ERRATA

7 - line 4, delete after "chancellor for," "over"

78 - line 12, for "must" read "should"

80 - line 4, for "girl" read "girls'"

174 - line 5, for "level" read "levels"

178 - line 3, for "may" read "might"
   line 1 from bottom, for "has not been" read "was"

185 - line 14, for "must" read "could"

195 - line 2 from bottom, for "apparati" read "apparatus"

197 - line 18, for "Institutes" read "Institute"

200 - line 7, for "Science" read "Sciences"

208 - line 18, for "mainly empirical" read "seldom scientific"

Chapter 5 fn. 29, line 12, for "Since 1954 he has been" read "Until recently he was"

247 - line 6 from bottom, for "Patriotic Girls' School" read "Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao"

Chapter 6, fn. 26, for "efficiency than .... and positive" read "ruthless efficiency"

265 - line 4, for "must" read "should"

295 - line 5 from bottom, for "lie" read "lay"

306 - line 3 from bottom, for "a wishful" read "an utopian"

335 - line 14, add after "who," "however,"

362 - line 1, for "withdraw" read "withdrew"
TS'AI YUAN-P'EI (1868-1940)
AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN EDUCATION IN CHINA

蔡元培與中國現代教育

by
PNG POH-SENG

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Australian National University.

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY
CANBERRA
1964
All parts of this thesis, unless otherwise acknowledged, represent the original work of the candidate.
Dr. Tsai Yuan-pei
The Late President of Academia Sinica
PREFACE

The early years of the Republican period in China were so confused politically that those outside China failed to discern the intellectual and social changes taking place within the country, and it is only recently that Western scholars have begun to take more notice of them. Doubtless, names such as Hu Shih and Lin Yutang are familiar to the West, especially America, where they received their higher education and lived for many years. Hu Shih especially was known for his leadership of the literary revolution in China, and both he and Lin Yutang were connected with the New Culture Movement in China. But there were others who shared in this intellectual leadership in the 1920's and 1930's, among whom were Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao, Lu Hsun, Chou Tso-jen and Mao Tun, to name a few.

Like Hu Shih, these intellectual leaders were associated with the Hsin Ch'ing-nien ('New Youth'), the most influential periodical of the time, and they also sought not only to promote new thought and literature, but to awaken the Chinese people to the need for social reforms. Their contribution to the New Culture Movement
in China is thus no less significant than that of their colleagues who are better known to the West. In recent years Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao, and Lu Hsun have attracted the attention of Western scholars principally because of their communist leanings. However, other leaders of the New Culture Movement who did not make headlines for this reason should not be neglected.

Among these we may single out Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Chancellor of the National University of Peking in the 1920's, whose career spanned the first forty years of this century, and whose life and thought reflected a genuine attempt at synthesizing Chinese and Western Concepts. A chin-shih graduate and Hanlin member of 1892, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was a consistent advocate of science and democracy, a champion of academic freedom, judicial independence and human rights, and a progressive educator and administrator. Ts'ai remained rooted to the Chinese soil despite his studies in Germany and France and adoption of Western ideas. Among the important positions he held were Assistant Compiler of the Hanlin Academy, the Republic's first Minister of Education, Chancellor of the National University of Peking, President of the Control Yuan of the Nationalist
Government, and President of the Academia Sinica, China's highest national research institute.

There is already a thesis on 'The Life and Work of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei.' It is a pioneer work and, as the title implies, is a general biographical study. Since Ts'ai's main contribution was in the field of education, it is thought that a more detailed examination of this aspect of his career would be useful. This study is an attempt to show Ts'ai's influence on modern education in China and his importance as an intellectual leader of twentieth century China.

The writer wishes to thank the Australian National University firstly for awarding him a research scholarship and secondly, for providing generous grants for a field trip to Taiwan and Hong Kong, both of which have made this study possible. He also wishes to record his thanks to Dr Lo Chia-lun, President of the Academia Historica, Taiwan, for granting him interviews and access to the archives of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee Party History Compilation Committee at Taichung and Tsaotun.

Thanks are also due to the following: the late Dr Chu Chia-hua, a Kuomintang yuan-lao, Dr Wang Shih-chieh, President of the Academia Sinica at Nankang, Mr Hsiao I-shan,
historian and Member of the Control Yuan, and Mr Fan Chi-ch'ang (Van Tsee-chong), Administrative Officer of the Joint Commission on Rural Reconstruction, Taiwan, for interviews; Professor Kuo T'ing-i (Kuo Ting-yee) and Mr Chia T'ing-shih of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, and Mr Lan Ch'ien-chang, Librarian of the Institute of History and Philology, Academia Sinica, for library facilities; Mr Liu Ta-jen of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for general guidance and assistance at Taiwan; Mrs N. Hallaway, Mrs Day and Miss Vincent of the Reference Section, Robert Menzies Library, Australian National University for their efficiency and courtesy in handling requests for inter-library loans and reproduction of documents; and Dr Lo Hui-min, Senior Research Fellow, Department of Far Eastern History, Australian National University, for his valuable criticisms. Finally, for supervising this research, the writer wishes to thank Professor C. P. FitzGerald who possesses the rare distinction of fully understanding the Chinese mind and the personality of a Chinese chun-tzu.

Singapore, 20 December 1964.
ROMANIZATION

The Wade-Giles system of Romanization found in Mathews' Chinese-English Dictionary (Revised American Edition) is adopted.
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CHAPTER ONE

"TS'A I YUAN-P'EI, A BIOGRAPHICAL INTRODUCTION.

1. The social and political background of the late Ch'ing and early Republican periods.

The one hundred years extending from the mid-nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries may go down as one of the most tragic and tumultuous periods in the annals of Chinese history, just as the second half of this century may prove to be the period of greatest social and political change in China. Within one century China, which had behind her a relatively continuous civilization of nearly four thousand years and had been for centuries the cultural centre of Asia, received such a series of shocks to her cultural and political hegemony in the East that at one stage it appeared as if her four thousand years of history and civilization was coming to an end in the face of the onslaughts of Western science and materialism. The threat to China's territorial integrity at the beginning of this century was so real that Chinese writers sometimes referred to their country as a semi-colony, as her railways, postal service and tariff system were controlled by foreign powers, and parts of Chinese territory had either been ceded or leased to them. Against this background of foreign economic and political
strangulation, Chinese leaders and intellectuals had to seek ways and means of national survival, not survival from annihilation, but survival from becoming a colony like India.

Usually described as 'China's response to the West,'1 this effort to strengthen and save China may be divided into three phases: the first phase from 1864 to 1895 when statesmen and leaders such as Tsêng Kuo-fan 曾國藩, Li Hung-chang 李鴻章 and Chang Chih-tung 張之洞 pioneered the development of Western military techniques as a means of warding off foreign intrusions into Chinese soil; the second phase from 1895 to 1911 when Chinese intellectual leaders began to agitate primarily for a political revolution and secondarily for social reforms; and the third phase from 1912 to 1949 when on the one hand China experimented with a republican system of government, and on the other radical reformers advocated a revolution of Chinese life and society based on concepts borrowed from the West. The revolution in China created by the need to fight for a place in the world ruled by the power of materialism has not yet ended; hence there should be a fourth phase in China's response to the West, namely the period which began with the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949. This last phase is unmistakably a continuation of that process of response to Western might set in motion by the
arrival in China of European traders followed by missionaries and gun boats profferring to her, against her wishes, the fruits of their science and civilization. However, this phase of China's response is still in the process of development and lies outside the period under discussion here. Yet it should be noted that the process begun in the middle of the nineteenth century is going on, and Mao Tse-tung as much as Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei or Li Hung-chang is continuing the same task of strengthening China and making her a powerful and independent country.

Ts'ai's life covered the second and third phases. Born in 1868, the year of the Meiji Restoration in Japan and the Russian colonization of Bokhara in Central Asia, he died in 1940 during the Japanese invasion of China and the Second World War. He thus lived through two wars fought on Chinese soil and saw a part of the third. These were the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 in which China was shocked at her defeat by a small country that for centuries had looked to her for cultural inspiration, the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 which convinced the Chinese of the need to follow the road taken by Japan in modernization and the adoption of Western science and technology, and the Second Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945 which threatened to destroy China as an independent nation. He had witnessed the
failure of the reforms introduced by K'ang Yu-wei 康有為, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超, and T'an Ssu-t'ung 譚嗣同. This led him to devote himself to the basic work of educating the people in preparation for a political revolution, since it was his belief that K'ang's reforms had not met with success because he did not first win the support of the people, but tried to overthrow the conservative forces through the seizure of political power by a few people.³

Ts'ai was forty-three when the 1911 Revolution took place, and for the next decade was actively engaged in improving the standard of education and academic work in China, in the midst of the milieu of internal strife among the provincial warlords. He saw the struggle for political leadership between the Kuomintang (of which he was a respected member) and the Communists, and participated in the efforts at national reconstruction under the leadership of his party. He lived also to see Japan finally invading China and the Kuomintang-Communist struggle halted in the fight for national survival, but died before the outcome of the war was in sight. A contemporary of Sun Yat-sen, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and T'an Ssu-t'ung,¹ Ts'ai outlived all three and, on account of his long span of life, had been an official of the Manchu Government, a revolutionary worker, a minister of education at the beginning of the Republic, a university chancellor.
during the period of civil strife in China, an official of the Nationalist Government, and an executive head of the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan 中央研究院 (Academia Sinica), China's first national research institution.

Ts'ai's education and learning were as varied as his occupations. Well versed in traditional Chinese scholarship, he also studied Western literature, philosophy, anthropology, history, psychology and aesthetics. His knowledge of languages included Japanese, German, French, and a little English and Latin.

2. The family background and early education of Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei and their influence on his life and career.

Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei 蔡元培 tzü Ho-ch'ing 黛卿 hao Chieh-min 子民, was born in the village of Shan-yin in the Shao-hsing 紹興 district of Chekiang on 11 January 1868. One year younger than Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), two years younger than the reformist T'an Ssu-t'ung (1865-1898), and six years older than Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (1873-1929), Ts'ai was born into a lower middle class family, his father being manager of a ch'ien-chuang 錢莊 (traditional Chinese bank), and his grandfather manager of a pawnshop. According to Ts'ai himself, he came from a family with a
reputation for honesty and generosity. His grandfather was known for his honesty, and his father remembered for his great generosity. In recalling his father's generosity Ts'ai said,

whenever people asked him for loans he would agree, but what people owed him he did not have the heart to ask back, therefore when he died he had hardly any savings.

Ts'ai inherited these qualities from his forbears, qualities which endeared him to his friends, colleagues, and students. While Ts'ai inherited his generosity from his father, it was from his mother that he learnt to be independent in thought and action. His father died when he was only nine years of age, and he was brought up by an intelligent and capable mother with a strong will and an independent mind. When Ts'ai's mother was widowed, she refused to accept charity. Instead she pawned her clothes and jewellery, toiled and saved to bring up her children. Time and again she exhorted them to stand on their own feet and not depend on others...

The dual qualities of generosity and independence of mind inherited from his parents were reflected in Ts'ai's life. Towards his friends Ts'ai was so generous and accommodating that he seldom refused any of them when they requested him to write articles for magazines, prefaces for
books, or letters of introduction. It was said that he would oblige even those whom he did not know merely because they claimed to be students of Peking University of which he was chancellor for about ten years. Moreover, despite his busy life of public service, Ts'ai usually wrote such introductions in his own hand. He also devoted himself wholeheartedly to the promotion of education. This was carried out in the schools, at the Ministry of Education, the National University of Peking, the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation, the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons, and the Academia Sinica. Indeed it seems that so much of his time was occupied by public duties that he had little leisure left for creative and serious writing because despite his scholastic brilliance and long life - he lived until the age of seventy-two - Ts'ai did not write many books.

If he was thus generous almost to a fault he was also an original and independent thinker. Though steeped in Chinese classical studies, he often substituted colloquial expressions for orthodox literary constructions in his essays. This was perhaps to show his protest against using ancient words to express modern ideas, thus anticipating his later support of the use of pai-hua (plain speech). It is said that at the provincial chü-jen examination he wrote a very unorthodox essay stating that drinking, eating and sex were human beings' greatest desires.
Although Ts'ai successfully went through all the three imperial examinations, he approached them rather disinterestedly and was surprised at his success.\(^{17}\) This attitude probably indicates that Ts'ai was beginning to question the value of a narrow classical education strictly determined by the needs of the imperial examinations.

In studying the classics Ts'ai concentrated on comments and general meanings, and in history inclined towards biographies\(^{18}\) and works dealing with culture and customs, in preference to textual research into military and political history or geography and official systems.\(^{19}\) This early preference for cultural and social studies was echoed in his later career in which he chose educational work rather than politics and official positions. His disinclination for detailed routine matters is seen in his work as an educational administrator in which he was usually responsible for formulating policies and initiating new schemes, leaving the organizational details to his assistants.\(^{20}\)

Ts'ai's inclination towards the unusual even extended to the choice of names for himself and his children. As a young boy Ts'ai was given the tzü Ho-ch'ing 鹄卿 by his uncle, Ho meaning 'crane' and ch'ing meaning 'noble.' Later, after he had studied classics, he decided that Ho-ch'ing was too commonplace and had it changed to Chung-shên 仲申.
He also gave himself the hao Ho-ching, using different Chinese characters which have the same pronunciations as the tzü given by his uncle. When he was connected with the Ai-kuo Hšeh-shē 愛國學社 (Patriotic Society) at the turn of the century and wanted to identify himself with the masses, he changed his hao to Min-yu 民友, but in 1903 on becoming editor of the Ching-chung Jih-pao 警鐘日報 ('The Alarming Bell Daily News') 21 he felt that the name Min-yu was inappropriate since he was himself one of the people. He therefore changed his hao to Chieh-min 子民 22. It appears that in adopting the hao Chieh-min Ts'ai was attempting to convey the idea that the Chinese would not be exterminated even if only one citizen remained. Ts'ai's choice of his own names thus revealed his preoccupation with national affairs. Similarly the names he gave to his children reflected and his thinking/ideological convictions at different times. 23

Apart from being a non-conformist, Ts'ai is seen from his choice of names to be also a nationalist and patriot. China was then in the throes of foreign encroachment and the problem of her future survival was uppermost in the minds of the Chinese intellectuals. Like all patriots, Ts'ai was emotionally involved in issues affecting the destiny of his country.
After the death of his father Ts'ai grew up under the influence of his uncle, Ming-en 錦恩, a chū-jên graduate and classical scholar of some standing, who had an extensive private library. Ts'ai greatly benefited from his association with his uncle. At the age of eleven he began to study with a private tutor under whose influence Ts'ai came to admire Sung scholars. By the age of thirteen or fourteen he was already widely read in the classics and showed his strong Confucian training in his filial attachment to his mother. On several occasions he drew blood to make medicine for his ailing mother because it was believed that by so doing he could save her life. The failure of this superstitious practice must have affected young Ts'ai considerably, as in his later life he became strongly opposed to superstition, and regarded all religions with the same suspicion as he did superstitions. Ts'ai's filial piety was further demonstrated on the death of his mother when he slept next to her coffin against the injunctions of his relatives, and when, before the burial of his mother, his elder brother announced his betrothal, Ts'ai wanted to have the engagement annulled, but acquiesced because it was considered highly disobedient to reject a betrothal arranged by an elder member of his family.
Ts'ai passed the hsiu-ts'ai examination at fifteen and the chū-jên examination at twenty-one, both at a comparatively young age. In 1892 when he was twenty-four he passed the metropolitan examination and was awarded a Second Class chin-shih. He was not among the top graduates, being placed thirty-fourth in the list of Second Class graduates, but did sufficiently well to be made a Hanlin bachelor, thus reaching the peak of the scholastic ladder. Two years later he was promoted to the position of Assistant Hanlin Compiler, a post which he held until his resignation in 1898 - the year of K'ang Yu-wei's reforms.

As a traditional Chinese scholar Ts'ai's early successes in the imperial examinations were enviable achievements, and as a Hanlin bachelor and Assistant Hanlin Compiler who later turned into a revolutionary leader, readily advocating the adoption of Western ideas and systems, he was one of the very few. His classical Chinese education and Confucian training permeated his life although after 1900 he turned increasingly to the West for inspiration and new ideas and became a great believer in the synthesis of Chinese and Western culture and civilization, a belief which underlines his work as a modern educator in China.
3. **Introduction to the new learning of the West.**

Not long after Ts'ai was appointed an Assistant Compiler of the Hanlin Academy the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895 broke out. At this time, especially after China's defeat, Chinese scholars turned increasingly to the study of Western works. Most of them began with Chinese translations and then proceeded to read Japanese translations or original Japanese writings. Books written in the Japanese language were popular with the Chinese for two reasons. Firstly, few Chinese were then familiar with European languages, but they found it easier to master Japanese because of its similarity with the Chinese language. Secondly they felt that as Japan was an Eastern nation like China, what she adopted for her own use might be more relevant to the Chinese scene than the original ideas and systems of the West. Japan thus became the model for China's attempts at modernization, and Japanese books were increasingly translated and read. 31

Ts'ai began the same way as the other Chinese scholars. After reading Chinese translations of Western works he decided to read Japanese books. In 1898 he and some friends started a Tung-wên Hsueh-shê (School of Japanese), and here they began learning Japanese. Ts'ai learnt enough Japanese to read and translate but could not speak it. 32

From now onwards he began to read Chinese and Japanese
translations of European works. In 1898 Yen Fu published his translation of Thomas Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays* under the Chinese title of *T'ien-yen Lun* 天演論. As a result, so Ts'ai maintains, such terms as 'competition of things,' 'struggle for existence,' and 'survival of the fittest,' became part of the vocabulary of the Chinese intelligentsia; but Yen Fu's quotation from Herbert Spencer, namely: 'Human beings are free, but the limit is the other person's freedom,' attracted less attention. It is clear that through reading Yen Fu's translations, Ts'ai himself was influenced by the theory of evolution expounded by Huxley and Spencer.

Ts'ai's thinking was also influenced by another nineteenth century social philosopher and evolutionist, Peter Kropotkin, whose *Mutual Aid A Factor of Evolution* he frequently quoted. Parts of this work appeared in translation in the *Hsin Shih-chieh 新世界* (The New World), a newspaper started in Paris by Li Shih-tseng 李石曾  and others in 1907 which advocated political and social revolution. Ts'ai once mentioned that Li Shih-tsêng had as strong a belief in the theory of mutual aid as others had in religion. But Ts'ai himself, as we shall see, shared the same conviction.
In contrast he was strongly opposed to Nietzsche's authoritarianism and his theory of the 'super race.' Other European philosophers who had influenced Ts'ai's thought included the German philosophers Paulsen and Krube and the French philosopher Bergson. The first Western book Ts'ai translated was Krube's *Outline of Philosophy* which was published in 1903, five years after Yen Fu's *T'ien-yen Lun*. In 1909 while on his first study tour in Germany his translation of Paulsen's *Principles of Moral Philosophy* was published. Ts'ai was also interested in the evolutionary theories of Bergson whose *L'évolution Creatrice* he had obviously read.38

In educational philosophy, Ts'ai was attracted by Tolstoi's idea of the 'Free School,' Pestalozzi's system of democratic education in which the teachers 'learn from the pupils,' Dewey's 'work in learning' theory, and Montessori's 'Children's Laboratory.'39 As his study trips were mainly to Germany and France he learned most from these two countries, though the influence of Kropotkin's mutual aid ideas remained strong throughout his life. After 1914, in view of the aggressive nationalism of the Germans which involved Europe in the World War Ts'ai's respect for Germany was reduced and he expressed the view that the French people were most
akin to the Chinese on account of similarity in cultural traits, and urged Chinese students to study in France.  

4. Participation in revolutionary activities (1898-1905).

Ts'ai was in full sympathy with K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in their attempt to effect a change of the social and political systems, and when the movement failed he left Peking for his native district of Shaohsing, where in the next three years he taught and served as head-teacher in various local schools. In 1899 his first wife Madame Ts'ai née Wang died, and when match-makers came to him he laid down five conditions, namely, (1) The prospective bride must not have bound feet. (2) She must be literate. (3) She should agree to the fact that he would not take concubines. (4) Should he die before her she could remarry. (5) They could divorce each other on grounds of incompatibility. Strange though it may seem, it was reported that none of the match-makers could comply with all the conditions, the last two of which were especially frightening. Today these conditions might strike one as naive, but Ts'ai was perhaps trying to impress on the match-makers that social customs should change in the light of the new ideas that were coming through from the West, and therefore he wished to take a
personal lead in practising the new way of life. It is rather ironical that as far as the fourth condition was concerned Ts'ai's wives, except the third, did not have to take it into consideration seriously because they died before him. It is not known if his third wife did remarry after his death.\(^4^4\)

For the next few years Ts'ai was closely connected with several semi-educational institutions in Shanghai which were engaged in the task of spreading revolutionary ideas and providing some form of new education for the young people of the central and eastern regions. First he taught at the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh 南洋公學 (South Ocean Public School),\(^4^5\) later he helped to organize the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui 中國教育會 (Chinese Educational Association), the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao 愛國女學校 (Patriotic Girls' School), and the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-she.\(^4^6\) In these institutions Ts'ai was engaged in opening the minds of his pupils to the new and revolutionary learning, which included ideas of human rights and women's rights. From the discussion of fundamental human rights Ts'ai went on to 'sow the seeds of revolution'.\(^4^7\) Through these institutions he had connexion also with two revolution newspapers, the Su Pao 蘇報 (Kiangsu News) and the Ching-chung Jih-pao, the latter established and edited by himself.\(^4^8\)
At this time also, a revolutionary organization called the Kuang-fu Hui (Restoration Association) was formed, and Ts'ai was elected president. The Kuang-fu Hui had as its aim the restoration of China to the Chinese, which meant the replacement of the Manchu Court by a new government, not necessarily a republic. In 1905, however, it was absorbed into the T'ung-mêng Hui (Common Alliance Association) formed by Sun Yat-sen, and those members who joined Sun's party became fully committed to the establishment of a republic. Among the prominent members of the Kuang-fu Hui was Ch'iu Chin who later became a famous woman revolutionary martyr.

When the Kuang-fu Hui was formed it only received support from the provinces of Chekiang and Anhwei. According to a contemporary writer, Ts'ai was 'broad in objective but did not have a really workable policy ... he was fond of learning and could not stand bothersome human relationships, consequently the affairs of the Association did not progress much for several months ...'. The Kuang-fu Hui, whose headquarters was at Shanghai, spread its work to Shao-hsing, Ts'ai's native town, but before long Ts'ai was called upon to form a branch of the T'ung-mêng Hui in Shanghai and he was elected chairman of the branch. Ts'ai and many others
left the Kuang-fu Hui and became members of the T'ung-mêng Hui which henceforth overshadowed the work of the Kuang-fu Hui.  

Many members of the Kuang-fu Hui, like Ts'ai himself, were closely associated with the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui, an organization devoted to revolutionary education, the Ai-kuo Hsueh-she and the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao, both schools sponsored by the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui, and consequently the revolutionary activities of all these political and semi-educational bodies were inter-related and mutually co-operative. In the matter of military training, for example, the instructors were members of the Chün-kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui (Association for National Military Education) - a forerunner of the Kuang-fu Hui - who had returned from Japan, and the people who received this training were mainly from the two schools.  

In short, between 1902 and 1905, Ts'ai was engaged in revolutionary activities in the Shanghai region, complementing the work being done by Sun Yat-sen in the south and overseas. However, the revolutionary work in Central China did not produce positive results.
5. Ts'ai's studies in Europe and the influence of Western learning (1907-1911).

Being disappointed with his revolutionary endeavours in Shanghai, Ts'ai left for Shao-hsing in 1906 where he became tsung chien-tu (general supervisor or superintendent) of a newly established school, but resigned the same year on account of disagreement with the school authorities. Trouble developed because Ts'ai collected funds for the establishment of a Normal School, a move which the authorities opposed. At this time the Manchu government decided to send some students for study overseas, and Ts'ai, who had cherished the desire to study in Europe, went to Peking with this purpose in mind. It turned out that owing to the small number of students wishing to go to Europe and the shortage of funds, the government decided to send all students to Japan. Ts'ai had made up his mind that if he were to study abroad it had to be Europe, and declined the opportunity of going to Japan. He thus took up a post as teacher of Western and Chinese history at the I-hsüeh-kuan (School of Foreign Studies) in Peking, where he was well received by the students.

Ts'ai's ambition to study in Europe was hindered by finance, but in 1907 this was solved because the new Minister to Germany, Sun Mu-han undertook to assist him with 30 taels a month for his studies in Europe. At the same
time the Shang-wu Yin-shu Kuan (Commercial Press) of Shanghai agreed to pay him 100 yuan per month for editing and translation work which he was asked to do while he was in Europe. He thus left for Berlin via Siberia with the Chinese Minister to Germany. In Berlin he began to learn the German language, and besides editing a series of books for the Shang-wu Yin-shu Kuan, he earned 100 marks per month as a private tutor in a Chinese family. The following year he moved to Leipzig where for the next three years he attended lectures at the University of Leipzig on philosophy, literature, history of civilization, anthropology, experimental psychology, and aesthetics, paying special attention to the last two subjects. He entered the Institute of Experimental Psychology, and under the guidance of teachers he tested the feelings of bodily organs and made comparative tables of the movement of voices. In the Institute of the History of World Civilization he studied the comparative histories of world civilization. To speed up his learning of German he studied German literature under a private tutor. During his four years in Germany he edited a series of five secondary school textbooks called Chung-hsüeh Hsiu-shēn Chiao-k'o Shu (Ethics Textbooks for Middle Schools), wrote his Chung-kuo Lun-li-hsüeh Shih (A History of Chinese Ethics), and translated Paulsen's Principles of Moral Philosophy, all of which were published
His studies in Europe confirmed his belief in the
equality of men and the practice of monogamy. In addition
he admired the gallant European practice of knights
protecting ladies, referring to it as 'the fine virtue of
resisting the strong and protecting the weak.'\textsuperscript{62} Ts'ai was
reaffirming his support of Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid
which advocated the strong aiding the weak. In his later
writings and speeches Ts'ai made further references to
Kropotkin and his ideas of anarchism and mutual aid.\textsuperscript{63}
While in Germany Ts'ai became a vegetarian, partly through
the influence of Li Shih-tseng, a French admirer, and partly
through reading Tolstoi's book which described the sufferings
of hunted animals.\textsuperscript{64}

In his admiration of the West Ts'ai was a follower of
Yü Cheng-hsieh 俞正燮,\textsuperscript{65} an early nineteenth century
feminist scholar, whose nien-p'u 年譜 (chronological
biography) he revised and expanded by contributing the
colophon.\textsuperscript{66} Yü Cheng-hsieh attacked the ancient tradition
of viewing the remarriage of widows as a serious matter and
starving to death as a small matter. Ts'ai was in agreement
with Yü Cheng-hsieh concerning this antiquated custom, which
is evident from his own attitude towards the remarriage of
widows.\textsuperscript{67} Further, he made complimentary references to
Western psychologists' 'consideration of determination,
feeling and experience as the power for psychoanalysis,' and to the Western 'utilitarian school of ethics which says that man's freedom is limited by the freedom of the other person.'68 Ts'ai quoted Chinese philosophers to bolster his support of the new ideas of human rights and female rights originating from the West, and in his own life gave concrete expression to these rights.69

While in Germany Ts'ai continued to be interested in the revolution in China and when news reached him that the revolutionary army had revolted in Wuch'ang on 10 October 1911 he went to Berlin to assist in propaganda work, and returned to China later in the month,70 in order to participate in the development of China under a new political system. Ts'ai, like other early Chinese students overseas, had gone to Europe with a mission, namely, to acquire new knowledge and skill which would be useful for the modernization and strengthening of China. He thus returned from Germany as soon as the success of the revolution was known with, as might be expected, high hopes for the construction of a new China modelled on the progressive Western nations, but was soon to be disappointed, as later events well demonstrate.
6. **Period of service under the Nanking Provisional Government and President Yüan Shih-k'ai (1912).**

When the Nanking Provisional Government was formed in January 1912 with Sun Yat-sen as Provisional President, Ts'ai was appointed Minister of Education, the first under the new republic. During his short period as Minister of Education (January to July 1912) Ts'ai was responsible for promulgating the new aims of education and releasing two ministerial orders to the schools. He also organized the Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i (Temporary Conference of Education).

Under the new aims of education Ts'ai proposed the development of five types of education, the first three of which he described as 'education subordinated to politics,' and the latter two as 'education above politics.' A progressive system of education should advance from the first to the second categories. While China was weak and in the embryonic stage of her modernization the emphasis had to be on military and utilitarian education, but as she progressed there should be an increasing emphasis on aesthetic and 'world-view' education to cater to the emotional and spiritual needs of the people and to cultivate a world outlook.
The two ministerial orders issued to the schools early in 1912 formed the basis for the reopening of the primary schools on the new lines laid down by the Ministry of Education. The new regulations provided for (1) abolition of classics teaching in primary schools, (2) emphasis on social education, (3) co-education in primary schools, (4) emphasis on art and handwork. Although the plans introduced by these two ministerial orders were meant to be temporary, they soon became consolidated in the new school system brought into use later that year after its recommendation by the Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i had been approved by the Ministry of Education. The two orders which incorporated Ts'ai's own views on education were thus of considerable importance to the formulation of the new school system promulgated towards the end of 1912 and amended slightly in 1913.

The Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i organized by Ts'ai was held from July to August 1912 and attended by delegates from nearly all parts of China and a few overseas territories. The first national educational conference to be held under the Republic, it underlined the principle of democratic discussion of the educational policy of the country, a practice which was followed subsequently. The Conference had the status of a national advisory body charged
with the task of making policy recommendations to the Ministry of Education, and though it was not incumbent on the Ministry to adopt the recommendations of the Conference it did in fact incorporate some of them in the ordinances subsequently passed. Five such ordinances promulgated in 1912 had resulted from recommendations by the Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i. These were the 'Hsiao Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' 小學校令 (Primary School Ordinance), the 'Chung Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' 中學校令 (Middle School Ordinance), the 'Hsüeh-hsiao Chih Ling' 學校制令 (School System Ordinance), the 'Shih-fan Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' 師範學校令 (Normal School Ordinance), and the 'Ta Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' 大學校令 (University Ordinance). With some amendments, these ordinances remained in force for the next decade. In particular the 1912-1913 School System was the basic system operating up to 1922. The Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i had thus made some contribution to the development of the educational system in Republican China. Its organization was due mainly to the efforts of Ts'ai.

One other event with which Ts'ai was associated while he was a minister of the Nanking Provisional Government is worthy of note. After Sun Yat-sen had agreed to resign his presidency in favour of Yüan Shih-k'ai on condition that Yüan took office in Nanking, he despatched special envoys to welcome him to the south. Ts'ai headed this mission. The day Ts'ai and his envoys arrived on their mission at Peking
a mutiny of the army instigated by Yuan Shih-k'ai broke out, and its ensuing rioting created a dangerous situation in Peking, which furnished Yuan with an excuse for remaining in the north. Ts'ai and his envoys, who had narrowly escaped the wrath of the rioters that evening, fell prey to Yuan's trickery and duly cabled Sun Yat-sen advising against insisting that Yuan take office in Nanking. The failure of this mission is some indication that Ts'ai was no astute politician. Indeed, Ts'ai's life and career did not show him to be a clever and shrewd politician.  

When the cabinet was changed with Yuan Shih-k'ai taking over the office of President, Ts'ai was re-appointed Minister of Education, and it was during this new term of office that he organized the Temporary Conference of Education which paved the way for the promulgation of the various educational ordinances. While the Conference was still in progress Ts'ai suddenly resigned as Minister of Education because he was opposed to the seizure of absolute power by President Yuan Shih-k'ai. This resignation was a protest against Yuan Shih-k'ai's dictatorial and autocratic powers which made a mockery of the principle of democratic government by the cabinet.
7. **Ts'ai's second period of study in Europe (1912-1916).**

According to one source, Ts'ai was recommended for the post of chancellor of Peking University in 1912 after his resignation as Minister of Education, but was turned down by President Yuan Shih-k'ai because Yuan feared that Ts'ai, who was a member of the Kuomintang and a strong advocate of revolutionary thought, might affect the students of the university and possibly undermine his political power. Ts'ai's later encouragement of radicalism and revolutionary thinking at the Peking University in fact proved that Yuan Shih-k'ai's misgivings were well-founded. In any case it was unlikely that Ts'ai would have considered serving the government of Yuan Shih-k'ai again. Indeed when he heard that the Ministry of Education was offering a scholarship for study overseas he duly applied for it. Such a step was unprecedented; but it was the only way that Ts'ai could go abroad because his own financial resources were inadequate to take him to Europe. During his seven months as Minister of Education, unlike many officials and warlords who sought private gain from their positions of power, Ts'ai received a paltry salary equal to that of a clerk in his Ministry. This showed Ts'ai to be an honest and dedicated official whose concern was the betterment of the country and not self-gain.
With financial assistance from the Ministry of Education, Ts'ai left for Germany and again studied at Leipzig University, this time accompanied by his family. He also attended lectures at the Institute of the History of World Civilization. Before long, however, news reached him that Sung Chiao-jen, one of the chief architects of the Kuomintang, had been assassinated with the complicity of President Yuan Shih-k'ai whose aim was to oust the Kuomintang members from his government in order that he might be the absolute ruler. Ts'ai accordingly returned to China to see if he could find a peaceful settlement of the differences between the Kuomintang and President Yuan. When he found out that President Yuan was unreasonable and adamant he issued a public statement calling for the resignation of Yuan, the election of a new president, and the maintenance of peace. But Ts'ai’s appeal went unheeded, and as a result of the subsequent war in which Yuan defeated his opponents, democratic form of government ceased to exist. Under these circumstances, Ts'ai, having failed in what may be called his second diplomatic mission, left China once more with his family to study in France, where they lived for one year in the town of Montargis, not far from Paris. When the First World War broke out they moved to south-western
During his first year in France he learnt French, and in 1915 edited the book Che-hsüeh Ta-kang ("Outline of Philosophy"). In June 1915 he assisted Li Shih-tseng and Wang Ching-wei in organizing the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui (Society of Frugal Study by Diligent Labour), with the object of helping Chinese students in France to work their way through school and college, by providing them with part-time occupations. The Society published a magazine to promote its work, and for its first issue Ts'ai wrote a preface in which he referred to work as man's 'heavenly occupation.'

In 1916 he initiated the formation of the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation to promote inter-cultural relationship between China and France, because he believed that the French had much cultural affinity with the Chinese and favoured the strengthening of cultural ties between the two nations.

At about this time also Ts'ai published a manuscript which he had completed earlier on - the 'Shih-t'ou-chi So-yin' ("A Commentary on the Shih-t'ou-chi") - as a serial in the Hsiao-shuo Yueh-pao ("The Short Story Magazine"). The conclusion of this study, later published in book form, was that the Shih-t'ou-chi, better known as
Hung-lou-mêng 紅樓夢 ('Dream of the Red Chamber') was a record of the political conditions of the reign of K'ang-hsi 康熙. Following on Ts'ai, Hu Shih in his Hung-lou-mêng K'ao-chêng 紅樓夢考證 maintained that the novel was an autobiography of the author Ts'ao Hsueh-chin 曹雪芹, and that he had written the first eighty hui 回, the remaining forty hui being the work of Kao Erh 高鹗, chin-shih of 1795. Ts'ai, however, disagreed with Hu Shih's interpretation. It is not the purpose here to examine the differing interpretations of Ts'ai and Hu, but to note that Ts'ai was one of the earliest modern Chinese scholars who saw the need to make critical studies of literary works and to pay attention to their social content.

This third study trip spent mainly in France lasted three years. Apart from studying French he showed a keen interest in art and aesthetics. In France he assisted in providing education for the Chinese labourers who had been sent there as China's contribution to the war effort, China being a member of the Allied nations. He wrote forty short essays which were used as lectures in the School for Workers. These were moral and informative tracts aimed at raising the intellectual level of the labourers and the inculcation of moral and civic virtues. It might be noted that his stay in France altered his earlier admiration of
Germany. With the growth of militant nationalism in Germany culminating in the outbreak of the war, Ts'ai became convinced of the faults in the German society with its Nietzschean philosophy of life. In contrast he admired the French belief in freedom, equality and fraternity which grew out of the French Revolution, and he believed that in the French society the weak and the minority had their place in society. This fitted well with Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid to which Ts'ai fully subscribed.

Despite his admiration of Western learning, Ts'ai was not in favour of the total Westernization of China. Instead, he thought that only the best in the Western tradition should be utilized to remedy the shortcomings of the Chinese tradition. But he was prepared to go further than the t'ī-yung concept of Chang Chih-tung in recommending that the best in the West be adopted in toto rather than just the minimum necessary for practical purposes. A synthesis of the best from both the East and the West would, in Ts'ai's opinion, bring about the development of a Chinese society that was progressive but which would retain the more valuable elements of its own tradition. Thus Ts'ai was concerned with the metamorphosis of Chinese society towards modernization and progress without a complete rejection of all things Chinese or a wholesale indiscriminate imitation of things European.
Ts'ai as the chancellor of the National University of Peking (1917-1926).

In the winter of 1916 Ts'ai was invited by the Peking Government to return as Chancellor of the Peking University. By this time Yuan Shih-k'ai had died and Northern China was under the control of Li Yuan-hung 蒋元洪 while the south was under Sun Yat-sen and the Kuomintang forces. China was undergoing a period of civil turmoil, the country was hopelessly divided and society was in a state of confusion. The prevailing intellectual climate in the north has been described as decadent and unhealthy, but in a few years this was to be radically altered. The cause of this sudden rejuvenation was the new and radical ideas emanating from the revitalized National University of Peking.

Ts'ai was at the helm of the National Peking University during the years of intellectual ferment in China and under his aegis the university became what has since been known as the cradle of the Chinese Renaissance or New Culture Movement. When he arrived at the university in 1917 the old atmosphere of an institution for the sons of the privileged and for the training of officials had not disappeared, but when he resigned in 1926 it had become recognized as the centre of radical thinking and the premier university of China. During those ten years young intellectuals and students
grappled with the problem of China's modernization and Westernization, and in the tussle with the conservatives the radicals by and large came out victorious.

The intellectual awakening began with the publication of the magazine *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* 新青年 ('New Youth')\(^\text{105}\) which ruthlessly attacked the old Confucian order and called for the creation of a new society based on Science and Democracy. Proponents of this new life were mostly the young teachers and professors of the Peking University who, with the moral support of their Chancellor, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, carried on a literary battle against the conservative forces in the *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*. Despite his more advanced age, Ts'ai was on the side of change and progress.\(^\text{106}\) The free and liberal intellectual climate in and around the university directly or indirectly encouraged the development of a growing intolerance of the old and an appreciation of the new, culminating in the stirring May Fourth Movement which heralded the birth of a modern student movement with repercussion beyond what proponents of the new culture had dared envisage.\(^\text{107}\) From the time of May Fourth the role of students in the political development of China became increasingly important, and the frequent student storms which at some stages grew out of hand were directly connected with the rise of nationalism and patriotism provoked by the
growing threat of Japanese militarist ventures in China. The growth of patriotic zeal and student participation in politics must be traced to the influence of the May Fourth Movement, which in turn was the flowering of a social and political awakening resulting from the new ideas emanating from the radical thinkers centred at the Peking University, with the magazine Hsin Ch'ing-nien as the medium of communication. Ts'ai's chancellorship of the Peking University was the most glorious period in its history, and this was due in no small measure to his enlightened leadership.

Among his contributions to the Peking University may be mentioned the introduction of the American unit or course system, whereby students could graduate on completion of a required number of units, to replace the British system of annual examinations. He was responsible too for the emphasis on research in the university, leading to the establishment of a number of research institutes in the university, besides furthering the work of the Kuo-shih-kuan 國史館 ('Academia Historica'), which took on the task of compiling and editing the general and republican history of China. Moreover, Ts'ai opened the doors of the university to female students and his decision set the pattern for other universities.

In addition, he introduced democratic principles in the administration of the university, apart from encouraging
healthy student activities within the campus.

In 1923, after being chancellor for six years, Ts'ai tendered his resignation to the Government in protest against the illegitimate arrest of the Minister of Finance, Lo Wên-kan 羅文幹, which was a case of bureaucratic interference with the independence of the court by the Minister of Education, P'êng Yûn-i 彭允彝. Ts'ai made a public statement denouncing Minister P'êng. He stated that under a government which did not respect justice and fairplay the least he could do was to refuse further coöperation with it.\textsuperscript{111} Ts'ai's resignation focussed attention on a case of injustice which otherwise might have escaped notice in the confused political climate prevailing then; his action also testifies to his moral fibre in refusing to associate with corrupt officials even though he had to give up his career in the university. However, he was persuaded by his colleagues, students and the government to remain. Soon after this he took leave for his second trip to Europe, and for the next few years he was only chancellor in name, the administration of the university was in the hands of the Acting Chancellor, Chiang Mêng-lin.

During his nine-and-a-half years of chancellorship he had worked under the régime of the warlords in Peking while in sympathy with the revolutionary government of the south. That amidst turmoil and uncertainty Ts'ai was able to maintain Peking University as a free institution and
to keep the torch of new learning burning is a credit to his moral stature and forthright leadership - a no mean achievement when corruption and political intrigues were the order of the day.

It should also be noted that during his chancellorship Ts'ai's activities went beyond the confines of his university office. Between 1920 and 1926 he went abroad twice, first in 1920 and then again in 1923. In 1920 he went to Europe to make a study of higher education there and to assist in establishing the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons, travelling through various European countries and America. While in England he was charged with the task of negotiating with the British Government for the remission of her share of the Boxer Indemnity Fund, the money to be used for special educational projects in China. In Sweden he took the opportunity to attend a conference on the aboriginal races in America, as one of his special interests was ethnology. During his stay in France the French Government bestowed on him the Legion d'honneur in recognition of the part he played in promoting closer cultural and friendly ties between France and China, and when he passed through the United States of America in 1921 the New York University conferred upon him an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.
The second time he went abroad during his chancellorship of Peking University was after his resignation over the Lo Wen-kan issue. In this trip, accompanied by his third wife Chou Tsün 周俊 (his second wife having died in 1921), he visited France, Belgium, England and Germany. He stayed for one year in France, assisting in the work of the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons which he had helped to establish previously. He then attended a world educational conference at Edinburgh before proceeding to the University of Hamburg where he studied ethnology for a short period, returning to China in 1926.117

Ts'ai was relatively well travelled, especially in Europe, and the new knowledge he had gained from first hand observations during those trips overseas must have widened his outlook considerably. As a scholar and educator versed in traditional Chinese scholarship and reasonably acquainted with modern Western learning, Ts'ai was eminently suited to head China's leading university, the National University of Peking. This received due recognition even by the New York University in the United States of America which had little to do with China and the Chinese.
9. Ts'ai's later life and his service under the Kuomintang Government (1927-1940).

During the last thirteen years of his life until his death in 1940, Ts'ai held various positions in the Kuomintang Government, the most important of which was his presidency of the Academia Sinica. When the Kuomintang Government was established at Nanking in 1927 Ts'ai became one of its senior members, and was for a year Head of the Chien-ch'a Yüan (Control Yüan). When the Kuomintang decided to oust the Communists in early 1927 Ts'ai gave his support because he distrusted them at that time and did not think there was any need for China to embrace Communism.

This period of Ts'ai's life during which he was closely associated with the Kuomintang leadership has been described by his biographer as a lapse into reactionism, though a temporary one. Later when Chiang Kai-shek intensified his purge of the Communists and carried out ruthless executions, Ts'ai veered away from his earlier approval of Kuomintang anti-Communist policies and maintained an increasingly independent line with the Party. In 1929 he resigned as Head of the Chien-ch'a Yüan as well as member of the Nationalist Government. As his disagreement with the actions of Right-wing leaders of the Kuomintang widened so his sympathy for the Communist victims of the Party
purge grew. In 1929 he spoke against the suppression of Communist ideology as he could not see any reason why Leninism and Marxism should not be studied simply because people were opposed to the Communist Party.¹²²

That Ts'ai in his later years had a growing sympathy for the Communist leaders did not mean that he had become pro-Communist or a believer in Communism. Throughout his life Ts'ai had no faith in the Communist system, and did not think that Communism could meet the needs of China. What he was concerned about in those years of anti-communist purge was the preservation of basic human rights. He sought to terminate the elimination of individuals in the name of anti-communism. It was with this in view that in 1932 he joined Madame Sung Ch'ing-ling (Soong Ching Ling), widow of Sun Yat-sen, to form the China League for Civil Rights at Nanking, with branches in Shanghai and Peking.¹²³ Its main effort was directed toward saving left-wing and anti-Japanese political prisoners and improving prison conditions. It also agitated for the abolition of the 'Chin-chi Chih-tsui Fa' (Emergency Penal Regulations) which was a threat to individual freedom. The China League for Civil Rights was short-lived as its sympathy for the Communist political prisoners soon brought upon it the wrath of the Kuomintang. Both Ts'ai and Madame Sung
Ch'ing-ling were warned by the Kuomintang Government, and early in 1933 the Secretary of the League was murdered and the activities of the League petered out.

Ts'ai spent the last years of his life in the Academia Sinica, the presidency of which he held from the time it was established in 1927 until his death. The Academia Sinica was founded in the same year that he introduced a new system of educational administration aimed at minimizing bureaucratic control. This was the establishment of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan which replaced the Chiao-yü Pu as the nation's highest educational body. Ts'ai was elected its first president. As part of the new administration, a system of ta-hsüeh-chü (university districts) modelled on the French academies was introduced for trial in three provinces. Under this system each ta-hsüeh-chü had a state university, and the chancellor of a university was not only to administer his university but also responsible for education at different levels in the region under his jurisdiction, from primary school to university. This system quickly proved unpopular with provincial teachers and educators and had to be abandoned before long. The only institution which remained out of this new system of administration introduced in 1927 was the Academia Sinica, principally
founded for research in the natural sciences but later branching into the social sciences. When the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was abolished towards the end of 1928 the Academia Sinica came under the direct jurisdiction of the national government and its work grew steadily under Ts'ai's presidency. 129

The establishment of the Academia Sinica was an achievement dear to Ts'ai's heart, as it was his belief that a university should be a place for academic research, 130 and the Academia Sinica was a super-university devoted entirely to research at a national level and to the co-ordination of scientific research in the country. Ts'ai died in Hong Kong in 1940 at the age of seventy-two, but the Academia Sinica which he was mainly responsible for founding still exists both in Peking and Taipei, a living tribute to the pioneer of scientific research in China.
CHAPTER ONE

1. Teng Ssu-yü and John K. Fairbank wrote a book entitled China's Response to the West, A Documentary Survey, 1839-1923 to show Chinese reactions to Western intrusion.

2. Some writers have mistakenly given the year of Ts'ai's birth as 1867. See Note 6 below.

3. Huang Shih-hui, 'Ts'ai Chieh-min,' in Yen Hsiaing Lu.

5. Hereafter cited as Huang Shih-hui only.

4. See Page 6 for their comparative dates.

5. It is interesting to note that although English was the Western language most taught in the language schools in China Ts'ai chose to study German and French. The reason why he knew German and French and not English was due to the fact that he went on study trips to Germany and France and not to England.

6. There is a limited amount of biographical material on Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei. The following are the main sources:

1. Huang Shih-hui, 'Ts'ai Chieh-min,' in Ts'ai Chieh-min Heien-shêng Yen-hsiaing Lu, I, 1-36. This is an autobiographical account written by Huang from Ts'ai's personal narrative, and covers his life and career up till 1920 when the book was published. It also includes a short additional section dealing with miscellaneous information on Ts'ai. The Ts'ai Chieh-min Heien-shêng Yen-hsiaing Lu published by the Renaissance Society 習新學社 of the Peking University in two volumes is the first collection of Ts'ai's articles and speeches and includes in the appendix the lectures he prepared for the Chinese workers in France. It excludes all his major writings which have so far not been brought into any collection of his writings. To date there is no compilation of his complete works.
ii. Kao Nai-t'ung, Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-shêng Chuan-lüeh. The first part of this book published in 1943 is a copy of Huang Shih-hui's account. In the second half of the book Ts'ai's biography is carried to the end of his life. However, as its title implies, it is a brief biography with no attempt at analysis.

iii. The most complete biographical study of Ts'ai is Ts'ai Shang-ssu's Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei Hsueh-shu Ssu-hsiang Chuan-chi published in 1950. It is an analytical study of Ts'ai's scholarship and thought from a slightly Marxist-orientated standpoint. The book incorporates a great deal of quotations from various contemporary writers concerning Ts'ai and education and is well documented, though the author did not include page references in his notes. The author is a historian and philosopher who knew Ts'ai personally. He claims in his preface, with some justification, that his book could serve as substitute reading for a collection of Ts'ai's works and could give readers even a better understanding of Ts'ai than could a collection of his writings. There is a liberal amount of quotations in his book, so that any one who could not have access to Ts'ai's writings could obtain a fair idea of what Ts'ai said and wrote by reading it. However, with the publication of a new collection of Ts'ai's writings and speeches (again incomplete) edited by Sun Te-chung 33 德岳 by the Fu-shing Book Company, Taipei in 1961, Ts'ai's writings should be readily accessible to any one interested in them.


Regarding the year of Ts'ai's birth, Huang Shih-hui, Tai and some other minor accounts have mistakenly mentioned 1867. It is obvious that Huang had made an error in changing from the Chinese to the Gregorian calendar, and most subsequent writers have assumed 1867 to be the correct year. According to all records Ts'ai was born on the 17th day, 12th month of ting-mao year (16th Year of the Reign of T'ung-chih). Ting-mao
year and the 6th year of T'ung-chih coincide with 1867, but Huang, Tai and a few others erred in failing to note that the year 1867 ended with the 6th day of the 12th month of Ting-mao year, whereas the 12th month in ting-mao year only ended on 24 January 1868. This means that Ts'ai was born in 1868 and not 1867.


For a comparison of Chinese and Western dates see Chung-kuo Chin-tai Shih Li-piao, 39.

7. Huang Shih-hui, 1.

8.Pawnshop owners were not generally associated with high standards of honesty but were on the contrary regarded as mercenary business people.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid, 2.

12. However, because of pressure of work, in 1935 Ts'ai announced in the press that he would resign from all part-time positions and cease writing articles and letters of introduction. Altogether he resigned from twenty-three part-time posts, ranging from chairman of school boards to Chief Librarian of the National Peiping Library, a sinecure position.

See Kao Nai-t'ung, Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-shèng Chuan-lüeh, 22. See also Yang Ch'i-ling, 楊愷齡 'Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei Hsien-shèng Erh-san Shih, 蔡元培先生二三事 in Ta-hsüeh Shêng-huo, II, 5 (September 1956), 43.

13. On one occasion Ts'ai wrote an introduction for a student who said that he was educated at the Peking University, and the student gained employment at an organization in Chungking. On checking his documents the Manager found that he was not a student of the Peking University and wrote to Ts'ai asking if he
knew this student. Ts'ai was said to have given the following reply:

It is not necessary to ask whether he is from Peking University or not, one should ask whether he has any talents. If he is from Peking University but has not talents one should not employ him; if he is not from Peking University but has talents one should still employ him ....

It was reported that when this person later wrote to Ts'ai to apologize and to thank him for his assistance Ts'ai did not admonish him for his falsehood, but merely urged him to be industrious in his work.


Compared with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Lu Hsun, or Hu Shih, Ts'ai left behind relatively few major works. Altogether he wrote nine books of which three were translations of foreign language books, two were summaries and interpretations of Western books on philosophy, one was a history of Chinese ethics, one a literary criticism, one on philology, and a set of five ethics textbooks for secondary schools. Of his nine works the Chung-kuo Lun-li Hsüeh-shih (A History of Chinese Ethics) first published in 1910 may be regarded as one of the most important. All of these books were written before he reached the age of fifty. Subsequently his public duties in educational circles and as an official of the Nationalist Government left him little time for writing, and almost everything published after 1916, the year he was appointed chancellor of Peking University, was in the form of short articles or speeches written at the request of one institution or another. However, it is in these articles and speeches that Ts'ai's views on education and other allied subjects are to be found. For this reason the lack of major works by Ts'ai does not
hamper our understanding of his educational career. For a list of his major writings see the bibliography. Also see Ts'ai Shang-ssü, op. cit., 433-34.

16. Huang Shih-hui, 3.

17. Ibid.

18. The biographies Ts'ai mentioned were Ju-lin Wai Shih 儒林外史 and Wên-wan 文苑. Huang Shih-hui, 4.

19. Ibid.

20. Hsüan-chi, 335-36, 'M'.

21. See chapter two, section 3 (b) for information on this newspaper.

22. Huang Shih-hui, 35.

23. Ts'ai had five sons and two daughters. He married three times because he was a widower twice. There is no record of the name he gave to his eldest son who died in 1902. His second son born in 1898 (at present in mainland China) was named Wu-chi 吳克, a rather unusual name which probably mirrored Ts'ai's wish to see envy eradicated from this world. His eldest daughter was named Wei-lien 威廉, a name normally suited to a boy; in addition the characters are usually the Chinese transliteration of the Western name 'William'. Ts'ai was perhaps deliberately giving his daughter a boy's name. This is more apparent when we take into account that Ts'ai was known for his feminist leanings. His third son was born in China while he was studying in Berlin; therefore Ts'ai gave him the name Pē-lin 柏林, the Chinese transliteration of 'Berlin'. All his children had widely differing names, which is a deviation from the usual Chinese way of naming, that is, having the same first character for sons and the same first character for daughters. For example, Ts'ai's name was Yüan-p'ei, his elder brother's name was Yüan-chien 元堅, and his younger brother's name was Yüan-k'ang 元康. Ts'ai however, did not follow any fixed rule in naming his children. His fourth son was
named Huai-hsin, reflecting his concern for the problem of modernization in China, while his second daughter was given the name Ts'ui-an probably taken from the expression ts'ui-mien ang-pei which is descriptive of a person who possessed the mellowness and broadness of one schooled in the Confucian way of life. As may be seen in his life and career, Ts'ai himself answers to this description.

See Sun Té-chung, 'Shih-lueh Hsi-nien Chi,' 1, 5.

24. Huang Shih-hui, 2.
25. See chapter seven.

27. The ages of candidates for the imperial examinations varied a great deal. In the first year of Ch'ien-lung's reign (1736) there were some forty candidates who were over seventy years of age. The oldest man to pass the chü-jên examination in the Ch'ing dynasty was 103 years old. It took place in 1826, during the reign of Tao-kuang.

See Shang Yen-liu, Ch'ing-t'ai K'o-chü K'ao-shih Shu-lu, 84.

28. Ibid.
29. Sun Té-chung, op. cit., 3

30. The pioneer industrialist Chang Chien took first place in the chin-shih examination of 1894, but he did not become a revolutionary. Yen Fu received the degree of liu-hsüeh chin-shih which was a chin-shih degree conferred on graduates from overseas universities who were successful in a special examination conducted for them. But Yen Fu was also not active in the cause of the revolution, though his translations of Western works had an influence on the
development of new thinking among the Chinese. Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who went as far as the chu-jen examination was also not a revolutionary.

31. At the end of the nineteenth century there were still relatively few Chinese scholars who could read Western language books. This may be seen from the fact that between 1902 and 1904 60.2% of books translated into Chinese were from Japanese, 10.7% from English, 6.1% from English books published in America, 4.5% from German, 3.2% from French, 0.7% from Russian and 14.6% from other or unknown languages.


32. Hsuan-chi, 329, 'M.'

33. Yen Fu (1853-1921). A native of Fu-chou (Foochow) of the province of Fukien, Yen Fu entered the Fu-chou Ch'uan-cheng Hsueh-t'ang, a naval school attached to the Fu-chou Dockyard, at the age of fourteen. In 1877, at the age of twenty-four he went for further studies in England and stayed there for two years. Yen Fu was among the second batch of students sent by the Government for studies abroad, the first batch under Yung Hung went to America and the second batch was sent to England. He was in England when Darwin's theory of evolution was in vogue and he became well acquainted with it. On his return in 1879 he taught at his old school, and the next year became head teacher of the newly established Pei-yang Shui-shih Hsueh-t'ang (Peiyang School of Seamanship) and remained with the school for twenty years. He was a prominent thinker of the reformist group. Yen Fu was greatly known for his translations of Western language books which included T'ien-yen Lun Evolution and Ethics and Other Essays by T.H. Huxley, 1898; Ch'un hsueh Ssu-yen: The Study of Sociology by H. Spencer, 1903; Ch'un Chi Ch'uan-chieh Lun On Liberty by J.S. Mill, 1904; Fa I 法意 L'esprit des Lois by C.L.S. Montesquieu, 1904-1909; Mu-la Ming-hsueh (shang pan-pu)
Although among the first to acquire Western learning and to introduce it to the Chinese, Yen Fu subsequently became a conservative amidst the revolutionary climate during the first two decades of this century. After the 1911 Revolution he was one of those who advocated the restoration of the monarchy and was a supporter of Yuan Shih-k'ai as the new monarch. Between 1912 and his death in 1921, he also advocated Confucianism as a religion and opposed the May Fourth Movement. He was chancellor of the Peking University in 1912.

See Wang Shih, Yen Fu Chuan, 74-75 and passim.

34. This was a shortened version of the quotation from Herbert Spencer's Social Statics: 'No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy.' Part iv, chapter 30, section 16 (1850).

See The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, 408a.

35. Li Yü-ying 李煜瀛, tzu Shih-tsèng 石曾 (1882 - ). Born in Hopei, Li went to study in Paris where he organized revolutionary organizations with Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei, Wang Ching-wei 汪精衛 and others. An anarchist and socialist, he was known for the bean-curd factory he started in France to provide employment for hard-up students during the First World War. It is said that this venture introduced Europeans to the eating of bean-curd. After the establishment of the Republic he devoted himself more towards educational work. As a follow-up to the Lin-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui and the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui established in France he organized the Chung-fa Chiao-yü Hsieh-hui at Peking. In 1914 he was appointed a Chien-ch'a Wei-yüan 監察委員 by the Kuomintang. Strongly anti-communist he was most vocal in proposing the purging of Communists from the Kuomintang in 1927. Li is generally regarded as the prime mover of the
system of ta-hsûeh-ch'ü which was tried out in 1927-1928. After the Second World War he was for many years senior adviser to President Chiang Kai-shek. Still living in Taipei today, he is one of the directors of the Shih-chieh Shu-chü (World Book Company).

See Kuo-wên Chou-pao, IV, 23 (18 June 1927) and Max Perleberg, ed., Who's Who in Modern China, 128.

36. Ts'ai, 'Tsui-chin Wu-shih Nien Chung-kuo-jên Yü Che-hsûeh Chih Huan-hsi,' 最近五十年中國人與哲學之關係 in I-wên, 196.

37. See chapter seven.

38. I-wên, 204-205.


40. See chapter eight.

41. These were the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsûeh-t'ang 紹興中西學堂, the Ch'êng-chung Hsûeh-t'ang 澄衷學堂, and the Nan-yang Kung-hsûeh 南洋公學.

See chapter two, n.12 and passim.

42. Huang Shih-hui, 6.

43. Ibid.

In traditional China it was regarded unvirtuous for women to marry again after the death of their husbands, and most women had to live a life of enforced widowhood. Divorce was even more unusual, especially on the part of women. Normally it was regarded irresponsible for men to leave their wives, even if the latter could not fulfil the role of wives expected of them. The correct thing was to take in a secondary wife and continue to support the first wife who would continue to occupy the higher position, though the second wife might receive better attentions from the husband. A woman who was discarded or divorced by her husband would in the majority of cases have to face the bleak future of a life-long widowhood.
44. His third wife Madame Ts'ai nee Chou Ts'un, whom he married in 1923 when he was fifty-five, was with him when he died in Hong Kong in 1940. She was reported to have returned to China some years later, and is probably still alive today.

