at the time should be the basis for textbook material. In another essay, written in 1899, Chen declared that the Classics were "irrelevant." The Qing government, also, perceived the pragmatic use of language, but whereas Chen advocated the use of local dialects, the Qing, with the hope of consolidating unity, proposed the adoption of a standard national language, to be based on the official Peking dialect (known as guanhua or "officials' speech" because it had originally been associated with standard official language at the capital). In 1910 the Xuebu ordered the compilation of guanhua textbooks and requested all middle and primary schools to add guanhua to their curricula. Such a measure may not always have had the desired effect. Thus in one school in Fujian the commander of the local Manchu garrison had to be recruited to give instruction in guanhua. One student recalled that the class went on strike because of the Manchu's insistence on the class reciting the word nucai (slave), a term that Manchus always used of themselves when addressing the emperor.

Changes in the primary school curriculum were accompanied by the government's attempt to increase its control over textbooks. (Zhang Zhidong had been much impressed with educational practice in the west whereby primary school texts were checked and edited by the authorities.) In 1906 the Xuebu issued its first guidelines on lower primary school textbooks and a
A temporary list of books that the Xuebu deemed suitable was issued and it declared that in order to facilitate universal education students should not have to pay more than 6 yuan over a five year period for textbooks. All other textbooks produced by such publishing centres as the Shanghai Commercial Press and the Nanyang Book Company had to be sent to the Xuebu for approval. The Xuebu pointed out that unlike other education ministries in the world which charged fees for approval and certification, it would not do so in the interests of promoting education.

Such attempts to increase control over textbooks (and indeed the attempt to implement a nationwide school system) raise the question of the extent to which the state increased its control of educational facilities that had traditionally been the responsibility of local communities or organizations such as the clan. In some cases increasing state control did occur. The 1904 school system had called for the conversion of traditional educational institutions such as the charitable school (yixue) and village school (shexue) into modern elementary and primary schools. In the district of Linqing, Shandong, 24 charitable schools were converted into primary schools. The curriculum consisted of the Classics, arithmetic, and writing. Teachers had to send copies of the students' work to local officials, who would also conduct a personal investigation of the schools every month. A similar trend of increasing government control may have occurred with the reform of "traditional schools" (sishu), private village schools which hired scholars to tutor young boys in the Classics. In 1905 a censor, Xia Shufu, suggested that students from the traditional schools be examined and that the successful ones be admitted into the modern schools. In 1906 the Xuebu ordered that all traditional schools
A Society for the Reform of Traditional Schools was organized in Shanghai by Shen Liangqi in 1906, suggesting that there was some government-gentry co-operation over the reform of traditional educational institutions. The Society, which had branches in neighbouring provinces, was to investigate traditional schools and ensure they were teaching Chinese, arithmetic and physical education. Teaching methods had to stress comprehension and examinations were to be held regularly. Superior students were to be promoted to official primary schools. In 1910 the Xuebu formally transferred the duty of supervising reformed traditional schools from Shen Liangqi's society to the provincial education commissioner and the quanxueso. Traditional schools, however, continued to exist despite the government's attempt to convert them into modern primary schools. As late as 1935 it was reported that 101,027 such schools existed, with a total enrollment of 1,757,014 students.

Clan schools also were converted into elementary and primary schools at this time. Thus in Shandong a certain Yu Chengyang converted his clan school into a primary school which taught writing, history and geography. In Chenping, Guangdong, Xie Longzhang asked the provincial authorities if he could establish a two-level clan primary school, the expenses of which would be met by the clan. It is not clear, however, whether this represented a state take-over of the clan's educational functions. What is clear is that clans were just as interested as the government in providing more educational facilities. Thus, despite M. Bastic's assertion that clan schools were often abandoned by wealthy families who sought to place their sons in modern schools and therefore deprived poorer clan members of whatever access they did have to some kind of education, one finds references in contemporary
journals after 1904 to clan schools being established for poorer members. For example, in Shunde, Guangdong, a clan night school was opened especially for poorer members, while in Sichuan the Yang clan of Xinfan organized a two-level primary school in the clan temple, again to teach its poorer members.

It may also be the case that clan ancestral temples were used to house schools that would benefit a wider range of people. Thus there is a reference to a school in Guangdong which made use of the Zhang clan ancestral temple. Although the supervisor of the school was a certain Zhang Shaoqing (presumably a member of the clan), everyone over the age of 13 was allowed to attend. Also in Guangdong a certain Lin Bangjie established a Lin clan elementary school. The teachers and administrators were all from the Lin clan, but students were reported to have come "from far and wide", suggesting that they may not have all belonged to the Lin clan. Finally, in Shaoxing, Zhejiang, a mob destroyed a school (founded by a certain Liu Yinfeng), not because extra taxes on salt and bamboo had been imposed for the school's upkeep, but because the school only served the Liu clan and did not allow others to enroll. This suggests that it was at least expected that clan schools serve a wider populace.

Educational development during the last years of the Qing may therefore have followed two courses. On the one hand, modern primary and middle schools were built; they were expensive, generally concentrated in the large urban centres and catered to a minority of school-age children. On the other hand, there were attempts to spread education to a wider populace. These took the form of literacy schools, half-day schools, and facilities for vocational training. Often local and gentry initiative anticipated the government's regu-
lations on these schools. In any event, the need to recognize the importance of part-time education, vocational education and literacy education, both as a means to improve individual welfare and to offset the high costs of "modern education", was perceived in this period.

Despite a few references to the danger of foreigners usurping China's educational rights (see chapter one), the motivation for establishing half-day schools, literacy schools, and vocational schools does not seem to have stemmed from a desire to combat the challenge of missionary schools. There is no mention in the official memorials or regulations (or in such educational journals as *Jiaoyu Zazhi*) of the need to counter potential missionary influence amongst the Chinese population. As was noted in the last chapter the awareness of the importance of general education in creating a strong, united and wealthy country (inspired by the example of Japan), in addition to a traditional belief that everyone could benefit from education, provided the necessary motivation for the promotion of a more widespread education. As will be described in the following two chapters the emphasis by officials and educators during the last years of the Qing on the importance of general and popular education in the creation of a patriotic and economically productive citizenry continued to occupy an important place in the educational debates of the early Republic.
Notes


2. Regulations on the quanxueso are in Taga, vol. 1, pp. 423-425, and JYNJ, vol. 1, pp. 30-31. In 1911 the Xuebu issued further regulations on local education administration. They stated that self-governing councils at the prefectural and district levels, which had been organized in accordance with the Qing court's plans for local autonomy, could establish middle, primary and literacy schools. "Joint educational federations" below the district level could also establish lower primary schools and lower vocational schools. Within each self-governing unit there were to be educational districts comprising at least a population of 2,000 or 100 children of school-going age. Within each district, the regulations stated, all those who were "self-sufficient" had to contribute to the upkeep of the schools. These regulations were almost identical to the proposals put forward by Liang Qichao in 1902. Liang advocated the establishment of an educational system in which the state would "supervise" (jiandu) all primary schools, but the local populace would be responsible for financing them. Such a system, Liang argued, explained the strength of Japan and Germany. For the Xuebu's regulations, see JYZZ, 3:4, falling, pp. 41-47; for Liang's proposals, see Ziliao, vol. 3, pp. 947-954.

3. A song designed to "encourage study" appealed to both feelings of patriotism and enlightened self-interest:

   The black and red races are all subjugated,
   But we the yellow race have still not wakened up to this,
   One must be quick in studying.
   The beautiful pear and peach blossoms only have a limited time,
   And cannot put off for ever the ravages of time,
   When one is old, one can only have self-pity.
   Let us follow the model of Japan nearby,
   And that of Europe and America far away,
   And join the ranks of the world's civilized countries.
   When we are young we should all energetically
   Be concerned with ourselves.
   Time will not come again.

   Cited in *Zhongguo Baihua Bao*, no. 2 (1903), p. 79.

4. Chen Qitian, p. 11, remarks that lectures on the Sacred Edict were designed solely to "cultivate loyal officials and filial sons."

5. Ibid., pp. 76-78.

7. The term tongsu jiaoyu (popular education) had already been used in the organization of the Xuebu. It was to become synonymous with the term for "social education" (shehui jiaoyu) and referred to all educational activity outside the formal schools. See chapter one, footnote 25. Thus a 1906 article defined tongsu jiaoyu as a means to "reform society," including public lectures and popular reading material. *DFZZ*, 3:5 jiaoyu, p. 65. In 1908 Shanghai "educational circles" established a "popular education society" (tongsu jiaoyushe). Its aim was to visit localities, with a film projector and lantern slides, and "enlighten the lower levels of society". *DFZZ*, 4:7, jiaoyu, p. 169.

8. Taga, vol. 1, pp. 535-537. Uncle Tom's Cabin and Robinson Crusoe were translated by Lin Shu in 1901 and 1905 respectively. *Republican China*, vol. 2, p. 384. The use of Uncle Tom's Cabin had a certain ambivalence, since it pointed to white enslavement of the blacks and, by implication, warned that Chinese would be similarly treated by whites if the country was not made strong. Chinese revolutionaries, however, were arguing that the Chinese were already enslaved by the Manchus.


10. Gentry enthusiasm for the modern schools was not always so evident. One article referred to "evil gentry" who stirred up mob anger against a modern school in Guangan, Sichuan, by spreading rumours that disastrous changes in the weather were due to the presence of the school. *DFZZ*, 1:9, sheshuo, p. 217.

11. In early 1906 Zhang Jian and others had established the Jiangsu Xuewu Zhonghui (Jiangsu General Study Association). Ding Zhipin, p. 16; M. Bastid, pp. 164-165. In 1904 the Zhejiang education association was established. It had over 100 members, each one contributing one yuan a month. One of their functions as they saw it was to "improve the schools". *DFZZ*, 1:1 jiaoyu, p. 136.


13. For a list of xuehui (study societies) from 1895 to 1910, see *Dalu Zazhi*, 26:2, pp. 14-20; 26:3, pp. 16-24.


17. M. Bastid, pp. 73, 89.
18. DFZZ, 4:2, jiaoyu, p. 23.
24. This is the first use that I have come across of the term minzhong jiaoyu in the Chinese sources. One source maintains that "mass education offices" (minzhong jiaoyu guan) were established in Tai'an, Shandong, in 1906, and in Lingyuan and Fengning districts, Jehol, in 1912. They apparently comprised libraries and lecture halls. JYNJ, vol. 3, pp. 747, 775.
26. M. Bastid, p. 46; DFZZ, 1:8, jiaoyu, p. 193. There are also constant references to the establishment of schools especially for poorer children. In the Fujian capital, for example, two residents, dissatisfied with the fact that the provincial primary school only served the sons of the rich and the gentry, established a school of their own for poorer children. DFZZ, 1:4, jiaoyu, p. 101. For a similar school in Hanyang see DFZZ, 1:9, jiaoyu, p. 215. For other examples, see DFZZ, 1:10, jiaoyu, p. 235, and 2:8, jiaoyu, p. 199.
27. DFZZ, 1:10, jiaoyu, p. 236.
30. D. Buck, Urban Change in China, p. 56. By 1915, 24 of the 36 provincially supported primary schools were situated in Tsinan. See D. Buck, "Educational Modernization in Tsinan 1892-1937" in M. Elvin and G. Skinner (ed.), The Chinese City Between Two Worlds, p. 189. For educational reform in Guangdong, and Hunan and Hubei, see E. Rhoads, China's Republican Revolution, pp. 18-19, 51-56, 73-76, 124-128; J. Esherick, Reform and Revolution, pp. 41-43, 118-119, 146-147, 246. See also R. Orb, "Chihli Academies and Other Schools in the Late Ch'ing: An Institutional Survey" in P. Cohen and J. Schrecker, Reform in Nineteenth Century China, pp. 231-240. Orb notes the existence of large numbers of lower primary schools in Baoding prefecture, Zhili, and challenges the notion that the new schools were exclusively a product of the district city or marketing areas.
31. Di Yici Jiaoyu Tongji Tubiao, pp. 73-84.
32. Ibid., pp. 12-14. Funds for the Xuebu came from the interest on stocks in the Sino-Russian Bank, the Board of Revenue, and provincial contributions.

33. Ibid., pp. 49, 51, 53. Sources for provincial expenditures comprised special taxes, contributions, and tuition fees.

34. The regulations are printed in Taga, vol. 1, p. 627; Ziliao, vol. 2, pp. 446-449; JYZZ, 2:1, faling, pp. 9-10. See also Chen Qingzhi, p. 614.

35. DFZZ, 1:4, jiaoyu, p. 80.

36. JYZZ, 1:10, jishi, p. 76.

37. JYZZ, 1:11, jishi, p. 88.

38. Ibid.


41. JYZZ, 2:1, faling, pp. 10-11. It was also stipulated that graduates were to receive a certificate testifying to the number of characters they could read.

42. JYZZ, 2:11, jishi, pp. 92-93.

43. JYZZ, 2:6, jishi, p. 47.

44. JYZZ, 2:2, jishi, pp. 14-15.

45. JYZZ, 2:1, jishi, pp. 3-4.

46. Ibid.

47. Ibid.


49. JYZZ, 2:1, jishi, p. 3.

50. JYZZ, 2:5, jishi, p. 39.

51. DFZZ, 1:6, jiaoyu, pp. 144-145.

52. DFZZ, 2:9, jiaoyu, pp. 243-244.

53. DFZZ, 3:6, jiaoyu, p. 136.

55. DFZZ, 2:12, jiaoyu, p. 345; 3:1, jiaoyu, p. 25.
56. DFZZ, 3:3, jiaoyu, p. 52.
57. JYZZ, 2:5, jishi, p. 39.
58. DFZZ, 3:5, jiaoyu, p. 65.
61. JYZZ, 2:9, jishi, p. 74.
62. JYZZ, 2:11, zhangcheng wendu, pp. 51-52.
63. JYZZ, 2:5, sheshuo, pp. 23-29.
64. JYZZ, 2:12, jishi, p. 99.
66. It may be that this debate foreshadowed later disputes that were to occur in post 1949 China over the relative merits of establishing a wide network of popular educational facilities or constructing a more formal school system.
67. JYZZ, 3:9, faling, p. 91.
68. Sichuan also had the highest number of half-day schools in 1907 and the second highest in 1909. It continued to have the highest number of such schools during the early years of the Republic, although the province reportedly had one of the lowest formal school attendance rates in 1919.
69. JYZZ, 3:6, jishi, p. 91.
71. Ibid., vol. 43, no. 1234, pp. 207-209.
72. Ibid., vol. 43, no. 1237, p. 253.
73. Ibid., vol. 43, no. 1251, p. 501.
74. Ibid., vol. 43, no. 1253, p. 533.
75. Ibid., vol. 44, no. 1260, p. 135.
76. Ibid., vol. 45, no. 1289, p. 125.
77. Ibid., vol. 45, no. 1291, pp. 157-158.
78. Ibid., vol. 32, no. 910, p. 102; Taga, vol. 1, p. 98.

79. Huang Yanpei, "sanshiwunian Zhongguo zhi zhiy jiaoyu" in Zhang Yu (ed), Zuijin Sanshinian zhi Zhongguo Jiaoyu, p. 136. The other term that I have translated as vocational education is shiye jiaoyu, although shiye strictly means "industry". However, agricultural, commercial, as well as industrial schools were all defined as shiye jiaoyu and therefore a literal rendering of the term (industrial education) is not appropriate.

80. Ibid., p. 138.

81. Chen Qitian, p. 129.


83. Ibid., pp. 519-520.

84. Ibid., pp. 458-459. Primary schools were to charge between 0·3 and 0·6 yuan a month, middle schools 1-2 yuan a month and higher level schools 2-3 yuan a month. Girls' schools were to charge no fees.

85. M. Bastid, pp. 223-224. Bastid notes, however, that there was a slight enlargement of the social base for recruitment of pupils. Thus the children of rich merchants and artisans had more opportunities. Ibid., pp. 86, 224.

86. Thus in the Hunanese capital gentry opened a night school for the poor in an ancestral temple. JYZZ, 1:11, jishi, p. 87.

87. DFZZ, 1:7, jiaoyu, p. 168.

88. JYZZ, 3:6, zazuan, pp. 31-32.

89. DFZZ, 1:3, jiaoyu, p. 72.

90. DFZZ, 1:7, jiaoyu, p. 172; 1:12, shiping, p. 88.

91. DFZZ, 2:1, jiaoyu, p. 19; 2:3, jiaoyu, p. 49.

92. Chen Qitian, pp. 132-134.


94. Ibid., vol. 32, no. 910, p. 103.

95. DFZZ, 2:7, shiye, p. 111.

96. Gao Jiansi, p. 157; DFZZ, 2:2, jiaoyu, p. 29.

97. DFZZ, 3:8, shiye, p. 170.

99. DFZZ, 3:1, jiaoyu, p. 25.


102. DFZZ, 1:6, shiye, pp. 101, 103.

103. DFZZ, 2:12, jiaoyu, p. 344.

104. DFZZ, 1:3, shiye, p. 40.

105. M. Bastid, p. 46.

106. Qu Lihe, Zhang Jian di Jiaoyu Sixiang, p. 64; S. Chu, Chang Chien: Reformer In Modern China 1853 - 1926, p. 96; M. Bastid, p. 46.


109. Nakamura Tadashi, p. 316. Nakamura also points out that with the aim of political power in mind, the apprentices and workers received a "revolutionary education." He does not elaborate on this rather vague statement.

110. See the excellent study of Robert Owen in H. Silver, The Concept Of Popular Education.

111. Xinhai Geming Huiyi Lu, vol. 2, p. 217. There were about 40 worker and apprentice students in Yu's factory.


113. Nakamura, pp. 324-325; Xinhai Geming Huiyi Lu, p. 223. The latter source (p. 218) maintains that Yu essentially had three aims in establishing his work-study programme within the factory and his Unique School. Firstly, he wanted to train workers and apprentices so that they could play a full part in the revolution. Secondly, he wanted to unite all students in Changsha and, thirdly, he wanted to use the factory and school to unite all the "capitalist and labouring classes in the industrial and commercial spheres." Such utopianism, through which it was hoped intellectual and manual worker, capitalist and labourer would unite in a common struggle for progress, was to be a conspicuous feature of the work-study movement in the early Republic. Unfortunately, little exists in Yu's posthumous writings on his social, political or educational philo-
sophy. Four of Yu's letters, written while he was in prison, are printed in *Kaiguo Wushinian Wenxian*, op.cit., pp. 290-294. Most of them deal with his interrogation in prison. One of the letters stressed the duty of students to galvanize support for reform and to encourage merchants to demand the return of economic rights appropriated by foreigners. It is evidence such as this that has prompted J. Esherick to define Yu as a member of the "national bourgeoisie," without taking into account M.C. Bérgère's observation concerning the difficulty of distinguishing clearly between the "national bourgeoisie" and the "compradore bourgeoisie" in China (see *La Bourgeoisie Chinoise et la Révolution de 1911*). In any case, the sources on Yu are far too scarce and limited to permit any definite conclusions.

114. DFZZ, 2:2, *jiaoyu*, p. 27.

115. DFZZ, 2:2, *jiaoyu*, p. 28. In Sichuan students from a higher primary school gave night classes to apprentices in English and mathematics. DFZZ, 1:10, *jiaoyu*, p. 181. In 1909 the Board of Communications ordered that all railway manufacturing factories establish a night school for workers. Literacy and English were to be taught. JYZZ, 1:9, *jishi*, p. 66.


117. DFZZ, 2:12, *jiaoyu*, p. 347.


120. DFZZ, 4:7, *jiaoyu*, p. 169; JYZZ, 2:10, *jishi*, p. 79.

121. Taga, vol. 1, pp. 459-468; Ziliao, vol. 3, pp. 800-819. Women's education was to be considered the basis of citizen education, the Xuebu declared, because without "virtuous mothers" children would not receive the beneficial home influence that was required. (Apart from women's education, the motivation behind the campaign against footbinding was also often seen in terms of the benefits for future generations. For the reformers women with unbound feet made healthy mothers and hence made for a vigorous population.) Although it was not until 1908 that the first official normal school for girls was established in Peking, girl students had already started going to Japan in 1905 for normal school training. Taga, vol. 1, p. 74.

122. See Liang Qichao's 1897 essay on women's education in *Ziliao*, vol. 3, pp. 797-800. Some educators and officials argued for women's education on the basis that it was ultimately beneficial for men. Without an education women were subservient and dependent, they argued, and hence men ruined themselves economically in supporting them. Li Youning, *Jindai Zhongguo Nuquan Yundong Shiliao*, vol. 2, p. 1111. For women's education in China, see Lin Paotchin, *L'Instruction Féminine En Chine* (Paris, 1926). The number of girls in modern schools increased from 306 in 1906 to 12, 164 in 1912. Ibid., p. 14.

124. DFZZ, 3:10, jiaoyu, p. 278.

125. DFZZ, 4:7, jiaoyu, p. 165.

126. Among them were memorials from the Governor of Shandong, Yuan Shikai, and the Governor-general of Yunnan and Guizhou. DFZZ, 1:10, shiye, pp. 170-171, 175-177; 2:5f, shiye, pp. 64-72; 2:7, shiye, pp. 113-114. In 1911 China sent a representative to the Eighth World Congress of Prison Associations. For the report by the Chinese representative, see Zhengzhi Guanbao, vol. 40, pp. 475-492.

127. DFZZ, 1:10, shiye, pp. 170-171.


129. DFZZ, 2:7, shiye, p. 129.


133. DFZZ, 2:10, sheshuo, p. 194.

134. JYZZ, 3:5, yanlun, p. 51.


137. Jiaoyu Yiyi, p. 293. Chen's school was also one of the first ones to accept boys and girls, in 1903. Born in 1862, in Guangdong, Chen was a pupil of Kang Youwei. In 1898 he visited Japan and became attracted to the philosophy of Fukuzawa Yukichi, the Meiji educational and social reformer. He moved his school from Macao to Hong Kong in 1918, where he died in 1926. He was a consistent supporter of women's education and tireless promoter of baihua in the schools.

138. Jiaoyu Yiyi, pp. 17-19. In fact, Chen argued that all schools should use the dialect of the region in which they were situated, in opposition to the view that one dialect should be uniformly imposed on the populace. Because children were learning a different speech at school, Chen claimed, a gap arose between them and their parents, thus making the latter suspicious of modern education.


140. JYZZ, 3:1, jishi, p. 4.
141. Li Jinxi, "Sanshiwunian lai zhi guoyu yundong" in Zhuang Yu (ed), op.cit., p. 71. In 1911 the name was changed to guoyu (national speech).


144. Taga, vol. 1, p. 67. Zhuang Yu later wrote that the last years of the Qing witnessed a flurry of "bogus" textbooks because of the desire of publishers to make quick profits. In 1912 the Education Ministry ordered the provinces to each organize a "textbook examining committee" (dushu fanchahui) to check educational texts. Shiliao, vol. 4, p. 179.

145. For clan education, see Hui-chen Wang Liu, The Traditional Chinese Clan Rules, pp. 107, 127-129.

146. E. Rawski, Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China, p. 138.

147. Linqing Xianzhi, 1, p. 478.


149. One commentator noted that by the end of the Qing traditional schools had developed four defects—there were not enough classrooms or recreational activities, teaching material was irrelevant, teaching methods were outdated, and the teachers were too strict. Wu Qiping, Ga liang Sishu, pp. 3-5.


151. Wu Qiping, p. 6.

152. On clan schools in the early twentieth century, see Taga Akigoro, "Kindai Chugoku niokeru zokujuku no seikaku" in Kindai Chugoku Kenkyu, no. 4 (1960).


154. DFZZ, 2:11, jiaoyu, p. 293.

155. The ramifications of increasing state control over educational functions traditionally performed by such organizations as the clan need further study. Lack of time and material has prevented me from pursuing the question. From a reading of educational journals between 1909 and 1919 I have not found any references to a potential state/clan conflict over the control of education.

156. M. Bastid, pp. 84-85.

157. DFZZ, 2:11, jiaoyu, p. 293.
158. DFZZ, 4:11, jiaoyu, p. 296. In a 1907 memorial on the condition of industry and agriculture in his area, the Governor-general of Liangguang referred to "clan industrial training institutes" (jiazu gongyi zhuanyiso), which were to be set up under the auspices of an industrial bureau. These training institutes were evidently meant to combat idleness and gambling amongst clan members. Zhengzhi Guanbao, vol. 44, no. 1259, p. 115.

159. DFZZ, 1:1, jiaoyu, p.34.

160. DFZZ, 1:2, jiaoyu, p. 44.


162. The number of Chinese students in missionary schools was a small proportion of the total number in government and private schools at this time. Thus the total number of Chinese students in government and private primary schools in 1918-1919 amounted to 4,852,642, whereas in 1921 there were 179,045 primary school students in Protestant schools, and 137,040 in Roman Catholic schools. (That is to say, the percentage of those enrolled in missionary schools was about 6.5%.) The proportion was higher for middle and higher schools (12.5% and 11.7% respectively). Ziliao, vol. 1, pp. 376, 378-380; Christian Education in China, pp. 26-31.
CHAPTER THREE
THE 1912 SCHOOL SYSTEM

Introduction

This chapter will analyse the debates surrounding the new Republican education system in 1912, which was to remain in force until 1922. The debate that had begun at the turn of the century amongst officials concerning the need to offer more educational benefits to the people rapidly expanded to cover a wider range of people. A conference of education associations was held in the last year of the dynasty to discuss educational reform proposals. This set a precedent for the practice of holding education conferences that was to be followed in the early Republic and, indeed, that has continued until the present.

With the organization of a new Education Ministry in 1912, a special department of social education was established under the Ministry's authority. Public lectures, reading rooms and spare-time schools were all considered aspects of social education (or popular education). Such an education, it was hoped, would inculcate patriotism and a concern for the public good amongst a wider populace. It was also regarded as a means of "improving the people's customs" by emphasizing the importance of hygiene and hard work as well as the dangers of holding to "superstitious beliefs" (see Chapter Four). The idea of promoting "social reform" among the people was to provide one of the inspirations for the work-study movement, which will be the subject of Chapter Five.

The debate surrounding the 1912 school system has too often been seen in terms of Cai Yuanpei's futile attempts to implement a more "liberal"
educational system in the face of opposition from more conservative educators who wanted to use education as a means of moral indoctrination (e.g., respect for public order). Some educators, in fact, not only criticized Cai's proposals for being irrelevant, but also for being "elitist." Others preferred not to discuss abstract questions such as the teaching of "cosmopolitanism," but rather to focus on how education could offer immediate practical benefits for the people. Handicrafts, for example, was made a compulsory subject at primary schools and the Classics were eliminated altogether from the primary and middle school curricula.

It was hoped, nevertheless, that schools, in addition to providing practical benefits for students, would foster patriotism, unity and concern for the public good. Misgivings arose as to whether modern schools could play this role. It was in this context that social education came to be considered almost as an alternative to school education since it would emphasize the importance of unity and the collective interest that many educators felt was being ignored by the modern schools (despite the fact that moral training was part of the school curriculum) with their encouragement of individual competition.

The Conference of Education Associations and the Central Educational Association

During the last year of the dynasty the debate over education began to involve increasing numbers of people, rather than simply being confined to the Xuebu and a few prominent officials. In March 1911 the Jiangsu education association proposed establishing a nationwide federation of provincial education associations, which would hold a conference in Shanghai.
the coming April and May. Each education association was to send two or three representatives (even those provinces which had not yet established provincial education associations were invited to send representatives from among "educational circles"). The purpose of such a meeting was to discuss educational reform proposals. A month before the meeting opened each education association was to send its ideas for discussion and an agenda would be drawn up. There was to be no permanent chairman but rather a presiding chairman was to be elected at each session. Each province had one vote with the chairman having the casting vote. Expenses incurred by the representatives were to be paid for out of the funds of the respective education associations.

When the meeting opened in Shanghai at the end of April, 1911, eleven provinces were represented (Guangxi, Anhui, Jiangxi, Shandong, Hubei, Zhili, Fujian, Hunan, Zhejiang, Henan, and Jiangsu). The representatives were given a welcoming banquet by the Commercial Press of Shanghai, another indication of the fact that an increasing number of non-official groups and organizations were concerning themselves with educational reform. The conference opened on the 29th of April and met for fourteen days. Zhang Jian, in his capacity as the vice-chairman of the Jiangsu education association, addressed the opening meeting and emphasized the necessity for all the provinces to join together to discuss educational plans for the country.

Five proposals were addressed to the Xuebu. Firstly, the conference proposed the establishment of a "militant citizenry education" (junguomin jiaoyu zhuyi). It was felt that this would be in accordance with the principle that in a constitutional country everyone would have to perform military
service. Thus the martial spirit would have to be encouraged at school. What is interesting about this proposal is that representatives not only suggested that physical exercise be a compulsory subject at school and that military drill be carried out in all higher primary schools and above, but also that firing practice (using live ammunition) be carried out in all middle schools and above. The Governor-general of the three north-eastern provinces, Xi Liang, had already suggested this in April 1911 but the Xuebu had replied that it thought it sufficient that physical exercise only be taught in the schools. The Xuebu did note, however, that since Fengtian was in a "special position" (presumably because of potential Russian encroachment), one day a term could be devoted to firing drill, during which army graduates would be expected to instruct and supervise.

Secondly, the conference advocated reform of the primary school curriculum. It was suggested that handicrafts (shougong) be made a compulsory subject. The representatives felt that this was necessary in order to promote vocational education and to introduce the child to the "real world" by cultivating a "habit of labour" (laodong zhi xiguan). In sharp contrast to traditional attitudes it was stressed that a dexterity in manual skills was intimately linked with intellectual, moral and physical education. Another change in the primary school curriculum that the conference wanted to see implemented was the elimination of the Classics. They were not considered appropriate for primary education since what was needed was subject matter that would appeal directly to the children in an interesting way. Short, relevant extracts from the Classics could be inserted in moral training textbooks; otherwise, the conference suggested, other subjects like handicrafts were to be taught. A third change that the conference proposed was the abolition of segregated
education for boys and girls (up until the age of ten). If boys and girls were not allowed to study together, the conference noted, there would not be sufficient funds to build all the schools necessary. Inevitably, girls' education would suffer since the building of boys' schools would take priority. Finally, as a general comment, the conference stressed the necessity of having teaching material that was relevant to the local conditions and characteristics of the area in which the primary school was located. There was no need, the conference declared, for a rigid, uniform set of regulations concerning teaching material.

The third proposal addressed to the Xuebu concerned higher level education. As if to compensate for the elimination of the Classics from the primary school curriculum, the representatives suggested that universities establish a special department of Classics and classical Chinese literature in order to "preserve the national essence." Foreshadowing later criticism of higher level education in China by western educational experts in the 1930s, the conference urged that higher level educational institutions be widely established in the provinces rather than being concentrated in Peking and that they should be relevant to the needs of the province in which they were situated.11

The final two proposals concerned the unification of the national language (guoyu) using the Peking pronunciation as the standard,12 and the abolition of the practice of awarding degrees to school graduates. If degrees continued to be awarded, the conference noted, school graduates would only be concerned with "hankering after official positions" and the function of schools to equip students to perform a variety of tasks would be neglected.13
The conference adopted other proposals that were not addressed directly to the Xuebu, including one which called for the organization of "teacher federations." Only professional educators, it was noted, were competent to discuss educational problems. Teachers from normal schools, middle schools and primary schools should all form associations which would discuss matters concerning curricula, teaching methods, grading and school administration. This stress on the importance of professional teachers had begun with the creation of normal schools in China. Zhang Jian, in particular, had been much impressed with the system of normal schools in Japan, with their specific aim of training professional teachers. A beginning may also have been made at this time to "professionalize" education in general, thus modifying the view of some writers (e.g., Chow Tse-tung, B. Keenan) that professionalism in education was not emphasized in China until the "Dewey period" (1919 - 1922). Out of the 61 heads of provincial education offices and their departments in 1913, for example, 20 were normal school graduates.  

Taking the lead from the conference of education associations, the Xuebu decided to establish an educational organization of its own, to be known as the Central Education Association (zhongyang jiaoyu hui).  As a precedent, the Xuebu cited the existence of the Higher Educational Council in Japan, which had been established in 1896 and which comprised educators under the authority of the Monbushō (Ministry of Education). According to the Xuebu, however, the Central Education Association would have more members and its right to forward resolutions would be specifically recognized.  The Xuebu noted that since the beginning of the reform movement much official effort had gone into higher level education; more
attention had to be paid to middle level and primary level education. In order to facilitate this, the Xuebu remarked, opinions and ideas had to be sought from a wide range of people, including professional educators:

> We believe that the success or failure of education is the root of a country's strength or weakness. The efficacy of a country's education can be evaluated by the intelligence or ignorance of the people. There is no foreign country that does not stress education. Everyone pools his abilities in dealing with education in order to establish the basis of a strong state and intelligent people. However, the principles of education are deep and profound; educational affairs are becoming increasingly complicated. Education definitely cannot be handled by a few people.\(17\)

At the opening meeting of the Association, the Minister of Education, Tang Jingzong, repeated the call to rely on as wide a range of people as possible in discussions over educational reform.\(18\)

The Association was to be under the control of the Xuebu and would comprise officials from the Xuebu, education inspectors, government school supervisors, officials from the service ministries, representatives of education associations, and, finally, those especially appointed by the Xuebu who had extensive experience in education. The Association was to have a three-year term and to meet every summer for thirty days. According to item 11 of the regulations, the education minister was to take into consideration all resolutions passed by the Association and to put into effect those that were considered appropriate.\(19\) Zhang Jian was recommended as chairman, with Zhang Yuanqi as vice-chairman.

The Association met from July to August, 1911, in Peking and there were over one hundred participants.\(20\) Among them were Fan Yuanlian (a future education minister), Huang Yanpei (a prominent member of the Jiangsu education association), Chen Baoquan (the head of the vocational education section of the Xuebu and later to be a prominent educator during
the Republic), Meng Zhaochang, Lu Feigui, and Jia Dianzhi, who were all contributors to *Dongfang Zhzhi* and *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, and, finally, education reformers such as Luo Zhenyu and Yan Xiu. The chairman of the Society for the Reform of Traditional Schools, Shen Liangqi, was also a member, as was Shen Enfu, who had been one of the presiding chairmen at the conference of education associations the previous May. As with that conference, the Association discussed the importance of primary education and "militant citizenry education," as well as reiterating the proposals for the unification of the national language and the abolition of the practice of awarding degrees to school graduates.

One subject that was discussed by the Association and which had not received attention at the conference of education associations was the level of extravagant and superfluous spending which, it was felt, hindered the spread of primary education to a wider populace. The Association noted with dismay that over one-half of the expenditures on primary education went towards the construction of school buildings and the salaries of superfluous administrators. The Xuebu was, in fact, proceeding to do something about this since at about the same time it issued regulations on primary school expenditures. Expenditures had to be kept to a minimum, the Xuebu declared, otherwise excessively high tuition fees would prevent children from poorer families attending school. It suggested the use of old buildings and that all odd jobs in the school (such as sweeping floors and making tea) be performed by students instead of servants. This latter suggestion was made by the Xuebu primarily for economic reasons; some educators were to justify the suggestion on the grounds that it would acquaint the students with manual labour and dispel their elitist attitudes (see Chapter...
Finally, the Xuebu suggested that, apart from tea, schools should not provide food, another indication that at the beginning of educational reform attempts were made to continue traditional practices such as not charging tuition fees and providing board and lodging.

In their discussions on "militant citizenry education," the Association representatives were not quite as bold as those who had met in Shanghai the previous May since, this time, they deemed it unnecessary to use live ammunition for firing drill in middle schools because of the "expense" involved. This caution may be partly explained by the fact that the Central Education Association was much more under the control of the Xuebu than had been the conference of education associations. The Association did, however, put forward two additional proposals concerning "militant citizenry education." Firstly, it suggested that all normal school graduates perform three months' compulsory military service in order that they would be able to teach military drill when they took up their teaching duties, and, secondly, the Association suggested that all soldiers leaving the army who were of good character be given a certificate that would allow them to teach physical education at primary schools. This second proposal aroused some opposition since it was felt by some members that because most soldiers had not received any primary education they would have an adverse effect on the children's morals and character development. Others thought the proposal reflected too great a concern with physical education. The first objection was countered by it being pointed out that with the development of "popular education" (tongsu jiaoyu) there would be fewer uneducated soldiers. Huang Yangpei answered the second objection by emphasizing the absolute necessity
of cultivating both physical and intellectual prowess. To support his argument, Huang cited the example of Germany.29

In his assessment of the recent educational conferences, Lu Feigui, an important contributor of Jiaoyu Zazhi, welcomed the proposals for the beneficial effect they would have on lower level education. He especially referred to the proposals concerning the introduction of handicrafts as a compulsory subject, the elimination of the Classics from the primary school curriculum, and the introduction of co-education up to the age of ten.30

However, although many reform proposals were put forward, the Xuebu was only able to implement one of them before the outbreak of the Wuchang uprising in October 1911. In August it abolished the practice of awarding traditional degree titles to school graduates. There was henceforth to be no special title for primary and middle school graduates, while graduates of higher level specialist schools and universities were to be given the title of "graduate" (yeshi or xueshi), following Japanese practice.31

The increase in the number of educational organizations during the last months of the dynasty continued with the establishment of the All-China Federation of Normal Schools (Quanguo shifan lianhehui), under the chairmanship of Zhang Jian, and the China Education Association (Zhongguo jiaoyu hui), under the chairmanship of Zhang Yuanqi.32 The regulations for the China Education Association stated that it would pay attention to the expansion of citizen education, the carrying out of "education for talent" (rencai jiaoyu), the advocacy of supplementary and vocational education for boys and girls, the organization of short-term education for adults, and the encouragement of popular education (tongsu jiaoyu).33 With the exception of the second item the main pre-occupation of the Association concerned
general and popular education. It was hoped to produce cheap publications of educational value, to be funded from members' contributions of 3 yuan annually. Important members of the Association included two future education ministers (Fan Yuanlian and Fu Zengxiang), as well as Huang Yanpei, Chen Baoquan and Meng Zhaochang.

Another example of the increasing willingness of organizations to publicly debate educational policy was a meeting in Shanghai, in early 1911, of representatives from various schools such as Fudan and Nanyang. Calling itself a Federation of Educational Circles (xuejie lianhehui), the meeting advocated the promotion of military education.34

The Establishment of the Jiaoyubu and The Department of Social Education

The concern with general and popular education that had been a feature of the last few years of the dynasty was evident during the first month of the Nanking provisional government, which was established in January 1912 with Sun Yat-sen as president. On the 3rd of January Sun appointed Cai Yuanpei as Education Minister.35 Until May 1912 there were, in fact, two education ministries, reflecting the north-south division. At the end of 1911 Yuan Shikai, who was forming a government in Peking, appointed Tang Jingzong (who had been in charge of the Xuebu at the time of the Wuchang uprising) as Education Minister in the Peking cabinet.36 It was the Education Ministry in Nanking, however, that took the initiative in proposing changes in the education system. On the 19th of January the Nanking Education Ministry sent a directive to the provinces outlining temporary measures to be carried out concerning general education. The directive was accompanied by
curricula for primary, middle and lower normal schools. On the 29th of January another directive was issued requesting the provinces to carry out social education.37

In the preamble to the list of measures concerning general education, the Education Ministry expressed its desire to see a unified education system. With this aim in mind, it called on all educators to submit their ideas and proposals concerning the future school system; in the meantime, the Ministry hoped the temporary measures would suffice.38 The measures included (1) changing the term for "school" from the more traditional xuetang to xuexiao; (2) introducing co-education in lower primary schools; (3) proscribing all textbooks issued by the former Xuebu that did not accord with republican ideals; (4) eliminating the Classics from the primary school curriculum; (5) attaching more importance to handicrafts in primary schools; and (6) introducing military drill at higher primary school level.

In comparison with the 1910 primary school curriculum (see Table 6) it can be seen that with the exception of the complete elimination of the Classics the primary school curriculum of January 1912 was not a great deal different. (As was noted in the last chapter, the 1910 curriculum had already reduced the number of hours devoted to the Classics in comparison with the 1904 curriculum and had even eliminated them from the first two years of lower primary school.)39 The main difference was that drawing, handicrafts, and singing were now to be regarded as proper subjects for study rather than being merely "optional subjects" (suiyi ke). The January 1912 curriculum continued the approach adopted by the 1910 curriculum, which had dropped science from the lower primary school curriculum (originally put there, somewhat ambitiously, by the 1904 curriculum). Furthermore, handicrafts were
Table 6
Primary School Curricula For 1904, 1910 and 1912
(in hours per week)

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Lower Primary

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<td>2 - Boys</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (for girls)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>3 - Boys</td>
<td>3 - Boys</td>
<td>3 - Boys</td>
<td>3 - Boys</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 - Girls</td>
<td>2 - Girls</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

(English, agriculture, commerce optional)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>First year</th>
<th>Second year</th>
<th>Third year</th>
<th>Fourth year</th>
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<tr>
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<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drawing</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing &amp; Phys. Ed.</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (for girls)</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Higher Primary</strong></td>
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<td>Moral Training</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Guowen</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese Hist. &amp; Geo.</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Science</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Handicrafts</td>
<td>2 - Boys</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
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<td>Drawing</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
<td>1 - Girls</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Singing</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Physical Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (Optional)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (for girls)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

also introduced into the middle and lower normal school curricula. The increasing importance attached to the teaching of handicrafts was therefore a reflection of the concern to see education serve the needs of the people in a practical way, a concern which, as has been noted, had originated in the early years of the century. In a wider sense, it also represented the beginning of a change in attitudes towards the question of the status of manual work vis-a-vis intellectual work, of which the work-study movement in the early years of the Republic was to be such a striking example.

As Taga Akigoro has pointed out, Japanese influence on the January 1912 primary school curriculum was considerable. The Vice-Minister of Education, Jing Yaoyue was Japanese-educated (as was his successor, Fan Yuanlian). There was much similarity between the Japanese primary school curriculum of 1900 and that issued by the Nanking Education Ministry in 1912. One interesting difference was that whereas there was no mention of handicrafts in the Japanese curriculum, allowance was made for one hour per week of handicrafts at lower primary school and two hours per week for the last two years of higher primary school in the Chinese curriculum.