45. See chapter two, n. 12.

46. See chapter two, passim.

47. Hsuan-chi, 331, 'M.'

48. See chapter two, section 3(b).


50. Ch'iu Chin 秋瑾 and Ching-hsiung 靈雄, hao Chien-hu 翰湖 and Nu-hsia 女俠, 1879-1907, woman martyr of the revolution, came from the same district as Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai, that is, Shanyin in Shao-hsing, Chekiang. She married and followed her husband to Peking and during the Boxer Uprising (1900) escaped with her family. In 1904 she left her husband and children and went to study in Japan and lived most of the time in Tokyo. She blamed the Manchu government for the weakness of China and saw the revolution as the only salvation for China. Consequently she joined the revolutionaries and became one of the leaders of the revolutionary movement. She returned to China in 1905 where she became a member of the Kuang-fu Hui and when the T'ung-mêng Hui was formed she joined it. While Sun was operating in Kwangtung and Huang Hsing 黃興, tzü K'ê-ch'iang 克強, 1873-1916, was operating in Hunan, Ch'iu Chin and her cousin Hsu Hsi-lin 徐錫麟, tzü Pê-hsun 伯麟, 1873-1907 a leader of the Kuangfu Hui operated in Chekiang and Anhwei. Their plots in Chekiang failed and Ch'iu Chin was arrested and beheaded in 1907. Since then she has been regarded as a modern heroine of China.


51. Feng Tzu-yu, op. cit., I, 516.

52. Ibid., 516-517.
53. The Chün Kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui 墳國民教育會 was a revolutionary organization formed in Japan in 1903, with anti-Manchu and anti-Russian aims. It organized a students' voluntary corps. This would be trained as an army which was charged with the responsibility of fighting the Russians and revolting against the Manchus. It was a secret organization bearing a misleading name to avoid interference from the authorities. It gave military training to members of the voluntary corps in Japan, and later sent some members to China to engage in revolutionary activities.


54. Hsüan-ch'i, 330-331, 'M.'

55. Before the Ministry of Education in 1912 introduced the term Hsiao-chang 校長 which is customarily translated as 'principal' because the new schools were modelled on the West, the terms Tsung chien-tu 總監督 (general supervisor or superintendent) and Chien-tu 監督 (supervisor) were used. They referred to the person in overall charge of the school, which would in effect be the same as 'principal.' But since the term hsiao-chang only came into use after 1912 and the Chinese characters differ from the earlier names, it is deemed appropriate to give a literal translation of Tsung chien-tu as 'general supervisor' and Chien-tu as 'supervisor.' Apart from the difference in name, the duties of the Chien-tu and hsiao-chang were similar.

56. Huang Shih-hui, 18.

57. The I-hsüeh Kuan 京師大學堂 which specialized in teaching foreign languages was a division of the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh T'ang 京師大學堂. Its forerunner was the T'ung-wên Kuan 同文館 which in 1902 was absorbed into the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh T'ang under the name first of Fan-i K'o 翻譯科 and in 1903 as I-hsüeh Kuan. It should be noted that the T'ung-wên Kuan and the I-hsüeh Kuan had establishments both in Peking and Canton. The I-hsüeh Kuan was open by examination to graduates of the new middle schools, and had a five year curriculum.

See Knight Biggerstaff, The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China, 139 and passim.
See Knight Biggerstaff, The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China, 139 and passim.

58. Huang Shih-hui, 18.

59. It was not stated why the Minister to Germany took an interest in Ts'ai. It is possible that he was a friend of Ts'ai's.

60. Ibid.

61. Ibid., 19.


63. See chapters eight and nine.

64. Huang Shih-hui, 20.

65. Yu Cheng-hsieh 俞正燮 (1775-1840), a scholar from the province of Anhwei who assisted in the compilation of the 1818 edition of the Ta-Ch'ing Hui-t'ien or 'Collected Statutes of the Empire.' Becoming a chü-jen in 1821 at forty-seven sui he edited and compiled a number of historical and geographical books, and in 1837 was appointed Secretary to the Ch'ing official Lin Ts'ai-hsü 林則徐, who was then governor-general of Hunan and Hupei. A scholar of wide learning, his works touched on history, anthropology, folklore, geography and the classics. Yu Cheng-hsieh was known for his feminist ideas. He spoke against chastity in widows, attacked the practice of footbinding, and defended jealousy in women as normal. Yu Cheng-hsieh was one of the earliest Chinese scholars to advocate equality of the sexes and a system of monogamy.


66. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 443.

67. See above p.15.

68. 'A History of Chinese Ethics,' 143.
69. Huang Shih-hui, 19.
70. Sun Tê-chung, 'Shih-lüeh Hsi-nien Chi,' 8.

72. The five types of education were Chun Kuo-min Chiao-yü 萬國民教育 (National Military Education), Shih-li Chu-i Chiao-yü 實利主義教育 (Utilitarian Education), Kung-ming Tao-te Chiao-yü 公民道德教育 (Civic and Moral Education), Mei-kan Chiao-yü 美感教育 (Aesthetic Education), and Shih-chieh-kuán Chiao-yü 世界觀教育 ('World-view' Education).

See chapter three for a discussion of these five types of education.

73. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 189-202, 'F.'
74. The word spiritual is used throughout this thesis, unless otherwise stated, without its usual Christian and religious connotation.

75. These were the P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing Pan-fa 普通教育暫行辦法 (Temporary Plan for General Education), and the P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing K'o-ch'êng Piao-chun 普通教育暫行課程標準 (Temporary Standard Curriculum for General Education).

77. Ting Chih-p'ing, Chung-kuo Chin Ch'i-shih Nien Lai Chiao-yü Chi-shih, 40-41.
78. Ibid.

See also Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Shih, II, 667.

79. The first central educational conference to be held in the history of modern Chinese education was the Chung-yang Chiao-yü Hui-i 中央教育會議 of 1910 which took place at Peking. The Temporary Conference of Education was thus the second modern conference of education. Subsequent to 1912 three other all-China national conferences were held in China, viz., in 1928, 1930 and 1939.
See Ti-i Tz'u Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chian, Ti-erh Pien, 30.

80. The term 'middle school' is the Chinese equivalent of the English secondary school and the American high school.

81. Ch'ên Ch'ing-chih, II, 667.

82. Li Chien-nung, Tsui-chin San-shih Nien Chung-kuo Chêng-chih Shih, 240.

Li in this book said that Ts'ai fell into Yüan Shih-k'ai's trap because he was timid as well as patriotic. loc. cit.

83. Ibid., 265-267.

84. During this period Ts'ai actually made two trips to Europe, the first from the end of 1912 to the summer of 1913 when he had to return suddenly on account of the assassination of Sung Chiao-jên, and the second from 1913 to 1916. As his return to China in 1913 was unexpected and lasted only a few months, we have, for convenience, regarded these two trips as his second period of studies in Europe.

85. Ts'ai Shang-su, 62.


87. Huang Shih-hui, 24.

88. Li Chien-nung, op. cit., 276-277.

89. This statement was entitled 'Ching-kao Ch'uan-kuo T'ung-pao' 警告全國同胞 (Warning to all brothers in China) and was originally published in Min-li Pao, 22 July 1913. See Hsüan-chi, 21-22. Also quoted in Li Chien-nung, op. cit., 291-292.

90. Ibid.

91. It had been Ts'ai's belief that Germany and France were scientifically the two most advanced countries in Europe.

93. Wang Ching-wei 汪精衛 is the tzu of Wang Chao-ming 汪兆銘, who is known to the West only by the former. (1885-1944) An important member of the Kuomintang from the very beginning, he remained in the Japanese occupied territory during the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-1945 and was consequently considered a traitor. He went to Japan as a Government scholar, studied political science at the Hosei University in Tokyo, and joined the T'ung-mêng Hui when it was founded in Japan. Between 1913 and 1916 he studied sociology and literature in France, and later was chairman of the Executive Yüan on three occasions. He was a close associate and adviser of Sun Yat-sen.

See Don Bate, Wang Ching Wei Puppet or Patriot, passim, and Who's Who in Modern China 1954, 226-227.


95. See chapter eight for details on the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui.

96. See 'Lao-kung Shên-shêng' 勞工神聖 in Yen Hsing Lu, I, 168-169, 'C.'

97. For further discussion of this point see chapter eight, passim.

98. Hsiao I-shan ('Siao I-san'), Ch'ing-tai T'ung-shih, II, 734.


100. Hsiao I-shan, loc. cit.

101. In 1920 his study of Raphael's art was published in a series of articles in the Tung-fang Tsa-chih 東方雜誌 ( 'The Eastern Miscellany'). It was also recorded that in the same year he completed a book entitled K'ang-tê Mei-hsüeh Kuan 康德美學觀 ( 'On Kant's Aesthetics'), but this manuscript never appeared in print and it is not known if the manuscript exists.

102. See chapter eight for a discussion of some of these essays.

104. In his speech to the Peking University when he assumed the office of chancellor Ts'ai said that people outside the university had regarded it as a decadent place because students who went there thought only of becoming officials and getting rich.


105. The Hsin Ch'ing-nien ('New Youth'), edited by Ch'ên Tu-hsiu 陳獨秀, an iconoclast of the time and later founder of the Chinese Communist Party, began publication in 1915 and soon became the leading magazine of the new youth. Its articles were in the main aimed at breaking up the old social order and injecting new concepts of living into the new generation.


106. In 1919 Ts'ai, in a letter to the press, defended members of his staff who had been severely criticised for their radical views in the Hsin Ch'ing-nien. In answer to the conservative critic Ts'ai maintained the right of university teachers to freedom of expression and freedom from interference with their private life.

See chapter four below.

107. For a comprehensive study of the May Fourth Movement see Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, passim. For a short Chinese work see Hua Kang, Wu-ssu Yun-tung Shih.

108. Ts'ai Shang-ssū, 64.


111. See '...Wei Lo Wên-kan Tsao Fei-fa Tai-pu K'ang-i HsHan-yen' 為羅文幹遭非法逮捕抗議宣言 T-wên, 496-499.
Also see Wang Ching-ming, 'Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Yü Chung-kuo,' in Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Sa-i Chou-nien Chi-nien K'ân, 54-55.

111a Ts'ai was effective chancellor of Peking University from 1917 to 1923 when he took leave for his travels overseas. He remained a nominal chancellor until 1926. In 1929 he was persuaded to resume the chancellorship of Peita, but as he was also president of the Academia Sinica the actual administration of the university was carried out by the Acting Chancellor Ch'ên Ta-ch'i 陳大齊. Ts'ai's nominal chancellorship finally ended in 1930 when Chiang Mêng-lin took over officially as the new Chancellor.

See ibid., 4.

112. The Institut Franco-Chinoise d'éducation was established through the efforts of Wu Chih-hui 吳稚暉, with the assistance of Li Shih-tsâng 李石曾 and Ts'ai to give preparatory training to Chinese students proceeding to universities in Europe. It was hoped that when these students graduated they would return as teachers in the institutions of higher learning in China.

See L. Wieger, Chine Moderne, Tome V, 279, and chapter eight below.

113. Ts'ai Shang-ssŭ, 68.

In 1924 Ts'ai again went to England to negotiate for the remission of eleven million pounds sterling of England's share of the Boxer Indemnity Fund. He presented a memorandum to the House of Commons outlining a proposed scheme for the disposal of the money returned by England. In this memorandum quoted below he listed seven uses to which the returned Boxer Indemnity Fund would be allocated:

1. The principal portion of the fund is to be utilized for the establishment of a great and inspiring science institute. It will consist of two departments: the one to contain machineries, models, and diagrams, illustrating the different stages of development of the physical and chemical sciences, and illustrating the different stages of the evolutional processes of the industrial arts, the other to contain natural history specimens, showing the genus and species of flora and fauna—leading up to anthropology.
2. A portion of the fund is to be utilized for subsidizing any well-known universities or technical colleges in China for the express purpose of starting or extending certain special faculties or departments of sciences and technology, such as biology, textile, engineering, chemistry, medicine, agriculture and forestry, etc.

3. A portion of the fund is to be utilized for establishing within some of our national universities facilities for the study of the science, art, and literature of Great Britain. Foundation funds will be provided for (1) professorships, (2) purchases of English books on those subjects and works of art, and (3) scholarships for research students.

4. A portion of the fund is to be utilized as a foundation fund for sending teachers and graduates of the universities and technical colleges in China to the universities and technical colleges in Great Britain.

5. A small portion of the fund is to be utilized for sending scholars from Great Britain to China to study Chinese literature and philosophy, etc.

6. A small portion of the fund is to be utilized for purchasing Chinese objects of art, to be exhibited in museums of Great Britain on condition that the former unworthy ones be removed.

7. A portion of the fund is to be utilized for the exchange of professors between Great Britain and China - namely, for providing:

   (a) Distinguished scholars of Great Britain to lecture in the Chinese universities and colleges.

   (b) Distinguished scholars of China to lecture in the universities of Great Britain on Chinese literature, philosophy, and art, or any other subjects appreciated by the British people.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, 'Memorandum Concerning the Disposal of the Boxer Indemnity Fund,' Asiatic Review, XX, 63 (July 1924), 497-498.
Under the China Indemnity (Application) Act of 1925, a Statutory Committee was set up to advise H.M. Government how the money could be most usefully expended. The Committee consisted of eleven members, of whom one was a woman and three were Chinese. The Chinese members were Dr Hu Shih, Dr V.K. Ting, the well-known Chinese geologist, and Dr C.C. Wang, Minister of Foreign Affairs. A delegation of six members of the Committee, comprising three British and three Chinese was sent to China to study the needs at first hand, and at the conclusion of the visit they presented their report to the Committee. The delegation recommended that a Board of Trustees be established in China to administer the Fund. It further recommended:

(c) That the total fund, amounting to some £11,000,000 be divided into two parts, namely, an annual grant for immediate expenditure and capital for the formation of an investment fund ...

(d) That the immediate expenditure, annual expenditure above referred to be expended in the following proportions: 1. Agricultural education and improvement - 30%; 2. Scientific Research - 23%; 3. Medicine and Public Health - 17%; 4. Other educational purposes - 30%

Under heading (1) Agriculture, the Delegation recommend that grants be made towards agricultural colleges, sericulture, forestry and an institute of rural economics; also that a portion of the funds available under this heading be devoted to famine relief and the establishment of a central bank for rural co-operative credit. Under heading (2), Scientific Research, the Delegation recommend the establishment of a National Research Institute which would serve as a central post graduate University for the whole of China. Under heading (3), Medicine and Public Health, the Delegation propose various alternatives for the consideration of the trustees, namely, in the founding of a medical college at Shanghai, grants towards the maintenance of hospitals and medical colleges and schools, including assistance to maternity work and training of nurses, and grants towards public
health education. As regards (4), Other educational purposes, the Delegation state that while the financing of an adequate system of elementary education would be far beyond the means at the disposal of the Board, they recommend that encouragement be given to secondary and high schools by the provision of suitable teaching staff and equipment. They further suggest that assistance be given to the education of women, and girls, university education (professorships etc.), missionary schools and colleges, industrial and vocational education (including the training of industrial welfare workers) and commercial education; libraries and translation funds; scholarships at British Universities, including the Hong Kong University, and the endowment of Chinese studies at the School of Oriental Languages in London and at British Universities ... 

7. The Advisory Committee after a careful consideration of the Delegation's report have, with very slight modifications approved all the Delegation's recommendations ... 


It may be seen from the recommendations to the Advisory Committee that more money was recommended for the development of agricultural education than for scientific research. The original proposal outlined in Ts'ai's memorandum gave premier importance to financing scientific research.

114. For an account of Ts'ai's contribution to ethnology see Ho Lien-kuei, 'Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-sheng Tui-yu Min-tzu-hsueh Chih Kung-hsien,' in Chung-yang Yen-chiu-Yuan Min-tzu-hsueh Yen-chiu-so Chi-k'an ('Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology Academia Sinica'), (Spring 1960), 1-10. An English summary of the article entitled 'Dr. Ts'ai Yuan-pei's Contribution to Ethnology (Summary)' appears in pp. 13-17.

116. Private communication from the Assistant Secretary of New York University dated 10 April 1964.

Also see chapter nine.

117. Sun Tê-chung, op. cit., 16.

118. Yang Yiu-chiung, Chung-kuo Chêng-tang Shih, 168.

119. See his 'Chung-kuo Ti Wên-i Chung-hsing' in I-wên; 10. Also see chapter eight.

120. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 75.

Also see chapter eight.


122. Quoted in Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 81.

123. See Soong Ching Ling, The Struggle for New China, 33-49 and Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 82.

For Ts'ai's views on the formation of the China League for Civil Rights see 'Ts'ai Chung-kuo Min-ch'üan Pao-chang T'ung-mêng Chung-wai Chi-chê Chao-tai Hui Ti Chih-tz'i' 在中國民權保障同盟中外交員招待會的致詞 in Shên-pao, 31 December 1932.

124. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 83, quoting Wu-han Jih-pao

125. Ibid.

126. For details concerning the Ta-hsêh-yüan see chapter five section 1.

127. Ting Chih-p'ing, Chung-kuo Chin Ch'i-shih Nien Lai Chiao-yü Chi-shih, 141.

Also see Chiao-yü Tsa-chih, 19, 1, 'Chiao-hsi' 教息, 1.
128. Ting Chih-p'ing, 140, quoting Kuo-ming Chêng-fu Kung-pao 国民政府公报, No. 6, 'Tz'ǔ-wen,'卷文 23. See also 'Fan-tui Ta-hsüeh Ch'ü Chih Ti-i Sheng,' 反對大學區之第一聲。'Chung-yang Ta-hsüeh Ch'ü Chih Lieh-hên,' 《中央大學區之裂痕》Tsai Chih Chung-yang Ta-hsüeh Ch'ü Chih Lieh-hên 再 認中央大學區之裂痕 in Chiao-yü Tsa-chih, XX, 7, 'Chiao-yü-chieh-Hsiao-hsi' 教育界消息 1-4, XXI, 4, 'Chiao-yü-chieh Hsiao-hsi' 教育界消息 138-139, and XXI, 5 'Chiao-yü-chieh Hsiao-hsi' 教育界消息 135-139 respectively.

129. Chiao-yü Pu Kung-pao, I, 1 'Fa-kuei' 法規, 91, quoted in Ting Chih-p'ing, 178. Also see Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 78-89 ff.

130. Yen Hsing Lu, II, 292. Also see chapter four p. 134 ff.
CHAPTER TWO

TS'AI YUAN-P'EI'S EDUCATIONAL AND REVOLUTIONARY ACTIVITIES
PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE REPUBLIC (1889-1906)

1. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei as a teacher of revolutionary thought.

In order to assess the contribution made by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei to the development of modern education in China we have to examine two aspects of the man: his career as an educator and teacher, and his educational philosophy. Where possible the latter is treated separately, but where this is neither feasible nor necessary, both are presented together in chronological sequence. Some of his early educational activities were concerned with advancing the cause of the revolution, but as education for a revolution is still education, it is included in this study. Similarly his ideas on philosophy, religion, aesthetics and ethics, though not strictly educational, will be discussed in later chapters because they are relevant to his educational work and influenced those with whom he came into contact.

(a) Supervisor of the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsueh-t'ang 紹興中西學堂 (Shao-hsing Sino-Western School).

Ts'ai began his educational career as head of the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsueh-t'ang, one of the new-type middle
schools that had been established as a result of the reforms of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Unlike the old ssu-shu (private schools), where the pupils were only taught the Chinese classics, the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsüeh T'ang taught foreign languages, mathematics and science. Establishing from public funds, the school was divided into three grades somewhat similar to the senior primary one, junior middle one and senior middle one classes of Chinese schools in later years. There is not much data on the work of Ts'ai at the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsüeh T'ang. We know, however, that Ts'ai joined the school in 1899 after he had resigned from his position in the Hanlin Academy. Believing that the failure of the 1898 reforms was due to the fact that K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao did not train sufficient people sympathetic to their cause, Ts'ai decided to undertake the task of educating the people for an eventual revolution. Influenced by the new thinking of the West, he accepted the European theory of evolution and became an enthusiastic defender of human rights and women's rights.

At the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsüeh T'ang, the teachers were divided into two camps - the progressive and the conservative. Ts'ai supported the progressive group and regarded the traditional concepts of
honouring the emperor, disregarding the ordinary people, and despising females, as obsolete. On account of his alignment with the progressives in the debates between the two groups Ts'ai came into conflict with the conservative teachers, who hated him and lodged a complaint to the school board against his improper behaviour. The director of the board, in attempting to rectify Ts'ai's radical outlook, which was out of tune with the accepted norm, requested him to copy an imperial edict on 'The Correct Mind' and hang it at the school hall. Ts'ai resigned in fury.

Ts'ai's plan to develop the new education at the Shao-hsing Chung-hsi Hsüeh-tang thus came to an abrupt end. He saw no purpose in working for institutions and people who sought to preserve the decadent old order and tried to prevent the free development of progressive thinking. After resigning from the school at Shao-hsing he sought fresh avenues to espouse the cause of progress and change.

(b) The inculcation of ideas on human rights at the Nan-yang Kung-hsueh (Nanyang Public School).

Ts'ai's next significant appointment was at the Nan-yang Kung-hsueh in Shanghai which he joined in 1901. The Nan-yang Kung-hsueh, established in 1896 by the pioneer entrepreneur Sheng Hsuan-huai, had by
this time developed into a sort of senior high school or college and had started a special class to prepare students for university entrance. Ts'ai joined the school as a teacher in the newly formed matriculation class of forty students. He taught Chinese language and literature, and Japanese.

Ts'ai's teaching at the Nan-yang Kung-hsiieh was characterized by his liberal approach and his efforts to spread ideas on human rights. Instead of following the traditional method of teaching and explaining texts, he made the students read by themselves and write diaries. Once a month they were also required to write an essay. Especially noteworthy were his corrections and comments of the students' essays and diaries in which he advocated human rights. In encouraging the students to read widely, especially the new books translated from European and Japanese languages, and teaching them to value human rights, Ts'ai's methods were revolutionary. This may be seen in the fact that the less progressive teachers did not allow the students to read Western books or the Hsin-min Ts'ung-pao (New Citizens' News), a newspaper started by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. One of the teachers even punished students found reading such prohibited literature, and this led to the mass withdrawal of over two hundred students from the school in protest against the arbitrary dismissal of a student by the teacher. Having been blamed by the school
authorities for the student trouble because he had been inculcating ideas on human rights, Ts'ai submitted his resignation.15

The student trouble at the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh underlined one point: that Ts'ai was much more progressive and radical than many other members of the school staff, in whose eyes he was an iconoclast. While the others discouraged students from reading new books and newspapers, Ts'ai encouraged them; while they were unfamiliar with and not ready to accept ideas of human rights and evolution, Ts'ai was already expounding them to his students. His resignation from the school indicates that his sympathy lay with the students rather than with the conservative members of the staff.

In modern times, the departure of the students from the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh was an early example of student mass action against school authorities as a means of airing their grievances.16 The students' action represented a determination to break away from the old, slavish type of education and the outdated concept of teacher-pupil relationship where the teacher was always right and the pupils expected to be strictly obedient. Reporting this incident at the time a writer wrote:

Today's incident represents a new era in which we students leave an autocratic school. What would the future struggle of my fellow students be like! 17
The growing discontent with the old social order noticeable in the students of the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh may not have been due only to the influence of Ts'ai, but the ideas about human rights he had instilled into their minds played a part in the change in social values. Ts'ai did not stop at teaching human rights. In the schools with which he was subsequently associated he went on from human rights to 'sow the seeds of revolution.'

2. The establishment of revolutionary organizations in Shanghai.

(a) Ts'ai and the Chung-kuo Chiao-yu Hui (Chinese Educational Association).

In 1902 Ts'ai and his friends in Shanghai founded a semi-educational body known as the Chung-kuo Chiao-yu Hui or Chinese Educational Association. Its aims were:

... to educate Chinese boys and girls in order to develop their knowledge and experience and to increase their national consciousness as the foundation for the eventual recovery of our national rights. *(Translation by the author)*

The aims of the society were educational, but the phrase 'eventual recovery of our national rights' points toward a political revolution because the Manchu Government had been ineffectual in preserving the national rights of the Chinese and therefore must be replaced by a new and truly
national government. The Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui was therefore established to carry out revolutionary education through the schools that it sponsored, through the publication of new and revolutionary literature, and through propaganda.

In 1902 the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui sponsored the establishment of two schools in Shanghai - the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao and the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê. Ts'ai was closely associated with the founding of these schools which, as we shall see later, combined educational and revolutionary work. 20

The Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui sought to fill another need, that of editing and writing text books for use in schools, because text books in use then were mostly translations from the Japanese and therefore lacking in local content. 21 At the end of the Boxer War there was a great increase in publications in Shanghai, with publishing companies competing to bring out new books and newspapers. This reflected a growing interest in revolutionary and Western literature and an ever increasing awareness of the futility of the conservative Manchu Government. A great deal of Japanese literature was translated by Chinese scholars who were, or had been, in Japan, but Ts'ai and a few others felt that text books translated from other languages were not suited
to the needs of schools in China, and if education was to be improved, books specially edited and written in China by Chinese authors were an immediate necessity. The Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui therefore assisted in the publication of new text books for the inculcation of a new and revolutionary outlook in the schools.

Apart from sponsoring and financing the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê and the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao, the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui was the centre of revolutionary work in Shanghai at the time. It was the pivot of the two patriotic schools and the two revolutionary newspapers, the Su Pao and the Ching-chung Jih-pao. It could with justification be called the parent body of the other educational institutions in Shanghai, all of which had a revolutionary aim. The fact that many of its members later joined Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary organization, the T'ung-mêng Hui, indicates that the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui was at that time a rendezvous for Chinese revolutionaries of the Kiangsu, Chekiang, and Anhwei regions. Its work in spreading revolutionary ideas in Central China was thus a complement to the work being carried out in the south and overseas by Sun Yat-sen and his supporters.
Members of the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui participated directly in revolutionary propaganda. Weekly meetings were held under its auspices where members openly advocated revolution. The Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui also lent its support to the Chün Kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui 軍國民教育會 (Association for National Military Education) which was formed to give its members military training. The majority of its members were ex-students of the Nan-ching Lu-shih Hsüeh-t'ang 南京陸師學堂 (Nanking School of Military Officers), who had left the school because of trouble with the school authorities. Thus on the one hand the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui was spreading revolutionary thought, on the other it was supporting an organization which was training people to serve as revolutionary fighters.

It seems that Ts'ai was one of the extremists who wished to make the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui an instrument of revolutionary propaganda, while the moderates wished to keep it a purely educational body, as its name implied. The activities of the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui indicated that it did not remain purely an educational institution, but was an organization that served the cause of the revolution.
(b) Sowing the seeds of revolution at the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê and the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao.

Ts'ai's early career in Shanghai was mainly concerned with revolutionary education - that of opening the minds of people, especially the youths, and making them understand the meaning of revolution. The education of the young people was carried out mainly through the two schools which he assisted in establishing - the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê and the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao.

The occasion for establishing the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê was the mass exodus of students from the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh in 1902. These students appealed to the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui for assistance and Ts'ai and his compatriots decided to start a school to accommodate them. The school was partly financed by a monthly contribution of one hundred yüan from the Su Pao. In return for this financial assistance the school's seven teachers, including Ts'ai, undertook to write an editorial for the newspaper each day, on rotation. Through this arrangement the Su Pao became partly an organ of the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê, reflecting the views of its staff members.

The Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê was established at a time when Chinese students were increasingly being prevented from going to study in Japan because the Manchu Government had
been advised by its ambassador in Japan that students going there for studies were being exposed to revolutionary preaching and were using their stay in Japan to train themselves as revolutionary fighters. The School thus served to accommodate some of the students of Shanghai who normally would have gone to study in Japan. It took in students from other schools who had to leave their old schools because of their revolutionary leaning and their defiance of the school authorities. It became a centre of revolutionary teaching and a rendezvous of returned students from Japan some of whom became military instructors, thus utilizing their training received in Japan.

The teacher-pupil relationship at the Ai-Kuo Hsüeh-shê in contrast to the Nan-Yang Kung-hsüeh, was very liberal and easy. Some of the students in the higher grades served as part-time teachers of the lower classes, and the more enthusiastic teachers such as Ts'ai joined the senior students in undergoing military training. Ts'ai said that by this time he had made up his mind to participate in revolutionary work, and as he saw it, there were only two ways toward a revolution - violence and assassination. Thus at the Ai Kuo Hsüeh-shê Ts'ai was serious in assisting with military training for the students.
In November 1902, before the opening of the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê, Ts'ai had already assisted his friends to establish a girls' school in Shanghai called the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao, with the object of educating girls 'in order to increase their common knowledge and experience and to stimulate the development of their sense of duty and privilege.' The school was financed from private donations and began with only a few students, mainly wives and daughters of the founders. When the school superintendent left for Japan, Ts'ai took over the post and remained there for one year. This was Ts'ai's earliest connexion with the education of women which he later referred to as of equal importance to the education of men.

Both the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê and the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao were established by men of revolutionary fervour who used them to further their revolutionary aims. Whereas the Nanyang Kung-hsüeh Ts'ai had merely advocated human and women's rights, at the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê and Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao he was openly advocating revolution. In the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê he encouraged and assisted in military training for students, while in the Ai-kuo Nü Hsüeh-hsiao he urged the girls to equip themselves for the role of assassins.
because he believed that women could carry out assassinations better than men. To prepare them for the task, the girls learned physics and chemistry, a basic knowledge of which was necessary before they could be trained to make bombs. The brighter students were taught the history of the French Revolution and Russian nihilism in order to indicate to them the need for a revolution in China. Some of the older girls in the school enrolled as members of the T'ung-meng Hui of which Ts'ai himself had become a member soon after its formation in 1905.

Ts'ai's work in the two Patriotic Schools appears quite revolutionary and a little out of character. But Ts'ai was living at a time when revolution was seen by the more radical intellectuals as the only means whereby the decrepit old order could be replaced by a new government capable of injecting new life into a country and people faced with foreign encroachment. As a nationalist and radical thinker Ts'ai could not remain aloof from the contemporary revolutionary activities, and though he did not in fact directly participate in any violent action, he actively supported the use of violence, and was equipped to play such a role should it become necessary.

The Ai-küo Hsüeh-shê had to close down in 1903 on account of the Su Pao case which resulted in the arrest of
two revolutionaries, the closure of the Su Pao, and the dispersal of most of the teachers of the school, with Ts'ai taking refuge in Tsingtao. When the Su Pao case subsided Ts'ai continued to head the Ai Kuo Nu Hsueh-hsiao and to serve as a voluntary teacher until 1905 when he left the school permanently. After Ts'ai's departure the school gradually developed into a regular middle school for girls and lost its earlier revolutionary character. During the 1911 Revolution some ex-students of the school took part in the Nanking Rising, a fact which might be attributed to the training they had received under Ts'ai who had emphasized women's role as assassins. The school survived the 1911 Revolution and was still in existence in 1932. Founded as a school to teach girls revolutionary and radical thought, at the beginning of the century, it continued to function long after the Revolution had passed. As one of the earliest girls' schools of its kind, it was important to the development of female education and the emancipation of women in modern China.

(c) Ts'ai's revolutionary outlook at the turn of the century.

Although all members of the Chung-Kuo Chiao-Yü Hui were nationalists and revolutionaries their concepts of revolution were by no means identical. It has been mentioned
that Ts'ai belonged to the extreme group who felt justified in using the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui as an instrument of revolutionary propaganda. However, it should not be mistaken that Ts'ai was truly an extremist and ultra-revolutionist. In fact Ts'ai was moderate in his views compared to the anti-Manchu Chinese scholar Chang Ping-lin 張炳麟. Like Ts'ai, Chang Ping-lin was a founder member of the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui dedicated to the task of bringing about a political revolution and the overthrow of the Manchu regime. But while Chang was strongly chauvinistic, Ts'ai was not.

In 1902 Chang had founded the Chih-na Wang-kuo Erh-pai Ssu-shih-erh Nien Chi-nien Hui (Association Commemorating the 242nd Year of the Fall of China) when he was a refugee in Japan. Chang regarded the Manchus as foreign usurers who had to be thrown out as soon as possible. In his opinion China up till then was a country under foreign subjection, and the Chinese should continue to commemorate the loss of their fatherland as long as the Manchus remained rulers. It might be noted that the revolutionaries who fought to establish the Republic had two aims - the end of a decrepit, futile order on the one hand, and the overthrow of an alien Manchu rule on the other. Chang's revolutionary aim was mainly anti-Manchu.
While narrow nationalists such as Chang Ping-lin called for the destruction of the Manchus in order that a republic might be established, Ts'ai thought differently. He said in 1905:

The blood of the Manchus has long been mixed with the Han race. Their language and writing has also suffered selection by the Han language and writing. Only their hereditary rank and the special privileges they enjoy (of not having to work for a living) may be labelled Manchu. Should the Manchus become aware of this themselves and would give up their special privileges, then the Hans had no need to exterminate the Manchus.  

(Translated by the author)

At the time Ts'ai's article did not receive much attention as the restoration of the Hans was a good platform for the overthrow of the Manchu rule, but after the revolution had taken place, people began to give this question more consideration. What is noteworthy is that even during the pre-Revolution years, when Ts'ai had committed himself to the cause of the revolution, he was not blinded by the narrow nationalism that surrounded him, but was capable of making an independent and balanced judgment.

3. Ts'ai's connexion with pre-Republican revolutionary newspapers in Shanghai

(a) Revolutionary propaganda of the Su Pao 蘇報.

In discussing the 1911 Revolution writers usually concentrate on the military exploits of the revolutionary
parties and ignored the role of revolutionary propaganda. It is the purpose here to discuss the revolutionary role of two newspapers in Shanghai with which Ts'ai had connexion, and to examine Ts'ai's contribution to them. These were the Su Pao and the Ching-chung Jih-pao.

Originally started under the name of a Japanese woman, the Su Pao of Shanghai was bought over in 1902 by Ch'en Fan 陳範. It began by advocating reforms in China but gradually took on a revolutionary line. Introducing a column called the 'Hsüeh-chieh Feng-ch'ao' 學界風潮 ('Wind and tide of the educated circle'), its articles became highly anti-Manchu in tone. It was closely connected with the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui and the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê founded by Ts'ai and his friends in Shanghai. Its editorials were written by staff members of the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê among whom were Ts'ai, Wu Ching-hêng 吳敬恒, and Chang Pêng-lin, all revolutionaries. It is obvious that the Su Pao 蘇報 reflected the views of these contributors, but as the names of the writers were often not published it is difficult to ascertain which were the articles contributed by Ts'ai.

From 1902 until its closure by the Manchu authorities in 1903, the Su Pao took the lead in advocating revolution, serving as mouthpiece of the Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui and
revolutionary writers who were also associated with the 
Ai-Kuo Hsüeh ążhê. Its editorials and articles ranged from 
suggestions of mild reforms to overt anti-Manchu utterances. 

The earlier articles, especially those on education, were 
moderate in tone. For example one article 'Lun Chung-kuo 
Chiao-yü Kai-ke' 論中國教育改革 ('On the reform of 
Chinese education') suggested that the Manchu Government 
should first introduce political reforms and then educational 
reforms. 

The articles written from 1903 became anti-
Manchu and inflammatory, especially Chang Ping-lin's 'Hsu 
Ke-ming Chun' 序革命軍 ('Preface to Tsou Jung's The 
Revolutionary Army') 53 which finally led the Government to 
order the arrest of the sponsors and the leading writers 
and to close down the press. This event which has been 
known as the Su Pao An 蘇報案 (The Su Pao Case) 
attracted much attention and interest at the time because 
the arrest took place at the International Settlement in 
Shanghai and involved the question of foreign extraterritorial 
rights. 

Since Ts'ai's name topped the first two lists of 
wanted persons submitted to the Manchu Court, it appears that 
the officials of the Government regarded him as one of the 
principal revolutionary leaders in Shanghai, because of his 
role in the Chung-Kuo Chiao-yü Hui and the Ai-Kuo Hsüeh-
Shê, which was known to them as the hotbed of revolutionary
propaganda. The first order for the arrest of Ts'ai and other members connected with the Su Pao, the Chung-Kuo Chiao-yü Hui, and the Ai-Kuo Hsüeh shè was not carried out owing to the objection of the Shanghai Municipality - where Ts'ai and the rest were living - which was in the British Concession. The Manchu officials then appealed to the Emperor to issue an edict requesting the Shanghai Municipality to assist in closing down the Su Pao and arresting its officers because it had published subversive articles. In the second list of wanted persons Ts'ai's name was left out because he was not an officer or owner of the Su Pao. Nevertheless, to avoid arrest, Ts'ai had wisely taken refuge in Tsingtao.

The outcome of the Government action was the closure of the Su Pao and the arrest and imprisonment of Chang Ping-lin and Tsou Jung, author of the anti-Manchu book Ke-ming Chun. The Su Pao case thus put an end to the revolutionary propaganda of the newspaper which in the course of one year had aroused considerable anti-Manchu feeling and sympathy for the revolutionary cause. It was reported that before the Manchu Government struck at the Su Pao there had been anti-Manchu movements which had been noticed by the Government. The notice issued by the Government on the day of the police swoop was a pointer to the influence exerted on the people
by the writers of the **Su Pao**. It read,

According to the secret letter of the Emperor, the letter of the Governor of Kiangsu, and the Imperial Telegraphic Order, it is known that the Ai-kuo Hsueh-shê in Shanghai gathers together insolent people who preach the devilish theory of revolution, which is tantamount to treason. On account of this they must be secretly arrested....

(Translation by the author).

The **Su Pao**, it may be recalled, was partly responsible for maintaining the Ai-kuo Hsueh-shê through its monthly subsidy of one hundred yüan. Both were engaged in spreading revolutionary thought, the former through the dissemination of news to the public, the latter through instructing its pupils. The Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui, the Ai-kuo Hsueh-shê, the Ai-kuo Nü Hsueh-hsiao, the **Su Pao**, and the Ching-chung Jih-pao formed an important network of revolutionary work in Shanghai. Apart from linking the activities of revolutionaries in Shanghai, they also served to encourage and assist revolutionary activities in other parts of central China.59

(b) Ts'ai and the **Ching-chung Jih-Pao**.

When the **Su Pao** case had subsided Ts'ai returned to Shanghai in the winter of 1903. At this time the Russians were active in the province of Liao-ning and there was fear of Russian territorial ambitions. Ts'ai and some friends organized the Tui-0 T'ung-chih Hui 對俄同志會 (Association of Anti-Russian Comrades), and started a newspaper.
called O-shih Ching-wen Jih-k'an ('The Alarming Russian News Daily') to focus attention on the Russian problem and to awaken the people to a realization of the dangers of Russian aggression. The paper did not directly discuss revolution, but published translations of the history of the Russian Nihilist Party, and indirectly spread revolutionary thought. It published two editorials daily, one in classical Chinese and one in pai-hua, as well as news concerning Russian military intrusion in China and comments on the failure of Manchu foreign relations.

When the Russo-Japanese War was over and the fear of Russian aggression subsided, the paper changed its name to Ching-chung Jih-pao, and continued its aim of keeping the people informed of alarming incidents in China. At this point Ts'ai took over as editor, and the paper, being no more directed towards Russian affairs, turned its attention more directly to preaching revolution, filling the gap created by the closure of the Su Pao. During its one year's existence the Ching-chung Jih-pao discussed various social and political questions, such as female rights, Russian nihilism, the education of girls, public morals, the Chinese family system, the future of pai-hua newspapers, universal education, conservatism and radicalism, Confucianism, and the decadence of the scholar-gentry.
Influenced by Russian anarchist and socialist thought, Ts'ai was attracted by such ideas as the abolition of marriage and ownership of property, and he wrote a story entitled 'Hsin-nien Mêng (A New Year's Dream) in which these anarchist tendencies were reflected. However, Ts'ai felt that anarchist ideals could not be easily put into practice unless they were accepted by the majority of people in the world, and he warned anarchists against abusing the freedom that would come with the abolition of human institutions. At that time it was reported that a few people were abusing the freedom implied in anarchist theories, such as refusing to work and robbing things belonging to others, retorting that they were public property, and seducing girls from respectable families in the name of free love. Ts'ai explained that 'people must first observe the principle of not taking illicitly, before they could talk of communism; they must be free from lustfulness before they could talk of abolishing marriage.'

An article entitled 'Kung-tê P'ien' (Public Morality), probably written by Ts'ai, called on the people to develop public morals (implying public spirit) and not hold tenaciously to private morals. The author attributed the non-development of a strong public spirit among the Chinese to the evolution of an autocratic political body,
the advanced development of the family concept, the growth of cunningness, and the instigation of scholars and writers. He exhorted the Chinese to sacrifice their private gains in the interest of public benefit. 67

Surveying the phenomena over the New Year of 1904 the Ching-chung Jih-pao lamented over the incompetence of the government and the people's ignorance of the conditions prevailing in their country. 68 Though not overtly anti-Manchu in tone, the Ching-chung Jih-pao at this time was beginning to criticize the Manchu Government, as the statement that the Government was incompetent was an expression of no confidence and consequently aimed at discrediting the rulers. In another article 'Lun Chuan-chih Yu Pao-tung Chih Hsiang-ying' (On the response between autocracy and violence), it was suggested that in all autocratic countries the people resorted to violence because 'autocracy is the cause of violence, and violence is the result of autocracy.' 69 Yet another article said that in an autocratic state it was inevitable that the rulers would eventually have to abscond. 70 Such utterances were revolutionary in tone, suggesting to the people that when they lived under an autocratic regime violence was justifiable. Because of its publication of revolutionary views, the Ching-chung Jih-pao was suppressed by the Government in 1905. 71
The Ching-chung Jih-pao expressed views attacking Confucius for his neglect of science and craftsmanship, his illogical thinking and autocratic beliefs, and his egoistic viewpoint. Confucius' rejection of the views of others restricted the freedom of speech and thought, a reference which points to Ts'ai as the likely author of the article, as freedom of speech and thought figured fairly prominently in his later writings. On account of the faults listed, Confucianism was considered unsuitable as a guide to modern living.

The scholar-gentry also came in for a scathing attack in an account which read:

The Chinese scholar-gentry are the unique slaves that heaven has produced. People who are willing to be slaves are stupid and unlearned. Scholars willing to be slaves are learned but as a consequence [of their learning] reveal their stupidity all the more .... (Translation by the author)

Such a harsh indictment of the scholars is surprising because Ts'ai and those responsible for publishing the newspaper were themselves of the scholar and intellectual class. However, it indicates that the Ching-chung Jih-pao was prepared to publish views which were then regarded as extremely radical and even heretical.

A significant article concerning education entitled 'Chiao-yu P'u-chi I' (A proposal for popularizing education) was published in June 1904.
Although unsigned, its contents are sufficiently consonant with Ts'ai's later ideas on education to warrant assigning it to his authorship. If Ts'ai had not actually written it, he would still have agreed with the ideas expressed. This article set out a plan to popularize education by the most economical method. It began by pointing out that in China education was not universal because the people's minds were not open and the power of providing education was still in the hands of the ssū-shih (private tutors) who were mainly conservative and unprogressive. It was possible that these teachers might desire to expand and improve education but did not have the know-how, and therefore the author felt that in the interest of China's future development the people must know the method of popularizing education.

It was recommended that the plan of education passed in the 32nd Year of Meiji in Japan be copied, and the general principle behind the plan was that the cost of primary education must be borne by the people of the districts where the schools were to be established. The right of sending children to school would be determined by the fulfilment of monetary obligation on the part of the parents, and the rate of payment was tailored according to the financial status of each family. Pupils attending schools need not pay any fees; the cost of running the schools would be defrayed from the contributions made by every family in the
district. It was argued that even the poorest family should be able to pay ten wèn (about one cent) per month towards the educational fund, and as every family was required to contribute, in accordance with its ability, towards education in the district, it was considered 'the world's most just method' of financing education.

According to the plan, in each chūn (prefecture) of about ten lǐ's radius forty schools could be established, and with one hundred pupils in each school, a total of four thousand children would receive education in each chūn, all this being possible from the funds contributed by every family. Pupils could attend the schools nearest to their homes as there would be schools in each region of sufficient proximity, thus obviating the need to travel long distances to school.

To provide the necessary teachers for the schools, the proposal called for the establishment of a number of primary normal schools to train former private tutors in one or two science subjects so that they would be suitable to become primary school teachers. As these normal schools would be emergency ones, the length of the training would be only three months, after which the teachers would graduate as teachers of primary schools. With each school having four teachers, the forty schools would need to employ one
hundred and sixty teachers. In each large chün there would normally be about 200 private tutors; therefore about forty such tutors would not have employment in the new schools envisaged. These could become tutors in the village schools which would not have a good supply of scholars and normally had to recruit teachers from the towns and chün.

In carrying out this scheme three difficulties were anticipated, namely, the difficulty in collecting funds, shortage of pupils, and the stubborn opposition of the private tutors. To overcome the first difficulty it was suggested that the budget and statement of accounts be made known to the people so that they would know that all money collected was used for their own benefit and not squandered. In this way, the proposal claimed, the people would willingly contribute their share to the work of developing education. As for the second difficulty, it was pointed out that in the past the common people were not enthusiastic about sending their children to the private schools because they could not afford the expenses involved, now that under the projected scheme tuition in the new primary schools would be free, and on completion of their primary school they could be promoted to the middle school and to the university, the problem of shortage of pupils should no longer arise. With regards to the private tutors, they were mainly concerned
with their own livelihood, so that when the new schools had been started it would be to their own self interest to undergo the emergency normal training, on completion of which they could make a living as a teacher in the new schools. For this reason it was felt that they would not be unduly obstructive. 80

It would seem that the proposer dismissed the difficulties a little too readily. Acquainting the people with the budget and the accounts would, to a degree, help them to appreciate the work being done, but it would take time and experience before people would give their full support to a new system especially when it entailed supplanting an old system which, though outmoded and unprogressive in the light of modern educational development in the West, had been in use with relative success for hundreds of years. The old private tutors were also more stubborn in giving up their traditional ssū-shu than the proponents of the new school system appeared to believe; this was coupled by the people's reluctance to discard the old ssū-shu which in some ways were better equipped and suited to provide an education for their children. 81

Nonetheless, the proposed system is an interesting example of a plan to popularize education in China during the early years of this century. It is not known if the
proposed methods of establishing primary schools and developing primary education had in fact been followed in later years, but with the establishment of the Republic, the cumulative effect of this and other proposals for universal education was to set in motion the process of modernizing the system of education in China which made it impossible for the old system to remain for long. In 1905 the Imperial Examination was abolished, and with it the greatest incentive for the pursuit of the old classical learning disappeared. From then onwards there was no doubt that the new educational system had come to replace the old, though the ssu-shu lingered on in some villages for many more years. The work begun in the early years of this century through the promulgation of the new school system in 1903 and through the educative function of radical newspapers and periodicals, such as the Ching-chung Jih-pao founded by Ts'ai and the Su Pao, was slowly preparing the way for the ultimate implementation of a new system of education based on new educational concepts, a system which Ts'ai himself was responsible for forging when he became Minister of Education in 1912.

To sum up, the Su Pao and the Ching-chung Jih-pao were organs of communication through which Ts'ai and his colleagues propagated the work they were attempting to
actualize in the Chung-Kuo Chiao-Yü Hui and the Patriotic Schools, namely, to interest the people in a social and political revolution, and to provide the students of the time with a new education inspired by the West. In their revolutionary role the institutions and newspapers under discussion carried out the ground work of educating the people towards a new outlook, battling to win the minds of the people before the battle of guns was fought - an important battle as the victory of Mao Tse-tung over the Kuomintang in our own days well illustrates. On the educational side, the Ai-Kuo Hsueh shê and the Ai-Kuo Nü Hsueh-hsiao were important as Western-orientated schools of the time, because new-styled schools teaching foreign languages were certainly not in abundance. The Ai-Kuo Nü Hsueh-hsiao in particular was an important establishment as it was one of the pioneer girls' schools, which helped to popularize female education in China.

Ts'ai's early educational work was determined by the needs of a political revolution, and the goals of his endeavours during the years 1900 to 1907 were narrow compared with his later ones. Nevertheless they were goals which had to be accomplished before the more comprehensive and broader aims of education could be contemplated. For these latter educational objectives we have to turn to his later educational career.
CHAPTER TWO

1. It is well known that following the defeat by Great Britain and other foreign powers China began to find ways and means of strengthening herself and this led to the reform movement at the close of the nineteenth century. One of the ways of self-strengthening was the development of schools to teach foreign languages and the military sciences. Of the former there were the Ching-shih T'ung-wen Kuan 京師同文館, the Shang-hai Kuang Fang-yen Kuan 上海廣方言館, and the Kuang-chou T'ung-wen Kuan 廣州同文館, and the Hu-peih Tsu-chiang Hsueh-t'ang 湖北自譯學堂. Of the latter there were the Fu-chien Ch'uan-cheng Hsueh-t'ang 福建船政實堂, and the T'ien-tsin Shui-shih Hsueh-t'ang 天津水師學堂. The Shao-hsing Chung-hai Hsueh-t'ang 紹興中西學堂 was one of the later and less well-known schools established to teach both Western and Chinese subjects. A characteristic feature of these Sino-Western schools was the teaching of foreign languages. For an account of the Schools of Languages and the Naval and Army Schools, see Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Shih, II, 557-565, and Knight Biggerstaff, op. cit., passim.

2. Hsuan-chi, 329, 'M.'

3. Senior Primary I is the fifth year of primary school, Junior Middle I is the first year of secondary school, and Senior Middle I is the fourth year of secondary school.

4. Huang Shih-hui, 5.

5. Hsuan-chi, 329, 'M.'

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.
Shêng Hsüan-huai 咸宜懷 (1844–1916) was an important contributor to China's early industrialization. He was one of those principally responsible for negotiating the huge loans from the Western countries and Japan for railroad construction and was placed in charge of the iron industry and railroad, through which he made a huge fortune. See Li Chien-nung, Chung-kuo Chin Pai Nien Chêng-chih Shih, and Albert Feuerwerker, China's Early Industrialization Shêng Hsüan-huai (1844–1916) And Mandarin Enterprise, passim.

The Nan-yang Kung-hsueh 南洋公學 was supported by annual grants from the shipping and telegraph companies managed by Sheng Hsüan-huai. It was established in 1896, starting with a normal school, the first of its kind in China. On the completion of its buildings in 1899 it had, besides the normal school, a primary and secondary department. In 1903 Shêng Hsüan-huai successfully memorialized the Throne to make the Nan-yang Kung-hsueh into a higher school of commerce, and in 1905 the school, now called the Nan-yang Kao-têng Shang-wu Hsüeh-t'ung 南洋高等商务学堂 (Nanyang Commercial College) came under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Commerce. The Nan-yang Kung-hsueh also had a I-shu Yuan 譯書院 (Translation Academy) which translated books from Japanese and Western languages. For an account of the establishment and development of the Nan-yang Kung-hsueh see Shêng Hsüan-huai, Yü-chai Ch'un-kao Ch'ü-k'an, I, 21a, 21b, 22a; II, 18a-28a; XI, 1-8. Also see Albert Feuerwerker, op-cit., 69.

11. Hsuan-chi, 329, 'M.'
12. Huang Shih-hui, 8.
13. The Hsin-min Ts'ung-pao 新民書報 was started by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao at Yokohama in 1901. In the first two years of its publication Liang made use of it to preach nationalism. Liang's violent expressions attacking the old order had a great influence on the thought of young people at the time. See Chang Ching-lu, Chung-kuo Chin-tai Ch'u-pan Shih-liao Erh-pien, 284.
14. The occasion for the flare-up was a practical joke played by students of the senior class who had been prohibited by their teacher from reading certain new books. It was reported that the students placed a bottle of ink on the teacher's table which greatly insulted him. A probable interpretation of the gravity of the joke is perhaps the implication that the teacher had no knowledge and needed to be taught by the pupils, as ink represents knowledge. The teacher therefore demanded to know who was the culprit, and not being able to make the pupils talk, he asked a young boy who readily gave the name of someone he disliked. This student was summarily dismissed. The students appealed to the school management to rescind the dismissal of the student, and held meetings to protest against the teacher's unfair action. As the school management supported the teacher, and there was a rumour that the whole class would be expelled, the entire student body left the school in sympathy with the students of the senior class. See 'Nan-yang Kung-hsueh Hsueh-shêng Ch'u-hsiao Chi,' 南洋公學 學生出校記 in Shu Hsin-ch'êng, ed., Chin-tai Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Shih-liao, III, 116.

15. Huang Shih-hui, 9.

16. The first case of student mass petition dates back to the Han dynasty. See Pao Chun-p'êng, Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Yun-tung Shih, 6-7.

17. Shu Hsin-ch'êng, loc. cit.

18. Ts'ai's own words. See Hsüan-chi, 331, 'M.'


20. See p. 51 ff.

21. Between 1902 and 1904, translations from Japanese amounted to 60.2% of translated books. See chapter one, note 5.

22. Peng Tzu-yu, Kê-ming I-shih, I, 115

23. See section three of this chapter for a discussion of these newspapers.
24. The T'ung-mêng Hui was founded in Japan in 1905. It was the forerunner of the Kuomintang.

25. Chiang Wei-ch'iao, 'Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hui Chih Hui-i'  
中国教育会之回忆 in Tung-fang Tsa-chih, XXXIII, 1  
(1 January 1936), 7-15.

26. The Chün Kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui was a secret revolutionary organization founded in Tokyo in 1903. It was anti-Manchu and part of its programme was to train a voluntary corps that could return to China to participate in overthrowing the Manchu régime. When news arrived in Shanghai that the Chün Kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui had organized a voluntary corps, the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shê responded by forming a similar organization, but owing to shortage of instructors the corps did not function properly.

See Fêng Tzŭ-yu, 'Tung-ching Chün-kuo-min Chiao-yü Hui'  
东京 華國民教育會 in Kê-ming I-shih, I, 109-112,  
and Chiang Wei-ch'iao, loc.cit.

27. The Nan-ching Lu-shih Hsüeh-t'ang was established in 1895 following the successful memorial of Chang Chih-tung. It started with 150 students and a three years' course. Affiliated to it was a T'ieh-lu Chuan-mên Hsüeh-hsiao 鐵路專門學校 (Railways College) which took in ninety students.

Ting Chih-p'ing, Chung-kuo Chin Ch'i-shih Nien Lai  
Chiao-yü Chih-shih, 5.

Also see Chang Wên-shang Kung Ch'üan Chi, 'Memorials'  


29. Huang Shih-hui, 10.

30. Ibid.

32. In 1903 a number of students from the Nan-ching Du-shih Hsūeh-t'ang who had trouble with the school authorities withdrew from the school (just like the students of the Nan-yang Kung-hsūeh) and joined the Ai-kuo Hsūeh-shē.

See Chiang Wei-ch'iao, op. cit., 8-10, and Sun Tè-chung, 'Shih-lūeh Hsi-nien Chi,' 5.

33. Chiang Wei-ch'iao, loc. cit.

34. Hsūan-chi, 330, 'M.'

35. Ibid., 330-331.

36. Su Pao, 19 January 1903, and Ching-chung Jih-pao, 1 August 1904.

37. The Chinese term used was ching-li 經理 which is translated as 'manager' in modern usage. Since its was used to denote the head of a school, it would be misleading to translate it literally. It was merely another name given to one who was in charge of a school and should be synonymous with the terms chien-tu and hsiao-chang referred to in earlier. As the Chinese characters used in the present case differ from chien-tu, they have been rendered as 'superintendent.'

38. Ts'ai served in the Ai-kuo Nü Hsūeh-hsiao during the years 1902-1903 and 1904-1905.

See Hsūan-chi, 330-331, 'M.'

39. Hsūan-chi, 49-52, 'A.'

40. Hsūan-chi, 330-331, 'M.'

41. Ibid.

42. The Su Pao case is discussed in section 3 of this chapter.

Also see Chang Huang-ch'i, 'Su Pao An Shih Lu,' in Hsin-hai Kè-ming, I, 367-386.


45. Chang Pin-lin 章炳麟 "T'ai-yen 太炎 (1868-1936). A native of Chekiang, Chang was a noted scholar of the late Ch'ing and early Republican period, specializing in the fields of philology, Buddhism and history. A contemporary of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai, he was one of the organizers of the Kuang-fu Hui 光復會 and a sponsor of the Su Pao. On account of his revolutionary activities and his provocative article introducing Tsou Jung's book, the Kè-míng Chùn 革命軍 he was arrested by the Manchu Government and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. After his release he went to Japan where he joined the T'ung-mêng Hui and became an editor of the Min Pao 民報. When the Republic was established he returned to China but because of his opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai he was again imprisoned, to be released only after Yuan's death. He then became a critic of current affairs and gave many lectures in Soochow. His writings which included the Kuo-ku Lun-hông, 国故論衡, Chien-lun 檢論 and others, have been published in the collection Chang-shih Tsung-shu 章氏叢書. See Gendai Shina Jinmei Kan, 885.


49. Ch'ên Fan 陳範 "Mêng-p'o 墨坡, was a native of Hunan. After becoming a chü-jên 他 was appointed chih-fu 許 of the Ch'i'en-shan 錫山 hsien in Kiangsi, but lost his position on account of an educational matter, and thereupon moved to Shanghai. Dissatisfied with the Manchu Government which had deprived him of his prefectural position, he decided to join the revolutionaries in advocating revolution. He was thus persuaded by his friends to buy over the Su Pao in 1902, which soon began propagating revolutionary theories.
His daughter also started a women's newspaper to advocate the rights of women. In 1903 the Manchu Government ordered the arrest of the principal sponsors and leading writers of the Su Pao and Ch'en and his family fled to Japan where Ch'en met Dr Sun Yat-sen and made his acquaintance. From Japan he went to Hong Kong and later back to Shanghai where he was arrested and imprisoned for a year. After the Revolution he became editor of the T'ai-p'ing-yang Pao and later editor of the Min-chu Pao. He died in 1913.


50. Wu Ching-hêng 吳敬恒 tsû Chih-hui 程晦 (1864-1952), native of Wusih, Kiangsu. A member of T'ung-meng Hui, he resided in England, France, Germany and Japan. He was one of the most influential Kuomintang elder statesmen. A well known scholar whose style was characterized by the use of common languages, slang, vulgar comparisons, keen humour, bold satire and audacity, he was an outspoken opponent of Tagore. He inspired the establishment of the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons, and was an important member of the early Chinese anarchist movement which started in France. He was closely associated with the Ai-kuo Hsüeh-shè (Patriotic School) at Shanghai as well as the Su Pao. A great admirer of the French, he and Li Yü-ying 李煜瀛 perhaps did more than others to introduce French culture into China. The China Year Book 1929-30, 994. Robert A. Scalipino and George T. Yu, The Chinese Anarchist Movement, passim.

51. The following is a selection of some of the articles published from 1902 to 1903 when it closed down:
"On the Reform of Chinese Education," 'The corrupt history of the Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh,'' 'On the foundation of general education in China,' "An Explanation of 'Revenge on the Manchus'" (by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), 'Preface to The Revolutionary Army' (by Chang Ping-lin), 'The Harm of the Chinese people's Craving to be Officials,' 'The Nihilist Party,' 'The principle of homicide.'  Su Pao, 31 October 1902 to 6 July 1903.

52. Su Pao, 8 November 1902.

53. Su Pao, 10 June 1903.
55. Ibid., 372-73.
56. It was reported that the Municipality of the Shanghai International Settlement requested those listed for arrest to report their names and addresses at the Municipality and promised them protection. This advanced information gave Ts'ai and a few others time to take refuge outside Shanghai and escape arrest. Ibid., 375-76.
59. Chiang Wei-ch'iao, op. cit., 489-496.
60. Huang Shih-hui, 15, and Feng Tzu-yu, op. cit., II, 85.
63. For an account of early Chinese Anarchism, see Robert A. Scalapino and George T. Yu, *The Chinese Anarchist Movement,* passim.
64. In April 1930 at a luncheon meeting of representative to the Second All-China Educational Conference, the questions of surname, marriage and family were discussed. At this meeting Ts'ai proposed that ideally surname, marriage and family should be abolished. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 82, quoting Shen Pao 中報 of 19 April 1930. Also see Kuo-wên Chou-pao, VII, 16 (28 April 1930), 6-7.
66. Ibid., 15.
68. The account metaphorically described the people as 'burying their sorrows in wine, women and song.' 


72. 'Lun K'ung-hsüeh Pu-nêng Wu-pi,' 論孔學不能無弊, *Ching-chung Jih-pao*, 12 December 1904. The article listed four faults in the Confucian teaching. The first was Confucius' preoccupation with human affairs resulting in his emphasis on the human arts and the neglect of science and natural phenomena. Consequent on this Confucius belittled craftsmanship as insignificant and base. Thirdly Confucius said that theories should be maintained, but there should be no contradiction or questioning of these theories. This reflected a lack of logical thought and the perpetuation of an autocratic master-apprentice relationship. Lastly Confucius clung to his own views and rejected all others.

73. *op. cit.*, 1 January 1905.


75. This principle was further stressed by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei in his later years. See 'Chiao-yu Tu-li I,' in *Hsuan-chi*, 102.

76. 'Shih-chieh Chi Kung-p'ing Chih Fa' 世界極公平之法. According to the scheme, families in each chün were divided into the upper, middle, and lower classes, depending on their financial position. Each month an upper class family would be required to contribute 50 wên (cash), a middle class family 30 wên, and a lower class family 10 wên towards financing education in the chün. The average contribution from each family would be about 30 wên and in a chün of one hundred thousand people the total monthly contribution would be 3,000 min (strings of cash), each min being 1,000 wên. In one year the intake would amount to 360,000 min (equivalent to 40,000 yüan).
77. As a general guide, the cost of running a primary school was worked out. The rental of school building cost 300 yuan per year, this cheap rental being possible if the schools were situated in land occupied by temples, or at inland areas. The salaries of teachers would amount to 400 yuan a year, each school employing four teachers. (It was pointed out that the four teachers could teach more than four subjects, as a geography teacher would also teach history, a logic teacher could also teach Chinese language and literature, and a mathematics teacher could teach science. In the matter of foreign languages, to save expenses and to overcome the shortage, it was suggested that several schools could share one foreign language teacher). The annual allocation for purchasing books was 100 yuan, and miscellaneous expenses such as employing menial workers, 200 yuan. This would make the total annual expenditure for running a primary school 1,000 yuan. With forty thousand yuan each year, forty schools could be established in each chün of ten li's radius, divided into five districts, each with eight schools.

78. This ideal if carried out would indeed make primary education available to every child of school-going age, which was laid down as from seven to fourteen sui. (Six to thirteen according to the western calendar).

79. This suggestion reflects an awareness of the Western method of joint-stock business companies, which the Chinese were perhaps beginning to value.

80. Ching-chung Jih-pao, 4 June 1904.

81. In 1934-1936 and 1945-1946 a team of sociologists made a survey of ssū-shu which were preferred to the new government schools. It was found, for instance, that in 1936 in the Wên-shang hsien of Shantung, ssū-shu were still in existence, despite repeated orders from the Central Government prohibiting their continuance, 'in the form of some kind of secret society.' In Ch'eng-tu, Szechwan, it was found in 1946 that although the ssū-shu had undergone several changes in the past few decades, 'they stood firm, refused to be conquered and to be bent.'

82. For a study in English of the abolition of this traditional system of selecting government officials, see Wolfgang Franke, The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System, passim.

83. See chapter 3, passim.

84. For the latest study of the reasons for the downfall of the Kuomintang vis-a-vis the Chinese Communist Party, see A. Doak Barnett, China on the Eve of Communist Takeover, passim.
CHAPTER THREE

TS'AI YÜAN-P'EI AS THE FIRST MINISTER OF EDUCATION
IN REPUBLICAN CHINA.

1. The Chinese School System Immediately Prior
to the Foundation of the Republic.

Ts'ai's early educational and revolutionary activities
centred at Shanghai and his native town of Shao-hsing were
brought to a close when he left for Europe in 1907. From
then until his return in 1911 he studied at the Leipzig
University in Germany. When the Nanking Provisional
Government was formed in January 1912 Ts'ai was appointed
Minister of Education, and he continued in the same capacity
under the government of Yüan Shih-k'ai. In July 1912 he
resigned after serving only for seven months. Though his
term of office was very short, we shall see presently that
he introduced changes which significantly modified the
system of education enforced in China since 1903.¹

(a) The 'Ch'in-ting Hsüeh-t'ang Chang-ch'êng' (Imperial Schools Regulations) and the
'Tsou-ting Hsüeh-t'ang Chang-ch'êng' (Memorialized Schools Regulations).
When the Republic came into being in 1912, China had already experimented with a modern school system for almost a decade. Following the disastrous and humiliating Boxer defeat the Ch'ing Court decided to adopt self-strengthening measures, and education was one of them. In June 1901 Chang Chih-tung and Liu K'un-i presented a memorial in which they emphasized that China's only hope was in a new education. This memorial was favourably received by the Court and soon an imperial edict was released calling for provincial examination centres to be turned into modern colleges, middle schools to be established in every prefecture, primary schools in every district, and normal schools in every province. In 1902 the 'Ch'in-ting Hsueh-t'ang Chang-ch'eng' was promulgated, providing for an education from kindergarten to university of twenty years. This was superceded by the 'Tsou-ting Hsueh-t'ang Chang-ch'eng' of 1903 which formulated what may be regarded as the first modern school system in China.

(b) The 1903 or Kuei-mao School System.

Under this system education was divided into three sections and seven grades. The three sections were Primary Education, Secondary Education and Higher Education. Primary Education included four years of nursery school, five years lower primary school, and four
years higher primary school with alternative industrial and apprenticeship courses varying from two to four years of the higher primary school level. Secondary Education had only one grade providing for five years of regular secondary school education, with alternatives of five years of secondary agricultural, industrial and commercial school, or five years of lower normal school for the training of teachers. Higher Education included three grades, namely, higher school or college with alternatives of university preparatory school, higher industrial school, higher normal school, industrial teachers' school, language school and the Chin-shih Kuan 進士館 forming the first grade, the university forming the second grade, and the research academy forming the final grade. College, university preparatory school and higher normal school all covered three years; university proper was three to four years, and the post-graduate research course covered five years. (See chart on the next page).
## First Modern Educational System

### 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School of Research, 5 years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University, 3 or 4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Industrial, 3 or 4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Normal, 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Teachers Training, 1-3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Industrial, 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle School, 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Normal, 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Industrial, 2 or 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial Supplementary, 3 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Primary, 4 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Primary, 5 years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kindergarten</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In the lower primary school there were eight regular subjects namely, ethics, reading and explanation of classics, Chinese literature, arithmetic, history, geography, science and physical drill. In addition to these, art and handwork may be taught, dependent on the circumstances. Parallel to the regular lower primary course was a simplified lower primary course in which only five subjects were taught, namely, ethics-cum-classics, Chinese literature, history-geography-science, arithmetic, and physical drill. Greater weight was given in the curriculum to the study of classics with twelve hours per week out of a total of thirty hours. Work in the higher primary school was fairly similar to that of the lower primary with twelve hours of classics per week. In the secondary school twelve subjects were taught, namely, ethics, classics, Chinese literature, foreign languages, history, geography, arithmetic, natural science, physics and chemistry, law and finance, art, and physical drill. The higher school or college was a preparatory school for entrance into the university and was divided into three groups, viz., preparation for matriculation in classics, politics and law, arts and commerce; preparation for matriculation in science, engineering and agriculture; and preparation for matriculation in medicine. In the universities eight subjects were taught but universities established
outside the capital needed only to have three subjects. Within a university the institutions teaching the various subjects were separately called University of Classics, University of Medicine and so on. All the subjects might be taken as major, subsidiary or optional subjects. The Research Academy was a free institution for post-graduate research, all students doing research there need not pay fees.

In form and content of education the 1903 Chinese school system was based on the system introduced in Japan with the issue of the Imperial Ordinance of July 1891. In adopting the Japanese system of 1891 the Chinese Government was not keeping abreast of developments in Japan because by 1900 the Japanese had amended their 1891 system. In 1900 Japanese schools had reduced the number of weekly hours in the lower primary from 30 to 28, and that of the higher primary from 36 to 30, whereas under the Chinese system the 1891 Japanese time-table of 30 and 36 hours respectively was followed. Also, while the Japanese system included the education of girls, the 1903 system in China ignored it. Besides, while in the Japanese primary school of 1900 classics was not listed as a separate subject but included in the general subject of kokugo (national language), in the 1903 Chinese primary school one-third of the time-table was devoted to classics, which was separate from Chinese language.
Notwithstanding the differences listed, the Chinese school system of 1903 was derived from the Japanese model, with ethics listed as the first subject in the curriculum.  

2. Ts'ai's part in formulating the 1912 School System.

Ts'ai contrasted the 1912 and the Ch'ing systems of education by pointing out that one was education under a republic and the other education under an autocracy. The aims of education had therefore to be different. While under the Ch'ing educational system the emphasis was on loyalty to the emperor, veneration of Confucius, and militarism, under the Republic education should progress from militarism to aestheticism and the world outlook. Under the new republic education must develop from the realistic to the idealistic, from the concrete to the abstract, from the political to the non-political. The principles of republicanism and religious freedom must prevail and since these were in conflict with the concepts of loyalty to the emperor and the veneration of Confucius, the latter must be superceded.
(a) The 'P'u-t'ung Chiao-yu Tsan-hsing Pan-fa,' 普通教育
暫行辦法 (Temporary Plan for General Education).

On account of the Revolution many schools in China,
especially those in the central and northern provinces, were
closed, and as Minister of Education Ts'ai's immediate task
was to re-open the schools. To do this his Ministry released
an order to the provincial and district educational
authorities calling for the speedy re-opening of schools,
and setting out new regulations governing the running of the
schools. These regulations reflected the new aims of
education which will be fully discussed in a later chapter,
and underlined the point that the new education should be
different from the old.

The Ministerial Order consisted of fourteen articles the most important of which will be discussed here. Firstly, the term for 'school' in Chinese was changed from hsüeh-t'ang 學堂 to hsüeh-hsiao 學校 and that for 'principal' from chien-tu 監督 or t'ang-chang 校長 to hsiao-chang 校長. Ts'ai wanted to demonstrate even outwardly that the new education was different from the old. The new education must further the aims of republicanism and therefore old text-books which sought to teach veneration of the old monarchy must be replaced by new text-books which teach progressive ideas of revolution, democracy and science.
The second important innovation was the order that co-education be practised in primary schools. This was in fact an economic measure as at that time, owing to the lack of funds and official encouragement, there were very few girl schools, and to provide separate schools for boys and girls would mean doubling educational expenditure, a thing which the government of the time could ill-afford. Therefore to ensure that girls received at least primary education co-education was the only means.

The next important reform suggested was the abolition of classics in primary schools. The study of classics as a special subject had been dropped in Japanese primary schools when the first modern school system was adopted in 1872, and its abolition in the primary schools in China in 1912 was a belated reform for which credit should go to Ts'ai. Classics in primary schools had in the main consisted of recitation which taxed the memory of the pupils and took up a great deal of their time. Its abolition in the curriculum of the primary school was a move in the right direction, giving the pupils more time to study the new subjects of science, arithmetic and geography. Credit should also be given to Ts'ai for the emphasis his directive laid on handwork in the primary school. This reflected both Ts'ai's interest in aesthetics and his attempt to introduce more
creative activity in the work of primary school pupils to replace the past emphasis on the memorization of classics. It was also recommended that in the third year pupils be taught the use of the abacus in arithmetic lessons.

The use of abacus in the primary school was in keeping with the Western educational theory of learning through concrete things, but it is probable that this also reflected Ts' ai's belief that what was valuable in the Chinese tradition should not be blindly discarded in favour of Western practices. Ts' ai favoured a broad and liberal education and was critical of specialization at an early stage. He regulated against the division of the middle school into arts and science streams. In Article Fourteen Ts' ai sought to eliminate the old concept of education aimed merely at training for government posts. In his view this tended to narrow the pupils' education and militated against scholarship and true learning.  

(b) The 'P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing K'o-chêng Piao-chun' (Temporary Standard Curriculum for General Education).

The 'P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing K'o-chêng Piao-chun' released on 19 January 1912 was of equal importance, as the curricula of subsequent primary and middle schools, though differing in minor details, were in general similar to it,
and this curriculum only became outdated with the promulgation of the new education system in 1922. Here it should suffice to discuss its more important aspects, especially those which show changes from the curriculum of 1903.

According to the 'P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing K'o-ch'eng Piao-chun' the subjects included in the lower primary school were ethics, national language, arithmetic, games and physical training. Apart from these may be added art, handwork, and singing, depending on the needs and circumstances of the locality. For girls, sewing may be added in the third and fourth years. In the first year of the lower primary course pupils would receive a total of twenty hours' lessons per week, made up of ethics (two hours), national language (ten hours), arithmetic (five hours), games and physical training (four hours). Where one or more of the additional subjects of art, handwork, and singing were taught, each of these subjects would be allotted one hour per week and the additional time used could be deducted from the other subjects of the curriculum, thus keeping the total of twenty-one hours per week unexceeded. A comparison of the subjects taught in the lower primary course of the 1903 and the 1912 curricula shows that:

* kuo-wen, which means Chinese language and literature.
(1) the total number of hours per week had been reduced from thirty to twenty-one in the first year, from thirty to twenty-four in the second year and from thirty to twenty-seven in the third and fourth years;

(2) the number of regular subjects was reduced from eight to four;

(3) the reduction of subjects was the result of dropping classics, history, geography, and nature study;

(4) the optional subjects were the same except that singing had been added:

(5) female education had been given recognition in the 1912 curriculum.

(See Tables I and II below).
## TABLE I

### Time-table of Compulsory Subjects in the Lower Primary School as regulated by the 'Ch'in-ting Hsüeh-t'ang Chang-ch'êng' (1903).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Weekly Hours by Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading and Explanation of Classics</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Language</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>History</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature Study</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Training</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>30</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# TABLE II

Time-table of Subjects taught weekly in the Lower Primary School as regulated by the "Putung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing Ko-ch'eng piao-ch'un" released in 1912.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Weekly Hours by Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Language</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arithmetic</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play and Physical Activities</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drawing*</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Handwork*</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sewing (for Girls)*</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singing*</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* In the subjects of Drawing, Handwork, Sewing, and Singing, the time devoted may be deducted from that given to the other subjects in the curriculum thus not increasing the total hours of lessons. These aesthetic subjects were not regarded as compulsory in the 'Temporary Curriculum.'
All the five points raised above represented significant changes from the 1903 school curriculum. However, the most important changes were the abolition of classics and the attention to the education of girls. While Ts'ai may be accredited with introducing these changes, he did not originate them. Such changes, as we have mentioned earlier, had already been implemented in Japanese primary schools in 1900. Ts'ai was thus merely copying a more up-to-date Japanese model, and even then the curriculum of the 1912 Chinese school lagged behind its Japanese counterpart by about one decade.

The two sets of regulations released by Ts'ai's Ministry in January 1912 were intended for temporary use. Nevertheless they were significant because the 1912 School System which was approved in September 1912 adopted a similar curriculum for primary and secondary schools. A comparison with the 1903 School System shows that while the Temporary Regulations of January 1912 introduced the 4-4-4 system, that is, four years lower primary, four years higher primary, and four years middle school, in 1903 the 5-4-5 system had been used. In general, therefore, the length of school years was reduced, and the lower primary course limited to the teaching of the basic subjects of language and arithmetic with the addition of physical and moral training. Drawing, handwork, sewing, and singing were
included as optional subjects. The introduction of the optional subjects reflected Ts'ai's interest in art and aesthetics.

3. The 'Lin-shih Chiao-yu Hui-i' 临时教育会议 
(Temporary Educational Conference)

An event of considerable importance which took place during Ts'ai's short term as first Minister of Education was the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' held in Peking from 10 July-10 August 1912 and attended by over fifty delegates from all provinces. Ts'ai was the prime mover of this Conference which was organised to draw up a new system of education to replace the temporary measures which he had introduced in the schools. He was chairman of the Conference until his sudden resignation on 14 July when the Conference was in the midst of its sessions. The very fact that the Conference was organized to discuss future plans of education is indicative of Ts'ai's democratic administration and his belief that education under a republic should be the concern of all people and not a system imposed by the Ministry. In his opening address on 10 July 1912 he said:
... Since the political structure of China has changed, social thinking should also undergo reform. This conference is the starting point of educational reform for the whole nation... The objectives of education in a monarchical era did not take into consideration those who were being taught. They were, through certain methods, the imposition of the ideology of an individual or group upon those being educated, forcing them to follow this ideology. The objectives of republican education should take into consideration those being educated; the type of ability a person has shall determine the type of responsibility he shall bear, the type of education a person receives shall determine the type of ability he may possess. Formerly a Swiss educationalist Pestalozzi said, 'In the education of olden times children were taught by adults, in today's education adults are taught by children.' What is meant by children teaching adults? It means that adults dare not have pre-conceived ideas, but put themselves in the place of the children in order to formulate educational methods. Education in a republic is the same. Education in a monarchical era did not go beyond egoism: the emperor or an oligarchic government, with self-profit as the objective, thoroughly examined the egoism of the people, and using certain methods to enjoin it, induce them to follow the ideology of the monarchical government. For example, previously the Ch'ing dynasty, inheriting the practice of Imperial examination, used reward of official posts as a plan to attract students; their aim was to make those being educated highly submissive and conservative and hence easy to manage. Today this kind of ideology is not suitable; we must assume the position of nationals and thoroughly examine what responsibility we have in society and the world, and what kind of education we should receive ... The people of our country have one fault, that is, 'self-importance' and its reaction 'self-abandonment' ...

The abolition of classics in general education, and the abolition of the Department of Classics in the university, distributing classics in the three arts subjects of philosophy, history and literature represents the destruction of part of the old practice of self-importance. As for the fact that a great many of present educational regulations are taken from the Japanese it is not due to carelessness; we all
know that the Japanese system was originally taken from the European countries, but the systems of the European countries mainly came about through gradual development and were not very well arranged or uniform and also had within them Western habits. The Japanese system was created at the time of the reformation. The Japanese took the systems of the European countries and subjected them to discrimination; therefore to adopt their method is particularly suitable. But the Japanese national constitution is not the same as ours, and we must also adopt suitable methods from Europe and America. Methods advocated by educationists but not practised in Japan, Europe or America may also be adopted and used. We must gauge them by their principles, and if they can be practised we will practise them. We need not act because there is a precedent. For example, the thirteen month calendar and the twelve octave musical score have not been adopted in Europe, despite their known merits, because of the force of habit. In our country there is no harm in practising them first. In the school system there is also this kind of thing ... At present there are people who propose that in the lower primary school national language and not national literature should be taught. They argue that since we want to teach national language, we must first have a uniform national language. But Chinese speech differs from locality to locality; if we fix the speech of one locality as the standard we would invite the opposition of the other localities, therefore we must have a very fair method ...23

(Translation by the author)

The above speech which is quoted in some detail underlines some of the points already raised, but also indicates some of Ts'ai's aims in education and the attitude he adopted as Minister of Education. The first was the reiteration of the need for reforms in education in view of the changed political system, that is, to introduce a more democratic and progressive form of education in keeping with the needs of a republican system.
Secondly in referring to the abolition of classics Ts'ai brought out a fresh point in his support of enlightened reforms. He attacked the old attitude of self-importance which tended to militate against change and perpetuate conservatism; at the same time he condemned the attitude of self-abandonment which came with the defeat of the Chinese at the hands of the Europeans, making them worship the West and reluctant to adopt anything new which had not already been practised by the European nations. He in fact urged that new systems should be tried out by an objective assessment of their intrinsic merits and not by mere copying or imitation. He further developed this point in his article 'Wen-ming Chih Hsiao-hua' 文明之消灭.  

Finally this address reveals Ts'ai's belief in democratic practice in education as in other fields.

The most important resolution adopted by the Conference was that which spelled out the new school system. Four drafts were presented by the Ministry for the consideration of the Conference. In the first draft three schemes were put forward for discussion: (a) A four-grade system with four years lower primary, four years higher primary, five years middle school, and six years university; (b) A five-grade
system with four years lower and higher primary respectively, four years middle school, three years college, and three years university; (c) A three-grade system with five years primary school, seven years middle school, and six years university. The Ministry favoured the first scheme. In the second draft the four-grade system was followed, but middle school was amended to four years and university amended to five years. In the third draft the four-grade system was again followed, but while lower primary school and university remained at four and six years respectively, higher primary was amended three years and middle school amended to four years. In the fourth draft the four-grade system of the third draft was followed for the primary and middle schools but university education was amended to three years preparatory course and three to four years university course. In addition the fourth draft brought in a one year normal preparatory course followed by four years normal school, a one year higher normal preparatory course followed by three years higher normal school, industrial school of two types - Type A and Type B both of three years - a one year special school preparatory course followed by three or four years special school. There was most heated discussion over the length of the higher primary school and the university preparatory course. 26
The system finally adopted by the Conference was Primary School four years; Higher Primary School three years; Middle School four years; University Preparatory one year; University Course including Law and Medicine four years, other university courses being three years; Primary School Supplementary Course two years; Normal School Preparatory and Higher Normal School Preparatory both one year; Normal School four years; Higher Normal School three years; Industrial School A and B both three years; Special School Preparatory one year; and Special School three or four years. This new system which was published by the Ministry of Education on 3 September 1912 for adoption was called the "Jen-tzu Hsueh-chih" 壬子學制 (The 1912 School System). Amended slightly the following year as the "Jen-tzu Kuei-ch'ou Hsueh-chih" 壬子癸丑學制 (The 1912/1913 School System), it became the basic school system of the Chinese Republic for the next decade. Because of the importance of this school system to the development of the later Chinese school systems, Ts'ai may be said to have made a significant contribution to modern Chinese education in general. A detailed treatment of the 1912 School System in comparison with the 1903 School will be given in the next section.
Important to the establishment of the new school system was the resolution 'Chiao-yü Tsung Chih An' 教育宗旨. The proposal made by the Ministry gave the aims of education as 'Emphasis of moral education to be supported by the two principles of utilitarianism and militarism, and the nurture of a lofty tone through world-view and aesthetic culture in order to complete the moral virtue of the people.'

At the first session on 18 July 1912 a motion was put to adopt nationalism as the educational objective, counteracting the 'world-view' aim which was part of the Ministry's proposal.

The proposal by the Ministry was identical to the aims of education proposed by Ts'ai when he was first appointed Minister by the Nanking Provisional Government. The resolution adopted by the Conference after the second session held on 19 July read:

The emphasis of moral education, with the nation as the centre, to be supported by utilitarian education and national military education. As for aesthetics, it shall be included in the lessons of middle, primary and normal schools.

As the resolution indicated, the majority of the members did not favour the inclusion of 'world-view' as an aim of education, but instead emphasized nationalism as the central concern of education and moral education as the main aim. Aesthetic education was also relegated to a less important place in the aims of education. What Ts'ai had considered
as the ultimate ideals of education were regarded as of subsidiary importance. In particular Ts'ai's idea of a world-view education which transcended national and political boundaries was unacceptable to the majority of the conference members, which was an understandable attitude since the main concern of China was still the strengthening and the unification of the nation. World-view education was idealistic but not feasible to a nation at that stage of her national development. However, aesthetic education was not altogether discarded in the aims of education until the amendment of the aims in 1915 by President Yuan Shih-k'ai. The aims as promulgated by the Ministry of Education on 2 September 1912 were:

The emphasis of moral education, supported by utilitarian education and national military education, and the completion of this moral virtue by means of aesthetic education.53

(Translation by the author)

The inclusion of aesthetic education as one of the four desirable types of education must be attributed to Ts'ai for it was he who first emphasized the need for aesthetic culture for the full development of human emotion. This emphasis on aesthetic education led to an increase in the teaching of art, handwork and singing in primary and secondary schools after 1912. According to the 'Hsiao-hsueh-hsiao Ling' 小學校令 (Primary School Ordinance)
and the 'Chung-hsueh-hsiao Ling' 中學校令 (Middle School Ordinance) promulgated by the Ministry of Education on 28 September 1912, art, handwork and singing or music were required subjects in the curricula of both primary and middle schools. A comparison with the subjects of the 1903 school curricula shows an increased emphasis on these aesthetic subjects, at least as far as the regulations went. In 1903 none of the subjects of art, handwork and singing were required subjects in the lower primary school curriculum, while in the higher primary and middle schools art was a required subject but not handwork and singing. In 1915 despite Yuan Shih-k'ai's reactionary move, the curriculum of the primary school still included the teaching of art, handwork and singing. This indicated that the teaching of aesthetic subjects such as art, handwork and music had taken root in the Chinese schools, and this was due mainly to the influence of Ts'ai who first called for the introduction of aesthetic education in his announcement 'Views on the new education' in January 1912.

In drafting the 'Hsiao-hsueh Chiao-yu-Ling' 小學 教育令 (Primary Education Ordinance) the influence of Ts'ai was also felt.
Article I of the draft ordinance read:

The aims of the primary school should be to attend to the mental and physical development of children, to lay the foundations of moral and national education, and to teach them such general knowledge and skills that are necessary for a livelihood.37 (Translation by the author)

The emphasis on mental and physical development of children shows the influence of Ts'ai's earlier contention that republican education should be child-centred and not teacher-centred or imposed upon the learner. This was a new concept in Chinese education, as in the past education was not concerned with the development of the pupils' minds, least of all their bodies, but the imparting of standard knowledge into the learner with the singular purpose of preparing them for the Imperial examinations. Even with the introduction of a modern school system in 1903 the idea that education should in the main be concerned with the mental and physical development of individual children had not been seriously considered by those concerned with education. It was again Ts'ai who was responsible for making known this new educational concept to the teachers and educators of the early republican period. When promulgated as a Ministry of Education ordinance this article read:

... Attention to the physical and mental development of the child, the nurture of a national and moral foundation, and the teaching of the necessary knowledge and skills of living.38 (Translation by the author)
In wording there were a few minor differences, but in content the aims of primary education were identical to the recommendation of the Conference.

The 'Chung-yang Chiao-yu Hui-i Chu-chih-F& An' 中央教育會議組織法案 (Resolution on the Organization of the Central Educational Conference).

This proposal was copied from the Imperial Educational Conference of Japan, calling for the appointment of a president and vice-president of the Conference who came under the superintendency of the Minister of Education. Members of the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' proposed the adoption of the French system of Conference of Higher Education, with the Minister of Education and the Vice-minister as the president and vice-president respectively, this organ to serve as an advisory body to the central educational executive.

At the second session at which this proposal was deliberated, 70% of the conference members were in favour of adopting the French system of Conference of Higher Education and only 30% supported the original proposal based on the Japanese model. The Conference of Higher Education was aimed at assisting the Central Educational Executive, and was to consist of members from sixteen different bodies.
Several members suggested at the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' that representatives from the various ministries should be reduced and those from the provinces increased. Opinion on this matter was divided and much discussion took place. However, at the third session held on 31 July the motion was passed and the resolution adopted.  

The 'Chung-yang Chiao-yü Hui-i Chu-chih Fa An' reflected Ts'ai's emphasis on democratic administration in accordance with the spirit of republicanism. As an administrator and educator Ts'ai tried not to be autocratic and dictatorial. He was always in favour of sharing responsibility, and he stressed the importance of running the educational system through those directly concerned with, or had experience in education.

'Hsüeh-hsiao Fu Pai K'ung-tzu An' 學校不拜孔子案
(Resolution on Non-worshipping of Confucius in Schools).

Proponents of this resolution noted that the 'Hsüeh-t'ang Kuan-li T'ung-Chê' 學堂管理通則 (Principles for School Management) of the Ch'ing dynasty had provided a form for worshipping Confucius. As Confucius was not divine, they argued that it would be reasonable to respect him but not to worship him. It was stated in the resolution that religion and education should not be intermingled, and as the freedom of religious belief was written in the
constitution, there should not be any fixed form of worship. After further discussion it was considered sufficient to delete the clause which set out the form of worshipping Confucius from the 'Hsūeh-t'ang Kuan-li T'ung-ťse' leaving the old ceremonies of worshipping Confucius to die a natural death. Although this resolution was not adopted, the Conference was agreed on the principle of freedom of religion and against the propagation of any religion in schools. The anti-religious and anti-superstitious attitude of Ts'ai was fully endorsed by the majority of China's new educators.

In summary, the importance of the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' to the development of modern education in China may be seen from the following results. Firstly, from it came the 'Jên-tzu Kuei-ch'ou Hsūeh-chih' which was the system prevailing in China up to 1922, and even after 1922 the Chinese school system did not differ fundamentally from the system of 1912. Secondly the promulgation of the 'Hsiao-Hsūeh-hsiao Ling' and the 'Chung Hsūeh-hsiao Ling' led to an increased emphasis on aesthetic subjects as a result of which the teaching of art, handwork, and music became entrenched in the school curriculum. Thirdly the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' set out the aims of education which remained without significant changes as the aims in the
schools of China up to the end of the Second World War.

Fourthly the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' was a forerunner of several subsequent conferences. It established the principle of consultations and discussions between officials of the Ministry of Education and teachers and educators for improving the system of education and methods of teaching in schools.

Fifthly, the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' had resolved that a Conference of Higher Education be formed to advise and assist the Ministry of Education in its work. The knowledge of educationalists and teachers would be utilized in educational administration, thus preventing education from becoming bureaucratized. It also established the principle of democratic administration. Lastly, the stand of the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' that no one religion be taught in schools came to be the accepted principle in all national schools in China. Thus except for schools run by missionaries schools in China throughout the republican period were able to maintain their secular status.

While Ts'ai resigned as Minister of Education in the midst of the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' and did not participate in the latter half of its sessions, the influence of his educational ideas is seen in the resolutions adopted by the conference, particularly those in regard to the teaching of aesthetic subjects, democratic administration,
and secularism in schools. Ts'ai's contribution to the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' lay both in his role as initiator and in the influence of his ideas.
4. **The Jên-tzŭ Kuei-chou 子癸丑**
   **School System of 1912-1913.**

   (a) The *Jên-tzŭ Hsūeh-chih* 子學制
   (1912 School System).

   The school system proposed by the 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i' was passed by the Ministry of Education in September 1912 and is known as the 'Jên-tzŭ Hsūeh-chih.' Under this system pupils would enter primary school at the age of six and graduate from university at the age of twenty-four, their entire education covering eighteen years, that is three years shorter than that of the Kuei-mao system of 1903. The lower primary course was reduced from five to four years, the higher primary course from four to three years, and the middle school course from five to four years. Instead of three years' college there was a three years' university preparatory course, while university proper remained as a three to four years' course.

   (b) The *Jên-tzŭ Kuei-ch'ou Hsūeh-chih* 子癸丑學制
   (1912-1913 School System).

   The 'Jên-tzŭ Hsūeh-chih' underwent minor changes during 1912 and in the next year the system that resulted became known as the 'Jên-tzŭ Kuei-ch'ou Hsūeh-chih' which has been translated by a Western writer as 'Reorganized School System.' The system is illustrated in the chart overleaf.
Reorganized School System
1912

- Research
- Higher
- Normal
- School
- Preparatory

- University
- Preparatory
- Professional
- School
- Preparatory

- Normal
- School
- Preparatory
- Supplementary
- Courses

- Middle
- School

- Industrial
- School
- A

- Higher
- Supplementary
- Courses
- Primary

- Industrial
- School
- B

- Lower
- Primary

- 10
- 9
- 8
- 7

- 13
- 12
- 11

- 15
- 16
- 17

- 18
- 19
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
A comparison of the 1903 and the 1912-1913 school systems shows a number of significant differences. Firstly, the school career set out in the 1912-1913 school system was shortened, as already mentioned. Under the old system pupils entered primary school at the age of six and completed their primary education at the age of fifteen, and their middle school at the age of twenty, but under the new school system pupils would complete their primary school at thirteen and their middle school at seventeen. By the age of twenty the student under the new school system would have completed his university preparatory course while the student under the old system would have just finished his middle school, and by twenty-four a student under the 1912-1913 school system would have graduated from the university while his counterpart under the 1903 system would have just completed his first year at the university. The extremely long period of education under the old system militated against the popularization of education in China and tended to keep the illiteracy rate high. To be educated up to the middle school level under the Ch'ing system took fourteen years, and up to university level twenty to twenty-one years. Under the Republican system they were reduced to eleven and seventeen to eighteen years respectively.
That the period of education under the old system had to be so protracted may be attributed to the great amount of time devoted to Chinese classics in the primary school (both lower and higher primary), as a result of which the school career had to be prolonged to give the pupils time to study the new subjects introduced from the West. As Minister of Education in 1912 Ts'ai ordered the abolition of classics in primary schools. Thus more time could be devoted to nature study, handwork, art, and music, especially from the higher primary school level upwards, without having to extend the length of the primary or middle school course. This was a noteworthy improvement.

(c) Educational Administration.

A beginning was made while Ts'ai was Minister of Education to re-organize educational administration, but as Ts'ai was only minister for seven months the re-organization was not completed until 1914 when T'ang Hua-lung was Minister. Under the new administrative system published in July 1914, the Ministry of Education came directly under the Office of the President, and the Ministry had jurisdiction over education, the arts, and the calendar. The Minister of Education was a political appointment while the Second Minister was a civil official. The Ministry had a Tsung-wu T'ing (General Affairs Department) in
charge of statistics, accounts, clerical work, general matters, libraries, editing and examining; in short, general administration. For the administration of schools there were the 'F'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Ssü' 普通 教育 司 (Controller of General Education), with jurisdiction over primary and middle school education, Normal, industrial, blind, dumb and invalid schools, and matters concerning local educational organizations; the 'Chuan-mên Chiao-yü Ssü' 專 門 教育 司 (Controller of Special Education), in charge of university, special colleges, calendar, overseas study, and all academic bodies; and the Shê-hui Chiao-yü Ssü 社 會 教育 司 (Controller of Social Education), in charge of libraries, museums, zoos, botanical gardens, art galleries, recreation and amusement parks, reformatories, and other matters concerning social education. The most significant of the offices was the Shê-hui Chiao-yü Ssü' which was a new addition introduced by Ts'ai. More will be said of the 'Shê-hui Chiao-yü Ssü' in a later section.

(d) The 'Ta Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' 大 學 教 令 (University Ordinance) of 1912.

Of considerable importance to the educational system of the early Republican period was the 'Ta-Hsüeh-hsiao Ling' published in October 1912. Again, although Ts'ai had by
then resigned as Minister of Education, the provisions of the Ordinance reflected the influence of his ideas. The following were the main provisions of the Ordinance:

1. The aim of the university was 'to provide higher academic studies, nurture profound learning and great talents, to supply the needs of the nation.'

2. The university would teach seven subjects, namely, arts, science, law, commerce, medicine, agriculture, and engineering. Arts and science would be regarded as the main subjects and either one of them was a prerequisite for an institution to be called a university. In other words, if an institution were to start courses in law and commerce it must also run an arts course to qualify as a university; similarly an institution running courses in medicine, agriculture, and engineering must teach science to qualify as a university.

The basis for this stipulation was Ts'ai's belief that arts and science were basic university subjects because they were concerned with theories, while the other subjects were concerned with the application of techniques and training for professions.
3. The university should have a university course and an university preparatory course. To enter the university preparatory course students had to be graduates from the middle school or had passed an examination of equivalent standard. Qualification for entrance into the university would be a pass in the preparatory course or a pass in an examination of equivalent standard.

4. The university preparatory course was to be three years and the university course three or four years, depending on the subject.

5. For the purpose of higher research, apart from the regular university course and the preparatory course there would be established a 'Ta-hsūeh Yüan' (Academy of Higher Learning). Graduates of the university automatically qualified to enter the Academy; the period of study was not fixed.

6. Graduates of the university might be called Bachelors, while students in the Academy whose results were exceptional could, on the approval of the University Council or the Professorial Board, be conferred degrees.
7. The university would have a chancellor and a dean for each of the subjects; teaching staff included professors, assistant professors and lecturers.

8. Lectures would be instituted for the various subjects to be delivered by the professors, but if there were insufficient professors, assistant professors and lecturers might also undertake the task.

9. Within the university would be established a Council to be comprised of the heads of departments and the professors, which would deliberate on the important matters of the university. This was similar in nature to the Ta-hsüeh Hui-i 大學會議 (University Board) of the 1913 School System, which was the origin of university administration by professors.49

The University Ordinance embodied five principles which may be attributed to Ts'ai. The first has already been mentioned, namely that to be called a university, an institution of higher learning must teach either arts or science in combination with other subjects. The second was the introduction of university preparatory classes to take the place of kao-têng hsüeh-t'ang 高等學堂 (colleges) which were abolished. The third was Ts'ai's emphasis on the
importance of research in a university, and therefore the Ta-hsüeh-Yüan was instituted as a post-graduate research institute. The fourth was the institution of lectures in order to stimulate thinking and maintain the standard of the university. Ts'ai had seen the value of such lectures in his study in Europe and tried to introduce them in the universities of China. Lastly the provision of a University Council to deliberate on important matters of the university reflected Ts'ai's emphasis on the importance of democratic administration and in particular the importance of having the university run by the academics and not by bureaucrats who had little or no knowledge of educational and academic matters. This view of Ts'ai's is further illustrated in his speeches made when he was Chancellor of the National Peking University, and shall not be elaborated here.

5. Ts'ai and the development of social and popular education in China.

(a) The introduction of social education.

It is generally recognized that the idea of social education was first introduced into the Chinese educational circle by Ts'ai when he was Minister of Education in 1912. On becoming Minister he made social education part of the
educational system by setting up an office of the Controller of Social Education to take charge of the nation's popular education, in addition to the Controllers of General and Specialized Education. On 29 January 1912 Ts'ai's Ministry instructed all the provinces of China to make arrangements for the introduction of social education. The Ministry's letter read:

To Vice-President Li of Hupei and the tu-tu of Hu-nan, An-hui, Chiang-su, Che-chiang, Fu-chien, Kuang-tung, Kuang-hsi, Chiang-su, Shan-hsi, Ssu-ch'uan, Yun-nan, Kuei-chou and the Other Provinces.

We have previously decided on the 'pu t'ung Chiao-Yi' Tsan-hsing pan-fa' and have cabled you on the matter. But social education is also an urgent task today, and the method of making a beginning is first to emphasize lectures. We therefore invite you to fix a temporary standard for lectures in accordance with the conditions of your province and to select and edit materials and order all the prefectures and districts to carry out lectures, and in addition make motion pictures and photographs as teaching aids. Besides this, zealous lecturers from all places could meet to give instruction on the method of lecturing in order that quick results may be achieved. The necessary money for the lectures should be drawn from the local administrative funds or public funds. As for the lecturing standard, you should in general pay special attention to the facts of the recent revolution, the rights and duties of republican nationals, militarism and industrialism, and especially emphasize the moral virtues of citizens. As this is the beginning of the revolution the people are bursting with enthusiasm and easily influenced. We therefore hope you will attend to this matter and execute it.

Ministry of Education.

(Translation by the author)
From this letter it can be seen that Ts'ai was fully convinced of the importance of social education and he felt that the introduction of social education in all forms was a matter of great urgency. In the implementation of social educational programmes Ts'ai's concern was the adult citizens, a large majority of whom were illiterate and relatively ignorant of new ideas, including the principles of republicanism. By setting up a new office of the Controller of Social Education Ts'ai placed the responsibility of the education of the adult masses on the Ministry of Education and establish a precedent which successive educational administrators followed. In a country which had only recently overthrown a monarchical system of government with a history of over two thousand years, the importance of re-educating the masses to the new idea of government by the people cannot be over-emphasized, and Ts'ai's realization of this importance speaks well of his ability to grasp the current social situation.

The new office of the Controller of Social Education introduced by Ts'ai's Ministry in April 1912 had jurisdiction over the following: (1) Museums and libraries; (2) Educational matters relating to zoology and botany; (3) Art galleries and art exhibitions; (4) The arts and music; (5) The investigation and collection of ancient objects; (6) The regulation of
common ceremonies and formalities; (7) Popular education and lectures; (8) Popular libraries and travelling libraries; (9) Popular dramas and operas; (10) The investigation and planning of popular education; (11) Reformatories and benevolent aid centres. 52

It will be seen that the Ministry of Education under Ts'ai had in fact assumed the responsibilities of what today would be under the Ministries of Social Services and Culture, in addition to the normal responsibilities of a Ministry of Education. This was necessary because at the time there were no special ministries to take charge of social services and culture, and had not Ts'ai included social education as a part of the duties of the Ministry of Education this aspect of education might well have been neglected. The forms of social education that Ts'ai hoped to promote in China were similar to those which he had seen in Europe during his four years' study trip, but as the eleven categories of social educational facilities listed under the shé-hui chiao-yü  捲 were all suited to the needs of the Chinese people, the extension of such facilities could only benefit the nation. The development of museums, libraries, art galleries, zoos and botanical gardens and their proper administration were urgent needs as China was steadily losing her vast art
treasures because of illegal selling by unauthorized people, resulting in many valuable art objects leaving the country. China's archaeological sites were sadly in need of organized and supervised excavation, a task which was not undertaken until recent times. Chinese art and music which had a longer continuous history than its European counterpart also lacked systematic study and development. To a liberal-minded person like Ts'ai, social and cultural needs were as important as the purely educational ones because human beings have feelings and emotions. He did not think it sufficient merely to increase the people's intellect through education; he was well aware that widening their emotional experience could bring about a more mature outlook of life.

Ts'ai's plan for broadening the people's emotional experience was to provide facilities for aesthetic culture. The first stage in the development of aesthetic appreciation was training in schools. However, it is the second stage which takes place outside the schools that concerns us here. To promote aesthetic development it was recommended that the following be established: (1) Art galleries, which should be free of entrance fee if possible, if not, at least free on Sundays and holidays. The purpose of
making it free was to give all people, rich or poor an opportunity to see the exhibits. (2) Art exhibitions, to be held at regular intervals and at permanent premises. (3) Concerts. These could be held at fixed times and venues, or in parks and open fields during summer. (4) Theatres. Operas and plays might be performed in two theatres or alternated in one. It was also recommended that the plays and choreography should be written by men of letters, and the actors and actresses should receive a special education. In the event of the theatre business losing money, assistance should be given from public funds. (5) Cinemas. It was recommended that films should be censored, and that nonsense comic pictures, dangerous detective stories and coarse love scenes should be excluded and only scenic films and literary works be shown. (6) Historical museums. Collections would consist mainly of art objects from which the evolution of art might be traced. (7) Archaeological display centres, consisting mainly of ancient art objects from which the origin of art might be studied. (8) Ethnological museum, consisting of art and other objects. Ugly objects would serve to compare the different natures and standards of the art of all races: a study of those could promote the development
of art. (9) Zoological display centres, botanical gardens and zoos. Samples of minerals and the fossils of animals and plants had aesthetic value on account of their colours and shapes. Ts'ai also emphasized the importance of the beauty of places, namely roads, buildings, parks, ancient relics and cemeteries, in the cultivation of aesthetic sense. Ts'ai was a great advocator of aesthetic culture and aesthetic education. As this is a vital element of his educational thought it shall be discussed in another chapter.

(b) The development of popular education.

One of the greatest problems Chinese educators of this century had to face was the question of illiteracy among the great majority of the Chinese population. The eradication of illiteracy was thus a task which all genuine educators had to take upon themselves. Ts'ai was no exception. A firm believer in democracy and the equality of man, he strenuously spoke out against limiting education to the restricted few and strongly advocated the popularization of education. He paid special attention to the education of illiterate adults because most educators tended to think of education in terms of children attending schools. As the function of the office of the Controller of Social Education shows, provision was made for the development of popular education among adults,
while at the same time education for school-going children was to be stepped up. In 1912 when the Republic came into being there were a total of 86,318 primary schools with an enrolment of 2,795,475 pupils, and a total of 832 middle schools (including normal and industrial schools) with an enrolment of 97,965 pupils. The corresponding figures for 1913 were 107,286 primary schools with an enrolment of 3,485,807 and 1,039 middle schools with an enrolment of 117,333. The figures of 1912 and 1913 show that in the first year of the Republic there was an increase of 24.4% in the number of primary and secondary schools in China with a corresponding increase of 22% in the number of pupils attending schools. While the increase may not be regarded as spectacular in view of the revolutionary change of government it nevertheless reflected a definite policy of emphasis on the rapid spread of education throughout the provinces of China.

In a speech delivered to the 'Pei-ching T'ung-su Chiao-yü Yen-chiu Hui' (The Peking Society for the Study of Popular Education) on 27 February 1916 Ts'ai discussed the various forms of popular education in the West and indirectly implied that China should use the West as a model in developing popular education.
Chronologically this speech was given four years later than the period under discussion here, but as its contents were very similar to the measures for popular education listed under the office of the Controller of Social Education of 1912 it may be assumed that the matters raised in this speech were in Ts'ai's mind when he was planning the work of the Ministry of Education in 1912.

Ts'ai began by stating that popular education was an urgent task in the twentieth century because it was a means of eradicating the inequalities of society. He held the view that progress in the world came about through the need of levelling society's inequalities, whether they were religious, political or social inequalities. He further said that socialism and communism were institutions aimed at eradicating social and economic inequalities and that socialism would fail unless the people had an equal standard of education. He praised university students in Germany for spending their spare time in educating the workers, giving them an opportunity to acquire an education which they missed in their childhood. He knew of the People's University in France organized by teachers of the university which gave lectures for the benefit of anyone who had a desire to learn, whatever their age and financial background.
These he recognized as ways of bridging the gap of inequality of education which existed on account of inequality of opportunity.

Ts'ai next pointed out that novels could be a means of education because often beneath the story there was a moral or allusion. However, he felt that the educative value of lectures and novels were not equal to that of drama because not all people were interested in listening to lectures, and novels could only be appreciated by those with some knowledge of literature. The characters presented on the stage and their language and actions were of the same level as the intellectual capacity of the people, and therefore what was depicted could easily influence them. Ancient Chinese operas made use of common speech in the libretti and could be easily understood by the audience. Therefore Ts'ai felt that the old operas were the most useful tool of popular education in China.

Ts'ai thought that motion pictures was another useful medium of popular education because it required a small capital outlay but could produce quick results. He recommended that only wholesome films which could be a healthy influence should be shown. He drew the example of cinemas in Germany which did not admit pupils of middle school and below into ordinary shows, but only allowed them to view
the more wholesome pictures on Wednesdays and Saturdays, which were in the main scientific and instructive films and comedies. Ts'ai also mentioned that the Western countries had model theatres which received big annual subsidies from the government, but as China was in a bad financial state she could not follow this desirable Western practice. Under the circumstances he felt that the ordinary people's intellect and moral virtues could be increased through the establishment of art galleries, museums, exhibitions, scientific display centres and others, which need not involve very large expenditure.\textsuperscript{57}

In summary, during his term of seven months as Minister of Education in 1912 Ts'ai was responsible for the re-activating of the schools which had been closed on account of the political upheaval, the re-organization of the school system resulting in the Jên-tzu Kuei-mao school system of 1912-1913 which was the basic system prevailing in China during the early decades of this century, the organization of the Temporary Educational Conference at which the major schemes of education incorporated in the Jên-tzu Kuei-mao system were formulated, and the introduction and furtherance of social and popular education in China.
NOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. Ts'ai's educational thought is the subject for detailed treatment in a subsequent chapter. Discussion here will be confined, as far as is feasible, to practical measures and concrete changes.


3. The 'Ch'in-ting Hsüeh-t'ang Chang-ch'êng' provided for four years Kindergarten, three years Lower Primary, three years Higher Primary, four years Secondary or Industrial School, three years High School, University Preparatory Course, or Industrial High School, and three years University. Kindergarten began when the child was five, and university would normally be completed at the age of twenty-four.

   See J.C. Cheng, 'The Educational System in Modern and Contemporary China,' 11.

4. The 'Tsou-ting Hsüeh-t'ang Chang-ch'êng' was the outcome of a special commission appointed in November 1903 to draw up a national system of education. Members of the commission comprised Chang Chih-tung, Chang Pai-hsi 張伯熙, and Yung Ch'ing 容.

   See Ch'êng Ch'ing-chih, Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Shih, II, 586-587.

5. Chart photographed from G.R. Twiss, Science and Education in China, 106.

6. Ch'êng Ch'ing-chih, II, 588-96.

7. In October 1890 the Japanese Government promulgated the 'Revised Primary School Ordinance which stated that the Primary School should pay attention to the physical development of children, lay the foundation for moral and citizenship education, and teach them the general knowledge and skill necessary for the requirements of a livelihood.

   See Akabori Takashi, Nihon Kyōiku Shi, 20.
12. The "P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Tsan-hsing Pan-fa" issued on 19 January 1912 consisted of the following fourteen articles:

1. All the previous hsüeh-t'ang 學堂 shall henceforth be called hsüeh-hsiao 學校, and all chien-tu, t'ang-chang 監督堂長 be henceforth called hsiao-chang 校長.

2. All primary schools in the prefectures and districts shall be re-opened on 4 March 1912, secondary schools and junior normal schools shall, subject to financial means of the locality, also be opened.

3. Until the announcement of a new school system, each year shall continue to be divided into two terms. Schools shall begin in March, and the first term shall run till the summer vacation. Schools shall re-open after the summer vacation, and the second term shall run till next February.

4. In the lower primary school boys and girls may study together.

5. In the special girls' school the old regulations shall be temporarily followed.

6. Text books should be compatible with the aims of the Republic, and all text books issued by the Ch'ing dynasty Hsueh-pu 學部 shall be proscribed.
7. All text books currently used which have lessons dealing with the veneration of the Manchu court and the old official and military systems and contain writings aimed at preventing the people from rising up should be revised by the publishing companies who should forward for examination sample copies to this Ministry, the Department of Civil Government of this province, and the General Conference of Education. If school teachers come across text books which are incompatible with the aims of republicanism they may promptly cut them out or alter them. They may also request the Department of Civil Administration or the Conference of Education to inform the publishing company to correct them.

8. The study of classics in the primary school is to be wholly abolished.

9. Handwork in the primary school should be increasingly emphasized.

10. Physical education above the higher primary school should emphasize military drill.

11. Arithmetic in the lower primary school should include lessons on the use of the abacus, from the third school term onwards.

12. The middle school should provide a general education and there need be no division into arts or science.

13. Both the middle school and the junior normal school shall be changed to four years, with the proviso that students who have been in school for over a year and would experience difficulty in changing over may follow the old arrangement.

14. Abolition of the old practice of giving jobs as rewards. All those who complete their lower and higher primary school shall be called lower or higher primary school graduates; those who complete middle school or normal school shall be called middle school or normal school graduates.

(Translation by the author)


14. For a further discussion of Ts'ai's dissatisfaction with the old bureaucratic form of education, see chapter five.


16. Ch'eng Ch'ing-chih, 667.


18. Ibid.


21. The actual number of delegates who attended the conference is uncertain. One source gave the number as over eighty while another gave the figure of over fifty. See Ting Chih-p'ing, 38-39, and 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i Jih-chi,' in Shu Hsin-ch'eng, III, 216-217.

22. Ting Chih-p'ing, 39.


25. This was the 'Hsüeh-hsiao Hsi-t'ung An' Resolution on the School System.'


27. Ch'ên Ch'ing-chih, 667.

28. See the next section for a comparison of the 1903 and the 1912 school systems.


30. This motion was made by Liu I-chung and Wu Tsêng-t'i. See Ibid.

31. 'World-view education' was an idea that was first suggested by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei. See chapter six.
33. Ting Chih-p'ing, 40.
34. Ibid.
35. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, II, 669.
36. The aims of education under Yüan Shih-k'ai's rule were: patriotism, respect for militarism, following Confucianism, emphasis on self-rule, abstinence from greed and abstinence from trouble making.

See Ting Chih-p'ing, 57.
38. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, 669.

See 'Lin-shih Chiao-yü Hui-i,' op. cit., 222-225.
40. Ibid., 225-227.
41. Ibid.
42. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, 667.
43. Ibid., 667-668.
A native of Hupei, T'ang studied law and politics in Japan on a scholarship from the Chin-shih Kuan. He returned to China in 1908 and served in various government departments. With the establishment of the Republic he became a Vice-President of the Ts'an-yüa 泰議院. T'ang was closely associated with President Yuan Shih-k'ai and in 1914 was appointed Minister of Education in Hsu Shih-ch'ang's cabinet. In 1916 on the resumption of the national assembly he became President of the Chung-i-yüan 衆議院 but resigned in 1917. The same year he took office as Minister of the Interior under Tsuan Chi-jui's 段祺瑞 premiership, only to resign in three months' time. He then visited Japan, Europe and America. He died in August 1918 at the hands of an assassin.


47. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, 665.
48. Ibid., 669-670.
49. Ibid., 670-671.
50. See chapter five.
Also see Ting Chih-p'ing, 35 quoting Chiao-yu Tsa-chih, III, 10, 'Chi-shih' 記事, 69.
52. Chang Chi-hsin, Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ta-kang, 94.
54. Ti Erh-tz'u Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Nien-chien, 1428, 1455.
55. Ibid.
57. 'Ko Kuo Chih T'ung-su Chiao-yü' 各國通俗敎育 in I-wen, 123-128.
Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's chancellorship of the National University of Peking (Peita in short) which extended from 1917 to 1926 was the most important period of his educational career. It was during his chancellorship that Peita gained its reputation as the premier university in China, especially in its leadership of the new intellectuals. Out of the new thinking that found breeding ground in the free atmosphere of Peita was born the new culture, culminating in the May Fourth Movement of 1919 which overnight made youthful university students into national heroes during China's hour of humiliation in the face of Japanese aggression. The May Fourth Movement kindled the spirit of patriotism in the youths of China and gave concrete illustration to the proverb 'unity is strength.' Henceforth the students of China, by their concerted efforts and united action, became a potent force which the national government had to reckon with in their management of foreign and national affairs. The noble action of the students in 1919 which
prevented China from signing away her rights over Shantung had repercussions in student circles throughout Asia, repercussions which were evident even in recent years in South-east Asia.¹

As Peita was the focal point of the New Culture Movement Ts'ai's influence on the development of this movement must have been considerable. Ts'ai is generally regarded as an important leader of the intellectual revolution in China, not on account of his direct contribution as an innovator, but through the powerful moral support that he gave to the leaders of the new thought tide.² For example, the movement to use pai-hua was initiated by Hu Shih and Ch'ên Tu-hsiu, but were it not for the liberal and radical attitude of Ts'ai and the full support he gave to the use of pai-hua within the intellectual circles centred at Peita, the movement could well have been retarded in its growth.³ In this chapter we shall attempt to trace the influence of Ts'ai over the intellectual climate of Peking by examining his career at Peita in some detail.
1. Ts'ai's emphasis on academic freedom and the freedom of thought and expression in the university.

In the winter of 1916 Ts'ai was called back from his sojourn in France to become Chancellor of the University of Peking. The fact that Ts'ai had to be called home to head Peita indicates that the Government could not find any suitable person resident in China to fill the post. Sun Yat-sen personally encouraged Ts'ai to accept the appointment as he felt that the decadent atmosphere at Peita and Peking necessitated the services of a steady revolutionary and a man of strong moral fibre like Ts'ai. Thus it was with a sense of mission that Ts'ai took up the appointment of Chancellor of the National University of Peking in January 1917, having been appointed to the post on 26 December 1916.

(a) Democratic administration of the university.

As we shall see in this and subsequent chapters one of Ts'ai's objectives in education was to minimize control of education by politicians. At Peita Ts'ai tried to introduce a system whereby the administration of the university was shared by members of the academic staff. He even suggested that the chancellorship should go on a yearly rotation with each head of department taking a turn. This suggestion is indicative of Ts'ai's wish to administer the
university on democratic principles. Ts'ai was against bureaucratic, political or religious interference with university autonomy. To this end he strove to keep the university independent of the government. One of the means by which he hoped to achieve this was his call for the independence of educational finance. By this was meant the allocation of special taxes and sources of income for the expressed purpose of financing education.

In 1920 the 'Ch'üan-kuo Chiao-yü Hui-i' (All China Educational Conference) passed a resolution calling for independent educational finance, and from 1922 the idea of independence of educational legislation and administration was propagated. In March 1920 Ts'ai wrote an article entitled 'Chiao-yü Tu-li' (On the Independence of Education) in which he said that education should be viewed as a long term matter of perhaps one hundred years and not planned on a short term basis. He expressed the fear that if transient politicians were in control of and monopolized educational planning, any change of the political system might mean the disruption of existing schemes and the nullification of whatever achievements made.
(b) The principle of Chien Jung Ping Pao (Accomodation and Comprehension).

Ts'ai's chancellorship of the University of Peking was characterized by the principle of chien jung ping pao, or accommodation and comprehension of all schools of thought. He believed that a university was a place for the pursuit and furtherance of knowledge and therefore teachers and students should enjoy freedom of thought and belief. He encouraged the free intermingling of different schools of thought and disapproved of intellectual bigotry as the following extract from one of his articles shows:

I believe that in scholarship the differences between various schools of thought are relative and not absolute. Therefore though the proposals of the teachers in the various subjects may differ, yet if they express their ideas logically and maintain them rationally, I allow them to exist side by side in order that students may have the freedom to choose.

(Translation by the author.)

On his staff were advocates of pai-hua literature such as Hu Shih, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, as well as scholars who scorned the pai-hua literary medium. Ts'ai personally believed that pai-hua would eventually replace wen-yen as the everyday medium of communication, but he did not allow his own leanings to prejudice him into restricting the free development of any one group.
With regards to the political beliefs of members of his staff, Ts'ai maintained the same all-embracing attitude, accommodating teachers who were strongly revolutionary in thinking Ch'ên Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao 李大釗, founders of the Chinese Communist Party, and monarchists such as Ku Hung-ming 鍾鴻銘, the Penang-born and Edinburgh-educated scholar of English language and literature who deliberately kept his queue to emphasize his Chineseness and laughed to scorn the antics of those who preached revolution and progress. Concerning philosophy and religion Ts'ai was against narrow adherence to any one school or sect.

Ts'ai's liberal accommodation of different schools of learning did not meet with approval from all quarters. In March 1919 a well-known translator of Western novels Lin Shu 林纾 tzu Ch'in-nan 琴南 wrote to the press criticizing Ts'ai for the way he was running the university. Lin Shu's main criticisms were that the university teachers had been engaged in anti-Confucian teaching and had totally abolished the classics in favour of the vulgar speech as the language medium. He made a weak case for the conservation of Confucian philosophy and morality and for the preservation of the classical language. His argument was that since no anti-Confucian expressions could be found
in Western literature he saw no reason why Ts'ai should allow the university and its teachers to be engaged in such non-conformist teachings. In fact Lin Shu was making a plea for conformity in the interest of the students. He argued against the use of *pai-hua* on the ground that it was the speech of the common people and in adopting such a medium as the national language, and the medium of learning in the university, ordinary rickshaw pullers and hawkers could become professors.  

Ts'ai in his reply refuted Lin Shu's statement that teachers in the university taught the destruction of Confucian concepts and philosophy. He pointed out that within the university there were many teachers who honoured Confucius, and that outside the university there had been few anti-Confucian utterances. Of greater significance was Ts'ai's contention that outside the university teachers were free to express their individual opinions and the university could not and would not be responsible for them. Here Ts'ai was reiterating the principle of the free development of different schools of thought which he had sought to establish when he first arrived at the university. The importance of this fundamental privilege of university teachers to pursue their different disciplines unhindered by social sanctions or political limitations warrants emphasis.
It was the essence that enabled Peita to become the centre of China's new intellectual growth. It contributed to what the Chinese intellectuals call the 'spirit of Peita' 大的精神 (p'ai-ta ti ch'ing shên).