The regulations also set a target date (5th of March) for the re-opening of schools since many of them had been destroyed or damaged during the uprising. There were also references to "unruly troops" who had occupied school buildings, destroying equipment and burning books. This was no doubt one of the reasons why the Education Ministry informed the provinces on the 29th of January that social education was equally as important as general/school education. The most important element of social education, the Ministry noted, was public lectures but it also pointed out that films (huodong hua) could be profitably used as supporting material. (The ability
of films to affect public mores had already been noted, in a negative sense, by the Shanghai municipal council when it issued regulations on cinema-theatres in June 1911. The council stipulated that no immoral films were to be shown, that men and women should sit separately, and that films should finish before midnight. The Education Ministry stressed that public lectures should inform the people of their rights and duties under the Republic. In addition, they should emphasize the importance of the military and of industry and teach the people "citizen morality" (gongmin zhi daode). The Ministry concluded that due to the current state of excitement among the people over the revolution, the people were psychologically prepared to accept these ideals. Hence social education had to be implemented immediately.

The directive met with an enthusiastic response. Thus Da Caikang, a middle school administrator from Chenjiang, Jiangsu, called on all teachers and administrators in his district to establish a Republican Lecture Society (Gonghe xuanjiangshe), while a "citizen" from Wujin, Jiangsu, proposed that funds belonging to the local education association and agricultural association be used exclusively for social education. In fact, the response may have been too enthusiastic since the Education Ministry was compelled later on to caution Da Caikang's lecture group to refrain from being too overbearing and dogmatic; one should lecture to the people, the Ministry noted, in a spirit of prudence and conciliation.

The Education Ministry not only stressed general and social education, but also showed an interest in expanding educational opportunities for China's minorities. With the establishment of the Republic it was hoped that "equal education" (tongdeng jiaoyu) could be implemented so that Mongols, Tibetans
and Moslems would have access to their own education which they had allegedly been denied under the Qing. Yuan Shikai sent a telegram to the northern governors informing them that the future republic would extend equal opportunities to the minorities. In Nanking, the Education Ministry sanctioned the creation of the Association for the Unity of China's Races (Zhonghua Minzu datonghui), which proposed organizing a special teachers' training school for Mongols, Tibetans and Moslems to encourage the study of minority languages. This is significant when one considers that the new schools met with much hostility and suspicion among the minorities during the last years of the Qing. Thus in Kashgar, Sinjiang, in 1911, angry mobs protested in the streets against an official directive ordering their children to attend school because they felt that the establishment of schools was a deliberate policy to eradicate Moslem culture. Local officials had thus been obliged to relax their demands concerning school attendance.

The Education Ministry also displayed a spirit of conciliation vis-a-vis Buddhist organizations. Thus it approved of the organization of an All-China Buddhist Association (Zhonghua fojiao zonghui) and expressed its confidence that the Association would contribute to the interests of general education, in contrast to previous Buddhist groups which, the Ministry declared, had simply been concerned with the propagation of "superstitious obscurantism."

The Nanking Education Ministry had neither the funds nor the facilities to implement its proposals. Jiang Weiqiao, a counsellor in the Ministry, has left an account of the makeshift character of the Ministry. Apparently Sun Yat-sen was too preoccupied even to worry about where it was to be situated. Cai Yuanpei had to ask the head of the Jiangsu internal affairs bureau if he
could "lease" three rooms to house the Ministry. It had a staff of thirty (whereas other ministries, according to Jiang, had staffs of about one hundred). In the expenditures for March the limited funds that the Education Ministry disposed of were apparent (see Table 7). However, it was during this period that a committee was organized to draft a school system. It was this committee, in fact, that recommended the use of Japan as the "educational model."

Table 7
Expenditures of the Nanking Government, March 1912
(in yuan)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ministry</th>
<th>Amount (in yuan)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Army</td>
<td>8,935,892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Internal Affairs</td>
<td>270,701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navy</td>
<td>197,036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Justice</td>
<td>11,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Communications</td>
<td>8,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
<td>7,268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>4,991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign Affairs</td>
<td>4,590</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the re-unification of the country in March 1912, the path was prepared for a more extensive organization of the Education Ministry (jiaoyubu). In April Yuan Shikai appointed Cai Yuanpei as Education Minister, with Fan Yuanlian as vice-minister. In May the jiaoyubu was formally established. It comprised a group of counsellors (canshi), an investigation committee, a compilation committee, and the departments of general education, specialist education and, notably, social education.

Social education was to cover a wide area, as can be seen from the increasing number of responsibilities with which it was charged. It originally had three sections, dealing with religion and rites, science and art, and popular education. At the end of 1912 the department was made responsible for museums and libraries. By 1914 its scope was expanded to cover all matters relating to popular ceremonies and customs (tongsu liyi), literature, music, theatre, recreational facilities, zoos and parks.

The department of general education was placed in charge of elementary and primary schools, middle schools, normal schools and vocational schools. It was also responsible for Mongol/Tibetan/Moslem education, indicating a continuation of the interest in "minority education" noted earlier. In 1913 a new specialist school for Mongols and Tibetans was established in which not only the Mongolian and Tibetan languages were taught, but also courses in international law, commercial law, politics and finance. The Education Ministry, in its preamble to the regulations for the school, referred to the "ignorance" of the Mongols and Tibetans during the Qing, a fact which explained why, in the Ministry's opinion, the English and the Russians had been able to "deceive" them so easily. Finally, the
department of general education was charged with overseeing the reform of traditional schools, indicating their continued existence despite educational reforms.57

The number of officials attached to the Education Ministry who had received some kind of higher education in Japan and/or had worked in the Xuebu during the last years of the Qing is considerable and represents a continuity of attitudes towards the role of education.58 In addition to Cai Yuanpei and Fan Yuanlian, both the secretary of the Ministry, Dong Hongwei, and the head of the specialist education department, Lin Qi, were Japanese-educated. Both of them had also served in the Xuebu, as had Fan Yuanlian.59 Other officials who had studied in Japan included Xu Choutang and Wu Zongxue, both from the general education department, and Tang Zhong, a member of the compilation committee. Fan, Dong, Wu and Tang had all studied at the Tokyo Higher Normal College. Ma Linyi (counsellor), Chen Wenxian (accounts section) and Lu Xiaozhi (department of specialist education) had also been Xuebu officials. Others had been involved in provincial education administration before the revolution. Thus Yuan Xitao, the head of the department of general education, had been the head of the Zhili provincial education office. It might also be noted that out of the 61 heads of provincial education offices and their departments in 1913, 26 had been educated in Japan.60

The idea held by officials and educators during the last years of the Qing (looking to Japan's example) that education could contribute to a nation's strength by "reforming people's customs" and transforming them into patriotic and hard-working citizens continued therefore to exert a dominant
influence on Chinese educational thought in the early years of the Republic. One contemporary observer has noted that many of the teachers at this time were former students who had studied in Japan and that they impressed upon their pupils the need for China to learn from the success of the Meiji Restoration in making Japan a strong and prosperous nation. It is thus not the case, as Wang Feng-gang argues, that Japanese influence on Chinese education after 1912 waned as the Republic turned increasingly to the United States and France for their inspiration. On the other hand, it is too simplistic to claim, as Wang does, that the increasing emphasis by Chinese educators on the inculcation of patriotism and militarism in school and the stress on uniformity and centralisation were due to Japanese influence only. During the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic there were other aspects of Japanese education, such as vocational training and supplementary education, that Chinese educators focused on, while it should be noted that Chinese educators received inspiration concerning centralisation, uniformity and nationalism just as much from the west as from Japan (e.g., the centralized education systems of France and Germany received much attention, as did the inculcation of patriotic ideals in American schools).

One member of the social education department was Wu Bochun (Wu Da). He had investigated popular education in Japan and in 1912 helped organize the China Popular Education Ministry. Wu emphasized the importance of public lectures and the need to train professional lecturers. Wu, in fact, was perhaps the first to apply the term "specialist" (jia, a term borrowed from the Japanese) to those actively involved in politics or
education on a long-term basis.\textsuperscript{64} Referring to other countries where public speaking was considered an art, Wu stressed that lecturing was to be regarded as a speciality and skill (zhishu) that required extensive practice and training. Wu's proposal was meant as a criticism of those who continued to think that public lecturing was simply the part-time moral obligation of local notables and as such represents another example of attempts to "professionalize" education. Although knowledge was a qualification required for a lecturer, what was equally essential, Wu claimed, was the tone of the voice, the ability to stimulate audiences and to use words in a lively way, all of which would have perhaps been condemned by traditionally-minded gentry as "vulgar techniques." Wu proposed the creation of training institutes for lecturers which would teach candidates rhetoric and psychology.\textsuperscript{65} He also suggested the organization of a model lecturing group that would tour the country recruiting trainee lecturers and demonstrating lecture techniques (which would include the use of film, military songs, and popular music).\textsuperscript{66}

In another article Wu referred to the responsibility of education associations to aid in the promotion of social education. (In the new regulations for education associations in September 1912, this had been specifically referred to as one of their functions.)\textsuperscript{67} Before 1912, Wu claimed, education associations had only been concerned with school education. Now that the scope of education had been enlarged, Wu continued, education associations would have the additional responsibility of "reforming the family and society" in order to promote education. Citing the example of Japan, Wu suggested that education associations establish a special popular education section. He outlined the regulations of the Tokyo Education Association's popular education
section, one of which suggested it hold meetings in factories and other places of work.68

In addition to there now being a special department of social education within the Education Ministry school inspectors, appointed by the Education Minister for the eight "education districts" in the country, were also given the duty of supervising social education.69 In 1918 regulations were promulgated for provincial education inspectors, appointed by the provincial education administration, and part of their duties, also, entailed the supervision of social education.70 In the re-organization of provincial education, the new provincial education bureaus comprised four sections, dealing with general affairs, middle schools, primary schools and popular education (tongsu jiaoyu). In 1913 the education bureau was subordinated to the provincial administration office and in 1914 was abolished altogether. In 1917 provincial education administration again regained some autonomy with the establishment of the education office (jiaoyu ting) directly under the Education Ministry. It comprised three sections, one of which dealt with general and social education.71

The Educational Debate Jan. - July, 1912

Between the formal establishment of the Republic in January 1912 and the convening of the Education Conference in July of the same year a lively debate arose in such journals as the Jiaoyu Zazhi over the future education system and the general direction education should take under the Republic. In January Guangdong "educational circles" published their views on the possible future content of the debate.72 Discussing first the general aims of
education, the Guangdong group noted that of the five aims set down by the Qing only the one calling for the "honouring of the monarch" could be automatically discarded. It admitted, however, that the aim calling for the "honouring of Confucius" would be a source of dispute. Another question that the Guangdong group proposed should be discussed was that of supplementary education to accommodate primary school graduates who did not continue their formal education.

The group then raised the question of literacy schools—should they be abolished as an obstacle to school development? This had been a source of debate during the last years of the Qing (see Chapter Two), and the Guangdong educators no doubt had in mind the abolition of literacy schools by the Jiangsu governor in January 1912. The Jiangsu governor noted that because both adults and children had attended these schools neither benefitted because their abilities and needs were so different; furthermore, the governor noted, education officials had concentrated on these schools at the expense of lower primary schools. The governor suggested that henceforth some literacy schools be used as lower primary schools and others be used to offer supplementary education for adults. The following month, former half-day schools in Jiangsu were also converted into lower primary schools.

Another problem that had to be resolved, according the the Guangdong educators, was whether to adopt the Japanese approach whereby middle schools were undifferentiated and regarded as part of "general education" or the German system in which the middle school was specialized and regarded as a preparation for university. As for the question of linkage between
primary and secondary schools, the article again presented a choice between the Japanese system in which, it was assumed, there was close coordination, or the French and German systems in which there was not much of a link between the two.

The article was correct in emphasizing this aspect of the French and German educational systems. In France secondary schools (i.e., lycées or collèges) had their own elementary classes which permitted children of the upper classes to avoid going to primary schools. In Germany the majority of children went to elementary school—the Volksschule—and then could go on to vocational or technical schools. Only the children of the better-off who had studied in a preparatory school had the opportunity to go to middle schools (Gymnasien), which prepared students for university and the professions.

The article, however, was not correct in its description of the Japanese system. In 1872, it is true, secondary education had been defined as "general education" and its aim had been to "impart education of a general nature to the graduates of primary schools." By 1881, however, there were moves towards establishing a dual-track system. Candidates for secondary education were selected from among the sixth year students (the others remained in primary school for another two years) and middle schools were redefined as places which would "dispense a higher level of general education and teach those subjects necessary for entry into the higher school and professions requiring more than an average degree of talent." With the middle school ordinance of 1899, a final split was effected between secondary and vocational education, with the latter consigned to an inferior position.
Mori Arinori, the Education Minister from 1885 - 1889, asserted that secondary education was the privilege of the few. Gradually, in fact, Japanese education became a multi-track system with very little opportunity of transferring from one channel to another.

Ultimately, the question concerned the desirability of adopting a single-track or multiple-track system. As far as primary education was concerned, at least, China decided to opt for the former, which was inherently more democratic. The problem was to occur again in 1915 when Yuan Shikai attempted to introduce what would, in effect, have been a dual-track system. The proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by Chinese educators, continuing a tradition that could be seen in the regulations for literacy schools in 1909 which preferred not to stratify education into rigid channels. The rejection of Yuan's scheme in 1915 attests to a basic egalitarianism in Chinese educational thought, an egalitarianism that biased observers like Peake seem totally to ignore.

Finally, the Guangdong educators raised the question of how relevant specialized subjects at university should be to social needs (shehui shiye)—how were they to be defined and using which criteria? There seemed to be a consensus of opinion, however, that institutions of higher learning had to be more responsive to the needs of society and the nation. On this point, of course, Cai Yuanpei was to adopt quite a different view. He regarded universities as centres of pure research which should not become too involved with local society. This view also influenced Cai's attitude towards the increasing number of political activities university students were embarking on; generally, he opposed any activity that was not directly related to study.
Lu Feigui, an editor of the *Jiaoyu Zazhi*, also made some suggestions as to the future direction of education. He proposed that the Classics be eliminated from the secondary and primary school curricula and that co-education be introduced with girls studying the same subjects as boys. (These proposals were implemented by Cai Yuanpei in his regulations on general education later on in the same month.) One suggestion that Lu made which was not taken up by Cai was that the choice of textbooks be left entirely to the provinces, providing republican principles were not contravened.

What is perhaps the most interesting aspect of Lu's proposals was his advocacy of using France as the educational model. (Other Chinese writers also argued that the French political model was the most appropriate for China to emulate. One writer maintained that although some people were advocating the imitation of the American political system, the French one was far superior since the French president was far less powerful than his American counterpart. The American president, the writer noted, had, like the German emperor, great political power and was therefore not restrained by congress. The result was that the American system had the potential to develop into an autocracy.) One of the benefits that the republican spirit gave to France was, according to Lu, the *Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique*, which had been established in 1901. It comprised representatives from the National Assembly, the service ministries, schools and universities and the Académie Française. It met twice a year and suggested changes in educational policy and school textbook material. It is apparent that what Lu admired about the French educational council was that, as a result of assembling a wide body of opinion, it allowed for more uniformity of the education
system (a principle that was at odds with Lu's call at the beginning of his article for more flexibility and local initiative over the choice of textbooks).

Lu proposed that a similar council be organized in China. Such a council, according to Lu, should comprise representatives from the provincial education associations, primary and middle school principals, heads of the Education Ministry departments, representatives from provincial governments and from the national parliament, and, finally, university and higher specialist school principals. Lu's proposed council would have therefore comprised a significant number of professional educators, in contrast to the Educational Conference that Cai Yuanpei convened in July, which was dominated by administrators.

In another article Lu stressed the necessity of having a coordinated school system, with equal attention being paid to general, vocational and specialist education. He put special emphasis, however, on general education and looked forward to the day when China would be more prosperous and hence able to implement an eight-year compulsory schooling period. His proposed curricula for lower and higher primary schools were quite similar to the ones eventually adopted in November 1912 (e.g., inclusion of military drill at upper primary level, and handicrafts in both the lower and higher primary school curricula). One noticeable difference was that Lu proposed two hours per week of English for the first two years of upper primary schools and four hours per week for the third and fourth years. The kind of citizen that Lu wanted the schools to produce possessed the qualities many educators of the time thought were necessary to ensure the survival of the country:
The republican government must (devote itself) to training a republican citizenry. Today is a period of violent competition. If we do not have a militant and economically independent citizenry, the country will not be able to survive. Also, with the daily progress of civilization and industry if we do not have scientific know-how, the state will not prosper. The curricula I propose has this aim in mind and will foster an independent and self-respecting, free and equal, diligent and frugal, thorough and lively citizenry.84

While Lu Feigui emphasized the implementation of an organized and well-structured education system, Gao Fengqian, another contributor to Jiaoyu Zazhi, preferred not to discuss the immediate establishment of a rigid education system.85 He maintained that the main defect of the Qing educational system during the last years of the dynasty had been its rigidity and over-abundance of regulations.86 Due to its desire for uniformity and its excessive interference, Gao argued, the government had aroused opposition among the people to modern education (he particularly lamented the fact that traditional schools which had not met the official required standards had been abolished). There was no need, Gao claimed, for the present Education Ministry to establish immediately a uniform education system; what was important was that some kind of education be available to all. Flexibility and adaptation to local conditions should be the order of the day. Rather than concentrating on establishing modern schools which fit all the required standards (wanquan xuexiao), priority must first be given to establishing supplementary education, however "incomplete," for the people in general. Gao pointed to the example of other countries where, despite having a regular system of education, other forms of spare-time and supplementary education (night schools, half-day schools, Sunday schools) existed. How
much more then, Gao declared, did China, where the regular system was
deficient, have need of supplementary education. Gao also warned that if
attention was only paid to establishing a network of well-equipped regular
schools only the urban areas would benefit.  

A debate of a similar nature occurred between the Minister of
Education, Cai Yuanpei, and his vice-minister, Fan Yuanlian. Although Cai
later took the credit for pioneering adult and supplementary education and
for establishing the department of social education, his main concern in 1912
was with the improvement of the universities. He wanted to abolish all
provincial higher level schools (which he thought did not meet required
standards of academic excellence) and replace them with five national
universities, to be situated in Nanking, Hankou, Canton, Peking and
Chongqing. This strategy was opposed by Fan Yuanlian, who argued that the
most pressing task was the establishment of a wide network of primary
schools.  

Cai admitted, in fact, that he was more interested in higher
education, having been much impressed with the German system of
universities when he was studying in Germany before 1911. It is indicative of
the scant attention western writers pay to the actual content of the
educational debate during these years that W. Duiker can refer to both Cai
and Fan as "reform-minded educators" without mentioning this important
difference.  

While Cai admired Germany's system of universities and higher level
educational institutions, other Chinese educators and writers preferred to
stress other aspects of German education. Among thirteen articles
specifically devoted to German education in Jiaoyu Zazhi during the years
1909 - 1913, for example, eight were concerned with primary, vocational and popular education. In fact, the German system of widespread elementary and vocational education continued to be described and praised as a worthwhile model for China to emulate throughout the years 1914 - 1918 and after, despite allied propaganda denouncing German militarism and barbarity and later western accounts that stress the increasing "democratic" influence of America on Chinese education after 1914 (see Appendix A). Such a phenomenon modifies those views that see foreign influence on Chinese educators in simplistic terms. Not only did different countries exert influence at the same time, but also different aspects of the system of each foreign country were focused on by various Chinese educators. It has been assumed, for example, that what Chinese educators saw in American education was its "democratic" character. Yet many preferred to focus on quite different aspects of American education, which included such things as the inculcation of patriotic ideals in school from a very early stage, the lack of harmony and "close feelings" between teachers and students, the harmful effects of school examinations on children, and the strict school regulations concerning smoking and the consumption of alcohol.

Another educational writer, Shen Buzhou, also stressed the importance of general education and, in particular, primary education. He disagreed with those who advocated the adoption of the Japanese approach of levying fees at the lower primary school level, since this would result in the "monopoly of education by the upper and middle classes of society (shangzhong liu shehui)." It was better, Shen asserted, that the rich be taxed so that educational opportunities could be available to everyone by
ensuring free education at the elementary level. In this way, Shen argued, the educational level of all social groups would be raised instead of merely that of the children of middle and upper class families. Shen also proposed a two-year supplementary course for those lower primary school graduates who did not continue with upper primary school. Graduates from the course, however, would still be eligible to enter the first year of upper primary school, indicating once again a reluctance on the part of Chinese educators to see a rigid dual-track system.

The importance of achieving "equality of education" (jiaoyu pingdeng) was also emphasized by Jiang Kanghu, the founder of China's first socialist party in 1912. In contrast to many officials and writers in the past who had pointed to universal education in the west as an important factor contributing to western strength, Jiang maintained that equality of educational opportunity in the west was a fiction since so many factors militated against its realization (e.g., parental background, and the cost of school food and uniforms). The inequality was even more apparent in higher education, Jiang argued, where institutions of higher learning were the monopoly of "rich bourgeois and aristocrats" (fuhao guizu). This attack on western education on the grounds of inequality reached a climax with Yang Xianjiang's ferocious criticism of American education in 1929, in which he cited Upton Sinclair's book *The Goose Step: A Study of American Education* to launch an attack on institutions of higher learning in the United States.

Like other Chinese officials, educators and writers of the time, Jiang wistfully harked back to the Chinese past (in this case the Zhou period) when communities of twenty families or so had been organized and in which all had
contributed to the education of everyone in the community. Jiang admitted that even if education was available to everyone there would still be differences of occupation (shiye); some would use their brains for a livelihood and others would use their hands. However, Jiang continued, this did not mean that such differences should be taken as an indication of a difference between the "intelligent and ignorant or between aristocrat and commoner." They were simply differences in role and did not mean that those working with their hands could not reach intellectual parity with those working with their brains. Such an argument was to be frequently used to justify the work-study programme that was launched in the early Republic.

The provincial education association of Hunan also suggested ways in which education could be made more widespread. It proposed that children from rich families pay higher tuition fees at primary school, that traditional and clan schools be tolerated to make up for the lack of official schools, and baihua newspapers be used as educational material, especially at school. (In May the Education Ministry approved a request from the Shanghai Advancement of Citizen Education Association to compile baihua materials for specific use among army units.)

The most pressing problem, according to the Hunan association, was "poor people's education" (pinmin jiaoyu). It suggested not only the establishment of night schools and half-day schools, to be "attached" to primary schools, but also the organization of "poor people's schools" within factories and other enterprises, with all expenses being met by the enterprise concerned. The association also recommended that local officials and education associations form joint stock companies (gongsi) that would create
"poor people's factories," in which local products could be produced and spare-time education carried out. Such a proposal foreshadowed attempts to link education and economic activity during the early years of the Republic.\textsuperscript{102}

It is interesting to contrast these views on education expressed between January and July 1912 with those of Cai Yuanpei, which were published in the February issue of \textit{Jiaoyu Zazhi}.\textsuperscript{103} Cai argued for a "militant citizenry" and "utilitarian" education in order to ensure a strong state. They would be balanced by a training in "citizen morality" (gongmin daode), which would ensure that social harmony was preserved by training everyone to respect the interests and well-being of others.\textsuperscript{104} However, this was not to be the final aim of education. Cai envisaged that ultimately education would reach a stage unhindered by national or racial barriers. The chief characteristics of this ultimate form of education would be cosmopolitanism and aestheticism, the appreciation of pure beauty. Cai concluded by suggesting that militant-citizenry education occupy 10\% of the curriculum, utilitarian education 40\%, moral education 20\%, aesthetic training 25\%, and a training in a world outlook 5\%.

Generally, Cai's views were criticized by other Chinese educators and writers, mainly on the grounds that they were not relevant to China's situation and needs. One writer had no objection \textit{per se} to Cai's more idealistic hopes for educational development, but he stressed that all attention must be devoted to establishing a practical and utilitarian education. The most important problem, he argued, was that the upper classes of society were parasites, completely unable to engage in hard work,
while the lower classes, although having perseverance, lacked the necessary knowledge to earn a decent livelihood. He warned that if too much attention was paid to aesthetic education there would be a return to the dilettantiste and literary Confucian tradition. Others suggested a more practical role for aesthetic education. Thus one writer bewailed the fact that foreign goods were dominating China's markets because they looked so much better than Chinese goods (although their intrinsic quality might be inferior). This was due to the fact that Chinese workers and peasants lacked aesthetic training.

Zhuang Yu, who was to be one of the most prolific textbook compilers during the early Republic, also condemned Cai's concepts of a world outlook and aesthetic education as irrelevant. In answer to Cai's call for an education that would transcend politics, Zhuang maintained that educational policy must always be coordinated with a state's situation. Cai's views on education have been described as a forthright attack on traditional concepts of education but it is also true that the view put forward by his critics—that educational aims could never be fixed and rigid and should be adapted to present circumstances—was equally untraditional and represented a break from Confucian ideals on education.

Jia Dianzhi stressed that the most urgent task was to expand primary education; since primary education was the foundation on which a "healthy citizenry with republican morality" was created, Jia argued, Cai's educational aims of aesthetic training and cosmopolitanism were not needed. Jia insisted that under a republic educators must decide everything solely from "the people's viewpoint." Cai's views on education, he remarked, had nothing to do with the people's needs and desires. Jia also maintained that just as the
Qing had cited practices in Japan and the west as justification for promoting its education aims of "honouring the monarch" and "honouring Confucius" (which had been irrelevant to China's needs), so Cai had indiscriminately borrowed the ideals of aestheticism and a world outlook (which were equally irrelevant) from ancient Greece and Rome.

Another writer reduced the argument to one fundamental choice: was education under the republic to be used to cultivate an elite minority of academic philosophers or was it to be used to train the majority of citizens? This theme was continued in another article by Shen Shidong, which stressed that the state should not be concerned with cultivating a scholarly elite but with educating the majority of its people. Shen evidently heard in Cai's call for an education transcending politics and characterized by aestheticism and cosmopolitanism an echo of the traditional "amateur ideal" of the Confucian gentleman. In an obvious reference to this Shen argued that education should not be designed to train the man of wide and general learning (duocai duoyi), like the Duke of Zhou, but should give everyone the chance of acquiring a particular skill or trade. As did many other educators at this time, Shen emphasized the importance of establishing vocational schools specifically designed to meet and serve the needs of the area in which they were situated.

The debate over education preceding the Conference of July 1912 was therefore a complex one and cannot simply be viewed as a struggle between the progressive Cai and his more conservative opponents. There was genuine concern that Cai's views were potentially elitist, unsuited to the people's needs. Proposals such as linking education with economic activity were a
reflection of the concern to see education serve the people in a more concrete way and foreshadowed later attempts to give students practical training by encouraging the making and selling of handicraft goods. It is worthwhile, also, to consider that a similar debate was occurring in Germany between the inheritors of von Humboldt's ideal of the classical education (which, of course, had very much shaped Cai's views on the subject) and those who wanted to see more practical subjects introduced into the curricula.

It is concerns such as these, as much as the desire to see education create a united and patriotic citizenry, that were to play a role in the Education Conference of 1912. Other aspects of the debate—such as whether to give priority to a widespread system of supplementary education (such as spare-time schools and public lectures) or whether to concentrate resources on a well-structured formal school system and/or higher level educational institutions—were to have relevance beyond the early Republic, playing a key role, for example, in the educational debates of post 1949 China.

It is also worthwhile considering that the kinds of questions that Chinese educators were debating at this time were, and continued to be, topics of debate in the west. After 1918 there were many attempts to establish an école unique in France that would integrate the three systems of primary, secondary and technical schools. It was also not until after 1919 in Europe that there arose a concerted movement to establish a single, national system of primary education. Another problem was the question of tuition fees at primary school level. As has been noted, many Chinese schools struggled to maintain the traditional practice of waiving fees at the elementary level (or, if not that, at least providing paper and ink and even, on
some occasions, food); yet it was not until 1918 that in England the complete abolition of fees in public elementary schools was finally enforced.114

The problem of the "classics" has been a recurring one in Europe and America. It was not until 1900, for example, that in Europe the complete dominance of the classics over the secondary level curriculum was brought to an end,115 while throughout the early years of the twentieth century German educators continued to rail against the excessive teaching of Latin and Greek which, they thought, "denationalized" German students.116 (A similar fear was expressed by Chinese educators as a result of what they saw as an excessive teaching of English in Chinese schools.)117 In France the debate continues to this day over the desirability of teaching the classics.118 While Latin still occupies an important place in the English public school (part of whose function is to contribute to the training of a cultured "gentleman") and in the French lycée (part of whose function is to preserve the French culture and language), in China the Confucian classics were systematically eliminated from both the primary and secondary school curricula within the space of two years (1910 -1912).

As for free compulsory education, there was a long time-gap in the west and Japan between the establishment of a national primary school system and the enactment of free compulsory education, a time-gap that many Chinese educators wanted to avoid as much as possible for China. In France Guizot's law of 1833 created a national system of primary schools, but it was not until 1861 - 1862 that free, secular and compulsory education was finally implemented. England, the greatest industrial power throughout most of the nineteenth century, did not provide for a national primary school
system until 1870 and it was not until 1891 that a law was passed providing for free elementary education. An extreme case of discrepancy between theory and reality occurred in Italy where, despite the passing of laws in 1859, 1877, 1906 and 1911 providing for a system of schools with compulsory attendance, it was discovered in Calabria in 1923 that less than half the number of school-age children were attending school and of these only 32% attended regularly.¹¹⁹

Finally, there was the question of vocational education and its importance in the curriculum, a subject that was increasingly debated by Chinese educators after 1913. As late as 1956 in France a commission of enquiry under Jean Sarrailt criticized the secondary school system for not being relevant to everyday needs. The commission concluded that technical education was not esteemed enough (which is also a frequent criticism levelled at the English education system), and that the needs of industry, agriculture and commerce were being neglected.¹²⁰

Such observations help to place educational debates in China at this time in context. The kind of problems that the Chinese focused on and the solutions they proposed were very much part of world-wide educational trends. In some cases even, as, for example, with the elimination of the Confucian classics at the secondary school level and their replacement by such subjects as handicrafts, Chinese educators showed a willingness for change and flexibility far in advance of educational practice in, say, England or France.
The Education Conference and School System of 1912

In May 1912 the Education Ministry made known its intention to hold an education conference the following July and August. Like the Xuebu in 1911, the Education Ministry maintained that such a conference was necessary to elicit a wide range of opinion concerning educational policy. Members of the conference were to include (1) those especially invited by the Education Minister, (2) two representatives from each of the provinces, (3) two representatives from among Mongols and Tibetans, (4) one representative for the overseas Chinese, (5) representatives from among government school administrators and (6) representatives from the ministries of agriculture, industry and commerce, finance, army and navy. Item 44 of the regulations stipulated that all measures decided upon by the conference were to be put into effect by the Education Ministry.

On the 10th of July the Education Conference met in Peking. There were 81 participants present. All the provinces were represented, with Jiangsu and Zhejiang having the largest contingents. Among the members were contributors to Jiaoyu Zazhi, such as Lu Feigui, Zhuang Yu, Jia Dianzhi and Hou Hongjian, as well as other educators noted for their promotion of vocational and popular education such as Huang Yanpei, Chen Baoquan and Wu Da. Fifteen of those present (i.e., approximately 20% of the participants) had been members of the Central Education Association, convened by the Qing just before the Wuchang uprising.
Table 8
Provincial Origin of Conference Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolia</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas Chinese</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Cai Yuanpei addressed the conference and stressed its importance in shaping education for the future. Of the five educational principles he had referred to in his February article, Cai declared that the inculcation of citizen morality should be the central focus of educational strategy. Although one commentator has described Cai's concept of "citizen morality" in terms of the ideals of equality, freedom and universal brotherhood, there was a certain ambiguity in his use of the term "citizen morality" when he addressed the Education Conference. In his speech Cai maintained that the cause of China's poverty was the lack of "citizen morality" among the people, which had prevented them "from uniting in large enterprises to resist foreign countries." Here Cai seemed to be equating the term with nationalism pure and simple, which he thought would greatly assist in the carrying out of a militant-citizenry and utilitarian education. Neither did Cai discuss the ideal, ultimate form of education that he had outlined in his February article. It is conceivable that Cai had been influenced by the criticisms levelled at his educational ideas between February and July.

The conference met nineteen times, although it never had its full complement of representatives, the average attendance being fifty. Resolutions were adopted concerning the school system, primary and middle schools, the term system and holiday arrangements, organization of an educational council, educational aims, vocational and specialist schools, universities, a national anthem, salaries for primary school teachers, a phonetic alphabet, and school administration. Although Zhuang Yu gave a negative assessment of the conference, remarking that too much time had been wasted because representatives had simply discussed their own province's point of view, the conference was unique in Chinese history.
For the first time a large group of people (many of whom were not officials) was convened not only to advise the government but also to propose a new system and policy in the realm of education. Most of the resolutions were, in fact, promulgated afterwards by the Education Ministry.

Many of the conference participants continued to play a role in education. In 1917, for example, 6 out of the 21 heads of the newly-established provincial education bureaux (jiaoyuting) had been present at the 1912 conference. (Of these, two—Huang Yanpei and Hu Jiaqi—had been members of the Central Education Association at the end of the Qing.) The head of the Hunan education bureau, Shen Enfu, had also been a member of the Central Education Association. When one considers that three of the provincial education bureau heads had been members of the Education Ministry in 1912 and one other had been head of a provincial education office in 1912, approximately 50% of the heads of the jiaoyuting in 1917 had been involved with education just before and after the 1911 revolution. This possibly represents not only a continuity of personnel involved in educational discussion and administration during the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic but also may explain the perseverance of a certain attitude towards education that had emerged during the last years of the Qing (i.e., that it was to be used to create a united, patriotic and hard-working citizenry).

At the conference heated discussion took place concerning such topics as whether to eliminate the school ceremony honouring Confucius, whether to replace guowen with guoyu (i.e., the vernacular) in the school curriculum, and even such a seemingly trivial subject as whether to adopt the Japanese or western term for "rest day" (riyaori or taiyangri). Although the proposal
calling for the abolition of the school ceremony honouring Confucius was rejected, some representatives thought that the decision could be left to the individual schools concerned.

Another discussion concerned the organization of a central educational council (zhongyang jiaoyu huiyi). It was decided to follow the French model rather than the Japanese one, in the sense that the council would not only be an advisory body but would also assist central education administration. The fact that there were to be representatives from among sixteen groups of people (including representatives from parliament, national libraries and museums, normal, middle, primary and vocational schools, as well as "educational experts") indicated the conference's concern to see as wide a representation as possible in the making and implementation of educational policy. Nothing came of this ambitious proposal, but the conference itself set a precedent for a number of conferences that were held during the early years of the Republic to discuss educational policy. In addition to the national conference of education associations that met annually between 1915 and 1919, the Education Ministry convened a conference of normal school principals in 1915, a conference of vocational school principals in 1917 and a conference of secondary school principals in 1918.

The most important debate, however, concerned educational aims. As presented to the conference by the Education Ministry, the aims were described as: "An attention to moral education, accompanied by a stress on utilitarian and martial values, with cosmopolitanism and aesthetic training to provide a higher form of education and complete the citizen's morality." Two Fujian delegates proposed that nationalism be adopted as the educational strategy. One of them, Liu Yizhong, had pointed out in an earlier article that he desired
to see what he called a "relative nationalism" (xiangdui guojia zhuyi). People
were to be trained to identify with the nation's interest and only afterwards
should they be given the opportunities of realizing their individual ambitions.
After all, Liu remarked, since the days of Napoleon all advanced countries
like America, Germany, France and Japan ensured that their educational
systems accorded with the national interest. (Liu thought England was an
exception because of its laissez-faire tradition.) The weakness of the Qing
education system, Liu thought, was that it had allowed everyone to pursue
excessively his own selfish interests.130

Two other delegates (from Jiangsu and Sichuan) thought that
educational policy should be more precise than the educational aims
presented to the conference. The conference agreed that nationalism should
be at the centre of educational strategy, but should not be an obstacle "to the
principle of world progress or hinder the development of the individual." It
proposed that educational aims should therefore comprise: "An attention to
moral education with the nation as the foundation, complemented by a
militant-citizenry and utilitarian education" and it added that "an aesthetic
training could be incorporated into the school curriculum." Thus although the
conference ultimately stressed the importance of moral indoctrination as a
function of education, the fact that it attempted to incorporate other,
 somewhat contradictory aims such as attention to individual development and
practical instruction showed that delegates were not necessarily unanimous in
their approaches and that a variety of competing ideas were raised at the
conference.

In fact, the educational aims issued by the Education Ministry (headed
by Fan Yuanlian, who had succeeded Cai Yuanpei on the 26th of July) on the
2nd of September 1912 omitted the specific reference to nationalism that had been recommended by the conference: "Educational aims should involve a stress on moral education with utilitarian and militant-citizenry education to supplement it. Furthermore, aesthetic training will be given to complete the citizen's morality." A practical concern with promoting nationalism, however, was evident in other regulations. Thus the regulations on school uniforms for higher and lower primary schools, issued on the 3rd of September, stipulated that such items as caps and shoes be Chinese-made. Such a requirement, of course, also made sound economic sense. (In 1916, at the second conference of education associations in Peking, one of the resolutions called for the use of Chinese-produced paper in the manufacture of textbooks.) Regulations on school ceremonies, also issued on the 3rd of September, stipulated that the national day (the date of the founding of the Republic) be celebrated by raising the flag and singing the national anthem. Allowance was also made for celebrating Confucius' birthday, although such practices as kneeling and bowing were forbidden.

The school system was announced on the 3rd of September 1912. It involved a shorter period of schooling than the 1904 one, with two years eliminated from the primary school level and one year from the secondary school level. After four years of lower primary school for the 6 - 10 year-olds (which were to be considered compulsory), the student could either enter a higher primary school (10 - 14 year-old group) or a lower vocational school. After graduation a student could choose between normal school, secondary school or a higher-level vocational school (for the 14 - 18 year-olds). One important difference from the 1904 system was the establishment of two year supplementary courses for graduates of lower and higher primary schools who could not
continue in the regular system. They were to give vocational training or other preparatory courses in the event that the student desired to re-enter the regular system at a later date.\textsuperscript{135}

Primary schools were to "cultivate the foundation of citizen morality and to teach the necessary knowledge and skills needed to earn a livelihood."\textsuperscript{136} Citizen morality was to comprise love towards one's family, love and respect towards one's friends, sincerity and honesty, boldness and initiative, cleanliness, diligence and frugality (qinlian).\textsuperscript{137} As for girls, the regulations stressed that they must be taught "chastity and purity" (zhenjie) and how to be "independent," a curious combination of traditional and modern ideals.\textsuperscript{138} The teaching of handicrafts was to nourish the habit of "industriousness" (qinlao).\textsuperscript{139} As far as subject matter was concerned, there was little difference from the primary school curriculum issued in January 1912, except that in higher primary schools agriculture was now to be a regular, instead of an optional subject. Military drill was also to be part of physical education for boys at higher primary school.\textsuperscript{140}

Lower primary schools could be established by district governments, as well as by rural townships (xiang), towns (shi) and cities (cheng), which were administrative units below the district level, while higher primary schools were to be established by the districts. The regulations also allowed lower and higher primary schools to be established privately.\textsuperscript{141} Whereas before 1911 schools were divided into three categories—"official" schools (maintained by central government or provincial funds), "public" schools (managed and maintained by district governments or local communities), and "private" schools (established by individuals)—after 1912 schools were simply categorized as either "public" (i.e., schools established by people in official
positions) or "private" (i.e., schools established by private individuals). In most provinces non-official funds continued to play an important role in the spread of education, as the figures for the number of "privately-established" primary schools indicate. In Hubei in 1916 there were 1,549 district lower primary schools and 2,433 "private" lower primary schools (this figure, however, probably includes those schools established by rural townships and towns).\textsuperscript{142} In Tai'an district, Shandong, Huang Yanpei discovered in 1915 that there were 12 district primary schools and 250 primary schools that were established by towns, rural townships or privately.\textsuperscript{143} Even if privately-established primary schools did not outnumber official ones they still represented a considerable proportion of the total. Thus in 1915 out of a total of 1,111,143 lower primary schools, 33,840 were privately established, and out of a total of 8,623 higher primary schools, 2,232 were privately established.\textsuperscript{144}

Vocational schools were to be divided into two levels: the lower-level vocational school was to instruct the students in basic vocational knowledge and skills, while the upper-level vocational school would offer a wider range of courses.\textsuperscript{145} There were to be five categories of vocational school: agricultural, industrial, commercial, merchant-shipping and supplementary. The latter could be "attached" to primary or other vocational schools and their schedules were to be more flexible since they were designed for those already working. (The only requirement for entrance was at least one year spent in a lower primary school.) In order to prevent these schools from becoming too "theoretical," the regulations stipulated that "practice" had to occupy at least two-fifths of the schedule. In addition to vocational subjects, other subjects like guowen, history, geography, physical education, singing and, for the upper-level vocational school, foreign languages were to be taught.\textsuperscript{146}
Provincial governments were to establish upper-level vocational schools, while district governments, rural townships, towns and trade guilds could establish lower-level vocational schools. During the early years of the Republic more lower-level vocational schools were established. Thus in Sichuan, in 1916, there were 2 provincial upper-level vocational schools and 28 district lower-level vocational schools. In 1916, throughout China, there were 84 upper-level vocational schools (with 10,524 students) and 441 lower-level vocational schools (with 19,535 students). Another interesting feature of vocational schools is that the majority of them were agricultural. This is particularly noticeable with lower-level vocational schools. In 1915 all but two of Shandong's 55 lower-level vocational schools were agricultural or designed for sericulture. Out of Sichuan's 28 lower-level vocational schools, 16 were agricultural, 11 were industrial and 1 was commercial. In Henan, in 1916, 42 out of 50 lower-level vocational schools were agricultural. These lower-level agricultural schools often concentrated on the teaching of one skill. Thus the one in Yanghu, Jiangsu, which had been established by a tea merchant, specialized in the cultivation of tea.

The regulations on middle schools continued the approach adopted by those of January 1912, which stressed their role as part of general education. Their aim was "to complete general knowledge and create an all-round citizen." Middle schools could be established by the province, district or privately. One source notes that in 1915 the number of middle schools established by provincial governments and the number of those established by district governments were about equal, although this could vary from province to province. Thus in 1916 Hubei had 11 middle schools; 5 were established by district governments, 3 by the provincial government, and 3 were privately established.
In Henan 11 of the 15 middle schools were provincial, the other 4 being established by district governments. As with primary schools, handicrafts were to be part of middle school curricula, so that students would be trained to have "an interest in manual work." English also occupied an important part of the curriculum (8 hours a week for boys and 4 hours a week for girls).