Ts'ai also made it clear in this reply that in employing academic staff the main consideration was their scholastic attainments, their personal beliefs and private behaviour, so long as they did not interfere with the university, should not be the concern of the university. Elsewhere Ts'ai related how he dismissed some foreign teachers whose education and scholarship were not of good standing thus demonstrating this same principle of placing scholarship above all else in the matter of staffing. On his staff there were a number of foreign teachers from different countries, and there was no racial discrimination in staff appointments, though the foreign members of the staff whose services were needed, were paid a higher salary in order that they might afford a standard of living comparable to what they enjoyed in their home country. This principle of staff employment ensured that a high academic standard was maintained at Peita. As a result of guarding the academic freedom of the university and maintaining the academic standard of the teachers Peita became a university of high repute, a distinct growth since the days of the old
Ch'ing-shih Ta-hsüeh T'ang. All this was partly due to Ts'ai's liberal administration and enlightened leadership. At a time when the political scene in China was clouded with selfish ambitions and narrow militarism, Ts'ai's open-mindedness and accommodating spirit were commendable. The new spirit of tolerance and freedom of thought which he injected into the university circles gave a great boost to the literary and cultural revolution that was taking place in China. Peking University was the cradle of this renaissance and Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei was the principal mentor.

(c) The spirit of free inquiry.

Also important to the development of Peita as a progressive institute was Ts'ai's emphasis on research and independent academic investigations. Prior to taking up the appointment of Chancellor of Peita Ts'ai had spent eight years of travel and study in Europe, mainly in Germany and France. During those eight years he had studied a variety of subjects, including philosophy, literature, ethnology, psychology, European history, and languages. Within the limits of his lack of scientific training he endeavoured to learn something of science—hence his interest in experimental psychology which took him into the laboratory to carry out psychological experiments. His motto with regards to learning and teaching was Tu Pu Yen, Chiao Pu Chüan (Not bored with learning, not tired...
of teaching). "Ts'ai's own keenness in learning was a model to the students of Peita. When he became chancellor of the university he strove to interest the students in free inquiry by improving library facilities. He encouraged them to do independent study and not to depend solely on the lectures given by the teachers. He severely criticized previous teachers of the university for handing out the same lecture notes to students year after year and past students for studying only these notes. 23 His first exhortation to the students on his arrival at Peita was aimed at arousing their interest in true scholarship. 24 At Peita every student could seek to develop individually and to be creative. It had the best-equipped library in China and some of the best scholars as teachers. The emphasis was not on classroom lectures but on independent study and research. 25

The atmosphere at Peita under Ts'ai's chancellorship was conducive to research and scholastic pursuits, a credit to his personal encouragement and interest in free inquiry which served as a silent protest against the obsolete dead studies of the past. This fresh approach to learning injected new life into the erstwhile decadent Peking University and made Peking the centre of China's new culture. This was one of Ts'ai's major contributions to Peita and to higher education in China.
2. **Ts'ai and reforms at the University of Peking.**

(a) **Historical background of the University of Peking.**

The forerunner of the University of Peking was the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang 京師大學堂 (Imperial University) established in 1898 through the efforts of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. The Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang was the only institution that remained out of the abortive K'ang-Liang reforms of that year. It incorporated two existing institutions - the Chin-shih Kuan 進士館 (School of Advanced Scholars) catering to chin-shih and chu-jên graduates, and the I-hsüeh Kuan which taught foreign languages - both of which were founded in 1893. At first the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang was under the direct control of the government; later it achieved some measure of independence, with the appointment of a tsung chien-tu 總監督 (general superintendent) as its chief executive. In 1909 the university had departments of classics, law, arts, natural sciences, agriculture, engineering and commerce. With the exception of the Department of Classics which accepted accredited chu-jên and distinction pa-kung graduates, the majority of the students were graduates from the I-hsüeh-Kuan. As all students of the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang were graduates of the imperial examination receiving further qualifications for government posts, an atmosphere of officialdom was present.
at the university, which at the beginning was little more than a training school for government officials. It appears that during the latter part of its existence the university was beginning to show signs of receptiveness to the current tide of reform, and was developing into a melting pot for Western and Chinese learning under the leadership of Yen Fu who was versed in Chinese and Western studies. It was reported that mutual discussion between students and teachers was present in the university.  

After Ts'ai was appointed Minister of Education in 1912 he ordered the Ching-shih Ta-hsueh-t'ang to be re-named the Pei-ching Ta-hsueh-hsiao (University of Peking), and appointed Yen Fu its first chancellor. Yen Fu resigned in October 1912 and during the next four years three persons held the position successively. Ts'ai was not entirely new to the university when he took over the chancellorship in 1917, as in 1906 he had been engaged to teach Chinese literature and Western history at the I-hsueh Kuan.  

(b) Ts'ai's initial task at the University of Peking.  

As has been suggested earlier, Ts'ai took up the chancellorship of Peita as a challenge, and he held the view that to salvage education from its decadence, civic and moral education must form the core. His task was to clear the foul air of Peking and give the Peking University a new
lease of life. At his first meeting with the students after assuming the office of chancellor Ts'ai made a speech outlining what he expected from university students. He said:

.... You must have a fixed aim in coming here to study. In order to know whether or not the aim is correct and noble we must first understand the nature of a university. Today people attend special colleges to study for a profession; this is an inevitable trend. The university is different. The university is a place for the pursuit of higher learning. When people outside point at the decadence of this university it is because those who came here to study previously thought only of becoming officials and getting rich. Those who completed their preparatory classes mainly took up Law; very few entered the Arts Faculty and fewer entered the Science Faculty. This was due to the fact that Law was a short-cut to the rewards of official posts. Because their aim was to become officials, they were only interested to know what government posts the teachers held and not their qualifications. Teachers with high government positions were most welcome because they could assist the students to obtain good positions when they graduated. At present those who are versed in politics mostly enter the political field and very few become professors; therefore in engaging teaching staff we have to employ part-time teachers ... If in fact your ambition is to become officials and get rich there are a number of special colleges in Peking to which you can go. Those taking Law can study at the Law College and those taking Commerce can apply to the Commercial and Industrial College; why should you come to the university? You must make it your aim to come here for the pursuit of learning: those taking Law should do so not merely with the aim of becoming officials and those taking Commerce not merely to become rich. Once the aim is fixed you will gravitate to the right path. You will study here for three or four years; the period is not short. If you can value your time and study diligently you will have laid the foundation for advancement ...33

(Translation by the author)
Ts'ai's speech to the students was aimed at eradicating the old utilitarian aim of the university and to instil in the students an interest in true learning and the pursuit of knowledge. This he felt was what genuine university education ought to be. To him the university should fundamentally be a place for research and the advancement of knowledge, and not a higher vocational institute. He therefore suggested that the prerequisite for a university was the teaching of either Arts or Science, as these were concerned with the furtherance of knowledge and not with training for a profession.

In January 1917 Ts'ai proposed a plan for changing the university system. He recommended the adoption of the German system of higher education to replace the existing Chinese system copied from Japan. Under this proposed new system, subjects taught in the universities were not to be taught in the special colleges 式門學校 and vice versa. This revised university system was adopted by the Ministry of Education in September 1917 when the University Ordinance passed in 1912 was amended.

The following were the general provisions of the revised university system proposed by Ts'ai:

1. The university was specially instituted for the teaching of arts and science. Law, medicine, agriculture, engineering and commerce would be taught in separate universities called Law University, Medical University, et cetera.
2. The university would be divided into three levels—a preparatory course of one year, the university course of three years, and a research course of two years, the total to be six years.36

Ts'ai gave two reasons for proposing that the university should be instituted specially for the teaching of arts and science. Firstly he contended that arts and science were theoretical subjects, whereas law, medicine, and engineering were practical subjects. His second reason was that a university that had to teach a wide range of subjects as well as establish research institutes, had too wide a scope and would be unmanageable.37 The second reason was a weak one as the problem of size and accommodation could be solved with sufficient funds and proper organization. His first reason however, was an important statement of his concept of a university, namely, that it should be a place for the discovery of new theories and knowledge. This concept of the university as essentially an institution for the advancement of human knowledge (which will be more fully treated in a later chapter) shows the influence of the nineteenth century German philosopher Wilhelm von Humboldt, founder of the University of Berlin. Von Humboldt carried on the tradition left behind by Gerlach Adolf Freiherr von Munchausen of the
University of Gottingen which was a centre of scholarship and research in the eighteenth century. Professors at the University of Gottingen had complete freedom in teaching and research, and Ts'ai strove to create the same tradition at the University of Peking.

It will be noticed that in Ts'ai's proposal post-graduate research work was included as a part of university work. In the amended University Ordinance adopted by the Ministry of Education in September 1917 the clause providing for research in the universities was left out as this was considered unnecessary. This is indicative that while Ts'ai placed much importance on the research aspect of the university others did not. From this may be gauged also Ts'ai's interest in and contribution to academic research in the universities of China, in particular the Peking University.

(c) Changes carried out at the University of Peking under the provisions of the Revised University Ordinance of 1917.

The University of Peking was the first to implement the provisions of the new university system proposed by Ts'ai with the adoption of the following measures;
1. Expansion of the Faculties of Arts and Science.

2. Preparations for the establishment of an independent Law University.

3. Incorporation of Commerce into the Law University.

4. Transfer of the Faculty of Engineering to the Pei-yang Ta-hsüeh at Tientsin and using the money saved to expand the Faculties of Arts and Science.

5. Organization of a University Preparatory Department to replace the existing colleges to prepare high school students for matriculation.

Of the five proposed developments, the second did not materialize as there was not sufficient support for the move to establish one-subject universities. The incorporation of Commerce as a subject in the Faculty of Law of the university, the expansion of the Faculties of Arts and Science, the transfer of the Engineering Faculty to the Pei-yang University, and the establishment of a Preparatory Department at the Peking University were successfully carried out. These measures were implemented to consolidate the work of the various departments of the university and, in the case of the transfer of the Faculty of Engineering, to eliminate duplication and wastage. The Pei-yang University, whose location was not far from Peita, had a good engineering
faculty, and Ts'ai felt that Peita could dispense with its Engineering Faculty. Under the same proposal the Pei-yang University dispensed with its Law Faculty and there was a saving of expenditure for both universities. The surplus funds were used to strengthen the work of existing departments. It was considered necessary to form a University Preparatory Department because the various colleges preparing students for matriculation had unequal standards and students entering the university presented a problem to the university teachers. There had been cases of overlapping of syllabi with some colleges giving first year university work to third year college students, and there had also been the teaching of unnecessary courses at the colleges. With the institution of the University Preparatory Course of two years, there was a saving of one year of the students' time with no loss in the content of their education.

Ts'ai's proposal for changing the university system was subject to criticisms, some of which were legitimate. One writer criticized him for proposing the establishment of single-subject universities which would increase the cost of university education considerably. In addition to increased expenditure, the establishment of a number of universities each teaching one subject would involve a great deal more of administrative work which seems to contradict
Ts'ai's emphasis on the research and academic functions of a university. The extra resources and man-power involved could be better utilized for furthering scholarship and research than devoted to administrative matters. The establishment of single-subject universities was also highly inconsistent with Ts'ai's earlier contention that the prerequisite of a university should be the teaching of either Arts or Science. To establish single subject universities would in fact make these universities into higher vocational institutes, a scheme which Ts'ai spoke against at his opening speech to the students of Peita. In reply to the criticisms Ts'ai said that he had proposed the establishment of single subject universities because the single subject colleges had been regarded as inferior in status to a university and therefore it was necessary to make them universities. This proposal failed to gain support, and the scheme was soon discarded.  

A comparison of the old and the new university systems shows the following changes and new emphases: Firstly the University Preparatory Department directly run by the university had replaced the old colleges or special schools. Secondly subjects were divided into compulsory and elective ones, compulsory subjects being those which were regarded as basic knowledge for all students. The purpose of having
these basic compulsory subjects was to ensure that students did not become narrow specialists too early in their university career, resulting in Arts students having no knowledge of general science and vice versa. Emphasis was placed on Chinese language in the Preparatory Department to ensure that all students had a good grounding in Chinese Studies. In the past this was found lacking in students who went to study abroad, and it was necessary to rectify the position. Thirdly, there was an emphasis on the study of foreign languages. Under the new system all students were required to reach a certain proficiency in two foreign languages to be selected from the most important European languages, namely, English, French and German. This was a step in the right direction as proficiency in European languages was beneficial to all students, and especially important for those intending to further their studies abroad.

(d) Internal Organization of the Peking University.

After the May Fourth Incident of 1919 the university's administration was re-organized under Ts'ai's direction. The university's internal organization was divided into four sections: The P'ing-i-hui (Council) which was a legislative body; the Hsing-chêng Hui-i (Executive Board) which was an executive body; the Chiao-wu Hui-i (Board of Studies) which was concerned with
teaching matters; and the Tsung-wu Ch'u (General Affairs Department) which was in charge of general administration. The P'ing-i-hui comprised the Chancellor (as chairman), and Councillors elected from and by the professors. The Hsing-chêng Hui-i comprised the Chancellor and the Chairman of the Ch'ang-wu Hsing-chêng Wei-yüan-hui (Permanent Executive Committee). The Chancellor was Chairman of the Hsing-chêng Hui-i, the Chiao-wu-chang (Dean of Studies) was ex-officio member, and the Tsung-wu-chang (Head of General Affairs) was ex-officio member and secretary. The Chiao-wu Hui-i was comprised of the Dean (who was elected by the departmental heads) and all heads of departments. The Tsung-wu Ch'u comprised members appointed by the Chancellor. In all the four sections the important officers were members of the professorial staff, reflecting Ts'ai's policy of making the professors run the university. Chiang Meng-lin, Ts'ai's successor to the chancellorship wrote:

'Academic freedom, faculty control, and a fearless spirit of searching for truth were the guiding principles in administration. Student self-government was encouraged as a step to democracy.'

Indeed, as a result of Ts'ai's encouragement there was a rapid growth of student bodies at Peking University. The following societies existed then: the Philosophical Society, Educational Society, New Tide Society, Mathematics and
Physics Society, Chemistry Society, Esperanto Society, Journalism Society, Buddhist Society, Debating Society, English Society, Reading Society, Music Society, Calligraphy Society, and Boxing Society. On the business side there were the Peking University Students' Union, the Peking University Students' Union People's Night School, the People's Association Lecture Teams, the Peking University Students' Bank, and the Peking University Cooperative Society. Altogether there were over eighty public and private student bodies at Peking University.

Ts'ai also actively encouraged students and staff to publish their writings, in particular the publication of academic journals and periodicals. In 1917 the Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Jih-k' an 北京大學日刊 (Peking University Daily) made its appearance, and in 1919 the Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Yüeh-k' an 北京大學月刊 (Peking University Monthly Journal) began publication. It has been reported that this was the first regular academic journal to be published in China. Several other journals and periodicals were published prominent among which were the Hsin Ch' ao 新潮 ('The Renaissance'), the Shê-hui K'o-hsüeh Chi-k' an 社會科學季刊 (Quarterly Journal of Social Science), the Kuo-hsüeh Chi-k' an 國學季刊 (Quarterly Journal of Chinese Studies) and the Nu-li Chou-pao 努力週報 (The Nu-li Endeavour Weekly).
The Nu-li Chou-pao was started by Hu Shih in cooperation with his colleagues at Peita to discuss China's political problems and to develop artistic thinking. It began publication in the spring of 1922 but because freedom of discussion was restricted under the oppressive political atmosphere prevailing at the time, it went out of publication in 1923. The Shê-hui K'o-hsüeh Chi-k'ân and the Kuo-hsüeh Chi-k'ân were both academic journals of a high standard. In addition to journals and periodicals, the staff and students of Peking University were responsible for bringing out several series of books, including the Fei-ching Ta-hsieh Ts'ung-shu 北京大學叢書 (Peking University Collected Reprints), the Hsin-ch'ao Ts'ung-shu 新潮叢書 (New Tide Collected Reprints), and the Shih-chieh Ts'ung-shu 世界叢書 (World Collected Reprints). Ts'ai was associated with most of these publications. The staff and students of the Peking University were also connected with the Hsin Ch'ing-nien, a periodical which was known for its radical views, its nurture and leadership of the literary and cultural awakening of China, and subsequently for its socialist and communist leanings.
3. The intellectual leadership of Peking University during Ts'ai's chancellorship.

The period of Ts'ai's chancellorship is generally regarded as the most important in the history of Peking University because it was then that the cultural and intellectual revolution of modern China took place. In writing an intellectual history of twentieth century China the University of Peking should figure prominently, though Peita was not the only institution that made a contribution to the intellectual ferment. The cultural and intellectual revolution which is known as the Hsin Wen-hua Yun-tung (New Culture Movement) comprised the Wen-hsiueh Keming (Literary Revolution), the Hsin Ssü-ch'ao (New Thought Tide), and the Wu-ssu Yun-tung (May Fourth Movement). The history of these three movements is already well-known, and it will be sufficient here to consider Ts'ai's role and his personal attitude to these intellectual and cultural developments.

Ts'ai actively supported and defended these movements, but was not a principal participant or innovator. The prime movers of the Literary Revolution were Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the most prominent leaders of the New Thought Tide were such writers as Lu Hsun, Hu Shih, Chou Tso-jen 周作人, Liu Pan-nung 劉半農, Kao I-han 高一涵, Li Ta-chao
and the actual leaders of the May Fourth Movement were students of Peita, such as Fu Ssu-nien and Lo Chia-lun. But Ts'ai was Chancellor of Peking University, the focal point of all these developments which took place under his aegis and moral support. Had he been a conservative who, instead of giving encouragement, sought to curb innovations within the university, China's intellectual revolution might not have taken the form it did.

Ts'ai was firmly behind the progressive Chinese leaders and defended Peita against criticisms of the conservatives. The free academic climate under which professors, teachers and students worked enabled them to assume intellectual leadership of the educated Chinese centred at Peking. One of the first things Ts'ai did after becoming Chancellor of Peita was to invite Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the foremost anti-traditionalist, to head the Department of Chinese Literature. Ts'ai resisted attempts by the conservative scholars to oust leaders of the New Culture Movement from the university. The conservative forces still had considerable power and influence at the time, as may be seen from the fact that in 1919 Ch'en Tu-hsiu had to resign from his professorship through pressure exerted by them.
Ts'ai and the Literary Revolution.

Ts'ai advocated the use of *pai-hua* on the grounds of practicability. He was not against the use of *wên-yen* for appropriate purposes, such as writing couplets, poems and the like, but considered *pai-hua* as a suitable medium for the general masses who needed to be literate for practical reasons. He said in 1922:

> The most important question about the national language is the competition between *pai-hua* and *wên-yen*. I think in time the *pai-hua* medium will be victorious. *Pai-hua* is using present day speech to transmit present day ideas, and is direct. *Wên-yen* is using the speech of ancient people to transmit present day meanings, and is indirect. In indirect transmission both the writer and the reader have to exert effort in translation. Why should there be such inconvenience? If by chance we see some students studying abroad write letters to people in China in foreign languages we feel that it is very strange. If writing for the consumption of present day people we use only the speech of ancient people should we not regard it as strange? (Translation by the author)

Ts'ai correctly predicted that *pai-hua* would become the common medium of expression and *wên-yen* would eventually have a very limited use.

In 1912 the Ministry of Education headed by Ts'ai announced plans to convocate a Conference for the Unification of Pronunciation. Its tasks were to establish a standard national pronunciation for the ideographs, to analyse the national pronunciation in terms of its basic sounds, and to
adopt a system of phonetic symbols to represent these basic sounds. The Conference which was held in early 1913 recommended to the Ministry of Education adoption of an alphabet as a means of simplifying the Chinese language. In 1916 Ts'ai was one of those responsible for forming the Kuo-yü Yen-chiu Hui (Society for Studying the National Language) with the aim of promoting a standard national language. In 1918, after the death of Yüan Shih-k'ai, the Ministry of Education was persuaded by the Kuo-yü Yen-chiu Hui to promulgate the use of the alphabet.

It is seen that before Hu Shih and Ch'ên Tu-hsiu had advocated the use of pai-hua Ts'ai and others had already been interested in simplifying and standardizing the Chinese language. Ts'ai was also ready to support measures that could assist in popularizing education. In 1928, as President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan he had approved a system of Romanization of the Chinese language known as Gwoyeu Romatzyh 国语罗马字, and in the same year he was one of the signatories to a declaration entitled 'Ts'u-chin Hsin Wên-tzŭ I-chien' 促进新文字意见 (Views on promoting the New Writing), aimed at popularizing a new system of Romanization called the Sinwenz 新文字 (New Writing). In 1939 Ts'ai became Chairman of the Sinwenz Society.
in Hong Kong, giving full support to the movement to spread the use of Sinwenz.

Ts'ai and the New Thought Tide.

A new culture could only be evolved when the majority of the people possess a new outlook of life, and this new outlook could be developed through various means - through education, through a new literature, through an inflow of fresh ideas from other countries; in short, through the intermingling of peoples of different backgrounds and ways of life and the assimilation of new philosophies and new ideas. At the Peking University there was a diversity of teachers: there were the traditional Chinese scholars trained in the traditional classics, and there were the returned students who brought back with them new ideas learnt from Europe, America and Japan. There were the conservatives who believed in restoring the monarchy and in preserving the traditional Chinese way of life, there were the moderates who believed in the synthesis of Chinese and Western cultures, and there were the extreme radicals who saw Westernization as the only effective means of progress and modernization in China.

At the University of Peking Ts'ai endeavoured to develop new spiritual values in the students. He organized
a Chin-tê Hui 進德會 (Society for Moral Advancement) membership of which was open to those who swore not to take concubines, consort with prostitutes, or gamble. A higher grade of membership was open to those who would in addition vow to refrain from becoming officials or members of Parliament, drinking, eating meat, and smoking. It was reported that one thousand students promptly joined the Chin-tê Hui. In lieu of the old, degrading forms of amusements Ts'ai encouraged the students to take part in new recreational activities through the establishment of wholesome societies. The increased learning of foreign languages, the evolution of modern Chinese literature, and the study of Western literature, history, philosophy and science, all helped to create a new cultural background among the students.

Important to the development of the new culture was the great emphasis on science and democracy. The foremost exponent of science and democracy was Ch'ên Tu-hsiu, editor of the Hsin Ch'ing-nien and Dean of Arts of the Peking University. In his view the full scale introduction of Democracy and Science was the only means towards the rapid modernization of China. Ts'ai was also strongly in favour
of the adoption of science and democracy for the development of a new spirit and a new culture in China. In expounding the new culture the principal channels of expression were the Hsin Ch'ing-nien to which reference has already been made, and the Hsin Ch'ao 新潮 ('The Renaissance'), a periodical published by the students of Peita which attempted to portray the student life at Peking and to seek a method to introduce China into the trend of the thought-tide of the world. In its first issue the Hsin-ch'ao claimed that its aim was 'to co-operate with students of all middle schools throughout the whole country and to fight for spiritual emancipation.' It was hoped that this spiritual emancipation could be achieved through the introduction of modern scientific thinking which could train the people to be objective and critical and eliminate subjectivity. It called upon students to regard themselves as men of the future and to conquer society rather than be conquered by it. The basis for the new culture was therefore the science and democracy of the West which Ts'ai, Ch'en Tu-hsiu and other progressive leaders centred at Peita were responsible for advocating. The role of Ts'ai in the development of the new culture in China is thus significant.
Ts'ai and the May Fourth Movement.

As in his role in the literary and cultural revolution, Ts'ai was not an actual participant in the May Fourth Movement of 1919. The radical ideas he expressed and allowed others at Peita to express inspired the young students, who were not slow to take the cue. The background of the May Fourth Movement was the intellectual ferment that had been taking place among the new youths since Ch'en Ts-hsiu launched his attacks on the old Confucian order with the publication of the *Hsin Ch'ing-nien* in 1915. In the face of foreign aggression patriotism among the Chinese people had been steadily growing since the end of the Ch'ing dynasty and had increased in intensity at the time of the notorious 'Twenty-one demands' of 1915. The May Fourth Movement was the climax of the latent development of the previous twenty years, in particular the four years since the publication of the *Hsin Ch'ing-nien*. The University of Peking played an important part in this development because the chief contributors of the magazine were professors of the university, with Ts'ai writing a few articles occasionally and giving full moral support. Of considerable importance also was the growth of the student movement in China in the few years prior to the outbreak of May Fourth.
The growth of student organizations in the University of Peking may be attributed to Ts'ai's active encouragement. It appears that the students of Peita did not know what student organizations were when Ts'ai first suggested to them that they should organize various societies in the university. As a result of his personal encouragement many student societies were formed, which gave the students new intellectual outlets and increasing opportunities for the cultivation of fresh interests. The students' spirit of self-action was nurtured and their ability for service to society developed. During his chancellorship Ts'ai encouraged student self-rule. An example of this was the unqualified support he gave to the formation of the Peking University Higher Normal School Students' Council. He did not think that the university authorities should try to manage everything for the students if they were capable of managing their own affairs. Ts'ai was adopting a very liberal and adult attitude in his treatment of students, an attitude which is not always present even in present day universities.

In supporting the formation of the Students' Council of the Higher Normal School Ts'ai told the students:

You are Higher Normal students, and I think in experimenting with the system of self-rule there are two types of benefit.
(1) ... self-rule is better than being ruled ... when you leave this school you can utilize this experience by advocating self-rule in the middle schools and normal schools ....

(2) ... After May Fourth the people throughout China regarded the students as leaders and were willing to follow the direction given by them. For instance in the hartals at Shanghai, Hangchow and other places, the direction of the Students' Union was heeded ... At present students are leaders in the practice of self-rule ... they certainly can arouse the spirit of self-rule among the nationals. Therefore I feel that the formation of your Self-governing Council is the school's greatest memorial. I wish the Students' Council long life. Long live the Peking Higher Normal School!

(Translation by the author)

It is clear from the sentiments expressed that Ts'ai encouraged the students of his university to be independent and to assume the role of leading the masses. For a democratic system of government to work successfully the people must be made conversant with the democratic process and must practise the principles of democratic administration at all levels, and Ts'ai rightly encouraged the students of his university to experiment with democratic self-rule.

The new ideas taught by teachers such as Ts'ai and Ch' en Tu-hsiu and spread through magazines such as the Hsin Ch'ing-nien and the Hsin Ch'ao led to the development of radical thinking and the creation of a new spirit in the students of Peita. This new spirit culminated in the May Fourth Movement of 1919. It could thus be said that Ts'ai had indirectly nurtured the spirit of the May Fourth.
Ts'ai and student participation in politics.

As the May Fourth Movement was one aspect of the student movement in China, it should be linked with the growth of the student movement in general. Influence on one movement naturally extended to the other. Ts'ai's active encouragement of student societies at Peita gave direction to the student movement which thereafter grew speedily. By the time of May Fourth the student movement in China was well established.

One important question affecting the student movement was participation in politics. When the students of Peita and other universities took part in the May Fourth agitation their action, though political, was defended by Ts'ai because the students were fighting to preserve the territorial integrity of their country. Ts'ai had earlier disapproved of the students' plan to agitate against the government, but when the May Fourth Incident had become a fait accompli he supported the students and later praised them for their noble action which had forced the government to take a firm and respectable stand against Japanese demands. However, as chancellor, Ts'ai did not agree to university involvement in politics; he did not think that students should organize political groups in the university, but allowed adult students to join political parties as
individuals. He stressed that the prime duty of university students was to study and not to take part in politics. In later years he deplored the irresponsibility of students when frequently participated in strikes and political agitation which were felt to be unnecessary and unreasonable. He was even led to initiate a motion at the Fifth National Congress of the Kuomintang supporting a proposal by the Kwangtung and Kwangsi Departments of Education to prohibit the organization of student unions. Despite his later disapproval of student agitations, the encouragement Ts'ai gave to the students to organize societies, manage their own affairs in the university, and cultivate a new attitude towards learning, contributed in no small measure to the growth of the student movement in contemporary China.

In summary, Ts'ai played an indirect but significant role in the development and growth of the New Culture Movement in China in the two decades following the establishment of the Republic. He supported the literary and language reforms initiated by Hu Shih, Ch'ên Tu-hsiu and others; his liberal and progressive leadership of Peita allowed the free development of a new spirit which assisted the process of modernization in China; and the
encouragement he gave to the students and intellectuals of Peking who were the transmitters of this new spirit extended their power and influence. The growth of the new society in twentieth century China was closely tied up with the intellectual leadership of the radical Chinese a relatively large number of whom came from the University of Peking. Ts'ai was effective chancellor of the university for seven of its most crucial years.
CHAPTER FOUR

1. For example, in post-war Malaya and Singapore students in Chinese schools agitated violently for the preservation of Chinese education and culture during the last days of British colonial rule. It is probable that such student dissatisfaction had been capitalized by Communist elements within and without the schools. But these Chinese school students whose history course was comprised mainly of Chinese history, could not be unaware of the political role played by students in China, and it is probable that they drew their inspiration from the student movement in China. The growth of the student movements in Burma, India, Vietnam and other newly independent countries in Asia may be examined in the same light. The student movement in Japan too could have received some remote inspiration from the May Fourth Movement in China.

2. Interview between the author and Dr Lo Chia-lun (luen), President of the Academia Historica in Taipei, on 21 August 1962.

3. Ibid.

4. Lo Chia-lun, 'Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsueh (I),' in Chung-hua Min-kuo Ta-hsueh Chih, I, 53.

5. Ting Chih-p'ing, 66.

6. Ts'ai called it 'making education academic.' We shall see later (chapter six) that Ts'ai's ideal form of education was that which transcended politics.

7. Ts'ai, 'Hui-jen Pei-ching Ta-hsueh Hsiao-chang Ta Ts'ai Ch'uan t'i Hsueh-sheng Huan-ying Hui Yen-shuo Tz'u,' in I-wên, 337.
8. Ts'ai, 'Chiao-yü Tu-li I' 教育獨立議, in I-wên, 100, Editor's note.
10. For an account of Ts'ai's generosity of mind, see Lo Chia-lun, op. cit., 51-61.

The term Chien Yung Ping Pao 兼容並包 was used by Ts'ai himself in explaining his principle of accommodating diverse theories. See his 'Letter in reply to Lin Ch'in-nan,' in I-wên, 36.

11. Hsüan-chi, 290, 'I.'
12. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung 錢玄同 (1887-1938), an etymologist and phonetician who studied at the Waseda University 勝田大學 at Tokyo. Besides being Professor of Literature at the National University of Peking he also taught at the Peiping Women's Normal College 北平女子師範學校, and later at the Tsing-hua University 清華大學. For a short biography of Ch'ien see Chow Tse-tsung, op. cit., 53.

14. For a short account of Ku Hung-ming see Chow Tse-tsung, op. cit., 62s.
15. See chapter seven.
16. Lin Ch'in-nan, 'Chi Ts'ai Ho-ch'ing Shu 宋齊 Peach 鳥,' in I-wên, 37-40.
17. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Following were the salaries drawn by some members of the academic staff of Peking University in 1918:

Chancellor, $600; Dean of Arts, $300; Dean of Science, $350; Dean of Law, $380; Dean of Engineering, $400; Librarian, $120; Professor of Science (a German), $600; Professor of Science (an American), $600.

It will be seen that foreign professors were given a more attractive salary than their Chinese counterparts. The idea was to keep them in the university to utilize their specialized knowledge. One may observe also that the salary of the librarian was very small in comparison with that of professors. But at the time librarians in Chinese universities did not have special professional qualifications as they normally have today. The holder of the post of librarian, Li Ta-chao was a graduate in law, political science, and economics, but not in library science.

See 'Kuo-li Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Chih-yüan Li-li Piao' 革立北京大学職員履歴表 of September 1918, in Peking University File.

21. These two terms were used in reference to Ts'ai by his successor Chiang Meng-lin, who wrote:

For the last seven or eight years since Mr. Ts'ai led this university, the word 'tolerance' has taken root in the rich soil of the university. Therefore within this university the different parties can tolerate one another. Ordinarily in the lecture rooms and in the meetings they discuss and argue violently, but in times of difficulty they unite and cooperate .... Secondly this university possesses the spirit of freedom of thought. Man has a weakness, that is, in the matter of freedom of thought he betrays himself a coward ... Many people become frightened when they think a little beyond the limit of their every day habit, just like a person who is unable to pole a boat extending beyond the ordinary route he is used to. But this intellectual cowardice has generally been eliminated by the university. This university is not afraid to extend beyond the limit of men's every day habitual sphere to make use of thinking. Although we at times still feel that there are many restrictions, various sections of society have given us the title of 'the flood and the fierce beast.' (Translation by the author)

The idea of the 'flood and the fierce beast' was taken from an article written by Ts'ai in which he compared the new thinking developing in China to flood and the warlords of China to fierce beast. Ts'ai was of the opinion that in China there was a strong tussle between the flood and the beast, and if there was someone to help the flood drown the beast then China would be peaceful.

22. Hsiao I-shan (Siao I-san), 'I Tai Tsung-shih Ts'ai Chieh-min Haian-shêng,' in *Hsueh-shu Chi-k'an*, II, 1 (September 1953), 133.
25. Ibid.
In 1898 Emperor Kuang-hsü passed an edict calling for the conversion of temples into schools and the governor-general Chang Chih-tung contributed towards this call for reform with his book the *Ch'üan-hsueh-pien* (Exhortation to learning) which outlined a system of schools. One of the results of this system was the establishment of the Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang (Imperial University) in 1898 through the efforts of K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Officially opened in January 1898, it was under the charge of Sun Chia-nai, the Commissioner of Education.

27. Shu Hsin-ch'êng, III, 1.
28. Ibid., 2
29. The pa-kung and all kung students were top graduates of the first examination known as t'ung-shih (Children's Examination) selected for study at the Imperial Academy. When the system came into use during Yuan dynasty, a quota was fixed for each district and at times the qualification could be bought. During the Ch'ing dynasty selection was done once in six years and during the reign of Ch'ien-lung once in twelve years. The selection later took the form of an examination, and the original idea of selecting exceptional talents for entry into the Academy was lost. A number of successful pa-kung scholars were given jobs as district magistrates or teachers. Others who were not given posts would proceed to Peking for further examinations if they could afford to do so.

See Shang Yen-liu, Ch'ing-tai K'o-chü Kao-shih Shu-lu, 5-6.

30. Lo Chia-lun, op. cit., 22
31. Hsüan-chi, 288, 'I.'
32. Ibid.
33. Yen Hsing Lu, 'J.'
34. Hsüan-chi, 'I.'
35. Ting Chih-p'ing, 70.
36. Shu Hsin-ch'eng, III, 4-5.
37. Ibid., 4.
40. Ibid., 6
41. Hsüan-chi, 290, 'I.'
42. Ibid.
In an article entitled 'Criticism of the amended University system' published in the Hsin Ch'ing-nien of 17 November 1917 a writer, Chou Ch'ün-yüeh, criticized Ts'ai for not proposing reforms to the entire system of education instead of merely changing the university system. This shortcoming was at most one of wrong emphasis, and did not in any way invalidate Ts'ai's proposed changes. His second criticism levelled against the establishment of single subject universities was a more valid one. Apart from pointing out that the establishment of single subject universities would increase the cost of university education, the critic saw no need for organizing university preparatory classes, as he felt that special middle schools of six years' duration could cater for matriculation, thus leaving the university to concentrate on actual university work.

See 'Ta-hsueh Kai-chih Chih Shang-chüeh' 大學政制之商權 in Shu Hsin-ch'eng, III, 11-15. Also in Hsin Ch'ing-nien, IV, 452-455.

Under the old system at Peking University there were four subjects, namely Arts, Science, Engineering and Law. In addition Commerce was later incorporated into Law. Since Engineering was discontinued on Ts'ai's recommendation, only the three faculties of Arts, Science and Law remained, that is, prior to the revised system which came into use after 1919. Under Arts the courses taught included Philosophy, Chinese Literature, English, French, German and History. Under Science the courses were Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, and Geology; and under Law the courses were Politics, Economics, and Law. From the 1919 academic year the name k'o 科 was discarded and the name hsi 部 (department) was used. According to the new system which came into force after 1919 there was a university preparatory course of two years and a university course of four years. Compulsory subjects for the University Preparatory Department were Languages, General Logic, and General Philosophy, which were common to all students.
In addition there were separate compulsory subjects for the two divisions. Division A concentrated on Mathematics, Physics, and other science subjects, while Division B concentrated on History and other humanistic studies. Besides these there were elective subjects such as experimental physics and chemistry, economic theory, philology and others. In the first year of university the foreign languages and a few basic subjects which students had to take in the preparatory department were compulsory for all students. The elective subjects were divided into five groups each group having its own emphasis. Students from each group could select from eight to eleven units. From these units students in the second and subsequent years could choose their respective fields of specialization. The five groups were:

2. Chemistry, geology, biology.
3. Philosophy, psychology, education.
4. Chinese language and literature, English language and literature, French language and literature, German language and literature.
5. History, politics, economics, and law.

The second, third and fourth year curricula followed the subjects of the respective groups and totalled seven departments, four more than under the old system. All subjects in these years were elective. But within three years students must complete thirty or forty units of the subjects in their respective departments or related departments. They must continue to complete up to six units each of the first and second foreign languages which they had chosen to study. In four years students must take at least thirty-two units of the first foreign language and fifteen units of the second foreign language. Among the common compulsory subjects of the University Preparatory Department greatest importance was placed on Chinese and Foreign Languages, which together totalled twelve to thirteen units. Chinese Language was divided into Essays, Scholarship and Grammar, and Foreign Languages were divided into Reading, Grammar and Composition.

See Shu Hsin-ch'êng, III, 16-17.
46. Chiao-yü Ta Tz'ü-shu, 962.
47. Tides of the West, 133-34.
48. Chiao-yü Ta Tz'ü-shu, 963.
50. Chiao-yü Ta Tz'ü-shu, 963.
51. Ibid.
52a. As far as institutions of higher learning were concerned, no other university played a part equal to Peita in the intellectual leadership of the Chinese. Students of other universities participated in the May Fourth Movement, but it could not be doubted that the centre of intellectual ferment was at Peita. The Pei-yang Ta-hsüeh situated at Tientsin was certainly not indifferent to the current intellectual changes, but its staff and students were not in the forefront of new ideological developments. Ch'ing-hua Ta-hsüeh which was originally started as a school to prepare students for study in the United States of America was also not a leader in the new thought tide. Ch'ing-hua shone rather in purely academic pursuits, particularly in the field of natural sciences. Similarly other universities in China were not as prominent as Peita in their intellectual leadership. See Chang Ch'i-yün, Ta-hsüeh Chih, I & II, passim.
53. Hsin Ch'ing-nien, I-VII.
55. Ibid., 61-72.
57. Ts'ai, 'Kuo-wên Chih Chiang-lai,' in I-wên, 110, 'I'
58. John De Francis, Nationalism and Language Reform in China, 55.
59. Ibid. Also see Ting Chih-p'ing, *op.cit.*, 45.
60. John De Francis, *op.cit.*, 60.
61. Ting Chih-p'ing, 78.
62. John De Francis, 84.
63. Hsüan-chi, 334, 'M'
66. Tsi C. Wang, Ill.
67. *Hsin Ch'ao*, I, 1 (1 January 1919), 1-3. Also quoted in Tsi C. Wang, Ill.
68. Ibid.
70. *Yen Hsing Lu*, II, 444.
72. Ibid., and *Hsüan-chi*, 292, 'I'
73. Ibid.
74. 'Tui-yü Ch'ing-nien Yün-tung T'ai An! 对於青年運動 提案' in *Tang Kuo Ming-jen Chung-yao Shu-tu*, 121-26.
CHAPTER FIVE

TS'AI YÜAN-P'EI'S CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION AND ACADEMIC RESEARCH WITH REFERENCE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TA-HSUEH-YUAN AND HIS PRESIDENCY OF THE ACADEMIA SINICA.

A. The Ta-hsüeh-yüan

1. The Ta-hsueh-yuan as a means of enlightened educational administration.

(a) Reasons for the formation of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan.

Since 1912 when Ts'ai became Minister of Education under the Nanking Provisional Government he had been interested in raising the standard of education in the country. Owing to his admiration of the Western system of division of labour, Ts'ai favoured specialization in all fields of work. Consequently his aim as an educationalist was to make education a special field for the educators and to minimize its management and control by lay officials and politicians. As Minister of Education for scarcely seven months in 1912, Ts'ai did not have time to achieve this goal, but as chancellor of Peking University he strove to put this principle into practice by introducing democratic
administration of the university by the professors. He was only able to do this at Peita and was not in a position to influence the Ministry of Education to 'academize' educational administration throughout the country.

However, after his resignation as Chancellor of Peking University in 1927, Ts'ai had another opportunity to put into practice his ideal of making educational administration 'academized'. During this year the Kuomintang succeeded in defeating the northern warlords and brought about a semblance of unified government, establishing the seat of national government at Nanking. At the 105th Central Political Committee of the Kuomintang a proposal was made by the Chung-yang Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Wei-yüan Hui (Central Education Executive Committee), of which Ts'ai was a member, for the establishment of the Chung-hua Min-kuo Ta-hsüeh-yüan (Academy of Higher Education of the Republic of China) as the nation's highest academic organ to administer education in China. At the same meeting Ts'ai was appointed President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan. The motion put forward by the Chung-yang Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Wei-yüan Hui read:

Regarding the problem of the need for the Nationalist Government to establish an additional Ministry of Education, Y'êan-p'êi and others [members of the preparatory committee], after careful deliberation, consider that the late bureaucratized Ministry of Education is truly in need of reform. In order to change the bureaucratized Ministry of Education into an academic one, there is no better way than to change the Ministry of Education into the Ta-hsüeh-yüan....

(Translation by the author)
The motion made it clear that the aim of establishing the Ta-hsueh-yuan to replace the existing Ministry of Education was to 'academize' educational administration in order to improve academic standards in the schools, colleges and universities. From Ts'ai's constant reference to the bureaucratism and officialdom of the Ministry of Education it would seem that decadence had been plaguing the educational system, and a radical change of the existing system of administration was badly needed. In his preface to the Ta-hsüeh-yüan Kung-pao, an official publication of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan, he wrote in a similar strain:

Before the foundation of the Republic the organ managing education and academic matters was called the Hsüeh-pu; in 1912 it was renamed Ministry of Education. According to its broader meaning education may also include academic work. For the last ten or more years the Ministry of Education which was placed in the midst of the decadent atmosphere of Peking had been adversely influenced by the other ministries. At times those who headed the Ministry did not have any knowledge of academic matters and education but were specially concerned with feathering their own nests and working for the Party. This reputation gradually deteriorated and as a result the name Ministry of Education came to be associated with corrupt officialdom. This is why the Nationalist Government has discarded the name Chiao-yü-pu and formed Ta-hsueh-yuan as the organ for the management of education and academic matters. **

(Translation by the author)
This plan to academize education is important to the development of modern education in China and represents Ts'ai's attempt to achieve that ideal form of education which transcends politics. As later events show, Ts'ai failed to achieve this lofty aim, and education subordinated to politics prevailed. Within one year of its establishment the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was abolished, owing to strong opposition by various educational groups, in particular those representing primary and secondary education. In disappointment, Ts'ai relinquished the post of President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and resigned himself to his work as President of the Academia Sinica which then became an independent institution.

(b) The constitution and functions of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan.

In its short life of one year the Ta-hsüeh-yüan had to change its constitution in the face of opposition and criticisms. The present account is based on the original plan submitted by Ts'ai and his committee. The Ta-hsüeh-yüan was the nation's 'highest academic and educational organ' charged with the administration of educational and academic matters of the whole country. It was headed by a president who was also a member of the Kuomintang Government. Policy was laid down by the Ta-hsüeh Wei-yüan Hui (University Council) of which the president was ex-officio
chairman and which comprised the chancellors of all the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü (University District), the head of the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'u (Department of Educational Administration), from five to seven specialist scholars of the country selected and appointed by the president of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan, and the chief of the Mi-shu Ch'u 秘書處 (Secretariat) as secretary.

As an administrative body the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was divided into four departments, namely, the Kuo-li Hsüeh-shu Chi-kuan (National Academic Organizations), the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'u, the Mi-shu Ch'u, and the T'ê-pieh Wei-yüan Hui 特別委員會 (Special Committees). Of the four departments the first was the biggest and most important. Included in the Kuo-li Hsüeh-shu Chi-kuan were all the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh 中山大學 (Sun Yat-sen University) in the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü, the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh 勞動大學 (Labour University), the other national universities, the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan (Central Research Institute) - subsequently reconstituted and known as the Academia Sinica - , the Chung-yang T'u-shu-kuan 中央圖書館 (Central Library), the Tzü-jan Li-shih Po-wu-kuan 自然歷史博物館 (Natural and Historical Museum), the Yin-yüeh Yüan 音樂院 (Academy of Music), and the I-shu Yüan 藝術院 (Academy of Art).
The Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'ü was concerned with school and social education and other matters connected with them. It was not concerned with the actual running of schools; this came under the jurisdiction of the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh in the respective Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü. It appears that the role of the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'ü relative to the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was direction and coördination of specialized, general and social education. There were thus two levels of administration: jurisdiction of the schools was in the hands of the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh, but policies for the schools were laid down by the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'ü.⁹

The T'ê-pieh Wei-yüan Hui which formed the fourth department of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was a significant development in educational administration. It was not a department in the usual sense, but a group of special committees comprising the Political Education Committee, the Educational Finance Planning Committee, the Examination System Committee, the Science Education Committee, the Art Education Committee, the Overseas Chinese Education Committee, the Transliterated Names Uniformization Committee, the Physical Culture Guidance Committee, and other Special Committees.¹⁰

A study of the divisions of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan reveals that firstly, university education and academic matters were given a greatly increased emphasis as they did not come under
the Chiao-yü Hsing-cheng Ch'u which dealt with education at a lower level. Secondly the Ta-hsüeh-yüan formed special committees of experts in various fields to deal with existing as well as newly arisen subjects of a special nature. All these represented attempts to implement the ideal of 'academic administration of education.' Of the institutions under the Kuo-li Hsüeh-shu Chi-kuan one might note the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh 劳動大學 (Labour University) which was established with the aim of minimizing the intellectual and physical differences between those who use their brains and those who work with their hands mainly. Higher education in the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh was open to those who did physical labour; those whose occupations involved mental work were required to participate in physical labour. This could result in a more equal society.¹¹

Research at the post-graduate level was for the first time given its proper place in the educational system; previously it was carried out only by a few universities. Now a separate research institute was to be established, with four research schools as a beginning, namely, the Institute of Physics, Chemistry and Industry, the Observatory, the Institute of Social Sciences.¹² In addition to scientific research the development of the arts was to be accelerated. In particular, provisions were made for the establishment of
the I-shu Yüan and the Yin-yüeh Yüan, to provide training in, and encourage the growth of, Chinese and Western art and music. The establishment of these two academies showed the personal influence of Ts'ai who had been a consistent advocate of aesthetic culture.

A comparison of the Ta-hsueh-yüan and the Ministry of Education shows the following changes. Firstly the three offices of P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Ssu, Chuan-men Chiao-yü Ssu, and Shê-hui Chiao-yü Ssu had been compressed into the post of Head of the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'u. Secondly the Inspectorate was abolished. Thirdly, whereas in 1912 the Ministry of Education had under its control only one institution that was not strictly educational, that is the Central Observatory, under the Ta-hsueh-yüan a host of other academic institutions had been added. Greater emphasis was given to higher academic institutions which overshadowed the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'u. This was later seen as a weakness of the system. When the constitution of the Ta-hsueh-yüan was revised the Chiao-yü Hsing-chêng Ch'u was replaced by four departments, three of which were similar to those existing in the Ministry of Education - the Kao-têng Chiao-yü Ch'u 高等教育處 (Department of Higher Education), the P'u-t'ung Chiao-yü Ch'u 普通教育處 (Department of General Education), and the Shê-hui Chiao-yü Ch'u 社會教育處 (Department of Social Education).
The fourth department was the Wen-hua Shih-yeh Ch'u (Department of Cultural Affairs). The Kao-teng Chiao-yü Ch'u did not have jurisdiction over the national universities. The amendment to the constitution of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan underlined the point that with the introduction of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan general education seemed to have been given less attention.

In a statement announcing the reasons for establishing the Ta-hsüeh-yüan Ts'ai mentioned that the Ta-hsüeh-yüan had three special characteristics, viz., equal emphasis on academic work and education, since the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was the highest academic and educational organ of the country; planning and execution could advance together, for example, the establishment of the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan to carry out scientific research, the establishment of the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh to promote labour-orientated education, the establishment of the I-shu Yüan and the Yin-yüeh Yüan to develop aesthetic education; and the parallel use of the systems of President and Council, with the President assuming full executive power, and the Ta-hsüeh Wei-yüan Hui assuming the responsibility of deliberation and planning. From criticisms levelled at the system it would seem Ts'ai's claim of equal emphasis on academic work and education had
not been achieved. Of the three special features attributed to the Ta-hsüeh-yüan the parallel use of President and University Council represented Ts'ai's consistent belief in democratic administration and the sharing of duties and responsibilities.

(c) The system of Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü 大學區 (University Districts).

Following the establishment of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan in October 1927, a system of Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was also introduced. The model for this was the French system of academies. In France the entire country (including Algiers) was, for the purpose of administering education, divided into seventeen academies in each of which there was a university. At the head of the academy was the Rector who was responsible for the conduct and control of education within the academy. He was both the president of the university and the chief representative of the Ministry of Public Instruction and Fine Arts. He was legally responsible for all branches of education but in practice devoted more attention to higher and secondary education. The Rector was assisted by an Academic Council which consisted of academy inspectors and representatives of higher and secondary education, departmental and communal councils and private secondary schools.
In China it was proposed to divide the country into Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü coinciding with the existing provinces, that is each province becoming a Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü. Each Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was to have a university known as the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh (named after Sun Yat-sen). Later it was decided that such universities should be named after the provinces: thus in the Chekiang Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü it would be Chekiang University and in the Kiangsu Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü it would be Kiangsu University. The head of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was the chancellor of the university, and he would manage all academic and educational matters within the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü.

Following the French system, there was to be a P'ing-i-hui (Council), but while the French Academic Council served 'as an advisory cabinet on problems of secondary education,' the P'ing-i-hui in China was merely the legislative body of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü. Within the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü would be established a research institute 'as the highest organ of academic research of the university.' Under the jurisdiction of the university chancellor were three other departments - the Department of Higher Education, the Department of General Education, and the Department of Extension Education, each with a
In effect, therefore, while the system of Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was copied from the French model, it preserved some features of the old Provincial Department of Education. Where it followed the French model was to place the chancellor of the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh in overall charge of all levels of education within the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü (which coincided with the province), whereas in the past this responsibility was held by the Provincial Commissioner of Education. Under this system the chancellor of the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh would be appointed by the President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and would be an academic or educator of some standing. Hence Ts'ai's aim of academic administration of education could be achieved if the system of Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was adopted throughout China.

In the early years of the Republic national universities were concentrated in the province of Hopei, in particular at Peking. Under the regulations of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü one university would be established in each province of China, and had this system been carried through China would have rapidly increased its number of universities as well as remedied the disproportionate concentration of universities.
in the north. This, however, was not to be. It was recommended that the division into Ta-hsüeh-chü be tried out first in the two provinces of Kiangsu and Chekiang, but later it was tried out in the Peiping region as well. After about one year's trial in these three areas the system was discarded because of public criticisms, and in October 1928 the Ta-hsüeh-yüan itself was abolished and the Ministry of Education re-established.22

Before discussing the various criticisms of the system and the reasons for its failure, it would be useful to outline the workings of the system. The Ta-hsüeh-chü was not run exactly the same way in the three provinces, but differences were slight. Kiangsu was the first province to try out the system and Hopei the last. In both provinces the system encountered difficulties and opposition.

The Kiangsu Ta-hsüeh-chü 江蘇大學區

In Kiangsu it began first with changing the Tung-nan Ta-hsüeh 東南大學 (Tung-nan University) into the Chiangsu Ta-hsüeh 江蘇大學 (Kiangsu University) which eventually became the Kuo-li Chung-yang Ta-hsüeh 國立中央大學 (National Central University). Prior to the establishment of the Kiangsu Ta-hsüeh-chü Kiangsu had a Provincial Department of Education which was responsible for
administering secondary and primary education in the province. This department was abolished and education in the province was administered by the Kiangsu University. The chancellor of the Kiangsu University who was appointed by the President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was also a member of the Kiangsu Provincial Government.  

At the top of the administrative ladder was the chancellor of the Kiangsu University who executed policies laid down by the P'ing-i-hui of which he was chairman. For administrative purposes the university was divided into four departments, namely, the Planning Department of the Research Institute, the Department of Higher Education, the Department of General Education, and the Department of Extension Education, each with a departmental head. The responsibilities of the head of the Planning Department of the Research Institute are self-evident. The Department of Higher Education was in charge of the following colleges: the College of Science, the College of Law, the College of Arts, the College of Education, the College of Medicine, the College of Agriculture, the College of Engineering, and the College of Commerce. The Department of General Education was responsible for secondary and primary education, while the Department of Extension Education administered the Labour College, the Public Library, the Lecturing Institute, and the Advisory Committee.
As far as the administration of the four branches of education was concerned the Ta-hsueh-ch'u differed little from the Provincial Department of Education, the two main differences being (1) the establishment of the p'ing-i Hui as a deliberative and legislative body so that control of education would not be in the hands of any one person, but in the hands of a group of academics and educators, (2) in effect making the Kiangsu Provincial Department of Education a part of the Kiangsu Central University. The University thus became an academic-cum-administrative institution for the whole province. While the introduction of a deliberative body into the administration of education is commendable, overburdening the chancellor of the university with the administration of secondary and primary education was an impractical move, as the criticisms levelled against the system indicate.

The p'ing-i Hui which was introduced to effect democratic administration of education consisted of the following members:

(1) A representative of the Ta-hsueh-yüan; the chancellor of the university; the chief secretary of the university; the director of higher education; the director of general education; the director of extension education; the director of the research institute; and the deans of colleges.

(2) Five representatives from the university professorial board.
(3) One chancellor and two professors from other universities in the province; five principals and teachers from middle schools; five educational administrators from the various hsien (districts), five principals and teachers from primary schools, three representatives from accredited educational bodies, and three from institutions of extension education.

(4) Five prominent educators of Kiangsu to be appointed by the chancellor.

Total membership of the P'ing-i-hui was 49. Of these, 21 were people connected with higher education and 15 connected with secondary and primary education. The figures show a preponderance of academics in the Council, a point which critics hastened to emphasize. However, it should be pointed out that the existence of a council was preferable to not having one at all, as in the case of the Provincial Department of Education.27

The Peiping Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü 北平大學區

The Peiping Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü included the two provinces of Jehol 熱河 and Hopei 河北 and the two cities of Tientsin and Peiping (Peking). The National University of Peking which had by then taken on the name of Kuo-li Chung-hua Ta-hsüeh 國立中華大學 (National Chung-hua University) was renamed the Kuo-li Pei-p'ing Ta-hsüeh 國立北平大學 (National Peiping University). The new chancellor was Li Shih-tsêng, known to be an enthusiastic supporter of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü. Li reorganized the existing
faculties of Art and Science into a College of Arts and a College of Science, and made the Women's University into a Branch College of Arts and Science. The Faculty of Law was made a College of Social Studies, which was distinct from the College of Law reconstituted from the University of Law and Politics. The Division of National Studies of the Peking University Research Institute was named the Kuo-hsüeh Yen-chiu-so (Institute of National Studies).

While all these changes were taking place the students of Peita were agitating for the restoration of the name National Peking University, by which name it had become well-known to the academic world within and without China. On account of this trouble Peking University remained closed. In the Spring of 1929 the Government withdrew the order which divided Peita into three colleges and renamed Peita the Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh-yuan (Peking University College) to be under the National Peiping University, but to the outside world it continued to be known as the National University of Peking. Peita therefore re-opened its doors with Ch'êng-Ta-ch'i as the principal. In August 1929 when the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü system was abolished, the Peiping University College became an
independent university again and assumed its original name of National University of Peking.\textsuperscript{30}

The developments described above show that the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü was viewed with disfavour not only by those connected with education at primary and secondary level but by certain university people as well, in particular the students and teachers of Peita. In the National Central University of the Kiangsu province too, it was felt that the amalgamation of eight different colleges and universities made the university too big, and, what with the additional responsibilities of administering middle and primary schools in the province, it was difficult to have all round efficiency.\textsuperscript{31}

2. \textbf{The Abolition of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and the Ta-hsueh-ch'ü.}

The Ta-hsüeh-yüan was established in July 1927.\textsuperscript{32} In June 1928 it received a petition from the Middle School Union of the Kiangsu Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü requesting that the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü system be discontinued. Their reasons were: (1) Interference from politics, (2) Unjust distribution of finance, (3) Reduced effectiveness of administration, (4) Bad influence on the atmosphere of schools from student unrest at the universities, (5) Power monopoly by 'educational warlords.'\textsuperscript{33}
The petitioners said that while the system of university districts was adopted for the expressed purpose of bringing about a more academized administration, the university chancellor could not do justice to his work of administering secondary and primary education because he was tied down with his responsibilities at the university. He was a member of the provincial government and therefore must take part in politics. When there was a change of government the chancellor with the university and all the schools in the province would be involved in the change. This would negate the very purpose of the system which was to introduce independent academic administration. The petitioners further pointed out that before the establishment of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan 30% of Soochow's educational expenditure was devoted to higher education and 54% to general education, but after the introduction of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü expenditure for general education was reduced, making it almost impossible to carry on. They also claimed that although expenditure for higher education had increased there had been no expansion of higher education, and there could be no justification for the increased expenditure. They charged that the university administrators were ignorant of the needs of middle and primary schools and were working against
the principle of universal education in building up an exclusive type of education. They called for the establishment of separate bodies to administer university and general education. 34

On the third point, the petitioners claimed that previously the Provincial Department of Education replied to letters from schools within one week at the latest but with the operation of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü system there had been cases of letters not answered for as long as three months. Middle school students had been influenced by the spate of student unrest among the university students and were beginning to follow suit. 'This,' said the petition, 'is the blessing of the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü system!' 35 Finally the petitioners criticized the proposed Academic Council which they said was dominated by university people, putting the power of appointing administrators, principals and teachers in the hands of a few academics. These people, they said, would become 'educational warlords.' Above all they complained that after such a long time the Council had not yet been formed, and the university chancellor had been the sole administrator. 36

Of the five reasons the first, second and the fifth seem to be more valid than the rest. Regarding political involvements of the university chancellor, the same may be
applied to the Provincial Commissioner of Education who had to work in conjunction with the provincial governor and could be just as vulnerable to political changes. However, it is true that too many responsibilities had been placed on the chancellor to allow for efficient execution of all of them, and the one year's trial of the system had demonstrated this impracticability. The chancellor of a Chinese university is the equivalent of the Vice-chancellor of a British university and is not merely a figure head. Hence his university responsibilities would be sufficient to occupy his full-time attention. This ties up with the second and fifth criticisms, namely, that general education tended to be neglected in favour of specialized and university education, since the academics predominated in the Council, and academics in the main were more interested in promoting higher education than general education, as Ts'ai himself was.37

The third reason was a very weak one, as the system had only been tried for a year and could well be suffering from teething troubles which only time could remedy. The question of increased student unrest could also have been coincidental, and unless the causes of these student troubles were known it was unfair and too early to put the blame on the Ta-hsueh-ch'u system. This was in fact what
the Ta-hsüeh-yüan requested in its reply to the petitioners, namely, to try out the system for a reasonable length of time in order that its merits or demerits may be known. 38

Other critics argued that 'education and administration should not be placed under the control of one institution or any one person' and that education and administration were two different things. The Ta-hsüeh-yüan was also criticized for placing too much emphasis on research to the neglect of primary and secondary education. 39 As criticisms came principally from those connected with primary and secondary education, and as the charge that there had been a neglect of secondary and primary education was levelled by nearly all the critics, it is fair to assume that during the short period of its experiment insufficient attention was given towards education at the lower level by the chancellors of the universities.

One Chinese writer attributed the failure of the system of Ta-hsüeh-chü to the fact that China was so vast a country in comparison with France, and what with her poor communications, the system could not succeed as it did in France. 41 While the question of the size of a country is important to the success and failure of administrative systems, it cannot be the sole reason. What seems important but has not been mentioned by the critics is the
question of liaison between the chancellor of the Ta-hsueh-ch'ü and the provincial government officials. The whole idea of introducing the Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü and bringing the administration of provincial secondary and primary schools under the jurisdiction of the regional university was to make educational administration independent of the Provincial Government, and therefore free from political interference. It is at least probable that the provincial governments concerned were not happy to relinquish their control over education in their provinces. As middle and primary schools were regarded as provincial responsibilities and therefore to be financed by provincial taxes it is hard to expect the provincial governors to provide funds for the schools without wanting some say in their administration. It is very likely that in the administration of secondary and primary schools, especially in the matter of finance, the chancellor of the university was hard put to obtaining the cooperation of the provincial governor and as a result the political complications referred to by the critics arose. This seems to be an important reason for the failure of the system of university districts, though in the absence of archival material from the universities and the provincial governments concerned the conclusion must remain conjectural.
3. The Achievements of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan.

Despite its short-lived existence of one year, the Ta-hsüeh-yüan did have some achievements, chief among which was the establishment of the Academia Sinica, the first national scientific research institute in China. Prior to that there were research institutes within universities, but no national research organization. The Academia Sinica still exists today, and is a living evidence of the achievement of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan of which Ts'ai was president. The next innovation of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was the establishment of the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh, an educational feature which is a precursor of the work-and-study colleges and universities favoured by the present government in China.

In fact Ts'ai's attitude towards labour resembles that of the present Communist leaders in China, though he had at various times dismissed Communism as an ideology that China need not adopt. Ts'ai was an advocate of equality among men, and in the Lao-tung Ta-hsüeh he sought to narrow the gap between physical and mental workers. In an article entitled 'Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Ti Ch'ü-shih' (The trends of Chinese Education) he said:
Labour is a most important thing in life... If we want every one to be productive then we must break up preconceptions about physical labour and mental labour. Where there is this kind of distinction it is easy for mental labourers to do mental work forever, and physical labourers to do physical work forever, gradually bringing into being two classes. In fact these two classes developed out of inequality of education. Therefore in order to remedy it there must be universal education. It is indeed important to enable those who do physical work to have knowledge, and those who do mental work to labour physically also. Mr Li Shih-tsêng has said: 'Every person must do at least three years' military service, work one year (presumably physical labour), so that mental labourers may cultivate the habit of labour, which is indeed a very good thing. Right now the Ta-hsueh-yuan has established a Labour University, divided into the Labour College and the Agricultural Labour College, which accept secondary and primary pupils to study and to cultivate the habit of labour. There is also a Workers' School to enable labourers to acquire some knowledge; we hope that in future there would be more of such schools.'

In view of the fact that in the past scholars were inclined to frown upon physical labour as below their station and dignity this emphasis on the sacredness of labour served to correct the old misguided concept. The emphasis on physical culture and physical activities had benefited China and the Chinese. Today the pale Confucian scholar who walked with his head lowered and body hunched is no more revered as the model to be emulated. On the contrary even women who in the past were proud of their three-inch lotus feet are learning to be as muscular and active as their European sisters, if not on the road
of becoming more so. All this owes a part to the value placed on physical labour by men such as Ts'ai and Li Shih-tseng culminating in the foundation of the Labour University.

Another achievement of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was the foundation of the National Academy of Music in November 1927 which was the first of its kind. As a result of the opening of this Academy music students could receive training without having to go abroad. Ts'ai, who was known for his keen interest in aesthetics was behind this venture. Plans were also made to establish an Art Academy and a number of museums. Generally, therefore, interest in the creative arts received a boost as a result of initiative taken by the Ta-hsüeh-yüan. Another achievement was the successful fight for independent control of educational finance by the Ta-hsüeh-yüan. In this move Ts'ai received the support of the Minister of Finance Sun K'o, son of Sun Yat-sen. On 26 December 1927 the Nationalist Government ordered the Ministry of Finance and all provincial and city governments to guarantee the independence of educational finance.

One last event that took place during the Ta-hsueh-yuan period was the National Educational Conference held at the Central University in Nanking from 15 May to 28 May
1928 at which many important resolutions were passed concerning the aims of education, educational administration, educational finance, general education, social education, military education, art education, and libraries.\textsuperscript{46} Ts'ai was both chairman and principal organizer of the Conference.\textsuperscript{47}

In retrospect, it appears that the reorganization of the Ministry of Education into the Ta-hsüeh-yūan was psychologically useful, although the same goals could have been achieved through streamlining the functions of the Ministry of Education. Instead of the Ta-hsüeh Wei-yūan Hui a Chung-yang Chiao-yü Hui-i \textsuperscript{(Central Education Conference)} could be formed with the same powers and functions to lay down the policies which the Minister of Education could execute. Under the Ministry of Education the same academic institutions such as the Labour University, the Academia Sinica, the Academy of Music, the Academy of Art, and National Museums could have been established. However, Ts'ai's idea was to dissociate the new administration from the name Chiao-yü Pu 教育部 which had acquired undertones of the corrupt bureaucracy of Peking. In establishing the Ta-hsüeh-yūan he hoped to make it, as far as possible, an institution free from political control. Initially its status was raised, becoming parallel to the National
Government, that is, the Ta-hsüeh-yüan was to be beyond the control of the National Executive, and thus become an independent national institution. At the second amendment of the Rules of Organization of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan its status was reduced and it came under the jurisdiction of the National Government. Had the superior status of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan been maintained it would have been one of the highest organs of the state, and the President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and its University Council would be able to pursue an independent educational policy. This was what Ts'ai hoped but failed to achieve.

The second innovation, that of the system of university districts copied from France, had less to commend itself. The Ta-hsüeh-yüan had to be abolished in the end because it was responsible for introducing the Ta-hsüeh-chü, a system which was severely criticized by teachers and educators in the province of Kiangsu and which caused a great deal of friction in its trial operation in the region of Hopei. In particular, the incorporation of the Peking University into the National Peiping University was most unacceptable to the students and teachers of Peita. Using the university to administer provincial education had a bad psychological effect, as it at once reminded the people
responsible for middle and primary school education that the administration was biased in favour of higher academic institutions. Even if in practice there was no prejudice against lower education, the use of the name Ta-hsueh (University) was unfortunate. Ts'ai's purpose in bringing all branches of education under one administrative organ was to facilitate planning and eliminate inconsistencies between general and university education. For example when he became chancellor of Peita he found that standards prevailing among the various colleges were uneven and he had to institute a preparatory department within the university to prepare students for matriculation. At the time he sanctioned the introduction of the system of Ta-hsüeh-chü, such problems must have been in his mind. However, if in introducing educational administration by one controlling body (the university) he had a wish to eliminate anomalies within the various levels of education, the practical result seems to have been the opposite. The criticisms levelled against the system show that there was a growing suspicion of the university and university administrators by the primary and secondary teachers and educators. This would have been unhealthy if allowed to persist, and the abolition of the Ta-hsüeh-chü system in
1928 seems to be a wise move under the prevailing circumstances.

It is interesting to note that when the National Government decided to abolish the Ta-hsūeh-yūan in October and 1928/replace it by the Ministry of Education, it gave the reason that 'in his Outline of Construction Dr Sun Yat-sen did not mention such an organization as the Ta-hsūeh-yūan.'

Such a naive reason was perhaps given in order to obviate the necessity of admitting that the innovation had failed, and to justify its abolition to those who might wish the system to be continued. It is a common practice for innovators to justify their schemes by referring to the Chinese tradition and since Sun Yat-sen was regarded as the most acceptable authority on issues concerned with the modernization of China, reference to him perhaps forestalled further dissatisfaction.

B. The Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan or Academia Sinica.

1. Precursor of the Academia Sinica - the Peking University Research Institute.

The establishment of the Academia Sinica in 1928 may be said to be the fulfilment of one of Ts'ai's personal goals in education. From the time he became chancellor of
Peking University in 1917 he had laid great stress on the importance of research to China's progress as a modern nation. As Chancellor of Peita he emphasized the research role of the university. In his study trips to Germany and France he had become convinced that the scientific and material advances of the West was the result of organized research carried out mainly in the universities. He believed that as a long term plan China should develop basic research in science and cultivate the ability to apply the scientific method in all fields of learning if she wished to keep pace with Western advancement. Hence his great emphasis on the role of research in a university.

Under the University Ordinance of 1912 (which incorporated some of Ts'ai's ideas) provision was made for establishing a Ta-hsüeh-yüan 大学院 (not to be confused with the Ta-hsüeh-yüan of 1927) as a research institute of the University of Peking. This replaced the T'ung-ju-yüan 通儒院 (Academy of Learned Scholars), a research institute of the old Ching-shih Ta-hsüeh-t'ang. At the Ta-hsüeh-yüan research was done mainly by the professors, though students were required to carry out some research work as partial fulfillment for their degrees. These were early attempts at introducing the fine traditions of the modern universities of the West.
In 1918 the Peking University established a Research Institute with a number of research schools. The Institute was concerned with the following:

1. Academic research; 2. Research in methods of lecturing; 3. The investigation of special problems; 4. Research in archaic Chinese; 5. The standardization of transliterated names; 6. Translation of famous works; 7. Introduction of new books; 8. Enlisting research correspondents; 9. Publishing magazines; 10. Giving awards in essay competitions. Initially nine research schools were established, namely, Chinese literature, English literature, philosophy, mathematics, physics, chemistry, law, politics, and economics. The Institute was responsible for publishing the 研究院 Quarterly. The professors in the Institute were expected to produce a paper each month either for publication or in the form of special lectures.52

In 1920 the Institute was re-divided into four schools - the Research School of Natural Sciences, the Research School of Foreign Languages, the Research School of Social Sciences, and the Research School of National (Chinese) Studies, the last not formally established until 1921. The Research Institute did not confer degrees but served only to provide independent research facilities for
the pursuit of knowledge. The same applied to the Academia Sinica when it was founded in 1928. In the Institute the British system of supervision of students was adopted. It also allowed students who could not attend at the research schools to study by correspondence. No information is available as to how this was possible in scientific research. Presumably this must refer to subjects which did not involve laboratory experiments. In accepting students the Research School of National Studies did not at first lay down entrance qualifications but accepted students on the basis of their learning. After 1927, however, only graduates of universities were acceptable as research students.

The establishment of the Peking University Research Institute was the result of Ts'ai's active encouragement as chancellor of the university. His principal aim was to promote scientific development and the practical application of scientific methods both of which were important to China in her process of modernization. In putting forward a motion for the establishment of research institutes in China at the Fourth National Congress of the Kuomintang Ts'ai said:
Education and culture are the roots of a nation, and scientific research is in particular the foundation of all things. Now that military exploits have ended in this country and political tutelage has begun, all work concerning national planning and the people's livelihood should be carried out; the training of specialist talents and the consolidation of research organizations are especially urgent tasks ... At the beginning of this period of political tutelage it seems that we should seek funds for the construction of universities and research institutes in order to promote the use of science and the training of specialists so that the foundation of political tutelage could be laid.56 (Translation by The Author)

Since the time of Yung Hung China has been sending students abroad for training in the arts and sciences of the West, but it was most important that in the long run China must train her own specialists and develop scientific knowledge from within. The establishment of research institutes was therefore an important aspect of modern education in China, in particular scientific education. It is for this reason that Ts'ai's contribution towards the establishment and development of the Academia Sinica should be highly viewed in the history of education and research in contemporary China.
2. **The Academia Sinica.**

(a) Its Foundation.

The idea of founding a Central Research Academy (Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan) was mooted by Dr Sun Yat-sen when he went north in the winter of 1924. He conceived of such a research organization as a means of laying the foundations for consolidating the revolution and constructing the country. Sun died in 1925 and the intended project was left in cold storage while the civil war in China raged. In May 1927, after the Nationalist Government had established its capital at Nanking, a proposal was made by Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Wu Chih-hui, Li Shih-ts'eng and Chang Jen-chieh at the 90th Meeting of the Central Political Committee for the establishment of research institutes at Nanking, Peiping, Chekiang and other provinces. An amended proposal was passed calling for the establishment of a central research academy at Nanking and a preparatory committee was formed comprising Ts'ai, Li, and Chang, thus fulfilling the will of Dr Sun Yat-sen. The idea mooted by Dr Sun Yat-sen was thus made a reality through the initiative of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei.
In July 1927 provisions were made in the regulations governing the Ta-hsüeh-yüan for the establishment of a central research institute and in November the 'Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan Chu-chih T'iao-li' 中央研究院組織條例 (Regulations for the Organization of the Central Research Academy) was promulgated. All necessary legislation had thus been passed for the establishment of the Kuo-li Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan 國立中央研究院 (Academia Sinica). Ts'ai, who was already President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan, was chosen as the first President of the Academia Sinica, while Yang Ch'üan 楊銓 was appointed Chief Secretary. At the same time Ts'ai was appointed member of the Institute of Social Science Preparatory Committee.

On 9 June 1928 the Academia Sinica was formally inaugurated as 'the highest organ of scientific research in China.' Its aims were to 'carry out scientific research and to direct, coördinate, and encourage research work throughout the nation in order to bring about scientific advancement and the glorification of mankind.' The Academia Sinica had plans to establish eleven research institutes, namely, Mathematics, Astronomy and Meteorology, Physics, Chemistry, Geology and Geography, Biological Science, Anthropology and Archaeology, Social Science, Engineering, Forestry and Medicine.
(b) The functions of the Academia Sinica.

As the aims of the Academia Sinica indicate, 'the primary motive in establishing the Academia Sinica was to promote the study of modern physical sciences in China.'\textsuperscript{66} It was not originally conceived to be primarily a research agency, but 'was intended to be a coordinating and directing organization which would assist other organizations working in their special fields with grants or other means, such as the promotion of international cooperation in research projects.'\textsuperscript{67} As it turned out, however, the Academia Sinica became much more than just a 'coordinating and directing organization,' but was itself actively engaged in scientific research and the training of scientists and research scholars. The Academia Sinica thus became both a national research organization and a post-graduate research institute, taking in promising graduates and scholars as research students. However, the Academia Sinica did not confer degrees on research students. In this respect it did not take over the function of university graduate schools, but, because post-graduate institutes were still scarce in China, the Academia Sinica served as an outlet for able graduates to receive further training without having to go abroad.
(c) Its Organization.

The Academia Sinica had a president who was the chief executive. According to the first set of regulations the post was to be filled by the head of the Department of Educational Administration of the Ta-hsueh-yuan, but in fact it was held by Ts'ai himself, who was President of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan. The Academia was to have a Council which was 'the highest Science Council of the whole country' and was comprised of thirty of the nation's specialist scholars appointed by the president, together with the heads of all research institutes as ex-officio councillors and the president as ex-officio Chairman of the Council. In accordance with the needs of China and within the limits of the financial position of the Academia the following four institutes were established first: (1) The Observatory at Nanking, with the two departments of Astronomy and Meteorology (later becoming two separate Institutes), (2) The Social Science Institute at Nanking and Shanghai, divided into the four departments of legal systems, ethnology, economics and sociology (for a short period headed by Ts'ai himself), (3) The Institute of Physics, Chemistry, and Industry at Shanghai, later becoming separate Institutes, (4) The Centre of Geological Survey, soon changing its name to Institute of Geology,
first at Shanghai and then shifting to Nanking. Before long the Institute of History and Philology was formed. 68

(d) Endowment.

The funds of the Academia for both Temporary and Recurrent Expenditure were provided by the National Government according to the budget. In addition the Academia was to seek an endowment fund of four million dollars from Government and private sources over a period of five years. Only the interest deriving from the fund and not the capital might be used up. But because of the drain on the national coffers by military expenditure, the Academia Sinica as well as all the national universities did not receive sufficient funds for current or temporary expenditure. On account of this Ts'ai proposed at the Fourth National Congress of the Kuomintang Central Executive Committee in December 1928 that of the Boxers' Indemnity Fund returned by Russia and Britain $5 millions should be taken out each year as security for issuing a $10 millions Educational and Cultural Construction Bond, which could be specially used to assist the national universities and research institutes to purchase library books and apparati, and the construction of buildings. 69
(e) Membership and Research Studentships of the Academia Sinica.

The Academia Sinica instituted two types of honorary memberships, namely individual honorary membership and corporate honorary membership. Chinese science specialists who had made important discoveries and contributions to science could, upon the proposal of one-third of the councillors and the unanimous approval of the Council, be elected as honorary members and would be given the privilege of access to the Academia's research facilities and free copies of the Academia's publications. Scientific research organizations of a certain standing could, upon the proposal of one-third of the councillors and the approval of two-thirds of the councillors, be elected to Corporate Honorary Membership and apart from the use of the Academia's research facilities would receive financial assistance. Foreign science specialists who had made important discoveries and contributions to science could be elected as Honorary Correspondents upon the motion of half the councillors and the unanimous approval of the Council. 70

Graduates of national universities, private universities registered by the Ministry of Education, or universities outside China recognized by the Academia would be eligible
for examination and selection. The research course was of two years' duration and students received an allowance of from thirty to fifty dollars per month. No fellowships were established by the Academia Sinica until 1946 (six years after the death of Ts'ai) although the question had been raised during the war years. In Ts'ai's time, therefore, there were only honorary members, foreign correspondents and research students.

(f) The progress of the Academia Sinica (1929-1940).

In the spring of 1929 the Historical and Natural Museum was established at Nanking and in the summer the Institute of Psychology was established at Peiping. In January 1932 the Institute of Social Sciences moved in its entirety to Nanking, and in 1934, the Institute of History and Philology also shifted to Nanking with the completion of its new premises. At this time also, the Historical and Natural Museum became the Institute of Zoology and Botany. Ts'ai, who had been head of the Institutes of Social Sciences relinquished this position which was taken over by T'ao Meng-ho 陶孟和. In the winter of 1935 the Institute of Psychology also moved from Peking to Nanking. By this time there were a total of ten research institutes in the Academia Sinica.
It appears that the people at that time did not yet fully recognize the value of theoretical research, and the Academia Sinica had to include some practical projects in order to demonstrate the value of the theoretical through the practical. Thus the Institute of Chemistry had a Glass Factory, and the Institute of Physics had a Instruments Factory, both of which made laboratory apparatus which were supplied for use in schools. By doing so the Academia Sinica was giving the lead for China to make her own scientific instruments. The Institute of Engineering had a steel and iron factory making all grades of coal, cast iron and steel which supplied the needs of engineering works. At times Shanghai industries obtained some of their important spare parts from this factory and consulted the Institute of Engineering on various technical problems. At the invitation of the provinces, the Institute of Geology carried out a survey of China's mineral deposits. In 1933 the Academia cooperated with the China Economic Committee and the Committee for the Control of Cotton Industries in establishing a Cotton Weaving and Dyeing Experimental Station to carry out research for the improvement of the weaving industry. 74
The Election of Councillors.

Although it was stated in the 'Regulations for the Organization of the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan' in 1927 that the Academia Sinica was to have a Council, nothing was done to implement this rule until 1935 when the 'Rules for the Organization of the Council' were published. The reasons given were that China was still not advanced in science and there were very few scientists in the country, and it was a problem electing thirty specialists to sit on the Council. The first election of councillors took place in June 1935 and among the thirty scholars and specialists elected were Li Shu-hua 李書華, Chu Chia-hua 朱家騏, Hu Shih, and Chao Yüan-jén 趙元任. The powers of the Council were: fixing the objectives of the Academia's research work; promoting academic cooperation and mutual assistance within and outside China; receiving orders from the Government on all academic and research matters; electing honorary members of the Academia; and in the event of the president's post falling vacant, the nomination of three candidates from whom the new president would be appointed by the National Government.
3. Ts'ai's contribution to the Academia Sinica.

Ts'ai's contribution to the Academia Sinica is four-fold: he was responsible for introducing the proposal at the Central Political Committee of the Kuomintang which paved the way for the establishment of the Academia Sinica; he was personally responsible for making preparations for its establishment; he had a personal interest in the Institute of Social Science, in particular the Department of Ethnology (which had developed into the present Institute of Ethnology), and was for a period the Head of the Institute and a research student of ethnology; and lastly he was president of the Academia from its foundation in 1927 until his death in 1940.

The part played by Ts'ai in initiating and making preparations for the establishment of the Academia Sinica was an important one. However, details of this preparatory work are not available, and it is not possible to discuss the extent of Ts'ai's contribution. It may be safely assumed that as the prime mover of the scheme, Ts'ai contributed more than any other person in preparing the ground for the foundation of the Academia Sinica.
(a) Ts'ai's Contribution to Ethnology and the Department of Ethnology.

Ts'ai was one of those tireless scholars who believed that age was no barrier to learning. He began his studies in Germany and France when he had already reached the age of forty. When he founded the Academia Sinica he was 59 years of age. At 60 he enrolled himself as a research student in ethnology in the Institute of Social Sciences of which he was the head for several years. His contribution to ethnology was therefore twofold. Firstly, he was responsible for developing this new discipline in China, as it was under his direction that the Department of Ethnology was formed. When he was chancellor of Peking University he introduced courses on ethnology and personally taught aesthetic courses along the lines of ethnological theories. Thus when he headed the Institute of Social Sciences he strongly advocated and pioneered ethnological studies.

When the Academia Sinica was being established in 1927 Ts'ai had intended to have a separate Institute of Ethnology, but owing to the lack of qualified personnel and finance it did not materialize. Instead a Department of Ethnology was established in the Institute of Social Science (later transferred to the Institute of History and Philology), of which he was the head. His policy as head
of the Department of Ethnology was to lay emphasis on field work. In the past Chinese studies on race and culture had relied solely on classics, historical writings and other secondary material; they lacked first hand investigation. Ts'ai recognized this deficiency in ancient Chinese scholarship and advocated direct discovery and field investigations as the only scientific method for formulating ethnological theories. To this end he instructed researchers in his department to undertake field surveys in various parts of China. His staff members visited and studied the Yao-jén 儒人 in Kwangsi, the Kao-shan-jên 高山人 in Taiwan, the Hsieh-chê-tsu 赫哲族 (Goldi) in Manchuria, the Miao-tsu 苗族 in Hunan, and the Hsieh-min 畲民 in Chekiang. 81

The Department of Ethnology also subsidized H. Stubel, a German professor at the T'ung-chí Medical University in Shanghai, and Liu Hsien 劉咸 of Shantung University, to study the Li-jên 羌人 of Hainan Island in 1933. Between 1934 and 1937 various scholars were sent to Yunnan to study the diverse aboriginal tribes there. 82 In all these studies and surveys scientific results were obtained. Under Ts'ai's direction, therefore, the foundation for scientific research in ethnology was laid.
Ts'ai also saw the need of building up a Museum of the Chinese Races both to supply material for ethnological studies and to represent the culture of each race. In 1932 a German ethnologist, Professor Dantzel was appointed to assist in planning the establishment of the museum. A great number of specimens and photographs of Chinese and foreign races were collected, but owing to financial problems, Dantzel's plan could not be realized, and instead an Ethnological Display Room was established in the Academia Sinica. In 1934 a Department of Anthropology was added and together with the Department of Ethnology they came under the Institute of History and Philology. Ts'ai was head of the Department of Ethnology for six years, from 1928 to 1934. In addition to directing the research work of members of his department he was himself engaged in studying ethnological problems, the results of which were published in three articles, entitled 'Shuo Min-ts' u-hsüeh' (On Ethnology) 1926, 'Shê-hui hsueh Yu Min-ts' u-hsüeh' 社會學與民族學 (Sociology and Ethnology) 1930, and 'Min-ts' u-hsüeh Shang Chih Chin-hua Kuan' 民族學上之進化觀 (The Evolutionary Concept of Ethnology) 1934. Summing up Ts'ai's contribution to ethnological studies in China Professor Ho Lien-kwei, 何聯奎 a current editor of the
Bulletin of the Institute of Ethnology, Academia Sinica, wrote in the issue commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the death of Ts'ai:

Dr. TSAI personally implemented many research programs as [sic] worked on numerous special projects. His tireless and selfless dedication to our country and academic work, his inspiring spirit, his genteel character, and for sure, his actual contributions and achievements rendered him a G. W. Leibnitz of China.

One can probably never over-praise Dr. TSAI. 84

(b) Ts'ai's contribution to the Academia Sinica, as its first President.

As President Ts'ai was noted for his liberal administration and active encouragement of scientific research, as his interest in ethnological studies has already shown. In managing the Academia Sinica, Ts'ai chose scholars of real ability to be directors of the various institutes, and those with scientific knowledge and skill in leadership as directors-general. For example, among the directors-general were Dr Ting Wên-chiang (V.K. Ting)丁文江, one of China's great geologists and leader of the Chinese Geological Survey; Dr Fu Ssú-nien傅斯年, a historian who became the first post-war President of the National Taiwan University; and Dr Chu Chia-hua朱家驥, educator and administrator and one time
Minister of Education. As an administrator Ts'ai was well respected as the pillar of the whole institution. This was so because he did not interfere in trifling matters but allowed the director-general and the directors of the various institutes to exercise their powers and utilize their special abilities. In academic matters Ts'ai respected the views of all scholars and allowed them to give expression to their ideas and theories. It seems clear that Ts'ai's enlightened administration provided the right atmosphere for research and study.

In 1935, following the principle of democratic administration, Ts'ai called for an election of the first batch of councillors to form the Council. Candidates were first chosen by the national universities and independent colleges, and at a meeting of the chancellors of all national universities and the president of the Academia Sinica a ballot was taken to elect thirty persons whose names would then be sent to the National Government for the appointments to be made. The term of office of councillors was five years. The process of double election was aimed at selecting the best talents to serve on the Council.
As already mentioned previously, the people at that time did not always see the need for carrying out research that did not have visible practical results. As president of a national research organization Ts'ai had to persist with the promotion of scientific research, whether theoretical or practical, and at the same time justify to the nation the money spent by the institution. To do so he had to have certain principles in running the institution and to bring across these principles to the lay members of the Government and the public. In a speech to the Council of the Academia Sinica which was passed as the 'Outline of Work' Ts'ai said:

In the study of scientific problems, no matter whether they concern experimental science, scientific recording, or humanistic science, we should in all cases decide the priority of the work in accordance with their intrinsic importance and should not rashly use visible results and direct application as the restrictive standard. This is because a number of skills which have the broadest of application and the highest economic value are based in the first instance on scientific research which on the surface appears to belong to trifling aspects of the pure sciences. Then there are some scientific researches which do not have any economic value nor any application to speak of; for instance a number of humanistic problems can indeed open up avenues of knowledge through spreading theories of truth, and increase the understanding of human evolution; though its influence is slow and indirect, its results are sometimes all the greater.
From another standpoint, there are many sciences which develop out of the needs of practical application. Many of the results of research in the pure sciences are the foundations of applied sciences, and in pursuing the study of applied sciences problems of the pure sciences are often indicated, apart from the added convenience of providing instruments. Therefore the two must be complementary; if only one is emphasized it may result in nothing. [The text says, it may result in elimination of one or the other.] Besides, the number of practical problems which the nation and society wish to study at this time is numerous. The Academia Sinica agrees that it should devote a small portion of its energy towards this matter. 88

Ts'ai's speech shows that he understood the true spirit of research as well as the relative importance of pure and applied sciences. His principle that priority of research work must be based on the intrinsic importance of the research project and not on whether it had immediate practical application indicates that he viewed scientific research as a long-term matter. It is certain that not all the people concurred with this view, and he had to be a little flexible in the application of this principle of scientific research. Ts'ai himself was perhaps a little biased in favour of research in the pure sciences, but to serve the immediate needs of the country he had to strike an even balance. Balance and accommodation were in fact Ts'ai's characteristic qualities, qualities which made him a great man in the eyes of the educated Chinese.
In retrospect, it may be noted that although the Ta-
hsüeh-yüan was an innovation that was shortlived, it had one
positive result, that is, the establishment of the Academia
Sinica which placed scientific and academic research on its
right footing. The need of a backward, unindustrialized
country such as China during the early decades of this
century was material and technological progress, which could
only be achieved through the advancement of scientific
knowledge. The Academia Sinica was founded to supply this
need through the pursuit of research in the sciences.

As founder president of the Academia Sinica Ts'aoi had
pioneered research work in China and created a new tradition
of scholarship, namely, the advancement of knowledge and
the discovery of new theories. The aims of scholarship and
learning had thus been broadened from the mere training of
bureaucrats and classical scholars to a greater understanding
of human life and the natural world. Traditional Chinese
scholarship which was mainly empirical was soon to be found
inadequate for seeking truths and discovering new theories,
and the importance of direct experimentation and field
enquiries was increasingly recognized.

The establishment of the Academia Sinica in 1928 was a
practical step forward in China's modernization and
industrialization. Research in both the natural and social sciences had to go hand in hand with improvement in technology in order that the nation might truly progress. Furthermore science and technology are complementary: there could be no technological advancement without scientific progress. The Academia Sinica - the precursor of today's Academy of Sciences - thus heralded China's entry into the scientific age.
CHAPTER FIVE

1. This word 'academize' is used by the present writer as a translation of the Chinese term hsüeh-shu-hua 蝨術化 which means 'to make academic,' or 'to raise the academic level of' and should not be associated with its usual meaning of 'to form into an academy' as given in the Oxford English Dictionary.

2. Chiao-yü Tsa-chih, XIX, 7, 'Chiao-yu Chieh Hsiao-hsi'

3. Ibid.


6. 'Academy' was the name given in France to the regions into which the country was divided for the purpose of administering education. In China it was called Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü 大學區 (University Districts). See pp.166 ff.

7. Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh 中山大學 (named after Sun Yat-sen whose courtesy name was Chung-shan 中山) was initially the name given to the national university designated by the Ta-hsüeh-yüan as the principal university of each university district.

8. Ta-pao, I, 1 (January 1928), 80.

9. Ibid.

The functions of the Department of Educational Administration relative to the university districts were not stated. The conclusions given could only be tentative.
10. In translating the names of these committees a more idiomatic rendering has been sacrificed for brevity and adherence to the Chinese word-order. The Chinese names were:

政治教育委員會, 教育經費計劃委員會, 考試制度委員會, 科學教育委員會, 藝術教育委員會, 華僑教育委員會, 譯名統一委員會, 體育指導委員會, 其他專門委員會.

_Ta-pao, I, 1 (January 1928), 80._

Also see Yü Shu-lin, _Chung-kuo Chiao-yü Shih_, II, 976.

11. See chapter eight for Ts'ai's views on physical labour.

12. _Ta-pao, I, 1 (January 1928), 63._

13. Ts'ai, 'Ta-hsüeh-yüan Kung-pao Fa-k'an Tzŭ,' _ibid._, 89; also printed in _I-wên_, 354-355.

14. See chapters one and seven.


16. This point is further discussed, _Section 2_ below.

17. Ho Ping-sung, _op. cit._, 108.

18. The account is taken from I. L. Kandel, _Comparative Education_, 272-73.

19. 'Ta-hsüeh-ch'ü Chu-chih T'iao-li' 大學區組織條例 in _Ta-pao, I, 1 (January 1928), 13._

20. _Ibid._

21. In the Chinese text the term pu-chang 部長 (Minister) was used, but to avoid confusion with Ministers in the Central Government, it has been translated as 'director.'

22. Ting Chih-p'ing, 176.

26. See below p.177.
27. Chang Chi-hsin, 115.
29. Ch'en Ta-chi 陳大齊 (1887 - ). Educator. Born in Haiyen, Chekiang and educated at the Tokyo Imperial University. He was professor of the National University of Peking (1914-1928) and Acting Chancellor from 1928-1930. From 1928-1930 and 1931-1933 he served as Secretary-General of the Examination Yuan, in 1933-1934 he was Vice-chairman of the Examination Commission, and from 1935-1948 he headed the Examination Yuan. With the ascendancy of the Chinese Communist Party he moved to Taiwan where he was a professor at the National University of Taiwan from 1949-1954. Since 1954 he has been President of the National Chengchih University. His writings included Applied Logic, Indian Logic, and *The Philosophy of Hsün-tzu*. See *Asia's Who's Who* 1957, 74.
31. Huang Cheng-ming, 黃正銘 'Kuo-li Chung-yang Ta-hsueh Ch'i Erh,' 閣立 中央大學(院) in *Ta-hsüeh-chih*, I, 10.
32. Ting Chih-p'ing, 142.
34. *Ibid*.
35. *Ibid*.
36. *Ibid*.
37. Hsüan-chi, 287-295, 'I.'
38. 'Ta-hsüeh-yüan Chih-ling No. 576' 大学院指令 (29 June 1928) in Ta-pao, I, 8 (August 1928), 48.

39. Tai Chin-hsieo, 141.

40. Ibid.

41. Huang Chien-chung, 309.

42. See Chapters one and eight.

43. See chapter eight.

44. 'Chung-kuo Chiao-yu Ti Ch'ü-shih' 中央法令, quoted in Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 230.

45. Ta-pao, I, 2 (February 1928) 'Chung-yang Fa-ling' 中央法令, 4.

46. Chiao-yu-pu Kung-pao, II, 18 (1929) 'Chi-tsai' Chi-tsai 39-124. Also see Ting Chih-p'ing, 163-64.

47. Ibid.


49. Hsüan-ch'i, 'I.'

50. Huang Chien-chung, 308.

51. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, op. cit., 670.

52. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 234-5, quoting 'Pei-ching Ta-hsueh Yen-chiu-so Chih Nei-yung' 北京大学研究所之 内容 in Tung-fang Tsa-chih, March 1918.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., 235.

55. Ibid.

56. 'Ssu-chung Ch'üan-hui T' i-an' 四中全會提案, Yen Hsing Lu Erh, 'Tsa-chu' 推薦, 74-75.
57. **Yung Hung** 容閎 was born in Macao in 1828. He went to study at Yale University in 1847 and graduated in 1854. He was the first Chinese who advocated sending students for studies abroad. In 1872 he and **Ch'ên Lan-pin** 陳蘭彬 were supervisors of the first batch of students sent for studies in the United States of America.

See Shu Hsin-ch'eng, I, 192.

58. **Chung-yung Yen-chiu Yüan Kai-k'uang**, I.

59. **Chang Jen-chieh** 張人傑 was an important member of the Kuomintang, and said to be the brain behind Chiang Kai-shek. Born of a rich family, he went for studies in France during the last years of the Manchu reign. In Paris he met Wu Chih-hui and Li Shih-tsêng; together they started an anarchist movement. There he met Sun Yat-sen who had gone to France to win support for the revolutionary cause. Chang assisted Sun's revolutionary endeavours by his substantial material contributions. He assisted in the establishment of the Nanking Provisional Government of 1912, but after the failure of the 2nd revolution (to oust Yüan Shih-k'ai) he escaped to France and engaged in business. He continued to seek funds for the revolutionary cause. Later he returned to Shanghai and opened a Ch'ien-chuang 錢莊 (old styled bank). After Sun Yat-sen's death Chang Jen-chieh, like Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei was regarded as an elder statesman in the government. In 1926 he was made member of the Chien-Ch'êa Yuan 報案院. He supported Chiang Kai-shek in his opposition to the Wuhan faction of the Party. In 1928 when Chiang was engaged in the Northern Expedition, Chang acted as president of the Chinese government.

See Gendai Chîka Minkoku Manshū Teikoku Jinmei Kan, 337, and Max Perleberg, Who's Who in Modern China, 4-5.
61. Yang Ch'üan 杨铨 tzu Hsing-fou杏佛 (1892-1933),
native of Kiangsi. After graduating from the
Nan-yang Kung-hsüeh 南洋公学 he became a secretary
in the office of the Provisional President Sun
Yat-sen. In 1912 he entered Cornell University in
America where in 1914 he cooperated with other
Chinese students to form the China Science Society
中國科學社 . In 1918 he returned as Accountant
of the Han-yeh-p'ing Coal and Iron Works. In 1921
he was appointed a professor of engineering at the
Tung-nan University 東南大学 but was dismissed in
1924 on account of his teaching of revolutionary
thought. He went to Shanghai and when Dr Sun
Yat-sen went north Yang became his secretary. In
1927 he was appointed a member of the Executive
Committee of the Kuomintang in Shanghai as well
as its propaganda chief. The same year he became
head of the Department of Educational Administration
of the Ta-hsüeh-yüan and henceforth was closely
associated with Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei. He was subsequently
appointed head of the General Affairs Department
of the Academia Sinica as well as head of the
economic division of the Institute of Social
Sciences. In 1932 Yang Ch'üan together with Ts'ai
Yüan-p'ei, Sung Ch'ing-ling and others organized the
China League for Civil Rights 民權保障同盟 and
probably on account of his active participation
in the work of this League he was murdered the
following year.

See Gendai Chūka Minkoku Manchū Teikoku Jinmei Kan,
508 and Ts'ai Shang-sst, 82-83.


64. Ibid.

65. Ibid.

66. Taiwan's Academia Sinica, 3.

67. Ibid. 4.


69. 'Ssu-chung Ch'üan-hui T'i-an' op. cit., 74-75.

70. Chiao-yü Ta Tz'u-shu, 49.


72. Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yuan Kai-k'uang, 6.

73. T'ao Meng-ho 陶孟和 ming Li-kung顧金 (1887- ), native of Tientsin. After graduating from a higher normal school in Tokyo, he went for higher studies at the University of London. On his return he became a professor at the Pei-ching Kao-teng Shih-fan Hsueh-hsiao 北京高等師範學校 and later Professor of Politics at the University of Peking. He was also an editor of the Commercial Press in Shanghai. In 1929 he represented China at the Third Conference for the Study of Pacific Problems, and in 1933 became a member of the Legislative Yuan and principal of the Nan-ching Shê-hui Yen-chiu So. 南京社會研究所. The books he wrote included Shakai To Kyoiku 社會と教育, Shê-hui Wên-t'i 社會問題, and Meng-ho Wên-ts'un 孟和文存. See Gendai Chuka Minkoku Manshu Teikoku Jinmei Kan, 428.
74. Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yüan K'ai-k'uang, 2.

75. Ibid., 3.

76. Li Shu-hua 李書華 tzü Jun-chang(1890- ). A native of Hopei, Li studied in France where he obtained his Licencie es Sciences from the Université de Paris in 1919 and his Docteur es Sciences Physiques, Paris in 1922. From 1922 to 1929 he was Professor of Physics at the National University of Peking. He was also Acting President of the Université Franco-Chinoise de Pekin (1925-1928), Acting President of the National Peiping University (1928-1929), and Vice-President of the National Academy of Peiping (1929). In 1931 he was Vice-Minister and then Minister of Education. He was Trustee for the Sino-British Educational and Cultural Endowment Fund from 1931 to 1949 and Chinese delegate to the Commission Mixte des Oeures Franco-Chinoises from 1935 to 1956. In 1947 he was a delegate of the Kuomintang National Assembly. He was delegate to the UNESCO Conference from 1945 to 1949 and Chief Delegate in 1952. He has translated the books 'La Permeabilité selective des membranes polarisées' and 'La création variétés nouvelles agricoles et horticoles.'


77. Chu Chia-hua 朱家騫 tzü Liu-hsien(1893-1963). Born in Chekiang, he went for further education in Berlin where he obtained his Ph.D. degree. In 1926-1927 he was a professor at the National University of Peking and from 1927-1931 a professor at the National Sun Yat-sen University. He was Chancellor of the National Central University at Nanking from 1930-1932 and Minister of Education from 1932-1933. He served for several years in various government departments and from 1936-1938 was Secretary-General of the Academia Sinica. Subsequent to 1938 he continued to hold important posts in the Nationalist Government, and was Vice-President of the Examination Yuan from 1949-1950. He was for a number of years Senior Adviser to President Chiang Kai-shek and President of the Academia Sinica in Taiwan. He died in 1963.

Born in Tientsin, Chao Yüan-jén obtained his B.A. degree from Cornell University in 1914 and his Ph.D. from Harvard University in 1918. He was instructor in physics at Cornell University (1919-20) and instructor in philosophy and Chinese at Harvard University (1921-24). From 1925 to 1929 he was Professor of Chinese at the National Tsinghua University. Since 1929 he has been a Research Fellow of the Academia Sinica. He was Visiting Professor at the University of Hawaii (1938-39) and at Yale University (1939-41). From 1947 to 1952 he was Professor of Oriental Language and Linguistics at the University of California. He is at present Agassiz Professor of Oriental Language and Literature Emeritus of the same university.

His publication include: New Book of Rhymes, Studies in the Modern Wu Dialects, Phonetics of Yao Folksongs, Love Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama, Chungsiang Dialect, Mandarin Primer, etc.

1. Aims of Education under a Republic

In his capacity as the first Minister of Education of Republican China Ts'ai released a statement in February 1912 setting out the aims of education in a republic. This announcement was later published in various periodicals and had some impact on educational trends in the first few decades of this century. Entitled 'Tui-yü Chiao-yü Fang-chên Chih I-chien' (My views on the objectives of education) it represented one of Ts'ai's most important expositions on education and serves well as the basis for discussing his educational thought.

Ts'ai drew a distinction between what he called 'Li-shu Chêng-chih Chih Chiao-yü' (education subordinated to politics) and 'Ch'ao-tieh Chêng-chih Chih Chiao-yü' (education transcending politics). Whereas the former was typical in despotic or autocratic régimes, the latter, in his opinion, should be characteristic of a republican government. He further listed three types of education under the first category and two under the second, viz., 'Chün Kuo-min Chiao-yü'.
軍國民教育 (national military education), 'Shih-li Chu-i Chiao-yü' 實利主義教育 (utilitarian education) and 'Kung-min Tao-tê Chiao-yü' 公民道德教育 (civic and moral education) on the one hand, and 'Mei-kan Chiao-yü' 美感教育 (aesthetic education) and 'Shih-chieh-kuan Chiao-yü' 世界觀教育 ('world-view' education) on the other. He thought it was desirable to start with national military education and proceed to the others, culminating in world-view education.

Although Ts'ai did not spell out in detail the different types of education it can be surmised that by national military education he meant on the one hand inculcating the martial spirit and on the other putting students through regular military training. National military education was considered the first requirement in view of China's weakness before the Western nations. Introducing military education in schools could eventually ensure that China had a military force powerful enough to meet the exigencies of foreign aggression. Secondly, it was hoped that the universal adoption of this system of education would prevent the permanent ascendancy of the army. Ts'ai's argument was that after a military revolution China had to pass through a period of military rule, and unless the whole nation became military people the militarist society would remain
as a special class wielding sole power over the rest of the people. This system of military education must necessarily be state-controlled, and therefore belonged to the category of education subordinate to politics. Having himself supported the revolutionary movement which overthrew the Manchu government by force Ts'ai was fully cognizant of the need for a strong China. Together with Sun Yat-sen and other revolutionaries, Ts'ai had seen that force was the only means whereby a corrupt government could be supplanted, as peaceful reforms such as those advocated by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao had proved futile. Though a traditional Chinese scholar, Ts'ai had at one stage donned military dress and received military training, and had also been involved in the secret making of bombs in preparation for the revolt.\(^5\) Having recognized the power of military might he saw its importance in the building of a new China. The construction of a strong China would depend not merely on the immediate building up of China's military forces but also on a system of education that trained the people in the martial spirit - a tradition markedly lacking in China.\(^6\) A militarist form of education was therefore regarded not by Ts'ai alone but by many other revolutionary leaders as China's first need.
A second type of education that should follow though not necessarily supplant military education was utilitarian education because once the nation had become strong, military education would become less important. Utilitarian education, which was also subordinate to politics, was education for a livelihood. Presumably this type of education would provide pupils with the necessary knowledge and skill for earning a living. It would also mean a more practical form of education emphasizing mathematics, science and technology. Utilitarian education was aimed at developing the mental resources of the people and the material resources of the country in order to raise the peoples' standard of living. It was purely materialistic, and combined with military education would enable China to become militarily and materially independent. China must have might and wealth to survive in a world where competition and the principle of 'survival of the fittest' prevailed, and she could reach this stage through military and utilitarian education.

Ts'ai did not however stop at the material level. He realized that education should also aim at the intellectual and moral improvement of the individual.
This would take the form of civic and moral education. Here Ts'ai was merely endorsing the traditional Chinese concept of education so far as the inculcation of morals was concerned. In the West moral training was considered the responsibility of the Church but in China education involved a mastery of the Confucian code which provided a moral guide for different levels of human relationships - relationship between the ruler and the ministers, between father and son, between husband and wife, and between friends. Ts'ai's third type of education was therefore a traditional one.

He suggested the three principles of 義 (righteousness), 禮 (reciprocity), and 恆 (benevolence) as the basis of moral education, equating them with the liberté, égalité and fraternité of the French Revolution. He believed that all men in this world should have an equal chance in life, and that there should be no exploitation of one group of people by another. This was essentially a socialist concept, though Ts'ai did not refer to it as such. Ts'ai was fully converted to the French ideas of liberté, égalité and fraternité, and tried to draw parallel concepts from the classical Chinese moral code to validate his incorporation of these ideas in the new Chinese society.
Ts'ai's identification of the classical concept of 仁 (righteousness) with the liberté of the French Revolution is far-fetched. In the first place 仁 was originally a feudalistic concept whereas the liberté of the French Revolution was the opposite. As Ts'ai himself knew, 'liberty' was one of the three slogans used by the French revolutionists in the overthrow of the French monarchy, and the word would imply freedom from the rule of kings, freedom from slavery and from all forms of restrictions on personal liberty. It was the liberty of enslaved and oppressed people with a stronger connotation than the general term 'freedom.' The word 仁 in classical Chinese morality had the meanings of right conduct, righteousness, public-spiritedness, patriotism, loyalty and faithfulness to the emperor and to friends, and integrity. Even in its modern usage the word 仁 could not be taken to mean freedom or liberty without stretching the meaning of liberty too far. To illustrate the idea of liberty Ts'ai quoted the Confucian saying 'You cannot conquer the will of even a common person' as well as from Mencius who said:

A great man cannot be debauched by riches, moved by poverty or cowed by force. 10

The two quotations illustrate the classical idea of 仁 but not the post-Revolution French idea of liberty. Of course
one could take liberty to mean the will to be free and the courage, righteousness and integrity involved in the assertion of freedom, but then there are many other human qualities which have the attributes of will-power, courage, righteousness and the like. Ts'ai rightly pointed out that one's freedom was limited by the right to freedom of the other person, which would imply righteousness, but it is doubtful if the revolutionists of France in 1789 were thinking of this kind of freedom. Freedom to them was liberty from oppression.

The equation of shut 恪 (reciprocity) to egalité was more justifiable. Ts'ai quoted from Confucius and his disciple Tzu-kung 子貢 to illustrate this point. Confucius said: 'What you want not yourself give not to others,' while Tzu-kung said: 'What I do not wish others do to me I must also not do to them.' The two quotations illustrate the Confucian idea of shut very well but also reveal in shut the idea of equality. Reciprocity implies a recognition of the equality of men, and theoretically at least a rich man should not treat a poor man with disrespect or unfairly, though of course he often did. Thus while theoretically reciprocity has the attributes of equality, in practice the equality of the French Revolution had
significant differences from the Chinese concept of shu, partly because the two concepts belonged to different eras and were framed for different circumstances.

The association of jen (benevolence) with fraternité is more appropriate, though jen which has the connotation of charity and love implies a greater depth of feeling and emotion than fraternity which is more akin to friendliness. To illustrate the idea of jen he quoted Confucius' saying: 'What you wish to establish yourself, establish also for others; what you wish to achieve yourself, achieve also for others.'

His illustration shows that jen is closer to the idea of charity or love as expounded in the Christian Bible. It would seem, therefore, that the three Chinese moral virtues of i, shu and jen do not fit in very well with the three slogans used by the French revolutionists who stormed the Bastille in 1789. Ts'ai's purpose in drawing the parallels was to justify the inclusion of moral training in the school curriculum by pointing to the fact that the French revolutionists, who must be regarded as modern and progressive, esteemed moral qualities similar to those of traditional China. Therefore he contended that i, shu and jen which formed the root of morality should be the components
of civic and moral education, and as these corresponded with liberty, equality and fraternity, these latter qualities must also be the bases of civic and moral education. By thus bringing in the traditional Chinese moral virtues, Ts'ai justified the introduction of moral concepts emanating from Europe, in particular, Europe after the French Revolution.

However, civic and moral education was still not free from political control. Ts'ai felt that life in this world should have a deeper meaning than merely being good citizens and practising freedom, equality and fraternity in a limited sense. He divided the world into the phenomenal and the noumenal, the one was shallow and transient, the other profound and enduring. The full enjoyment of life should extend beyond the basic necessity of possessing the material requirements for self-preservation and peaceful co-existence. There was need for a wider concept of life and a nourishment of the deeper self in man - what Christians call the soul. To fulfil these last two Ts'ai advocated aesthetic and world-view education. He saw in aesthetics a bridge between the phenomenal and the noumenal worlds, calling it 'a combination of beauty and dignity' 合美麗與尊嚴 ¹³ Ts'ai hoped that

(Ho Mei-Kan yà Chun-yen)
through aesthetics, ordinary emotions such as love, hate, and anger may be made feelings of beauty. Art uses ordinary phenomena and makes them into things of beauty. Things that are beautiful come into contact with the noumenal world, which is above the ordinary physical plane. Aesthetic education leads on to world-view education which is the ultimate aim in education. Both aesthetic education and world-view education are grouped under the category of 'education that transcends politics.'

From what we can deduce, world-view education would be a form of education that inculcates in the pupils a global concept of life, transcending the boundaries of nationalism and politics. It neither seeks to provide the means for a livelihood nor to inculcate moral virtues. Recipients of such an education learn to view the cosmos and all its inhabitants as a whole. Any objective approach to life replaces prejudice and pure emotionalism. Man becomes one with Nature and differences between people cease to be a factor in life. Ts'ai made this clear in the following excerpt:

Following upon the universal rule of freedom of thought and speech, it should not be fettered by any one school of philosophy nor any one sect of religious teaching, but should always hold a frameless and timeless world-view as its target.

(Translation by the author)
Ts'ai analysed the five types of education in a number of ways. Speaking of Western education he regarded the education of the Greeks as a combination of national military and aesthetic education because it included physical education and art. He mentioned the European educationist Johan Friedrich Herbart as an advocate of aesthetic education and John Dewey of America as a supporter of utilitarian education. In their psychological aspects he said that national militarism was close to will, utilitarianism close to knowledge, morality included both will and emotion, aesthetics was close to emotion, and world-view combined all the three. As analysed by educationists national militarism would be physical training, utilitarianism would be intellectual training, citizenship, morality and aesthetics would all be close to moral training, and the world-view would combine all three. Using human anatomy as illustration, national militarism would be the ligaments and bones used for self-defence, utilitarianism would be the stomach and intestines used for nourishment, civic and moral education would be the organs of breathing and circulation which pass through the whole body, aesthetics would be the nerve faculty which conducts, and world-view would be attached to the nerve faculty with a psychological
function. The illustration serves to show the indis-

pensability of all the five. In dividing education into
the five types, national militarism would take up 10%,
utilitarianism 40%, moral training 20%, aesthetics 25% and
world-view 5%.  

Ts'ai did not specify how these percentages could
be achieved. It is not clear whether he meant that during
a pupil’s school career so many years should be spent on
military, utilitarian, moral, aesthetic and world-view
education respectively, whether the five types of education
should be given concurrently or separately, or whether
aesthetic and world-view education should ultimately replace
the first three types of education entirely. As usual Ts'ai
was only dealing with general theory and was not concerned
with the practical details of the proposed system. However,
it appears from the general contents of these five types
of education that Ts'ai intended the five types of education
to be carried out more or less concurrently with a gradual
progression towards more emphasis on 'education that
transcends politics' as China advances. The percentages
he gave probably represent the ideal stage in China's
educational development.
Dealing with subjects in the curriculum, Ts'ai regarded history and geography as utilitarian, but placed heroes in history, strategic places in geography, and warlike exploits under national militarism. Records of artists, the evolution of art, and the description of sceneries and art objects were considered aesthetic while accounts of sages and the description of customs came under moral training. The timelessness of history, the infinity of geography, and the works of martyrs, philosophers and religionists were all steps towards the world-view. Mathematics was considered utilitarian, but abstract calculation viewed as an aspect of world-view, while the lines used in geometry could be aesthetic. Physics and chemistry were utilitarian but the minuteness of atoms and electrons and the all-encompassing nature of energy were channels which could advance the world-view. From the practical point of view the natural sciences were utilitarian, but from the impressionist point of view they were aesthetic. It was felt that studying the process of evolution could nourish truth and beauty, and experimenting with the omnipotence of created things could lead to the world-view concept. Art would naturally be aesthetic; but natural drawing was more utilitarian than aesthetic, historical
paintings had a moral purpose, and drawings depicting virtue, beauty and dignity was nearer the world-view.
Singing was aesthetic culture but its contents could include the other forms. Handwork was utilitarian but could also promote aesthetic feeling. Play was aesthetic, but military drill was national militarism, while ordinary physical training combined aesthetics and militarism. 18

In Ts'ai's view all five types of education were necessary to give human beings the full life. Military education would give the people physical strength and the country military power; utilitarian education would provide students with a means of livelihood and the country the means for prosperity; civic and moral education could make the people useful citizens and the country sound, disciplined and stable; aesthetic education would enrich the emotional life of the people and the cultural heritage of the country; and world-view education would produce citizens with a cosmic philosophy of life. 19 Of the five types of education Ts'ai claimed that the last two were not known during the Ch'ing dynasty, and he laid special emphasis on them.

As may be seen in his frequent references to aesthetics in his speeches and articles, Ts'ai's principal contribution towards modern Chinese educational thought was
his emphasis on aesthetic education. While he considered that civic and moral education should be the core of education it was no new contribution since Chinese education had always emphasized the moral aspect, and though world-view education was regarded as the highest form of education it was not easily attainable, and, as he said, could only be achieved through aesthetic education. It was in aesthetic education that his suggestion showed originality and had been given due recognition by its inclusion in the aims of education in China during the republican period. One recent writer claims that civic and moral education was the core of Ts‘ai’s educational thought. This is questionable in view of Ts‘ai’s constant reference to aesthetic culture and what he said in the following extract:

... The happiness of the present world perishes when man dies. If man’s object is the pursuit of a transient and perishable happiness, then what is the value of the so-called life? Nations cannot remain forever, and the world is not indestructible. If from generation to generation the citizens of the whole country and the entire human race in the world have this perishable happiness as their object, what is the worth of being human beings? Besides, talking in terms of one person, what would be the meaning of killing oneself in order to be benevolent, sacrificing one’s life to duty or sacrificing self for the group? Speaking of society, ... what is the meaning of struggling endlessly for the country’s freedom until the last drop of the people’s blood is shed, until the entire land has become a grave? ... Those whose thinking does not go beyond this world cannot manage the world’s affairs well. Although our object is merely the happiness of this world we must not be without a concept that transcends this world ... (Translation by the author)
The above quotation makes it clear Ts'ai's valued aesthetic and world-view education more than the other three. Aesthetic and world-view education could enable students to cultivate a wider perspective and hence a more objective approach to life.

Ts'ai hoped that through the new type of education which he planned to introduce in China future students would be different from the traditional classical Chinese scholars of whom he was one himself. China's modern students should possess an all-round education which catered to their physical, mental and spiritual needs. Students should be given an education which combined militarism and the world outlook so that while they may be trained to assert their individual prowess they may at the same time be equipped for harmonious living in an international sphere. In an article entitled 'How could one be fit to be called a modern student' he said:

A modern student should have the strength of a lion, the agility of a monkey, and the endurance of a camel.\(^{23}\)

It may be seen that Ts'ai agreed with Western educationists in considering that a complete education should provide for the physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. The only difference is that spiritual training in countries outside
China tends to mean religious teaching which was not what Ts'ai had in mind. Based on the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity, China's new education would help in the development of individualism, socialism and the world outlook, enabling recipients of such an education to be individualists, socialists and world citizens all in one. Such an education is idealistic and most difficult to accomplish.

2. The application of Western theories and techniques of education.

Apart from his proposed new aims of education Ts'ai also made various suggestions regarding changes in the contents of education and techniques of teaching, in the light of Western developments. He presented views on the teaching of classics, on 'child-centred education,' on the importance of the education and upbringing of young children, on Dewey's theory of 'learning through working' and on the development of the individual child's abilities as seen in the method expounded by Tolstoi.
(a) Classics teaching and the principle of 'from the concrete to the abstract.'

Although Ts'ai had himself received a traditional Chinese education and had risen to the top as a member of the Hanlin Academy he was a progressive thinker who did not see it fit to impose on the new generation the type of education he had received. On the contrary, one of the first things he did when appointed Minister of Education in 1912 was to abolish the teaching of classics in the primary school, and when he was Chancellor of the Peking University he abolished the Department of Classics and placed the classical subjects under the Departments of Literature, History and Philosophy. It was a commendable thing for a person trained in the classics to recommend its abolition in the primary school and the reduction of its teaching in the middle school and the university. Others like Hu Shih and Ch' en Tu-hsui had done the same thing but neither of them were chin-shih graduates or had entered the Hanlin Academy. Furthermore Hu Shih had spent many years of his life in America and it was natural that he should be more Westernized than Ts'ai. Ts'ai was always ready to recommend the adoption of Western ideas and systems but his outlook remained basically Chinese, with its attendant strengths and weaknesses.
In 1935 a survey was made of the opinions of various experts on the question of teaching and learning classics in schools. In his discussion Ts'ai strongly opposed the inclusion of classics in the school curriculum. He wrote:

... in my opinion it is harmful for little children to study classics; it is also harmful for middle school pupils to study a complete work.

His chief objection against classics was that they were too abstract for children to understand. He said that useful proverbs which merited study could be taught in more concrete forms than using classical texts. His explanations were as follows:

... the Lun-yü says the word shu meaning 'What you want not give not to others.' In the Li-chi and Chung-yung it reads 'Being not willing to give to myself I will not give to others.' In the Ta-hsüeh-p'ien it is 'The rules of proper behaviour are: Where evil deeds are committed by people above, those below should not follow them; where evil deeds are committed by people below, those above should not do the same. If evil actions had occurred before, do not repeat them now or ever. If evil actions are known to be imminent, do not anticipate by carrying them out in advance. That which is evil on the left do not extend to the right.' Mencius said, 'He who loves others, others will love him,' and 'He who kills another's father, the other shall kill his father; he who kills another's brother, the other shall also kill his brother.' These are certainly very strong maxims, but they are too abstract and could not be easily understood by children. If we use concrete matters ... or fables such as 'The fox offered the stork food on a plate and the stork offered the fox food in a vase' to illustrate these theories, we can instead arouse interest.

(Translation by the author).
He went on to say that the unintelligent study of the classics would not have much benefit, and asked why little children should be made to read original classical texts when even in Su-ma Ch'ien's Shih-chi the speeches quoted from the Shu-ching were given in translations. He further pointed out that there were many classical sayings which did not agree with current truths and were most unsuitable for teaching children of the modern time, such as the questions of honouring the emperor and despising the ministers, and honouring the male and despising the female. In addition he mentioned that there were passages in the classics which could not be understood and defied interpretation even by adult scholars, and to force children to study them would be to overtax their brains. He therefore concluded that it was both useless and harmful for children to study classical texts. For middle school pupils he supported the 'selection of a few essays from the classics and biographies for inclusion in the literary language textbooks.' At the university level, he supported the teaching of Shih-ching to students of the Department of Chinese, Shu-ching and Ch'un-chiu to students of the History Department, and Lun-yü, Meng-tzu and I-chuan.
易傳 and Li-chi 禮記 to students of the Department of Philosophy. 30

(b) Admiration of the methods of Tolstoi, Montessori and Dewey.