Normal schools could also be established by the province or district. Thus out of 194 normal schools that existed in 1917, 135 had been established by provincial governments, 50 by district governments, and 9 privately. Handicrafts, English and physical education formed part of the normal school curriculum. Although the Classics had been eliminated from the middle school curriculum, they were retained in the normal schools. Higher normal schools came under the direct control of the Education Ministry (in 1917 there were 8 such schools, one of which was for girls), and were the only kind of school that could not be established privately.

The system also attempted to clarify lines of responsibility for the schools. Thus specialist education (universities, specialist schools, higher normal schools) were to be under the direct control of the Education Ministry and financed by the central government. The Education Ministry was also to lay down policy (guiding) and methods (jinxing fangfa) for general education (middle schools, primary schools, vocational schools), while it was the responsibility of the provinces and districts to "manage" (zhixing) and finance these schools. Education Ministry inspectors were to "supervise" (jiandu) the schools to ensure central government regulations were being adhered to. The distinction between management (guanli) and supervision was also made at the district level. Thus schools established by authorities below the district level were to be managed and financed by them, while the district magistrate had the authority to supervise them.
During the early years of the Republic, provincial and district governments bore the brunt of educational expenditures, as Table 9 shows. Sources for central government expenditures on education came from government property rent, admission fees for the central observatory and metropolitan libraries, the annual interest from Sino-Russian Bank stocks and miscellaneous fees. Sources for provincial expenditures on education came from taxes on land and grain transport, as well as from contributions and fines. Sources for district expenditures continued to come from specially-imposed taxes and surcharges on existing taxes. Thus in Jiangsu,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Central Government</th>
<th>Province/District</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>18,843,992</td>
<td>5,037,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools</td>
<td>123,718</td>
<td>8,059,715</td>
<td>658,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher schools</td>
<td>1,432,849</td>
<td>10,005,914</td>
<td>987,732</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

between 1912 and 1921, 71.5% of district expenditures came from supplementary taxes (e.g., on reed marshes, fish and the slaughter of livestock) and surcharges (principally on the land tax), 9% came from school land rent, 9% came from contributions, and 8.7% from tuition fees. Other districts, like Tai'an in Shandong relied on special taxes on wine, hemp and oil, while some districts in Fengtian levied taxes on marriages.

District governments consistently spent more money on education than the provincial governments. In Jiangsu district expenditures on education ranged from 2,380,329 dollars in 1912 to 3,581,350 dollars in 1920, while provincial expenditures on education ranged from 796,833 dollars in 1912 to 1,384,283 dollars in 1920. In 1913 the education inspector for Sha'anxi reported that provincial expenditures on schools amounted to 129,500 dollars while district expenditures totalled 237,500 dollars. By 1930 - 1931 one source has noted that the proportion of the total cost of all public schools borne by the central government was 11.05%, by provincial governments 28.25% and by district governments 60.7%.

As during the last years of the Qing, there was a rapid increase of general education facilities compared to secondary and higher levels of education. Thus from 1912 to 1915 the number of primary schools increased from 86,318 to 129,425; middle schools from 373 (of which 319 were official and 54 private) to 444 (of which 385 were official and 59 private); while higher level schools decreased from 122 to 86. By 1918 - 1919 out of a total of 4,987,647 students in government and private schools, 4,852,642 were in primary schools. Two of the provinces that registered some of the highest increases (Shandong and Sichuan) (see Table 10) were also among the provinces that had established the highest number of half-day schools,
Table 10
Number of Schools and Students 1912 - 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>11,460</td>
<td>278,600</td>
<td>12,216</td>
<td>324,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>4,446</td>
<td>158,177</td>
<td>5,294</td>
<td>212,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>21,697</td>
<td>540</td>
<td>26,252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>329</td>
<td>11,267</td>
<td>385</td>
<td>14,841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>5,195</td>
<td>118,376</td>
<td>10,121</td>
<td>246,857</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>4,668</td>
<td>119,947</td>
<td>6,160</td>
<td>156,846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>5,772</td>
<td>161,278</td>
<td>6,813</td>
<td>217,357</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>5,343</td>
<td>236,351</td>
<td>5,564</td>
<td>241,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>1,457</td>
<td>52,010</td>
<td>1,011</td>
<td>35,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>3,141</td>
<td>110,348</td>
<td>4,312</td>
<td>154,593</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>987</td>
<td>59,581</td>
<td>1,154</td>
<td>65,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>6,160</td>
<td>273,373</td>
<td>6,675</td>
<td>298,071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>7,291</td>
<td>203,145</td>
<td>9,702</td>
<td>264,139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>4,078</td>
<td>224,963</td>
<td>5,577</td>
<td>222,341</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>2,011</td>
<td>53,667</td>
<td>3,105</td>
<td>84,033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>1,043</td>
<td>28,210</td>
<td>1,163</td>
<td>29,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>1,802</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>2,205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>11,959</td>
<td>341,197</td>
<td>14,190</td>
<td>429,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>3,247</td>
<td>151,185</td>
<td>3,390</td>
<td>198,002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>62,241</td>
<td>2,035</td>
<td>85,233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>3,953</td>
<td>170,461</td>
<td>4,758</td>
<td>204,126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>1,038</td>
<td>37,483</td>
<td>1,340</td>
<td>52,295</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Number of students are in bold type.

literacy schools and lecture institutes, while Sichuan was to provide the second largest contingent of work-study students after 1918 (see Chapter Five). Figures for the province of Zhejiang provide a further illustration of educational development during the early years of the Republic. Thus between 1912 and 1916 there was an increase in lower level education (both in the number of schools and students) and stagnation or reduction in secondary and higher levels of education. This increase is also borne out by the expenditures involved. Expenditures on lower primary schools (or "citizen schools" as they were called after 1916) increased from 1,230,080 dollars in 1912 to 1,581,965 dollars in 1916, while expenditures on middle schools increased from only 231,648 dollars to 272,802 dollars during the same period (see Tables 11 and 12).

The Function of the New Schools: Hopes and Misgivings

The day before the promulgation of the official school system, the Education Ministry declared to school administrators, teachers and students:

We should know that our people are not foolish and lazy. The only reason we have not as yet been able to stand on the same level as other more advanced countries is that our education is lacking; there are no means to develop the people's morality and ability.  

Education was therefore, the Ministry commented, to be considered a "holy task" (shenshang zhi shiye); the schools were not only to give students the training necessary to make them productive citizens but also to forge a unity among the people that was considered to be lacking.

The importance that Chinese educators attributed to the role of schools in cementing unity is as evident from attitudes towards the seemingly trivial question of school uniforms as it is from reaction to Yuan Shikai's attempt
### Table 11

Number of Schools and Students in Zhejiang 1912 - 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen schools</td>
<td>5,358</td>
<td>231,925</td>
<td>5,817</td>
<td>253,449</td>
<td>5,789</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>29,682</td>
<td>779</td>
<td>33,588</td>
<td>759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower level vocational schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>270</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>249</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>568</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary schools, supplementary schools, half-day schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1,210</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle schools</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>4,505</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>4,581</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal schools</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,136</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2,015</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher level vocational schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>266</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>653</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law schools</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4,219</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1,405</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical schools</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source.** Jiaoyu Chao, 1:1, diaocha baogao, pp. 87-89.

**Note.** Number of students in bold type.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1912</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1914</th>
<th>1915</th>
<th>1916</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Citizen schools</td>
<td>1,230,080</td>
<td>1,245,800</td>
<td>1,286,816</td>
<td>1,448,147</td>
<td>1,581,965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary</td>
<td>698,210</td>
<td>681,216</td>
<td>692,721</td>
<td>667,561</td>
<td>571,487</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower level vocational schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>6,896</td>
<td>8,544</td>
<td>9,154</td>
<td>12,801</td>
<td>17,155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>1,784</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>5,741</td>
<td>8,169</td>
<td>9,653</td>
<td>11,922</td>
<td>13,186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary schools, supplementary schools, half-day schools</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3,286</td>
<td>8,227</td>
<td>10,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle schools</td>
<td>244,685</td>
<td>269,469</td>
<td>257,391</td>
<td>282,095</td>
<td>272,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Normal schools</td>
<td>66,484</td>
<td>154,238</td>
<td>168,259</td>
<td>180,902</td>
<td>168,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher level vocational schools:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>24,213</td>
<td>32,646</td>
<td>35,206</td>
<td>41,010</td>
<td>51,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial</td>
<td>74,744</td>
<td>64,108</td>
<td>54,133</td>
<td>68,635</td>
<td>86,904</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial</td>
<td>13,572</td>
<td>23,264</td>
<td>22,884</td>
<td>30,894</td>
<td>46,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law schools</td>
<td>101,141</td>
<td>43,939</td>
<td>34,347</td>
<td>26,143</td>
<td>22,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medical schools</td>
<td>16,101</td>
<td>33,118</td>
<td>41,289</td>
<td>62,966</td>
<td>63,380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source. Jiaoyu Chao, 2:1, diaocha baogao, pp. 79-80.
to introduce a double-track system in 1915. The Education Ministry justified its strict guidelines on school uniforms in 1912 on the basis that if all students looked the same the difference between rich and poor would be eliminated. In 1913 the Guangdong education office complained about the dress of girl students. Some of them, it declared, had been influenced by girls who had studied abroad and were wearing "long red stockings and trousers that did not go below the knees." The education office insisted that everyone wear black cotton skirts so that "rich and poor would look the same." One journal declared that schools were indispensable for unifying the people and eliminating the "rich-poor difference." It hoped that the schools would become "solid units" (qunti) and that their influence would gradually spread throughout society.

The same concern to see schools produce a united citizenry explained the rejection by many Chinese educators of Yuan Shikai's scheme in 1915 to introduce a system of preparatory schools (attached to middle schools), which would supply students for middle schools, leaving the majority of children to study in primary school. In his "Principles of Education" (Jiaoyu Gangyao) that he issued in early 1915, Yuan made known his intention to drop the Japanese single-track system and adopt the German dual-track system. It was not practical, Yuan declared, for the children of ordinary people to have the same education as those coming from scholarly or better-off families (shizu), and he therefore proposed to separate them with a system of preparatory schools. Another feature of his scheme was to re-introduce the Classics (the Analects and Mencius) into the school curriculum. The idea was firmly rejected by most Chinese educators. Zhu Yuanshan, for example, feared that a system of preparatory schools would only lead to the
consolidation of class differences and he cited German critics of the dual-track system within Germany itself as support for his arguments.\textsuperscript{180} An idea of the opposition to Yuan's scheme can be gauged by an open letter sent to the provinces by the Hunan education association which, although declaring support for the scheme, devoted much space to answering its critics. Such critics, the letter noted, condemned the scheme on egalitarian grounds, insisting that it would solidify differences between "aristocrats" and the ordinary people.\textsuperscript{181}

In September 1916, after Yuan's death, the regulations on preparatory schools were abolished, Yuan's "Principles of Education" were declared to be redundant and the Classics were once again removed from the curriculum. It is significant, however, that with the revised regulations on lower primary schools or citizen schools in 1916 more emphasis was placed on the inculcation of patriotic ideals than had been evident in the 1912 regulations. Thus the purpose of such schools was to train students to know of "their responsibilities to society and country" so that "their determination will be stimulated and a spirit of love for the state and collectivity will be nourished.\textsuperscript{182}

The concern with unity was also evident in reactions to student disturbances in the schools. The period just before and after the 1911 revolution witnessed many disturbances as discipline increasingly broke down (a breakdown which contemporary reports referred to as "the student tide"). In November 1911 the Minister of Education in Peking expressed concern at the behaviour of Peking students who, on rest days, formed into groups and "engaged in unruly behaviour on the streets."\textsuperscript{183} In a Suzhou middle school, in March 1912, the students went on strike when a new principal attempted to
exert some discipline on a student who had quarrelled with the supervisor.\textsuperscript{184} Fathers of students were also a source of disturbance. Thus in Yixing, Jiangsu, an irate father whose son had been expelled from the local primary school for breaking school rules assembled a mob and went to the school, where they assaulted the teacher responsible and destroyed school furniture and equipment.\textsuperscript{185} Students were not afraid to complain to higher authorities; students from the no. 1 middle school in Anqing, Anhui, issued pamphlets complaining about the incompetence of the teachers and petitioned the governor to look into the matter.\textsuperscript{186} In a middle school in Wu district, Jiangsu, students insulted the school principal, while one third-year student apparently assaulted the supervisor and damaged the school building at will.\textsuperscript{187} School examinations were also a bone of contention. One Jesuit missionary at the Nanyang school recounted how his students had boycotted class because he had refused to give them the examination questions beforehand.\textsuperscript{188}

In September 1912 the Education Ministry exhorted teachers to have a close relationship with their students, while at the same time warning students that they must not misunderstand the term "equality" and disobey school regulations. One month later the Ministry ordered schools to compile "report cards" on students. Such cards would record student behaviour and would be taken into consideration when promotion or graduation was decided.\textsuperscript{189}

What were the reactions of other Chinese educators? Some responded by insisting on severe discipline. Zhang Jian, for example, pointed to the example of Europe and America where, according to Zhang, educators had abandoned Rousseau's philosophy of a libertarian education and were now
insisting on strict discipline in the schools. Others, however, attributed the disturbances to a lack of unity in the schools as a result of teachers' attitudes and behaviour. A frequent complaint made at this time was that teachers were not close enough to their students. Jia Dianzhi, in an article on student disturbances, argued that one could not simply blame the students' misunderstanding of equality and freedom. On the contrary, he asserted, the disturbances stemmed from a genuine lack of confidence in the teachers. "To love the students," Jia continued, "is the teacher's foremost duty." Thus teachers were not only incompetent, but they also lacked personal feelings towards their students. In January 1914, at a conference of school principals in Jiangsu, it was recognized that one of the main causes of student disturbances was the laziness and insincerity of teachers. It urged them to identify more with their students and to be more hard-working. Finally, it is significant that two people as far apart as Shu Xincheng and Mao Zedong expressed a certain nostalgia for the traditional academy (shuyuan) precisely because, in their view, the teacher-student relationship had been close, in contrast to the modern schools. Shu expressed horror at the formality of the modern teacher-student relationship and regretted the passing of traditional educational institutions where the teacher had been regarded as a family member. Mao also criticized modern education because students and teachers had no personal rapport (ganging). Both Shu and Mao used the same metaphor in describing modern education. Shu described it as a marketplace where knowledge was bought and sold, while Mao remarked that modern education was merely a "commercial transaction."

A number of solutions were proposed. In an article on teachers in 1920 it was recommended that the teacher conduct a daily "self-examination"
(zisheng), much in the same manner that traditional neo-Confucianists had done. The teacher was to ask himself such questions as "am I energetic or lazy?", "is my voice friendly or severe?", or "do I encourage or discourage my students?" and to note each time that he failed in his duties. More formal regulations were also issued in an attempt to change teachers' attitudes. The regulations on primary schools, for example, forbade the use of corporal punishment and laid down strict rules concerning the teacher's behaviour. In Hubei, in 1914, the education office expressed concern at the high rate of teacher absenteeism and ordered that henceforth a daily "report card" was to be kept for all teachers.

Some educators supported the fushi teaching method (a combination of two or more classes of different levels taught by the same teacher). Such a method would encourage cooperation between teachers and students. Unlike a school arranged in one-year classes, where competition was fierce, it was thought, the fushi method would foster harmony and unity. Another writer contrasted a "family-type class" with an ordinary school class. Evidently worried about the tendency of modern education to stress competition and strict discipline based on an aloof teacher-student relationship, the writer advocated organizing the class like a family. Thus the teacher should regard himself as the parent and the students should be like "elder and younger brothers." Only in this way, he concluded, could a spirit of cooperation and unity be encouraged in the schools.

Thus whereas some educators wanted schools to encourage "boldness and initiative," others feared that too much stress on competition and individual ambition would destroy the ideals of harmony and unity. As will be described in the next chapter some came to regard social or popular
education as an alternative as well as a complement to formal school education, although even here, in the realm of public lectures, for example, conflicting ideas arose as to whether to place emphasis on the inculcation of patriotic ideals and on concern for the public good or on the encouragement of individual initiative and ambition.
Notes

1. See, for example, M. Bastid, *La Reforme de l'Enseignement*.


5. *JYZZ*, 3:6, *fulu*, pp. 1-12. Fengtian also elected a representative but he did not attend because of illness. Zhili's delegates were elected by the provincial assembly, while those from Zhejiang were chosen by the provincial assembly in consultation with the provincial education office. Ding Zhipin, p. 33, refers to the presence of representatives from Guangdong, but there is no mention of them in the reports of the *Jiaoyu Zazhi*. Shanxi also apparently chose representatives but they did not attend. See *Minli Bao*, no. 195 (April 30, 1911). A total of 22 delegates were present, half of whom came from the four provinces of Jiangsu, Hunan, Jiangxi and Anhui.


9. The constant references to the need for physical education and military drill at school (indicating a large body of opinion in favour of the idea) should be borne in mind when considering S. Schram's comments on Mao Zedong's 1917 essay on physical education. Schram considers Mao's stress on the value of the martial spirit as an indication of his "modern and non-conformist" thinking, while Mao's criticism of Zhu Xi because he despised physical exercise reveals his quite "untraditional respect for physical effort." See his introduction to *Li Jui, The Early Revolutionary Activities of Comrade Mao Tse-tung*, xxiii, xxvi.

10. *Zhengzhi Guanbao*, vol. 43, no. 1230, pp. 135-136. Another example of the interest in military training was the establishment in Hangzhou, Zhejiang, of an association to promote military training in the schools (*guomin shangwu hui*). Over two hundred people attended the initial meeting. It was further proposed that each district organize merchant, artisan and peasant groups among which military training would take place. *Minli Bao*, no. 258 (July 2, 1911). In Jiaxing, Zhejiang, a women's martial society was founded because, it was argued, men were too "debauched" to lead the struggle in saving the nation. K. Schoppa, *Politics and Society in Zhejiang 1907 - 1927* (Ann Arbor, University microfilms, 1974), pp. 16-17.

12. For a study of language reform in China, see J. DeFrancis, *Nationalism and Language Reform in China* (Princeton, 1950). As early as 1900 a Mandarin phonetic alphabet had been devised by Wang Zhao. Lao Naixuan, influenced by earlier missionary efforts, created other phonetic symbols for the Shanghai and Canton dialects. Prominent officials like Duan Fang and Yuan Shikai had also shown an interest in a phonetic system. At the meeting of education associations it was suggested that phonetic symbols (taking the Peking dialect as the standard) be used alongside characters. What is significant, however, as De Francis points out (ibid., p. 53), is that Chinese educational reformers were concerned with a unified national language. The missionaries' attempts to create separate scripts for the various dialects were generally condemned.

13. One educator criticized the award of degrees to school graduates because it perpetuated the class difference between "aristocrat and commoner." *JYZZ*, 2:5, *sheshuo*, pp. 50-51.

14. *Jiaoyubu Bianzuangu Yuekan*, no. 6, *fulu*, pp. 1-6. In 1918 28 of Anhui's 60 district education inspectors (whose average age was 37) were normal school graduates. Most of them had had previous experience in teaching or education administration. *Anhui Jiaoyu Yuekan*, no. 8 (Aug., 1918), *biaoce*, pp. 1-5.


20. My information on the Central Education Association is based on the reports in *Jiaoyu Zazhi* and *Minli Bao*.

21. Fan Yuanlian (1875 - 1927) had studied in Japan and graduated from the Tokyo Higher Normal School. On his return he was given an official position in the Xuebu. He was Education Minister on three occasions after 1911, from June 1912 - January 1913, July 1916 - June 1917, and 1920 - 1921. See *Republican China*, vol. 2, pp. 14-15. Huang Yanpei was a prominent member of the Jiangsu education association and was to conduct many investigations on provincial education during the early years of the Republic. He was also a founding member of the Chinese Vocational Education Association in 1917. Chen Baquan was the head of the vocational education department of the Xuebu. Like Fan Yuanlian,
Chen had studied in Japan. During the Republic he was to be the head of the general education department of the Education Ministry as well as a Vice-Minister of Education. Tuisi Zhaiwen, pp. 23-24. Meng Zhaochang was a member of the Jiangsu education association and contributor to the Dongfang Zazhi. Lu Feigui was an editor of Jiaoyu Zazhi and an employee of the Commercial Press in Shanghai. In 1912 he established a rival company, the China Book Company (Zhonghua Shuzhu). See J-P Drege, La Commercial Press de Shanghai 1897 - 1949, p. 14. Yan Xiu, who had also studied in Japan and was an official in the Xuebu, was one of the founders of the Nankai Middle School in Tianjin. Republican China, vol. 1, pp. 100-105. For a complete list of the Association members, see Minli Bao, no. 278 (July 22, 1911) and no. 279 (July 23, 1911).

22. JYZZ, 3:7, jishi, pp. 52-54.

23. As noted in Chapter One, many new schools, despite heavy expenditures, did not originally levy tuition fees.

24. Minli Bao, no. 282 (July 26, 1911).

25. JYZZ, 3:7, faling, pp. 73-77. The Xuebu also laid down guidelines concerning teachers' salaries. It divided primary school teachers into three categories (those teaching regular courses, those teaching special courses, and those who were assistant teachers), among which were several salary grade-scales. Thus the category of regular course teacher comprised nine grades ranging from 30 yuan to 6 yuan a month. The category of assistant teacher comprised five grades ranging from 14 yuan to 6 yuan a month. The Xuebu allowed an increase of up to 60 yuan a month for higher primary school teachers (although this was not to be funded from regular education expenditures). One of the criticisms levelled at primary education in the early years of the Republic was the gulf between lower and higher primary schools concerning such things as prestige and teachers' salaries.

26. In many cases this is, in fact, what happened. As was noted in Chapter Two, ancestral halls and Buddhist monasteries were often made use of to house classes. The latter were often appropriated forcibly due to opposition from Buddhist monks.

27. Minli Bao, no. 283 (July 27, 1911). The decision to drop the idea was close (a majority of nine), according to Lu Feigui. See his report on the meeting in JYZZ, 3:8, yanlun, pp. 69-74. Delegates frequently distinguished between "military education" (junshi jiaoyu) and "militant citizen education" (jun guomin jiaoyu). The former was simply designed to train an army for war, whereas the latter was designed to inculcate martial attitudes among the populace on a long-term basis. Although it was therefore felt that the latter should be exclusively under the control of the Xuebu, some delegates, including Huang Yanpei, still felt it necessary that the Xuebu work with the Army and Navy ministries. France and Japan were cited as examples of countries where the education ministry retained links with the service ministries. Minli Bao, no. 285 (July 29, 1911).

29. Ibid.

30. JYZZ, 3:8, yanlun, pp. 69-74. Lu expressed disappointment that the proposal concerning firing practice at school had been rejected.

31. JYZZ, 3:9, faling, pp. 95-96.

32. JYZZ, 3:8, jishi, p. 59.

33. The regulations are in JYZZ, 3:8, fulu, pp. 13-17.

34. JYZZ, 3:5, jishi, pp. 36-37.

35. Linshi Zhengfu Gongbao, 1:3 (Jan. 31, 1912), pp. 60-61. Sun's first nominee for the post of Education Minister was Zhang Binglin, but the provisional assembly rejected the nomination. Xinhai Geming Lunwenji, p. 50; G. Yu, Party Politics in Republican China, p. 71.


37. JYZZ, 3:10, jishi, p. 69. The directive was issued to the provinces of Hubei, Hunan, Jiangsu, Zhejiang, Anhui, Fujian, Guangdong, Guangxi, Sha'anxi, Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou.


39. See also Tsang Chiu-sam, Nationalism in School Education in China, pp. 57-58, for a comparison of the 1904 and 1912 lower and higher primary school curricula in terms of percentage of time allotted to each subject.


41. Local officials often persuaded local bands of "people's troops" (minjun) to accommodate themselves in the schools as a means to avert possible danger to official residences. See the complaint made by the primary school of Guiche district, Anhui, in Linshi Zhengfu Gongbao, 1:12 (Feb. 10, 1912), pp. 231-232. See also JYZZ, 3:11, jishi, pp. 78-79, for a report on the destruction of schools in Nanjing. Most destruction was due to the occupation of schools by soldiers and very few escaped (the Sanjiang Normal School was a prominent casualty). The disturbances may have also been taken advantage of in the competition for equipment and facilities. Thus the dormitories of a girls' school were converted into a prison and its facilities were taken over by a marine school, which was under the jurisdiction of the Industry Ministry.

42. JYZZ, 3:10, jishi, pp. 69-70.
43. This is the first reference to the use of film as a means of carrying out social education. The regulations on education associations in 1906 had recommended the use of "shadow-lantern" (jingding) performances as a method of popular education. Ziliao, vol. 1, pp. 361-365. The first film in China had been shown in Shanghai in 1896. Most of the early films were French. Peking saw its first film in 1902. In 1903 a certain Lin Zhusan became the first Chinese to become involved in the film business when he bought films from Europe and America and showed them in the Heavenly Happiness tea-house, in Peking's theatre district. In 1904 the Empress-Dowager was presented with a projector and films on her seventieth birthday by the British consul. The first Chinese film was produced in 1905. Until 1913 most Chinese films were recordings of popular theatre scenes. Cheng Jihua, Zhongguo Dianying Fazhan Shi, vol. 1, pp. 8-10; R. Bergeron, Le Cinema Chinois 1905 - 1949, vol. 1, pp. 21-33; J. Leyda, Dian-ying: An Account of Films and the Film Audience in China, pp.7-10.

44. Cheng Jihua, p. 11. These regulations were maintained in force after the revolution, but apparently with little effect. In 1914 Jean Rodes, commenting on the cinema in Hong Kong, remarked: "In front of this extremely mixed audience, the cinemas showed comedies and dramas in which sometimes virtue was rewarded but, most often, in which vice triumphed and which gave the Chinese, avid to receive them, some strange lessons. In Hong Kong, thanks to the active nature of the British police, one did not see too much the consequences of this, but in Shanghai, it was said, some films of crime and robbery had to be banned since the illegal acts portrayed in the film were often tried out successfully in real life soon afterwards." Cited in R. Bergeron, Le Cinema Chinois, p. 42. The content of films in Shanghai continued to be a source of disquiet for Chinese and western critics throughout the 1920s and 1930s. See J. Chen, China and the West, pp. 219-220. However, with the increasing popularity of films (by 1919, for example, there were six cinemas in Peking with a daily attendance of 3,000 spectators), their educational potential could not be ignored. It is thus significant that in 1917 the Commercial Press, which was the foremost producer of school textbooks, established a film department.

45. This idea that people would be more ready to accept the ideals of the Republic in the immediate aftermath of the revolution bears a striking similarity to the ideas expressed by the revolutionary, Zhu Zhixin, in a 1906 essay. Discussing the possibility of carrying out the "social revolution" at the same time as the political revolution, Zhu remarked that during the initial phase of the political revolution "people would be hesitant and would not hanker after great wealth; thus the ambition to monopolize private profit will be uncommon and the theory of public security and happiness will easily enter people's minds." Zhu Zhixin Ji, vol. 1, p. 62.

46. Linshi Zhengfu Gongbao, 2:27 (March 2, 1912); 2:29 (March 5, 1912).

47. Ibid., 3:51 (March 29, 1912).
48. Linshi Gongbao (Dec. 27, 1911).

49. Linshi Zhengfu Gongbao, 3:54 (April 1, 1912). Despite its approval and interest, the Education Ministry was unable to offer the funds requested by the Association. The increasing penury of the Nanking government, which obliged it to resort to increased sales' taxes, brought it into conflict with merchants and businessmen and no doubt made them more ready to accept the idea of a strong central government under Yuan's rule in Peking. M-C Bérgère, La Bourgeoisie Chinoise et la Révolution de 1911, p. 88.

50. JYZZ, 3:7, jishi, p. 52.

51. Linshi Zhengfu Gongbao, 2:37 (March 13, 1912). No doubt the Ministry had in mind the Buddhist opposition to the establishment of schools in their monasteries during the last few years of the Qing. For one example, see JYZZ, 3:7, jishi, p. 51, which refers to a Buddhist monk in Quanzhou, Fujian, who bribed local inhabitants to destroy a primary school that was housed in the local Buddhist monastery.


53. Ding Zhipin, p. 36.

54. Jiang Jianbai, pp. 31-32. The China Year Book (1913), p. 247, translates shehui jiaoyu ke as "department of social training," a somewhat inappropriate translation since "social training" has quite a different meaning in the English context. The Education Ministry of the Nanking government had also created a department of social education, dealing with art, religion and publications. JYZZ, 3:11, jishi, p. 79.

55. Taga, vol. 2, pp. 382-383; Chen Qingzhi, p. 665. In 1913 the department of social education had also been placed in charge of collecting old documents of historical value and of protecting ancient monuments, but these responsibilities were dropped in the 1914 regulations.


57. In fact, the continued existence of traditional schools, particularly in rural areas (where their activity was shrouded in secret), lasted up until the 1940s. See T'ai-ch' u Liao's study of traditional schools during the 1930s and 1940s in Shandong and Sichuan, in Yenching Journal of Social Studies, 4:2 (Feb. 1949), pp. 19-67. However, to put the Chinese situation in context, it should be noted that even in France, which had the most complete government-controlled education system of any country, private education (mostly Catholic) has continued to occupy a significant place. Thus as late as 1958 - 1959 there were 202,000 students in private primary schools (compared to 1,081,000 in government schools) and 1,072,000 students in private secondary schools (compared to 5,254,000 in government schools). R. Havighurst (ed.), Comparative Perspectives on Education, p. 18.
58. Information on the background of Education Ministry officials is obtained from Taga, vol. 2, pp. 49-51.

59. Cai Yuanpei, also, had worked for a short time in Peking before 1911, in the government translation bureau. Cai Yuanpei Xuanji, p. 49.

60. Jiaoyubu Bianzuanqu Yuekan, no. 6, fulu, pp. 1-6.


63. Ibid., pp. 149-151. H. Galt also simplified matters when he condemned the period 1903 to 1912 as a time of "Japanisation." Galt equated this with the emphasis on the values of discipline, uniformity and strictness, all of which, according to Galt, were contrary to "China's own worthy traditions." He maintained that with the establishment of the Republic Chinese educators looked more at the democratic example of the United States.


65. Wu suggested that any citizen who was enthusiastic about local politics and education, or who was a trainee teacher, or who was above middle school level could be a trainee lecturer.

66. In 1933 a special department of social education was created at Daxia University in Shanghai. One of the teachers there, Ma Zongrong, wrote a lecture manual for the new department. See Bijiao Shehui Jiaoyu (Shanghai, 1933).

67. See Taga, vol. 2, p. 403, for the regulations on education associations. After the establishment of the Republic many new education associations were formed to replace those that had been established during the last years of the Qing. Between January and April 1912 new provincial education associations were established in Hunan, Zhejiang, Jiangxi, Zhili, Hubei and Henan. In June 1912 they held a conference in Peking, where they were addressed by the vice-minister of education, Fan Yuanlian. As with the 1906 regulations the new regulations stipulated that education associations were not to interfere with administration. It may be the case, however, that education associations took over educational administration directly in the aftermath of the revolution. In Suzhou, for example, the education association decided that funds should continue to be spent on half-day schools and primary schools and that middle schools should be temporarily closed. JYZZ, 3:10, jishi, p. 72.

68. Minguo Jingshi Wenbian, vol. 5, pp. 4303-4313. Another member of the social education department was Lu Xun, who was attached to the science and art section. While people like Wu were concerned with the
reform of the lower classes Lu was more interested in the spiritual liberation of the individual. Lu Xun Quanji, vol. 1, pp. 38-54. It is also significant that Lu condemned the appropriation of Buddhist monasteries (W. Lyell, Lu Hsun's Vision of Reality, p. 94), a development that Wu and others interested in popular education would have heartily endorsed. On Lu's activities at the Education Ministry, see Gu Mingyuan, Lu Xun di Jiaoyu Sixiang he Shixian, pp. 24-30.


70. Taga, vol. 2, p. 389. In 1919 a special handbook was published for school inspectors, which stressed the specialized nature of the work. See Wang Guang Song, Shexue Gangyao (Shanghai, 1919).

71. Chen Qingzhi, p. 666; Chen Qitian, p. 211; JYNJ, vol. 1, p. 38. However, the governor still retained a bureau of education within his own office. The head of the education office was thus caught between the conflicting claims of the Education Ministry in Peking and his own provincial governor. See Chu You-kuang, Some Problems of a National System of Education in China, pp. 234-235. The education office, in fact, came increasingly under the control of provincial administration, as it had been during the years 1913 - 1917. Local education (at the prefectural and district levels) had been under the supervision of local self-government organs until Yuan abolished local self-government in 1914. The quanxueso (under the control of the district magistrate) were revived in 1915. Under the quanxueso were established local education committees (difang xuewu weiyuan) to supervise education districts within the xian. Two of their duties included reforming traditional schools and implementing social education. Taga, vol. 2, p. 457.

72. JYZZ, 3:10, fulu, pp. 42-45.

73. JYZZ, 3:10, jishi, pp. 71-72.

74. JYZZ, 3:11, jishi, p. 82.

75. R. Havighurst, pp. 16-17.

76. A. Peterson, A Hundred Years of Education, pp. 21-23.

77. I. Hall, Mori Arinori, pp. 415-416.

78. It is significant that one of the most serious crimes that Liu Shaoqi was charged with during the Cultural Revolution was that he and his followers had favoured, and attempted to put into practice, a double-track system, in which children of cadres and officials would attend full-time academic schools while the children of workers and peasants would remain in work-study schools. See "Chronology of the Two-road
Struggle on the Educational Front in the Past Seventeen Years" in P. Seybolt, Revolutionary Education in China: Documents and Commentary, pp. 53-54. See also T. Bernstein, Up to the Mountains and Down to the Villages, p. 54.

79. Cai Yuanpei Zishu, pp. 28-29. Cai was to oppose the educational aims laid down for universities by the KMT Third Party Congress in 1929. At the congress it was decided that the universities were to be a kind of professional training institute with emphasis on the teaching of practical sciences. This was not in accord with Cai's view of the university's role as an institute of pure research. See A. Linden, "Politics and education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council 1927 - 1928" in Journal of Asian Studies (Aug., 1968), p. 775. The debate over the role of higher educational institutions occupied an important place in the educational disputes of the Cultural Revolution. Like educators in the early Republic, Mao stressed that universities had to serve the needs of society.

80. JYZZ, 3:10, yanlun, pp. 1-4.

81. DFZZ, 8:10, neiwei shibao, pp.7-11. Since the establishment of the Fifth Republic in 1958, of course, the power of the French president has increased considerably.

82. A report on the Conseil Supérieur de l'Instruction Publique appears in JYZZ, 3:6, diaocha, pp. 70-71. In 1922 Cai Yuanpei proposed the establishment of a university district system on the French model. The power of the Education Minister would have been severely curtailed, and his appointment would have had to be approved of by a higher level educational council. Cai Yanpei Xuanji, pp. 36-38. While Cai's main purpose was to ensure the independence and autonomy of education, one result of his proposal would have been a considerable concentration of power in the hands of the university district administration, a fact which Linden, op.cit, overlooks. According to Cai's plan, the principal of the university would not only have controlled higher, secondary and primary schools in his district (as in the French system), but also all forms of "outside school education" such as adult education, lecture associations, libraries, recrecational societies, museums, theatre and cinema.

83. JYZZ, 3:10, yanlun, pp. 4-13. It is interesting to see how the expression rencai/jinzai was used in slightly different ways in China and Japan. In China, after 1904, rencai jiaoyu (education for talent) was generally used in contrast to general education. The constant references to the importance of general education after 1904 and the insistence that it should receive as much as, if not more, attention than rencai jiaoyu was an indication of some Chinese educators' preference for more egalitarianism in education. In Japan, however, in the years before the Meiji Resoratation, jinzai (which H. Passin, Society and Education in Japan, translates as "cultivation of human resources") was the slogan of reformers who used it to attack feudal educational thought which prevented a more widespread education.
84. JYZZ, 3:10, yanlun, p. 13.
85. JYZZ, 3:11, yanlun, pp. 15-18.

86. The idea that the Qing had devoted all their attention to regular school education and had neglected social and supplementary education was prevalent in the early years of the Republic. See, for example, JYZZ, 3:12, yanlun, p. 34. This view does not do full justice to the Qing since, as was noted in the previous chapters, it had devoted attention to half-day and literacy schools.

87. A similar debate took place in the early years of the People's Republic. One writer distinguishes the Maoist strategy, which was rural-oriented and egalitarian, from the strategy favoured by Liu Shaoqi, which was urban-oriented and elitist. See J. Gardner, "Educated Youth and Urban-rural Inequalities 1958 - 1966" in J. Lewis (ed.), The City in Communist China, pp. 236-237. While the distinction is perhaps a little overdrawn, it does underline an important difference in educational policy. The Maoists, like Gao Fengqian, preferred to see a widespread system of elementary, spare-time and supplementary education (one example was the minban school) as the priority, while others had scant respect for the educational value of such part-time institutions and preferred to stress the importance of a network of modern, well-equipped, and full-time schools. For spare-time education and educational debates in the 1950s and 1960s see M. Abe, "Spare-time Education in Communist China: A General Survey" in S. Fraser (ed.), Education and Communism in China, pp. 239-253; P. Harper, "Problems of Industrial Spare-time Schools" in S. Fraser, Ibid., pp. 255-273; R. Barendson, "Half-work, Half-study Schools in Communist China" in U.S. Office of Education Bulletin (no. 24, 1964), pp. 1-56; P. Seybolt, Revolutionary Education in China, pp. 15-17, 19-20, 48, 203, 212, 214; T. Chen, The Maoist Educational Revolution, pp. 16, 27-29, 39-42, 79-81; R. Price, Education in Communist China, pp. 36, 192-197, 211-218.

88. Cai Yuanpei Zishu, pp. 9, 41; Cai Yuanpei Xuanji, p. 50.
89. W. Duiker, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei: Educator of Modern China, p. 60.

90. Chinese educators often referred to the display of George Washington's picture in all American schools.


93. JYZZ, 2:8, jiaoyu xingzheng, pp. 1-4. During the last years of the Qing the Xuebu had repeatedly issued regulations proscribing the habit of smoking among school students, apparently with little success.
94. JYZZ, 4:1, yanlun, pp. 11-20.

95. In September 1912 the Education Ministry published a list of fees to be charged in government schools. Monthly tuition fees (in Mexican dollars) for lower primary schools were 30 cents, for higher schools 1 dollar, for lower vocational school 60 cents, for middle schools 1 - 2 dollars, for higher vocational schools 80 cents - 1.5 dollars, and for universities 3 dollars. Taga, vol. 2, p. 409. The regulations stipulated that the fees for lower primary schools could be waived in special circumstances, while students in lower vocational, higher primary or supplementary schools could request to have their fees reduced.

96. Minli Bao, no. 533 (April 9, 1912).

97. JYZZ, 21:12, lunping, pp. 1-12. Yang's attack on American education thus anticipated the criticisms of Cuo Taofen in the 1930s. J. Chen, China and the West, p. 77.

98. Not only was there a widespread belief among Chinese educators that an organized and unified school system had existed in Zhou times, but also a belief that social education dated from the Zhou period. Such an education comprised reading the laws to the people and extolling them to behave virtuously and to work hard, and teaching the people how to cultivate their crops. See JYZZ, 6:10, yanlun, p. 187.

99. Jiang reversed the orthodox Marxist explanation for the causes of inequality. He declared that economic inequality was due to, rather than the cause of, inequality of education.

100. JYZZ, 4:2, fulu, pp. 7-11.


102. Other writers also drew attention to the importance of industrial and vocational education. One article argued that if workers remained uneducated, industry would never prosper, no matter how skilled were the managers. JYZZ, 4:2, yanlun, pp. 26-31.


104. Cai also, rather absurdly, compared the French revolutionary ideals of freedom, equality and universal brotherhood with the Confucian ideals of yi (public spiritedness), shu (reciprocity) and ren (compassion for one's fellows).


107. JYZZ, 4:1, yanlun, pp. 1-11.

108. See also Minguo Jingshi Wenbian, vol. 5, p. 4091.
109. Ibid., pp. 4094-4099.

110. Ibid., p. 4102.

111. Ibid., pp. 4140-4144.

112. R. Havighurst, pp. 16-17.

113. A. Peterson, p. 123.

114. A. Peterson, p. 40.

115. A. Peterson, p. 122.

116. Chinese educators were well aware of this development. See the article on the opposition of German educators to the secondary school curriculum which produced, in their view, an elite of impractical, "denationalized" graduates, in JYZZ, 4:10, diaocha, pp. 99-108.

117. A 1924 article in Jeuwu (The Awakening) entitled "The Common People and the English Language" lamented the fact that most people only knew how to speak English, and this was most prevalent among the proletariat since they were obliged to know English in order to earn a decent livelihood. Therefore, the author advised, popular schools would have to offer courses in English or else they would have no students. However, the author concluded, once the militarists and brigands were eliminated, and Chinese industry and agriculture were prospering once more, workers would no longer be obliged to learn English. Cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, vol. 4, pp. 105-108. On the question of teaching English, it is interesting to note that as early as 1907 a rural school was giving English lessons to its students on the grounds that "it would help them earn money in the future." Former graduates who were doing well in neighbouring Shanghai were presented as models to emulate. See Yu Zili's recollections of the school in JYZZ, 19:12, pp. 1-13. In 1908 the education commissioner of Jiangsu observed in a report that Jiangsu students were not as competent writing Chinese as they were English. He forecast that in another ten years there would be no one competent enough to teach Chinese or edit official documents. See J. Rodes, La Chine Nouvelle, p. 14. This concern was shared by the Xuebu and in 1910 it felt obliged to warn teachers of Chinese language not to use foreign (i.e., English) expressions and explanations when teaching the subject. JYZZ, 3:7, jishi, pp. 54-55. See also an article by Gao Zhuo in JYZZ, 16:12, pp. 1-7 which expressed the fear that Chinese students would inevitably lose contact with their culture as a result of the dominance of English. Gao argued that higher level educational institutions would simply train experts to be employed by foreigners.

118. The debate in France reverses the position adopted in Germany. Thus while in Germany the teaching of Latin was condemned because it denationalized German students, the teaching of Latin in French schools is supported precisely because it is supposed to preserve the traditions of French culture. For the debate in France concerning the teaching of
Latin in school, see the report of a meeting of arts teachers in *Le Monde* (Dec. 9, 1979). Another reason why Latin is considered so important by French educators is that it preserves the roots of the French language. Just as Chinese educators in the early part of the century were concerned over the dominance of English, which they feared would de-nationalize Chinese students, so French educators and writers continue to warn of the danger to the French language as a result of the increasing influence of English. For a contemporary report of the debate, see *Le Monde* (March 15, 1980). The French also saw dangers of de-nationalization of their citizens in China because of the dominance of English. Thus in 1911 the French consul-general opened a French-language school in the French concession of Shanghai with these words: "The school responds to an obvious need; the number of our compatriots is increasing. It is important to make sure that our young generation, who risk being de-nationalized in foreign schools, have an education conforming to our national ideals." *Asie Française*, no. 127 (Oct., 1911), p. 471.