Ts'ai was much impressed by the educational theories of Tolstoi, Montessori, Dewey, Pestalozzi and Froebel. 31 In his first encounter with Western educational principles Ts'ai was very lavish in his praise. In an article entitled 'Hsin Chiao-yü Yü Chiu Chiao-yü Chih Ch'i-tien' 新教育與舊教育之歧點 (The distinction between new and old education) he referred enthusiastically to Tolstoi's experiment of the Free School, Dewey's idea of the school as a society, and Montessori's Children's Home. 32 He highly praised Western experiments in education and sharply criticized the old education of China. He gave unqualified support to the idea of 'child-centred education' as opposed to the syllabus-centred education that had been practised in China for centuries:

One important reason why the new education is different from the old is this: by education it does not mean that we educate the children but that we receive education from the children. The old education of our country was aimed at producing graduates of the Imperial Examination and officials. Graduates and officials must pass examinations, and to have examinations there had to be poetry and essays. To write poems one had to use ancient words, study ancient writings and memorize trifling matters of the ancient period.
Therefore the pupils were fed with the Ch'ien-tzu Wen, the Shen-t'ung-shih, the Lung-wen Pien Ying and other books that young pupils were expected to know; next they learnt the Four Books and the Five Classics, followed by pa-ku essays and the wu-yên pa-yin poetry. Such other subjects as natural science and social problems which children wished to understand were not included as teaching texts because they had no connexion with the examinations. It was a case of the educator having a fixed aim and forcing the pupils to accept it; therefore no consideration was given to the response or the intelligence of the pupils. They were taught only by one method; the able were rewarded while the unable were penalised. It was similar to our method of dealing with inorganic matter, the convex stone is levelled, the brittle iron is forged; like the florist planting the pine and the cypress for the crane and the stag; like the trainer teaching dogs and horses to dance; like the cruel man cutting up little children to produce strange shapes and conditions. Thinking about it makes me tremble. The new education is not so. With a deep understanding of the process of the child's physical and mental development the educator chooses various suitable methods to help the child. It is like the agronomist dealing with plants; the dry he waters, the weak he supports; that which is afraid of cold he puts inside a hot-house, that which needs food he dispenses with fertiliser, that which wants light he provides with coloured glass. In providing these, the different types and differing quantities have all been ascertained from the result of experiments. Besides, experiments are readily carried out and readily improved upon so that a narrow attitude of doing things is avoided. Therefore, those dealing with the new education must use experimental education as the foundation...  

Ts'ai gave the above speech in 1918, and from what we know today he was correct in his support of the child-centred method of teaching, which is a credit to his
progressive and liberal mind. However, his opening statement that 'by education it does not mean that we educate the children but that we receive education from the children' would arouse criticism today even by those who believe in and carry out child-centred education. In accepting the theory that the teacher can learn from the child the corollary must surely be that the child can also learn from the teacher. Hence it is a gross overstatement to say that teachers do not educate the children but receive education from them. It appears that in his enthusiasm Ts'ai was again supporting a new educational theory without critical discernment.

Mothercraft Centres, Baby Centres and Nurseries

Reflecting the influence of Western educational ideas, Ts'ai firmly believed that education was a matter for educators who were trained for their jobs, and was highly suspicious of family education. He believed that from the time a child could be weaned from the mother he should be sent to special nurseries to be looked after by trained nurses. He suggested that on the one hand this was the best way to rear children and on the other mothers would then be free to do their house work. He criticized parents for not looking after their children in the best
way. He was also highly critical of the bad examples set at home which children were exposed to, and for this reason felt that children should leave their homes at as young an age as possible so that they could come under the influence of trained nurses and educators.\textsuperscript{35}

Ts'ai advocated the establishment of mothercraft centres and baby centres staffed by specialists. The first would teach pregnant mothers how to observe hygienic methods and prepare for confinement so that their babies would be born safely. After birth children should go to baby centres \textsubscript{(Ju-erh Yuan)} where they could be brought up away from the hazards of their mothers' illness and bad temper. After one year the children could be sent to nurseries \textsubscript{(Meng-yang Yuan)} for education. Mothers could therefore run their homes free from disturbance by their children. It is noteworthy that the present government of the People's Republic of China has been trying to carry out this system, its failure or success is not yet known.\textsuperscript{36}

This system of sending away children at a young age to be nurtured and taught in organized institutions is not a Chinese tradition. It is contrary to the traditional Chinese way of rearing children, where mother and child relationship was very close and over-protection was often
the rule rather than the exception. It appears that in
advocating this new system of child upbringing Ts'ai had
not adequately weighed its merits and demerits, but merely
put it forward as a new idea that was worth experimenting.
This is seen in the fact that apart from suggesting it as
an ideal system in his speech to a Youth Association in
1919 he did nothing further to introduce the system.

Ts'ai was also much impressed by the experiment carried
out by John Dewey in his Experimental School at Chicago.
In three separate speeches he recommended that the system
should be given a trial — first in his article 'Tui-yü
Chiao-yü Fang-chên Chih I-chien' released in 1912 when he
was Minister of Education; next in a speech given to the
Chih-li Ch'üan-shêng Hsiao-hsüeh Hui-i Primary School Conference of the Chihli Province) held in
1918 entitled 'Hsin Chiao-yü Yü Chiu Chiao-yü Chih Ch'i-tien' and lastly in a long speech entitled 'P'in-erh Yüan Yü P'in-
erh Chiao-yü Ti Kuan-hsi' (Relationship between Homes for Destitute Children and the
Education of Destitute Children) given to the Youth
Association. Dewey's theory was that learning could best
be done through work, and that there was no need for learning
to be done separately. Ts'ai felt that Schools for the Destitute were the best places for trying out the 'study-through-work' scheme of education. In the Home for Destitute Children which he referred to, study through work was already in existence. As an illustration he referred to the four types of work done therein, namely cooking, sewing, carpentry and carpeting. The following extract reveals his faith in the 'learn-through-work' system of education:

The raw material for these four types of work is animal and vegetable matter, so biology can be explained. The tools of these four types of work are all made from minerals, so mineralogy and geology can be taught. When doing these four types of work, heat, handwork, machines and electricity are used, so physics can be explained. The mixing of food, the washing and dyeing of clothes, and the painting of wooden furniture all involve chemistry, so chemistry can be taught. The quantity of food, the measurements of clothes, the comparison of the various angles of furniture, the matching of carpets to the rooms, the purchase of various raw materials and tools, and the sale of the various products all need calculation and recording, so mathematics and book-keeping can be taught. Indicating the places of primary and secondary produce, comparing the similarities and differences of the food, clothing and tools of the various races, lend themselves to the teaching of geography and anthropology. In comparing the differences and similarities of the food, clothing, and implements of the past and present, history can be taught. Work calls for industry, carefulness, progress, and mutual assistance among the fellow students, and in addition to the four types of work there will be rest, sports, washing utensils, arranging clothes and blankets, airing and
sweeping the house, and miscellaneous jobs relating to the entertainment of guests; therefore hygiene and ethics may be taught. Out of packing foodstuff, the colour and form of clothes and tools, aesthetics and art can be taught. From the sufferings of poor children of the past, their present peace and happiness, and their hope in the future, philosophy may be taught. By making them write out the nature of their experiences and the languages used as medium of instruction, they can practise Chinese and foreign languages. Gentlemen, if we follow this method do we need to use any text books? Do we still need to gather round listening to the teacher's stupid explanation sentence by sentence? But no Chinese would want to run this type of institution; should it be started it is feared that nobody would send his children to such a school. This is because the Chinese still call attending school as going to 'read books' (tu-shu) and if they send their children to school where there is only work and no reading of books they will certainly not agree. At present since there is work in the Home for Destitute Children why not dispense with study in the morning and allot all the time to work in order to try out Dewey's new theory? If the results of the experiment are good we can persuade other schools to try it. 39

(Translation by the author).

Ts'ai's detailed account of the Dewey school system and his unqualified recommendation that it be experimented at the Home for Destitute Children shows his belief that it was a progressive system capable of producing better and more economical results than the old system of classroom teaching. Here again, his whole-hearted support of the system, claiming for it merits and superiority, gives the impression that he was recommending a scheme the results of which he only knew second hand through his reading, since
he had had no personal experience of the superiority of this system. In general he tended to give the impression that if China adopted the new educational methods of the West all would be well. This was an over-simplification of the problem of education in China. It is likely, however, that Ts'ai deliberately refrained from dealing with the weaknesses of the Western educational theories concerned because he was attempting to arouse the interest of Chinese educators. To discuss the deficiencies of the new systems proposed would merely defeat his purpose. Ts'ai was wholly in favour of trying out new methods of education because he regarded the old form of education as obsolete.

In praising Tolstoi's Free School he used it as an example for a school designed to develop the pupils' individual qualities. He showed keen interest in the informal approach to education found in this type of schools:

Their pupils do not have a fixed seat; some sit on stools, some stand at the tables, some lie on window sills, as they wish. There is no fixed time-table in the curriculum which is divided into a number of projects and carried out according to the will of the pupils. Teaching is in the form of questions and answers.\(^{40}\) (Translation by the author)
While admiring the new educational methods of the West, he lamented that China's education was only a few steps in advance of the old classical education of the past. In order to remedy the situation he made the following recommendations:

(1) China must open a research centre on experimental education.

(2) Teachers must have sufficient knowledge and experience to serve as a model as well as to supply answers to pupils' questions unfailingly.

(3) Those who supplied educational materials should also have various types of drawings and apparatus to meet the needs of teachers.

3. **On University Education**

(a) The university as a research institute.

Ts'ai laid great emphasis on academic and research work at the university. His original contention was that a university should be a place where research and experiments were carried out for the seeking of truths and discovery of new theories, and not a vocational
institute. In his speech to the students of Peking University after he had been appointed chancellor in 1917 he told them that the university was a place for the pursuit of advanced learning, while in a speech given at the opening ceremony of the university in 1919 he said:

The university is an institution purely for research and study and must not be regarded as a place for the acquisition of qualifications, nor must it be regarded as a place for selling knowledge. Students should have an interest in learning and should especially acquire the personality of a scholar... (Translation by the author)

He regarded Arts and Science as the basic university subjects because they were the subjects which lay the foundation for the study of Law, Commerce, Medicine and Engineering, and in these two basic subjects it was important to establish research institutes for the discovery of new knowledge, and theories. Towards this end he stressed the need for full-time research workers and teachers who would take on research and teaching as their life-work so that the pursuit of knowledge and new discoveries could go on.

Lo Chia-lun (luen) a student of Peking University and a leader of the May Fourth Movement, rightly thinks that Ts'ai's concept of a university was strongly influenced by the nineteenth century founder of the Berlin University, Wilhelm von Humboldt and a number of other
scholars of that university. Like them, Ts'ai advocated freedom of academic work. For example, although he was not in favour of a Communist system of government he saw nothing wrong in allowing students to study Marxist theories. This academic approach towards all subjects was conducive to the pursuit of advanced knowledge at the university. Ts'ai advocated mutual co-operation in the academic circles and strongly opposed academic jealousy and mutual attack among the academics. He held the view that academic research should be a collective and co-operative effort, even among different universities. That was why he allowed the College of Engineering of the Peking University to be taken over by the Pei-yang University. He also regarded academic differences as 'relative and not absolute' and allowed different theories and schools of thought to exist, 'giving the students freedom to make their own choice.' His idea was that a university should be 'strong as a gale and upright, bringing academic and cultural glory to the people.'

Because Ts'ai paid special emphasis to the research aspect of a university he tended to ignore the teaching function of a university, that is he did not view the university as an institution for training people in the professions. He considered that vocational and professional
training could be given in special colleges and need not be taught in a university. Later, however, he went to the other extreme of suggesting the establishment of single subject universities, but his proposals did not meet with much approval. 

Ts'ai's attitude towards university education must be understood against the past background of a highly bureaucratized Ching-shih Ta-hsueh T'ang (Imperial University) which was the forerunner of the Peking University. In order to dissociate the Peking University from the past he became obsessed with the nineteenth century German idea of a university as a purely research institution.

(b) For a balanced education in arts and science.

As already alluded to in the previous section, Ts'ai considered Arts and Science as the prerequisite subjects of a university, as they were concerned with the seeking of truths and the discovery of new theories, and vocational and professional subjects as ancillary subjects. A university must therefore teach Arts and Science to be worthy of the name. But he felt that Arts students should study some Science and vice versa. He listed subjects such as philosophy, geography and psychology as not purely Arts or Science but both. In his article
My experiences at the Peking University' he said:

... I had another ideal, namely, that Arts and Science could not be separated. For example, philosophy is founded on natural science, and the final conclusions of scientists often touch on philosophy. Previously psychology was a part of philosophy, but now with the use of experimental methods it should be placed under Science. Education and aesthetics are also gradually making use of experimental methods and have the same trend. The human aspect of geography should belong to Arts, but the geological aspect belongs to Science. History has from historical times been grouped under Arts, but the theories of the formation of the universe and the Ice-Age which are traceable to geology belong to Science. Therefore we can get rid of the division of Peking University into three colleges and have fourteen departments, abolish the deans and have heads of departments.\(^{48}\) (Translation by the Author)

It can be seen that Ts'ai did not like to see university education divided into distinct compartments. University education, he thought, should be universal and broad. Students should have a keen interest in learning and not be interested only in the subject of their specialization to the exclusion of all others. Thus at the Peking University he introduced several compulsory subjects for the University Preparatory Department which all students irrespective of what they were majoring in had to take.\(^{49}\)

Consistent with his enthusiasm for the new learning of the West, Ts'ai laid great emphasis on the teaching of the natural sciences. 'He not only trusted it to yield
inventions, engineering and other benefits, but believed it would foster the mental habits of methodical thinking and research, leading to the discovery of general truths which are the foundation of all true knowledge.  

According to Ts'ai's immediate successor as Chancellor of the Peking University, Dr Chiang Meng-lin (also known as Chiang Menglin), under Ts'ai's administration the Peking University underwent a radical change as 'science was put on an equal footing with literature, which had reigned in the realm of knowledge in China from time immemorial.' Like his junior colleague Hu Shih, Ts'ai believed fervently in the value of applying the scientific method in all forms of study, be it history, philosophy, education, or the classics. Ts'ai realized that China had to learn from the West all branches of knowledge in which she was lagging behind. As China had discarded its old monarchical government, its people must acquire new learning and knowledge in order to equip themselves for the new rôle they had to play. Education would therefore be the starting point.

Ts'ai's belief in the value of a broad education of the arts and sciences is reflected in his own wide interests in subjects taught in Western universities. As far as his
earlier classical education and his lack of training in science could take him, he tried to study as many new subjects as he could at the University of Leipzig in Germany, ranging from experimental psychology and anthropology to history and languages. He could hardly tackle subjects such as physics and chemistry as he had no basic knowledge of these subjects. But despite the fact that he had never studied the natural sciences he was convinced of the urgent need for students subsequent to his own time to study science.

4. Social Education

In 1912 on becoming Minister of Education Ts'ai set up a separate office of the Director of Social Education to further the development of social education in China. In 1928 he issued an order to all the provinces to allocate from ten to twenty per cent of their educational budget for social education as from the following year. This shows Ts'ai's emphasis on this type of education. As an educator Ts'ai was eager to make education universal in China and to give everyone an equal opportunity to receive a good education irrespective of their social status. In
this move he was carrying out the equality of the French
Revolution which he had advocated. In January 1920 the
Peking University Students' Union started a People's Night
School to teach the masses and on that occasion Ts'ai made
a speech concerning the education of the common man:

Today is the opening day of the Peking University
Students' Union People's Night School. This is
not only an important matter, it is also the
first day that the common man is allowed to enter
the Peking University. Previously no outsider was
allowed to enter this place; now everyone can
enter this place. Previously the Peking University
had a notice at the Ma-shên-miao 马神廟 on which
was written 'The university is a restricted place,
no admittance except on business.' Only students
and teachers could enter the nation's highest
educational institution, all others were
excluded ... Now the notice board has been taken
off.
The first step in the reform of the Peking
University was the opening of the University
Servants' Night Class ... As a result everybody
within the university, no matter who, has the
Ch'ang to receive an education. But it is not
enough that the people in the university have the
privilege of receiving education, the people of
the whole country must have this privilege.
Therefore we begin with one section by opening
this People's Night School. The meaning of
P'ing-min 平民 is 'All men are equal.' In the past
only university students could receive a university
education, all others were unable to; this was
unequal. Now the university students share their
privilege and open this People's Night School;
therefore the common people are also able to
receive an education at the university ..... 55
(Translation by the author)

The opening of the doors of Peking University to the
common people symbolized the opening of the minds of the
people, an action which Ts'ai hoped would be achieved through making education universal.

In his plans for social education Ts'ai also paid attention to the establishment of reformatories for delinquents and schools for retarded children and invalids. Education for such abnormal people would on the one hand help them to lead a useful and happy life and on the other enable them to be trained for some occupation and thus lessen the responsibility of society in providing them with a living.  

5.  On Female Education

As seen in chapter two, Ts'ai had connexions with the education of girls during the early part of his educational career in the Ai-kuo Nu Hsueh-hsiao (Patriotic Girls' School) where he assisted in military training and the teaching of revolutionary thought. His early connexion with the education of girls may have a bearing on his later support of co-education. The educational institutions which he later managed such as the Peking University, the Fa-wên Chuan-hsin Kuan (French Language Institute) and the K'ung-te
Hsueh-hsiao were all early in accepting female students. He did not see any need for a distinction between schools for boys and schools for girls. 57

Ts'ai was responsible for the acceptance of girl students into the Peking University in 1920, and it was the first university in China to do so. Peking University was not actually the first higher educational institution in China to take in girls; the first co-educational institution was the Canton Christian College run by American and Chinese Christians which took in girls in 1918. But Peking University's acceptance of female students was more prominent and had a greater influence on the subsequent growth of co-education in Chinese universities. It might be hoped that in the University of Oxford female students did not have equal status with male students until 1920. 59

At the turn of the century when Ts'ai was connected with the Patriotic Girls' School he had decided that the traditional 'five relationships' relating to the status of women was out-of-date. The traditional role of women was that of good wives obedient to their husbands and mothers-in-law. They need not be educated or literate but must have the homely virtues of ability to
sew, cook and bear children, chastity, and if possible beauty. As a revolutionary worker Ts'ai saw that women could also play a part, and through his knowledge of the role of women in the Western society, he saw the need for the emancipation of women in China. Hence his support of the education of girls, even to the university level.

In a speech given at the Young Men Christian Association on 15 March 1919 he publicly advocated co-education in elementary schools for the poor. Here he was advocating co-education primarily as an economical way of providing education for both boys and girls. However, behind this primary purpose was his view that there need be no distinction between the education of boys and girls. In 1916 after his return from France he gave a speech at the Patriotic Girls' School in which he encouraged girls to attend school so that they might develop independence and self-reliance. He mentioned the need to develop the full personality of both men and women in order that they might be of use to the country. One of the prerequisites for a full personality was physical fitness. Ts'ai felt that in the past women became physically weak because they lacked exercise, and being physically weak developed a spirit of
dependence on men. Often women committed suicide during an invasion when their husbands were away because they were helpless. He expressed the hope that henceforth women would strengthen their bodies through physical exercise. Next he called on the women to develop their intellect through the study of science. He also suggested that as they became less dependent on men for a livelihood, women should develop a new outlook of life. He attributed the constant conflicts between sisters-in-law to the dependence of women and their narrow-mindedness which was due to the fact that they never stepped out of their homes and knew nothing about conditions of the outside world. He urged women to seek economic independence and to improve their personality and outlook of life.61

Ts'ai believed that women had much to learn even in fields which they were traditionally competent. For example he said that in the past women's tailoring was based only on the ruler and the scissors; had they known arithmetic they would have been more skilful. In cookery women knew only the general knowledge, if in addition they had a knowledge of chemistry their cooking would be more hygienic. He further said: 'Sending girls to study in
school does not basically detract from their natural task in the family; by seeking the practical both can be pursued complementarily.'\textsuperscript{62} He made reference to the practical education carried out in American Normal Schools which sought to develop the full personality of women to show that education was useful and closely connected with life,\textsuperscript{63} and need not cause women to discard their traditional responsibilities.

The Content of Female Education

Ts'ai held the view that the education of women could train them to be wise mothers and good wives but must not be restricted to this alone. He said:

As I see it, 'wise mothers and good wives' are also very important. A good wife can enable her husband to be good, and a wise mother can enable her children to be wise. Therefore the wise mother and the good wife are very beneficial to the world. If we contend that wise mothers and good wives are not good, could we say that the unwise and the unvirtuous are on the contrary good? But we must say that on this matter it is not perspicuous to limit them\textsuperscript{a}their role of wise mothers and the good wives. If man's activity is limited to one family, there is often more expenditure and less result ...\textsuperscript{64} (Translation by the author)

Ts'ai's view was that female education should not be restricted to certain fields. He mentioned that in the advanced Western countries women were not made judges because they were said to be kind and emotionally easily
aroused and would tend to be too lenient in sentencing the incriminated. Mathematics, and logic were not regarded as suitable for women while Arts subjects, in particular art, were regarded most suited to them. As a result of these discriminations, women shone only in the fields which they had gained acceptance. Ts'ai believed that once such restrictions on their fields of study were lifted women could have the same achievements as men.  

However, while he advocated equality in male and female education he was against women discarding their responsibilities in the home in order to be engaged in occupations outside. He strongly favoured the full emancipation of women, recommending that all occupations which were previously restricted to men be open to them, but he expected women to continue their responsibilities as housewives. He said that it was unreasonable for women to discard the affairs of the family and think only of study.

Summing up Ts'ai's views on education, our general conclusion is that Ts'ai did not expound any original or new philosophy of education. Most of his ideas were partly re-statements of Western educational theories which he tried to adapt for use in China. He was therefore
no outstanding educationist, especially if we compare him with Montessori, Froebel and Dewey. However his interpretations and adaptations of Western theories of education were useful to China in the absence of original educational thought. In order to formulate a new system of education for China new guiding principles were needed, and Ts'ai filled this need with his bold recommendation of the five types of education. With the exception of world-view education, his recommendations were not impractical and have been implemented in one way or another. His view of university education is a little too idealistic but nevertheless not impossible to achieve. China would perhaps need a few more decades of industrial progress before she could afford to finance universities purely for research purposes. His proposal for the establishment of baby centres and nurseries seems to be an utopian scheme which, even if practicable, may not necessarily bring about more happiness to human life. But his schemes for the promotion of social education and his emphasis on female education were commendable. In view of China's general backwardness Ts'ai's views on education were certainly progressive and beneficial to the development of modern education in the country.
NOTES

CHAPTER SIX

1. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 189-203, "F"

2. Ibid., 189

3. Like other Chinese of his time, Ts'ai associated the republic with a democratic form of government, though in the Western experience a republic could be as autocratic and distorial as a monarchy or sometimes even more so.

4. Ibid., 189-203.
   The world-view was similar to the ta-t'ung 大同 concept expounded by K'ang Yu-wei and Sun Yat-sen.

5. See chapter two, and Huang Shih-hui, 10.


7. See below, pp. 222, 242-43, and note 50.

8. It may be noted that the desire for material and military independence in China is only being fulfilled in recent years. One of the reasons that could be advanced for the serious Sino-Soviet conflict is this desire to be equal and not subservient to the Soviet Union even in the leadership of the Communist movement. It is clear that in China today military and utilitarian education rather than aesthetic and world-view education is given emphasis. This is likely to remain so until China's material development is comparable to that of the Western powers.

10. Ibid.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid., 192
13. Ibid., 197
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., 198.
16. Ibid., 200.
17. Ibid., 201.
18. Ibid., 202.
19. Ibid., 197-98.
20. Ibid., 198.
21. Fang Ping-lin, 'Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei Chiao-yü Ssü-hsiang,'
23. I-wen, 478-484, 'F.'
24. Ts'ai also thought of education as a tool for reforming society (This would be utilitarian education). Indeed Ts'ai's own devotion to a career in education was a consequence of his subscription to this particular aim of education.
See Huang Shih-hui, 5, and Ch'eng Chün-ying, Chung-kuo Ta Chiao-yü Chia, 89.
25. See chapter four.

The main reason for this re-organization was to minimize duplication, as the various classics could be included in the Arts subjects. Another reason was the desirability of extending the teaching of other subjects in the university with the money which previously went into financing the teaching of classics.
26. It is generally recognized that the Chinese way of life is more humanistic and less characterized by efficiency than the Western way of life, which is more individualistic and positive.

See chapter one.

27. 'Ch’üan-kuo Chuan-chia Tui Yü Tu-ching Wên-t’i Ti I Chien,' 全國專家對于讀經問題意見. Chiao-yu Tsa-chih, 15, 5 (10 May 1935), 47.

28. Ibid., 46.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.


32. Ibid.

33. Ibid., 242-244.

34. John Dewey himself did not belittle the role of the teacher as a guide and director of children's learning. On the contrary, he emphasized it as may be seen in the following extract from his book Experience and Education (p.8):

When external control is rejected, the problem becomes that of finding the factors of control that are inherent within experience. When external authority is rejected, it does not follow that all authority should be rejected, but rather that there is need to search for a more effective source of authority. Because the older education imposed the knowledge, methods, and the rules of conduct of the mature person upon the young, it does not follow, except upon the basis of the extreme Either-Or philosophy, that the knowledge and skill of the mature person has no directive value for the experience of the immature. On the contrary, basing education upon personal experience may mean more multiplied and more intimate contacts between the mature and the immature than ever existed in the traditional school, and consequently more rather than less, guidance by others ....
This point was also discussed by Robert Mason in Educational Ideals in American Society, 223.

I.L. Kandel wrote in his book Comparative Education: 'The so-called child-centred school is meaningless unless it implies that the child is but the starting point of a process which is guided by the teacher.' (p. 354).

35. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 231-241, 'H.'

36. Reports indicate that sending young children to nurseries in order that their mothers would be able to pursue their occupations has come to stay in China today. The establishment of nurseries and pre-schools has increased by leaps and bounds over the last decade.

See Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, 29-30.


38. Ibid.

39. Ibid., 236-238.

40. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 244, 'I.'

41. Ibid., 246-247.

42. Ts'ai, 'Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Min-kuo Ch'ü-nien K'ai-Hsüeh Shih Chih Yen-shuo Tz'ü,' 北京大學民國七年開學式之演說詞. I-wên, 319.

43. Lo Chia-lun (luen) 羅家倫 tzü Chih-hsi 趙希, 1897-. A historian and educator, Lo was one of the founders of the Chinese Renaissance Movement in China and a leader of the May Fourth Movement of 1919. Born in Chekiang, he was educated at the National University of Peking at the time of Ts'ai's chancellorship. He subsequently studied at the Princeton and Columbia Universities in the United States of America, and in the Universities of London, Berlin and Paris. From 1928 to 1930 he was Chancellor of the Tsing-hua University in Peking and from 1933 to 1942 Chancellor
of the National Central University at Nanking. He was a member of the Central Political Council of the Kuomintang from 1931-1941, and was Ambassador to India from 1946-1949. From 1952-1954 he was Vice-President of the Examination Yuan, and is at present President of the Kuo-shih Kuan 国史館 (Academia Historica). His publications include A New Philosophy of Life, Science and Metaphysics, Chinese National Problems, Culture, Education and Youth, A Chronological Biography of Dr Sun Yat-sen, and Collected Poetic Works. (All of these are in Chinese; the English titles are the translations given by the source book.)


44. See chapter one, p. 39 and note 122.

45. Hsuan-chi, I, 328-336, 'M.'

46. Lo Chia-lun, op. cit., 18.

47. See chapter four.

48. Hsuan-chi, 291 'I.'

49. See chapter four.

50. Chiang Monlin, Tides of the West, 117.

51. Ibid., 118.

52. Huang Shih-hui, 19.

53. For a treatment of the work of the Department of Social Education see chapter four.

54. Fang Ping-lin, 38. Also see chapter three.


56. Fang Ping-lin, 40.
57. Hsüan-chi, 294, 'I.'

58. Chow Tse-tsung, The May Fourth Movement, 123ff. Also see Ts'ai Shang-su, 422-23.

59. The University of Oxford did not admit women to 'matriculation and graduation with full membership' until 1920, though two small women's colleges were opened in 1879. Equality of women in the University did not receive full recognition until 1959.


61. Hsüan-chi, 49-52, 'A.'

62. Ibid., 51.

63. Ibid.


Also quoted in Fang Ping-lin, op. cit., 42.

65. Ts'ai, 'Yang Ch'ëng Yiu-mei Kao-shang Ssü-hsiang,' op. cit. 1-8

66. Hsuan-chi, 52, 'A.'
CHAPTER SEVEN

ON EAST-WEST CULTURE, AESTHETICS AND RELIGION


(a) The T'i-yung concept of Chang Chih-tung and Ch'en Tu-hsiu's total Westernization.

Nineteenth and twentieth century Chinese leaders who were involved in the task of modernizing China, were often plagued by the problem of how to modernize without total Westernization. The nineteenth century statesman, Chang Chih-tung, put forth the idea of chung-hsüeh wei t'i, hsi-hsüeh wei yung 中學為體 , 西學為用 (Chinese learning as the substance, Western learning for use), which, if strictly adhered to, was seen to be inadequate by later scholars. The t'i-yung concept, as it is called in short, was based on the assumption that China could adopt all the advanced scientific skills of the West without any change in the basic mode of thinking and living. The t'i-yung proposal was not a wholly unworkable one, for had not Japan successfully modernized herself while preserving
her basically Japanese mode of thinking and living?
Nonetheless, such a concept carried out with strict adherence
to the division between t'i and yung could hardly bring
about true modernization of a country. The concept had
either to be modified or discarded in favour of full scale
Westernization. Representing the first were men like Ts'ai
and Hu Shih, while the principal advocate of total Wester­
nization was Ch'ên Tu-hsiu. Ch'ên Tu-hsiu who advocated
the wholesale adoption of Western ideas and concepts as
the only means of salvation for China. He called upon the
Chinese people to discard their old philosophy of passiveness
in favour of the aggressiveness of the West. He attacked
Confucius unreservedly and called for a new life based on
Science and Democracy, personifying them as Mr Science and
Mr Democracy.¹

At this early stage Ch'ên and Hu were the two chief
innovators with Ch'ên the bolder and more forceful exponent
of Western concepts. As a former Hanlin Compiler steeped
in the Confucian tradition, Ts'ai was never as positive
and forward as Ch'ên in his attack on Confucianism; for
that matter neither was Hu Shih who had imbibed ideas of
liberalism and democracy from his protracted studies in
the United States of America. Although moderate in his
views, Ts'ai was in words and actions, a progressive. Like Ch'en Tu-hsiu, he fully believed in Science and Democracy and was consistently anti-religious and anti-Confucian.

Yet unlike Ch'en Tu-hsiu Ts'ai did not subscribe to the idea of total Westernization or a total break with the Chinese tradition. He believed in seeking the best from both the Western and Chinese cultures as he did not think that everything from China was decadent and unprogressive. Ts'ai's plan was a synthesis or mutual assimilation of Chinese and Western concepts, an advance on the t'i-yung view of modernization. China must learn and adopt all Western systems and ideas that were progressive, whether they be scientific and technological skills or the use of progressive methods in other fields of learning and living. But that which was Western but unprogressive China must not imitate. In addition Ts'ai felt that the West could learn from China some aspects of Chinese culture which were worthy of emulation. These, by implication, would be qualities such as passivism, the way of the mean, and the mutual aid view of life as propounded by Peter Kropotkin. Joseph Levenson in his book *Confucian China and its Modern Fate*
said that Ts'ai's eagerness to see both the West and China sacrifice their individualities, was 'a balm for cultural defeatism' because Ts'ai had proclaimed that the Chinese and Western cultures should meet halfway. Levenson wrote:

... the West would be obliged to sacrifice only if a significant amount of Chinese heritage was universally commendable to modern minds ... 4

Levenson's dismissal of the Chinese heritage as uncommendable to modern minds may be a little hasty. Western borrowing from China had taken place over the last two centuries, for example in the field of ceramics, in the system of civil service recruitment adopted by the British, 5 in tea-drinking, and others. This is a topic which the present writer will not labour on, as in sheer quantity China did not have as much to offer to the modern world as the West has. But a point should be made that in a world where prestige which depends on power and material strength is so important, anything to be 'universally commendable' must be associated with power and progress. Thus even if there were elements in the Chinese heritage from which the West could learn they would remain unattractive until they have become a reflection of power and might.

Dealing with this point Professor C.P. Fitzgerald writes:
It is a regrettable fact that the value of a nation's contribution to civilization, her place in the world, tends to be judged, from age to age, by the strength or weakness of her military power ....

It is perhaps for this same reason that though the modern Chinese realized that European learning was valuable and essential they were only interested in those aspects of learning which could give back to them the power to compete on equal terms with the West. Few had been interested in the art and civilization of the West, and this is indicative that the Chinese felt that in these branches of learning China was equal if not superior to the West.

Chinese intellectuals such as Ts'ai recognized that there was much in the modern Western tradition that was superior to the Chinese heritage. In recognition of this Ts'ai advocated what Levenson himself suggested that China could do, that is, to 'choose selectively from the storehouse of its past or from the storehouse of the West, without lapsing into a petrifying imitation of western manners.'

The main purpose behind Ts'ai's call for selecting the best from the West was to prevent wholesale adoption of everything Western, irrespective of its intrinsic value. In this respect Ts'ai was against the Chinese adopting the Christian religion which he viewed as a decadent relic of
the European past vis-a-vis the growth of Science.  

Ancillary to this main purpose was his casual view that perhaps there were aspects of the Chinese culture which the West could imbibe, such as his reference to the Chinese inspiration of early Western art which Levenson noted.  

This reference was primarily made to bolster his case for the active selection of the best in the West; the implication that the West could learn something from the Chinese was only of secondary importance to Ts'ai. The problem Ts'ai had to face was whether or not the Chinese could utilize fully Western concepts and systems without total eradication of the Chinese heritage in the process. It may be observed that in this respect never in the history of China had there been the adoption of Western ideas and systems on such a sweeping scale as the present day. In the process many time-honoured Chinese concepts and practices will have been discarded in favour of modern institutions originating from the West. But to what extent the past heritage has been superseded it is yet difficult to know. It is probable that time may show that a not inconsiderable portion of China's tradition will remain with the Chinese despite the process of modernization. If this proves true and China meanwhile becomes a strong and powerful nation, then perhaps
the achievements of the Chinese would attract more than disinterested admiration, as Levenson suggests that it has been so. 11

Ts'ai was no advocate of total Westernization and in the eyes of men like Ch'ên Tu-hsiau and other Communists he would be regarded as only moderately progressive. Total Westernization is perhaps not a good terminology in reference to the Chinese revolutionary thinkers, as it is probable that even men such as Ch'ên and other leftists did not really believe that China should be totally Westernized, as the recent ideological rift between Mao Tse-tung and Khruschev seems to indicate. 12 The Chinese wanted the swiftest and best way to modernize for the sake of saving China from her state of helplessness and decay, and as the Western nations held the reins of power and progress China must perforce learn from them. But that the Western nations were more advanced materially did not ipso facto entitle them to be regarded a superior civilization, as civilization meant more than just material progress and efficiency. Thus while in general the Chinese may admit their backwardness in almost everything else, in human relationship at least they value their own heritage. Owing to their scientific background the Westerners may be more progressive and efficient than the Chinese, but they achieve this at the
expense of becoming inhuman. Can a civilization that is
totally devoid of the human element remain a civilization?
The traditional Chinese would give a negative answer, so
would perhaps the average Westerner, and it is more than
probable that the answer of Mao's China would be the same,
though at the present stage of her development the Western
nations seriously believe that China has taken a complete
about-turn. If the present orthodox Chinese Marxists do not
believe in total Westernization of the Chinese way of life,
then the term could much less be applied to earlier thinkers
such as Hu Shih or Ch'en Tu-hsiu.

(b) The Golden Mean of Confucius versus the
autocracy of Nietzsche.

Although Ts'ai was always on the side of progress
and change, he saw no need for the adoption of extreme
measures, except in his support of a revolution by force in
the pre-republican days. In an article entitled 'Chung-hua
Min-λsu Yu Chung-yung Chih Tao' 中華民族與中庸之道
('The Chinese People and the Way of the Mean') he wrote:

The world in which we live is a relative one, and
we constantly take its centre of balance as the
starting point. For instance in biology, circulation
is the relation of the active pulse and the silent
pulse, having the heart as its central point;
digestion is the relation of consumption and excretion
and has the stomach as its central point. Talking of
space in psychology, if there is left there must be right, if there is front there is back, if there is above there is below, and we individuals are its central point. Talking of time, if there is past there is future, and we take the present as the central point. This is natural and nobody is opposed to it. In behaviour this principle should also hold, but Western philosophers rarely pay attention to this, apart from Aristotle who advocated the way of the mean (for example, bravery is the central point between rashness and cowardice, thrift is the central point between the miser and the spendthrift.) If it is not Tolstoi's extreme principle of non-resistance it is Nietzsche's extreme authoritarianism, if it is not Rousseau's extreme laissez-faire it is Hobbes' extreme interventionism. This is entirely due to the fact that apart from the Greeks European nature was incompatible with the way of the mean. The Chinese people alone always fail to respond to extreme theories when these were experimented with, whereas the way of the mean is agreeable to the majority and in comparison can be maintained for a long time.\textsuperscript{13} (Translation by the author)

In this article Ts'ai tried to show the characteristic Chinese way of life, namely, that which was governed by the way of the mean, or 'mellowness' as Lin Yutang put it.\textsuperscript{14} In emphasizing the mellowness of the Chinese people Ts'ai indicated that such a trait should be preserved and it was implied that here was something that the West could learn from China.\textsuperscript{15}

Ts'ai's hope that the West would adopt the mellow nature of the Chinese was however a vain one, as in a world where material well-being and power are the hallmark of progress the voice of the passive must go unheeded.
This is evidenced by the fact that Christianity with its great commandment of 'Love thy neighbour as thyself' has been fighting a losing battle against the principle of 'might is right' which is responsible for the arms race between the great powers of the world. While the way of the mean could serve as a modifier to this world of might and progress, there is also a possibility that it might be an obstacle to material advancement. It would seem, therefore, that progress in China's material civilization might necessitate the gradual replacement of the Chinese characteristics of mellowness and the way of the mean by a more positive and forward philosophy of life, for mellowness breeds indifference and inefficiency, qualities which tend to militate against rapid advancement. Where the people believe in moderation and pacifism almost to the point of cowardice, the adventurous spirit so vital to scientific discovery and experimentation tends to be absent or inhibited. However, while this is a possible explanation of China's backwardness in scientific development in comparison with the West, it is not within the competency of this thesis to make a conclusion. Yet it is cogent to note that past events in the world seem to provide the evidence that aggressiveness is the corollary of progress.
In this respect Ts'ai was not progressive enough in his views on modernization. He seemed to have over-emphasized the Chinese virtues of moderation and mellowness, especially in his claim that extreme ideologies would never find fertile ground among the Chinese. It is true that relatively speaking the Chinese people dislike extremism, but Ts'ai did not seem to realize that the perpetuation of the traditional Chinese virtues intact would hardly be conducive to the attainment of progress and modernization in China. If some modification of the Western philosophies of life was desirable and beneficial the same should be true of Chinese philosophies of life. Ts'ai wished the former to take place, but made no appeal for modifying the Confucian way of the mean. His projected synthesis of the East and West was therefore too conservative and tradition-bound for a China that was in need of rapid advancement. On this score Joseph R. Levenson's criticism of Ts'ai's concept of cultural synthesis seems justifiable.

The failure of the Kuomintang may be attributed to the fact that it attempted to modernize China without a radical change of the social and economic life of the people. Chiang Kai-shek's New Life Movement was in fact a return to Confucian values. Hence mellowness, the way of the golden mean, non-interference, and jên-ch'îng (human feeling) remained
characteristic qualities of the Chinese people in general, breeding nepotism, lax administration, bribery and corruption. Under such circumstances efficiency and progress could not be achieved and China would remain as backward and weak as in the previous century.

Ts'ai contended that Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles were also based on the way of the golden mean:

Since Sun's racialism sought to bring about the independence of our race and to bring about the equality of all races, it is the central point between nationalism and universalism.\(^{16}\)

(Translation by the author)

Ts'ai praised the Three Principles as a moderate policy which could bring about an equitable society. He said that in the Three Principles Dr Sun emphasized the national essence as well as Europeanization and was therefore advocating the way of the golden mean. The adoption of the Five-Power Constitution incorporating the Western Legislative, Executive and Judicial divisions of Government together with the Chinese Examination and Control Yuans was quoted as an example of the combination of the best from the East and West. Ts'ai also pointed out that Dr Sun's land equalization policy was a moderate one aimed at gradual development of China into a socialist country. Neither Fascism nor Bolshevism were in his opinion compatible with the Three Principles of Dr Sun because, unlike the Fascists
Ts'ai was highly critical of Nietzsche's egoism and authoritarianism, as most Chinese would be. Nietzsche defined life as 'appropriation, injury, conquest of the strange and weak, suppression, severity, obtrusion of its own forms, incorporation, and at least, putting it mildly, exploitation.' An advocate of the Higher Man or Superman, he believed that his mission was 'to stand for a neglected minority, for higher men, for the gold in the mass of quartz.' Far from believing in the equality of men he believed in the 'natural inequality of men.' In short, Nietzsche epitomized the authoritarian and autocratic view of life, a view diametrically opposed to the freedom, equality and fraternity of the French Revolution which the new Chinese intellectuals revered. Ts'ai had been fully converted to the ideas of democracy and the equality of men, and the authoritarian views of Nietzsche were unacceptable to him. If Nietzsche's concept of life and government were to be carried out, then China and the Chinese must ever remain suppressed and exploited by the stronger nations. Nietzsche and all he stood for was therefore highly disfavoured by the Chinese intellectual circles of Ts'ai's time.
While Nietzsche's concept of life and government was totally unacceptable to the Chinese mind Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid was very favourably received. Ts'ai was a great admirer of Peter Kropotkin principally on account of his book *Mutual Aid: A Factor of Evolution* which was first published in English in 1902. Kropotkin's view was that mutual aid was a law of nature and the most important factor in the evolution of social species. This countered the earlier evolutionists' theory of the 'struggle for existence' which, as a result of his observations, he found to be less tenable as a general law of nature. He brought forth evidence to show that in medieval Europe 'a rich communal life had existed in which mutual aid and co-operative communism played a great part.' As the theory of mutual aid was compatible with the Chinese way of the golden mean Ts'ai accepted it wholeheartedly as the ultimate truth in human evolution in preference to either the early evolutionists' theory of 'struggle for existence' or Nietzsche's authoritarianism and the chosen race of Superman. The outcome of the First World War was to Ts'ai a confirmation of his faith in the theory of mutual aid and he stated enthusiastically that the victory of the Allied countries over Germany was the victory of mutual aid over authoritarianism;
During the World War, Germany was a representative of authoritarianism. The Allied countries cooperated mutually to resist Germany and was a representative of mutual aid. Germany is defeated and the Allied countries are victorious. From now onwards everybody will believe in mutual aid and reject authoritarianism.

At present the outcome of the World War is victory for the Allied countries; all unequal and degrading principles in the international sphere must be abolished and replaced by enlightened principles...
The first is the destruction of the degrading theory of authoritarianism and the development of the enlightened theory of mutual aid...
The second is the fall of the conspiring group and the rise of the righteous group...
The third is the fall of militarism and the rise of democracy...
The fourth is the destruction of degrading racial prejudice and the growth of universalism...

At the time Dr Hu Shih criticized Ts'ai for being over-optimistic about the victory of righteousness over evil and the victory of mutual aid over authoritarianism. In its narrow reference to the immediate postwar period, Ts'ai's enthusiastic belief in the triumph of right over evil and mutual aid over authoritarianism was soon seen to be mistaken, for when the peace treaty was negotiated China's hope for justice and fair-play over the question of Shantung was unfulfilled. Instead Tsingtao was offered as a war spoil to Japan, and the Chinese faith in the righteous policy of Woodrow Wilson was shattered. Hu Shih's criticism had proved correct and Ts'ai must have writhed in anger at his misplaced confidence in the goodwill of China's allies.
The subsequent rise of Hitler and the militarists of Japan which brought about the invasion of China and the Second World War also evidenced Ts'ai's misjudgement in announcing that the Allied victory in the First World War would put an end to authoritarianism, conspiracy, militarism and racial prejudice. It is doubtful if it can be said that the Allied victory in World War II was a victory of righteousness, democracy and universalism, because conspiracy, militarism, and racial prejudice have yet to see the end of their days. On the question of mutual aid Ts'ai was on surer ground, as in both the World Wars victory had indeed been the result of mutual aid on the part of the Allied Powers against the authoritarian and militaristic countries of Germany, Japan and Italy. Mutual aid was a code of human conduct which the Chinese fully subscribed to, and Ts'ai readily endorsed Kropotkin's exposition that it should precede 'struggle for existence' and 'survival of the fittest' as a factor in human evolution. As for the Western nations, the influence of the early evolutionists' theory of 'struggle for existence' and 'survival of the fittest' remains strong, and this has been bolstered by Nietzsche's idea of 'the best will rule.' In the interest of progress both the evolutionist and the Nietzschean concepts cannot be discarded, but in order that this progress may be properly
channelled and organized, mutual aid must also have its place. Thus it would seem that Ts'ai's call for a synthesis of East and West concepts, a tempering of Western assertiveness with the Chinese golden mean was not altogether 'cultural defeatism.' Here is a heritage which has, to a lesser degree, its parallel in the West, a heritage that has been seen to be 'universally commendable to modern minds,' to use the words of Levenson. It is in these basic human concepts of life that a blending of the Eastern and Western cultures would be beneficial both mutually and to the world at large.

Though a progressive thinker Ts'ai was still an apologist for the Chinese tradition and he therefore drew parallels from Chinese classics to justify his support of Kropotkin's theory of mutual aid. He pointed out that the idea of mutual aid had been propounded by Mencius, who had said: 'Where there is a great deal of mutual assistance the empire obeys, where there is little mutual assistance even relatives rebel.' 多助之至，天下順之。寡助之至， 新戚 畔之。 Mencius also said: 'If there is no interchange of production and labour, then the farmers will have surplus grain and the womenfolk surplus cloth' 不通 功易 事， 则農有餘粟，女有餘布， meaning the farmers will have more grain than they could eat but no clothing to wear, and vice versa. Ts'ai also referred to common sayings of the
people such as 'Where the family is not harmonious the neighbours will take advantage of them,' 家不和，被欺; 'United plans and united strength' 群策群力, and 'With united effort it is easily raised' 疯擘易举. Ts'ai said that if all the people practised these principles of mutual aid there need be no worry about evolution and progress, and he called upon the Chinese to do just that. 24

(c) Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Ch'en Tu-hsiu, a contrast.

In contrast to Ts'ai, Ch'en Tu-hsiu made no apologies to the Chinese tradition in calling for a total break from China's past. His view was that there could be no real modernization without a new philosophy of life and a new code of conduct. Confucianism, the ancient Chinese language, Chinese pacifism, and all other conservative qualities must be replaced by Science, Democracy, a new dynamic literary medium (pai-hua), aggressiveness, self-assertion, and physical strength. In an article entitled 'Call to Youth' he exhorted the youths of China to be independent and not servile, progressive and not conservative, aggressive and not retiring, cosmopolitan and not isolationist, utilitarian and not formalistic, scientific and not imaginative. 25 In the cause of progress and modernization nothing must stand in the way; if traditional Chinese ideas and systems tended
to hinder the free development of science and democracy then they must be discarded without reservation.

Ch'en saw no use in half-measures or moderation. He was certainly more Westernized in thinking than Ts'ai. Ch'en was an extremist, Ts'ai was in thought and action a moderate and liberal, preserving his Chinese mentality, though always receptive of change and innovation. The success of Communism and the downfall of the Kuomintang seem to indicate that China could only progress with the adoption of extreme measures and innovations borrowed from the West (which happens to be Soviet Russia). But it is possible that time may show a resurgence of Chinese values and concepts and that the ruling hierarchy may find it incumbent to modify the present rigid system. The present leaders of China belong to the same category as Ch'en Tu-hsiu, but should in future they find a need for a moderation of the present system of governing the 700 millions Chinese then it would be to some extent a vindication of Ts'ai's more indigenous approach for the advancement of China and the Chinese.
2. Aesthetics As A Substitute For Religion.

(a) 'Man does not live by bread alone.'

Nineteenth century statesmen such as Tseng Kuo-fan, Li Hung-chang, and Chang Chih-tung when faced with the superiority of Western arms thought that China could strengthen herself just by learning the military technique of the West. By the turn of the century this was found to be inadequate and reformers such as K'ang Yu-wei, and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao called for more basic reforms, not merely in the field of military science but in the political and social systems of the country as well. However, when in the twentieth century it became clear that the advances of the West had been due to general scientific advancement, radical leaders such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu began to call loudly for the promotion of science. It is natural that since China was a very backward country materially this call did not go unheeded, though owing to the deplorable internal conditions brought about by civil strife there had been no significant material and scientific progress. Had China not been torn by internal wars, and had the country been under a strong unified rule from the time the Republic was founded it is perhaps not too presumptuous to suggest that she might today be as advanced industrially as Japan, although the latter had a fifty-years' advantage.
Almost all reformers and advocates of modernization and change had been concerned with the material progress of China, and rightly so, since material advancement was the most urgent need of China. And since there could be no material progress without scientific development post-republican leaders were well aware of the need to advance the cause of science, as the articles of the Hsin Ch'ing-nien show. Science and Democracy were the watchwords of the new Chinese intellectuals from the middle of the second decade of this century, the frequency of their use outnumbered perhaps only by the 'San-min Chu-i' (Three Principles). Certainly the two things most needed were the unification of China under a good and efficient government and the acquisition of scientific knowledge for the development of her material resources. Politics and science were therefore the two preoccupations of the time.

However, of the returned students there were those who drifted into studying humanities and the arts, and the ideas brought home by these people served to counter-balance the preoccupation with politics and science. Though Ts'ai went to study in Germany at a very late age he similarly acquired some knowledge of Western humanistic studies which he tried to impart on his return. One of his favourite subjects was aesthetics which he personally taught at the
Peking University for a short period. Aesthetics was to Ts'ai as Dewey's pragmatic philosophy was to Hu Shih, the one originating from France and Germany, the other from America. So enthusiastic was he over aesthetics that he gave a lecture at Peking entitled 'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' (On Substituting of Aesthetics for Religion'), which shall be discussed now.

Although Ts'ai was himself a strong advocate of scientific advancement he recognized that there was more to human life than material sufficiency alone. Hence he was critical of the West for its blind esteem of material things. In response to a question on aesthetic culture Ts'ai said:

.... I think that the present world is daily running on the road towards science and blindly esteeming material things, as if man's existence in this world is merely for the sake of eating bread. Because of this the evil nature of greed is increased so that from competition it leads to seizure. We can in fact say that the cause of the great war is due entirely to the sin of materialism. At present many outside people [people outside China] are talking of a Second World War, but the majority of them only know of arms reduction and the prohibition of armament production. In fact this is talking only of the surface, for the fundamental principle of action is in the peoples themselves. It should be noted that science and religion are basically two diametrically opposing things. What science esteems is material, what religion emphasizes is feeling. As science waxes religion wanes, the more material things flourish the more feeling dies off. Human beings become distant from one another day by day
and destroy one another. Originally men made machines, but they themselves have become slaves of machines, being directed by the machines to look pitilessly upon their own species as enemies. I have advocated aesthetics so that men may recover their lost feeling in music, sculpture, painting and literature. Often after listening to a song, looking at a picture or sculpture, or reading a poem or essay, we can have an unutterable sensation; the air around can become gentler, the object before our eyes can become sweeter, and we feel as if we ourselves have a great mission in this world. This mission is not merely to enable every one to have food to eat, clothes to wear and houses to live in, but also at the same time to enable every one, in addition to maintaining an existence, to enjoy life. Having known the happiness of enjoying life one would at the same time have known the loveliness of life, and men's feeling for one another would unexpectedly become more intense. Therefore, although it cannot be said that aesthetic culture could totally eliminate war, at least the sprouting grains that cause conflict could be considerably destroyed.

(Translation by the author)

Ts'ai's cognizance that with scientific progress the world tended to become more materialistic, bringing with it problems of human relationship that called for expert solution, was commendable. At a time when China was in dire need of the fruits of technological advances few would consider the consequences of a material progress that was yet to come. His knowledge of the European scene gave him this insight into the problems that the world outside China was confronted with, while China was facing the more severe and urgent problems of an underdeveloped country wrecked by internal disorders. His criticism of the evils of materialism
is not unlike the attacks levelled against science and materialism by Western churchmen, the striking difference is that while the churchmen naturally regard religion as the remedy for the ills of this materialistic world, Ts'ai recommended the cultivation of aesthetics.

Western religionists would certainly agree with Ts'ai that 'man does not live by bread alone.' In fact Ts'ai must have borrowed the term 'bread' from the West as it is not usual for a Chinese to talk of eating bread, at least not in general reference to having a meal. But Western religionists would be just as certain to dismiss Ts'ai's proposal to substitute aesthetics for religion as preposterous. As far as is known Ts'ai was the only Chinese to suggest seriously the substitution of aesthetics for religion as a means of providing the emotional and spiritual needs of human life. Religion in China had not played the same role as it did in the history and life of the European and Muslim countries. In Europe Church and State were for centuries so inextricably bound up, and religion was so much a part of the life of the people. Often religious issues determined the rise and fall of nation states. In China religion as such never dominated the political scene nor did it dominate the life of the people. True, the ordinary people had their religious practices and beliefs, but the
kind of jealous and zealous belief in one particular type of religion which was present in Europe did not exist in China. It may be noted that religious wars such as the European crusades were unknown in China.

The differing roles of religion in Europe and China in past centuries is relevant to this discussion of religion versus materialism in the twentieth century. In Europe the intrusion of Science and its attendant attack on Religion brought about a struggle between the two, with Science emerging as the stronger competitor. This Science-Religion tussle may continue because religion has been so steeped in the life and tradition of the European people that its sudden disappearance would be more disastrous than scientists would like to believe. Despite the ascendancy of science for more than two centuries, religion is still significant to a great number of people in Europe and America and may continue to be so for an indefinite period, though in time it is possible that organized religion may lose its grip and a tradition of universally acceptable code of ethics be built from the religious teachings of the Church. In China where strict religious belief was the exception rather than the rule (confined mainly to Buddhist monks and nuns), the intrusion of
science did not bring about any significant reaction from the people simply because there was no organized religious group to take up the cudgel. That the Chinese did not have an organized religion like that of the Western countries does not mean that there had been no restraint on their conduct of living. On the contrary such restraints were abundant in the Buddhist-Taoist-Confucianist teachings which the people used as their moral code, with the educated gentry more steeped in the Confucian ethics. The absence of an organized religion and the emphasis on ethical living rather than on adherence to particular religious sects meant that the Chinese were morally well-equipped for their life on earth without reference to any religious authority; their authority was their moral code which they received through their education and parental teachings. All this meant that when science was introduced into China the educated people merely regarded religious beliefs as outmoded and superstitious, and a proposal for replacing religion such as the one made by Ts'ai created no stir among the people as it might have in a European country.

If Ts'ai's proposal to substitute aesthetics for religion did not create consternation among the people it did not arouse any enthusiastic response either. Religion
or aesthetics was not a matter of great urgency to China and therefore interest in the subject was limited. The people had to be concerned with the more pressing problems of national survival. However, since Ts'ai placed so much emphasis on the rôle of aesthetics in human life it is certain that this enthusiasm for aesthetics coloured his thought and philosophy of life. Any attempt to understand Ts'ai's thought should take into consideration his ideas on aesthetics which influenced his educational philosophy considerably. The following discussion of Ts'ai's ideas on aesthetics is based mainly on his lecture 'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' 以美育代宗教說 (On Substituting Aesthetics for Religion) given in 1917, and his article 'Mei-yü Shih-shih Fang-fa' 美育實施方法 (Methods for the Practical Application of Aesthetic Culture) published in 1922. The former represents Ts'ai's most important exposition on the subject of aesthetics.

(b) 'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' 以美育代宗教說 (On Substituting Aesthetics for Religion).

'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' was a lecture given to the Shên-chou Hsüeh-hui 神州學會 (Shen-chou Society) of Peking. Ts'ai felt that it was a topic which was relevant to Chinese society at the time.
In his lecture Ts'ai began by saying that religion in the Western European countries had become a thing of the past and that people attended churches because of historical habit. Owing to the intrusion of science, religion had become a sort of ceremonial garment which the people wore, not on account of its utilitarian value but because it was an old custom which died hard. Thus he questioned the wisdom of adopting this outmoded custom of the West, and he blamed the returned students for mistakenly attributing the advances of Western society to religion. He also criticized attempts by some Chinese to organize a Confucian religion, regarding Confucius as the Christ of China. Ts'ai said that the origin of religion was the result of the function of man's own spirit, there being three types of function, namely knowledge, will and emotion. The need for religion arose because men were ignorant of natural phenomena and being unable to explain nature were resigned to regarding it as incomprehensible and only traceable to God or the Unknown. The lack of reasoning power also caused men to succumb to easy explanations of religionists, and this Ts'ai called the subordination of the will-function to religion.

Furthermore, Ts'ai said that religionists made
use of human emotions to induce people into believing in religion. He pointed out that the art of the uncivilized people was invariably connected with religion. With the advance of science, however, he said that men were able to explain natural phenomena which they had been unable to before and had to attribute to religion and the Unknown. As men became confirmed in their knowledge, will-power and emotional satisfaction, the need for religion disappeared. Ts'ai pointed out that religious buildings were often situated amidst beautiful landscape so much so that there is a common saying 'The famous mountains in the empire are mostly occupied by monks.' This he said was the use of artistic appeal to induce people into entering the temple. He further observed that this association of art and religion was diminishing as men became more enlightened through science. Having lost its hold over knowledge and will-power religion was left with the appeal to human emotions. This being so Ts'ai asked if religion could not be replaced by aesthetics.

Ts'ai then went on to compare religion with aesthetics. He pointed out that there was no religion which did not seek to expand itself and in the process attacked other religions;
Mohammed of the Islam religion had a Koran in his left hand and a sword in his right, and all who did not follow his religion were slain. Christianity conflicted with Islam, resulting in the Crusades which lasted several hundred years. Within Christianity there were wars between the old and new sects which also lasted for years ... Thinking of the abuses of stirring up emotions and the art of nurturing emotions it is better to discard religion and simply use pure aesthetics. Pure aesthetics is that which satisfies our emotions, giving us a lofty and pure habit, and bringing about a gradual diminishing of our selfish, egoistic and harmful thoughts. This is because beauty had an universal quality and brooks no selfish distinctions ... \( ^{31} \) (Translation by the Author)

As Ts'ai saw it, beauty had no restrictive barriers and everybody could appreciate and enjoy it; it gave emotional satisfaction to a big number of people without discrimination. However, Ts'ai expected everyone to view and enjoy beauty with detachment saying that though people were fond of female beauty, the Greek nude figures were not to be thought of in terms of sex, and the nude paintings of Raphael or Rubens should not be viewed in the same way as the obscene pictures of Chou Fang 周昉. \( ^{32} \) Here Ts'ai strikes one as being unrealistic and over-idealistc, for though such forms of beauty should be viewed as art for the appreciation of their aesthetic qualities, the possibility of the viewer conjuring up sexual feelings certainly cannot be precluded. To do so is to ignore reality.
(c) The practical application of aesthetic culture.

In the course of his educational career Ts'ai made various suggestions for the promotion of aesthetics. The most comprehensive plan for aesthetic development was expounded in his article 'Mei-yü Shih-shih Fang-fa' of 1922. As in general education, aesthetics could be inculcated at three levels, namely, through family education, school education, and social education. In his scheme for promoting aesthetics and aesthetic appreciation Ts'ai made some rather unusual and extreme proposals. In his view aesthetic cultivation should begin even before a child was born and continue within the family, through the school, into society. It was essentially an idealistic exposition based on borrowed Western ideas.

According to Ts'ai's plan aesthetic culture could begin in Public Prenatal Institutions where expectant mothers live in preparation for the birth of their babies. It was suggested that these Prenatal Institutions should be established amidst pretty surroundings which were free from the contamination of foul city air and other disturbances. The building should be symmetrical and elegant, using the old local style with a little influence from Greece of the
Renaissance period. The oppressive style of Egypt, and unbalanced architecture ought to be avoided. All round the building there should be courtyards and gardens with open fields for walking, light exercises, and gazing at moon and stars. In the garden there should be flowers and trees for visual enjoyment in all seasons. Animals with pretty hairs and pleasant voices should be let free amidst the flowers and shrubs, and should not be caged or tied up. Water could be channelled into springs and ponds made for rearing lively fishes. Wallpaper in the rooms, and carpets on the floor should have pleasing, soft colours and elegant designs.

Instruments for use and display should be light and pretty and not clumsy and over-elaborate. In the room everything should be systematic and not confused. Paintings and sculptures for display should be beautiful and of superior quality; there should also be nude statues and paintings of healthy and perfect bodies. Anything that depicted ugliness, lust, sorrow and monstrosities should not be included. Colours that were too piercing should be avoided. The literature that mothers-to-be read should consist of works depicting optimism and peace; anything describing the darker side of society or nervousness in
individuals must also be excluded. There could be daily music, but the standard for selection should be the same as in art, that is, not choosing anything that was too provocative, or debasing. In short would-be mothers must live amidst a peaceful and lively atmosphere, so that there was no bad influence on the unborn babes. This Ts'ai regarded as the aesthetic culture of unborn babies.

After birth the babies and their mothers should live in Public Nurseries where during the first year the babies were looked after by their own mothers. From the second or third year onwards if mothers had their own special work to do their babies would be looked after at the nurseries by governesses. The buildings used as nurseries would have similar construction and surrounding as the Pre-natal Institutes and could well be combined at one locality. Within the nurseries the sculptures and paintings displayed should consist more of nude, healthy children in various poses. These could be changed every few days. Simple and quiet music could be played. In the nurseries the words and deeds of adults should be exemplary. Even in dress and ornaments there should be an expression of beauty. Before the establishment of such public institutions, if houses could have facilities of a similar
nature, they could provide a family aesthetic culture. When the children reached the age of three they should enter kindergarten, which was a transitional institution between family education and school education. At this stage, in aesthetic feeling, children did not only receive passively, they could themselves express this feeling. Dancing, singing and handwork were all specialized forms of aesthetic culture. In teaching these children to count and speak the teachers were urged to follow their sense of beauty and not use dull conventional methods.

From the age of six the children would enter primary schools and for the next eleven or twelve years their formal education would include aesthetic subjects in the curriculum, such as music, art, sports, and literature. However, Ts'ai felt that apart from these definite aesthetic subjects, nearly all subjects in the school curriculum lent themselves to aesthetic expression. For example Ts'ai said that in art perspective and rhythm calculation was involved, a more striking example of which was cutting gold. Mathematical games, geometrical forms and even physics and chemistry had possible aesthetic associations. Ts'ai saw mutual usefulness between scientific and aesthetic subjects.
Material for aesthetic culture could be drawn from widely diverse sources - from history, geography, astronomy and natural phenomena. Thus the possibilities of aesthetic teaching in the schools was unlimited.

After the general school course students who entered the special schools would be pursuing pure aesthetic subjects if they chose to do so. Music lovers would enter schools of music; lovers of sculpture, construction, and art would enter schools of art; lovers of drama would enter schools of drama; and lovers of literature would enter university arts faculty. The architecture of all schools and exhibits displayed should be aesthetically planned. This, and the holding of frequent debates, musical concerts, exhibits, commemorative meetings and the like could all serve to popularize aesthetics in educational institutions.

But since students could not be in schools all the time and there were those who had left school or were not attending educational institutions for other reasons, there should be opportunities for aesthetic culture in the general society. Aesthetic culture in society could firstly be spread through special institutions, namely art galleries, art exhibitions, musical concerts, the theatres, historical museums, archaeological display centres, ethnological museums,
zoological display centres, botanical and zoological gardens. All these would provide ample facilities for cultivating aesthetic appreciation and the development of aesthetic sense. In addition, national development planners could play an important part in beautifying the country. Roads, buildings, parks, gardens, and the like could be planned in such a way as to bring forth their maximum aesthetic value. The preservation of ancient relics and historical buildings, and keeping them in a proper state of repair were also important. Finally Ts'ai called for the orderly arrangement of cemeteries in China with a view to improving them aesthetically. He thought that Chinese cemeteries were extremely disorderly and utterly lacking in aesthetic sense. He recommended copying the West in the orderly arrangement of burial plots, with appropriate tablets, trees and flowers around, all artistically executed. He also thought that cremation was a custom worth adopting as it was so much more economical in the use of land, and the crematorium could be designed with the same aesthetic considerations.

It will be seen that Ts'ai had envisaged an elaborate scheme in which aesthetic culture extended literally from the cradle to the grave, in fact, from the womb to the grave. It was altogether a very idealistic and bold
proposition which would need a very radical and rich government to attempt practicing it fully. During his lifetime only some of his suggestions concerning aesthetic teaching in schools and the establishment of aesthetic institutions such as museums were put into practice. Under the commune system introduced in China today public nurseries to take care of children while mothers work in fields and factories have become a practical necessity, but it is extremely doubtful if the aesthetic purpose thought up by Ts'ai has been considered by the planners of the communes. Ts'ai's plan for an aesthetic revolution has thus only been partially realized. Instead of the substitution of aesthetics for religion it is perhaps the substitution of communism for religion.

3. Ts'ai's anti-religious attitude and the growth of the anti-religious movement in China.

(a) Ts'ai's call for absolute freedom of belief.

In common with other twentieth century Chinese leaders, Ts'ai showed a distrust of religion and he opposed the move to make Confucianism a state religion, a suggestion first made by K'ang Yu-wei. Firstly, he advocated complete
freedom of religious belief. Secondly, he saw no good in religious systems though, as Chow Tse-tsung pointed out, he did not call for the abolition of all religions.\textsuperscript{36}

He did, however, propose the substitution of aesthetics for religion, which is tantamount to rejecting the usefulness of religion in human life. In a speech to the Hsin-chiao Tzü-yu Hui (Society for Religious Freedom) in 1917 Ts'ai expressed alarm at some people's suggestions that Confucianism should be made a state religion. He said that Confucius, religion, and the state were all different and should not be mixed together. As in his article 'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' he expressed the same view that religion was mainly superstitious belief arising out of man's ignorance of natural phenomena. The teachings of Confucius concerned education, government, and morality, and had no connexion with religion; therefore to make Confucianism a religion was incompatible with the original intentions of Confucius. Hence he said that the term 'Confucian religion' should not remain.\textsuperscript{37}

Dealing with the state, Ts'ai pointed out that it was a political body set up for the protection of its people by means of orderly government. On their part the people were
willing to sacrifice their personal freedom in subjection to the laws of the government in the interest of self-preservation. The state was secular and not spiritual, and had nothing to do with life before birth or life after death. State and religion therefore must be separate, as each operated in its respective sphere, the one was concerned with physical life here on earth, the other the spiritual life of the world to come.38

In the forefront of this attack on Confucianism as a state religion was Ch'en Tu-hsiu who judged religions as useless because they had no utilitarian value to human beings on earth. He said that since all religions were useless as instruments of government and education they should be 'classed with other discarded idols of a past age.'39

The speech analysed above is typical of Ts'ai's frequent references to religion as an outmoded institution which modern China could well do without. This attitude was certainly not a unique one, as most Chinese intellectuals of his time were against the adoption of any organized religion and had a dim view of the role of religion in contemporary China.40
Ts'ai believed in the complete freedom of religious belief. By that he meant also that there should be freedom of disbelief. On account of this he was against religious instruction in schools which he felt would unfairly influence the minds of the young and ignorant, and encourage blind following. He said:

... What I especially oppose are those mission schools and youth associations which make use of various subtle means to induce youthful students to believe in their Christian religion.

He saw no need for the propagation of religion as this tended to interfere with complete freedom of religious choice. He did not think that the rituals and creeds of religion could nourish virtues in men and felt that to make such a suggestion was self-deception and deceiving others.

This anti-religious attitude of the Chinese intellectuals of whom Ts'ai was only one representative had, apart from the general indifference to religion of the Chinese, been considerably influenced by Western thinkers such as Bacon, Descartes, Voltaire, Bentham, Lamarck, Comte, Darwin, Russell and others. Their arguments against religion were generally that (1) religious faith did not come from logic; (2) religion originated from the ignorance and fear of primitive peoples; (3) religions were partisan and aligned against one another; (4) the theory of the immortality of
the soul was but a superstition without rational ground for its belief; (5) the Old Testament, the Genesis story, accounts of the birth, miracles, and resurrection of Jesus were all unscientific and superstitious. In short, Christianity trusts God and ignores man. The trend towards atheism among Chinese intellectual leaders of the twentieth century may be attributed to two interrelated factors: firstly many of the Western thinkers to whom the Chinese intelligentsia look for inspiration were themselves atheistic and anti-religion; secondly, science which had dealt a severe blow to religious belief in Europe was China's new saviour.

Education in China should thus embrace science and secularism and not religion. In 1922 Ts'ai wrote an article entitled 'Chiao-yü Tu-li I' (Proposal for Independent Education) in which he stressed the importance of an education that was free from the influence of religious sects and political parties. To prevent religious influence in educational institutions he put forward three suggestions: (1) In the university there was no need for the inclusion of theology as a subject; it was sufficient to teach History of Religion and Comparative Religions as part of the course on philosophy. (2) Religion must not be made a subject in the school curriculum, and the observation of prayers.
should not be allowed. (3) Those whose occupation was preaching religion should not be connected with education. Ts'ai said that his idea was to keep education totally free of religion. 

(b) Ts'ai and the Fei-tsung-chiao Ta T'ung-meng 非宗教大同盟 (The Great Alliance of Non-religionists).

In 1922 it became known that a conference of the World's Student Christian Federation was to be held in April at the Tsing-hua University 清华大学 in Peking and in March radical leaders of the Kuomintang together with the communists began organizing a Great Alliance of Non-religionists. Among the active supporters of this Alliance were Li Shih-teng, Ts'ai, Wu Chih-hui, Wang Ching-wei, Tai Chi-t'ao 戴季陶 46 and Ch'en Tu-hsiu.47 The purpose of this Alliance was to counter the influence of the World's Student Christian Federation, to agitate for a restriction on religious propagation in mission-controlled educational institutions, and to press for the return to the Chinese government of the right to educate her own people, for it was genuinely feared that if the work of Christian missions in schools were left unchecked education in China would in time be monopolized by the Christian churches.
As one of the supporters of the "P'ei Tsung-Chiao Ta T'ung mèng" at Peking, Ts'ai made a speech at its convention on 9 April 1922 in which he said:

This year suddenly there is a World's Student Christian Federation which intends to hold a Conference at the Ch'ing-hua College. Why are these students willing to take on the name of Christians, and why is Ch'ing-hua College willing to become the venue for the conference of a religious federation is indeed beyond explanation. All things are relative ... as there is an Alliance of Religionists' movement, there must be an Alliance of Non-religionists' movement, this is quite natural. Some people suspect that this Alliance of Non-religionists is a threat to freedom of belief, I do not think so. There is freedom of religious belief, there must also be freedom of non-belief in religion. If the Alliance of Non-religionists is a threat to freedom of belief, then is not the Alliance of Religionists also a threat to freedom of belief? Since we do not believe in religion when there is the need for a movement of non-religionists we are free to carry on the movement, and there is no need to fear! 48 (Translation by the author)

It is interesting to note that in his support of student movements Ts'ai had never been as explicit as he was in this case which concerned religion. It leaves one with little doubt where Ts'ai's sympathies lie on the question of religion and religious education. In fact Ts'ai betrayed a feeling of intolerance in his reference to the Tsing-hua students taking on the title of Christians. There is almost a hint that it was inconceivable that students of Tsing-hua
should take such a misguided step as to become Christians, as non-belief in religion was the only right way. However, Ts'ai did not suggest that the World's Student Christian Federation should not exist. He only claimed the right for the existence of a counter movement, and queried the wisdom of an educational institution allowing its premises to be used for a religious conference.

The above speech was given at the Peking National University of which Ts'ai was still the chancellor. It was reported that the meeting appealed widely to students of other educational centres. Following upon this convention, anti-Christian manifestoes were issued by the Peking National University and eight other national higher institutions. Besides Peking, anti-Christian organizations were established in Shanghai, Canton, Nanking, Hangchow, and elsewhere, attracting many students. In May the Socialists Youth Organization at its First Great National Congress passed a resolution supporting the anti-Christian and anti-religious organizations. Many articles appeared in newspapers and journals both for and against the anti-religious movement, including a volume of anti-religious essays by the Alliance itself.
The anti-religious movement has been the subject of some study by various writers and lies outside the scope of this thesis. Suffice it only to trace how Ts'ai's own anti-religious attitude and intellectual leadership had influenced the rise of this movement against religion in general and Christianity in particular. In an article entitled 'The Anti-Christian Movement in China, 1922-1927' Tatsuro and Sumiko Yamamoto pointed out that 'the New Thought Movement, which was influential among young intellectuals in China after 1915, paved the way for the Anti-Christian agitation of the 1920s.' As the basis of the new thought was science and democracy, and as leading thinkers in the West were rejecting religion as incompatible with scientific truths, the Chinese intellectuals had a common critical attitude towards religion, many of whom regarded it as useless. Ts'ai was no exception. Ch'en Tu-hsiu also strongly opposed religion and regarded it as an obstacle to scientific development. It may thus be seen that in accepting the science and democracy of the West the new intellectuals of China were unknowingly being trained in the secular tradition of Darwin, Huxley and Bertrand Russell because science and religion were not mutually accommodating even in the West. In 1920-1921 Bertrand Russell was on a lecture tour in China where he spoke out...
against religion. 53

Further evidence that the leaders of the new thought (of whom Ts'ai was a representative) had influenced the growth of the anti-religious movement is seen in the fact that ideas of science and rationalism were used as the chief weapons in attacking religion. On 21 March 1922 the Great Alliance of Non-religionists issued a manifesto which began:

We swear ourselves to sweep away the poison and harm of religion on behalf of human society. We profoundly deplore the fact that in human society religion has spread a poison which is ten times, a thousand times worse than floods or ferocious animals. If there is to be religion, mankind may just as well not exist; if there is to be a human race, religion must not subsist. Religion and mankind cannot both exist. The origin of mankind has been through evolution; but in religion it is explained with bias that man and all things were created by heaven or earth. In the beginning men were free and equal; but this is distorted by religious explanation; thought is restrained, personality is ruined, idols are worshipped and one man is adored as master. 54

(Translation by the Author)

Although the ideas in the manifesto were far more vehement than what Ts'ai had ever expressed on the question of religion they were nevertheless based on the same theme that religion was anti-science. Besides this, the metaphor of floods and ferocious animals was used by Ts'ai previously. 55
Even clearer was the circular telegram sent by the Fei-tsung-chiao Ta T'ung-mêng on 1 April 1922 which stated its aim as 'solely to remove the yoke of religion and to enhance the truth of science.' In its manifesto it advanced the following reasons for attacking religion: (a) religion was out of date; (b) religion was unfavourable to human progress; (c) religion had no connexion with morality; (d) religion was not necessary to mankind. As for Christianity, it was (a) too unscientific; (b) contrary to logic; (c) contrary to social theories; (d) not adaptable. These points did not differ much from Ts'ai's own pronouncements on the issue and show that the anti-Christian movement in China had been inspired by the new ideas of science and rationalism which were current after the publication of Hsin Ch'ing-nien in 1915, and throughout the period when the New Culture Movement was in full swing. Early radicals such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu were anti-Confucius and anti-tradition, but general inclination towards secularism led the intelligentsia to adopt an anti-religious and anti-Christian attitude. In this respect Ts'ai's anti-religious stand expressed in his speeches and articles had played a part in sowing the seeds of the anti-religious movement which gained momentum in the 1920's, though he was by no means the sole inspirer.
Summing up Ts'ai's role in the anti-religious movement of contemporary China, Ts'ai Shang-ssū 蕭尚思, whose Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei Hsüeh-shu Ssū-hsiang Chuan-chi 蕭元培學術思想傳記 (The Biography, Scholarship and Thought of Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei) is the only significant biography of Ts'ai, wrote:

Mr Ts'ai is a representative of aestheticism. He opposed religion over the longest period and made many anti-religious speeches. In addition, on account of his high position and his great strength he had no fear of the Church and could easily attract the attention of the educational circles. Consequently he had become an extremely important leader in the history of anti-religious education in modern China.

(Translation by the author).
NOTES

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. 'Pên-chih Tsui-an Chih Ta-pien Shu' 本誌罪案之答辯書 in Hsin Ch'ing-nien, VI, 1 (15 January 1919), 10-11.

2. 'Wên-ming Chih Hsiao-hua' 文明之消化, in Hsüan-chi, 26-27. Also found in Tung-fang Tsa-chih, XIV, 2 (February 1917).

3. See discussion further on in this chapter.

4. Confucian China and its Modern Fate, 112.

5. Professor C.P. FitzGerald made the point that there had been a certain amount of borrowing from China by the West, though in the earlier days Westerners were not inclined to admit it. He quoted as example the British system of civil service recruitment which had been borrowed from the Chinese and adopted to suit modern conditions in Britain. The emphasis of the British civil service examinations on the value of a broad training rather than a narrow specialized education throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the result of using the Chinese model. During this period the British civil service was staffed by a majority of Oxford and Cambridge graduates who had been through the well-known schools of Eton and Harrow, in preference to the graduates from the more specialized institutes of London.

Information derived from personal discussion with C.P. FitzGerald.

Also see his book The Chinese View of their Place in the World, 34.


7. Ibid., passim.


9. See discussion of this topic in a later section.
10. Levenson, loc. cit.
11. Ibid.
12. For a development of this theme see C.P. Fitzgerald, op. cit., passim.
13. I-wên, 1.
15. Ibid.
16. I-wên, 3.
19. Ibid., 75-77.
20. See chapter six.
22. 'Hei-an Yü Kuang-ming Ti Hsiac-ch'ang' 黑暗與光明之消長, in I-wên, 21-23.
23. For Hu Shih's criticism see 'Chi-nien Wu-ssû', in Wu-ssû Ai-kuo Yün-tung Ssu-shih Chou-nien Chi-nien T'ê-k'ân, 27-29.
25. 'Ching-kao Ch'ing-nien' 敬告青年, Hsin Ch'ing-nien, I, 1 (15 September 1915), 1-6.
26. 'Yü Shih-tai Hua-pao Chi-chê T'an-hua' 與時代畫報記者談話, in I-wên, 252.
27. Northern Chinese do eat a kind of meat dumpling made of flour which is the Chinese equivalent of bread, but it is usual to talk of 'eating rice' when referring to having a meal. 'Eating dumpling' (Chih Pao 包) is only used in special reference to eating a particular item of food. It is the same with the Japanese who also use 'eating rice' (Gohan o taberu 飯を食う) when referring to having a meal in general.

28. 'I Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' (On Substituting Aesthetics For Religion), Hsüan-chi, 53.

29. Ibid., 55.
30. Ibid., 56.
31. Hsüan-chi, 55-56.
32. Ibid., 56.
33. Ibid., 197-203.
34. Ibid., 199.
35. Ibid., 202-203.
37. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 45-49, 'A.'
38. Ibid.


40. Chow Tse-tsung, 321.
41. Hsüan-chi, 194, 'C.'
42. Ibid., 193.
43. Huang Shih-hui, 35. The same account appears in the reprint 'Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-sheng Chuan-lüeh' in I-wen, 558.

44. Chow Tse-tsung, 321.

45. I-wen, 101-102, 'B.' Also see Hsüan-chi, 193, 'C.'

46. Tai Ch'uan-hsien (1890-1949). A native of Chekiang and educated at the Japanese Imperial University, Tai was a scholar of Japanese and a Buddhist devotee. After his return from Japan he worked for the T'ien-Chê Pao and the Min-li Pao at Shanghai. In 1913 he became a secretary and translator to Dr Sun Yat-sen. Later he became a teacher at the Whampoa Military Academy and lectured on the 'San-min Chu-i.' In 1928 he was appointed President of the Examination Yuan of the Kuomintang Government, and a member of the Central Executive Committee for a number of years. He was known to be a rightist member of the Kuomintang. Among other posts, he was Chancellor of the Chung-shan University at Canton in 1926. His year of birth is given in Japanese biographical dictionaries as 1882. The year 1890 given in dictionaries compiled from Chinese sources has been followed here.


47. See Yamamoto Tatsuro and Sumiko, 'The Anti-Christian Movement in China,' The Far Eastern Quarterly, XII, 2 (February 1952), 134, 138. Also see Chow Tse-tsung, 324.


The 'Fei Tsung-chiao T'ung-meng' published a book of five essays Fan-tui Chi-tu-chiao Yun-tung attacking Christianity. The first essay gave five reasons for the anti-religious movement which we quote below:

1. Religion emphasizes conservatism and bigotry, whereas what the people need is advancement of scholarship.

2. The people want racial harmony, but religion emphasizes sects and differences, which increases divisions and hatred between men.

3. The people want science and enlightenment but religion teaches people the ways of the gods and encourages superstition.

4. The people want to cultivate self-reliance but religion teaches people to pray and to be dependent.

5. The people want human development but religion belittles the body and urges labourers to suffer willingly. This would cause the extinction of human life.

Special reasons were given for anti-Christianity, namely,

1. Teachings about God's creation of man, the everlasting soul, can be disproved by the theories of evolution, psychology, and biology. The forgiveness of sin is not only false teaching but an encouragement to sinful acts. Love and sacrifice are not singular to Christian teaching, and the Christian teaching of these two virtues is misleading, for instance the teachings of turning the cheeks and giving away clothes.

2. Christianity has been the vanguard of the imperialistic invasion of China. On account of missionary activities China had on several occasions to pay indemnity and portion out her land. Besides they have used their missionary work to break up the independence of the Chinese people.
Sponsors of the anti-religious movement went one step further to state that they should be especially anti-Christian because

1. The Christian missions make use of influential people in carrying out their work. They make contacts with officials and rich landowners.

2. They recruit converts by means of material inducements and exploiting their desire for glory and wealth.

3. Ministers and church members are mainly dependent on the church for a livelihood and their speech and action are inconsistent and false.

4. Ministers use the backing of imperialism to threaten officials, settle matters by force, give protection to criminals, and conduct lawsuits. At times they have even transported arms for bandits and helped to prolong civil strife in China.

5. They use money to buy and employ followers, and at times even interfere with their marriage and cause sufferings.

6. In their four hundred years' missionary work their influence has only been to change a portion of the villagers' Buddha into shang-ti (God), and to make them worship foreigners. Apart from this there has been no benefit.

The Alliance was of the opinion that young students must be more anti-Christian because of

1. Autocracy - which does not allow students to move freely and think freely.

2. Threats - Misleading young pupils to say 'If you do not believe in God the devil will attack you.'

3. Force - Those who do not believe in religion are also obliged to attend service and to study the bible.

4. Unfair treatment - Those who do not attend service would not have their vacation, and would be starved.
5. Conservatism - Text books, teaching methods, administration are obsolete.

6. Prohibition of patriotism - Missionaries generally despise China, and do not allow students to participate in patriotic movements.

7. Obstructing individual development - Using bible tracts and severe methods to convert students, the emphasis is not on learning and knowing but on accomplishing; all this is contrary to educational principles. (Translation by the author)

See Fan-tui Chi-tu-chiao Yun-tung, 1-4.


52. Yen Hsing Lu, I, 203-213, 'G.' Also see Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 370-375, quoting Ts'ai's 'Mei-yü Tai Tsung-chiao' an article which is not found in the three collections available to the present writer.

53. Yamamoto, op. cit., 137. Also see Bertrand Russell, The Problem of China, passim.


55. See 'Hung-shui Yu Meng-shou' 洪水與猛獸 in I-wen, 51-52.

56. Yamamoto, loc. cit.

57. See footnote 50 above, and 'The Anti-Religion Movement,' in Chinese Recorder, LIX, 8 (August 1923), 463-64.

58. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 368.
CHAPTER EIGHT

TS'AI AND THE NEW LIFE OF WORK AND STUDY

1. Ts'ai's view of the new life.

(a) Every one must work and study.

In an article entitled 'Wo Ti Hsin Shêng-huo Kuan' (My view of the new life) translated below Ts'ai made a comparison of what he thought was the old and the new life, and expressed his hope for the emergence of a 'new-life' world:

'My view of the new life'

What is the old life? It is withered and retrogressive. What is the new life? It is virile and progressive. In the old life a section of the people did not work or study but were throughout the day engaged in such pastimes as eating, wearing clothes, visiting prostitutes and gambling. Materially they produced nothing and spiritually they did not grow at all. Another section of the people worked hard the whole day long and had no opportunity to study. Physically they became utterly exhausted, the work they did receiving only poor rewards, and spiritually they had no outlet. Was life not entirely withered? The physical strength of those who do not work gradually weakens and the mental capacity of those who do not study also gradually diminishes. From generation to generation they become physically more weakened and mentally more incapacitated. Is this not entirely retrogressive? In the new life every one has a definite job and a fixed time for study each day, therefore production daily increases. Is this not virile? In work, the more one practises the more experienced one
becomes, and being experienced one can increase production. Besides 'experience begets ingenuity' and new work can be added. Study partly means an explanation of the principles of the work at hand; when the principles are understood work can improve. Another aspect of study involves teaching the principles of other types of work; when these principles are understood other types of work can also be improved upon. The workers progress from simple to complicated work, from easy to difficult work, and from work that produces a little to work that produces more. Besides, the education once acquired, though it may not be directly connected with the work, will daily broaden one's outlook of life, the mind will daily become more settled, and happiness in life unnoticeably increases immensely. Is this not progressive? If a person is willing to work daily and study daily then he is a man having the new life; if the people in an organization work daily and study daily then that is an organization with the new life; if the people in the whole world work daily and study daily, then it is a 'new-life' world.\(^1\) (Translation by the author)

Consonant with the idea of progress which the Chinese had by the twentieth century come to accept as the only course for China, the idea that every one must work and every one must study was firmly saddled in Ts'ai's mind. This and the socialist concept of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' became what may be regarded as Ts'ai's twin economic creeds.\(^2\) Like some other intellectuals of his time, Ts'ai was perturbed by the economic inequalities that existed in Chinese society, and as a liberal and a believer in democracy he felt that such inequalities which
resulted in unproductiveness must be eradicated if China was to become a modern state.

In traditional China there was a wide gap between scholar-officials whose work was purely mental and the peasant farmers whose work was purely physical, as a result of which the former became weaklings physically and the latter uneducated and mentally unstimulated. This dichotomy could not remain if China wanted to utilise its entire population in the modernization process, and Ts'ai rightly called for a change in the social and economic conditions so that production could be increased and the wastage of human talents and man-power minimized.

Ts'ai's suggestion has a communist undertone, which is inevitable because he was a socialist. One needs to be reminded that Communists are also socialists, only they are more extreme in their methods. What is important is that Ts'ai emphasized the need for every one not only to work but to study. This was an enlightened suggestion as one of the basic tools of improving the livelihood of the people is to raise their intellectual level. Making all people work is the first step towards increase in production, but in the long run raising the standard of education of the entire population is of even greater importance to the progress and productiveness of a country.
Ts'ai's view of the new life was certainly an over-simplification, but anything to be understood by the general masses had to be. Thus the general trend of most literature written during the early Republican period with a view to introducing Western ideas to the Chinese people was towards simplicity, sometimes bordering on naivety, and Ts'ai was no exception.\textsuperscript{3}

Ts'ai's ideal world was one in which all inhabitants could live under the principle of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.' 'From each according to his ability' meant that every one must do as much work as he could, whether it was physical or mental work, and 'to each according to his needs' meant that both the physical necessities of living and the spiritual needs of human being should be provided for, the last meaning opportunities for study and improving the mind. Hence Ts'ai's twin economic creeds amounted to one and the same thing.\textsuperscript{4}

In his speech 'Lao-kung Shên-shêng' (The Sacredness of Labour) he further urged the people of China to be productive. Such a description of labour seems to anticipate the reverence for labour of contemporary China. Ts'ai was reminded of those unproductive people in old China who did little real work but lived by fraud and
exploitation of others. These were the absentee landlords, corrupt officials and militarists, selfish businessmen, advisers or consultants who drew salaries but did no work, and corrupt assemblymen who bribed people to obtain votes. Such were the people who became the main target of the purge by the Chinese Communists at the beginning of the present regime, which seems to indicate that though Ts'ai was not a Communist and did not believe in Communism he despised these unproductive people in the same way as the present Communist leaders. In fact in this particular speech Ts'ai sounded very much like a Communist as the following extract will show:

Gentlemen, I have already said yesterday that the final victory of the Allied Nations in the World War could destroy various evil ideologies and promote various enlightened ideologies; the value of this war can therefore be seen. But of our four hundred million brethren which of us had directly participated in it, apart from the one hundred and fifteen thousand Chinese workers in France. This is not strange. The world henceforth will be entirely a labourers' world! Ts'ai qualified the word 'labour' by saying that it did not mean only metal work and carpentry but any kind of work that was beneficial to others, both physical and mental. Taken out of context the above speech could be attributed to a Communist praising the proletariat; Ts'ai however meant to say simply that the modern world had no use for unproductive people, except in cases of inability
which was covered by his second creed 'from each according to his ability.'

In further exhorting the people to increase human productiveness Ts'ai went to the extent of saying that human beings should live to work and not work to live - a reverse form of the kindred Western saying 'We eat to live and not live to eat.' Therefore he said, 'note that work is man's heavenly duty. It comes from natural urge and is certainly not the result of compulsion by the desire to live.' Such a claim sounds over-idealistic as among the poor masses in China the struggle to produce enough food was the main preoccupation in their lives. Such people worked in order to secure their meals and not because they regarded it as a sacred duty. This is evidenced by the constant reference to 'making a living' (kuo shêng-huo 通生活 ) in the ordinary conversations of the people. The utilitarian idea of work was determined by the economic situation, and until the economic conditions of the people were substantially improved, Ts'ai's insistence that work was man's heavenly duty unddictated by the urge to live must remain a wishful theory. The Chinese have generally been industrious people, but they work hard in order to enjoy a better standard of
living; it was so in the past, and it is likely to remain so, until there is a radical change in the economy of the country and the people.

(b) The Importance of Physical Development.

In order that men may work and study, physical health is of paramount importance. In an article published in 1931 Ts'ai said that the improvement of the physical well-being of students was a life-and-death matter for educators. He advocated the increase of sports activities as a means of developing the physique of students, and lamented the lack of sporting facilities in schools in China despite twenty years' of modern school development, quoting the shameful performance of Chinese athletes at the Ninth Far Eastern Games held at Tokyo in 1931 as an example. He therefore called upon the youths of China to wake up in order to recover the physical strength of lions, having perhaps been reminded of the lion because of the Westerners' reference to China as the 'sleeping lion.' He also criticized the Chinese for their slowness of action which contrasted with the speed and efficiency of the Westerners.11

In a farewell speech to the students of Peking University on 20 October 1920 in which he urged them to attach
importance to physical culture, Ts'ai said:

Why do you wish to become bookworms with crooked backs and curved waists? In this respect I wish all of you will exercise more, according to your interests ....... 12

The lack of interest in physical activities among the Chinese was the result of centuries of esteem of the scholarly person dictated by the attractions of becoming officials of the Imperial Government (tso kuan) which necessitated a long period of concentrated study of the Chinese classics. The memorization of classical texts was an exacting occupation, and because a scholar who managed to pass the necessary examinations qualifying him for an official position would normally have become a frail and weak person, scholars came to be associated with physical disability. Physical activities were therefore confined to the peasants and uneducated workers or those who took on a military career. Hence, excepting the military graduates who were regarded inferior to the literary graduates, the scholar-officials were strictly 'brain-workers' whose recreation consisted mainly of drinking, often in the company of ladies, and practising the arts of calligraphy, poetry and painting. All men were therefore encouraged to behave in a polished or gentlemanly manner, what the Chinese called ssu-wên 斯文.
and for the scholarly gentleman to run about in the field
chasing after a ball would be regarded as not ssū-wên. Working with the hands (except of course writing) was
beneath the dignity of the gentleman. Thus the only
people who would be physically strong would be the
uneducated peasant-farmers and others engaged in menial
occupations. In fact even the farmers were not physically
very strong because of overwork and undernourishment,
and it would seem that only the fishermen were physically
tough, because they received better nourishment from a
principally fish diet.

This tradition of being ssū-wên lingered on long
after the abolition of the Imperial Examination in 1905,
and it is only in recent years, especially under the
present Communist government, that the idea of becoming
an official has lost its traditional attraction. Even
so in Taiwan today many a university graduate still prefer
entering government service (which they sometimes still
refer to by the old term tso-kuan) to say teaching in
the universities, primarily of course on account of the
better remuneration offered by the government departments. Until recently there was no widespread interest in sports
among the Chinese who regarded sports as frivolous play
suitable only for children. As Ts'ai himself pointed out, facilities in China for physical training and sports both in and out of schools left much to be desired. The nature of his appeal to students of Ōkaiding University to pay more attention to sports also indicated that at the time (1920) the old esteem of the frail and ssū-wen scholar had not completely disappeared. For this reason Ts'ai's emphasis on the value of sports was important to the development of physical education in China.

Today China has six special institutes of physical culture giving full time courses to students at college level, and there is little doubt that the traditional lack of interest in physical activities is being earnestly remedied. Mao Tse-tung has personally exhorted the nation to 'develop physical culture and improve the people's physique.' He even swam across the Yangtze River at the age of sixty-four to whip up interest in sports and to urge the youths of China to 'dare to think and dare to do.' The ssū-wen scholar has become a thing of the past, and what Ts'ai had cause for lamenting in the 1920's is no more a problem today.
(c) On the need to study abroad.

As one who had benefited from his study trips to Europe Ts'ai was strongly in favour of Chinese students going abroad. Educational facilities in China lagged behind those available in Europe and America and sending students abroad was the only means to provide them with an up-to-date training. Ts'ai gave the following reasons for the desirability of sending students overseas:

1. China did not have sufficient middle schools and universities.

2. In comparison with the Western countries schools and universities in China were poorly equipped, teachers were not properly trained, and the standard of graduates was low.

3. China lacked libraries, museums, laboratories and other facilities which were needed to give students practical experience and extra-curricular education.

4. Better cooperation in education as well as in industry and politics was necessitated by the trend towards international understanding and a global outlook.

5. Western civilization was not limited to its superiority in guns, technology, and politics. The West had an equally developed moral and literary tradition which the Chinese often regarded as the monopoly of the East.
Ts'ai urged that more students should go to study in Europe rather than Japan in order that they might acquire the new knowledge at first hand. He said that in the past many students went to Japan instead of Europe because of similarity of language, cheaper cost and greater familiarity with the country. He made a case for more students to go to Europe because the question of greater cost had been over-emphasized owing to unfamiliarity with actual conditions in Europe. He argued that with better knowledge of the means of travel and the living and educational facilities of Europe the cost of study in Europe could be considerably reduced and that the difference between educational expenses in Europe and Japan would not be very great. Under such circumstances the advantages of direct study in Europe would outweigh the greater expense. Ts'ai felt that it was the duty of those who had personal knowledge of the cost of study in Europe to enlighten people in China so that more students could be encouraged to study in Europe.¹⁹
Ts'ai and the development of Work-and-Study in Europe.

(a) The Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui 留法倉學會 (Society for Frugal Study in France).

As Minister of Education in 1912 Ts'ai supported the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui, a society formed to encourage students to study in France and to assist, guide and prepare such students for their studies abroad. The Society started a Preparatory School at Peking to provide prospective students with the necessary equipment for study in France, such as a knowledge of French and elementary science. The Ministry of Education assisted by providing one of its buildings for the use of the Preparatory School. The school employed a French scholar to teach the students French. The period of study was from one to two years.

From 1912-1913 over eighty students who were members of the Society went to study in France. In addition over forty others who subscribed to the aims of the Society either remained in China or went to France independently. It seems that more students went for studies in France during that one year than the number of government sponsored students over the previous ten years. Before
leaving China the students formed Alumnis which served as mutual aid associations while they were in France.23

Apart from providing students with a knowledge of French and some other relevant subjects the Society also provided members with up-to-date information on the most economical mode of travelling to France and the cheapest and most appropriate schools to attend. According to the Society's estimate, students could study in France frugally for a sum of about six hundred yuan per year. Details of itinerary, mode of travel and itemized costs were worked out for the guidance of members. 24

Although Ts'ai was not a founding member of the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui, the support he gave to it was valuable to the development of its work. Not long after the Society was formed Wu Chi-hui and his colleagues founded the Liu-ying Chien-hsüeh-hui (Society for Frugal Study in England) at Shanghai to assist and encourage students going to England. The work of these societies was suspended under pressure from Yuan Shih-k'ai when he took over the reins of government. The premises of the Preparatory School of the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui was taken back and the Society itself dispersed.25 It was later revived by a returned student from France.26
(b) Why Ts'ai thought France was a suitable country for Chinese students to further their education.

In 1917 a returned student from France, Hua Lin began reviving the work of the disbanded Liu-fa. Chien hsüeh Hui. He re-opened the Preparatory School with the advice and support of Ts'ai. At the opening of the school Ts'ai made a speech outlining his interest in the promotion of overseas study in France. Ts'ai said that the existence of class distinctions and the omnipotence of government and religion could well be an obstacle to progress in learning, and he felt that France was the only Western country that was free from such hindrances. This was his first reason for recommending France. His second reason was that of all the European countries it was cheapest to study in France because, apart from Paris, there were many schools which charged little tuition, board and lodging was cheap, and students with small means could receive a proper but frugal education there. Thirdly he believed that France was not second to Germany in scientific achievement as she had many great inventors, many of whose inventions were made use of by Germans. Since the Chinese had patience for research but lacked the inventive spirit they could well learn the inventive ability from the French.
Among European cultures Ts'ai considered French culture most akin to the Chinese. He said that Chinese education, like its French counterpart, had been free from state and religious control. He considered Chinese moral education to be similar to the French revolutionary concepts of liberty, equality and fraternity. France he thought had a humanist tradition combining science and aesthetics, as it was both a leading country in the field of science and highly developed in art and aesthetics. Ancient Chinese education he said laid equal emphasis on \( r\)\( \text{\text{
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}} \)\( \text{\text{}}\) which had elements of the scientific and artistic, but because over the past several thousands of years it concentrated on deductive philosophy no systematic science emerged. Therefore he felt that the inception of French learning could benefit Chinese learning to a great extent.

Ts'ai named France as the only country in Europe where ethics and not religion was taught in schools. This appealed to his secularism. Other points in favour of France were similarity of taste in art and literature, and similarity of living between Chinese farmers and the small French farmers, who were thrifty, peace-loving and friendly. It was Ts'ai's belief that France, more than any other European country, was the place where students could work and pay for their studies.
During World War I Ts'ai was in France on his third European study trip and there he tried to assist Chinese students in their education. Many Chinese students did not receive sufficient funds from home and the continuance of their education posed a big problem. Li Shih-tseng who was also in France at the time opened a bean-curd factory in Paris to provide students with part-time occupations so that they could maintain themselves and continue with their studies. In June 1915 Ts'ai, Li and others organized the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui (Society for Diligent Labour and Frugal Study) to encourage students to work and pay for their education.

Initially the Society was formed to assist students already in France. Later as the aims of the Society became known to students in China, the idea of work-and-study spread. By 1923 approximately two thousand students had gone on work-and-study schemes to France under the auspices of the Society. To publicize the idea of work-and-study the Society published a monthly magazine featuring the lives of great men who had poor and humble beginnings, such as Franklin and Rousseau.
As one of Ts'ai's ideals was that every person should work and have some opportunity and free time to study he naturally supported the idea of frugal study by means of diligent labour. To study with limited financial means was not an uncommon thing in the Chinese tradition, but to combine manual labour with study was something not done in the past. Ts'ai, Li Shih-tsêng, Wu Chih-hui and Wang Ching-wei were all pioneers of the work-and-study movement, a movement which has reached its height in China today.

To dissociate the idea of study from the old education which was aimed only at producing graduates of the Imperial Examinations, Ts'ai suggested that work-and-study should be called kung-hsüeh (work-and-learn) and not kung-tu (literally work-and-read). Ts'ai felt that the new type of education which the people of China ought to acquire should not be just tu-shu (the reading of books) but should be learning and thinking for the improvement of one's work.

In advocating thrift Ts'ai differed from his intellectual mentor T'an Ssû-t'ung who disapproved of thrift and advocated extravagance. In supporting the idea of thriftiness in the pursuit of learning Ts'ai was
only being realistic and practical, as most Chinese students were poor, and in order to study in France they had to be thrifty. Ts'ai and his colleagues in France thought that it was worth working hard for an education in France. Students who were thrifty and prepared to work hard in their part-time occupations could receive a good modern education in France which they could not easily receive without leaving China.

(d) The Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation

After the establishment of the Liu-fa Chien-hsueh Hui and the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui the number of students going to France for studies increased and there was a need for stronger and closer inter-cultural relations between France and China. In order to achieve this closer cultural and educational tie the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation was organised with headquarters in Paris. The original organizers on the Chinese side included Ts'ai, Wu Chih-hui, Wang Ching-wei and Li Shih-tsêng, Ts'ai being elected its first president. The role of the Society was general liaison between France and China on educational and cultural matters with a view to developing greater cultural exchange, but its more immediate concern was the education.
of Chinese students in France. As a general liaison body it also served to encourage work-and-study in France, but Ts'ai pointed out to the students in France at the time that the three organizations formed at different times (thus far described) had different functions and must not be regarded as one and the same organ. In particular he said that the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation, though it had on occasions assisted some students financially, did not have funds for this purpose and was in no way responsible for the students' finance. 38

In a speech given on 29 March 1916 in Paris when the Society was inaugurated Ts'ai expressed the hope that through the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation French knowledge and skill would 'inundate Chinese educational circles and open a new epoch in China.' 39 The Society was a joint body with French and Chinese members in the Committee. Members of the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsueh Hui could join the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation on payment of a membership fee of five francs a year. The services they could receive included reception on their arrival in France, assistance in recommending lodging and schools, and social introduction. 40 Apart from these services offered to Chinese students in France, the Society's
main function was deliberation with French members of
the Society on improving educational facilities for Chinese
students in France and on general cultural cooperation
between the peoples of the two countries.

The Society also edited and sponsored the writing
of simple books to aid students in studying the French
language. In 1918 the Society announced its plans to
publish a collection of textbooks, grammar books,
dictionaries and specialized scientific books for the
benefit of students taking up studies in France and others
interested in French studies. In a preface to this
projected series of books by the Société Franco-Chinoise
d'education Ts'ai emphasized the importance of the French
language and said that its value was no less than English.
He urged that more people should learn French because
(1) it was a diplomatic language, (2) it was useful for
travelling in Latin and Slavonic countries, (3) it would
be needed in view of increased emigration to France arising
from the employment of Chinese workers by the French
government, and (4) it was useful in the study of science,
since France and Germany were the two scientifically most
advanced countries of modern times, with France superior
in creative thinking and Germany superior in profound
thinking.
(e) Ts' ai and Chinese Workers' Education in France.

During the First World War China was on the side of the Allies but she did not actually participate in the European campaigns. Instead she was asked by Britain and France to provide labourers to man services in the two countries, taking the place of French and British workers who had been called up to fight in the battle fronts. Recruitment of Chinese labourers was carried out in two ways: (1) through the Tientsin Hui-min Kung-Sci 天津惠民公司 (Hui-min Company of Tientsin) a business concern which contracted to provide the French Government with labourers on terms agreed between the French Government and the Company, the Company being responsible for transporting the labourers to France and paying their wages; (2) by the French Bureau of Labour Recruitment through the Liu-fa Chien-hsueh Hui. The Liu-fa Chien-hsueh Hui recruited labourers from China on behalf of the French Government; its services were voluntary and free. Wages were paid directly to the workers by their employers and all terms of employment mutually negotiated, although with certain conditions laid down by the Liu-fa Chien-hsueh Hui for the protection of the recruits. These were that (1) their wages should be on par with French workers, (2) the workers selected should be those with intelligence and possessing no evil habits, (3) the recruiter would not be provided travelling
expenses and wages, (4) there should be provision for the education of workers. These were the conditions laid down by Li Shih-tsêng who was Secretary of the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui. According to the same report, workers who had been recruited through the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui in general received more wages than those contracted by the T'ien-tsin Hui-min Kung-ssü on account of the initial insistence that they should not accept wages below those of French workers.

Of particular relevance to the present discussion is the fourth condition, namely, that there should be provision for educating the labourers while they were in France. In this respect welfare and educational work for labour corps and student-workers began soon after the first batch of about 8,000 Chinese labourers arrived in France towards the end of 1916. Ts'ai wrote a series of forty talks which were used for instructing the workers. Of these short talks thirty dealt with moral culture and ten concerned knowledge and intellect.

In a preface to Ts'ai's collection of talks Wang Ching-wei, himself an active helper in the affairs of students and workers in France, said that they paid attention to two things: firstly, preservation and manifestation of the workers' inherent virtuus, and secondly, increase of the
workers' knowledge and ability. Wang further said that should the talks written by Ts'ai become widely read by all Chinese workers in France the following would result:

1. Young and talented workers would be encouraged to save some of their wages to further their education and improve their knowledge of the arts and skills;
2. Having a respect for learning, the Chinese workers would not regard their work as mere labour but would strive to learn from their occupations, and such knowledge and skill acquired thereby could be of value when they return to China;
3. Education could develop the moral virtues of the Chinese workers and increase their knowledge. They would then be more trusted by the French people and relations between the two peoples would become closer. In this way their prolonged stay in France would not arouse suspicion and they could be instrumental in developing business overseas for the betterment of China's economy. 

Hindsight shows that the results of the Chinese workers' experiences in France did not altogether coincide with Wang's prediction, as will be seen presently. However, the education which the illiterate Chinese workers received in France did open their minds to the new ideas that they encountered in France, making them more nationalistic, more
conscious of their own power and worth as workers, and more inclined towards socialist beliefs. To what extent these new ideas were expounded in the talks prepared by Ts'ai could be seen from a discussion of some of their contents.

The first talk in the series on moral culture was entitled 'Ho Ch'un' 合群 (Union). The theme of this talk is 'unity is strength'. Awareness of the strength of unity had perhaps an influence on the workers' later resort to strikes in collective bargaining. The next talk 'Shê Chi Wei Ch'ün' 舍己為群 (Denying Self for the Group) carried the idea of unity is strength further. It suggested that in denying self for the group one makes it strong. The logical conclusion of this analogy is that in denying self for the country one helps to build a strong nation - the basic requirement of nationalism and communism.

Ts'ai listed four types of self-sacrificing activities, namely, war which saved others from invasion, revolution which saved others from oppression, assassination which was the easiest way to effect a revolution, and sacrificing for truth. What Ts'ai imparted to the workers in this talk reflected the same revolutionary attitude that he maintained in the pre-Revolution days. It is worth noting that though the 1911 Revolution was a thing of the past, Ts'ai still felt it necessary to make uneducated workers understand the
principles of revolution. 47

In the next few talks Ts'ai dealt with the importance of civic-mindedness and working for the public good. He then discussed the Confucian gem 'Chi So Pu Yü Wu Shih Yü Jên' (What you yourself do not want, give not to others). He equated this with the Western concept of freedom—that one's freedom was limited by the freedom of others. 48 Quoting Confucius again he exhorted the people to 'Tsê Chi Chung Erh Tsê Jên Ch'ing' (Be strict to yourself and lenient to others). 49 Confucius had said, 'Kung Tzü Hou Erh Po Tsê Yü Jên, Tsê Yüan Yüan I' (He who makes liberal demands upon himself and small demands on others will keep resentment far from himself). 50 Ts'ai contended that this did not negate the principle of equality, owing to the difference in circumstances that governed the actions of two people. 51

A call for the cultivation of bravery and chivalry was given in the two talks 'Wu Wei Ch'iang Ch'i Jo' (Do not fear the strong and bully the weak), and 'Ai Hu Jo Chê' (Love and protect the weak). In the former he urged people to fight for equality and in the latter he condemned the maltreatment of surrendered prisoners-of-war, women and children internees. 52 In 'Ai Wu' (Love things)
Ts'ai discoursed against meat-eating and cruelty to animals. He held the view that in time the slaughtering of animals for food would become scarce because love of animals by human beings was increasing.  

Four of Ts'ai's talks were warnings against vices, viz., 'Chieh Shih Hsin' (Refrain from untrustworthiness), 'Chieh Hsia Wu' (Refrain from disrespect), 'Chieh Fang Hui' (Refrain from defamation), and 'Chieh Ma Li' (Refrain from cursing). Ts'ai condemned the bad habit of cursing and calling names as he saw no reason why people should abuse one another's family when they quarrelled. The above four injunctions concerned the improvement of human relationship but, with the possible exception of the first, were not issues of paramount importance.

Ts'ai attacked superstition and valued reason. He distinguished between 'Chien-jên' (Endurance) and 'Yüan-ku' (Obstinacy). He said, 'Chien-jên' is not blind so that it refuses to change when change is necessary, but will stand firm when in the right; Yüan-ku is the opposite. Altogether Ts'ai gave sixteen talks each dealing with two contrasting human qualities. Apart from the two already discussed, in the remaining ones he dealt with 'freedom and running wild,' 'civility and luxury,' 'calmness
and indifference,' 'enthusiasm and aggression,' 'shrewdness and instability,' 'bravery and rashness,' 'meticulousness and over-suspicion,' 'cleanliness and over-cleanliness,' 'mutual aid and dependence,' 'love and lust,' 'uprightness and bigotedness,' 'cautiousness and cowardice,' and 'perseverance and conservatism.'

The talk 'Ching Hsi Yü Tuo I' 精細與多疑 (Meticulousness and Over-suspicion) is noteworthy on two points. Firstly Ts'ai said that nobody should be without cautiousness. This could eradicate the tendency of doing work in a slip-shod and inefficient way, as characterized by the term ma-ma hu-hu 马馬虎虎 (anyhow). He supported the idea of careful attention and investigation, but spoke against suspicion unsupported by close examination. Ts'ai was in fact modifying the common Chinese maxim 'Fang Jen Chih Hsin Pu K'o Wu, Hai Jen Chih Hsin Pu K'o Yu' 妨人之心不可無,害人之心不可有 (One must guard against others but never harm them), in which there is the suggestion of constant suspicion of others. Ts'ai was suggesting a more positive way of living based on practical efficiency in place of the negative attitude of suspicion based on uncertainty. It was therefore a call to be progressive.
In 'Love and lust' Ts'ai listed three types of lust, namely, concubinage, prostitution and illicit intercourse. Ts'ai defined lust as 'having biological love without regard to the welfare of the recipient of such love.' At one stage of his life Ts'ai advocated the abolition of marriage but in this talk he held the orthodox view that biological love should be restricted to married partners because under the existing society only husbands and wives were in a position to fulfil the conditions of 'looking after the welfare and happiness of the recipients of biological love.' In other words Ts'ai's idea was that so long as men and women who live together and have physical relationship have the welfare and happiness of one another at heart, then even if the man-made social institution of marriage were abolished it mattered little. The welfare of the recipient of physical love would extend to offsprings of the biological union, but this should present no more difficulty than under the system of a contracted marriage as the parents would be responsible for the upbringing of their children. Should the parents part because they had ceased to have the welfare of each other at heart then the question of the children's upbringing could be resolved in the same way as operating under the system of contracted marriage.
The two prerequisites for the abolition of marriage would seem to be a greater sense of responsibility on the part of the men and women who choose to live together and the total eradication of the social stigma attached to the absence of virginity in women. The development of a higher sense of responsibility in human beings which could obviate the necessity of contracting marriages seems to be within possibility and the social stigma attached to loss of virginity in the female has been gradually receding in Western society, and it would seem that the main reason why Ts'ai's suggestion of the abolition of marriage is unlikely to take place in Western society in the foreseeable future is the strong influence of religion. In most of the Eastern societies it is the social stigma attached to lack of virginity in women that dies hard, as for instance the percentage of Chinese men who would marry divorcees and widows, especially in the case of bachelors, is much smaller in comparison with the Western countries. However, in this respect it is not known what the position is like in mainland China today.

In the remaining talks on moral culture Ts'ai warned against allowing a belief in mutual aid to develop into the habit of dependence, which is a likely tendency. He called caution without reason cowardice, and differentiated
perseverance from conservatism, the one seeks progress, the other is irresolute about advancing and hence is often stagnant. 63

The ten talks on intellectual culture do not contain much that serves to illuminate Ts'ai's thought, as they were aimed at giving the illiterate workers some knowledge of the arts of painting, music, drama, sculpture, architecture and the like. He made the usual observation that Chinese art was symbolic and Western art visual and realistic. He explained that music could move human beings deeply because psychologically man's form, society's changes and the outlook of the world are reflected in music. Operas, plays and films, especially those of the West, had considerable educative influence, and poems and songs were described as an elaborate form of interjection. 64 The last three talks dealt with architecture, sculpture and decorative art, reflecting his desire to instil in the workers some aesthetic sense. He listed seven types of artistic Chinese buildings, namely, palaces, villas, bridges, city walls, ornamented pillars, archways and gateways, and pagodas. He described sculpture as the 'most direct form of representing man's views.' 65 Chinese
sculptors esteemed form while Western sculptors valued naturalness; hence Chinese sculptors were mainly clothed and Western sculptures naked. Decorative art was, according to him, a 'most common form of art.'

From the above survey of material prepared for instructing Chinese workers in France it may be seen that Ts'ai wanted them to be educated both in the moral philosophy of China and in Western ideas of progress and modern living. The talks were short and relatively simple, but the language used was literary. One would expect Ts'ai to use the more easily understood pai-hua as the medium for teaching illiterate or semi-literate workers, though it should be noted that pai-hua had only been advocated in China a short while before and was not yet in popular use. However, in delivering their talks teachers probably had opportunities to explain the contents clearly in the spoken language and to elaborate points. Hence the literary medium used in the text need not unduly hamper the instructors from putting the ideas across to the learners.

There is no means of finding how far the didactic talks had influenced those workers who attended them. Nevertheless, such ideas as 'unity is strength,' 'denying self for the group' and equality were known to have become
universally accepted. The programme for workers' education which Ts'ai and his colleagues started was later taken over by the International Y.M.C.A. among whose workers was James Yen, a returned student from America, who later utilized his experience in France to carry out mass education in China. One visible result of the workers' education scheme was the rise of literacy of the Chinese workers in France from 20% in 1916 to 38% by 1921. This in itself was a commendable achievement.

(f) Problems faced by the Work-and-study students in France.

As a result of the work of the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui, the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui, and the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation there were over 1,700 Chinese students in France on the work-and-study scheme by 1921. When the war ended and French soldiers returned to their normal peace time occupations, employment opportunities were considerably reduced and with the inflationary cost of living, many work-and-study students were badly hit. They went to the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation to obtain assistance, and failing to receive adequate aid, became troublesome and came into conflict with the Society.

Arriving in France at this time, Ts'ai issued a notice
announcing that the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation had no financial obligations to work-and-study students in France. On reading this notice students became anxious and rushed to the Chinese Embassy in France to ask for assistance. The Chinese Ambassador to France cabled the Peking Government and the various provincial tu-ch'un (warlords) for immediate remittance to relieve the students. In its reply the Ministry of Education said that Central funds were dangerously low and it would take time to collect the needed money; meanwhile it suggested that those who could not maintain themselves in France should be sent home at Government's expense. The warlords replied that they were not responsible for the students as they had not been sent by the provincial governments.

On 28 February 1921 several hundreds of Chinese students demonstrated outside the Chinese Embassy in Paris and through their representatives requested that each student be given 400 francs per month for four years to see them through their education in France. The Ambassador was naturally not in a position to accede to the students' request, and was nearly assaulted when he tried to urge the students to return to their schools. As there were at that time over 1,700 students in France so affected,
to send them all back to China would cost the Chinese Government over two million francs in fares. In consultation with the Chinese Ambassador, the French Government suggested that this amount of money could be better used to maintain the students in France, with some assistance from the French authorities. A committee was thus formed to deal with this matter.

This Committee comprised officials from the French Government, the Chinese Embassy, and representatives of the Société Franco-Chinoise d'éducation. From donations and other means the Committee collected over 96,500 francs, and out of this fund every unemployed student was offered five francs for maintenance. The Committee also found some jobs for the students who would not accept them because they were menial and strenuous occupations. This, it may be noted, was inconsistent with the idea of 'diligent labour and frugal study' to which they had subscribed.

The discontented students then proposed that the newly completed Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons should be converted into a Work-and-Study College to accommodate them and requested the Chinese Ambassador to assist in the matter. This was followed by a request that the Institut should be handed over to the students. On hearing that Wu Chih-hui was arriving at Lyons with about one hundred new students,
an advance party of work-and-study students was sent to occupy the Institut, and the Students' General Union also moved to Lyons. The students gave the following reasons for their action:

(1) When Li Shih-tsêng returned to China he had said that the Institut Franco-Chinoise de Lyons had an important connexion with work-and-study students. (Li was one of the chief founders of the institut).

(2) Ts'ai Yüan-p'êi had, in answer to a reporter's question, said that as there were over one thousand Chinese students in France, the establishment of the Institut de Lyons was a most urgent matter.

(3) Wu Chih-hui (another founder of the Institut) had said that the Institut de Lyons was a public institution open to all, based on the idea of the sacredness of labour.

When the advanced party of work-and-study students attempted their illegal occupation of the Institut de Lyons, the principal called in the police who arrested and detained them at a nearby military camp. The Governor of Lyons, besides assisting the authorities of the Institut to evict the students, was greatly annoyed because the students had secretly communicated with, and won sympathy from, extremist members of the French Assembly who questioned
the local Government of Lyon, on the issue. Consequently on representation from the Governor of Lyon, the French Government ordered the banishment of the arrested students. Proposals to resolve the troubles made by Wu Chih-hui and other leaders were rejected by the students who insisted on their original suggestion of opening the Lyons Institute to them. On 13 October 1921 the French Government carried out the banishment order and 104 students were removed from Lyon and escorted on board a China bound ship, their fares to be paid by the Chinese Government.

3. **Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Communism.**

(a) Ts'ai's belief in socialism.

Ts'ai was essentially a democratic socialist and his belief in the equality of men was complemented by his strong belief in democracy and freedom. In the earlier part of this chapter reference has been made to his twin economic creeds which are of Marxist origin. But Ts'ai was too much a believer in freedom and democracy to be a serious follower of Marx, and he at different times made it clear that Marxism was unnecessary in China and would
not work if introduced. However, his ideals of 'everyone must work as well as study' and 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' are recognized socialist concepts, and though he was neither a true Marxist nor a Communist his brand of socialism was close to communism. On the other hand Ts'ai was a staunch democrat; hence he never accepted communism.

The impression is that Ts'ai had no clear cut political ideology. In tracing his life and career it is possible to evince a gradual shift from belief in liberal democracy at the beginning of the Republic to a belief in socialism that seemed to verge on communism towards the end of his life. This was partly due to the fact that he had, in the last fifteen years of his life, witnessed the ruthless elimination of Communist leaders by the Government of Chiang Kai-shek. Chiang had become fanatically anti-communist and his government was daily becoming more autocratic. Consequently Ts'ai gravitated more to the Left, although he was against an extreme form of government.

Ts'ai's belief in democracy went as far back as the last decades of the Ch'ing dynasty. In 1900 he wrote:

The tide of democracy rushed in as though the leaks in a river bank, fierce and irresistible. The few officials who try to stop it will only bring disaster.
He very early recognized that the strength of the nation lay with its people and attributed the Manchu emperor's dethronement and Yüan Shih-k'ài's failure to loss of confidence from the people. He was further of the opinion that in the contest among the warlords the Anfu clique had disintegrated, despite its strong army and foreign assistance, because it failed to win the people's support.  

All these indicate that Ts'ai was a champion of the common man. He believed that all men should enjoy the minimum basic requirements of a decent living and opportunities for the pursuit of happiness. His life mission was the eradication of social inequalities, particularly in the field of education.

In a speech given at the foundation of the Chung-yang Tang-wu Hsüeh-hsiao 中央黨務學校 (Central Party Affairs School) of the Kuomintang in October 1927 Ts'ai stressed that the Party should be organized from the bottom upwards, paying attention to the lower stratum of members. He told members of the Kuomintang that should the Communists gain an upper hand in organizing the peasants and working among the lower ranks they could seize over the base of the Party and destroy the work of the Kuomintang.  