120. R. Havighurst, p. 21.

121. JYZZ, 3:11, *ji*shi, p. 82.

122. This figure is obtained from a list of those present in JYZZ, 4:6, *tebie ji*shi, pp. 15-16.

123. A list of the members of the Central Education Association is in *Minli Bao*, nos. 279 and 280. Among the fifteen were Yan Fu, Chen Baoquan, Jia Dianzhi and Huang Yanpei.


126. Shiliao, vol. 4, p. 176. One example to which Zhuang may have been referring was the discussion over school holidays, which were to be in the spring and summer. Delegates from Jilin, Heilongjiang and Xinjiang insisted that because of the severe winter climates in their provinces there should be additional holidays in the winter.

127. *Minli Bao*, no. 646 (July 31, 1912). The Education Ministry continued to use the Japanese term *riyaori*. Although the proposal of replacing *guowen* with *guoyu* caused much argument because everyone had different ideas concerning which dialect would actually comprise the national spoken language, in a later discussion on the possible creation of a phonetic alphabet it was decided that representative samples of local pronunciation from all the provinces be taken into consideration during the compilation stage.
128. Reports on the national conferences of education associations appear in JYZZ, 7:6, tebie jishi, pp. 37-41; 8:12, tebie jishi, pp. 59-65; 9:11, tebie jishi, pp. 108-111; 10:11, tebie jishi, pp. 23-26; 11:11, zhuangjian, pp. 47-53; 11:12, tebie jishi, pp. 17-24. The conferences met in Tianjin, Peking, Hangzhou, Shanghai and Taiyuan respectively. Most provinces were represented. At the first conference, the Education Minister, Tang Hualong, called for the promotion of qinlao zhuyi (the philosophy of hard and diligent work) at school. On this, see Chapter Four. One of the subjects frequently discussed was the necessity to make education more practical and hence suit the needs of the people. The fifth conference called for the introduction of guoyu in the lower primary school curriculum; in addition it stressed the need for schools to encourage students to have a "civic outlook" and serve society. It also proposed that all schools organize boy scout groups as a means of training students in "civic morality."

129. Chai-Hsuan Chuang, Tendencies toward a Democratic System of Education in China, p. 35. In December 1918 the Education Minister, Fu Zengxiang, created an "education investigation council" (jiaoyu diaochahui), which comprised sixty members appointed by the Minister. Members included Fan Yuanlian, Cai Yuanpei, Chen Baoquan and Wu Zhihui. The council held its first meeting in 1919 and amongst the subjects discussed were the proposal to divide middle schools into specialized branches of arts and sciences, and whether to continue emphasizing a "militant-citizenry education." Shiliao, vol. 2, pp. 113-117.


132. Taga, vol. 2, p. 408. In December 1914 the Office for Manufacturing Educational Equipment (jiaoyupin zhuangzaoso) was created, under the jurisdiction of the Education Ministry. Ding Zhipin, p. 56.

133. Ding Zhipin, p. 65.

134. Taga, vol. 2, p. 404. For an account of the process whereby a national anthem was created, see Shiliao, vol. 4, pp. 186-195. During the last years of the Qing each school had composed its own version of a national anthem. It was not until September 1911 that the court issued its own version. After the establishment of the Republic, schools again reverted to their own compositions. In 1915 an official national anthem was issued. At the education conference of 1912 Zhang Binglin had presented his version of a national anthem but it was not considered sufficiently "modern."


137. Such an expression was to attain importance in the work-study movement after 1912.


139. It was also to perform another function. In April 1914 the Education Ministry organized an all-China exhibition of primary school handicrafts, which it regarded as a useful contribution to "industrial development." Many provinces contributed to the exhibition, including Sinjiang and Gansu. JYZZ, 6:2, jishi, p. 14. Zhuang Yu reported on the exhibition in JYZZ, 6:3, tebie jishi, 6:3, tebie jishi, pp. 1-6. It was held in the same hall that had housed the 1912 education conference. Zhili's exhibits were considered the best. In 1913 various provinces such as Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Jiangxi had already organized provincial exhibitions in their respective capitals. JYZZ, 5:1, jishi, p. 6. An interesting feature of the Jiangsu exhibition was the setting up of "writing walls" (tibiqiu) so that visitors could express their opinions.

140. An interesting aspect of the regulations concerning the teaching of geography was the reference to the use of film (jingpian) as a useful aid. Cai Yuanpei was to remark after that cinema was a convenient "tool" (gongzhu) for education. Zhuang Yu (ed.), op.cit., p. 22.


143. Huang Yanpei Kaocha Jiaoyu Riji, vol. 2, p. 82.


146. The regulations also provided for the establishment of vocational schools for girls.

147. Ziliao, vol. 2, p. 785. Thus the lower commercial school at Wuhu, Jiangsu, was founded by the local chamber of commerce. It taught the writing of letters, accountancy and commercial vocabulary. Huang Yanpei Kaocha Jiaoyu Riji, vol. 1, p. 11.


150. Jiaoyu Gongbao, 2:5 (September, 1915), jidai, pp. 4-10.


155. Chen Qingzhi, p. 684.

156. *Linshi Zengkan* (Dec., 1916), p. 2. In Sichuan, in 1916, out of a total of 63 middle schools, 5 were established by the province, 54 by district governments, and 4 privately. *Taga*, vol. 2, p. 361.


160. In the first few years of the Republic a number of private universities and specialist schools were established. Most of them did not last long and by 1916 there were only 5 private universities in existence. Chen Qingzhi, p. 683. Official specialist schools were to offer training in law, medicine, agriculture, industry, commerce and foreign languages. *Taga*, vol. 2, pp. 459-460.


165. The system of setting aside land to be used to finance schools had first been used during the Song dynasty. See T'ai-ch'u Liao, "School Land: A Problem of Educational Finance" in *Yenching Journal of Social Studies*, 2:2 (Feb., 1940), pp. 212-233.


167. *Huang Yanpei Kaocha Jiaoyu Riji*, vol. 2, p. 82.


169. *Jiangsu Jiaoyu Xingzheng Gailan*, pp. 19-20, 23-24. It should be noted, however, that in some cases (e.g., Hubei and Zhejiang) provinces
contributed funds to the districts to establish primary schools. Taga, vol. 2, pp. 300, 304.


172. Ziliao, vol. 1, p. 368. Specialist law schools, foreign language schools and normal schools were the hardest hit. See also Renwen, 4:5 (1933), pp. 1-29, where the figures are slightly different.

173. Ziliao, vol. 1, p. 381. This figure excludes those in missionary schools, of whom there were 212,819.


175. JYZZ, 5:4, jishi, p. 30.

176. Zhongguo Xuebao, no. 6 (April, 1913), p. 10. In another article it was argued that China had more to learn from Europe than Japan in the realm of citizen education because, like China, European countries comprised different races. Ibid., no. 5 (March, 1913).

177. Yuan's distinction between the Japanese and German educational systems shows that the "Japanese-German model" was not always perceived as a uniform bloc, as most western observers maintain. Furthermore, Yuan's emphasis on the German system of preparatory schools contrasted with Chinese educators' praise of other aspects of German education, such as compulsory primary and supplementary education.


179. Yuan also wanted to see the focus of educational aims change to one of stressing morality based on "loyalty, filial piety and uprightness" (zhong, xiao, jieyi), which would put an end to all "heretical theories, greed and impetuosity." Ziliao, vol. 1, pp. 248-257.

180. JYZZ, 7:4, zhuzhang, pp. 7-10. Another article argued that Yuan's scheme was part of his wider campaign to destroy "democratic education" in China. ZHJYJ, 5:7, lunshuo, pp. 1-8.

181. Shiliao, vol. 2, pp. 64-75. The letter argued that if some were unable to gain access to higher level education as a result of everyone receiving the same education, educational freedom would be threatened.


183. JYZZ, 3:8, jishi, p. 61.

184. JYZZ, 4:1, jishi, p. 5.

185. Ibid.
186. JYZZ, 4:3, jishi, p.21.

187. Ibid. Other schools affected by the "student tide" included the industrial middle school at Nanchang, Jiangxi (JYZZ, 4:3, jishi, p. 38); the no. 1 middle school in Hangzhou, Zhejiang (JYZZ, 4:7, jishi, pp. 45-46); and the normal school at Baoding, Zhili (JYZZ, 4:8, jishi, p. 55).

188. A. Brou, "Les réformes scolaires en Chine" in Etudes, vol. 128 (1911), p. 35. Brou remarked that he would have been disloyal to his profession as a teacher if he had agreed to the students' request. The Chinese students would have seen Brou's action in another light—as an arrogant refusal to be "sincere" with his students. It is significant to note that, according to Brou, the Chinese government tried their best to avoid employing European and American teachers precisely because they were supposed to be stricter than their Chinese or Japanese counterparts. It may appear strange that Chinese students protested so much about examinations when China had had a long tradition of formal examinations. The difference was that now examinations took place within the schools and not an official examination hall containing literally hundreds of students. The idea of having formal examinations in school, in which the teacher strictly and impartially set and evaluated them (or, as Mao was to remark later, deliberately "setting a trap and ambushing the students") would have seemed for many Chinese students inappropriate to the traditional ideal of the teacher-student relationship.


192. JYZZ, 5:10, jishi, pp. 88-89.

193. Shu Xincheng, Jiaoyu Tonglun, pp. 32-33. Lu Feigui proposed the establishment of "lower level academies" (quji shuyuan) which, like the traditional academies, would be places for self-study and public lectures. See his preface to Shu Xincheng, Zhongguo Jiaoyu Jianshe Fangzhen, p. 19.


195. A similar metaphor was used in 1914 to describe middle schools. One article referred to them as "shops that sold knowledge." Jiaoyu Yanjiu, no. 9, shilun, p. 1.


198. JYZZ, 6:1, jishi, p. 6.

199. JYZZ, 6:1, yanlun, pp. 1-10.

200. JYZZ, 6:6, yanlun, pp. 144-146.
CHAPTER FOUR
POPULAR EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS 1912 - 1919

Introduction

During the early Republic there was much attention paid to social (popular) education, symbolised by the creation of a special department of social education in the Education Ministry. Since one of the aims of social education was to "improve the people's customs" and its scope was so wide (see Table 13), including as it did public lectures, spare-time schools, museums, theatres, cinemas, parks, tea-houses and youth associations, it could be argued that educators in the early Republic visualized a more thorough surveillance of popular culture than had been the case under the Empire.

Chinese educators often took their cue in this matter from the practice in western countries. In Chapter One it was shown that the aspects of western educational practice most discussed by Chinese officials were its stress on discipline, government supervision of textbooks and encouragement of patriotism (all of which are features of the "modernization" of education in a wider sense). In a similar way Chinese educators often looked to western practice as a model for their ideas on the surveillance and reform of popular culture (as a means to promote popular education). Just as Kang Youwei had earlier emphasized the fact that people in the west were kept on a correct moral path because of the beneficial influence of a structured and state-sponsored religion, so educators in the early Republic maintained that such practices as censorship and moral indoctrination in popular culture were sources of western strength.

After analysing the debate on the reform of popular culture, this chapter will discuss public lectures, spare-time schools and libraries. Public lecturing,
Table 13
Items Considered Beneficial for
Popular Education by the Education Ministry, 1913

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Popular libraries</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Museums</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Art galleries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newspaper reading rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lecture institutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public reading rooms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial exhibitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial exhibitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music training centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supplementary schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half-day schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literacy schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Night schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational schools</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associations to reform drama, novels and songs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical education associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Associations to promote the ban on alcohol and tobacco</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youth associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zoos / botanical gardens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinemas</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

now considered a professional skill instead of a moral duty of the gentry class (see Chapter Three), was to promote patriotism, the importance of fulfilling one's duties to the state (such as paying taxes), public hygiene and economic development. Included in this last topic were exhortations to make and save money and not to waste time, which could be seen as attempts to inculcate a "capitalist" mode of thinking among the Chinese populace. However, not all educators agreed with this emphasis on the pursuit of wealth and preferred to uphold traditional ideals such as family harmony. An idea arose, in fact, during the early years of the Republic that somehow social or popular education had to "correct" the deficiencies of the formal school system. Thus while the latter, limited to the more well-off, encouraged competition among children through a system of grades, examinations and class promotion, the former, available to a wider audience (public lectures, popular libraries and popular entertainment), would stress harmony and unity. Popular libraries, for example, were welcomed because they would be free, the books would be available to all, and people of all levels would be able to assemble in one place.

Lastly, this chapter discusses vocational education, primarily as a means to illustrate changes of attitude towards education that were first described in Chapter One. Education became increasingly connected with China's economic development and, in particular, with individual livelihood. Thus Li Yanhan, a primary school principal, could write in 1914 that criminal behaviour such as stealing was primarily due to the fact that schools had not equipped children with the necessary skills to earn a livelihood (and not because they had failed to give the proper moral training). If schools performed this function, Li
commented, "then the bad elements of society will naturally be reduced." Economic activities such as saving money and producing and selling handicrafts within schools were promoted (both as a means to finance the school and give students practical experience). Some educators expressed fear that an undue emphasis on individual livelihood would result in the encouragement of greed, selfishness and in a lack of concern for the community and state. It is perhaps for this reason that the educational ideas of Georg Kerschensteiner and his concept of the Arbeitsschule (labour school) were much discussed during this period. The idea of the school as a workshop in which the emphasis was on practical skill and where students were encouraged to work together exerted a great attraction for many Chinese. The school would combine an emphasis on vocation and morality, a morality that included the ethos of "hard work and diligence" (qinlao). A by-product of this discussion was the change of attitude towards manual labour, which was to play such an important role in the work study movement.

**Popular Education Associations And Attempts To Reform Popular Culture**

In addition to the department of social education under the Education Ministry, numerous private and semi-official organizations were also founded at this time to promote popular education. One such group was the Enlightenment Society (Kaimingshe), organized by several educators in Shanghai. It decided to write plays specifically for popular consumption that would not only be "colourful" but also that would "develop the people's knowledge" and "reform customs." Another group which involved itself with popular drama was the Society for Revitalizing Customs and Improving
Entertainment which, in May 1912, requested funds from the Education Ministry so that it could "improve drama."\(^6\)

A popular education research association (tōngsu jiaoyu yanjiu hui) had also been formed in April 1912 by several members of the Education Ministry in Nanjing, under the auspices of the Jiangsu education association. Wu Da and Huang Yanpei were elected executive officers.\(^7\) This association became the China Popular Education Association in August 1912 when it held a meeting in Peking during the convening of the education conference. It was proposed that members form local associations which would stress the teaching of hygiene, vocational knowledge, public morality and nationalism.\(^8\) In June 1912 the Education Ministry established the Peking popular education association. These associations often received official subsidies or were headed by educational officials. Thus the chairman of the Jiangxi popular education association in 1912 was the head of the provincial education office,\(^10\) while the chairman of the Heilongjiang association was concurrently the head of the education section in the governor’s office.\(^11\) From 1912 to 1919 popular education associations were established in most of the provinces. Hunan had the highest number with 30, comprising nearly 2,000 members; Yunnan had 24 such associations with nearly 1,500 members (see Table 14).

In 1913 the Education Ministry requested the provinces to compile information on popular education; the list of establishments about which the ministry required information (i.e., the founding date, organization and expenditures) was wide-ranging and is indicative of the crucial relationship Chinese educators perceived at this time between popular education and popular culture and recreation (see Table 13). (The Jiangsu education
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of associations</th>
<th>No. of members</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>1,571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1,956</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>923</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>1,441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>823</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

inspector in 1913 specifically defined popular education as the "reform of plays and novels." Not only were public libraries, lecture-halls and spare-time schools listed, but also associations to "reform" drama, novels and songs, anti-alcoholic societies, and theatres and cinemas. Articles in Chinese educational journals translated from the Japanese on social education stressed its importance in "reforming" the lower classes. Such an education included physical training in order to make workers and peasants strong and less susceptible to disease, and the use of libraries, lectures and exhibitions to improve the people's general knowledge.

Taking the lead from private and semi-official organizations, the Education Ministry decided to establish a popular education research association of its own in 1915, which was to be under the direct control of the Education Minister. The aim of the association was to "reform society and universalize education" and it would concern itself with novels, drama and public lectures. Members included representatives from the Peking education office and police bureau as well as from among government school administrators. All forms of popular entertainment and reading material were therefore to be strictly supervised. For example, in 1916 the association divided novels into eight categories (viz. education, politics, philosophy and religion, history and geography, science, social description, reminiscences, satire and comedy). Within each category there were three grades—superior, average and inferior (shang, zhong, xia). All those novels falling into the last category were to be banned or to have their sales severely restricted. A list of 250 novels was published, with 27 classified as "superior," 150 as "average" and 70 as "inferior." One of the novels in the "superior" category was a translation of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which had been one of the books recommended for
lecture material during the last years of the Qing. (It was thought that the novel's portrayal of white mistreatment and enslavement of blacks would stimulate patriotism among the Chinese and arouse the people's desire to avoid a similar fate.) In 1917 another list of 367 novels was published, with 63 classified as "superior," 237 as "average" and 87 as "inferior."

Differences of opinion, however, did arise sometimes over whether certain books were suitable or not. Thus in 1915, at a meeting of the popular education research association, the Education Minister condemned such baihua novels as *Shuihu Zhuan* (The Water Margin) for having a bad effect on society (i.e., it encouraged "sex and violence"). Yet in 1917 another education minister maintained that *Shuihu Zhuan* was useful because it contained "some revolutionary thought."

One of the most common themes in announcements on popular entertainment and reading material was the fear expressed by Chinese educators that sexual corruption was spreading throughout society. Many of the books listed by the popular education research association in 1916 as "inferior" and deserving to be banned concerned stories of sexual adventures. In 1915 the Education Ministry had already proscribed a number of books, which included such titles as "Free Marriage," "A History of Love in the Republic," "Women Students," "A Recent Account of the True Face of Womanhood," "Strange Stories of Conspiracies Between Men and Women" and "Songs of Beautiful Women of Leisure." There were references to other kinds of literature deserving to be banned (for example, the provincial education office at Guangzhou ordered the proscription of all books dealing with "superstition and omens"), but for the most part criticisms were levelled at literature that was described as "pornographic," "lewd" or "obscene." In 1919 the popular education research
association recommended that the Education Ministry ban the sale of three kinds of "harmful novel"—those describing "the public world of sex, the secret and corrupt (heimu) world of the Chinese family and the secret adventures of girl students."22

This concern over sexual corruption had already been manifested during the last years of the Qing. During the early years of the twentieth century opium smoking had been considered the principal cause for the corruption of society. Thus an article in 1906 on restaurants and brothels (jiguan) noted that merchants and students, on whom the future of China depended, were the most frequent customers and that the most damaging result of this was the fact that they became infected with the "opium habit."23 Yet in 1911, in an article entitled "Sex and Education," Lu Feigui declared that the corruption of society was principally due to the flaunting of sexual mores among students as a result of the combination of modern ideas of freedom taught in the new schools and traditional decadent influences in Chinese society. This ultimately boded ill for education, Lu declared, since it would "drain the students' energy and health."24 Another example of this concern was the view expressed by many educators that the Classics should not be taught at primary schools because one of them, the Classic of Odes (Shijing), contained too many "pornographic references" (nan'nu xiangye zhi ci; lit. "words concerning men and women having fun together.")25

The increasing popularity of urban popular fiction (especially "scandal fiction"—heimu xiaoshuo) during the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic was further evidence to educators that society as a whole was becoming corrupt.26 This popular fiction often took the form of serialized short stories published in such journals as the Novel Monthly (founded in
1909), The Amusement Review (founded in 1912), and the Saturday Magazine (founded in 1913). In 1913 Lu Feigui expressed dismay over the increasing number of published stories describing the "sexual affairs of men and women" (ziyou nanzi yu nu jishi), which reflected the current decadence of society.

As in 1911 Lu blamed modern education; boys and girls studying together, modern ideas of freedom and libertinism, and the influence of morally-deficient teachers all contributed to the malaise. At the same time, however, traditional customs and practices were also condemned. Lu, for example, pointed to the evil influence of concubines upon young boys and girls in the traditional household. Others condemned the traditional custom of early marriage, which distracted boys and girls from the serious task of study and affected their physical and mental health. In 1915, in fact, the Education Ministry felt it necessary to specifically prohibit girls at school from marrying.

In any event, during this period educators claimed that excessive sexual freedom and activity (which they felt was being encouraged by popular literature and drama) would lead to the physical and moral degeneration of students and the population as a whole, as the following comment from a contemporary observer illustrates:

If the sexual desire is not curbed, the sexual organs will weaken through wear and tear. This in turn will affect the physical strength of our sons and grandsons, eventually leading to the disappearance of our race.

The function of such organizations as popular education associations, however, was not confined to that of censorship. Writers and scholars were encouraged to involve themselves in popular culture by writing novels, drama and songs that would be of educational value. In May 1912 the Governor of Zhili, in an official proclamation, stressed the advantage of using drama as a
means of popular education. With the advent of the Republic, the Governor noted, the people were psychologically prepared to forsake "outmoded and corrupt customs." The Governor went on to declare that popular drama and songs were the most appropriate means with which to influence people. He suggested that not only existing plays and songs be "reformed" (i.e., all "vulgar and obscene" references to be deleted), but also that educational circles create a new popular drama. In 1913 the Tianjin education office established a "training institute" for the reform of drama (at the same time 33 "immoral" plays were apparently banned), while in 1916 the Education Ministry issued regulations on encouraging the writing of popular drama; all those creating plays "beneficial to society" were to be awarded certificates.

The social education department of the Education Ministry also maintained contact with oral storytellers and helped organize a guild among them in Peking with the object of "improving the old stories that have been told for years and adding new and modern material, thereby advancing the morality and education of the people." Investigators and inspectors from the guild kept a strict surveillance over storytellers and the content of their stories. The popular education association of Fujian also concerned itself with the improvement of professional storytelling in local dialects. It held weekly meetings at which there was a regular attendance of over one hundred people, including social education officials from the education office, school teachers and administrators.

In addition to drama, novels and songs, other aspects of popular culture were looked at. In 1913 the Zhili education inspector referred to the "improvement of New Year pictorial posters (nianhua)." He reported that 6,000 had been examined and that some had been proscribed. Another item of popular
culture which educators claimed had to be improved was "paper cut-outs" (huazhi) or "pictorial stories" (huazhang), traditionally bought for children on their birthdays. One article condemned them as "lewd and indecent."³⁹

Chinese educators often cited the example of western countries to support their claim that government and educators had to increase their surveillance over popular culture. In an article entitled "Popular Education in Europe and America" in the Chinese Educational World, in 1913, Qin Wenhuan contrasted the strict censorship of popular drama and fiction in the West with the slackness of the authorities in China who had allowed "lewd and vulgar amusements" (yinbi zhi yule) to flourish.⁴⁰ In France, Qin noted, the buying and selling of pornographic material was punishable by law. (A translation of an 1811 French publishing law prescribing prison sentences for anyone printing material "detrimental to moral behaviour" had in fact appeared in a Chinese educational journal in 1906.)³¹ Qin also referred to the examples of Germany and Austria where committees edited popular literature and sold the products at reduced prices.⁴² In China, on the other hand, educators were paying too much attention to school textbooks and not enough to popular publications. Qin maintained that theatres, concert-halls and museums were taken seriously in the West as educational institutions and were not simply regarded as amusement centres, as in China. Qin also referred to the ban on cinema attendance for children in the evening and the strict film censorship that was enforced in the West in order to prevent undue emphasis on sex and violence.

Cai Yuanpei, in a speech to the popular education association of Peking in 1917, also drew attention to the strict supervision of cinema entertainment in Germany and contrasted this with the laissez-faire attitude in China.⁴³ An article in the Peking Educational Review referred to a special government
film censorship committee in England and suggested that similar committees be organized in China. An article on popular education in the United States described film censorship and the banning of certain films by the police. It also referred to the existence of public lectures, particularly in New York, whose purpose was to "educate immigrants" (i.e., to instill patriotism among new arrivals to the country).

Germany was referred to in another article on popular education in 1914. The writer noted that although the German lower classes were more orderly and disciplined than those in China, the government still maintained a vigilant surveillance over popular culture in order to prevent the people from being corrupted. In Germany, therefore, educators ensured that popular songs and drama combined entertainment and educational value. Unlike popular songs in China, the article claimed, which were "lewd" and "immoral," those in Germany were "pure and lofty," stimulating love for the motherland and encouraging respect for public order.

Finally, it should be noted that it was during this period that Chinese educators became aware of the importance governments in the West (and, in particular, England) attached to the boy scout movement. Such a movement, it was noted in China, was seen as a useful institution by the authorities because it channelled young males' free time into useful activities and trained them in the habits of patriotism, obedience, discipline and hard work.

The "paternalism" that Chinese educators perceived in the West as far as official attitudes towards popular education/culture were concerned was regarded by them as a factor in western strength. This paralleled the earlier Chinese official admiration during the late Qing of the formal school system in western countries, with its stress on government control, uniformity, disci-
pline, strict supervision of curricula (whether at local or central government level) and encouragement of patriotism.49

Simply concentrating on the existence or non-existence of western "liberal" influence on Chinese education, as some writers do, is to ignore the fact that Chinese educators were impressed with other aspects of western education which had little to do with abstract ideas of "liberalism" or "democracy." J. Chen, for example, contrasts Cai's western liberal ideas on education with those of the "traditionalists."50 Such an approach overlooks the fact that those very traditionalists were able to cite western practice as support for their own ideas.51 It also, of course, does not take into account the fact that "progressive" educators like Cai Yuanpei were just as impressed as more conservative Chinese educators with the well-organized surveillance of popular culture which they perceived existed in the west. It is all very well to note, as M. Rankin does, that Cai "was probably atypical in giving greater weight to the inherent value of education as a way to individual self-realization and freedom,"52 but Cai shared a common concern that had been evident since Kang Youwei's 1898 memorial on establishing Confucianism as a state religion—how to emulate the West and Japan and transform the Chinese people into a patriotic, morally-upright and hard-working citizenry.

A dual process therefore took place in the early years of the Republic. On the one hand, educators saw the urgent need for the implementation of popular education, which would include the teaching of literacy, vocational knowledge and hygiene, in addition to the inculeation of such ideals as respect for the laws and service to the country. On the other hand, at once the cause and result of this concern, educators and officials visualized a more extensive
surveillance on the part of the authorities over popular culture than had been the case under the Confucian monarchy.

The representatives of the classical Confucian tradition, of course, had always railed against the corrupting influences of popular culture. Sometimes, harsh measures were taken; in the Yuan dynasty, for example, death was prescribed for those who wrote "evil" plays inciting people to crime and for those who "wasted their time" in the marketplace performing plays and telling stories of a "lewd nature." \(^53\) It was felt that plays and similar entertainment had an adverse effect on both morals and economic well-being. Thus in the Kangxi reign a prefectural magistrate described the harm done by "women's theatre troupes" in his region, whose performances attracted everyone from peasants to officials. This was not only damaging to social mores (i.e., men and women mixing socially together) but also encouraged people to spend money and prevented them from getting on with their allotted duties. \(^54\) There are also references to gentry engaging in censorship campaigns against "decadent and corrupting literature." Thus in a Jiangsu district certain gentry members, on receiving official permission, destroyed all copies of books considered detrimental to moral well-being. A list of such books was publicly issued and all potential publishers warned not to issue them. \(^55\) Finally, imperial pronouncements such as Yongzheng's Sacred Edict in the eighteenth century, exhorting the people to act according to traditional virtues and norms, were read to the people on a regular basis by the local gentry. \(^56\)

At the beginning of the twentieth century such thinkers as Liang Qichao drew attention to the potential educational role of popular literature; he condemned traditional popular literature and advocated the creation of a new
popular fiction that would have educational benefits for the people.\textsuperscript{57} The regulations for education associations in 1906 listed as part of their duties the reform of "decadent and corrupt songs and drama."\textsuperscript{58} Popular drama was also criticized at this time for being too frivolous; it was suggested that plays should henceforth deal with more serious matters such as describing China's predicament at the hands of the foreigners and thus arouse the "people's spirit" (minqi).\textsuperscript{59}

However, three new factors explained the urgency felt by educators at this time to implement popular education that would "reform" the lower classes by maintaining a stricter surveillance over popular culture, as well as offering them general and vocational knowledge. Firstly, Chinese educators and officials now feared that the decadence which they felt had always characterized popular culture in China would increase with the introduction (via the modern schools) of western ideas of "freedom" and "libertinism." Secondly, the concept of "social education," borrowed from Japan, had shown the importance to Chinese educators of "reforming" the people as a means of strengthening the country. Thirdly, whereas in the late nineteenth century, Chinese officials had tended to focus on western technology or on political institutions as a source of western strength, many now emphasized the attention western governments paid to ensure that their peoples were suitably patriotic, hard-working and morally upright. As was noted in Chapter One, such a process had begun with Kang Youwei's 1898 memorial, which had drawn attention to the importance of state-sponsored religion in the West as a means of preventing "heretical theories" and "barbaric customs" from gaining popularity among the people. From the early twentieth century onwards Chinese educators increasingly pointed to the well-disciplined people of the West in
contrast to those of China. The surveillance of popular culture (which, it should be noted, now included modern facilities such as the cinema), therefore, was seen as a crucial factor in western strength.60

Public Lectures

In October 1915 the Education Ministry issued regulations on popular lecture institutes (tongsu jiaoyu jiangyanso). According to these regulations at least four such institutes were to be established in the provincial capital and at least two in district capitals and large towns; villages and rural areas were also encouraged to establish them. They could be organized by private individuals, although government authorization was to be obtained first. In addition to primary school teachers and normal school graduates, all those with experience in public speaking were eligible to be appointed as lecturers. Members of education associations and the quanxueso61 were also eligible, as well as "leading local gentry" (difang shendong) who had an interest in education.62 The official aim of public lectures was to "enlighten the people and reform society," general and special lectures were to be given. The former would (1) stimulate patriotism, (2) encourage respect for the laws, (3) promote moral behaviour, (4) offer general knowledge, (5) encourage "aesthetic appreciation" (meigan), (6) promote industry, (7) stress physical fitness and (8) encourage hygiene.63

Some educators felt that "sex education" should be included in the lecture topic of "hygiene." What they meant by this was nothing more than to warn the populace against the harmful effects of promiscuity. A 1915 article devoted to the question noted that educators in Germany were promoting such a measure, particularly for the lower classes since, if they
suffered from poor physical and mental health, industry would suffer.\textsuperscript{64} Another article advocated that all men before the age of 25 and all women before the age of 21 should receive a "sex education." Such a measure, the author explained, would halt the spread of syphilis, illegitimacy and prostitution.\textsuperscript{65}

Special lectures would inform people on local, national and international affairs. All lecture material had to be written down by the local authorities and approved by the Education Ministry.\textsuperscript{66} Finally, lectures could be accompanied by films and music (e.g., use could be made of phonograph records).

As with most educational developments during the late Qing and early Republic, government regulations merely sanctioned an existing situation or process. Many of the lecture halls (\textit{xuanjiangso}) established at the end of the Qing continued to function after 1912,\textsuperscript{67} while provincial and district authorities took the initiative in establishing new ones. In Taiqiang district, Jiangsu, for example, a popular lecture institute was created in 1913. Apart from lectures given in a regular location, "mobile lectures' (\textit{xunhui jiangyan}) were also to be given in such popular meeting places as tea-houses and temples. As prescribed by later official regulations in 1915, lectures were to encourage patriotism (one manifestation of which would be to use national products), promote public morality (i.e., supporting the collective interest, obeying the laws and paying taxes), stress hygiene and physical fitness, and offer vocational knowledge. One topic, which was not specifically mentioned in the 1915 regulations, involved "family education." Such lectures would exhort people to reduce extravagance (e.g., vis-a-vis marriage or funeral ceremonies) and stress the benefits of vocational training for women.\textsuperscript{68} In Nantong, Jiangsu in fact, a special women's lecture association was created in order to
promote women's education. The model lecture institute in the Shandong provincial capital reserved certain lecture days for female audiences and invited women to give lectures on "practical knowledge and skills."

Another reason for establishing lecture institutes was to convince the people of the benefits of a school education, an indication that popular distrust of modern schools during the last years of the Qing had not disappeared with the Revolution. During this period there were constant references to the need felt by educators to have public confidence in the schools restored. In Tibet, for example, schools were in difficulty partly because of the problem in finding teachers (most teachers were employed from outside the region; as soon as they had saved enough money from "sideline activities" they often returned home) and partly because local people feared that if their sons went to school they would eventually be dragged off as "petty officials." Officials apparently had to resort to material incentives in order to persuade parents to send their children to school.

A further reason for parents' reluctance to send their children to school was the danger presented by bandits. In a 1914 investigation of educational conditions in Jiangsu, Hou Hongjian discovered that a teacher's twelve-year-old son had been abducted from a district primary school by bandits to serve as their "secretary" (presumably to aid them with the drafting of proclamations). Elsewhere, Hou noted that as soon as primary schools were opened pupils would be kidnapped in order that a ransom could be obtained from their parents. Finally, public anger was often directed against schools, amongst other establishments, when census-teams investigating a number of school-age children entered the area—a phenomenon that had often occurred during the last years of the Qing. In Qinhua, Zhejiang, for example, several
hundred villagers in 1914 burnt down prominent gentry residences, schools, and the police bureau following the spread of alarmist rumours concerning a recently-arrived census team.\textsuperscript{76}

Educators themselves were often extremely critical of the new schools, but they sometimes differed among themselves as to the reasons for their criticisms. Thus one finds, in the same journal, two contrasting views put forward by Gu Shusen and Fan Yuanlian. Gu compared schools to prisons that stifled creativity and freedom. He compared teachers to "hatchet men" who destroyed pupils' natural enthusiasm and energy.\textsuperscript{77} Fan Yuanlian, on the other hand, condemned the new schools for their excessive promotion of freedom; the ensuing lack of discipline, according to Fan, led to students' becoming unruly and rebellious.\textsuperscript{78} For the most part, however, schools were criticized for fostering division and elitism. One 1918 article condemned schools for not allowing all students to develop equally; too much attention was paid to "cultivating" a talented few, the article continued, and thus the majority of slower students were ignored.\textsuperscript{79} The same criticism was made by the Marxist educator, Yang Xianzhang, in 1919. He maintained that because of the undue attention paid to "superior students" teaching in the modern schools lacked a "spirit of equality" (pingdeng jingshen).\textsuperscript{80} Another article commented that schools only served the rich and were therefore an example of "social class education."\textsuperscript{81}

A journal founded in 1919 entitled Pingmin Jiaoyu (Education For The Ordinary People) condemned the system of school examinations (which encouraged students to "hanker after empty glory") as well as the practice of some schools to divide their classes along "rich-poor lines" (which reinforced inequality).\textsuperscript{82} Popular education, the journal declared, would "equalize
By 1920, one writer, Xiang Zhutan, was maintaining that only social education could ensure cooperation, solidarity and equality among the populace. Xiang wrote later that social education had been designed to correct three defects in the school system, namely its "promotionalism" (encouragement of competition among students to determine who would advance to a higher grade or school), its "formalism," and its "isolationism" (its lack of relevance for the society and country). Another work on social education claimed that such an education would rectify the shortcomings of previous education, which had been "individualistic" and "aristocratic." It would also "destroy the traditional way of looking down on certain trades or professions while highly regarding others." (As will be described in the next chapter, one of the purposes of the work-study movement was to break down the traditional barrier between mental and manual work.)

It was because of this disappointment with the schools (i.e., it was felt they were not playing their proper role in producing a united citizenry having concern for the public good) that social or popular education came to be regarded as an alternative to school education. Public lectures, therefore, being part of social education, had the rather contradictory function of both exhorting people to attend school and of being an alternative to school education. As will be shown later, however, disagreement arose over the topics of public lectures themselves.

In 1915 the Education Ministry established a "model popular education lecture institute" (mofan tongsu jiaoyu jiangyanso) in Peking. In addition to giving lectures to the public, the institute offered training courses for would-be lecturers. Reflecting the growing awareness that public lecturing was a
specialized skill, the institute taught candidates the principles of sociology, psychology and rhetoric (xiongbian fa, lit. "the method of arguing vociferously"), in addition to being offered courses on the world situation, law and economics. By 1916 there were 1,994 lecture institutes, with Shandong having the highest number (see Table 15). Most lecture institutes gave an average of three lectures a week, and the average attendance was from thirty to forty. If one compares the number of lecture institutes in 1916 with that of xuanjiangso in 1909 it becomes apparent that the internal conflicts of the intervening years had taken their toll. Only seven provinces (Zhili, Shandong, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Fujian, Hubei and Guangdong) had more lecture institutes in 1916 than in 1909. Other provinces registered a drastic decline. Guizhou and Sha'anxi, for example, had had 1,167 and 327 xuanjiangso respectively in 1909, compared to 2 and 18 lecture institutes in 1916.

On the other hand, in 1916 Peking had 11 lecture institutes, 7 of which dated from 1911. According to an Education Ministry report in 1916, daily attendance at the lectures ranged from 30 to 160 (see Table 16). Lectures usually took place in the afternoon and early evening and lasted three hours. At the model lecture institute lectures were followed by a film. The institute also ran a reading room (with 60 visitors daily) and a "public supplementary school" (gongzhong puxi xuexiao), which had approximately 40 pupils. In fact, most lecture institutes in Peking ran libraries and newspaper reading rooms, which were open to the public from early morning to afternoon. (See also Table 17 for newspaper reading rooms in the provinces.) Newspaper reading rooms seem to have attracted much attention; thus the two reading rooms attached to the model lecture institute in the Shandong provincial capital recorded 100 visitors daily for each one.
Table 15
Number of Lecture Institutes in 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of institutes</th>
<th>Avg. attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>655</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>1,938</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


\(^{a}\) By 1918 the total number of lecture institutes was 2,579. (Shehui Jiaoyu Yanjiu, p. 201.)
Table 16
Peking Lecture Institutes in 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lecture institute</th>
<th>No. of staff</th>
<th>Monthly expenditures (in Ch. dollars)</th>
<th>Daily attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No. 1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>50 - 60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. 11</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


There was also a mobile lecturing team that visited temples during the afternoons. It had a monthly budget of 120 dollars. Attendance at these lectures was considerable. In April 1916 over 3,000 people attended lectures given at a temple in the southern suburbs, while in May of the same year over 1,000 people attended lectures given over a period of two days at a temple in the eastern suburbs. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 33, gongdu, pp. 2-3. In the provincial capital of Shandong the daily attendance at lectures organized by the "model lecture association" was reported to be about 1,500. Attendance was apparently recorded and each individual who attended more than one hundred lectures was awarded money and a badge. Taga, Vol. 2, p. 236.
Table 17
Number of Newspaper Reading Rooms in 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of reading rooms</th>
<th>No. of newspapers</th>
<th>Daily attendance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,222</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


aBy 1918 there were 1,825 newspaper reading rooms. (Shehui Jiaoyu Yanjiu, p. 201.)
Each lecture institute had a team of three lecturers. According to S. Gamble, they were paid on the average 10 dollars a month. Presumably they had other jobs, since lower primary school teachers were paid 24 dollars a month and higher primary school teachers 32 dollars a month. The nominally private Peking popular education association also gave lectures in various public places such as tea-houses or temples. From April 1913 to October 1915 it gave a series of lectures, at which attendance ranged from 700 to 2,000. One of the lecture topics concerned the necessity of supporting national products and investing in government bonds.

It is important to remember that the attention paid to public lectures during the early years of the Republic was essentially a continuation of developments during the last years of the Qing, and was not the result of missionary influence upon Chinese educators as some writers have maintained. S. Garrett, for example, argues that the Chinese YMCA exerted a dominant influence on the development of, and interest in, popular lectures. Quite apart from the fact that the Chinese YMCA, as Garrett herself points out, tended to concentrate its educational efforts on students and businessmen, such an argument overlooks the fact that public lecturing had long been a duty of the Chinese gentry. M. Bastid has shown that educational reform during the last years of the Qing had little to do with missionary influence, and the same can be said for the promotion of popular education in the early years of the Republic. It is significant that such promoters of popular education as Wu Da and Chen Baoquan were Japanese-educated and there is no evidence to show that they were influenced by missionaries. It is true that in 1915 the Chinese YMCA lecture bureau established an education department, with David Yui (Yu Zhichang) as its secretary. In 1915 and 1916 David Yui toured the Yangzi provinces and held a series of conferences on the importance of popular education and lectures. Such talks may have confirmed Chinese
educators' views concerning the necessity of implementing popular education, but they can hardly be said to have inspired or directly engendered new interest in the subject. What was new after 1912 with public lectures was the subject matter (e.g., the stress on nationalism and vocational training) and the attitude towards them (i.e., public lecturing was henceforth to be considered a specialized skill.)

In 1917 the Education Ministry, after collecting public lecture material from the provinces, issued a list of appropriate works from among which lecturers were to choose their material. Such works included biographies of Washington, Columbus, Nelson and Wang Yangming; biographies of "model military heroes" like Yue Fei and Pan Zhao; a Chinese translation of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*; a Chinese translation of *Aesop's Fables*; a work on the English boy scouts' movement; a work on the causes of Germany's wealth and strength; biographies of eighteen wealthy American individuals; a history of China's relations with the foreign powers (lit. "a history of the national shame"); a history of world commerce and a work on business ethics (*shangye daode*). These works suggest that the principal aims of public lectures were to promote nationalism and economic development.

The last work, in particular, is significant; educators in this period stressed the importance of inculcating what might be called a "capitalist mentality" in the minds of schoolchildren and adults (see the section on vocational education for attempts to encourage students to make and save money). One lecture given at the no. 4 lecture institute in Peking emphasized that the best way for the poor to get rich was to enter industry and it recounted the life of the "oil baron" (*meiyou dawang*, lit. "the great king of oil"), Rockefeller, to serve as a model. Many lectures also stated bluntly that study was useful because it was the basic way to "make money" (*facai*). At one spare-time school in Peking a teacher reportedly emphasized that the "capital" required for
earning money was study. Morality (daode) was also needed, the teacher remarked, but it is significant to note that the morality he was thinking of referred to such things as "not selling false goods."

One characteristic which some historians have noted in the transition from a "feudal" society to a modern "capitalist" one is the novel importance attributed to time and punctuality. Chinese educators during this period also drew attention to this question. Li Yanhan, in 1915, argued that punctuality and efficient use of time were essential to build a wealthy and prosperous country, and he lamented the fact that traditionally too much time had been wasted in China. The Shanghai popular education office in 1914 ordered that lectures emphasize the virtue of "loving time." Such a virtue, the office claimed, "was the mother of success and the basis for wealth and strength." Hence time should not be wasted.

Another article contrasted the low educational level of Chinese workers with the hard-working and disciplined workers in Japan. It suggested that education amongst Chinese workers not only had to inculcate habits of diligence and hard work, but also to teach them to "care for time" and to make them realize that "saving money" was very beneficial for future wealth.

The use of Samuel Smiles' *Self Help* as lecture material was another indication that educators wanted to see popular education train hard-working, thrifty and diligent citizens. Smiles' work had also been promoted as reading matter in Japan shortly after the Meiji Restoration (it was translated into Japanese in 1870). For the Japanese authorities the reading of *Self Help* would stimulate enthusiasm and energy among the people by equating self-improvement with the fate of the country. Chinese educators evidently hoped the same thing would happen in China.

At the same time, however, some educators felt that too much emphasis on economic initiative and the pursuit of wealth might have an adverse effect
on traditional values (e.g., family harmony). One of the lectures given by a Peking lecture institute, for example, emphasized the importance of cooperation and friendship between brothers as a way of showing filial respect to parents. The lecture referred to disputes over inheritance as an example of the increasing tendency for brothers to be concerned solely with their own selfish economic interests. The lecture concluded that the basis for a strong country lay with a harmonious family.\textsuperscript{117} One article claimed that the "competition for wealth and goods" was leading to "disputes between brothers, between sisters-in-law and between husbands and wives.\textsuperscript{118} Another writer bewailed the lack of family harmony in China due to competition among people and the quest for wealth, and reached a similar conclusion that a harmonious family was the foundation for a healthy state.\textsuperscript{119} In 1917 the Peking popular education association pointed out that public lectures had to warn against the dangers of private disputes and to extol the morality of cooperation and harmony amongst friends.\textsuperscript{120} Reports on the no. 1 and no. 6 lecture institutes in Peking, in 1915, also show that much emphasis was placed on cooperation among brothers.\textsuperscript{121}

This stress on family unity and harmony, however, came into conflict with another principle that some educators thought should be promoted by lectures—that of "civic morality" (gongde). At a meeting of the popular education research association in 1915, the chairman contrasted civic morality (i.e., loyalty to the state and community at large), which would strengthen China, with "private virtue" (i.e., loyalty to one's own family), which would only perpetuate China's weakness and disunity.\textsuperscript{122} At the first conference of education associations in 1915 the Education Minister, Tang Hualong, urged that schools teach children "to love the country and forget the family" (aiguo wangjia).\textsuperscript{123}

In any event, much optimism was expressed during this period concerning
the beneficial effects of public lectures. One article declared that public lectures were more important than school education since they would enable the majority of the people to "advance to a more civilized level" by transforming "lower level interests" (xiadeng quwei) into "higher level ones." Another article, citing Wang Yangming's dictum that even the most foolish could be educated, confidently asserted that the systematic implementation of public lectures would transform the "lower levels of society" into a knowledgeable citizenry. By "knowledgeable" educators principally meant that the lower classes would no longer adhere to superstitious beliefs or decadent customs, such as gambling. However, genuine attempts seem to have been made also to offer general knowledge to the people. Thus, in Fujian a popular scientific lecture association (tongsu kexue jiangyan hui) was formed. Each week the education office invited an "expert" to give lectures on general scientific topics. An average of 800 to 900 people attended each lecture, mostly from the "middle and lower levels of society."

Spare-time Schools and Libraries

Half-day schools and literacy schools, which had begun to be established during the last years of the Qing, continued in existence after 1912. In 1915 Sichuan had the highest number of half-day schools (with 345), while Zhili had the highest number of literacy schools (with 1,511), with an estimated student enrollment of 120,880 (see Table 18). In February 1914 the Education Ministry issued new regulations on half-day schools. They were to be designed for 12 - 16 year-olds who had not received a primary school education, or who had had to leave school before completing the course. Courses were to last three years and the curriculum included writing (12 hours a week), arithmetic (3 hours a week), physical education (2 hours a week) and moral training (only 1 hour a week). Although the school regulations of 1912 allowed co-education
Table 18
Number of Half-Day Schools and Literacy Schools in 1916

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Half-day schools</th>
<th>Literacy schools</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>118 9,240</td>
<td>1,511 120,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>1 90</td>
<td>5 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>17 1,530</td>
<td>932 55,920</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>314 12,560</td>
<td>260 10,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>17 2,040</td>
<td>33 3,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>42 2,520</td>
<td>108 6,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>28 3,360</td>
<td>84 10,080</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>73 8,760</td>
<td>165 19,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>345 20,700</td>
<td>160 9,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>53 6,360</td>
<td>54 6,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>28 1,120</td>
<td>224 8,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>7 630</td>
<td>28 2,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>13 780</td>
<td>86 5,160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>29 2,610</td>
<td>73 6,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>10 400</td>
<td>69 2,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>21 1,890</td>
<td>13 1,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>29 1,740</td>
<td>8 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>6 360</td>
<td>14 840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>33 660</td>
<td>230 4,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>- 640</td>
<td>6 240</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>11 220</td>
<td>20 400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,195 67,570</td>
<td>4,371 283,110</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aNumber of students in bold type.

*Source: Jiaoyubu Xingzheng Jiyaq, shehui jiaoyu, pp. 42-47.

at the lower primary school level, boys and girls were apparently not to be permitted to study together at half-day schools; item two of the regulations stated that girls were to have their own half-day schools. The overwhelming majority of half-day schools were established for boys. Some of the first half-day schools for girls were established in the provincial capital of Hubei; four such schools were opened in 1914, each employing four teachers who were students from the provincial girls' normal school. Each school had about 60 pupils.

In addition to the curriculum laid down in the official regulations, half-day schools sometimes gave a more practical training. Thus the half-day school opened in Peking by the model lecture institute in 1917 taught boys how to make soap, ink-slabs and slate pencils. The half-day school attached to the model lecture institute in the provincial capital of Shandong organized a "pedlars group" (fanmai bu) from among the students. They sold local products, some of the proceeds of which were distributed among students' families. The students were also allowed to elect a "management committee," which reported on the accounts once a month.

The establishment of half-day schools was due as much to the desire to see vagrants cleared off the streets as it was to a desire to offer educational opportunities to a wider populace. The Tianjin police bureau organized a "common people's half-day school society" (pingmin banri xueshe) in 1915. It opened 27 half-day schools with an estimated enrollment of 2,000 pupils. No age limit was imposed; two hours of instruction were given each day. In addition to writing, arithmetic and physical education, military training was given to older students. It was hoped that after three years the superior students could be recruited into the police or army.

Another kind of spare-time school that was established during this period was the "open-air school" (lutian xueshe). Such schools appeared in Peking in
1914, giving classes once or twice a week for boys and girls aged between six and fourteen years. By 1915 the Peking popular education association had established 7 open-air schools, while the Peking education office had estab­lished 6, all of which were set up within the vicinity of primary schools. Subjects taught included writing, arithmetic, moral training, singing and recre­ational activities (yuxi). Members of the association and school teachers were expected to run these schools. As with many other aspects of educa­tion (university, vocational or supplementary), Germany was cited as a model. A five-part article in Jiaoyu Zazhi, in 1915, on open-air schools in Europe and America noted that they were first established in Berlin in 1904, after which the idea spread to America.

Huang Yanpei, on a tour of Tianjin, noted the existence of 7 open-air schools. One such school he visited was attended by about one hundred pupils. Teachers were volunteers from local schools (and hence classes were usually held in the evenings); for writing lessons the school used paper and writing instruments discarded by the schools. Lessons always began with singing in order to attract potential pupils. Unlike the half-day schools, there seemed to be no segregation of the sexes at open-air schools. A report on the open-air school near the no. 4 primary school in Peking recorded an attendance of 30 boys and 45 girls. In the Shandong provincial capital there were 12 open-air schools; one of them had an equal attendance of boys and girls. Average attendance at the schools was about 20, although there were many "spectators" as well. Blackboards were hung on walls and the trees "served as roofs." The teachers, who were all full-time school teachers, were paid from 2 to 10 dollars a month.

There are also references in this period to "public supplementary schools" (gongzhong puxi xuexiao). They were established in most provinces; one source maintains that 45 such schools were founded in Guangxi province.
No age limit was imposed on potential students, although they were primarily
designed for primary school graduates unable to proceed further up the educa­
tional ladder, of whom there were many. In Peking, for example, 2,291 stu­
dents graduated from lower primary schools (or "citizen schools" as they were
called after 1916) in 1916; only one quarter were able to enter higher primary
school. Out of the 560 students who graduated from higher primary school in
1916, only one-fifth could proceed to a middle school.142 Another problem
during these turbulent years was that primary schools and middle schools
often ceased functioning as a result of war or damage. Hou Hongjian noted
that in Anhui, in December 1913, over 50 middle and primary schools had
ceased operating, resulting in over 6,000 children of school-age no longer
receiving an education. In March 1914, in Hunan, 14 middle schools closed
down, leaving 2,000 pupils stranded.143

Unfortunately, little information exists on these "supplementary schools."
Peking had three such schools. It was reported that originally about 1,000
students attended but that later 700 had to leave because of job commit­
ments.144 Scattered information on these schools appears in the Peking Educa­
tional Review.145 Morning, afternoon and evening classes were held and
average attendance was about thirty. The main subjects taught seemed to be
writing and arithmetic. At the no. 2 public supplementary school most of the
students were petty traders, while at the no. 1 school students included labourers
and handicraft workers. Most of the students were in the 15 - 20 year-old
age group.146

How were these spare-time schools funded and what role did they play
in extending education to the people? It was not until 1928 that educational
statistics noted provincial and district expenditure on social education. Before
this date only a few details exist on the expenditures for such items as lecture
institutes or spare-time schools. From what information does exist, it seems
that the trend begun in the last years of the Qing of increasing official expenditure on popular education was continued in the early years of the Republic. As noted in Chapter Two, expenditures on spare-time schools did not have to be high. Teachers were often volunteers, while the schools themselves often made use of existing buildings such as charitable halls or primary schools.\textsuperscript{147} In Zhejiang official expenditures on lecture institutes increased from 9,506 yuan to 14,976 yuan between 1913 and 1914, and from 7,142 to 11,662 yuan on libraries.\textsuperscript{148} In Peking, between 1915 and 1916, official funds spent on middle schools decreased from 84,811 yuan to 82,288 yuan, whereas those spent on primary schools increased from 209,331 yuan to 212,638 yuan, and those spent on popular education increased from 12,417 yuan to 13,421 yuan.\textsuperscript{149}

The increasing importance officials placed on social education is also evident in the proportion of funds spent on various levels of education. Whereas in the early years of educational reform the amount of funds spent on higher and specialist education dwarfed all others, in Fengtian, in 1916, while 70,749 yuan were spent on specialist education, 50,420 Yuan were spent on social education (2,375,000 yuan were spent on general education).\textsuperscript{150} The trend seemed to continue through the 1920s. Thus in 1932 Jiangsu reported spending 541,212 yuan on social education, while only 279,912 were spent on higher level education (including overseas students).\textsuperscript{151} In 1928, in fact, the Education Ministry insisted that expenditures on social education should always constitute between 10 and 20\% of total educational budgets.\textsuperscript{152} Statistics from the early years of the Republic do not make clear how much provincial and district governments respectively contributed to popular education.\textsuperscript{153} Judging from 1932 figures in Jiangsu, however, it would seem that district governments contributed the most. In that year the province spent 404,230 yuan on social education, while district governments spent 809,950 (private expenditures amounted to 141,106 yuan).\textsuperscript{154}
As for assessing the contribution of spare-time schools in making education more widespread, again it is difficult, considering the scarcity and unreliability of the data. Throughout the early years of the Republic attendance at formal schools was low. In 1919 the percentage of school-age children attending school ranged from 28% in Guangxi to 2% in Sinjiang (see Table 19). The drop-out rate was high. In 1915 134,550 boys dropped out of lower primary schools (out of a total of 2,388,264) (see Table 20). We can compare these figures only with those for 1916 on half-day and literacy schools, which are fairly complete. In some provinces the ratio of children attending half-day schools and literacy schools to those attending regular schools is quite close. In Zhili, for example, 130,120 students were attending half-day and literacy schools in 1916, whereas the total number of children attending regular schools was 489,396. Taking the total number of students attending half-day and literacy schools, which is 350,680, and, assuming that some of them were school drop-outs (the total number of which, in 1915, including boys and girls, was 222,272), it is evident that when one also takes into account attendance at public lectures popular education must have played some role in filling the gaps left by the formal schools system and providing educational benefits for the people (at least in urban areas).

In Chinese educational journals the importance of supplementary education was repeatedly emphasized, and Germany was especially praised as a model for China to follow. In a lengthy 1918 article on the subject, Germany's system was described as the best in the world, one which other countries such as England and the United States strove to emulate. The article claimed that Germany's well-developed system of supplementary education explained why the country was economically prosperous and her citizens orderly and disciplined, since supplementary schools were not only meant to teach industrial, agricultural or commercial skills, but also to instill such virtues as patri-
Table 19
School Attendance in 1919

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>No. of school-age children</th>
<th>No. in school</th>
<th>% of att.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>2,093,000</td>
<td>489,396</td>
<td>23.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>3,824,790</td>
<td>476,182</td>
<td>12.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>1,220,000</td>
<td>699,913</td>
<td>57.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>2,531,700</td>
<td>223,383</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sha'anxi</td>
<td>840,000</td>
<td>136,756</td>
<td>16.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>1,038,600</td>
<td>60,503</td>
<td>5.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>6,870,000</td>
<td>470,213</td>
<td>6.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>3,528,000</td>
<td>208,358</td>
<td>5.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>2,216,900</td>
<td>204,349</td>
<td>9.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>2,653,200</td>
<td>112,819</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>2,367,000</td>
<td>53,672</td>
<td>2.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>2,398,000</td>
<td>320,436</td>
<td>13.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>1,158,000</td>
<td>282,510</td>
<td>24.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>2,287,000</td>
<td>87,169</td>
<td>3.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>3,186,500</td>
<td>167,950</td>
<td>5.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>514,000</td>
<td>144,357</td>
<td>28.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>1,272,000</td>
<td>166,961</td>
<td>13.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>765,000</td>
<td>50,129</td>
<td>6.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>120,000</td>
<td>2,988</td>
<td>2.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three north-eastern provinces</td>
<td>1,500,000</td>
<td>325,835</td>
<td>21.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 20

School Drop-Out Rate in 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total in school</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>No. of those dropping out</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary (Official)</td>
<td>2,388,264</td>
<td>117,255</td>
<td>134,550</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>8,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower primary (Private)</td>
<td>930,842</td>
<td>24,952</td>
<td>44,119</td>
<td>4.7%</td>
<td>1,808</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary (Official)</td>
<td>327,058</td>
<td>15,826</td>
<td>25,743</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>1,438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher primary (Private)</td>
<td>67,290</td>
<td>3,806</td>
<td>5,379</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>369</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

otism and respect for the laws. The article compared workers to "shock
troops" on whom victory in the "economic war" depended; it was therefore
essential that they be well-trained, both technically and morally.\textsuperscript{158} Another
article praised supplementary education in Germany because it combined the
teaching of practical skills with moral training and thus taught graduates,
workers and apprentices how to be law-abiding and patriotic citizens, in addi-
tion to providing them with the necessary skills to "earn more." Because of
this, the article maintained, Germany had no "young layabouts" as in England,
where little attention was paid to supplementary education.\textsuperscript{159}

Another country that was frequently referred to during this period was
Denmark, with its system of "folk high schools" (\textit{pingmin zhongxuexiao} or
\textit{qingnian xuexiao}). The first folk high school had been founded by
N. Grundtvig in 1844 and the aim was to give short winter or summer courses
to 14 - 18 year-olds. These courses were not designed to offer vocational
skills \textit{per se}, but rather to train citizens of the state. The curriculum
comprised Danish history, language and literature and national songs. Such
schools where later founded in Norway, Sweden and Germany.\textsuperscript{160} Articles in
Chinese journals on Danish folk high schools began to appear in 1910.\textsuperscript{161} The
Chinese articles drew attention to the fact that the development of folk high
schools in Denmark accelerated after its defeat by Prussia in 1864 and that
most of them were located in rural areas. What therefore particularly
attracted Chinese educators to Danish folk high schools was their stimulation
of patriotism among the populace, especially the young, and their raising of
the general intellectual level of the rural population.\textsuperscript{162}

In addition to public lectures and spare-time schools, more attention
was also paid during this period to establishing libraries for a wider populace.
Public libraries had begun to be founded in the last years of the Qing.\textsuperscript{163} By
1914 most provinces (with the exception of Shanxi, Gansu and Sinjiang) had
established libraries. All of them were situated in the provincial capitals; Zhili had another public library in Baoding (established in 1910), Fengtian had another one in Xinmin (established in 1909), and Jiangsu had two more public libraries in Wuxian and Wusi. By 1922 Jiangsu had 11 public libraries, Shanxi 7, Zhejiang 6, Fengtian 4, Zhili 4, Gansu 2 and Heilongjiang 2 (see Table 21). Some libraries, as in Fengtian, were housed in the former education office (xuewu gongso), while others, as in Jiangsu and Fujian, made use of former academies (shuyuan). The library in Anhui's capital was housed in a Confucian temple. Some provinces recorded the number of visitors to the libraries (although this was apparently not done before 1914). In Yunnan and Guangxi, for example, the libraries received 3,000 and 1,800 visitors a month, while Fujian and Zhili recorded figures of 12,000 and 8,560 visitors a year. During 1915 the Peking library received 3,443 visitors.

In the regulations on libraries that were issued in 1910, it was stipulated that they were to be established "in order to preserve the national essence (guocui), help create talent, provide study facilities for eminent scholars and students, and to collect materials from far and wide for people to look over." Zhang Zhidong, in a 1909 memorial, also emphasized the importance of libraries for keeping books in China and thus putting an end to the "increasing practice of scholars selling rare editions abroad for high profits." Thus although the establishment of libraries at the end of the Qing was an innovation, in the sense that what had existed previously were private book collections in individual homes, the aim was primarily to preserve classic texts and provide study facilities for scholars rather than to extend reading facilities to a wider public. (e.g., No books could be borrowed and reading fees were charged.) The Guangdong education inspector, for example, complained in 1913 that the provincial library, whose officials were
Table 21
Popular Libraries 1915, 1922 and 1930

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>900</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7,500</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning (Qilin)</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3 1</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>- 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>650</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9,000</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7,000</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5,350</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,500</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>600</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,800</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,500</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>236</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Number of General Libraries are in bold type.


\(^{b}\)Source: R. Pelissier, Les Bibliothèques en Chine pendant la première moitié du XXème siècle, p. 35-36.

mostly "old Confucian scholars," was more concerned with preserving old manuscripts than with "opening up to the public."\(^{172}\) (Although the Yunnan public library, as noted earlier, recorded a high number of readers per month.)

After 1912 some attempts were made to improve the situation. In 1913 the Peking popular library (tongsu tushuguan) was established, under the administration of the social education bureau of the Peking education office. A public recreation ground and children's reading room were later added to the library. It contained over 1,400 volumes; no reading fees were charged and borrowing was permitted. It was estimated that about 620 people visited the library daily.\(^{173}\) In 1915 the Education Ministry ordered all provinces to establish popular libraries in order to benefit "the ordinary people." Such libraries could be established by private individuals, schools, associations or factories. In its regulations on popular libraries, the Ministry insisted that no reading fees were to be charged.\(^{174}\) Popular libraries were established in most provinces after 1915, with Hubei and Fengtian having the most (see Table 21). The popular library in Nanjing, opened in February 1916, had a museum, lecture-hall and physical recreation hall attached to it. By the end of 1916 over 13,000 people were reported to have visited the library.\(^{175}\) The popular library in the Shandong capital, which had over 2,000 books, received 1,000 visitors a day, most of them coming to read the newspapers and magazines, of which there were seventy kinds.\(^{176}\)

The general libraries, also, began to expand their facilities at this time. Some libraries began to allow borrowing, while others now had special reading rooms for children. The Liaoning provincial library, in 1908, had been the first to provide facilities for children, and others followed suit after 1912.\(^{177}\) Some libraries, like the one in Liaoning, had special reading rooms for women,
while others, like the one in Shandong, reserved certain days for women
readers, suggesting that women originally had not been allowed to enter
libraries.

Unfortunately, little information exists on the kind of people who fre­
quented libraries. A 1919 report on public libraries in Sha'anxi gave the occupa­
tional background of readers visiting the libraries between June 1918 and May
1919, using the categories of "politicians' (zheng), "scholars and students"
(xue), "soldiers" (jun), "workers and traders" (gongshang), women and "others."
According to the report soldiers constituted the highest proportion of readers,
followed by scholars and students (see Table 22). It is also interesting to note
that the number of people reading works classified as "novels" or science"
consistently outnumbered those reading works under the heading of "classics."

One writer, Shen Shaoqi, summed up the changes in attitude towards
libraries in 1917 when he remarked that they were no longer to be merely
places where old books were preserved for the benefit of a scholarly elite. He not only stressed that libraries were to benefit everyone but also argued
that a vital connection existed between the widespread presence of libraries
and economic development. Chinese industry would always remain backward,
Shen claimed, if there were not enough libraries to "increase workers' 
knowledge." He cited the example of the American capitalist Carnegie, who
contributed much wealth to the establishment of libraries, to support his
argument that libraries were to be regarded very much as a productive invest­
ment. The idea that education should be linked with economic develop­
ment was also raised in discussions over vocational education.
Table 22
Number of Readers in Shaanxi Libraries
(June 1918 - May 1919)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average no. per month</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Soldiers</td>
<td>1,196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scholars and students</td>
<td>364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers and traders</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politicians</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>169</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Vocational Education and the Promotion of Qinlao Zhuyi

In 1920 a student reportedly complained that teachers were continually harping on the abstract themes of "emancipation," "reconstruction" and "building a future for the young." Instead of this "verbiage," the student continued, what was required was more "practical and instructive lessons." Such an attitude is indicative of a general concern during this period to see education serve the people in a more practical way by preparing them for a livelihood. In 1913 Huang Yanpei delivered a stinging attack on existing education, which he regarded as useless and irrelevant. He advocated a more "prag-
matic" approach to education (shiyong zhuyi), which would permeate all subjects. History, for example, should, according to Huang, comprise stories of famous people in industry or of those who had contributed to practical knowledge.

Zhuang Yu also advocated the implementation of an education that would "prepare students for life." If primary school students were not given the skills with which to earn a livelihood, one educator warned, their "intrinsic lazy and pleasure-seeking natures" would ill-equip them to survive in society. Only a "pragmatic approach to education" would transform the people from a "consumer" one to a "productive" one. In 1917 Huang Yanpei and others founded the Chinese Vocational Education Association (Zhonghua shiye jiaoyushe) in Shanghai. Its manifesto called for an education that would directly solve the "problem of livelihood" (shengji wenti). It was of no use having an education that, on the one hand, produced "higher level vagrants" who possessed "empty knowledge of no relevance to society" and, on the other hand, that lacked the means to give primary and middle school graduates the skills necessary to survive and perform a useful function in society.

Accompanying this concern was the need felt by many educators that schools should stress the importance of manual work; in the early years of the Republic they insisted that schools inculcate "the philosophy of hard and diligent work" (qinlao zhuyi) among their students. The very imagery used to refer to education during the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic reflected the desire to see education train economically productive and hard-working citizens. Traditionally education had been described in terms of "gardening" or "cultivation" (i.e., of the moral nature). By 1910 education was being referred to as a "factory that produces citizens." In
1912 the Education Ministry was described as a "manufacturing plant" and students as the "manufactured products." Officials in the Education Ministry were compared to "technicians" (jishu) who, if they did not do their jobs properly, would be like "useless machinery producing defective goods." Teachers were described as "labourers (laodongzhe) who imparted knowledge." During the last years of the Qing the modern schools had often been criticized for producing a lazy and non-productive elite. Educators maintained that the disdain felt by students for manual or mechanical work originated from the fact that at school all menial tasks were performed by servants. One writer, in 1910, noted with chagrin that even in middle and primary schools, where over half the students came from "middle level families or below," laziness and elitist attitudes were being encouraged. When they graduated they would spread this "spirit of laziness and pleasure-seeking (duoyi zhi feng)" throughout society. There were thus suggestions that students perform the menial tasks in schools, such as sweeping and cleaning the dormitories.

In addition to such tasks, it was proposed after 1912 that students, both in the vocational and general schools, be involved in practical activities of an economic nature, such as producing handicrafts and selling them. It was felt that such a training would be more appropriate in preparing students for life which, ultimately, would lead to a more economically prosperous China. In fact, a person's worth was now seen in terms of how economically productive the person was and how diligently he applied himself to the job. A 1916 article on vocational education argued that it did not distinguish between "aristocrat and commoner" (guijian). No one occupation, the article continued, should be regarded as inferior to another. The only criterion was whether the job was diligently done and whether it contributed to the country's economic develop-
ment. The article concluded by asking "how can the tasks carried out by the worker (工ren) and the government minister not be considered of equal importance?" 192

There are constant references in this period to the importance of "productive ability" (shengchan zhi nengli). 193 One educator claimed that social education should teach people "to regard labour as sacred in order that production be developed." 194 Zhuang Yu commented that the key function of education was "to develop the people's productive power" (shengchan li), while a higher primary school teacher declared that vocational training should become an integral part of general education because the country's most urgent task was to increase "productive power." 195 The moral virtues offered by vocational education, according to one educator, would include patience, intelligence and love of labour and productive work. 196

Educators at this time also questioned what they perceived as the traditional aversion to the active pursuit of wealth. One writer raised the question of whether moral or vocational education should take precedence. In the past, he argued, when the economy was not developed and everyone fulfilled a certain role in society, moral education was needed to "preserve the peaceful and static nature of society." Now, with the economy more developed, a larger population (of whom many were becoming poorer), and the traditional social hierarchy crumbling, the country could not afford to give moral education priority over vocational training. The writer, in fact, proposed a new morality based on "self interest" and insisted that the traditional antithesis of yi (righteousness) and li (self-interest) was false. He cited Hobbes' axiom that self-interest was the origin of morality and referred to the Russian, Metchnikoff, who asserted that the ideals of benefitting others and fraternal
love were only a temporary morality relevant when man's knowledge was at an infant stage.  

Huang Yanpei also condemned the traditional Chinese attitude of scorning hard work in order to gain wealth. He contrasted the poverty of the Chinese within China to the prosperity of those overseas (particularly in south-east Asia) and maintained that such prosperity was due to the fact that working hard in order to acquire wealth was not considered morally wrong.

Examples were given in educational journals of those in less well-off situations who worked hard in order to increase their knowledge and material situation. One referred to a 29 year-old peddler, Dai Yuanfa, who worked in order to save money and enter a Shanghai primary school because he wanted to increase his knowledge and earn a higher standard of living. The article concluded that Dai's example should be emulated. This seems to have been part of a wider fashion at this time to attribute poor beginnings to prominent people, thus stressing the ideals of self-help and hard work. In 1911 Zhang Jian was described as coming from "an ordinary background" and that his father was originally a "street peddler." More emphasis was also placed on using industrialists and entrepreneurs as models in school textbooks. One writer suggested that history texts, for example, contain accounts of people who had developed industry and agriculture. The Education Ministry, responding to suggestions put forward at a conference of vocational school principals in 1917, requested that all moral training texts used in vocational schools discuss the achievements of industrialists and entrepreneurs.

Attempts were made during this period to accustom students to think in "economic" terms. Part of Wu Da's "curriculum" that he proposed for extracurricular activities comprised "commercial practice" (in order to accustom
students to the world of trade) and the organization of a savings society.\textsuperscript{203}

In Wujin, Jiangsu, the education association suggested in 1914 that students be organized into "traders' groups" (\textit{fufantuan}). They were to make use of the library or local chamber of commerce to sell local goods or handicrafts produced at the school.\textsuperscript{204} The Anhui no. 2 normal school added a "trading department" (\textit{fanmaibu}) and a workshop to its attached primary school in order to allow students to practise "commercial knowledge" by producing and selling handicrafts.\textsuperscript{205} In 1918 the Anhui educational authorities stressed that all half-day schools and vocational schools had to combine theoretical with productive work. All goods were to be sold, with half the proceeds going to the school and the other half to the students' families.\textsuperscript{206} Agricultural schools also engaged in selling their products grown on experimental plots.\textsuperscript{207} The Pei district higher primary school in Anhui justified vocational training not only because it would train students to be self-sufficient and hard-working but also, by taking local raw materials and creating useful products, would "expand the country's economy."\textsuperscript{208} In some cases school-produced goods were meant to substitute for foreign imports. Thus the students of the primary school attached to the Nantong normal school produced and sold "mounted cloth" to serve as paper and therefore substitute for foreign brands of writing paper.\textsuperscript{209}

The desire to see schools more linked to the economy was shown in a 1917 article on school factories and stores. The article suggested that schools organize a "factory" (\textit{gongchang}) in the largest classroom in which handicrafts would be produced. Such products would then be sold in the school store. In this way, it was hoped, students would become acquainted with production and commerce, the economy would prosper, and the school would make suffi-
cient profits to enable students to continue with their studies. The Education Ministry in 1917, in fact, suggested that primary schools should organize vocational supplementary courses for graduates. Products made in the process of their training could be sold and the proceeds would subsidize the courses. In 1920 the Education Ministry ordered all middle schools and below to add a "trading department" to their premises.

There was also a movement within the schools to encourage "saving money" (zhujin). The education office of Fuchuan district, Guangxi, promoted the idea as a way of cultivating an "economic outlook" which, it was hoped, would spread to "labouring society" (laodong shehui). Through such activity, educators claimed, students would not only acquire accountancy skills, but also learn to become "frugal and thrifty." One article on the subject argued that the lower classes lacked the "viewpoint of saving." (As has been noted previously, there was a view held by some educators that the people were lazy idlers who frittered away their money on such pastimes as gambling and decadent entertainment.) Because of this, the article continued, there was no accumulation of capital and industry therefore could not develop. Such a viewpoint had to be taught in the schools first, after which, the article concluded, it would gradually become prevalent throughout society. One educator noted that inculcating a habit of saving money in schools would also contribute to the fostering of a public spirit. Although the idea itself was primarily meant to encourage people to think of their own long-term interests, the writer suggested that the money saved by students from the proceeds of the sale of their handicraft goods could be used to purchase national bonds, contribute to local needs, subsidize poorer students or to add extra facilities to the school. In this way a "collective outlook" would be encouraged.
Some educators, however, thought that too much emphasis on vocational training and the need to acquire skills to earn a livelihood would lead to individualism and selfishness (liyi zhuyi). It was argued that if too much emphasis was placed on a "pragmatic" approach to education, the training of the student's moral character would be neglected. Vocational education had to be supplemented by moral education, which would stress the importance of the collectivity and the state. Without attention to the development of moral character, one educator warned in 1917, vocational education might result in too many people seeking for individual gains, which would endanger the very existence of the state. He referred to the English lower classes who continually went on strike for more money as an example of what happened when people were only concerned with their own welfare.

It was to conciliate these two views that many Chinese educators at this time promoted the educational philosophy of Georg Kerschensteiner, and his concept of the Arbeitsschule (labour school). Director of Education at Munich from 1895 to 1919, Kerschensteiner was a keen supporter of compulsory supplementary education. He wanted to expand the role of the general continuation schools (which had begun to be established in the late nineteenth century to provide a rudimentary post-elementary education, comprising reading, writing and arithmetic) so that the interdependence of moral and technical education would be stressed. His proposed Arbeitsschule would emphasize practical work (such as handicrafts), which would strengthen students' determination, and teach them the basic qualities of diligence, industry, cleanliness, punctuality and honesty. Students would also learn the value of doing a job well, no matter how insignificant. Thus the first aim of the school was to train an efficient worker (what Kerschensteiner called the "egoistic stage").
The second aim was to "accustom the pupil to put his trade efficiency and joy in work to the service of fellow pupils and fellow citizens." This "altruistic stage" would make the student aware of the citizen's obligations to the state, while group work at school would habituate the student in devoting his labour to the collectivity.

Thus Kerschensteiner's system of education was ultimately to "educate its members to form a community of thinking, selfless, efficient people all working willingly and joyfully together for the betterment and progress of the state." It was Kerschensteiner's emphasis on the importance of training hard-working and diligent citizens (in 1908 Kerschensteiner remarked that "education of the people means leading them systematically to take a common pleasure in work") who were fully aware of their duties towards the collectivity and the state that most attracted Chinese educators.

In the early years of the Republic labour schools were described as "industrious schools (qinlao xuexiao) and the concept of labour education as "the philosophy of hard and diligent work" (qinlao zhuyi). A 1913 article in "Educational Research" (Jiaoyu Yanjiu) traced the history of the labour school in Germany and noted that the idea originated with handicrafts being made a school subject in the eighteenth century. The article emphasized the importance of labour schools in training students to work in groups (laodong tuanti). Kerschensteiner's philosophy of "citizen education" was described as one which not only trained the student in a vocational skill, but also moulded a citizen, embodying patience, frugality and diligence, who thought of the public interest before his own. This was done, it was noted, by the practice of "common labour groups" (gongtong laodong zhi tuanti) at school.
Zhuang Yu, also, advocated qinlao zhuyi as an educational strategy. He defined the education resulting from such an approach as "productive education," since its aim was to produce people with "productive power." For Zhuang, therefore, the school would become a potential workshop in which manual and technical skills would be taught and the ethos of hard work promoted. The idea was linked to industrialization. Despite China's vast resources and large population, Zhuang lamented, industry was not developed because the people were not "industrious" enough. The people were thus doomed to be cast aside by the more industrious peoples of the West unless an education was implemented that stressed the importance of "hard work" (both for individual moral character and for the benefit of the state). The connection between "hard work" and moral behaviour was frequently emphasized, and Kerschensteiner often quoted to support such a connection. One article noted that "the essential factor in moral behaviour ... must come from hard work." In this way, the scourge of "idleness" could be eliminated and such moral qualities as patience, forbearance, and a sense of duty would be developed.

Another article also noted the connection between labour education and industrialization. Countries such as Germany, America, Russia and England, the article noted, were promoting qinlao zhuyi because their economies were changing from agricultural to industrial ones. Accompanying this development, the article continued, was a change in attitudes towards labouring people. Such a change was needed in China, where contempt for manual work was rife. An important reason, therefore, according to the article, for the promotion of qinlao zhuyi in the West was to "harmonize" class differences in society by teaching the people to respect hard work and not to look down on workers.
The promotion of qinlao zhuyi, therefore, by Chinese educators was part of a campaign to change traditional attitudes towards manual labour. There were two purposes: firstly, to change upper class attitudes towards manual work by insisting that it was essential for individual moral development and for the economic well-being of the state, and, secondly, to change the habits of the lower classes themselves. Thus an article contrasted education in Germany and England by noting that whereas in the latter country children were trained to become "gentlemen" (shenshi), in the former country more prestige was given to manual or mechanical work. Germany, in fact, was frequently referred to at this time as a country where the virtues of hard and diligent work, frugality and thriftiness were promoted and practised throughout society. One article referred to Germany as a country where "labour was held sacred." Since land and resources were scarce, it claimed, the German people only had their labour on which to rely. The importance of manual work also began to be stressed in school textbooks at this time. Primary school texts praised the virtues of hard work and emphasized that "labour should be respected."

At the same time, Chinese educators criticized the laziness and indolence of the Chinese people. Zhuang Yu claimed that the Chinese "nature" was inclined to passivity rather than activity, and that the people preferred to avoid hard work. Another writer expressed alarm that the influence of western material civilization in China would produce an extravagant rich class and a lazy class of poor people intent on making quick profits unless education promoted the importance of hard work.

The increasing importance attached to manual labour was a feature of work-study philosophy, which will be described in the next chapter. Other
themes noted in this chapter—the emphasis on reforming the lower classes, the stress on a practical education that would prepare students for life, and the confidence that education could create harmony and unity, were all present in the work-study movement.
Notes

1. The idea of "economic incentives" was also raised at this time. One article noted that it was all very well stressing the importance of primary education to the development of the country but that economic incentives, as well as moral incentives, were needed to attract primary school teachers. JYZZ, 6:2, yanlun, p.33.

2. Jiaoyu Shijie, no. 31, p. 1a. A Japanese study of social education, written in 1914, noted that in the early years of the Meiji era all attention had been focused on the formal school system. Social education, which had existed in Tokugawa times, had therefore lapsed. Loyalty, filial piety, and friendship became things of the past; for this reason, the work argued, the Japanese government established a committee dealing with social education in 1912 (although it was not until 1930 that a bureau of social education was created within the education ministry). Shehui Jiaoyu di Sheshi ji Lilun, pp. 15-27.

3. See the article on popular libraries in DFZZ, 15:9, pp. 157-162. For a similar observation see JYZZ, 10:10, yanlun, pp. 142-143.

4. Li Yanhan, Jiaoyu Conggao, p. 4. Li's account of his experiences as the principal of a Shanghai primary school appears in the first issues of ZHJYJ, 1913 - 1914.

5. JYZZ, 3:12, jishi, pp. 93-94. The society also apparently enlisted the services of an expert in "western music" to help them with their drama compositions.


7. JYZZ, 4:3, jishi, p. 22. Later, in the same year, the association decided to establish a "film bureau" which would be responsible for producing films and lantern slides of an educational value. JYZZ, 4:10, jishi, p. 71.

8. JYZZ, 4:5, jishi, p. 39.


10. JYZZ, 4:10, jishi, p. 71.

11. JYZZ, 7:2, zhuanjian, pp. 1-8. The association had a corps of fifty lecturers and ran a "music-training institute (yinyue zhuanxiso).

13. *Zhengfu Gongbao*, vol. 12, pp. 432-438. As noted in *Jiaoyubu Xingzheng Jiyao, shehui jiaoyu*, pp. 18-20, most provinces sent in reports, but unfortunately there are no details concerning the reports themselves.

14. For example, see *Jiaoyu Gongbao*, 2:4, *yishu*, pp. 8-14; 5:1, *yishu*, pp. 13-21. The latter article contrasted social education with Rousseau's philosophy of "individualist education." The latter, which concentrated on instructing people as a group, the article claimed, was far superior.


16. S. Gamble, *Peking: A Social Survey*, pp. 156-157. Those involved with the investigation of drama also served as inspectors of films and phonograph records. In 1916 central government expenditures on the popular education research association amounted to 14,400 dollars out of a total of 2,216,196 dollars. Below are listed the expenditure items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Ch. dollars</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ministry expenses</td>
<td>420,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking higher normal school</td>
<td>337,950</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking local education</td>
<td>320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking University</td>
<td>320,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseas students</td>
<td>209,414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking Industrial school</td>
<td>118,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking medical school</td>
<td>67,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peking girls' normal school</td>
<td>58,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking agricultural school</td>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking normal school</td>
<td>47,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking education office</td>
<td>43,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central observatory</td>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Supervision of overseas students</td>
<td>28,678</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peking library</td>
<td>16,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popular education research association</td>
<td>14,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History museum</td>
<td>9,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Peking popular library</td>
<td>8,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Scholarship associations</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceremonies and rites</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other items</td>
<td>5,600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Jia Shiyi, *Minguo Caizheng Shi*, pp. 140-141.


22. Taga, vol. 2, p. 252. In 1918 the Anhui governor ordered magistrates to keep a closer watch over popular drama because of its "indecent" and "obscene" content. Anhui Jiaoyu Yuekan, no. 12, gongwen, pp. 38-39. It seemed to be assumed that only uneducated people were affected by decadent popular culture. Thus in 1918 the Peking popular education research association addressed writers asking them to refrain from writing heimu novels because the people were "not yet of an educational level" not to be influenced by such works. DFZZ, 15:9, p. 172.

23. Jinghua Xinbao, no. 223 (June, 1906). In 1909 a bureau was opened in Peking to cure people of the "opium habit." Teachers were apparently included among the "patients." See Datong Baihuabao, no. 197.

24. JYZZ, 3:9, yancun, pp. 75-78. Lu went on to complain that the measures taken to combat this trend (proscription of student visits to brothels and different rest days for boys' and girls' schools) were ineffective. He suggested that prostitutes be given regular medical examinations and that an age limit be imposed on potential clients. In addition, Lu maintained that schools should stress the morality of "one husband, one wife," teach hygiene, and offer suitable extra-curricular activities to occupy the students. Sports, in fact, were much heralded during this period as a means to solve the "sex problem."

25. JYZZ, 3:5, yancun, p. 51.

26. Wei Shaochang, Yuanyang Huidiepai Yanju Ziliao, p. 86. Of course, there were many different types of popular fiction, ranging from satirical novels to the romantic knight-errant yarn which combined traditional themes with those from western popular fiction, much of which had been translated from the Japanese. May Fourth writers tended to condemn it in toto as reactionary and decadent. Chinese educators, on the other hand, from 1912 to 1918, generally focused only on those novels which were felt to have a damaging effect on sexual morality. For example, one of the earliest "Mandaring duck and butterfly novels" (as they were pejoratively called), Jade Pear Spirit (Yuli Hun), was not mentioned at all in the Education Ministry's classification. For an account in English of popular urban fiction at this time, see P. Link, Mandarin Ducks And Butterflies (Berkeley, 1981). The early years of the Republic also saw a phenomenal growth in the number of newspapers. In Peking alone there were 50 after 1912, while in Shanghai there were 15. Zhang Jinglu, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 301-312.

27. Wei Shaochang, Ibid., pp. 108-116. One writer commented that not all of this literature was frivolous, and that there did exist more "serious"
fiction. He cited the case of a short story published in the Novel Monthly describing the exploitation of Chinese workers abroad. It should also be noted that although P. Link has stressed the opposition of May Fourth writers to this popular urban fiction, one of them, Zhou Zouren, contributed an article to one such popular journal, the World of the Chinese Novel (Wei Shaochang, Ibid, p. 287)—a journal that was classified as "average" by the popular education research association.