This shows that Ts'ai was well aware of the importance of the masses in
the field of government and politics.

(b) Ts'ai's early distrust of the Communists.

In the same speech given in 1927 Ts'ai accused the Communists of trying to cheat the peasants and workers. He said:

The peasants and workers' movement of the Communist Party is a movement to cheat the peasants and workers; it is unable to bring benefit to peasants and workers...
At the moment the most urgent work of members of our Party is organizing the populace; we must make the populace understand the meaning of revolution and feel the need for revolution. In propagating the agricultural and industrial policy of the Party we should not cheat the populace - the peasants and workers - like the Communists.

(Translation by the author)

It seems clear that at this stage of his life and career Ts'ai was anti-communist and did not see any good in the Communist Party. Ts'ai was then a member of the Central Party and was against the Wuhan faction of the Kuomintang. He was one of those who sent telegrams calling for protection of the Party to save the nation and condemning the actions of the Wuhan Conferences. As a member of the Kuomintang Government he supported the move to oust Leftists and Communists from the Party.

In a speech given to the Hu-Ning Hu-Hang-Yung branches of the Kuomintang (operating along the two railway routes of Shanghai-Nanking and Shanghai-Hangchow-Ningpo), Ts'ai made some specific references to the
intrigues of the Communists and warned about the dangers of Russian aggression. He said that Dr Sun Yat-sen had allowed the Kuomintang to admit Communists and go through a Russian-directed reorganization because he was confident that with his presence (Ts'ai's) in the Party the Communist Party could not do anything. This showed that Sun was sure of Ts'ai's anti-communist stand. In the latter part of the speech Ts'ai warned members against being deluded and made use of by the Communists. This speech again indicated that at the time Ts'ai was anti-communist. Ts'ai said that Communism was a sick phenomenon, and he disapproved of the action of the Communists. He believed that Sun Yat-sen's principle of 'People's Livelihood' could save the nation and save the world.

In April 1927 members of the Control Yuan resolved at an emergency meeting presided over by Ts'ai to call on the Nationalist Government to keep watch over dangerous Communists and to restrict their activities. This was a follow-up of the earlier telegram which discredited the actions of the Wuhan Central Party and urged the Nanking Government to strengthen the foundation of the Party. The Nanking Government with Chiang Kai-shek
as generalissimo had indeed been ready to take drastic measures against the Communists, and before long many Communists in Shanghai were arrested and shot. Among those executed at this time was the founder of the Chinese Communist Party Li Ta-chao 李大钊. Li, however, was executed at Peking on the order of Chang Tso-lin, the northern warlord. Thus Ts'ai had gone on record as having advocated the purge of the Communists in 1927. His action as an important member of the Control Yuan of the Kuomintang has therefore been criticized by his Leftist biographers as reactionary.

(c) Ts'ai and Socialism.

The earliest mention of Ts'ai's association with socialism was in December 1919 when the Society for the Study of Socialism was founded at the Peking University, with over one hundred students and professors of the university and other colleges joining. It was reported that the Society was founded under the protection of Ts'ai. Subsequent members of the Society included Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai. In 1920 Ts'ai wrote a preface to a translation of Kirkup's History of Socialism in which he called for the spread of socialism in China by various means such as those adopted in France, England, Germany and America. It was pointed out that Confucius had
advocated socialism in his teachings. For example he had proposed equalizing the poor and the rich, and refraining from adopting a militarist and colonial external policy. Mencius, he said, had advocated spreading the theory of labourism.

At a meeting to commemorate the death of a girl student, Li Ch'ao 李超 who had committed suicide because she did not have any money to continue her studies, Ts'ai lashed out at the unequal distribution of wealth in this world:

Owing to inequalities between the poor and the rich and the monopoly of wealth and property and special privileges, it is not known how many people's rights and lives have been sacrificed. Miss Li is but one of them. If the present economic organization is changed and the principle of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs' is practised, then if there are any more studious people like Miss Li, they can study as they wish as there would be no obstacles of any kind.  

(Translation by the author)

From this speech is seen Ts'ai's view that many of society's ills could only be eradicated after a radical economic revolution. He had strong faith in Sun Yat-sen's land equalization policy and said that if it were put into practice by all countries in the world, then Marx's theory of class struggle would not be necessary and China would not be in danger of becoming Red.
(d) On Communism.

The basis of Ts'ai's socio-economic thinking is thus the question of land distribution. This was in general correct because China's economy was essentially an agricultural one and any economic development must begin with the land problem. The Communist ideology is based on class struggle and if extreme inequality in the distribution of wealth and land did not exist, the tendency for class struggle would be slight and hence the country need not resort to Communism. Ts'ai claimed, like several other social thinkers, that from 2200 B.C. to 300 B.C. China had practised a system of equalization of land rights, that is, the ching-tien or 'well-field' system.

In his view Socialism was not a new concept. On the basis of this past experience of equal distribution of well-fields Ts'ai expressed the view that there need be no fear that China would turn Communist. He believed that the inequality of wealth and classes in China had not been very great on account of this well-field system, and therefore with the extension of this system of land equalization there was no need for a class struggle in China and there was no place for Communism.
Such a view was based on hypothetical deduction as Ts' ai had made no first hand or detailed study of the economic conditions of the peasant masses. His theory formulated from a convenient reference to classical literature was therefore unreliable, and betrayed him as an amateurish economic theoretician. Besides he had been inconsistent in his reference to the economic inequalities existing in China, emphasizing them in his speech at Miss Li Ch'ao's funeral, and underrating them in his article 'Chung-kuo Ti Wen-i Chung-hsing' 中國的文藝中興 A .

Important though the question of equal distribution of land is, the economy and government of a country with a vast population such as China's involve many other factors, and therefore it was an over-simplification to suggest that so long a programme of land equalization was carried out China would never need to resort to an extreme form of government. This, apart from the factors that may govern the successful execution of such a land equalization policy.

Ts' ai had a very purist concept of Communism in his first encounter with this ideology in the last years of the Ch'ing dynasty. He associated it more with anarchism, and said that unless people could be free from
greed and selfishness Communism could not work. At that time the Russian Revolution had not taken place, and people were not in a position to know what Communism in practice could be like. Communism was then an ideal form of government to him, and it is natural that his view of Communism in the 1930's had undergone change.

An anti-communist during the early part of his career in the Kuomintang, Ts'ai later became more accommodating to the Communists and championed the rights of freedom of organization, speech, press and assembly. In 1932 when the Kuomintang became high-handed in arresting political opponents, the majority of whom were either Communists or Left wing sympathizers, Ts'ai and Madame Sung Ch'ing-ling organized the Chung-kuo Min-ch'üan Pao-chang T'ung-mêng 中國民權保障同盟 (China League for Civil Rights). It was a non-political organization established to carry out the following three tasks:

1. To fight for the liberation of political prisoners in China and to fight against the system of imprisonment, torture, and executions now prevailing. This League shall concern itself first of all and above all with the masses of unknown and nameless prisoners.

2. To give legal counsel and other assistance to political prisoners, to arouse public opinion by investigation of prison conditions and the publication of the facts in regard to the denial of civil rights in China.
3. To assist in the struggle for civil rights, i.e. rights of organization, free speech, press and assembly. 92

At a press conference Ts'ai emphasized that what the League for Civil Rights wished to guarantee was human rights which must concern all human beings irrespective of party affiliation, national boundaries, or differentiation between the incriminated and the non-incriminated. Punishment for crimes must be meted out strictly according to the provisions of the criminal code, and no additional punishment should be administered. Ts'ai was referring to the incidence of private punishments meted out by the jailors, and the maltreatment of prisoners. He stressed that there was a need to guarantee against such extra punishments, and that was one of the tasks of the China League for Civil Rights which he helped to form. 93

That at this period Ts'ai sympathized with the political prisoners, the majority of whom were Communists or suspected Communists, did not mean that he had turned Communist himself. As the Kuomintang was becoming too autocratic and had promulgated a law which could be used to arrest people indiscriminately, Ts'ai and others of the League were concerned at the abuse of this law and the consequent denial of the rights of the people. He
therefore tried to check this violation of human rights by non-political action through the League. The China League for Civil Rights, by virtue of its work of championing the rights of political prisoners, stood in opposition to the Kuomintang Government which was taking vigorous action against the Communists. The Nanking City Branch of the Kuomintang therefore called on the Central Party to take steps to curb the activities of the League and to warn Ts'ai and Madame Sung Ch'ing-ling for their work of disrupting the power and confidence of the Party. In June 1933, six months after the formation of the League, its Secretary-General Yang Ch'üan, who was also the Chief Executive Secretary of the Academia Sinica of which Ts'ai was President, was assassinated outside the Academia office, and the work of the League of Civil Rights petered out. It was clear that the League's opposition to the Government had brought upon it the wrath of the more ruthless elements of the Kuomintang and consequently an underhand means of curbing its activities was resorted to.94

During the last fifteen years of his life when the Kuomintang-Communist struggle was on Ts'ai shifted from his earlier anti-Communist stand to one of sympathy with
the Communist victims. The fact that the political prisoners for whom he had sympathy were Communists was accidental; he was merely trying to protect human rights and had no political connexions with the Communists. When Japan invaded China in 1937 Ts'ai was among the first to appeal for Kuomintang-Communist cooperation in the interest of national salvation. He remained first and last a patriot who pursued a middle but progressive course and believed that it was the course the leaders of China should follow. Near Communist in his ideas, he was no believer in Communism and was at one stage anti-Communist but never fanatically so. His prediction of a non-Communist way to China's modernization has been proved wrong, but were he alive today he would probably find no difficulty in fitting himself into the right place. Like Madame Soong Ch'ing-ling, current Vice-President of the People's Republic of China, he would likely be given an honoured position as one of the progressive yuan-lao 元老 (elder statesmen) of China.
NOTES

CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Ts'ai, 'Wo Ti Hsin Shēng-huo Kuan' in I-wēn, 470.


3. See chapter one, p.15.


5. Ibid., I, 168-69, 'G'

6. Ibid.

7. 'Chung-kuo Ti Wên-i Chung-hsing' 中國的文藝中興 in I-wēn, 10.

8. 'Kung-hsūeh Hu-chu T'uan Ti Ta Hsi-wang' 工學互助團的大希望, in Hsūan-chi, 95.

9. Ibid., 96.

10. Chinese parents often exhort their children to study diligently in order to bring prosperity and increased status to their families. The following is a little verse sometimes used in the Ch'aa-chou prefecture of Kwangtung for this purpose:

   The ancients said: 'In a poor family the sons must study;
   Why should the father and elder brother worry over the emptiness (of the home)?
   Temporarily tend the several mou of rice-fields,
   Temporarily stay in your three thatched huts.
   It is natural for sons to have ambitions that surge skywards,
   Why grieve that the roots of poverty may not be eliminated?'
   (Translation by the author).

古道家貧子讀書
父兄何必慮空虛
薄田數畝暫且守

茅屋三間暫且居
男子自有衝天志
何愁窮根不解除
therefore tried to check this violation of human rights by non-political action through the League. The China League for Civil Rights, by virtue of its work of championing the rights of political prisoners, stood in opposition to the Kuomintang Government which was taking vigorous action against the Communists. The Nanking City Branch of the Kuomintang therefore called on the Central Party to take steps to curb the activities of the League and to warn Ts'ai and Madame Sung Ch'ing-ling for their work of disrupting the power and confidence of the Party. In June 1933, six months after the formation of the League, its Secretary-General Yang Ch'uan, who was also the Chief Executive Secretary of the Academia Sinica of which Ts'ai was President, was assassinated outside the Academia office, and the work of the League of Civil Rights petered out. It was clear that the League's opposition to the Government had brought upon it the wrath of the more ruthless elements of the Kuomintang and consequently an underhand means of curbing its activities was resorted to.

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    古道家貧子讀書 父兄何必慮空虛
    萊田數畝暫且居 男子自有衝天志
    莫惰窮根不解除
11. Ts'ai attributed America's rapid advance partly to the swiftness of the people. He said that what Westerners could do in one day the Chinese did in two or three days. He referred also to the Chinese habit of arriving late for appointments and stated: 'Without speed there is no reward.'

I-wen, 478, 'F.' Also see Yen Hsing Lu, II, 475-481, 'T.'

12. Ibid., 479.

13. See Pearl S. Buck, Tell the People, 5.

14. In Taiwan the attraction of service with the Government has been superceded by the greater attraction of studying abroad, and the dream of many a university graduate in Taiwan today is a scholarship to study overseas.

15. See Current Background, No. 462 (1 July 1957). Also found in Leo A. Orleans, Professional Manpower and Education in Communist China, Appendix C, 203.


20. 'Pei-ching Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui Chang-ch'eng' in Hsin Ch'ing-nien, III, 2 (1 April 1917), 1-4.

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

23. Ibid.
24. The journey from Peking or Tientsin via the Trans-Siberian Railway to Paris would cost from 130 to 200 yuan, and would take about twenty days with eight or nine changes of trains. Ibid.

The frequency of the change of trains had perhaps been mentioned to remind students that the journey was an uncomfortable one, but as they were all out to receive education by frugal means, they had to be prepared for a rather hard life.

25. Ibid., 1.

26. Ibid.


30. Yen Hsing Lu, II, 385, 'P.'

31. Ibid., 386. See also Tsi. C. Wang, 70.

32. Tsi. C. Wang, 70.

33. The magazine was printed in parallel Chinese and French. This was to enable readers to use it partly as a means of learning French.

Yen Hsing Lu, II, 385.

34. The Chinese term for studying at school is tu-shu 讀書 or Mien-shu念書, meaning reading books. It is an age-old word used since the time of the Imperial Examinations when the scholar's only pursuit was reading books and memorizing texts. Today the term tu-shu is still used with the same meaning, though a new term Shang-hsueh 上學 has crept into use which is the equivalent of the expression 'attend school.'
35. **Yen Hsing Lu,** I, 169-174, 'D.'

36. T'an Ssu-t'ung, 'Jên-hsüeh' 仁學 in T'an Ssu-t'ung Ch'üan-chi, I, 3-90. 譚嗣同全集. See also Takashi Oka, 'The Philosophy of T'an Ssu-t'ung,' in Papers on China, 9, 17.


39. **Yen Hsing-Lu,** II, 376, 'N.'

40. Shu Hsin-ch'êng, I, 321.

41. **I-wên,** 294-295.

42. 'Pa-kuo Chao-k'ao Hua-kung Chi' 法國招考華工記, in Shu Hsin-ch'êng, I, 326-327.

43. **Ibid.**

44. A complete list of the talks appears in Sun Te-chung, ed., Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei Hsien-shêng I-wên Lai-ch'ao, 391-459.


47. **Yen Hsing Lu,** II, 485-489.

48. **Ibid.** , 494-496.

49. **Ibid.** , 496-498.


The forty talks were delivered by Ts'ai in France from May 1916 onwards, and published from August that year in the Lü-ou Tsa-chih 報時雜誌. In August 1919 they were printed as a book, and in September 1920 published in the Hsin-ch'ao She 新潮社 edition of Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-shêng Yen Hsing Lu.

It has since been reprinted in Sun Tê-chung, ed., Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai Hsien-shêng I-wên Lui-ch'ao.
67. Chên, Ta, Chinese Migrations with Special Reference to Labor, 152-154.

68. 'Liu-fa Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh-shêng Chih Ching-kuo Ch'ing-hsing Chi-shih' 留法勤工儉學生之經過情形記事，Shu Hsin-ch'êng, I, 329-330, originally published in An-hui Chiao-yu Yüeh-k'ân 安徽教育刊, No. 53 (May 1922).

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., 330-331.

71. Ibid., 332.

72. Ibid., 333.

73. Ibid., 333-334.

74. Quoted in Tai Chìn-hsieo, 31.

75. Quoted in Tai Chìn-hsieo, 123.


77. Ibid.

78. 'Ssu-yüeh Chiu-jih Chien-Ch'ê a Wei-yüan T'ung-tien', 四月九日監察委員通電。in Kuo-wên Chou-pao, IV, 16 (1 May 1927), 25-28.

79. Ts'ai Shang-ssu, 75, quoting Liu Ya-tzu,蜀 亞子，'Chi-nien Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei Hsien-shêng'紀念蔡元培先生

80. 'Yüeh Nîng Hân Yü Chung-yang T'ê-pieh Wei-yüan Hui Ch'êng-li Chih Ching-kuo Ch'ing-hsing' 留學漢與中央特別委員會成立之經過 情形，in Kuo-min Ke-mìng Chun Jih-pao, October 1927.

82. At that time the term Control Yuan had not yet come into use and members were called Chien-Ch'\textquoteleft a Wei-y\textquoteleft yuan as they still are in Taiwan today. For convenience of translation the word Y\textquoteleft uan has been used, anticipating the present name Chien-Ch'\textquoteleft a Yuan.

83. Kuo-wen Chou-pao, IV, 15 (24 April 1927), 'Shi\textquoteleft jen Hui-chi Li Ta-chao' 人名 記 李 太 刺, and IV, 16 (1 May 1927), 4.

Li Ta-chao was however executed at Peking on the orders of Chang Tso-lin the northern warlord, and not by Chiang Kai-shek.

84. Ts'ai Shang-ssu, 75.

85. Chow Tse-tsung, 243, quoting Peking University Daily, 17 November 1921 to 15 January 1922.

86. 'Sh\textquoteleft hui Chu-i Shih H\textquoteleft au 社 會主義史 修, Yen Hsing Lu Erh, 'Tsa-chu' 雜 著, 5-11.

87. 'Tsai Li Ch\textquoteleft ao N\textquoteleft u-shih Tsui-tao Hui Ti Yen-shuo,' 在 李 超 女 士 追 悼 會 的 演 說 Yen Hsing Lu, I, 142-143.

88. 'Chung-kuo Ti Wen-i Chung-hsing,' Yen Hsing Lu, I, 9-10.

89. Ibid.

For a discussion of the validity of the 'well-field' system see Joseph Levenson, 'Ill Wind in the Well Field,' in Arthur F. Wright, ed., The Confucian Persuasion, 268-287.

90. 'Chung-kuo Ti Wên-i Chung-hsing.'

91. Huang Shih-ch'ang, 548.


93. H\textquoteleft uan-chi, 285-286, 'H.'

94. Ts'ai Shang-ssu, 82.
CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION: TS'AI YÜAN-P'EI'S POSITION IN THE CONTEMPORARY HISTORY OF CHINA

While it is yet too early to know the appropriate place Ts'ai would occupy in the history of twentieth century China there is general agreement among Chinese writers and thinkers that Ts'ai was a great man, an outstanding educationalist and one of the greatest thinkers of modern China. His biographer Ts'ai Shang-ssü writes:

In the late Ch'ing and the Republican period of assimilation of the new and excretion of the old, among those of the same generation and age as Ts'ai, he was the greatest thinker ... a book on the history of modern political revolution in China may be centred on Mr Sun, a book on the history of modern cultural revolution in China may be centred on Mr Ts'ai.\(^1\) (Translation by the Author)

Considering the venerated place given by the present government of China to the socialist writer Lu Hsün 魯迅, this high assessment of Ts'ai's place in the cultural revolution of modern China is significant. Ts'ai is an important figure in the contemporary history of China partly because he lived to the ripe old age of seventy-two
Born in 1868, he was a participant in the revolutionary activities at the turn of the century, working in the north while Sun Yat-sen worked in the south. But while Sun died in 1925 before the Kuomintang had unified the country, Ts'ai lived to see this through, and to see the rising conflict between the radical communists and the more conservative leaders of the Kuomintang. He also saw the Japanese invasion of China and did all he could to persuade the two rival parties to cooperate in resisting an external foe, but only died too early to see the actual ascendancy of the Chinese Communist Party and the birth of the People's Republic of China. He was thus on the stage throughout the period of China's experiment with a Republican and democratic form of government, and while politically he was not a principal actor he filled important supporting roles which placed him in a position to observe at first hand the chief political leaders at work and to understand their aims and aspirations. In some ways he was like the jester in a Shakespearian play who fulfils the function of a social critic, including criticizing the main actors of the drama. As a minor actor he was able to think mainly of the welfare of the people because
he did not aspire to strive for actual leadership of the Kuomintang. While in the political arena he was always in the shadow of the Party chiefs, in the field of education his leadership was undisputed.

In the political revolution of this century the great leaders are without doubt Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung, while in China's social and cultural revolution the great names are Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, Lu Hsun, Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Ts'ai was principally responsible for the promotion of the new education in China while giving strong support to the cultural changes in which Lu Hsün, Hu Shih and Ch'en Tu-shiu and others were the main actors. Lu Hsün was essentially a novelist who played his part in writing satirical novels using the new medium (pai-hua), striving to eradicate the decadence of the society by means of his pen. Hu Shih was a scholar who tried to remain detached from the Government in order to serve as a social critic like Lu Hsün, and to introduce Western methods and systems, mainly in the field of scholarship. Ts'ai was foremost as an educational administrator who spread his protective wings over all the cultural and educational innovations taking place, many of which
introduced by himself. Ch'ên Tu-hsiu started off as a
social critic like Hu Shih, advocating the literary
revolution for which his important contribution is
sometimes not given due recognition. He then deviated
from political detachment, becoming a founder of the
Chinese Communist Party leadership of which was later
wrested from him by Mao Tse-tung and others.

No discussion of twentieth century Chinese leaders
should ignore that prolific writer and reformer Liang Ch'i-
ch'ao whose writings far outnumbered those of Ts'ai. But
Liang Ch'i-ch'ao belonged more to the era of late
nineteenth century reformers of whom his mentor K'ang Yu-
wei was the chief representative. Although contemporary
with Ts'ai, Liang's reformist ideas were conservative in
twentieth century revolutionary China. While his writings
were widely read in the earlier part of the century, by
the second decade they had been superseded by radical
writings appearing in magazines such as the Hsin Ch'ing-
nien and the revolutionary literature of Lu Hsiin and others.
At a time when, under the influence of Western philosophers
such as Bertrand Russell, atheism and secularism were
gaining acceptance by the Chinese intelligentsia, Liang was
advocating Confucianism as a state religion. Consequently
he came to be regarded as a conservative and his influence
In the new generation of Chinese, especially the section of Chinese intellectuals exposed to Marxist teachings, was minimized. In contrast, Ts'ai's influence is still noticeable in some plans and schemes of the present government in China, as has already been indicated. Thus while Mao Tse-tung is revered as the saviour of the Chinese people today, some of the current ideas show the influence of men like Ts'ai, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lu Hsün and others.

1. Ts'ai's character and moral stature.

Almost every educated Chinese, Nationalist or Communist, who has occasion to write about Ts'ai has referred to his lofty moral stature and irreproachable character. Ch'en Tu-hsiu writing at the time of Ts'ai's death said:

... He opposed the worship of Confucius. He has never used morality to exhort people, but his behaviour is better than many of those who wax eloquence on morality ....

(Translation by the author)

Ts'ai was a generous man who believed in the innate goodness of man, and in general chose to regard every one as good until he was shown to be otherwise. There is a common Chinese saying 'Ts'ai-hsiang Tu-tzu K'o Ch'eng Ch'uan' (The stomach of a prime minister is capable of rowing a boat) which is a metaphor
meaning that a man fit to be a prime minister should have a mind broad enough to accommodate every one. Ts'ai fitted into this description, and in the eyes of the Chinese at least must be regarded as a great man.

Christianity preaches that love knows no bounds or conditions. Although he professed no religious belief, Ts'ai possessed an element of this all-embracing love.

Chiang Meng-lin, Ts'ai's ex-pupil and colleague at Peita wrote the following in praise of him:

Mr (Ts'ai) is dead, but his spirit dies not ... In the eyes of Mr (Ts'ai) there are no bad people; he likes to afford people the opportunity to be good, as he believes that every person can become good. It is not that Mr Ts'ai did not know the difference between the good and the bad in man, it is because he looked upon the bad as only not having reached the stage of the good. Once they throw away their weapons of murder they can become gods ....

(Translation by the author)

While allowance must be given for hyperbole in the writing of an eulogy this is not likely to be the sort of compliment that would honestly be lavished on say Mao Tse-tung or Chiang Kai-shek when they die. A man who would write letters of introduction for virtual strangers on the strength of introductions from his friends must be an exceptionally generous and accommodating person.

A corollary of Ts'ai's generous nature was his compassion for the less fortunate people in this world. This is well reflected in his belief in the equality of
man and his efforts to create educational opportunities for all. This compassionate nature is seen in his personal behaviour and action. We are told that he disliked most travelling by means of the sedan chair because he thought it was inhuman for one person to carry another, and uneconomic to have several people walk for one person. He regarded rickshaws as a slightly more economic mode of transport, but he could not stand seeing the hunched and perspiring bodies of the pullers, and when he had perforce to ride in rickshaws because he could not travel in motor vehicles, boats or horse carriages, he would first ask the amount of the fare, and on reaching would pay what was asked for, never bargaining with the puller.

Ts'ai's great humanity may be further illustrated by the letter he wrote on the death of his second wife Huang Chung-yü:

Alas! Chung-yu you have finally left me and died before me! Since you married me twenty years ago I have burdened you with the children, family affairs, travelling about within the country and abroad, poverty, and worries, causing your talents in calligraphy, painting, and art to be restricted in their development, and besides, to become ill from accumulated labour, thus preventing you from enjoying your full life. How much do I owe you!
After my marriage to you I had to be separated from you several times. I was away in Tsingtao for three months, in the Peking I-hsueh-kuan for half a year and in Germany for four years. After the Revolution I stayed in Nanking and Peking for nine months, and two years ago stayed at Hangchow for four months. Together with other short periods of travel, during the twenty years I was only able to be happily together with you for twelve or thirteen years. How would I know that you would so quickly leave me!

(Translation by the author)

This letter reveals Ts'ai's love for and appreciation of his wife. It is well to remember that such open and emotional lament on the loss of a wife was not very customary among the traditional Chinese, and Ts'ai's eulogy to his deceased wife shows significantly his intense humanity. As a high official in the Kuomintang Government he sympathized with the political prisoners arrested on the orders of the leaders of his Party and joined Madame Sung Ch'ing-ling in forming the China League for Civil Rights, one of whose aims was the inspection of prisons to improve the living conditions of prisoners. Acts such as this show him to be a humane person who did not allow Party affiliation to blind him from a sense of human decency. He was never a ruthless executor of Party discipline and this marks him off from the great political leaders Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tsetung, and perhaps even Sun Yat-sen.
s'ai's flexibility of character.

It has been mentioned earlier that at various times s'ai resigned from his posts when he disagreed with his colleagues or when his freedom of belief and action was curtailed. In 1923 he offered to resign as Chancellor of Peking University in protest against the Government's illegal arrest of the Minister of Finance Lo Wén-kan. Ts'ai did so because he considered it improper to be further associated with a Government that had taken such an illegal action. In tendering his resignation Ts'ai criticized the Minister of Education for his ignoble deed:

.... For the last few months, according to press reports and as far as may be heard and seen, the basest of evils and the most shameless of actions in the political circles have appeared in China. The independence of the judiciary which the people of this country had longed for over the last ten years has been interfered with and thrown overboard by the power of the central executive body. The most extraordinary thing is that while civil officials had to respect the order for judicial independence, P'Ang Yün-i, the highest education executive official, has on this day made a proposal for interference with independence of the judiciary and the violation of human rights, and this motion has been formally adopted by the Committee on National Affairs. How much such an action is condemned by the literati! ...
difficulties of the times, grieve at the hopeless prospect of clean and enlightened politics, and am unwilling to be associated with the illicit temporary security that belongs to such people; especially could I not tolerate supporting the useless state of education under such an educational authority, and by so doing invite the reprimand of my people and nation as well as my conscience. The only way is to retreat in the interest of education and the people ... 10

(Translation by the author)

It is clear that Ts'ai was using resignation as a weapon to fight the evil practices that were being carried out, and throughout his life he adopted this approach of passive resistance in the face of social and political malpractices, except in the case of revolution against the Manchu Government. Some critics have charged Ts'ai with lack of courage and tenacity resulting in the non-fulfilment of many of his schemes and educational objectives. Ch'en Tu-hsiu, for example, criticized Ts'ai for his negative non-cooperation which he feared would lead the people astray in their struggle to improve society, veering towards the path of retrogression. 11 Ts'ai himself did not think that passive retreat constituted cowardice, a characteristic unworthy of a gentleman. Soon after he tendered his resignation as Chancellor of Peking University he made a statement explaining his action in which he said:
According to the I-chuan 易傳 'The inferior man knows advance but does not know retreat.' Many of the disputes of recent years in this country had been brought about by inferior men who did not know retreat; besides, the action of retreat is not only the negative avoidance of disputes, indirectly it has positive strength ...

In the spring of 1919 when the North China European-American Alumni had a meeting at the Ch'ing-hua College, a section of the members brought forth opinions on political problems which were adopted at the meeting. At that time I asked them: 'We have brought forth resolutions, but if by chance the Government were to ignore them, what would we do? ... My personal view is ... if we want to obtain some result, we must at least have the resolution not to cooperate further with the Government.' ...

In the spring vacation last year, because there was no way of obtaining educational expenditure the 'Chiao-chih-yüan Lien-hsi Hui' (Union of Teachers and Officers) invited the principals of the eight schools and universities to express their opinions. ... At that time I expressed my opinion: that as educational expenditure was not being paid, the teachers should simply resign, even though as a result their teaching may be affected or their personal livelihood may become difficult; if many teachers resign the principal would have to resign from the Government. I think such resignations would have a far greater effect than student strikes and surrounding the Ministry of Education ... 12

Ts'ai's idea was that retreat or resignation was not necessarily only negative in its effect. Mass resignations, for example, could bring positive results. Whether in military or domestic struggles the traditional Chinese more often than not tried to avoid head-on clashes but strove to win by means of strategy, practising the principle
of advance and retreat. The simple reason is that head-on clashes and insistence on advancing without retreat irrespective of the circumstances would result in heavy losses which could only mean self-destruction. Ts'ai was not a military commander and never had any military power to push his plans through; his only weapon against those with whom he disagreed, when words failed, was non-cooperation and passive resistance. It is probable that Ts'ai had been inspired by Gandhi whose civil disobedience movements was well-known. Dissociating himself from a government whose officials were not exemplary in their character and behaviour was not an act for which Ts'ai need be ashamed of; on the contrary in refusing to associate with the corrupt Government he had enhanced his character and prestige.

Ts'ai's critics pointed out that by resigning too readily he had left unaccomplished many of his schemes, and hence in his life he did not achieve his goals. While this is a valid argument, Ts'ai usually resigned when he found that his further presence in the position he occupied would achieve no useful purpose but might encourage the authorities to continue their mistaken actions. In such circumstances it was better for him to
withdraw. In 1919 Ts'ai left Peking University but was called back a few months later, while in 1923 he rescinded his resignation after being persuaded to stay on. On both occasions his action brought added strength to his position and was preferable to acquiescing and condoning government behaviour.

Ts'ai has been compared to Confucius by several writers among whom the well-known philosopher Feng Yu-lan 馮友蘭. Feng said that Ts'ai could without shame be regarded a chün-tzŭ 君子 (gentleman) because he possessed the five qualities which were attributed to Confucius by his disciple Tzŭ-kung, namely, wên 溫 (mellowness), liang 良 (integrity), kung 恭 (respect), ch'ien 謙 (humility), and jiang 讓 ('yieldingness').

Ts'ai's yielding nature was a part of his Confucian upbringing which made him essentially Chinese in life and thought, despite the penetration of Western science and philosophy and his enthusiasm for a number of Western innovations. In a speech delivered at the Tsinghua College advising students going abroad, he warned them against becoming totally assimilated by the countries of their sojourn and called for the judicious selection of Western culture and civilization. He feared that otherwise these students might on their return increase the number of Germans, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Americans in China.
In resigning from his post of Chancellor of Peking University in 1923 Ts'ai said that he was preserving his character because further association with P'eng Yun-i whose integrity he questioned would soil his own reputation. In a further announcement explaining his resignation he wrote:

For the sake of preserving my character I, Yuan-p'ei, cannot have any further connexion with the educational authority which had proposed interfering with the independence of the judiciary, and violated human rights. I have therefore petitioned the President to resign from the post of Chancellor of the National University of Peking ... *(Translation by the author)*

In defending Ts'ai's action Hu Shih wrote a number of articles at the time in which he showed that Ts'ai had since 1919 adopted resignation as a means of protesting against actions he disagreed with. Hu gave full support of Ts'ai's righteous spirit in refusing to be 'associated with the temporary illicit security of corrupt people.'

Hu said that by his resignation Ts'ai was helping to prevent student action which would result in unrest and interference with their studies; the result of his personal protest was to quicken the awakening of the people and 'electrify our [the Chinese people's] long numbed feelings.'

Hu said that some people might ridicule Ts'ai's action as over-scrupulous. In answer to this he quoted a Ming writer Erh Yuan-lu 亁元璐 who said that in their behaviour scholars should rather be over-scrupulous than under-
scrupulous. Drawing a parallel with conditions prevailing at the time of the Tung-lin Party in the Ming dynasty Hu Shih intimated that Ts'ai's resignation took place under similar circumstances when the people's integrity was lost, self-sacrifice was non-existent, and all around men had turned flatterers and traitors. Ts'ai's retreat from the transient security of mixing with the corrupted was therefore a commendable thing.  

Ts'ai and Gandhi.

In his statement Ts'ai took to task those scholars, officials and journalists who were guided by the principles of 'Yu Nai Pien Shih Niang' (So long as she has milk she is my mother), and 'Chu Chou Wei Nieh' (Assisting King Chou to do evil). He said that these people were more despicable than the decadent authorities. While Ts'ai's proposal of non-co-operation resembled that of Gandhi's, it never became a widespread movement of passive resistance like that of Gandhi in India. Unlike Gandhi, Ts'ai was no political leader; he was not an organizer of political mass action, and did not assert leadership of the masses or organized them in opposition to the Government. He only set himself as an example for others, but did not take positive steps to put his ideas
of non-cooperation into action. He merely criticized the corrupt people in the Government who 'did not want character but only wanted power and privilege' and the numerous bureaucratic and mechanical scholars who answered to the description of 'so long as she has milk she is my mother.'

While Ts'ai had always championed the cause of the common people, he never became an actual leader of the masses; he was a scholar and a benign administrator, but not a political agitator at the grass-roots level like Gandhi or Mao Tse-tung. Gandhi was leader of a patriotic movement to throw off the shackles of the British raj; Ts'ai was suggesting to people not to cooperate with the Government if they thought the Government unworthy of support. The one was concerned with the achievement of national independence the other was concerned with improving the internal Government. Agitation for national independence even by means of passive resistance is by comparison a more positive endeavour than agitating for internal reforms and the elimination of corruption and misgovernment. In the former the entire people are appealed to for united action against a common enemy, in the latter it is one group of people against another.
Thus while Gandhi's non-cooperation movement swept the whole of India, Ts'ai's pronouncements served only to make the people aware of existing abuses of power in the Government and perhaps to check the spread of tyranny and bad government. Beyond that it did not develop into a movement to oust the Government.

2. Ts'ai's progressive liberalism and democracy.

By virtue of his profound belief in the liberty, equality and fraternity of the French Revolution and his consistency in demonstrating the principles of liberalism and democracy in his life and actions, Ts'ai is assured of a place in the modern history of China as a progressive educator and cultural leader. While as a writer and scholar his influence on subsequent generations is small in comparison with Lu Hsün, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Mao Tun, Pa Chin, or Hu Shih, his influence on the minds of the new generation of intellectuals effected through his teaching both by examples and precepts, is profound, though not obvious. Writing on Ts'ai's death in 1940 the historian Ku Haieh-kang 顧颉剛 said, 'in the last twenty-nine years no intellectual had not been influenced by him.' Himself a student of Peita and a noted historian, Ku Haieh-kang was qualified to speak,
as he belonged to the new generation of intellectuals who were influenced by the liberal teachings of the Peking University professors with whom Ts' ai had worked for about ten years. Mao Tse-tung, who said that the teacher who had the strongest impression on him at the Hunan Normal School was Yang Chen-ch'i, a returned student from England, was influenced by Yang to read Paulsen's *Principles of Moral Philosophy* which was translated by Ts' ai Yüan-p'ei, and was inspired to write an essay entitled 'The Power of the Mind.' It is also reported that Mao made marginal notes in the book numbering some twelve thousand words, expressing either approval or disapproval of Paulsen's views, which indicates that the book had impressed him one way or another.

How liberal and progressive Ts' ai and some of his colleagues were at the time may best be seen from the eyes of his students at Peita. Ku Haieh-kang wrote:

... I was a student of Peita and was there before he became Chancellor. The Peita of that time was indeed very old-fashioned; in everything it conserved the forms of the previous Ch'ing dynasty University ... When Ts' ai accepted the appointment of Chancellor we were all youths of over twenty and considered our thinking to be very new. How would we know that what the University authorities published were in fact newer than what we had ever thought of ...

(Translation by the author)
Shao Li-tzü 郭力子 26 writing about Ts'ai and Ma Liang 馬良 27 said:

Both Mr Ts'ai and Mr Ma Hsiang-pê accommodate all people and themselves possess definite powers: therefore they are extremely generous and unusually strict. Both never tire of teaching and are specially able to use the mind of an old man to understand the young. Their thinking is ever progressive and their spirit is ever integrated. The enthusiasm and sincerity of both to save the nation became stronger as they grew older and did not change till death.

(Translation by the author).

Few Chinese would dispute that Ts'ai was able to manifest the virtues of a chün-tzŭ while imbibing the fruits of Western culture and civilization. His generosity and breadth was Chinese, but his austere and monogamous life, his democratic belief and practices, his support of socialism and the rights of the common people, as well as his emphasis on scientific knowledge were some features of Western civilization which he endeavoured to promote through personal examples.

As one who understood both the East and the West, Ts'ai hoped that the two cultures and civilization could be fused together without one subduing the other. He thought of an ideal world in which the efficiency and progress of the West would be combined with the humanism and realism of the
Both Mr Ts'ai and Mr Ma Hsiang-po accommodate all people and themselves possess definite powers; therefore they are extremely generous and also extremely strict. Both never tire of teaching and are especially able to use the mind of an old man to understand the young. Their thinking is ever progressive and their spirit is ever integrated. The enthusiasm and sincerity of both to save the nation became stronger as they grew older and did not change up to the time of their deaths.

Few Chinese would dispute that Ts'ai was one of those few Chinese leaders who were able to manifest the virtues of a Chinese chun-tzu (gentleman) while imbibing some of the virtues of Western culture and civilization. His generosity and broadness was Chinese, his austere and strict monogamous life, his democratic belief and practices, his support of socialism and the rights of the common people, and his emphasis on scientific progress were some of the virtues of the West which he endeavoured to promote through personal examples. With one leg firmly saddled on each side of the bridge, he laboured to fuse the two cultures and civilizations without allowing any one to be totally subdued by the other. He thought of an ideal world which combined the efficiency and progress of the West and the humanism and realism of the Chinese philosophy of life.
intellectual circles of his time. For an administrator, who had to contend on the one hand with the conservatism of tradition-bound scholars and on the other with the interference of grasping, transient politicians, to state categorically as Chancellor of Peita that what the professors did and said outside the university was entirely their own affair and the university could not and would not interfere indeed called for courage.

Ts'ai's emphasis on complete freedom of religious belief and his own disbelief in religion were consonant with the tide of the time, but it was not of great import as at no time had religion been an issue of national importance. His proposal to substitute aesthetics for religion did not arouse much interest as the people did not have strong religious beliefs and felt no urgent need for a substitute. However, as a result of his emphasis on aesthetic culture there was increased interest in the arts, especially in the schools, and his anti-religious attitude did give vicarious encouragement to the anti-Christian movement that became prominent in 1922.

Communist writers like to point out Ts'ai's anti-religious stand as an element of his progressive thought.
Its import, however, must not be exaggerated, as religion is unlikely to figure prominently in the history of twentieth century China. China's progress and development depended not on religion but on political and scientific organization.

There is perhaps no greater believer in democratic socialism in twentieth century China than Ts'ai. As a socialist his influence on the growth of socialism is small in comparison with others such as Sun Yat-sen, Li Ta-ch'ao, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Lu Hsun, and Mao Tse-tung. But as a socialist who held to his belief in freedom and democracy and valued human rights despite his strong patriotic feelings, he ranks high among twentieth century leaders in China. Hu Shih was a great believer in freedom and democracy, but he did not concern himself sufficiently with the welfare of the common people and the problems of the masses to qualify as a socialist. Both Lu Hsun and Ch'en Tu-hsiu ended up by being Communists. About the only other Chinese leader who laid equal emphasis on democracy and socialism was Sun Yat-sen himself. However, Sun died before he could actually put his ideas of democracy and socialism (People's Rights and People's Livelihood) into practice. Sun also died without turning communist.
Thus Sun and Ts'ai were the only two leaders of twentieth century China who were firm believers of the twin ideologies of democracy and socialism but remained non-Communists. Both Sun and Ts'ai expressed ideas that were Communist and Marxist in origin; Sun had expressed the view that those who tilled the soil must own the land, whereas Ts'ai had paid lip service to the Marxist ideal of 'from each according to his ability and to each according to his needs.' Both had also realized the importance of the peasants' role in the national revolution, and it seems surprising that the Kuomintang had not made more strenuous efforts in organizing the peasants and winning their support when both the founder of the Republic and a senior member of the Party had at different times stressed the necessity for organizing the peasants and the rank and file of the Party. 32

Of great import, especially to present day development in China was Ts'ai's idea that every one should work and every one should study. This ideal if achieved would mean that national productivity would be increased and the nation's intellectual level raised. It would also mean a levelling of the wide gap between physical workers and mental workers, an increase in literacy, and a more sensible view of physical work by those who previously only exercised their brains. Beginning with an article entitled
'The Sacredness of Labour' Ts'ai went on to pioneer the idea of diligent labour and frugal study starting with students going to France. Today work-and-study is not just a pilot scheme in China but, to quote Mr Tsui Chung-yuan, the Minister of Education, 'it is the fundamental concept of our educational system today.' Defending the idea of work-and-study which is today carried out on a large scale Edgar Snow writes:

The principle of respect for toil and of combining book knowledge with related practical work is sound and necessary in China. If it does nothing but prevent the return of a small elite literate with notions that manual labor is beneath it, the effort will be worthwhile. This disdain for labor and the peasantry was the curse of the rulers of Kuomintang China almost as much as among the Confucian mandarinate (and the Brahmans of India), and it explains much about the near-downfall of the nation ...34

Snow is right in pointing out that the idea of work-and-study would benefit China and her people in correcting the previous unrealistic attitude towards manual labour, and the reason he gave for the Kuomintang downfall is valid. However, it must be noted that Ts'ai was an exception among the leaders of the Kuomintang as he certainly did not have a 'disdain for labour and the peasantry,' as has been shown. It can thus be seen that as one of the pioneers of the work-and-study movement Ts'ai had an influence on the development of this aspect of education in China.
The result of the implementation of work-and-study in the educational system of China today may be far-reaching, and it would take a few more decades to know the full import of this movement which Ts'ai and his colleagues in France pioneered during the First World War. Already it has been reported that there are in China today 'over 30,000 half-work, half-study agricultural middle schools - including as many as 10,000 which specialize in forestry, animal husbandry, tea-growing, fisheries, etc. - with a possible enrolment of 3,000,000.' These are special agricultural schools run by the communes and local councils, and are work-and-study schools in the strictest sense. All other regular schools and colleges require students to spend some time working in the fields, workshops, factories, et cetera, as part of their training. The extent to which education has been combined with labour in China today may be seen from the following report by the Chairman of the All-China Students Union:

Labour has become a formal part of our school curriculum. Schools everywhere have established factories and farms. According to statistics submitted by 323 institutions of higher education, there are now 738 factories and 233 farms, the latter having a total cultivated area of 140,000 mou of land. During 1958 and 1959, 386,000 students put in altogether 36,460,000 working days of work, with a total output valued at 1,380,000,000 yuan ...
The Significance of Ts'ai's Pioneering work in the Education of Workers.

Just as the idea of work-and-study has been adopted on a large scale in China today, so the education of workers pioneered by Ts'ai and his colleagues in France and later promoted by James Yen in several provinces of China is today fully developed. There is in China today a Spare-Time Education Committee set up in 1960 which is responsible for providing spare-time education to workers and peasants with among other aims the eradication of illiteracy in China within a decade.\(^38\) It is reported that as a result of education provided by trade unions illiteracy among organized urban workers was reduced from 85 per cent in 1949 to 15 per cent in 1961.\(^39\) Workers' Education today extends from literacy classes through elementary primary schools, elementary middle schools and technical middle schools, high schools, to spare-time colleges covering full college-level curricula. In 1959 it was reported that 130,000,000 peasants were enrolled in literacy and primary spare-time schools. According to Li Chi-po, Vice-Chairman of the All-China Trade Union Federation, the present leaders of China believe that they could 'elevate the working class to a general level of middle-school education' in fifteen years. Li also said
that their purpose was to 'hasten the elimination of differences between manual workers and mental workers,' and that they aimed 'to combine the maturity and experience of working class leaders with a high level of technical and cultural education.' This was exactly what Ts'ai had in mind when he advocated the ideal of 'every man must work and every man should have an opportunity to study' and supported 'work-and-study' and workers' education in France.

The large scale spare-time education carried out in China today seems to be the fruition of one of Ts'ai's educational ideals, and it is noteworthy that only fifteen years after Ts'ai's death this idea has been developed to such a high degree. It should be pointed out that the idea of workers' education could not be solely attributed to Ts'ai, but he was one of the chief advocates who personally played a part in teaching the Chinese workers in France. According to Edgar Snow, today 'every worker carries a notebook and pencil and often you see a textbook protruding from his back pocket.' There are school-factories, factory-schools, spare-time Normal Schools, all of which have the object of raising the educational and intellectual level of the workers and increasing the productivity of the nation.
All these indicate that workers' education has come a long way since the time of Ts'ai and his colleagues. As a pioneer in workers' education Ts'ai was abreast or even ahead of the times, but he died without accomplishing much in this field. Even if he had only laid the beginnings, he had established the need for educating workers and thus paved the way for those who came after him to fulfil specific goals. This in itself is indicative of his progressive outlook. His concern for the intellectual and moral upliftment of the populace had earned him the reputation of a non-communist socialist. He has thus received favourable treatment by Chinese historians, irrespective of their ideological leanings.

3. The importance of his educational schemes and ideas.

(a) The 1912-1913 School System was fundamental to the modern school systems of China.

It has been shown that the school system which Ts'ai introduced in 1912 was the foundation of subsequent systems adopted by the Chinese Government. With the exception of the temporary measures promulgated by President Yuan Shih-k'ai, no fundamental change was made to the 1912-1913 School System. The curriculum of the primary school, for example,
had also basically been followed with minor changes, up
till and after the introduction of the new school system
in 1922. The 1903 School System, it may be recalled,
provided for an unusually long period of primary education
of nine years. This was a feature of the old education in
which the study of classics occupied a high proportion of
the pupils' time from the day they entered school.
Announcing the abolition of the teaching of classics in
primary schools, Ts'ai cut down the primary courses to
seven years, comprising four years lower primary and three
years higher primary. Ignoring the few years under Yuan
Shih-k'ai, the school systems adopted in China subsequent
to 1912 had kept to a six years primary course and a six
years secondary course, reducing the primary course by
one year and increasing the secondary course by two years.
The total number of years from primary school through to
university had remained about the same, being seventeen
to eighteen years under Ts'ai's system and from sixteen to
nineteen years under the subsequent systems of 1922 and
1928.

The present government in China started off by
introducing the 5-3-3-5 system, that is, five years primary
school, three years lower middle school, three years higher
middle school, and five years university or college, but
since 1955 has reverted to the pre-war 4-2 primary school system. Under this system a pupil takes seventeen years from primary school through university. It is therefore essentially the same as the system adopted in 1928 under the Ta-hsüeh-yüan. Thus while the 1903 school system was the first modern school system to be adopted by China, it was the 1912-1913 system initiated by Ts'ai which had formed the basis of later systems. However, it is in the contents of the school curriculum that Ts'ai's proposals of 1912 are of even more interest. His abolition of classics in primary schools needs no further elaboration as it is to be expected that as China progressed she would not revert to the teaching of classics in primary schools, again excepting the period under Yuan Shih-k'ai. Particularly noteworthy was Ts'ai's introduction of the aesthetic subjects of handwork, drawing, singing and sewing which had been included in the school curricula ever since. When first introduced into the primary school curriculum under the 'p'u-t'ung Chiao-Yü Tsên-hsing Ko-hêng piao-Chu drawing, handwork, sewing, and singing were optional subjects in the lower primary school, and singing was optional in the higher primary. Today, however, these subjects are taught in schools as regular subjects. Ts'ai's contribution to the development of aesthetic education in modern China cannot therefore be ignored.
A comparison of the primary school curriculum which was recommended in 1912 with the curriculum of primary schools current in China today shows the following interesting features:

1. In 1912 two hours per week were devoted to ethics, in present day schools one hour per week is devoted to the weekly assembly where political and civic education is given. Thus there is not more political and civic education today than there was ethical education in the past. The only probable difference is that instead of teaching morality and ethics through classical precepts, the teachings of Marx, Lenin, Mao Tse-tung and other socialists are used.

2. The time devoted to language and arithmetic is about the same.

3. The 1912-1913 curriculum gave a little more time to games and physical activities. The present government being more in favour of productiveness, includes one hour per week of manual labour in lieu of reduced games activities. Manual work also substitutes the previous handwork lesson.

4. Drawing and Singing are regular subjects today whereas in 1912 singing was optional for all years and drawing optional for the first four years. This of course reflects an improvement on the 1912-1913 curriculum, there being a difference of fifty years' interval. (See Chart Overleaf)
### Comparative Timetable of Subjects Taught in Primary Schools in 1912 and 1957

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects</th>
<th>WEEKLY HOURS BY YEAR</th>
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<td>I</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Weekly Assembly)***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethics</td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<td>Language</td>
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<td>(National Language)</td>
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<td>Nature Study</td>
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<td>(Natural Science, Physics and Chemistry)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(2)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Geography</td>
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<td>(Chinese History and Geography)</td>
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<td>History</td>
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<td>Agricultural knowledge**</td>
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<td>(Agriculture, Industry &amp; Commerce)*</td>
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<td>Manual labour</td>
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<td>(Handwork)</td>
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<td>Physical activities</td>
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<td>(Games &amp; Physical Training)</td>
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<td>Singing</td>
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<td>(Optional in 1912)</td>
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<td>Drawing</td>
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<td>(Sewing) for Girls</td>
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<td>TOTAL HOURS</td>
<td>24</td>
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Subjects and figures within brackets pertain to 1912.

* Optional.

** Applicable to rural schools only.

*** For political and civic education.

B denotes Boys.

G denotes Girls.
5. In both curricula agriculture is included in the higher primary schools, in the case of 1912 for the seventh year pupil only, and in the present for fifth and sixth year pupils.

6. History, geography and nature study (specified as zoology, physics and chemistry under the 1912-1913 curriculum), are taught in both cases only from the fifth year, and the time allotted is well nigh the same.

7. The total number of teaching hours also does not differ much.

It is interesting to reflect that despite the passage of fifty years and the radically different government today, the curriculum of primary schools in China today does not differ greatly from that which Ts'ai introduced at the beginning of the Republic.

(b) Aims of education then and now.

The aim of education which was adopted in 1912 and which, but for the omission of 'world-view education,' originated from Ts'ai was 'The emphasis of moral education, supported by utilitarian education and national military education, and the completion of moral virtue through aesthetic education.' As a comparison Mao Tse-tung's statement of the aim of education in China read: 'Our educational policy must enable everyone who gets an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and
become a cultured, socialist-minded worker. Both paid attention to moral education and emphasized an all-round development, but while Ts'ai looked upon aesthetic culture and the world-outlook as the final goal, Mao looked upon a socialist outlook as the final goal. However, the difference is not great if one takes socialism in its broader sense of common brotherhood. To be cultured would approximate to having an aesthetic education also.

Notwithstanding the similarity in the aims of education announced by Ts'ai and Mao, it is necessary to bear in mind that stated aims of education may be similar and often are, but they are capable of differing interpretations by different people. Therefore, while Ts'ai's aim of education may not be very much different from Mao's, their different ideological leanings indicate that the types of education envisaged by Ts'ai and Mao are probably dissimilar in many ways. Nonetheless there has been sufficient evidence to show that the school systems which have been adopted for the last forty years in China had been based on the system introduced by Ts'ai in 1912, and for this reason his contribution to the development of the modern Chinese school system should be recognized.

(c) A pioneer of scientific research in China.

As the founder president of the Academia Sinica Ts'ai had done most to encourage organized scientific research in China. His personal contribution to such
research is negligible, and is limited to the field of ethnology, but as one who engineered the establishment of research institutes in universities and the foundation of the Academia Sinica, his name deserves perpetuation in the history of scientific research in China. Today the Academia Sinica exists in Peking as well as Taiwan. While at present they are two separate institutions under different governments, they have originated from the Academia Sinica founded by Ts'ai at Nanking in 1927.

The Academia Sinica in Peking and the Academia Sinica in Taiwan are devoted to research in various branches of sciences, including social sciences. Both are internationally known for their academic research. Ting Wen-chiang (also known as V.K. Ting), former head of the Institute of Geology of the Academia Sinica and one time its Executive Secretary, for example, was a well-known geologist responsible for important geological surveys in China.  

While Ts'ai's chancellorship of Peking University constituted the more spectacular part of his career on account of its association with the May Fourth Movement and the New Culture Movement, his establishment and presidency of the Academia Sinica brought the most tangible results. He held the positions of Chancellor of Peking
University for ten years (1916-1926) and the presidency of the Academia Sinica for twelve years (1928-1940), and it was in both these institutions that his influence was most felt. In Peita his contribution was mainly in his spiritual leadership of the intellectuals, in the Academia Sinica he actually built up an institution which was the precursor of scientific research institutes in China today. Like some other research institutes, the original purpose of establishing the Academia Sinica was the promotion of research in pure sciences, but as it grew it came to include research in the social sciences as well. The idea of a central research institute was originally mooted by Dr Sun Yat-sen, but Ts' ai was the person directly responsible for realizing this idea. Sun is regarded by all Chinese as the father of the Republic, Mao is the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communist Party (though not its founder), while Ts'ai was the founder of the Academia Sinica in China.

Political leaders always make headlines and are best known to the outside world. Social leaders are generally less known outside their own country. Nevertheless their work within their own countries may in the long run be as
important to the growth of the country and the welfare of the people. Ts'ai played such a role in contemporary China.

(d) A promoter of social and popular education.

Although Ts'ai held the view that it was important first to run good colleges and universities in order that suitable teachers might be produced to teach in primary and secondary schools, he did not neglect social and popular education. In fact he was responsible for giving social education its rightful place in the education system by establishing a Department of Social Education when he became Minister of Education in 1912.

Throughout the earlier part of his career he was concerned with the problem of achieving universal education and the eradication of illiteracy. As we have seen, he took an active part in the education of Chinese labourers in France, and was closely associated with the Ch'in-kung Chien-hsüeh Hui which sought to encourage and promote work-and-study. Further evidence of his interest in popular education is seen in the encouragement he gave to the formation of night classes for menial workers by the students of Peking University.
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However, Ts'ai did not personally participate in campaigns to wipe out illiteracy in China; the person who took the lead in this field was James Yen. It was in the field of social education that Ts'ai made a more significant contribution. By establishing the Department of Social Education within the Ministry of Education he set an example which was followed by subsequent Ministers of Education. The establishment of this department made possible the development of social education at two levels. Firstly social education could be developed in the schools and colleges by extension lectures; secondly social education could be given by providing more museums, libraries, art galleries and such like institutions which served to educate the people indirectly. The growth of cultural and aesthetic institutions in China, therefore, also owed a debt to the work and encouragement of Ts'ai.

4. **Ts'ai the innovator and introducer of Western culture and civilization.**

Last, but not least, Ts'ai will be remembered for his ready yet cautious introduction of Western culture and civilization into China. In advocating equality of the
sexes and the emancipation of women in China he was not behind any other radical intellectual, be it the daring Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the 'Frenchified' Li Shih-tseng, or other Communist leaders; in advocating the 'unity of mental labour and physical labour' he anticipated the work of the present Communist Government in China; in recommending that the Chinese should follow the Western thoroughness in work he again anticipated the ruthless efficiency of the present Communist rulers; and in advocating an increased emphasis on aesthetic culture and the development of the arts as a means of improving human life he was a unique innovator in China. Yet he constantly warned against undigested adoption of Western civilization and blind following of the West. He called upon students going abroad to make judicious choice of what was worthy of emulation in the West and not to regard everything Western as good.

Deep in his heart he was a Chinese and a patriot, and he viewed with disfavour those Chinese who went abroad and became thoroughly assimilated by the West. It is noteworthy that though he had gone to the extent of suggesting that at some future date marriage, surname, and the family could be abolished, he had not at any time broached the question of inter-racial marriage. Ts'ai was
an extremely broad-minded person, and one would expect him to support inter-racial marriage as a means of achieving the 'world-view' which he held as the ultimate ideal in this world, but in all his writings there is no mention of this subject. However, he did exhort students going abroad against returning as Germans, English, Frenchmen et cetera. This could mean that he was not in favour of Chinese marrying Westerners, but in the absence of any specific mention of the subject our conclusion can only be conjectural. Nonetheless it seems clear that in the final analysis Ts'ai's nationalism outweighed his internationalism, because he loved his own country and people.
5. **Resume**

In a nutshell, Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei should occupy a place in the history of modern China as a leader of the intellectual and cultural renaissance of the twentieth century, an important modern educator and social thinker, a philosopher and Chinese patriot, and a radical advocate of China's modernization through the adoption of all progressive reforms. A man appreciative of both the East and the West, it seems appropriate that he should be conferred an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the New York University in 1921. At the investiture the citation by Chancellor Elmer Ellsworth Brown aptly described him as

... distinguished chief of a sister university, influential and honored leader in the scientific and literary development of a sister republic, statesman, philosopher, leader of young men ...
CHAPTER NINE

1. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 11-12.

2. LU Hsün 鲁迅, real name Chou Shu-jên 周樹人 (1881-1936).
   Born at Shao-hsing on 3 August 1881, Lu Hsün was one of the most well-known short story writers of modern China. He went to Japan for medical studies but gave up medicine to become a writer because he felt that he could better bring about the modernization of China by criticizing society with his pen than he could by healing the physical illness of the people. After his return from Japan in 1909 he became a teacher and later principal of the Shao-hsing Chung-hsüeh, a secondary school in his native city. In 1912 he was invited by Ts'ai Yüan-p'ai to serve in the Ministry of Education, and in 1913 he became Professor of Literature at the Peking University.
   In April 1918 he wrote his first short story, the K'uang-jén Jih-chi  狂人日記 (Diary of a Madman), and in December 1921 he completed his famous A Q Cheng-chuan 阿Q正傳 (The True Story of Ah Q) which has since been translated into thirteen languages. Between 1918 and 1925 he published twenty-six stories in two collections entitled Na Han 呐喊 (Battle Cry) and Piang-huang 傍徨 (Irresolution).
   In 1925 Lu Hsün lost his position in the Ministry of Education because he sided with students in a strike at the National Women's Normal University. In 1926 he left Peking to become Professor of Chinese Literature at the Amoy University on the invitation of Dr Lin Yü-t'ang. His next academic appointment was Dean of the College of Arts at the Chung-shan Ta-hsüeh (Sun Yat-sen University) in Canton.
   In 1927 Lu Hsün was involved in a fierce dispute with the Ch'uang-chao Shê 創造社 (Creative Society) and the T'ai-yang Shê 太陽社 (Sun Society), two groups of writers opposed to the left-wing authors of whom he was an important member. In 1930 he joined the League of Left-wing Writers and from then onwards took on a pro-communist line in his writings. He died in Shanghai on 10 October 1936 at the age of fifty-five.

For a short biographical account of Lu Hsün see Who's Who in Modern China, 261-62.
For a