32. An education minister in 1915 maintained that "bad" culture and morals, if unchecked, had a tendency to overwhelm all of society and he compared the process with the workings of Gresham's Law (bad currency chasing out good). However, the minister declared, the solution was not to create "official-style essays" but rather to reform popular culture. Jiaoyu Zhoubao, no. 108 (Oct., 1915), jijian, p. 13.
33. JYZZ, 4:4, jishi, p. 26. The Zhili governor also referred to the use of paintings and he cited the example of France where paintings depicting the French defeat at the hands of the Prussians were displayed everywhere to stimulate the people's nationalism.
39. ZHJYJ, 8:4, lunzhu, p. 41.
40. ZHJYJ, 2:4, tongsu jiaoyu, pp. 1-9. Educators like Lu Feigui also pointed to the general laissez-faire attitude of the authorities in traditional China vis-a-vis popular culture; he feared that modern ideas of freedom and individual liberty would simply allow this state of affairs to continue. Such a fear seemed to exist also in the United States. Thus an article by an American educator, which appeared in a 1913 issue of Jiaoyu Zazhi, complained of immigrants' criminal behaviour and lack of patriotism. In order to combat this phenomenon, the article continued, the government had to ensure that suitable "moral" education was given at all times, inside and outside the school. JYZZ, 5:6, wailun, pp. 55-67.

42. See also JYZZ, 4:6, xueshu, pp. 57-84, for an account of popular education in Germany. The article made special mention of the popular education associations that were formed to oversee all kinds of popular literature. The Berlin education society, for example, gave public lectures warning people against literature that it deemed as "immoral" or "harmful." It also published cheap popular education materials, apparently bringing it into conflict with the commercial book companies.

43. DFZZ, 14:4. Cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, vol. 2, pp. 227-231. One aspect of cinemas in the West that impressed Chinese educators was their ability to encourage patriotism. Thus Huang Yanpei, in a report on his visit to the United States in 1916, referred to the beneficial influence cinema attendance had on the American working class. Before each performance the national anthem was played, Huang noted, and the audience had to "take off their hats and stand up." Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 27, jiangyan, p. 14.

44. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 4, lunshuo, pp. 9-11.

45. JYZZ, 4:6, diaocha, pp. 59-68.

46. JYZZ, 6:2, diaocha, pp. 11-19.

47. In 1914 the Shanghai popular education association condemned "lewd" and "immoral" flower-drum songs (yanchang huagu). ZHJYJ, 3:4, jishi, p. 6. Hou Hongjian, a prominent educational writer, also stressed the importance of "reformed" popular songs as a means to educate youngsters. Hou maintained that such songs, along with more spare-time schools, would guard against the danger of lower class children picking up bad habits from their unemployed or vagrant parents. JYZZ, 6:3, yanlun, pp. 46-58.

48. JYZZ, 4:5, zazu, pp. 23-27. See also JYZZ, 7:8, yanlun, pp. 13-14, for an account of the boy scout movement and its usefulness as a supplement to school education. In the same issue (diaocha, pp. 75-86) there is a report on the boy scout movement in various other countries. See also Xin Qingnian, 2:2 (Oct., 1916), pp. 5-6 and Jiaoyu Zhoubao, no. 138, yanlun, pp. 1-12. A six-part article on the boy scout movement also appears in ZJHYJ, 4:10, 4:11, 5:1, 5:3, 5:4, 5:5 (1915 - 1916).

49. Of course, educational practice in the West varied from country to country and Chinese educators were not unaware of this. For example, they often contrasted the decentralized system of the United States with the more centralized one of France. They nevertheless persisted in emphasizing certain traits in common.

51. Mention has already been made (see Chapter Three) of Zhang Jian's praise of the strict discipline carried out in European and American schools.


53. Wang Xiaochuan, Yuanmingqing Sandai Jinhui Xiaoshuo Xigu Shiliao, p. 3.

54. Tanaka Issei, Shindai Chihoyeki Shiryō Shu, Vol. 1, p. 2. The magistrate also noted that officials did nothing to prohibit such activities but rather went out into the streets to "join in the fun." Another official in the early nineteenth century referred to sons of gentry and notables indulging in "immoral extravagance" by attending plays. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 6.


56. Hsiao Kung-ch'uan (Rural China) notes that during the course of the nineteenth century the reading out of the Sacred Edict became merely a ritual exercise.

57. Liang Qichao, "Lun xiaoshuo yu zhunzhi guanxi" in Zhang Jinglu, Zhongguo Quban Shiliao, pubian, pp. 106-110. See also A. Ying, "Wangqing xiaoshuo di fanrong" in Zhang Jinglu, Zhongguo Jindai Quban Shiliao, Vol. 1, pp. 184-203. Zhou Zouren, in an essay entitled "Inhumane Literature" (feiren wenxue; in C.T. Hsia, The Classic Chinese Novel, the title is mistakenly rendered as "Humane Literature") in 1918 also condemned traditional popular fiction (e.g., Shuihu Zhuan) because it failed to elevate human dignity and morally uplift the people.


59. Ningbo Baihuabao (1904), lunshuo, pp. 1-5.

60. It may also be the case that Chinese educators envisaged a more active role for the state in the moral indoctrination of the people, thus replacing such organizations as the clan which traditionally had played a role in this process through its clan rules and schools. However, I have not come across any specific reference to this question in the educational writings of the period.

61. The quanxueso had been restored in 1915 in order to aid district magistrates with educational administration. Ding Zhipin, p. 61. See also E. Young, The Presidency of Yuan Shih-k'ai, p. 155. Paradoxically, in the same year, Yuan abolished local self-government organs (such as district assemblies). E. Young (Ibid., p. 155) refers to this latter development without mentioning the creation of educational committees (xuewu weiyuan hui) at the district level. For the regulations on the quanxueso and the educational committees, see Taga, Vol. 2, pp. 164, 456.

63. Parks were often referred to at this time as useful for social education, not only because they would stimulate an appreciation of beauty (as William Morris would have maintained in the nineteenth century), but also because they would train the Chinese in the habits of public hygiene (e.g., not urinating in public places). JYZZ, 11:2, yanlun, pp. 32-33.

64. JYZZ, 6:12, zazuan, pp. 61-66. See also ZHJYJ, 8:2, p. 19.

65. JYZZ, 12:10; 12:11; 12:12. Cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, Vol. 2, pp. 326-329. In 1913 schools in Hubei were ordered to conduct regular medical examinations; any student with syphilis was to be expelled. JYZZ, 5:8, jishi, p. 65.

66. The Education Ministry did, in fact, check over public lecture material sent in by the provinces. In 1915 it apparently sent back material to the Hunan education office ordering that the material be revised. Jiaoyu Gongbao, no. 1 (June, 1915), gongdu, pp. 39-40. However, the Ministry noted later on in the same year that, with the exception of Shandong and Sha'anxi, the provinces did not adopt a unified approach with regard to public lectures. Thus each district compiled its own material, the Ministry complained, without having it checked by higher authorities. Jiaoyu Gongbao, no. 3 (July, 1915), gongdu, p. 29.

67. In 1913, for example, the governor of Zhejiang ordered district officials to give detailed information on xuanjiangso, an indication they were still in existence. JYZZ, 5:2, jishi, p. 13.

68. JYZZ, 5:8, jishi, pp. 69-70.

69. JYZZ, 4:12, jishi, p. 90.

70. See the 1917 report on social education by the Shandong education inspector in Taga, Vol. 2, p. 236.

71. In 1915 the vice-minister of education, Yuan Xichou, asserted that the most serious obstacle to educational development was the lack of public confidence in the schools. JYZZ, 7:12, jishi, p. 105. The Education Ministry also had to convince provincial authorities that public schools were necessary. Thus in 1914 it rejected Henan's proposal to save money by abolishing official primary schools and relying simply on private schools. The Ministry stressed that primary education was the nation's affair and not that of private individuals. If official schools were abolished a vacuum would be created into which would step the foreigner. Increasing numbers of Chinese students would therefore, the Ministry continued, attend missionary and "colonialist schools" (zhimin zhiyu xuexiao) and receive a "false education." JYZZ, 6:1, zhuanjian, pp. 1-3. See also Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 2, fulu, pp. 1-3. Another writer
insisted that the state was like one's parents; just as parents had the responsibility to care for their children, so the state had the duty to educate its citizens. JYZZ, 7:4, yanlun, pp. 87-88. Liang Qichao, in a speech to the Education Ministry in 1917, went so far as to maintain that people (whether conservative or progressive) had been much more enthusiastic about education during the last years of the Qing than they were during the Republic. DFZZ, 14:3, neiwei shibao, pp. 176-177.


73. JYZZ, 6:5, diaocha, p. 42. The boy apparently formally joined the bandit group willingly when he became older.

74. Ibid., p. 51. Since traditional schools were less conspicuous (e.g., most of them were located in private homes) and thus were less likely to be attacked by bandits, Hou noted that many parents preferred to send their children to traditional schools. Traditional-style teachers were also not averse to advertising the superiority of their teaching methods and subject matter. See Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 1, guanxue shishi, p. 2. In Ningtan it was reported that rich merchants preferred to send their children to traditional schools because they had no confidence in the new ones. JYZZ, 5:4, jishi, pp. 39-42.

75. Census investigations during the last years of the Qing were often misunderstood by the people. For example, rumours spread that the population was being counted in order to increase taxes or to "sell" some of the people to foreigners. See M. Bastid, p. 83. In Wuxing district, Zhejiang, in 1914, people thought a census team was counting school-age children in order to recruit them to build a railway bridge. The census team was severely assaulted. JYZZ, 6:6, jishi, p. 53. It should be noted, however, that not all destruction of schools during the last years of the Qing was due to either superstitious and religious feelings or because schools were blamed for increased taxes and the high cost of food, as many have argued (M. Bastid, J. Esherick, E. Rhoads). Mention has already been made in Chapter Two of the destruction of a school in Shaoxing, Zhejiang, not because the people resented extra taxes on salt and bamboo for the school's upkeep but because the school, founded by a certain Liu Yinfeng, only served the Liu clan and did not allow others to enroll. DFZZ, 7:5, jidai, pp. 27-28.

76. JYZZ, 6:6, jishi, p. 53.

77. ZHJYJ, 3:13, p. 5.

78. ZHJYJ, 3:17, pp. 1-8.


81. Jiaoyu, no. 4, p. 12.

83. Pingmin Jiaoyu, no. 29 (1921), pp. 1-4.

84. JYZZ, 12:10. Cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, Vol. 2. Xiang went on to note that only with the solidarity brought about by social education would people express their opinions openly and frankly; they would then afterwards wholeheartedly accept the decision of the majority once it was made. In this way the spirit of "isolation" and "opposition" (which Xiang implied was encouraged in the schools) would be eliminated. Such an idea bears a striking similarity with the approach adopted by Liu Shaoqi when he discussed inner-party struggle in the early 1950s. See Liu Shaoqi Wenti Ziliao Zhuanji, Vol. 1, pp. 99-113.

85. Xiang Zhutan, Shehui Jiaoyu, p. 15.

86. Shehui Jiaoyu Jiangyan Dagang, pp. 60-61, 69.

87. In 1924 Fu Baochen, the head of the rural education section of the Society for the Promotion of Popular Education, founded in 1923, claimed that popular education was more important than primary school education. Wu Xiangxiang, "Pingmin jiaoyu yundong di chuqi shishi" in Shibao (Feb. 17, 1980), p. 26.

88. Ding Zhipin, p. 61. In 1916 the provinces were also ordered to establish lecture-training institutes. Jiaoyu Fagui Lubian, pp. 471-473.

89. JYNJ, Vol. 3, pp. 690-691. See also the article in ZHJYJ, 5:3, pp. 1-8, which stressed the "professionalism" of public lecturing. Another article made it clear that lecturers had to be "good at public speaking and argument" (biancai). JYZZ, 11:2, yanlun, p. 32.


93. Ibid. S. Gamble noted that audiences generally comprised merchants and labourers. See Peking: A Social Survey, p. 424. At the model lecture institute there was apparently a daily attendance of 300. It was estimated that during the course of the year over 216,000 people attended the lectures. JYNJ, Vol. 3, p. 692.

94. Ibid. The model lecture institute had a personnel of six regular lecturers and five special lecturers, with a budget of 700 dollars a month. The budget for the model lecture institute was paid directly from central ministry funds, while the other lecture institutes in Peking were financed by the Peking education office. Some idea of the funds involved can be obtained from Jingshi Jiaoyubao.
Some idea of the funds involved can be obtained from Jingshi Jiaoyubao. The average amount spent on lecture institutes increased from about 600 dollars a month in 1914 to 1,000 in 1918. Most of the Peking education office funds went towards primary schools.


96. "Roving lecturers" who talked at temple markets were paid 20 dollars a month, evidently because this was considered more difficult than lecturing in a hall. S. Gamble, op.cit., p. 153. Pay differentials were also evident in the formal school system. Thus middle school teachers were paid much more than those in primary schools. A middle school teacher in Peking, for example, could earn as much as 120 dollars a month. Ziliao, Vol. 1, p. 328.

97. In 1916 Huang Yanpei visited a temple market in Peking where a public lecture was being given. He noted that the attendance was about fifty, the audience comprising mainly labourers and petty traders. The lecture was on the evils of smoking. JYZZ, 7:1, tebie jishi, pp. 1-3. See also S. Gamble, op.cit., pp. 425-426, for a list of topics discussed in public lectures.

98. See also Jingshi Jiaoyubao, 1:1, for the text of a lecture on supporting national products and reducing foreign imports. The lecture referred to China's plight as an importer of manufactured goods and exporter of raw materials. Lectures also campaigned against the import of such "evil" foreign goods as champagne and cigarettes. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, 1:2, tongsu jiangyan, pp. 1-6.


100. At an 1877 conference of Protestant missionaries in Shanghai it was agreed that more effort had to be made to establish links with the upper classes as a way to influence the population. J. Chen, pp. 122, 134.

101. Garrett's unawareness of the importance of education in Chinese tradition also leads her to remark (p. 133) that Chinese students developed an interest in educating the poor before 1919 partly because of YMCA enlistment of students in social service work. Yet students had been showing an awareness of the importance of popular education before 1911, independently of missionary influence. There are many cases of students (many of whom had returned from study in Japan) establishing half-day and literacy schools. In Zhongqing, Sichuan, for example, middle school students opened a half-day school for poorer children in 1905 and gave three classes a day. Over 200 pupils attended. DFZZ, 2:6, jiaoyu, p. 160. S. Garrett also argues that Chinese schools were not concerned with vocational education and thus
the YMCA "had the field to itself" (p. 88). Again, this is simply not true. The years 1905 - 1911, as was noted in Chapter Two, saw numerous attempts by the gentry and others to establish vocational education for the general populace.

102. M. Bastid, p. 56.

103. I have found no evidence in the educational writings of 1912 - 1919 that could support the statement that missionaries, or other Christian organizations, exerted any significant influence on popular education during this period.


105. Regulations on public lectures after 1912 also did not specifically mention the exclusion of girls and women, as had been the case before 1911. When the first lecture hall was opened in Peking, in 1906, it was stated that girls and women were not allowed to attend lectures. Jingshi Shibao, no. 16 (1906). On the qualifications to become a public lecturer, see the article in ZHJYJ, 2:6, 톤수 조교, pp. 11-17, where the author goes into elaborate detail on the changes in tone and pitch the lecturer should adopt in order to accord with the contents of the lecture. Like other writers, the author pointed to the study of rhetoric in the West. Some thought, however, that school teachers should undertake the duty of public lecturing. It was assumed that if teachers were seen to be actively involved in social education, then public confidence in the schools would be restored. See the instructions of the Jiangsu education office to the magistrate of Shanghai in JYZZ, 10:4, jishi, p. 26.


107. There was a revival of interest in Wang Yangming during the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic; his philosophy was cited as support for a more "practical" education. An article in Jiaoyu Zhoubao, no. 110 (Dec., 1915), yanlun, pp. 1-4, contrasted Japan's strength with China's weakness and argued that Japan had "advanced" because, unlike China, she had wholeheartedly adopted Wang Yangming's philosophy, with its stress on the unity of knowledge and practice.

108. Examples of how Aesop's Fables were used for public lectures are given in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, Vol. 2, pp. 231-234. Among the lectures given by the Peking popular education association was the story of the wolf and the sheepdog (evidently compiled after 1917). The wolf lures the dog away from the sheep with talk of a utopian "communist republic" and promises the dog a better life and a better return for his work than under his own master. The dog abandons the sheep in order to follow the wolf but, needless to say, is set upon and killed by the wolf's companions, leaving the sheep helpless and unprotected. The moral is worth quoting in full: "Is there in this world a person who does not have a grudge against another? No, this is impossible. Is there a social
situation in which everything is satisfactory? No. All situations have their disadvantages. What one cannot change must be borne with patience. One must not, above all else, be fooled by the false arguments of fine-sounding speakers. These people arouse discontent and encourage revolt. Try and find any person who has been made content as a result of following them. You will not find any."

109. The Education Ministry informed the Peking education office in 1913 that public lectures were to encourage "self-help," patriotism, and a hard-working and frugal attitude. *Jingshi Jiaoyubao*, no. 1, p. 7.

110. *Jingshi Jiaoyubao*, no. 28, *chaxue baogao*, p. 18. Hou Hongjian, in an article on social education, suggested that public lectures promote agricultural, industrial and commercial development. Such lectures should, for example, stress the "concrete advantages of textile manufacturing and the ensuing wealth arising from the organization of commercial companies." They should also, Hou claimed, promote the advantages of machine-power as opposed to manpower and the efficacy of joint stock companies, through which greater accumulation of capital would be possible. *JYZZ*, 6:5, *yanlun*, pp. 88-99.

111. *Jingshi Jiaoyubao*, no. 31, pp. 25, 28; no. 32, p. 16; no. 34, p. 3.

112. Ibid., no. 30, p. 20.

113. Li Yanhan, "Shunyu tan" in *Jiaoyu Conggao*, p. 35.

114. ZHJYJ, 3:4, pp. 6-7.


116. M. Jansen, "Changing Japanese Attitudes toward Modernization" in M. Jansen (ed.), *Changing Japanese Attitudes towards Modernization*, p. 67. Masao Maruyama thinks the Japanese translation of the term "Self Help" (saikoku risshihen) contained the new idea of independence and self-determination (applicable as much to the nation as to the individual), added on to the Confucian concept of raising the reputation of the family by pursuing learning. By the turn of the century the term in Japan came to mean simply running after success, or shrewdness in the art of living. See "Patterns of Individuation" in M. Jansen (ed.), *op.cit.*, pp. 509-510. It was precisely such a tendency that Chinese educators feared would happen in China.


118. ZHJYJ, 4:2, p. 6.


120. *JYZZ*, 8:6, *jishi*, p. 40. This stress on harmony contrasted somewhat with the encouragement of competition in the modern schools, as exemplified by examinations, grades and promotion. The principal of a
primary school in Baoshan, for example, thought the best way of channelling pupils' energy into useful outlets was to cultivate a "spirit of competition" among them. JYZZ, 7:10, *jishi*, p. 91.


123. *Shiliao*, Vol. 3, p. 215. In descriptions of certain people who chose to contribute their wealth to the creation of schools, the common phrase used to describe their action was *huijia xingxue* (lit. "breaking up the home to establish schools"), that is to say they forewent the opportunity to expand ancestral institutions in order to establish schools for a wider populace. For two examples, see the biographies of Yang Sisheng (*JYZZ*, 2:11, reprinted in *Shiliao*, Vol. 3, pp. 233-235) and Chen Jiageng (*Xin Jiaoyu*, 1:5, pp. 456-460, and DFZZ, 16:12, pp. 197-198). An essay on Chen also appears in *Minguo Renwu Zhuang*, Vol. 2, pp. 241-248. See also the article in *Renmin Jiaoyu*, no. 10 (1979), pp. 24-26 on Chen's educational activities, which included, in 1919, the establishment of Amoy University.

124. ZHJYJ, 2:6, *tongsu jiaoyu*, pp. 14-16. The article also pointed out that public lectures should be categorized according to the different spheres of influence exerted by the state (*guojia*), society (*shehui*), and family. Lectures dealing with the state's sphere of influence, for example, would discuss the government system, foreign affairs and the military, whereas lectures dealing with society's sphere of influence would discuss banks, associations, transportation and public health. This reference to "society" was a continuation of the trend begun in the late Qing when members of the "gentry-bourgeois" class (e.g., Zhang Jian) were beginning to perceive of society as a distinct entity, apart from government. M. Bastid, p. 173.

125. ZHJYJ, 5:3, p. 1. In 1919 the popular education research association advocated the implementation of "prison lectures." JYNJ, Vol. 3, p. 1017. Such a measure had been carried out during the last years of the Qing.


128. It also seems that girls had their own lower primary schools since educational statistics at this time always distinguish boys and girls' primary schools.

129. JYZZ, 5:9, *jishi*, p. 75.

130. S. Gamble, p. 152.

132. Ding Zhipin, p. 60.

133. ZHJYJ, 4:11, pp. 2-4.


135. For the regulations on the open-air schools established by the Peking popular education association, see Ziliao, Vol. 3, pp. 825-826.

136. JYZZ, 7:3, diaocha, pp. 28-35; 7:7, diaocha, pp.69-74; 7:10, diaocha, pp. 93-102; 7:11, diaocha, pp. 112-118; 7:12, diaocha, pp. 119-127. See also the article on the German school system, where reference is made to open-air schools, in JYZZ, 5:8, diaocha, pp. 45-51.

137. JYZZ, 7:1, tebie jishi, pp. 1-3. See also the report on the open-air school in Peking's southern district in Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 20, zongzai, pp. 1-3.


140. See JYNJ, Vol. 3, p. 642, where they are described as the forerunners of the "common people's schools" (pingmin xuexiao) established in the wake of the popular education movement of the 1920s.

141. Ibid., pp. 601, 642.


143. JYZZ, 6:5, yanlun, p. 96.

144. Linshi Zengkan, jingtao, p. 12.

145. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 5, chaxue baogao, p. 20; no. 13, chaxue baogao, pp. 28-27; no. 17, chaxue baogao, p. 28; no. 19, chaxue baogao, p. 49; no. 22, chaxue baogao, pp. 28-30; no. 25, chaxue baogao, p. 42; no. 28, chaxue baogao, p. 16; no. 29, chaxue baogao, p. 12; no. 30, chaxue baogao, p. 20.

146. One student at the no. 1 school was reportedly 69 years old.

147. JYZZ, 5:8, jishi, pp. 67-68.


149. Linshi Zengkan, jingtao, p. 2.

150. Linshi Zengkan, Fengtian, pp. 2-3.


153. Statistics given in Jia Shiyi, *Minguo Caizheng Shi*, pp. 140-157, for provincial education expenditures do not refer specifically to the category of social or popular education.


155. Chen Baoquan, *Zhongguo Jindai Xuezhi Bianyi Shi*, pp. 56-57. In 1920 Shanxi recorded a figure of 57%. For details on specific provinces, see *Jiaoyu Gongbao*, 3:3 (April, 1916), jinzai, pp. 21-37 for school attendance in Zhili; *Taga*, Vol. 2, p. 360, for school attendance in Sinjiang in 1916; *Jiaoyu Yanju*, no. 13, zazuan, pp. 12-14 for school attendance in Jiangsu in 1913. The figures for Zhili are interesting in that they specify the number of boys and girls at school, and also give separate totals for both modern and traditional schools. The percentage of children at school ranged from 4% to 51%.

156. JYZZ, 10:6, zhiwen, pp. 39-56. See also JYZZ, 4:5, diaocha, pp. 50-56 and 4:7, diaocha, pp. 69-80, for reports on supplementary education in Germany.

157. Chinese educators frequently referred to Germany's industrial prosperity and strength during this period and, from about 1910 on, were already noticing that she was beginning to overtake Britain economically. It was precisely for this reason that the German educational system was much discussed and praised. It is therefore misleading for J. Chen (*China and the West*, p. 72) to remark that hardly any Chinese in the early years of the twentieth century realized how much Britain's industrial preponderance was being threatened by Germany. Later, Jiang Monlin noted how much England had been influenced by Germany's system of industrial education, which had allowed Germany to overtake England economically. *Jiaoyu yu Shiye*, no. 5 (1918), p. 2.

158. As with many other articles on supplementary education, the example of Munich under the educational guidance of Georg Kerschensteiner was especially noted. JYZZ, 10:6, zhiwen, p. 53.

159. JYZZ, 9:1, diaocha, pp. 1-8. The fact that supplementary education, unlike in other western countries, was compulsory in Germany was seen as an additional factor explaining Germany's strength and prosperity. See also the article, translated from English, on the problem of uneducated school-leavers in England forming a "vagrant class" and on the successful way Germany was dealing with the problem through her system of supplementary education in *Jiaoyu Gongbao*, 6:12, yishu, pp. 1-22.


161. See, for example, JYZZ, 2:3, diaocha, pp. 21-25.
162. JYZZ, 6:3, diaocha, pp. 21-25; Jiaoyu Yanjiu, no. 2, diaocha, pp. 12-15; ZHJYJ, 10:1, pp. 72-82. It was also noted that many graduates of these schools entered politics, becoming government ministers or members of parliament. Danish folk high schools continued to attract the attention of Chinese writers in the 1920s and 1930s. For example, see Ma Zongrong, Bijiao Shehui Jiaoyu, pp. 79-98, and Gan Cao, Xiangeun Jiaoyu, pp. 37-40.

163. Li Duanfen in 1896 and Luo Zhenyu in 1902 had recommended establishing libraries in all the provinces. After 1905 the traditional term for "library"—canshuyuan (which referred primarily to private collections in rich households)—gave way to the more modern term, tushuguan (which implied a facility more for public use).

164. In chronological order, libraries were established in Hunan (1907), Fengtian (1908), Zhili (1909), Heilongjiang (1909), Henan (1909), Shaanxi (1909), Guangxi (1910), Zhejiang (1910), Jiangsu (1910), Shandong (1910), Yunnan (1910), Fujian (1911), Anhui (1912), Hubei (1912), Guangdong (1912), Guizhou (1913), and Sichuan (1914). Jiaoyubu Xingzheng Jiyao, shehui jiaoyu, pp. 4-7.

165. Ibid., pp. 4-7.

166. JYNJ, Vol. 3, pp. 800-801, 809. Many popular libraries in Yunnan were housed in Confucian temples. (Ibid., pp. 826-828.) See also Ziliao, Vol. 1, pp. 299, 308.

167. Jiaoyubu Xingzheng Jiyao, shehui jiaoyu, pp. 4-7. Other figures recorded included 300 visitors a month for Guizhou, 300 a month for Guangdong, 500 a year for Shaanxi, 900 a month for Hubei, 1,200 a year for Henan, 20 a month for Shandong, and 600 a year for Heilongjiang.


170. Chen Baoquan, p. 112. Zhang expressed alarm that if nothing were done to prevent such a practice, in a few years there would no longer exist in China a sole copy of the Classics or Histories. There is a parallel here to the other fear expressed at this time, that of the potential "de-nationalization" of Chinese students as a result of learning too much English or being educated in missionary schools. In 1916 the Education Ministry ruled that every publication had to be registered with the Ministry and that a copy be deposited in the Peking library. In the same year it also ordered district libraries to collect locally-produced works in order to preserve local culture. JYNJ, Vol. 3, p. 789.

171. The Shandong general library, for example, charged three copper coins as a reading fee. See Huang Yanpei Kaocha Jiaoyu Riji, Vol. 2, p. 25. The Peking library charged one copper coin as a reading fee, while the Tianjin general library charged two copper coins. JYZZ, 10:8, fulu, pp. 37-45.


176. Taga, Vol. 2, p. 237; Jiaoyu Gongbao, 2:4, p. 52. See also the report on social education in Shandong, which referred to "two branch libraries" established by the social education bureau. Presumably, books could be borrowed since the report refers to the number of "borrowers." Taga, Vol. 2, p. 238.

177. Gaimushō (comp.), Chūka Minkoku Kyōiku Sono ta no Shisetsu Gaiyō, pp. 784, 788. Borrowing was allowed at the Peking library, on condition that the reader possessed a letter of permission from the Education Ministry. In Tianjin books of a "general nature" could be borrowed. See JYZZ, 10:8, fulu, pp. 37-45.


179. Even the task of preserving old books was now given a more "popular" rationale. Thus in 1912 Ma Xiangbo, the brother of the late nineteenth century economic reformer Ma Jianzhong, proposed the creation of a cultural institution on the model of the French academy. Such an institution, Ma suggested, would be charged with producing dictionaries, searching for old texts and publishing them on a mass scale. See "Ma Xiangbo xiansheng choushe hanxia kaoyuan shimo" in Fang Hao, Liushi Ziding Gao, Vol. 2, pp. 1995-1996.

180. DFZZ, 14:6, Neiwai shibao, p. 190. Chinese educators were also quick to point out that popular libraries were only a recent phenomenon in the West. Jiaoyu Gongbao, 2:4, fulu, pp. 1-8.


183. JYZZ, 5:7, yanlun, p. 88.


185. Ibid., p. 4221.

187. The association pointed out that, as was the case with libraries, the active promotion of vocational education was a recent phenomenon in the West.

188. JYZZ, 2:1, sheshuo, p. 9.

189. JYZZ, 3:12, yanlun, p. 33.

190. JYZZ, 12:1, cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, p. 206. Yang Xianzhang, the Marxist educator, was later to emphasize that teachers were part of the labouring masses because, just as with the labourer, a teacher relied solely on his labour for a living. Luo Bingzhi, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyujia, p. 180; Pan Maoyuan, "Yang Xianzhang jiaoyu sixiang" in Xiamen Daxue Xuebao, no. 1 (1954), p. 134; Guangming Ribao (16 Aug. 1981), p. 3.

191. JYZZ, 2:6, sheshuo, pp. 69-72.

192. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 26, zuanshu, pp. 14-20. In the same issue, Huang Yanpei, in a discussion of vocational education in the United States, noted that an agricultural or industrial worker could earn more than a "mental worker" such as a school teacher. Ibid., no. 26, jiangyan, p. 4. It may be the case that the increasing importance attached to vocational education led some officials to convert even modern educational facilities into places for vocational training. Thus Huang Yanpei reported in 1915 that the no. 2 agricultural school in Anhui was originally a middle school. The principal, interestingly enough, had graduated from a university in Japan. Huang Yanpei Kaocha Jiaoyu Riji, Vol. 1, pp. 12-13.

193. See, for example, Zhu Yuanshan, Zhiye Jiaoyu Jenyi, p. 174, where the author warns that if workers have low "productive ability" the country would suffer. The concept of vocational education (shiye jiaoyu), as explained in Jiaoyu Silu, p. 148 (a publication issued by the Board of Education in 1904 explaining western pedagogical terms), was defined as "an education that primarily aims at cultivating people to work in productive enterprises (shengchan zhiye)."

194. ZHJYJ, 4:8, pp. 8-9. This is the first reference (i.e., Aug., 1915) I have found to the slogan of the "sacredness of labour," predating 1917 and the later campaign by intellectuals such as Li Dazhao stressing the importance of labour.


196. Zhu Yuanshan, p. 60.

197. Anhui Jiaoyu Yuekan, no. 15 (1919), lunshuo, pp. 1-10. Elie Metchnikoff (1845 - 1916) was a Russian zoologist who received the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1908. There was much discussion during this period of the
debate in the West, particularly in Germany, between the supporters of a humanist education and those of a vocational education. While a humanist education was seen as essentially "aristocratic" in that it catered to the upper classes of society, vocational education was described as relevant for the ordinary people. While the former was appropriate for cultivating a spirit of cosmopolitanism, the latter was more suitable for equipping people in the struggle taking place in the international arena. See Jiaoyu Yanjiu, no. 7 (1913), xueshuo, pp. 1-2. For a discussion of the debate in Germany, see A. Hearnden, Education in the Two Germanies, pp. 20-23.

198. ZJHYJ, 4:12, p. 10; Jiaoyu yu Shiye, no. 7 (June, 1918).

199. ZHJYJ, 1:4, pp. 5-6. For another example, see Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 8, biji, pp. 1-2. Such students were called "hardship students" (ku xuesheng). The idea that ordinary people could better themselves, morally and materially, through education was constantly emphasized by the promoters of work-study. See Chapter Five.


201. JYZZ, 10:6, zhengwen, p. 31. The writer also suggested that all students excelling in vocational training and labour at school be honoured at ceremonies and designated "model personnages."

202. Taga, Vol. 2, p. 239. The Education Ministry also suggested that "model workers" (mofan zhigong) were to be chosen from among students. Another interesting proposal that the Ministry made was that peasants and artisans should give practical lessons at agricultural and other vocational schools. Ibid., p. 240.

203. JYZZ, 4:11, yanlun, pp. 201-212.

204. JYZZ, 5:10, jishi, pp. 89-90. There were also proposals to link schools with the local economy. The Jiangsu education association recommended in 1916 that if primary schools were located in an area where, for example, straw hats were made, then the pupils should be taught how to weave straw. JYZZ, 8:2, jishi, p. 13.

205. Jiaoyu yu Shiye, no. 3 (Jan., 1918). Nos. 10 and 14 of Jiaoyu yu Shiye give details of handicrafts produced by students and their prices. In Chuansha table-tennis bats were sold for 7 cents, while ink-slabs were sold for 34 cents. The Wujin industrial school produced lacquer chairs for 8 dollars each.


207. See, for example, the reports on the Nanqing agricultural school and the Suzhou no. 2 agricultural school, in Jiangsu, in Jiaoyu yu Shiye, no. 3 (Jan., 1918).

208. Jiaoyu yu Shiye, no. 4 (Feb., 1918).
209. ZHJYJ, 4:10.

210. JYZZ, 9:3, zazuan, pp. 5-8. See also Jingshi Jiaoyubao, 5:6, zhuangjian, p. 14, for the suggestion that all primary schools organize trading departments to be in charge of marketing goods produced at school.


212. ZHJYJ, 9:4, faling, p. 4.

213. The idea of producing handicrafts at school and encouraging the saving of money was frequently referred to by Chinese educators who visited Japan. They claimed it was one of the factors explaining the hard-working and industrious quality of the Japanese people. See, for example, a report on rural primary schools in Japan by Lu Guiliang in JYZZ, 8:9, tebie jishi, p. 47, and a report by the principal of Jiangsu's no. 2 agricultural school on vocational education in Japan in Jiaoyu yu Shiye, no. 3 (Jan., 1918), pp. 109.

214. JYZZ, 8:12, jishi, p. 80. See also ZHJYJ, 5:9, lunshuo, pp. 1-9, for an article on the necessity for training an "economic citizenry" (jingji zhi guomin).


216. Anhui Jiaoyu Yuekan, no. 15, zhuangjian, p. 6. See also no. 18, lunshuo, pp. 14-31. The savings movement in schools had its counterpart in workers' organizations. Thus the Zhonghua Minguo Gongdang (China Republican Labour Party), established in 1912, proposed the creation of a workers' savings bank. Wang Jingyu, 2:2, p. 1273.

217. ZHJYJ, 4:2, pp. 11-12.


219. Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 1 (1914), lunzhu, pp. 1-3. The article cited the case of the Phoenicians, "who were skilled at maritime endeavours," and the Jews, who "were skilled at money matters," but who both perished because they lacked "morality" (i.e., concern for the collectivity).


221. D. Simons, Georg Kerschensteiner, p. 41, prefers to translate Arbeitsschule as "activity school" since by Arbeit Kerschensteiner meant the students' active and intellectual participation in the learning process. "Activity" could include physical or manual work, but it had necessarily to embrace intellectual effort. The Chinese, however, stressed the beneficial effect of physical work, hence I have translated the term as "labour school." A 1931 article, translated from the Japanese, in Jiaoyu Zazhi, translated Arbeitsschule as "labour school" (laodong xuejiao) and such education given in these schools as "labour education" (laodong jiaoyu). The article stressed Kerschensteiner's
emphasis on group labour and on nationalism. The article also maintained that Kerschensteiner's "labour schools" were a vital factor in the "preservation of the race." JYZZ, 23:2, pp. 61-72. The article also referred to the theories of the German educator, Zeider, who stressed the importance of inculcating the "labour spirit" among students. Through labour, Zeider noted, all evils resulting from idleness could be removed and children would gain an understanding of the value of labour and labourers in society. Ren Shixian, writing on Chinese educational thought in the 1930s, referred to Yan Yuan, the eighteenth century philosopher, as a promoter of "labour education." Zhongguo Jiaoyu Sixiang Shi, p. 340. In 1918, in fact, a presidential decree had ordered the "honouring" of YanYuan (and his disciple Li Gong) as the pioneers of a practical education. Anhui Jiaoyu Yuekan, no. 12, mingling, pp. 1-2. See also Ibid., lunshuo, pp. 1-7.

223. D. Simons, p. 29.
224. D. Simons, p. 50. See also the chapter on Kerschensteiner by R. Savioz, in Les Grands Pédagogues, pp. 259-274.
225. For articles on Kerschensteiner and German education, see JYZZ, 4:5, diaoche, pp. 50-56; 5:10, xueshu, pp. 71-84; 5:11, xueshu, pp. 85-96; 5:12, xueshu, pp. 97-111; 7:3, shilun, pp. 21-30; 8:5, cilun, pp. 43-50; 8:7, diaoche, pp. 51-56. See also an article on Kerschensteiner and the promotion of continuation schools in Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 41, shishu, pp. 9-17; an article on Kerschensteiner and the concept of the labour school in ZHJYJ, 5:8, xueshu, pp. 1-5; a two-part article on Kerschensteiner and supplementary vocational education in Bavaria in Jiaoyu Zhoubao, no. 161, jijian, pp. 21-22, and no. 162, jijian, pp. 16-17. A work on vocational education, written in 1917, also made numerous references to Kerschensteiner. Zhu Yuanshan, Shiyi Jiaoyu Zhenyi. See also a report of a speech given by Jiang Monlin on Kerschensteiner's philosophy, in Jiaoyu yu Shiyi, no. 3 (Jan., 1918), pp. 1-5. See also Ibid., no. 5 (March, 1918) and no. 10 (Dec., 1918).
226. Jiaoyu Yanjiu, no. 2, p. 9. The Chinese word qin was also used in the phrase for "part-work, part-study" (qingong Jianxue), to be discussed in the following chapter. The first reference I have found to the expression "labour education" (iaodong jiaoyu) is in an article by Zhang Zouhan in Jiaoyujie, no. 10 (June, 1918), lunshuo, p. 2.
227. On this, see T. Dietrich, La Pédagogie Socialiste, pp. 17-19.
228. JYZZ, 5:10, yanlun, pp. 116-119.
229. JYZZ, 7:1, yanlun, p.;19. Another article in JYZZ, 7:4, cilun, pp. 31-44, defined Kerschensteiner's idea of qinlao as labour that "produces something new." People engaged in agriculture of industry, the article claimed, were therefore engaged in "productive labour" because they produced something new (i.e., wealth).

231. JYZZ, 10:1, zhuzhang, pp. 5-7.


233. JYZZ, 7:5, cilun, pp. 50-51. The article also criticized the distinction in England between the well-equipped private schools, which were the domains of the rich and powerful, and the less well-equipped official schools, which were for the poor. In Germany, on the other hand, there was no differentiation between rich and poor. Everyone received the same education in the same schools and hence a united, instead of a class-divided people were created. Unlike class-ridden England, where all important people came from the upper classes, the article concluded, in Germany many famous people came from humble backgrounds.


236. JYZZ, 9:7, yanlun, p. 126.

237. DFZZ, 14:10, pp. 1-6. One article suggested that qinlao zhuyi be carried out first in the cities since people there were less accustomed to hard work than in the rural areas. See JYZZ, 7:11, cilun, p. 134.
CHAPTER FIVE
THE WORK-STUDY MOVEMENT

Introduction

An article in a 1920 issue of Lu'ou Zhoukan (Weekly Journal for Chinese Students in Europe) noted that Chinese students studying abroad originally belonged to one of two groups, the Eastern group (dongyang) and Western group (xiyang). The former studied such subjects as politics and law in Japan, while the latter went to Europe and the United States, primarily to study industry and commerce. It was the "political group" (as the writer called those who had studied in Japan) who had best used what they had learnt abroad by participating in the political and revolutionary activity that led to the 1911 revolution.

In the last few years, however, the writer, Wang Guangqi, discerned a new division among overseas students, that between the "American group" and the "French group" (i.e., the work-study students). Having been influenced by the philosophy of "worshipping money" (baijin zhuyi) while in the United States, those Chinese students who had studied there wanted to build a capitalist China on the American model. Those who had studied in France, however, comprised the "leaders of China's future labouring class" and thus were the enemies of the American-returned students. Wang went on to contrast the life-styles and concerns of the two groups. The students who went to America, Wang asserted, travelled first or second class, were given rousing send-offs and received much publicity. While in the United States they received regular government scholarships and enjoyed material comfort. The work-study
students who went to France, however, travelled third class, were given no send-offs and spent their time in France "sweating and working in factories."

Whereas Chinese students in America concentrated on acquiring specialized knowledge in order to make more money, those in France were concerned with practical training and participating in the labouring world. The American-returned students sought their models in the "oil barons," while the French-returned students looked to the workers for their inspiration. It was thus inevitable, Wang concluded, that those students returning from the United States (Wang also included those returning from study in England) would be capitalists and those returning from France would promote "labour-ism" (laodong zhuyi) and become part of the labouring classes.³

Wang's article is useful in highlighting the uniqueness of the work-study movement. Politically, of course, it was very important⁴ but this chapter describes the movement from the perspective of educational innovation and changes in attitudes towards education. The Chinese students who first began to go abroad in the 1870s and 1880s tended to come from well-off families; they received government scholarships and studied specialized subjects of a technological nature. At the beginning of the twentieth century there was a large increase in the number of Chinese studying abroad, most of them going to Japan. Many of these students were self-financed; for the most part, however, they still tended to come from well-to-do gentry families and they studied "academic" subjects such as political science, law and economics. The promoters of work-study, however, regarded it both as a means by which poorer students could study abroad and as an educational strategy which would combine mental with manual labour.⁵ An article from Lu’ou Zhoukan described work-study as a "great social movement" whose aims were to provide a way
for "the sons of the proletariat" to study and to bring together the intellectual and labouring classes. As such it represented a further change in attitudes towards manual work already described in previous chapters.

This chapter first describes the origins of the movement. A group of Chinese studying and working in France before 1911 became influenced by anarchism. They became attracted to the idea of the unity of mental and manual work and held to the belief that if everyone was educated class divisions and struggle within society could be avoided. Most of the promoters were Francophile and regarded France as a haven in which religious influence had been abolished and political freedom reigned supreme. Thus while educators within China often looked to Germany as a model, those involved with the work-study movement preferred to extol the virtues of France, although Cai Yuanpei (a founder of the work-study movement) was an admirer of both countries.

The movement became part of the campaign to send Chinese workers to France during the First World War. The Chinese government reached an agreement with France whereby Chinese workers would replace French workers fighting at the front by working in factories, at construction sites or in transportation. Work-study students were encouraged to teach Chinese workers both during and after the war; this was regarded as benefitting both groups. The workers' literacy and general knowledge would be improved, while students would come into contact with (especially as they often worked side by side in factories), and learn from, manual workers.

Finally, the philosophy of work-study as described by its promoters in such publications as Lu'ou Zazhi (Journal for Chinese Students in Europe) will be analysed. Although work-study was originally promoted by Chinese intellect-
uals with anarchist beliefs, many of the ideas raised during the course of the
movement were similar to the concerns of Chinese educators previously
described in this study—the advocacy of a more practical education, the need
to "reform" the lower classes, and the importance of labour and manual work.
This last concern was part of the wider discussion, described in the last
chapter, over the necessity of promoting qinlao zhuyi (the philosophy of hard
and diligent work). The confidence in the power of education to create harmony
and unity, another important theme of the work-study movement, was, of
course, a feature of Chinese educational thought throughout this period.

The Origins of the Work-Study Movement

The first Chinese government students to go to Europe were those sent
by Shen Baochen and Li Hongzhang in 1875 and 1876 respectively. Shen, who
was in charge of the Fuzhou shipyards, sent thirty students from the training
school to France and England in order to study shipbuilding and navigation, while Li sent seven students from the Tianjin military school to Germany in
order to study military techniques. Most Chinese students, however, who
went abroad in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries went to the
United States or Japan. Chinese students began to go to Europe again in
the early years of the twentieth century, particularly to Belgium, Germany
and France. In 1902 Sun Baoqi, newly appointed as Chinese minister to
France, arrived in Paris accompanied by twenty government-supported students.
In 1890 the Qing government had requested the Chinese ministers to England,
France, Germany, Russia and the United States to take two students each
with them for the study of foreign languages. In 1895 the number was increased
to four. Some of the twenty "students" who came to France in 1902 were
also embassy councillors. Included in the group were Li Shiceng (Li Yuying), the son of the Grand Councillor and one-time tutor to the Tongzhi Emperor, Li Hongcao and Zhang Jingjiang, who came from a wealthy family of silk merchants. Both initially worked in the Chinese embassy (Zhang was the commercial attaché for a time), although they quickly became involved in other activities.

Li studied French and natural sciences and gradually became influenced by the anarchist thought of his French teacher. He studied for a while at an agricultural school in Montargis before registering at the Sorbonne and Institut Pasteur in 1905, where he studied chemistry, biology and bacteriology. Zhang established a private trading company, the Tongyun Gongsi, which imported Chinese curios, silk and tea "in order to resist the Japanese merchants' monopoly of the export to Europe of Chinese goods and antiques." He employed Chu Minyi (later to be one of the promoters of work-study), who came from Zhang's native village, to work in the company, where Chu was able to study in his spare time.

Like Li, Zhang apparently established contacts with French anarchists. In 1906, together with Wu Zhihui, who had recently arrived in France after studying in England, they organized the Shijie she (World Society), a cultural and revolutionary publishing house. The World Society issued a pictorial, "The World" (Shijie), which gave information on famous scientists and philosophers. The Society aimed at promoting both science and anarchism. No matter how often Li and other Chinese anarchists cited the Chinese classical tradition as support for their ideals, they never lost their faith in science and the progress which they believed would come from it. Wu Zhihui, for example, wrote in 1908 that "the only education that deserves the name is in
the physical, chemical and mechanical sciences and industries, for these pur-
suits can constantly press for new theories and inventions, creating the happi-
ness of mankind and bringing about the progress of mankind." The society
also extolled the virtues of French education, chiefly because it was free
from the influences of monarchy and religion.

This was a time when there was much anarchist activity in France.
While in Paris Li became influenced by the ideas of Elisée Reclus and came
to believe that a mixing of the races would lead to a higher stage of develop-
ment. Both Wu Zhihui and Zhang Ji (Zhang Puchuan), another revolutionary
with anarchist beliefs who came to Paris, stayed at the Aiglemont communal
village on the Franco-Belgian frontier, apparently on the invitation of French
anarchists. In 1907 a French-language newspaper published in Shanghai
claimed that three-quarters of the Chinese in France had "subversive ideas."

In 1907 Li, Zhang and Wu began to publish Xin Shiji (New Century). It
took its French title from the French anarchist journal, Les Temps Nouveaux
(edited by Jean Grave), with which it shared a building at 4, Rue Broca, in
Paris. The printing of the journal, which proclaimed the anarchist ideals of
Li and Wu, was mostly financed by Zhang Jingjiang. Between June 1907
and May 1910 121 issues of the journal were published. The western thinkers
most referred to were Proudhon, Bakunin and Kropotkin; the latter's book,
Mutual Aid, was translated. Zhang brought back from China equipment and
workers (some of them came from Singapore) for the publishing house. At
the same time, in 1908, Li established a beancurd factory (Usine Caseo-Sojaine)
just outside Paris in Colombes, and recruited thirty Chinese workers from his
native village in Gaoyang, Zhili. Qi Zhushan, another future supporter of
the work-study movement, was the manager of the factory. When Li returned
to China in 1910 he made use of his nephew, who was a secretary to the Zhili Governor-general, Yang Lianpu, to gain a personal interview. Yang was apparently enthusiastic about the project and Li had no difficulty in amassing funds.\textsuperscript{33}

It was among these Chinese workers at the publishing house and the beancurd factory (numbering one hundred in all) that "diligent work and frugal study" (qingong jianxue) was first carried out.\textsuperscript{34} Li opened a Chinese workers' school (huagong xuexiao) at which people like Wu Zhihui and Cai Yuanpei taught. The subjects included Chinese, French and general scientific knowledge. A strict regimen was imposed on the workers—no smoking, gambling or drinking were permitted—and they were expected to save their money and not to waste time in other pursuits.\textsuperscript{35} From the very beginning, therefore, work-study was to have a moral function. For workers, their knowledge would not only be increased, which would lead to the disappearance of classes, but also, in the process, their previous "decadent" habits would be eliminated and they would emerge as knowledgeable, morally-upright and hard-working citizens. For students, work-study would not only give them more opportunities than before to continue with their studies, but they would also become acquainted with, and appreciative of, the world of physical labour and would therefore lose their elitist attitudes and disdain for non-intellectuals. An article in \textit{Lu’ou Jiaoyu Yundong} (The Movement for the Education of Chinese in Europe), a publication issued by the work-study promoters in 1916, remarked that "there is no bigger danger in society than when a minority of people who have some knowledge regard themselves as different from the ordinary people."\textsuperscript{36}

The faith that Chinese anarchists had in science was part of their wider confidence in the power of education and the progress of mankind.\textsuperscript{37} Li Shiceng,
in contrast to many Chinese thinkers who were attracted to social Darwinism at this time, emphasized that violent struggle was not a permanent feature of evolution and that mutual aid and co-existence were the logical end-products of evolutionary progress.\(^{38}\) Once such institutions as the family and marriage were abolished,\(^{39}\) and an end put to all jingoistic and militaristic education, the path was clear to a world of justice, equality and fraternity. In a series of articles on anarchism Li declared that only an anarchist revolution would sweep away all classes in society. What Li meant by "classes" was the division between the poor and the rich, strong and the weak, and the knowledgeable and foolish (zhīyù).\(^{40}\) Analysing classes, among other things, in terms of education (rather than defining them solely in economic terms) was a consistent feature of Chinese educational thought at this time, and explains the optimism that underlay the work-study movement.\(^{41}\)

In another article Li took issue with those who claimed that it was a law of evolution for the "educated and worthy" to rule over the uneducated. Such a situation existed, Li argued, only because of differences of wealth and not because of inherent differences of ability. Once everyone was educated and had a skill (yíshū) there would be no need for one part of the population to automatically submit to the other. In contrast to some Chinese educators who condemned the ordinary people as lazy and idle, Li argued that workers were more hard-working than the educated rich and, potentially, more intelligent since they had to constantly use their wits in a daily struggle of survival, whereas the educated rich, with no challenges to exercise their ingenuity, spent their lives in idleness.\(^{42}\) Chu Minyi, also, expressed his faith in the lower classes when he asserted that they were, in fact, more civilized than the upper classes because their representatives, the trade unions, were
genuinely concerned with the public interest and not with private, selfish
interests. Chu had in mind the French trade unions, and it was the percep­
tion people like Li and other work-study promoters had of French trade
unions as public-spirited bodies that led them to encourage Chinese workers
in France to join French trade unions. In this way they would become
educated to think in terms of the collective interest.

Another point to consider in discussing the thought of Chinese
anarchists at this time is the absolute priority they gave to education over
armed revolution or individual acts of violence. Despite numerous articles in
the New Century describing the heroic deeds of anarchists throughout the
world, people like Li and Wu continued to argue that only education would
bring about positive and long-term change. When Li talked of the
"anarchist revolution" he was in fact referring to an education that would
produce equality and harmony in contrast to an education imposed on the
people by the state, which would simply be the bulwark of militarism, an
oppressive legal system, and obscurantist religion. Wu Zhihui, in a 1908
article, commented that:

The means to carry out the anarchist revolution do not
involve the so-called promotion of revolution but education
and that is all; neither is it any more so-called revolutinary
preparation, but rather using education as revolution (itself)
and that is all. In fact, every day that education is carried
out, then every day (there is) revolution.

The unity of mental and manual labour, which was to be the philosophy
of the work-study movement, was advocated by another Chinese anarchist,
Liu Shipei, in a 1907 article in Tianyi Bao (Heavenly Justice), the journal
published by Chinese anarchists in Japan. In a proposal reminiscent of that
of the French nineteenth century utopian, Charles Fourier, Li suggested that
every 1,000 head of population be organized into a unit in which there would
be nurseries and old people's homes. On reaching the age of fifty, people
would be charged with looking after and teaching young children in the nurseries. On reaching ten years of age, children would enter the work-force and perform a number of different tasks, while continuing to be taught by the "retired" members of the group on a half-work half-study basis. On reaching the age of twenty, they would then begin work proper, but still having the option of transferring from one job to another. During the busy season, however, everyone would participate in the harvest. In this way, Li concluded, "everyone would be a worker, peasant and scholar, rights and duties would be enjoyed and shared by all ..."\(^{48}\) The division between those who worked with their hands and those who worked with their minds (laoli laoxin zhi fen) would therefore be abolished.

The Founding of the Work-Study Association and Chinese Workers' Education

With the establishment of the Republic in 1912 there was a new flush of enthusiasm for overseas study. For people like Li Shiceng, Zhang Ji, Cai Yuanpei, Wu Zhihui and Wang Jingwei France was the most appropriate country to send Chinese students, both because they regarded it as the repository of republican ideals and because they claimed it was the most economical country in which to study.\(^{49}\) In 1912 they organized the Association for Frugal Study in France (Liufa jianxue hui) in order to allow more students to go abroad.\(^{50}\) A preparatory school, which was entirely financed by the founders of the Association, was opened in Peking under the direction of Qi Rushan, the brother of Qi Zhushan, who had managed Li's beancurd factory in Paris.\(^{51}\) As Minister of Education, Cai Yuanpei encouraged the new organization and allowed the school to take over a section of the former Imperial College (Guozijian). A
similar school was opened in Chengdu, Sichuan, under the direction of Wu Yuzhang. The students were taught French and other general subjects in preparation for their sojourn in France. Li Shiceng was able to arrange for their reception in schools and colleges in Paris, Montargis and Fontainebleau, where it was hoped the year's expenses would not exceed 600 Chinese dollars. (It was calculated that an ordinary overseas student in Europe and America would spend at least 2,000 Chinese dollars.)

In addition to French (a French adviser to the Chinese Foreign Ministry, d'Horman was recruited to assist with the teaching of French), students at the preparatory school were also trained in the habits of "hard work and frugality" (qinlian). They had to perform all menial tasks themselves and expenditures were kept to a minimum. Anyone, after the age of twelve, was eligible to apply, although basic knowledge of Chinese was stipulated as a condition. While students were in France they were expected to dress and eat simply and perform menial tasks such as cleaning, cooking and repairing clothes. There was also the commonly-imposed proscription of gambling, drinking, smoking and "being improperly familiar with prostitutes" (xiaji).

For the French, such attempts were seen solely in terms of increasing French cultural influence in China vis-à-vis Anglo-American influences. Thus, a 1930 article in Annales Franco-Chinoises referred to the 1912 frugal study association, not in terms of an educational innovation allowing more people to study, but in terms of how it had increased French cultural influence in China. Such an attitude shows that, in addition to economic rivalry among the powers in China, there was also a keen rivalry to gain cultural influence in China, a fact often overlooked. The French attributed British economic dominance in China to the fact that English was the main spoken foreign
language. Any development that increased the use of French was therefore eagerly welcomed.\textsuperscript{57}

It is in this context that the remarks of the French mathematician and politician, Painleve, on the eve of his departure to China in 1920, take on extra significance:

\begin{quote}
France should not be lacking at a time when China, in the process of modernizing, is looking for intellectual guides and technical advisers. If we abandon the promotion of French culture in China today, German culture will benefit tomorrow, at our expense. French civilization is the one best able to harmonize with ancient civilizations and allow them to develop unhindered. The peace of the world has nothing to gain from an Americanized or Anglicized China, guided solely in industrial and commercial methods.\textsuperscript{58}
\end{quote}

Of course, potential economic gains for France were not ignored. Thus work-study students were later welcomed in France because, it was assumed, such students would become accustomed to working with French machinery in the factories and this would, in the long run, benefit French industrial interests in China.\textsuperscript{59}

Between 1912 and 1913 about one hundred frugal study students went to France. Some of them must have been financed by government funds (either directly or through the frugal study association), since two of them were a 13 year-old and 14 year-old from the Peking poor children's home. The determination of these students was well illustrated by the farewell words given by one of these boys. At the station he reportedly declared that he was not going abroad to amuse himself but to engage in serious study, so that when he returned home he could contribute to the development of the country's economy and China "would never again have poor people and people unable to pursue education."\textsuperscript{60} Li Shiceng hoped that within five years the Association would have sent 3,000 students to France.\textsuperscript{61} Many of the first group were brothers, thus
setting a pattern which frequently occurred during the work-study movement, whereby members of the same family (brothers, parents and children, and husbands and wives) would go together to France. Montargis was the most popular school for frugal study students. By 1913 there were 70 Chinese students there. Montargis was an anti-clerical centre and the home of many frugal study societies. The town authorities, in an open letter to the inhabitants, thanked Li Shiceng for sending Chinese students to the town, which would bring benefit to its businessmen and "add to the charm of our city an unexpected and picturesque element."

Wang Jingwei, another supporter of frugal study in France, distinguished two ways in which students could be sent abroad. The first was to select the brightest of university or specialist school graduates for increased specialization abroad; the second way was to allow all those determined to increase their knowledge to study abroad. Most countries opted for the first method, Wang continued, but China needed to send as many people as possible so that the educational level of the population as a whole would be raised. The frugal study movement, Wang claimed, would enable those other than the rich or influential to study abroad. At the same time, Wang hoped that such a method would have a moral effect on students since they would learn how to lead simple and unostentatious lives. Only in this way, Wang declared, would they ever be able to join ranks with the "great majority of the suffering ordinary people." Wu Zhihui was somewhat more blunt when, after commenting that the more people who went abroad the better, he reportedly added that "even if they do not study anything, if at least they learn how to clean toilets it will be worth it."
The promotion of frugal study was part of a movement for "social reform" led by Cai Yuanpei, Li Shiceng, Wu Zhihui, and Zhang Jingjiang. In 1912 they organized the Jinde hui (Association for the Advancement of Virtue), which promoted the abolition of gambling, opium-smoking and concubinage. They also formed the Shehui gailiang hui (Social Reform Association) which, among other things, advocated widespread birth control in China. The importance of "reforming" the lower classes, as we have seen, had already been emphasized during the last years of the Qing; it was to be an important aim of the work-study movement. What was new about frugal study was the emphasis now placed on "reforming" the habits of students. The idleness, elitist attitudes, and disdain for manual work which Chinese educators thought characterized the graduates of modern schools had been a topic of educational discussions in the last years of the dynasty (see Chapter Four). Frugal study, therefore, was an attempt to change students' attitudes.

Thus in 1915 the founders of the frugal study association established the Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association (qingong jianxue hui), which was to promote the idea of work-study for both students and workers. Students would become acquainted with the world of labour and learn how to work hard and live simple lives in order to continue their studies; workers would learn how to be frugal (and hence abandon their wasteful habits such as gambling and drinking) in order to achieve the worthwhile aim of "advancing their knowledge." As such, the Association represented a continuation of Li Shiceng's interest in workers' education, which had begun when he opened his beancurd factory in 1908. In 1913, in addition to the thirty Chinese workers at the beancurd factory, Li was able to arrange for the reception of 48 more
Chinese workers at a French artificial silk factory at Argues-la-Bataille, near Dieppe.69

Shortly afterwards, in 1916, the French government began negotiations to recruit Chinese labour to fill the vacancies left by French workers who were at the front. Since China was neutral, recruitment had to be dealt with by a private, non-official company, the Huimin Company in Tianjin (in reality under the control of Liang Shiyi, a minister in Duan Qirui's government). The Huimin Company offered five-year contracts.70 Unskilled workers were to receive 1 franc a day, bricklayers 1.5 francs a day, and railway workers 2.5 francs a day. The travelling expenses and wages were handled by the emigration bureau, which deducted money from workers' wages as commission and, supposedly, for the support of workers' families. Five thousand were recruited from the Peking area and the first batch (1,700) to go to France arrived in Marseilles in August 1916.71 Between 1917 and 1918 50,000 Chinese workers were recruited, mostly from Shandong, since the main recruiting centres were Weihaiwei and Qingdao.72 There were eventually to be 150,000 Chinese workers in France, 400 of whom were student interpreters and 28,000 of whom had had some kind of education.73

Li Shiceng saw in the massive recruitment of Chinese workers an opportunity to expand his work-study scheme and began negotiations with the French Ministry of Industry in Paris with the aim of recruiting Chinese workers in the name of the Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association. He laid down some important conditions: namely, that Chinese workers were to receive wages on the same level as their French co-workers and that employers make facilities available for Chinese workers to study in their spare time.74 Presumably in order to avoid recruiting in an area where the Huimin Company
was operating, the qingong jianxue hui recruited workers from the south. In July 1916 the French consul noted that 2,500 workers had been recruited from Yunnan, while in 1917 a French merchant apparently recruited 1,000 labourers from Guandong on the basis of the contract negotiated by the qingong jianxue hui.75

A Chinese workers' school was opened in Paris in 1916, which was to teach French, Chinese and general "scientific knowledge." It was hoped that some workers could be trained as interpreters in the factories and teach the other Chinese workers there. One of the subjects taught was trade union organization, an indication of the importance the work-study promoters attributed to trade unions, which they thought had a positive "educational" influence (i.e., membership in a union, according to Li and the others, would train workers to think of the collective interest).76 Cai Yuanpei gave a series of lectures at the school, which were primarily designed to extol the virtues of determination, sincerity and cleanliness (Cai remarked that the Chinese did not wash enough or pay enough attention to their appearance). Cai also drew attention to other "bad habits" of the Chinese people, such as extravagance, cursing and adherence to superstitious beliefs and praised western customs such as politeness (i.e., standing up for women) and the love of animals.77

In addition to promoting workers' education, the Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association also aimed at helping "frugal study" students already in France to continue their studies and to encourage more to come.78 Because of the war, it was difficult to receive money from home; by arranging work for them the Association helped students to continue with their studies. Preparatory schools were established in Peking and Chengdu to teach French and industrial skills (such as metalwork) in order to prepare students for finding
a job in France. Applicants had to be between 18 and 28 years old, unmarried and with no "bad habits." Students could either go to France subsidized by the Association (in which case they had to accept a daily wage of 2 Chinese dollars) or they could go on their own and find a job for themselves for as high a wage as possible.

In France students were met, and taken care of, by the Sino-French Education Association (Huafa Jiaoyu Hui), which had been organized in 1916. The aim of the Association was "to develop contacts between China and France and, especially, to rely on French scientific and artistic education to assist in the development of China's morality, knowledge and economy." The chairmen were the French professor, Aulard, and Cai Yuanpei. Li Shiceng and Wang Jingwei were also members. Another function of the Association was to place students in schools or factories.

In a letter to the provinces in 1916, in the name of the Sino-French Education Association, the work-study promoters gave three reasons why Chinese would benefit by going to France. Firstly, they would improve their material lot and ease the unemployment problem in China. Some workers would become rich and thereby benefit the home country. Secondly, it would lead to industrial knowledge gradually penetrating China and Chinese industry would henceforth be able to rely on a large, well-trained work-force taught by those returning from France. In China, too, organizations were formed with the aim of promoting industry. Two examples were the Association for the Industrial Construction of the Chinese Republic (Zhonghua Minguo Gongye Jianshe Hui) and the Association for Industrial Construction (Gongye Jianshe Hui), both established in 1912. However, neither association specifically referred to the wide-scale implementation of education among industrial
workers but rather regarded itself essentially as a study society in which industrialists and other invited guests would discuss new manufacturing methods and the like. The emphasis was also very much on training experts for industry, whereas the work-study promoters were more "populist" in the sense that they emphasized the training and education of large numbers of ordinary workers.

Lastly, the work-study promoters hoped that by large numbers of Chinese students and workers coming to France they would eventually contribute to the reform of Chinese society. Like Chinese educators previously, who had condemned popular culture, they argued that Chinese society was backward and corrupt. They pointed to a parasitic family system, extravagant weddings and funerals, superstition, decadent entertainment, as well as corrupt and autocratic officials. In contrast, France had freedom of thought, no custom of "worshipping officials or gentry," no superstitious religious influences, and no red-tape or other formalities. Furthermore, they claimed, the French were diligent and frugal and "good at accumulating money" (zhuji), which would set a good example for Chinese workers. Li, in particular, stressed the importance of Chinese workers' education in France so as to avoid the mishaps of previous overseas Chinese (e.g., in the United States), who had been ridiculed and scorned because of their "corrupt habits and low level of education." Li also hoped that Chinese workers would be influenced, in a positive way, by being part of French trade unions. For the most part, trade unions were regarded as a positive influence because they would train the Chinese worker to subordinate his own selfish interests to the interests of the group, but sometimes the work-study promoters emphasized the combative role of trade unions. Thus, in 1918 Wu Zhihui argued that workers' education had to be
widely implemented so that they could form "good (liang) trade unions," which "would enable them to struggle for survival in a capitalist world."  

Another reason that work-study promoters gave for choosing France as the most suitable place for work-study was that the French were less racist towards Asians than the Americans or English, a curious observation given the fact that racism did exist in France. A socialist deputy, Moutet, seriously objected to the recruitment of Chinese labour on the grounds that the Chinese were "opium smokers, alcoholics and illiterates."  

In 1919 the French Interior Ministry forbade French girls from marrying Chinese workers.  

The hopes that people like Li and Wu had in the work-study movement were well-expressed by Hua Lin, who returned to China in 1917 from work-study in France, when he wrote that after such students returned they would be able, in their home districts, "to revitalize education and expand industry, so that within ten years the face of East Asia will have changed, giving rise to a solid civilization with unique characteristics."

The number of work-study students going to France increased considerably between 1918 and 1921. Yan Xishan, the Governor of Shanxi, was enthusiastic about work-study and reportedly sent 91 students from the province to the Peking preparatory school, while the Governor of Sichuan concluded an agreement with the French consul in Chengdu whereby the French Ministry of Industry arranged job openings for Sichuanese students. By the end of the war there were about 200 work-study students in France; in 1921 the Sino-French Education Association reported a total of nearly 1,700 such students in France (see Table 23). The largest number of students came from Sichuan, Hunan and Guangdong. Of those that went between 1919 and 1920, the majority were aged between 16 and 25, although there were twenty under the age of
Table 23

Number of Work-Study Students

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>May 1919 - Aug. 1920(^a)</th>
<th>1921(^b)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>346</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhili</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fengtian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,234</td>
<td>1,581(^c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^a\)Source: FFSL, vol. 1, p. 85-86.


\(^c\)Plus 100 students newly arrived, of whom 90 were from Sichuan.
15 and ten over the age of 30. Over one-third were either primary or middle school graduates, whereas only 90 were university graduates. Included in the group were also 21 women, with the majority coming again from the three provinces of Hunan, Guangdong and Sichuan. They were evenly distributed throughout France, with the highest number in iron and steel factories at Saint-Etienne (60), Le Havre (45), Firminy (32), Le Creusot (19), La Rochelle (15) and Billancourt (14).

Since sources do not give the social origins of the work-study students, the only criteria available to measure the impact of the movement are provincial origin and educational background. The large number of students from Sichuan and Hunan represented a shift from the usual dominance exerted by the coastal provinces of Jiangsu and Zhejiang, traditionally famed for their scholarship and high number of degree-holders. (It should also be noted that most Chinese students in Japan in 1905 came from Jiangsu, Zhejiang and Hubei.) What is even more striking, however, is the large number of primary and middle school graduates who went to France, suggesting that the movement did increase educational opportunities for many people. Of the 100 or so students who went to France in September 1919, 42 were middle school graduates and 9 were graduates of lower vocational schools, while of the 149 students who went in October 1919, 50 were middle school graduates, 11 were vocational school graduates, and 1 was a primary school graduate.

By the end of 1921 the Education Ministry had to prohibit any more work-study students going to France because of the high unemployment rate there. Work-study students in France, short of funds and unable to enter schools or find jobs, became a source of embarrassment for the work-study promoters and a source of irritation for the French authorities. With the
Lyons University incident (in which work-study students attempted to take over the Sino-French Institute at Lyons) and the subsequent deportation of over 100 work-study students in 1921, the movement more or less came to an end. The few years in which the scheme operated, however, saw numerous attempts to implement worker education. Students from the Chinese YMCA in the United states (like James Yen) who came to France at the end of the war to promote education of Chinese workers were only one of many groups of Chinese students who participated in workers' education. It should also be noted that despite the common assumption that Chinese workers' education in France was promoted by the Chinese YMCA, it was, in fact, work-study promoters like Li Shiceng who pioneered the idea.

Work-study students often organized lectures or night classes for Chinese workers. In Montargis a lecture group regularly visited workers in neighbouring factories and gave talks on hygiene and science. In a factory near Toulouse work-study students organized spare time classes for the 700 Chinese workers there. Chinese workers at one factory established their own spare-time school and invited students to teach there. Classes were from 6 to 8 in the evenings and 70 workers attended. The subjects taught included French, English and arithmetic. A night school for 100 Chinese workers was established near Lyons by Gao Yihan, later to be a celebrated polemicist for Xin Qingnian. Although Gao was the son of the former vice-chairman of the Zhili provincial assembly he had nothing of "the characteristics of a scholar-gentry" and was reportedly enthusiastic about workers' education. One source gives information on workers' education in a match factory at Vonges between May 1917, when students began educational activities among the 930 Chinese workers there, and March 1918. By the latter date 20% of the workers were
attending lectures given by the students, 50% were studying in their spare time, and 30% were reading the Huagong Zazhi (Chinese Worker), a journal published by the Sino-French Education Association.\footnote{101}

A significant phenomenon that occurred during the work-study movement was that work-study students often had to rely on Chinese workers for instruction and advice in the factories, since they often worked side by side during this period.\footnote{102} The Diligent Work and Frugal Study Association decided that all students entering factories who lacked basic skills or knowledge of French were to be "assigned" to an experienced Chinese worker. Once the student had learnt the ropes it was suggested the worker be transferred to another factory to perform a similar task.\footnote{103}

In addition to teaching general topics such as French, arithmetic and hygiene, there is some evidence to show that work-study students stimulated a sense of patriotism and concern for the home country amongst workers. In a factory in Capdenac, in the south of France, a student encouraged workers to make a national flag in order to celebrate National Day in October (this same student also read stories to the workers from the Three Kingdoms and Pu Songling's Strange Stories from the Liaozhai Studio),\footnote{104} while several issues of Huagong Zazhi record a list of contributions made by Chinese workers to disaster relief in China.\footnote{105} Thus the 500 workers at Le Creusot contributed 557 francs in January 1918 and the 1,000 workers at Vonges contributed 2,070 francs.

Much of the incentive for implementing worker education was the increasing sensitivity to China's image that was presented to foreigners, a sensitivity that was first evident in Kang Youwei's 1898 memorial (see Chapter One). In France the work-study promoters not only stressed the importance
of Chinese workers' having technological skills but also the necessity for workers to have a certain cultural level, including a knowledge of the customs of the country in which they were working. A set of rules was devised which, it was hoped, would prevent foreigners laughing at Chinese workers. Such rules included wiping shoes when entering a building, not opening the window in the mornings if still dressed in nightclothes, always knocking before entering a room, not spitting in public, not shouting from the window if one saw an acquaintance in the street, not picking a quarrel if one bumped into someone else, not talking loudly or gesticulating in the street and, lastly, having to read the newspapers on Sunday (presumably because this was seen as an important western custom). 106

The Philosophy of Work-Study

The promotion of work-study after 1915 was accompanied by repeated emphasis on the importance of manual labour and the elevation of the worker (gongren) as the key element in society. This process had begun during the late Qing when handicrafts came to occupy a part of the primary and middle school curricula. During the early Republic educators advocated the adoption of qinlao zhuyi in the schools, which further increased the prestige of manual labour. The work-study promoters drew attention to the value of manual labour not only to highlight the vital role workers played in society but also to justify their right to be educated. They often referred to a "dictatorship of scholarship" (xueshu zhi zhuanzhi) to describe a situation in which the division between manual workers and intellectuals perpetuated a class system whereby an educated elite held total power over the rest of the population. 107
In 1915 Wu Zhihui argued that in the days before the Yellow Emperor all sages were workers. They made fishing nets, worked with hand pestles and ploughed the fields. Everyone was self-sufficient, growing his own food and making his own clothes. Then, Wu continued, with the appearance of such philosophers as Confucius, Mencius and Xunzi, sages were presented to the people as fathers and rulers. Inherent in this "false idea" was the notion that those who worked with their brains ruled over those who worked with their hands. As long as the division between mental and manual work continued, Wu concluded, it will "indirectly preserve the vestiges of imperial and official power and directly serve the power of rich capitalists who are succeeding them (i.e., the emperor and his officials)." In other words, Wu argued, there was no need for a separate ruling class based on the monopoly of knowledge.

Li Shiceng, replying to critics who claimed that work-study was merely a scheme whereby a few workers could become rich, emphasized that the purpose was to allow as many workers as possible to be educated, which would not only allow them to earn more and thus prevent great inequalities of wealth, but which would also prevent any one person making use of his knowledge for selfish reasons. Thus, the large-scale implementation of workers' education would break up the monopoly of knowledge held by the few and, in Li's words, capitalists would henceforth no longer be able to trick them.

Another assumption frequently expressed during the movement was that without experiencing hard, physical work one was not only impractical but morally incomplete. Xu Teli claimed that work-study was commonly practised in China during ancient times and that those who laboured as well as studied were respected and looked up to. Wang Rofei, a work-study student, wrote in his diary that he had four aims in going to France on the work-study scheme:
firstly, to cultivate the habit of physical labour; secondly, to strengthen the mind and body; thirdly, to use the scheme as a way to continue his studies; and, lastly, to investigate the French labouring world.\(^{112}\) (Wang's diary was later translated into French to show how work-study students became politically radicalised in France and thus became potential revolutionaries in China who would fan the flames of class conflict. The translator, therefore, wondered if it was in France's long-term interest to receive such work-study students.\(^{113}\)

Another article noted that if students regarded manual labour as a normal and natural thing they would not be obsessed with achieving official positions.\(^{114}\) A student, writing in *Shishi Bao* (The Times), in 1920, explained the significance of work-study by arguing that it not only "broke the monopoly of wealthy official students by allowing poorer students to go abroad" but also, more importantly, that it would enable the student to change his traditional elitist attitude towards the lower classes and to come to realize the value of manual labour.\(^{115}\) Having thrown off the life-style of the "gentleman," work-study students would be "steeled and tempered" through hard labour and would thus be more complete persons than those who had led purely academic lives.\(^{116}\) Such an idea had its counterpart in the call of educators in China (noted in the previous chapter) for an education that would train hard-working and productive citizens. In the struggle for survival, one article declared, it would be these people who would ultimately survive.\(^{117}\) (The life of a work-study student was certainly arduous. One letter from a student at Le Creusot reported that he worked in a factory for 8 hours and studied for 4 hours every day.\(^{118}\)

Behind these assumptions was the hope that intellectuals and the working classes could achieve some unity. Such a unity was always expressed in rather
vague terms; there was no specific mention, for example, of political unity. In general, however, what the work-study promoters meant by "unity" was a situation in which the cultural and educational division separating non-intellectuals from intellectuals would be eliminated. There was much confidence that work-study could achieve this aim. One observer wrote that "at the present moment workers are soon going to become students and the work-study students of today will soon become 100% workers." The confidence that Li Shiceng, Wu Zhihui, and Wang Jingwei shared in the certain benefits that would result from educating Chinese workers was part of the wider faith in the efficacy of education that had long been a feature of traditional educational thought in China, and which characterized educational discussions during the early years of the twentieth century (see Chapter One).

In a series of articles on Benjamin Franklin, Li Shiceng stressed his lower class background and his success as a great scientist because of his hard work. Li asked whether such a thing could happen with all workers, or whether Franklin was simply an exception. He replied that "amongst workers there are those who are just as intelligent and talented as Franklin; it is only that his fortunes (jiyu) were different and therefore he was able to develop his talent ...." Franklin was just one example of potentially millions of workers, Li argued, who could achieve equal success, thus changing the whole appearance of society. Li wrote a similar article on Rousseau, again stressing his lower class background and asserting that there must be hundreds of "potential Rousseaus" among artisans and labourers.

At other times, Li emphasized the importance of worker education in order to "improve" workers' habits and customs, which he believed had been responsible for lowering China's prestige abroad. Wang Jingwei, on the
other hand, urged the implementation of worker education so as to "protect the Chinese workers' inherent virtue (guyi zhi meide)." Wang defined virtue as the workers' diligence and perseverance, as well as the cooperation and mutual aid they practiced among themselves. Their only fault had been their naivete and lack of knowledge, which had allowed them to be taken advantage of by others. With workers' education, Wang concluded, they would become more knowledgeable and thus gain the respect of others.123

The concern with unity and harmony, which had been evident in the views of Chinese anarchists before 1911 and Chinese educators in general during this period, was very much part of work-study philosophy. Li Shiceng wrote a laudatory article on Charles Fourier, whom he praised as a pioneer of work-study. Li was particularly attracted to what he defined as Fourier's philosophy of a "mutual assistance society" (xieshe zhuyi) in which everyone would perform different tasks at different times. There would therefore be no one group of people with a monopoly of knowledge or skills and competition would be replaced by harmony.124 Li's views on this were well illustrated by his curious contrast between Marx and Proudhon, whom he regarded as representing Germany and France respectively. Whereas Marx stressed "state centralisation and dictatorship over the people," Proudhon advocated "decentralisation and cooperation among local inhabitants."125

Wu Zhihui's experience at the Montargis agricultural school led him to advocate a new rural order in China based on the unity of peasants and students. He proposed that agricultural schools be established, which would be the focal point for social and economic change in the village or area in which they were situated. Student labour to cultivate crops would allow the school to be self-sufficient. Such schools would also be convenient institutions to
absorb the unemployed or primary school graduates. The main feature of these schools, in Wu's view, would be the close relationship between students and local peasants. He suggested that the traditional village shrines (shechao) be utilized as the basis for a peasant association (nonghui), to be attached to the school and in which students and peasants would cooperate.126

The principal feature of the work-study movement, however, was the repeated observation that the worker, so long neglected by a tradition that accorded prestige to the scholar, was an important, if not the most important, member of society. This was a continuation of the trend begun in the late Qing and early Republic (see Chapters One and Four) of attributing importance to productive (i.e., economic) work rather than unproductive work (in reference to officials and scholars). Such a change was not unlike that which occurred in eighteenth century France. According to one writer, the "people" (le menu peuple) had generally been regarded with a jaundiced eye before 1750—they were seen as dishonest, ignorant and the "least considerable part" of the community—whereas after this date they came increasingly to be regarded as the most important and productive group of society.127 However, just as in France, where an ambivalent attitude towards the lower classes continued to exist after 1750, so with Chinese educators elitist attitudes persisted. Thus there were constant references to the "idleness" of the people and the "uncivilized" and "decadent" habits of Chinese workers.

Nevertheless, whether Li Shiceng at times expressed horror at the uncivilized Chinese worker or at other times stressed the importance of the worker vis-a-vis the official, he and others involved in the work-study movement never wavered in their firm belief in the workers' potential. In one article, Li described the Chinese workers in France as a "new force" (xinji) in
society whose potential would be realized by education. Furthermore, he argued, the traditional social hierarchy of scholar, peasant, artisan and merchant was now redundant, since the times demanded that everyone become a "worker" (gongren). He referred to France where even teachers and state functionaries were known as workers because they all belonged to trade unions (gonghui). Another contributor to Huagong Zazhi confidently predicted that by the time Chinese workers returned to China they would have the necessary education, capital and patriotic commitment to contribute to peace and economic development. Work-study promoters also assumed that large numbers of Chinese workers and work-study students would become the teachers of those back home in China. They were also regarded as the key element in the reform of Chinese society (e.g., their example would lead to the elimination of gambling and opium-smoking among the lower classes). Another writer argued that student-workers would become the only important and necessary members of society.

However, the fundamental rationale for worker education was to establish harmony in society since, it was assumed, classes would no longer exist once everyone was educated. As one writer put it:

If everyone has an equal education then classes based on knowledge and ability will be abolished. Then all other various classes will soon break up.

An additional reason why Chinese workers' education in France would lead to harmony in China was thought to be the beneficial influence of France itself. In another reference to the contrast he perceived between Marxian dictatorship and the "cooperativism" of Fourier and Proudhon, Li Shiceng commented that while the former was practised in Russia, the latter was practised in France and that therefore France's workers' parties and organiza-
tions were peaceful and contributed to harmony rather than conflict. The irony is that while the work-study experience radicalized many Chinese students and made them aware of the "bitter class struggle in Europe between capitalists and workers," Li persisted in his belief that the work-study movement in France was the blueprint for unity and harmony in China. Ultimately, the hopes of the work-study promoters were not realized. Many work-study students returned to China with the aim of participating in the class struggle, while Chinese workers returning from France joined the ranks of the expanding proletariat in such cities as Shanghai, where, for example, they might very well have been participants in the 1927 insurrection.

The work-study movement, however, had done much to draw attention to the importance of workers and manual labour, and to break down the traditional attitude of according social prestige solely to the intellectual and the scholar. With its aim of combining mental and manual work, the movement occupies an important place in China's educational history. The implication that such an education was more appropriate than a purely academic one in formal schools was yet another example, noted previously, of the dissatisfaction felt with modern schools. Although the aims of the movement reflected the anarchist beliefs of its promoters, the optimism and faith in the power of education was just as much a characteristic of Li Shiceng's thought as it had been of Chinese officials, reformers and revolutionaries in the early years of the twentieth century. Finally, the movement pointed very much to the future since certain of the ideas raised during its course, such as the necessity for students and intellectuals to participate in labour and gain first-hand experience of the labouring world and the importance of raising workers' educational and cultural levels were to be an integral part of Maoist educational philosophy.
Notes


2. It should be noted that Wang was specifically referring to those students on the work-study programme (qingong jianxue). In the same article he distinguished three types of students in France: those with official scholarships (the future "capitalist class"), those who were self-financed (the future "middle class") and the work-study students. Xu Teli, one of the work-study students, has described the bitter animosity that arose between the "aristocratic" government-supported students and "commoner" work-study students in France as a result of the former appropriating all the emergency funds sent by the Peking government ostensibly to help out the work-study students, who by 1920 were in dire financial straits because of the lack of employment opportunities. See Xu Teli Jiaoyu Wenji, pp. 107 - 111.

3. Wang argued that the conflict between these two groups would form the basis for "the social revolution." As will be shown later, the original promoters of the work-study movement portrayed the scheme, if practised widely, as the best way to avoid the social revolution.

4. Chow Tse-tung perhaps goes too far when he comments: "It seems fair to say that many of these returned work-study students and workers were instrumental in driving the May Fourth movement to extremes in both socialism and nationalism early in the twenties." The May Fourth Movement, p. 40. Many future CCP leaders studied in France on the work-study programme, including Zhou Enlai, Deng Xiaoping, Chen Yi, Li Fuchun, Nie Rongzhen, Xu Teli, Li Lisan, Wu Yuchang, He Changgong, Cai Chang, Li Weihan, as well as early communist "martyrs" such as Cai Hesen and Wang Rofei. It was while in France that many of these students first became acquainted with, and converted to, Marxism. In 1921 a socialist youth corps was established in Paris, which later formed the basis for the main branch of the CCP in Europe. The youth corps published Shaonian (Youth) and Chiguang (Red Light), of which Zhou Enlai was an editor and Deng Xiaoping the mimeographer. The political activities of Chinese students in France have attracted little attention in English. See C. Brandt, "The French-returned Elite in the Chinese Communist Party" in E.F. Szczepanik (ed.), Symposium on Economic and Social Problems of the Far East, pp. 229-239; Kai-yu Hsu, Chou En-lai: China's Gray Eminence, pp. 27-43; R. Scalapino and G. Yu, The Chinese Anarchist Movement, pp. 73-74; Chan Lau Kit-ching, The Chinese Youth Party 1923 - 1945, pp. 10-19; J. Price, Cadres, Commanders and Commissars, pp. 18-19. Surprisingly enough, there is also little in French on the Chinese in France during this period. The only substantial work on the subject (which only uses French sources) is J. Van der Stegen, Les Chinois en France 1915 - 1925 (Mémoire de maîtrise, Univ. de Paris-Nanterre, 1974). See also A. Kriegel, "Aux origines françaises du communisme chinois" in A. Kriegel,
Communismes Au Miroir Français, pp. 57-93. For an account in Chinese by a participant of the movement, see Li Huang, "Liufa qingong jianxue yu Zhongguo gongchandang" in Ming Bao, no. 45, pp. 2-8; no. 46, pp. 15-19; no. 47, pp. 10-16; no. 48, pp. 22-28. Li is particularly critical of Li Shiceng and Wu Zhihui, who, according to Li, tempted Chinese students with their idealistic and unrealistic aims to come to France, only for the students to become politically radicalised while in France and join the CCP.

5. Wu Zhihui even remarked, in 1917, that work-study in France was cheaper for those in poor rural areas than it was to study in Shanghai. Shiliao, Vol. 1, p. 288. Another difference that marked the work-study movement was that whereas earlier the Qing government decreed that no one over 20 years of age was to be allowed to go abroad to study because, it was thought, people over 20 would not be able to learn foreign languages so easily and would corrupt younger students with their "undisciplined and pleasure-seeking" natures (Shiliao, Vol. 1, pp. 279-280), there was no such age-limit on work-study students. Xu Teli, for example, was in his forties when he first went to France.

6. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 67 (Feb. 19, 1921). The writer also argued that since the world was dominated by capitalists the only option open to intellectuals was to join the labouring classes in their struggle against the capitalists.

7. One of the key figures in the work-study movement, Li Shiceng, was a keen admirer of the French philosophe, Denis Diderot, and at one point organized a Diderot society. Li Shiceng Xiansheng Jinianji, p. 240.

8. Cai particularly admired the German university system. See his report to Peking University on higher education in Europe in DFZZ, 14:7, cited in L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, Vol. 2, pp. 214-215. At the same time Cai praised the French educational system because of the non-interference of religion. Despite Cai's admiration of Germany, French journals were keen to point out his preference for the French educational system over that of the United States or Germany. See Annales Franco-Chinoises (March, 1927), pp. 31-33.

9. The education of Chinese workers in France is thus seen as an outgrowth of the work-study movement begun in the early years of the Republic and not as the "brainchild" of Chinese YMCA workers (like James Yen) from the United States. The idea that Yen and the Chinese YMCA were the initiators of mass education among Chinese workers in France was publicized originally by Yen himself. See P. Buck, Tell the People: Talks with James Yen about the Mass Education Movement (New York, 1945).

10. One of the students who went to France was Ma Jianzhong, who became the first Chinese to receive the French baccalauréat. M. Banno, "Furansu ryūgaku jidai no Ma Kenchū" in Kokka Gakkai Zasshi, no. 5 (Aug., 1971), p. 271.
11. From 1872 to 1876 120 Chinese government students went to the United States. In 1910, following the return of part of the Boxer indemnity funds, 650 went to the United States. By 1915 there were 1,461. In 1896 the first Chinese government students went to Japan. The number reached a peak in 1905-1906 when there were reportedly between 8,000 and 10,000 Chinese students in Japan. After this time, when the Qing government imposed restrictions, the numbers declined until, by 1912, there were only 1,400 Chinese students in Japan. See Liu Wangling, "1896-1906 nianjian Zhongguo liuri xuesheng rensu buzhen" in Xin hai Geming Lunwenji, pp. 333-344. On Chinese students in Japan, see Huang Fuqing, Qingmo Liuri Xuesheng (Taibei, 1975), and Saneto Keishu, Chugokujin Nihon Ryugaku Shi (Tokyo, 1960).

12. Most of the students who went to Europe in the early twentieth century came from Jiangsu and Hubei. Shiliao, Vol. 1, p. 282.

13. Xin hai Geming Lunwenji, p. 335.

14. This practice had begun with Xue Fucheng when he was minister to France in the late nineteenth century. These "councillor-students" (suyuan xuesheng) studied foreign languages and worked in the embassy at the same time. They were apparently poorly paid. Wu Zhihui Xiansheng Wencui, Vol. 2, p. 60.

15. For information on Li and Zhang, see Republican China, Vol. 1, pp. 73-77, and Vol. 2, pp. 319-321. Wu Zhihui gives the names of two other of these "students" but I have been unable to find out any further information on this group of twenty. Wu Zhihui Xiansheng Wencui, Vol. 2, p. 58.

16. Years later, in 1926, Sun Baoqi recalled how "diligent" Li had been and how he had given Li permission not to come into the embassy so often in order that he could study more. Zhongfa Jiaoyujie, no. 2 (Nov., 1926), p. 49.

17. J. Van der Stegen, p. 93. Li's interest in the natural sciences led him to organize a Far Eastern Biological Study Association in Paris. In 1912 he published the French edition of a work he had written on the various uses of the beancurd, entitled "Le Soja, Sa Culture, Ses Usages Alimentaires, Therapeutiques, Agricoles et Industrielles."


19. Li was also to recruit workers from his native village for his beancurd factory. Chu Minyi (1884 - 1946) also came from a scholar-official family. In 1912 he studied in Brussels and was one of the organizers of the Sino-French Education Association in 1915. He then studied medicine at the University of Strasbourg, where he graduated in 1921. In that year he became vice-president of the Institute Franco-Chinois at the University of Lyons. Republican China, Vol. 1, pp. 467-469.
20. For Wu Zhizhui, see Republican China, Vol. 3, pp. 416-419. Wu came from a scholar-gentry family in Jiangsu. In 1891 he obtained the zhuren degree but failed to obtain the jinshi. Zhang, Li and Wu all joined the Tongmenghui, the revolutionary organization established in Tokyo by Sun Yat-sen in 1905, although Zhang insisted that he forego the requirement of swearing an oath since it violated his atheistic convictions. Minguo Bairen Zhuan, Vol. 1, p. 426.

21. Chu Minyi managed the publication, while the editor was a woman by the name of Yao Hui. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 3. I have been unable to find any further reference to this person.

22. R. Scalapino and G. Yu, p. 5.


24. Li Shiceng, from an early stage, became a fervent admirer of France, declaring that he was "charmed by the French spirit." J. Van der Stegen, p. 92.

25. Ibid., p. 99. Elisee Reclus (1830 - 1905) was a French geographer and anarchist.


27. Echo de Chine (July 18, 1907). The article referred to a Mister Tsang, a merchant from Hangzhou (evidently Zhang Jingjiang) who was in Paris with his family and who had established a printing house by the name of La Libératrice. This printing house, based firstly in Colombes and then, in 1916, in Tours, published Lu'ou Zazhi (Journal for Chinese Students in Europe). The French foreign minister in 1910 noted that the Chinese in France regarded themselves as the "avant-garde des révolutionnaires." J. Van der Stegen, p. 90; A. Kriegel, p. 74.

28. The name was changed to Nouveau Siècle in 1909. The gérant (director) of the journal was registered in the French police archives as one Leopold Verrier, a French printing worker. A. Kriegel, p. 76.

29. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 3.

30. In 1907 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Peking telegraphed the Chinese embassy in Paris ordering it to stop the publication of Xin Shiji. Li Shuhua, p. 43. On the Chinese anarchist group in Tokyo, which published the Tianyi Bao (Heavenly Justice), see M. Bernal, Chinese
Socialism to 1907, pp. 201-226. Liu Shipei, a classical scholar who became attracted to anarchism in Japan, argued that because the alienation between government and people in China was more profound than anywhere else, China would be the first country to realize anarchism. See Xin Shiji (Nov. 16, 1907) for the text of his speech at the first meeting of the Society for the Study of Socialism.

31. These workers evidently included some who had had schooling, since there is a reference to three graduates of a rural half-day school. One of them, Li Guangan, was later to assist Li Shiceng in the negotiations with the French Ministry of Industry over the recruitment of Chinese workers. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 81.

32. Qi Zhushan was the elder brother of Qi Rushan (1872 - 1962), the first Chinese scholar to do extensive research on traditional Chinese drama. Like Li Shiceng, the Qi family came from Gaoyang in Zhili. Their father was a protege of Li Shiceng's father, Li Hongcao, and served as Li's tutor. Both Qi Zhushan and Qi Rushan studied French at the Tongwenguan from 1895 to 1900. It was Qi Rushan who escorted the Chinese workers to Paris between 1908 and 1911. In 1913 he escorted the first group of Chinese students on the frugal study scheme to France. Qi later became the impresario for the famous Peking opera performer, Mei Lanfang. Republican China, Vol. 1, pp. 2299-301. It is interesting to note that Chinese workers in France apparently organized a Peking opera group (jingjutuan). Dahan Gongbao (Aug. 16, 1921).

33. Li Shuhua, p. 44.

34. An article on Li in the Annales Franco-Chinoises, no. 2 (1927), pp. 27-30, referred to his belief that China "needed new elites, who were to be found among workers; the only thing which they lacked was money." Hence, according to the article, Li began to promote the idea of the worker-student.

35. The workers slept and ate in the same building, living a communal life "similar to the organization of a collective life in school." Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 50.

36. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 9.


38. As late as 1916 the work-study promoters were still proclaiming their faith in the natural evolutionary process towards fraternity and cooperation. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 12.

39. See "Hui jia tan" in Xin Shiji, no. 82 (Jan. 30, 1909). The article argued that with the development of the family classes appeared (rich and poor, aristocrat and commoner). The division between educated and non-educated widened and mobility was stifled. It suggested two ways
by which the family could be eliminated—the abolition of marriage (the article proposed the building of "meeting-place hotels" where men and women could meet and decide whether to live together) and the expansion of women's education, which would make them more self-sufficient and independent. As an example of women's independence the article referred to the women of Shunde and Nanhai districts in Guangdong who apparently refused to marry and who lived and worked together. An article on these women appears in Xin Shiji, no. 60 (Aug. 15, 1908). For an account in English, see M. Topley, "Marriage Resistance in Rural Kwangtung" in M. Wolf and R. Witke (ed.), Women in Chinese Society, pp. 67-88. Topley's unawareness of the Xin Shiji article leads her to remark that the only contemporary references to these women comprised "a few brief, mostly anecdotal references, chiefly by Westerners ..." (Ibid., p. 67).


41. A good example of this can be found in the article by Liu Shipei in Tianyi Bao, no. 3 (1907), printed in Zhang Nan, 2:2, pp. 907-913. Having discussed the "pioneers" of the theory of the basic equality of all people (Mencius, Wang Yangming, Rousseau), Li commented:

It was not like this from primitive times onwards when the separation between the knowledgeable and foolish, and between the strong and the weak, gave rise to divisions. The strong oppressed the weak, the many violated the few, the knowledgeable deceived the foolish, and the daring made life unbearable for the timid. From this aristocrats came to control the commoners, the rich came to control the poor, and one clan came to control another clan. (Ibid., p. 907.)


43. Xin Shiji, no. 82 (Jan. 30, 1909). Chu also urged Chinese revolutionaries to use the traditional secret societies in China as the bases for modern trade unions. Xin Shiji, no. 42 (April 11, 1908).

44. Chinese anarchists in China and Japan were more impatient, however. An article in Zhongguo Baihua Bao (no. 17, lunshuo, pp. 1-6) argued that education was too slow and not conducive to change and that therefore wide-scale assassinations of officials had to be carried out. Cai Yuanpei, himself, while principal of the Patriotic Girls' School in Shanghai in 1902, hoped to spread anarchism and assassination methods and claimed that the aim of the school was to train female anarchists. Chen Jingpan, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyushi, p. 217.

45. Zhang Nan, Vol. 3, p. 174. It is true that in his series of article on anarchism Li distinguished between education and revolution, assigning a "positive" role to the former and a "passive" role to the latter. However, Li did not go into any details as to how the revolution would be carried out and by whom.
46. *Xin Shiji*, no. 65 (Sept. 12, 1908).

47. Zhang nan, 2:2, pp. 907-913.

48. Ibid., p. 910. Liu also assumed that agriculture would be mechanized, thus releasing labour to perform other tasks.

49. Wang Jingwei, evidently assuming there would be objections to praising France as a haven of republican ideas because of its imperialistic nature, agreed that France's record in Indo-China was bad but that this should not influence one's opinion of France as a whole. Another reason Wang gave for China to emulate France was that its revolution, unlike the one experienced by the American colonies, had been thorough, involving the complete renewal of politics, culture and society. *DFZZ*, 14:9, *Neiwei shibao*, pp. 178-179.

50. The regulations are in *Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong*, pp. 50-55. See also *Xin Qingnian*, 3:2, pp. 1-4; *DFZZ*, 14:6, *neiwei shibao*, pp. 193-195; *FFSL*, Vol. 1, pp. 169-174. At the same time a girls' association for frugal study was organized.

51. *Shiliao*, Vol. 1, pp. 317-320. The fees were 11 dollars a month for each class of twenty students. The school was closed down in 1913 by Yuan Shikai, evidently because he regarded it as a source of subversion. It was re-opened in 1917, when the fees were 2 dollars a month. *QGYD*, p. 39.

52. Wu Yuzhang (1878 - 1966) had studied in Japan, where he joined the *Tongmenghui* and edited a journal for Sichuanese students. From 1913 to 1916 he studied political science and economics in Paris. After 1949 he was elected to a number of educational posts, including membership of the Committee for the Elimination of Illiteracy and the Committee to Reform the Written Language. *Chinese Communist Who's Who*, pp. 464-465.

53. *Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong*, p. 66. The cost of travelling to France, via the Trans-Siberian railway, was estimated to be 200 Chinese dollars.

54. The aim of the Association was "to cut down on expenditures in order to expand overseas study, and by labour and a simple life to cultivate habits of diligence and hard work." *QGYD*, p. 15.

55. *QGYD*, p. 25.

56. *Annales Franco-Chinoises*, no. 15, p. 27.

57. *Politique de Pékin*, no. 16 (April 21, 1918). Another article warned that recently China had a tendency to favour the German language and culture, and called for more French in Chinese middle schools (Ibid., no. 31, Aug. 4, 1918). See also *Asie Française*, no. 159 (June, 1914), pp. 238-239.


60. *QGYD*, p. 30. See also *JYZZ*, 5:4, *jishi*, pp. 31-32. Some of these students did well. One graduated top of his class in chemistry at Toulouse University and another came first in the graduating class of Montargis middle school. *Zhongguo Liuxue Jiaoyushi*, p. 350.

61. *QGYD*, p. 25.

62. Among the first group of students who went to France in 1912-1913 were the brothers Zhu, Li, Zhang, Nie and Wei. *Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong*, p. 55.

63. A. Kriegel, p. 78.


65. *Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong*, p. 35.


68. *Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong*, pp.80-81; *QGYD*, p. 52.

69. *L'Humanité* (March 30, 1914). The article noted that the average age of the workers was 25 and that "they read a lot." There were also ten other Chinese workers in various factories, studying in their spare time. *Lu'ou Zazhi*, no. 6, pp. 2-3.


73. A. Kriegel, p. 64.

74. Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 1, p. 9. Another condition was that there was to be no intermediary handling travelling expenses and wages. The key article of the contract read: "The employer has to organize supplementary courses during the workers' spare time, with special emphasis on French ..." Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 96. It is interesting to note that the Huimin Company accused Li of being a Bolshevik agitator stirring up the Chinese workers. A. Kriegel, p. 88.

75. Lu'ou Zazhi, nos. 1 and 10.

76. In 1919 the Trade Union of Chinese Workers in France (Liufa Huagong Gonghui) was organized. It had over 30 branches and comprised 4,000 members. It demanded that supervision of Chinese workers in France be transferred from the French Ministry of War to the Ministry of Industry. For an account of the union, see FFSL, Vol. 1, pp. 266-271. The regulations are printed in Xin Qingnian, 7:6, pp. 4-7. The aim of the organization was "to consolidate the unity of the Chinese workers, enlarge the scope of their knowledge and to improve the level of their material and mental life." Membership fees were 3 francs a month and members were not to "mix with prostitutes, gamble or drink."

77. Cai Yuanpei Xiansheng Quanjii, pp. 197, 202-205, 210-220.

78. One source argues that the Association was founded solely for workers' education and to combat Liang Shiyi's recruitment of Chinese workers by providing a better contract (i.e., the provision of education). QGYD, p. 7.

79. These conditions must have been waived later on since students older than 28 went on the work-study scheme.

80. The Association hoped that students would get together the money they saved and establish joint-stock companies when they returned to China.

81. The regulations for the Huafa Jiaoyu Hui are in Shiliao, Vol. 1, p. 321; FFSL, Vol.1, pp. 206-209; QGYD, pp. 75-79. See also Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, p. 115. In his speech at the opening of the meeting, Cai argued that the French concept of education was most suitable for China—more so than American or Swiss concepts because, although these countries had no monarchies, "they were still taken in by the vogue of new religions" (xinjiao zhi feng). Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, pp.63-64. Like France, Cai claimed, China had always had freedom of belief, since Confucianism had never become a rigid state orthodoxy. In turn, Aulard commented during the opening ceremony that Confucius was the forerunner of the French Revolution because of his humanist ideals. Ibid., p. 112.

82. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, pp. 82-83.

84. Xin Shiji, before 1911, had often attacked the family system. It was particularly condemned for blocking public education. See no. 28 (Jan. 4, 1908).

85. The Chinese ambassador in Paris, writing to the Ministry of Commerce in 1917 on Chinese workers in France, emphasized that they must not retain their former bad habits lest they be ridiculed by the French and China's reputation suffer. He also warned that Chinese workers and merchants should not damage China's prestige by engaging in business when they had little capital. He referred to the case of some Hubei workers who sold paper flowers in a Paris street "with dishevelled hair and dirty clothes" and noted that they were a laughing stock for passersby. DFZZ, 14:7, neiwai shibao, p. 172.

86. This suggests that Li had no confidence in the potential educational role of workers' organizations within China. The one important such organization, the Chinese Republic Labour Party (Zhonghua Minguo Gongdang) was dispersed in 1913 following the execution of its leader, Xu Qiwen, for his part in the Second Revolution. In 1914 Yuan Shikai banned all trade union activity in China. See Zhao Qin, "Xinhai geming qianhou di Zhongguo gongren yundong" in Lishi Yanjiu, no. 2 (1959), pp. 1-16.


88. A. Kriegel, p. 63.

89. A. Kriegel, p. 68. Another reaction to the Chinese gives an interesting glimpse of the French mentality. One article, after expressing fear that Chinese workers were not to be trusted because they might sympathize with German prisoners in France and commit sabotage with them, commented: "Whether they come from Qingdao, Tianjin or Pukou, this rabble still retains an attitude of patronising and arrogant superiority towards us." See La Revue de Paris, Vol. 16 (Nov.-Dec., 1919), pp. 146-162.

90. Hua's letter, urging the provinces to send more students to France, is in Shiliao, Vol. 2, pp. 328-329 and QGYD, pp. 46-48. He recommended that every district send two or three students to France, calculating that this would mean about 10,000 being sent.

91. Shu Xincheng, Jindai Zhongguo Liuxueshi, pp. 90-91.

92. FFSL, Vol. 1, pp. 86-88. The number of primary and middle school graduates might very well be higher, since 300 of the students are listed as coming from the preparatory school without their educational background being given. Of the 18 women work-study students listed for 1921, most were graduates of normal or middle schools. FFSL, Vol. 1, p. 143. One idea proposed was that Chinese women who came to France on the work-study programme should start up embroidery
businesses in France because, it was claimed, Chinese women were more skillful than their western counterparts. In this way China would be able to control the French market for embroidered goods. Liufa Jianxue Baogaoshu, p. 90.

93. M. Bernal, Chinese Socialism to 1907, p. 131.

94. QGYD, pp. 679-682.

95. Ibid., pp. 616-623. The large number of middle school and vocational school graduates going to France is significant when one considers that in 1916 the Education Ministry insisted that students going abroad on official scholarships had to be graduates of universities or higher specialist schools. Shu Xincheng, Jindai Zhongguo Liuxue Shi, p. 134.


97. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 1 (Nov. 15, 1919). Sometimes workers themselves formed their own organizations. Thus the 200 workers in Montargis established a "self-government associaton" (zizhi hui) in order to promote the elimination of gambling and other "incorrect behaviour." Ibid. Similar organizations were established at Caen and Captieux. See Huagong Zazhi, nos. 28, 33.

98. Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 24 (Oct. 1, 1917).

99. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 4 (Dec. 6, 1919).

100. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 5 (Dec. 13, 1919).

101. Jiaoyu Gongbao, no. 4 (April, 1919), jizai, pp. 22-25. One of the reasons why importance was placed on giving Chinese and French lessons to Chinese workers was to dispense with the services of interpreters who often read letters sent to workers from home. A Shandong worker in Caen assaulted an interpreter who had misled him on the meaning of a letter that he had received from home. Huagong Zazhi, no. 29 (Dec. 25, 1928).

102. In a Le Creusot railway plant, for example, there were 100 work-study students out of a Chinese labour force of 3,000. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 12 (Jan. 31, 1920).

103. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 10 (Jan. 17, 1920). These workers apparently belonged to the Qingong Jianxue Hui and offered their services voluntarily.

104. DFZZ, 15:6, pp. 54-60.

105. Huagong Zazhi, nos. 18, 20, 21, 22, 24. Workers at Le Creusot were receiving between 1 and 2 francs a day. Ibid., no. 25.

106. Huagong Zazhi, no. 2 (Jan. 25, 1917), and no. 3 (Feb. 10, 1917).

108. Lu'ou Jiaoyu Yundong, pp. 78-79. Wu quoted the song of Rang Fu, a mythical figure during the reign of the Yao Emperor, to show how little rulers interfered with the people: "When the sun rises I go to work and when it sets I rest. I plough the fields to eat and dig the wells to drink. What has imperial power got to do with me?"

109. Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 7 (Nov. 15, 1916).

110. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 4 (Dec. 6, 1919).

111. Xu Teli Jiaoyu Wenji, p. 256. Xu quoted from the Hanshu to show that people "ploughed the fields" and studied in their spare time.

112. Cited in Chen Yuanhui, Zhongguo Xiandai Jiaoyushi, p. 34.

113. QGYD, p. 12.

114. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 20 (March 27, 1920).

115. QGYD, p. 8; FFSL, Vol. 1, p. 84.


117. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 12 (Jan. 31, 1920). This strident social Darwinist tone is rather rare in discussions over work-study at this time.

118. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 18 (March 13, 1920). For personal accounts of work-study life, see He Changgong, Qingoing Jianxue Shenghuo Huiyi (Peking, 1958), and Sheng Cheng, Haiwai Gongdu Shinian Jishi (Shanghai, 1932).

119. QGYD, p. 9. See also Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 7 (Dec. 27, 1919) for an article in which the writer expressed his hope that more workers will study and only then "can workers and students become one."


121. Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 4 (Oct. 1, 1916) and no. 5 (Oct. 15, 1916). At the same time Li criticized Rousseau's educational thought because he had wanted to isolate the child from society. A frontispiece picture of Franklin in the opening issue of Lu'ou Zazhi describes him as a "magnificent diligent worker and frugal study student." Another educator described by Li as a pioneer of work-study and whom he claimed he had met in Paris was the Spanish educator, Francisco Ferrer (1859 - 1909). Ferrer came from a peasant family and became involved in radical politics. He founded a school in Barcelona, which condemned capitalist education, banned religious instruction and carried out manual work. He later founded the International League for a Rational Education of Children. See E. Chanel, Pédagogie et Educateurs
Socialistes, pp. 38-42. For Li's article on Ferrer, see Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 7 (Nov. 15, 1916).

122. The idea that Chinese abroad were lowering China's prestige in the international arena dates from the early twentieth century when people like Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao, visiting Chinese communities in North America, expressed alarm at the "decadent" and "corrupt" image such communities presented.

123. See Wang's preface to Cai Yuanpei, Huagong Xuexiao Jiangyi (Tours, 1919).


125. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 2 (Nov. 22, 1919). See also Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 3 (Nov. 29, 1919), where Li contrasts China and France (who are nonmilitaristic and stress "righteousness") with Germany and Japan (who are militaristic and only seek profit).

126. Lu'ou Zazhi, no. 2 (Sept. 1, 1916).

127. H. Chisick, The Limits of Reform in the Enlightenment, pp. 45-75. One philosophe in 1760 contrasted the people and their "noble industry" with the idle nobleman "useless to the world," and emphasized the productive role of the lower classes.


129. Ibid.

130. Huagong Zazhi, no. 18 (Jan. 25, 1918) and no. 23 (June 25, 1918).

131. Huagong Xunkan, no. 3 (Nov. 5, 1920).

132. Huagong Zazhi, no. 40 (Nov. 25, 1919).

133. Lu'ou Zhoukan, no. 23 (April 17, 1920).

134. Huagong Zazhi, no. 39 (Oct. 25, 1919). In another article, Li argued that the growth of workers' power and influence in general should not be resented because their aim was to establish the "Great Commonwealth" (Datong). See Huagong Zazhi, no. 4 (Dec. 23, 1919).

135. QGYD, pp. 10-11. The second "wave" of students came to France after 1927, but they were very different, being university graduates intent on specializing on a particular subject and not wanting to "get involved" in anything else. See an account by one of the students, who was to obtain his doctorate on Dewey's pedagogical thought, in Zhuanji Wenxue, 27:3, pp. 65-66.
136. As far as I know there has been no research done on the activities of returned Chinese workers from France. For a brief reference to Chinese workers returning from France, see J. Chesneaux, *The Chinese Labour Movement 1917 - 1927*, pp. 138-140, 160.
CONCLUSION

The promotion of popular education by the Qing and Chinese officials in the early twentieth century began with the aim of consolidating the position of the monarchy and ensuring harmony and unity within society. Later, with the importation of the idea of "social education" from Japan, and the increasing interest Chinese educators took in the attempts by governments in the west to train patriotic, hard-working and sober citizens (through such things as censorship, and the moral indoctrination purpose of popular culture), the rationale for popular education was expanded to cover the active "reform" of the lower classes. Thus, it was hoped, by eliminating decadent habits such as superstition, gambling or extravagance and by inculcating habits of hard work, frugality and a concern for the public good among the people, China would be able to compete economically with the West.

Another reason why "reforming" the lower classes was felt to be so necessary was the acute sense some Chinese educators and writers (from Kang Youwei to Li Shiceng) felt of the contempt they thought Westerners had for the "backwardness" of China's popular culture. The work-study movement was designed, amongst other things, to rectify this by raising workers' cultural levels. This sense of the "backwardness" of China's popular culture vis-a-vis the West can still be observed in present-day China. Recent campaigns have exhorted people not to spit, to form orderly bus queues, and to cultivate a polite and friendly manner when dealing with other people.

The concern to make the Chinese people economically productive led to an increased emphasis on vocational training. During the early Republic it was also argued that working hard for one's own economic well-being was not
morally wrong and that it was in no way in contradiction with the interests of the state. Some, however, feared that such an outlook (in combination with Western ideas of individual freedom) would result in competition, selfishness and greed, all of which would be harmful for the unity and harmony of society. Thus the educational philosophy of Kerschensteiner (with its stress on inculcating concern for the collectivity and State through collective work at labour schools) was much discussed in this period. The use of Kerschensteiner's philosophy had several advantages. Chinese educators could point to the fact that Germany was economically strong and its people united, law-abiding and patriotic. Kerschensteiner's emphasis on the use of practical work (such as handicrafts) as a means to train students to work together matched Chinese educators' criticisms of impractical academic instruction, while at the same time answered their concerns for an education that would produce citizens aware of the public good and importance of the state. Finally, the fact that Kerschensteiner's philosophy itself was a source of debate within Germany and other Western countries, gave Chinese educators the feeling that they were participating in a world-wide debate, instead of merely engaging in parochial discussions.

Finally, it was during the early years of the Republic that popular education came to be regarded as an alternative to formal school education. Accompanying this mistrust of formal schools (which, it was felt, simply encouraged competition, selfishness and elitism) was a mistrust of intellectuals themselves. Such an attitude was very apparent during the work-study movement. "Bookish intellectuals" with no experience of manual work or the labouring world were criticized as morally incomplete.
The interest in popular education reached a climax during the May Fourth movement when university students formed public lecture groups, organized work-study mutual assistance groups and spare-time schools for workers, and, along with prominent intellectuals such as Li Dazhao, proclaimed the importance of the labouring masses, one manifestation of which was the publication of numerous magazines devoted to "labour." While this interest has variously been attributed to the influence of the May Fourth movement, the Russian revolution, or the educational ideas of John Dewey, it is probably more accurate to say that such an interest was a continuation of trends begun in the late Qing and early Republic.

In 1919 Deng Zhongxia and other Peking University students formed the Common People's Lecture Group (pingmin jiaoyu jiangyan tuan). Its aim was to "increase the ordinary people's knowledge and to arouse the common people's self-awareness." In its criticism of school education because of its inegalitarian nature and its stress on the importance of public lectures, the group was simply echoing the views expressed by Chinese educators during the early years of the Republic:

School education is only enjoyed by the children of those blessed with wealth, whereas children of poor backgrounds and those who have to quit halfway because of the pressure of earning a livelihood do not have this opportunity. Thus school education cannot be called popular education. If there are no ways to make up for this deficiency, then there will be an enormous gap in the people's knowledge. Unstable situations in society will inevitably appear one after the other. What methods should be used to remedy the situation? We say open-air lectures and the distribution of publications are the means to supplement what school education has been unable to achieve.

The Peking lecture group went to areas near Peking and lectured on such topics as the significance of study and the necessity to eliminate superstition. Similar student lecture groups were organized in Shanghai and Tianjin.
The importance attached to labour not only resulted in students organizing popular lecture groups and spare-time schools for workers (one of the more famous of which was the Changxingdian supplementary school for workers on the Peking-Hankou railway), but also in their organizing work-study groups of their own. Such groups, which first appeared in Peking in 1920, were designed to combat the traditional idea of "those who work with their minds rule others, while those who labour with their hands are ruled by others." The Peking "work-study mutual assistance groups" (gongdu huzhutuan) ran eating halls, washed clothes, engaged in printing work, produced handicrafts and sold books while their members, at the same time, attended university lectures. Once again, the ideas contained in the groups' manifesto were no different from those that had been discussed during the work-study movement:

Poor people who work have not the means to study or be educated. Is this not a deficiency in the development of the people's intelligence? As for people who study and cannot work, the more education develops, the more the number of "educated vagrants" who are unable to work will increase. Is this not a danger?

The idea of combining mental and manual work, which these work-study mutual assistance groups promoted, had been a key element in Li Shiceng's philosophy.

Finally, the campaign in support of labour and the emphasis placed on the importance of the labouring classes, which was a feature of Chinese radical thought after 1918, was the culmination of a trend that began during the last years of the Qing when handicrafts were first introduced into the primary school curriculum in order to acquaint students with "productive work" and the "habits of labour." The criticisms levelled at "bookish" intellectuals at this time had already been raised during the work-study movement. The importance attached to labourers and the world of manual labour (Li Dazhao declared in 1918 that "we should know that the world from now on will become
a labourer's world; we must use this tide as an opportunity to make everyone become a labourer")10 was, of course, an important rationale for the promotion of popular education. The confidence and optimism in the power of education to "reform" the lower classes, which had been such a consistent feature of Chinese educational thought between 1904 and 1919, and to create harmony and unity, which had been a feature of work-study philosophy, was also very evident in the attitudes of intellectuals and students in 1919. There was much talk of the need for intellectuals to acquaint themselves with the labouring world in order to form close ties with the workers, while Li Dazhao urged intellectuals to enter villages in order to "enlighten" (kaifa) the peasants and help eliminate their superstitious beliefs.11 The overwhelming importance Li attributed to education is evident from the fact that he regarded capitalists' appropriation of workers' time in which they could improve their "mental life" as far worse than the appropriation of the products of workers' physical labour.12

However, what was new after 1919 was an increasing tendency to view the "panacea" of education with cynicism. Such a tendency culminated in the first systematic analysis of education by a Chinese Marxist in 1929 and 1930. Yang Xianzhang (1895 - 1931), born in Yao xian, Zhejiang, was a primary school teacher who entered the Hangzhou normal school in 1912.13 After graduating in 1917 he worked as an administrator at the Nanking normal school, as well as teaching in a district normal school in Guangdong. In 1923 he joined the Chinese Communist Party and helped edit its organ, Zhongguo Qingnian (Chinese Youth). Yang published numerous articles, under a variety of pen-names, on education in such journals as Jiaoyu Zazhi and Xuesheng Zazhi (The
Students' Magazine) in the early 1920s. Such articles reflected the optimism many others had in the power of education.

After 1924, however, Yang's priorities were placed more on political and social revolution. He supported student involvement in politics and criticized all education that divorced itself from radical political movements. In 1929 and 1930 he published *Jiaoyu Shi ABC* (An ABC of Educational History) and *Xin Jiaoyu Dagang* (An Outline of the New Education), which were the first attempts by a Chinese Marxist to analyse the workings of education. According to one source, the former work had gone through four reprints by 1931, while the latter had gone through three reprints by 1937. Some schools apparently used them as texts. It is in these works that one can see a real break in Chinese educational thought. In contrast to previous Chinese educators' confidence in education as a means to create harmony and unity, Yang ferociously denounced all previous education systems as simply the tools of the ruling classes to dupe and exploit the lower classes. Since education was, in fact, nothing more than a tool used by the dominant political and social class, Yang argued, education had to be appropriated by revolutionaries so that it could be used as a motor for radical change. (Yang also emphasized the potential revolutionary role of the primary school teacher.) It is the emphasis on the role of education in class conflict that is so new.

Yang was particularly critical of the idea that "education could do everything" (*jiaoyu wanneng lun*) and argued that political and social change had to precede educational change. Without the overthrow of the ruling class, Yang warned, education, whether formal or popular, was simply designed to maintain the status quo by training a submissive working class. He condemned, for example, social education in Japan as a ploy by government to serve the
interests of employers by creating a compliant, hard-working and frugal labour force.\textsuperscript{18}

As the first Chinese Marxist educational theorist, Yang deserves further study. Nevertheless, although Yang's educational thought and work provided the foundation on which future Chinese Marxist educators would build, it must still be emphasized that the period 1904 - 1919 is a crucial one for later Chinese educational thought. Too often studies of post-1949 Chinese education simply devote a couple of pages to "traditional education" and then proceed directly to Marxist educational thought in general which, in turn, serves as the background for post-1949 China. Yet many of the educational debates after 1949 were first aired in the early years of the twentieth century, which was, after all, the very time when Chinese officials and educators began to grapple with new ideas concerning the purpose and function of education. Most western historians agree that the early years of the twentieth century were a crucial time in the shaping of Chinese political thought,\textsuperscript{19} yet this awareness does not seem to have been extended to educational thought. The debates that took place in post 1949 China over the dual-track system, the relative merits of a formal school system vis-à-vis a wide network of spare-time schools, the importance of training in manual work vis-à-vis purely academic instruction, or whether to place priority on economic pursuits or moral training, were not new. Such questions had been discussed during the last years of the Qing and early years of the Republic.

An understanding of the educational debate at this time might also help place Maoist educational thought in context (rather than viewing it, as some do, as a "leftist aberration"). For example, when Mao belittled formal school education and academic instruction, condemned examinations and stressed
practical learning (by working in factories or on farms),\textsuperscript{20} how much was he echoing the views of Chinese educators in the late Qing and early Republic, who had criticized the modern schools for their fostering of elitism and disdain for manual labour? Similarly, how much did Mao owe to the work-study philosophy of people like Li Shiceng and Wu Zhihui when he criticized intellectuals for their "bookish learning" and inability to understand the labouring world, while at the same time emphasizing the importance of raising the workers' cultural level? The answers to questions such as these will provide us with a fuller understanding of education in twentieth century China.
Notes


2. Such magazines included Laodong (Labour), Laodong Yin (The Voice of Labour), Laodongjie (The Labouring World), Laodong yu Guinu (Labour and Women), and Laodongzhe (The Labourer). They all appeared during the years 1918 to 1921. See Wusi Shiqi Qikan Jieshao, 2:1, pp. 61-85, 92-99, 167-179.

3. Cited in Ding Shouhe, p. 137.


5. For a list of lecture topics in 1919, see Ibid., p. 145. They included such topics as "mutual aid," "nationalist thought," and "the importance of friendship," all of which were lecture topics in the early years of the Republic. Many of them, of course, concerned the Shandong question and the need for Chinese to resist Japanese encroachment.


7. On these groups, see Wusi Shiqi di Shetuan, Vol. 2, pp. 367-496; FFSL, Vol. 1, pp. 277-343. Another reason for establishing these groups was to allow students to assert their independence vis-a-vis their families. Wang Guangqi prophesied that such groups would be the basis for a new society, based on mutual help. Wusi Shiqi di Shetuan, Vol. 2, pp. 369-380.

8. Xin Qingnian, 7:2, p. 183.

9. One journal, referring to intellectuals, remarked in 1919: "To put on these stinking literary airs—does that count as knowledge? To recognize a few ABCDs—does that count as magnificent knowledge?" Cited in Ding Shouhe, p. 142.


11. "Qingnian yu nongcun" in Li Dazhao Xuanji, pp. 146-150.

12. "Laodong jiaoyu wenti" in Ibid., pp. 138-139.

13. For information on Yang, see Luo Bingzhi, Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyujia, pp. 169-188; Saitō Akio, Chūgoku Gendai Kyōiku Shi, pp. 148-149; Pan


15. Xin Jiaoyu Dagang, pp. 1-3.

16. In contrast to Jiang Menglin, who included primary school teachers in his definition of an "intellectual class" (Guodu Shidai zhi Sixiang yu Jiaoyu, p. 44), Yang preferred to refer to teachers as "labourers" who had much in common with the working class.

17. For an example of the kind of view Yang was criticising, see Jia Dianzhi, "Jiaoyu wanneng shuo" in JYZZ, 6:1, yanlun, pp. 18-25. Jia claimed that education could foster patriotism and unity, as well as bring about the "great commonwealth" (datong).

18. JYZZ, 21:12, p. 3. Parts of Xin Jiaoyu Dagang were published in Jiaoyu Zazhi under Yang's pen-name of Li Yi. The fact that Yang's view could appear in Jiaoyu Zazhi, a moderate journal devoted to education and that Shu Xincheng, a promoter of modern educational methods, could cite Yang approvingly in one of his works (Zhongguo Jindai Jiaoyu Shi Gaoxuan Xun, p. 179) indicates that a widespread disillusionment with education existed.

19. See, for example, Hao Chang, Liang Chi-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China.

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Throughout the period from the late Qing to the May Fourth Movement, Germany's educational system was enthusiastically described by Chinese educators. A principal reason for this (in addition to the fact that Germany's economic prosperity was attributed to her education system) was the fact that many of Germany's educational strategies and concerns seemed relevant to China's situation. During the last years of the Qing, Chinese educational journals described Germany's attempts to implement compulsory vocational education for primary school leavers. Much attention was also focused on Prussia's promotion of "citizen education" after Napoleon's invasion in order to stimulate nationalism and thus purge the country of its "national shame."

For example, a Hunanese student has recounted how he and his classmates in the early years of the Republic hoped to make Hunan another Prussia and lead the way in building a united and strong China. There was also interest in German educators' criticisms of the secondary school curriculum which, they thought, "denationalized" the students because of its excessive instruction in Latin and Greek. The parallel with Chinese educators' concern over the excessive teaching of English in the modern schools is evident.

In 1916 Germany's system of general education was praised and contrasted with England's school system, which accentuated class differences instead of producing a united citizenry. Another concern of German educators described in Chinese journals, a concern that must have seemed relevant to China's situation, was their fear that Germany might lose her national identity because of the "invasion" of English and American ideas on freedom (ziyou zhuyi).
Such ideas, it was feared, would have a harmful effect on German education. It would lose its unique national character and would embody the "French, English and American spirit." Teachers, for example, were losing their authority and respect. The Anglo-American educational model itself came under attack by German educators. German prosperity, they argued, had been built on the strong sense of duty inculcated among its citizens. Such a strong sense of duty had in turn allowed for a well-developed educational system because everyone obeyed the laws, paid taxes and made his children attend school. With the invasion of Anglo-American ideas and practices, it was feared that Germany's organized society and educational system would collapse and Germany as a result would no longer be able to retain its dominant position in the international community.³

Positive accounts of German education continued to be written or translated in China throughout the First World War. A description of a book on German education, translated into Chinese in 1917, noted that Germany's ability to withstand the combined onslaught of the allies was due to her superior education system.⁴ Other articles described German education as the most developed in the world and Germany as the "centre of world culture."⁵

German universities also attracted much attention. More articles were written or translated on the German university system than that in any other country. Thus, in the journal published by the Education Ministry, Jiaoyubu Biaanzuanchu Yuekan (Monthly Journal of the Education Ministry's Compilation Bureau), 9 of the first 10 issues in 1913 contained articles on the organization, administration, courses and research at German universities. In another article German universities were contrasted favourably with those in England. While in the latter country the main purpose of universities was to develop an all-
round character and hence the stress was on "training" (xunlian), in the former universities were regarded as key institutions in the promotion of economic development. (They were referred to in Chinese as xiao jigan zhi zhizaochang—"small-scale manufacturing factory.")

Even after 1918, when the ideas of Dewey and the American educational model were being promoted by Chinese educators, many still looked at Germany's progress and situation, since it seemed more relevant to China. Thus, articles described Germany's transition from a monarchy to a republic and its new educational laws relating to textbooks, aims, separation of religion and state, and, paradoxically, even the fact that theatres were to be supervised by the education department in order to "improve customs." One article on democratic education in Germany insisted that Dewey and America were not the sole promoters and practitioners of "democratic education." It pointed to earlier proponents of democratic education in Germany like Schleimacher, Willmann, Natorp, Bergemann and Gansberg, whose book, Demokratische Padagogik, appeared in 1911. In any event, the article commented, democratic education was not practised in America before 1916 because both Roosevelt and Taft were militarists.
Notes


2. JYZZ, 7:5, yilun, pp. 50-52. This stress on the unified German system is common in most articles at this time, despite the fact that Germany had a double-track system. One of the few references I have found which does mention this is in an article in Jingshi Jiaoyubao, no. 26, zhuanshu, pp. 1-7. The article (translated from the Japanese) contrasted the situation in Japan, where everyone, rich or poor, received six years of the same primary education, with that in Germany, where the lower and middle classes were segregated and children from lower-class families had little access to higher levels of education. Yuan Shikai, of course, also referred to the German double-track system when he proposed his system of preparatory schools.

3. JYZZ, 7:5, yilun, pp. 53-54.

4. JYZZ, 9:1.


6. JYZZ, 7:5, yilun, p. 58.

7. Jiaoyu, no. 6 (April, 1920), cizong, pp. 20-23; JYZZ, 10:8, diaocha, pp. 33-37 discussed the debates in Germany over the one-track system (Einheitsschule). See also JYZZ, 10:9, diaocha, pp. 39-41, and 11:5, diaocha, pp. 27-30. See also an article on the reform of Prussia's education system by Tao Zhixing in Xin Jiaoyu, 1:2 (1919), pp. 125-129.

8. Xin Jiaoyu, 2:1 (1920), pp. 29-34.
APPENDIX B

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES


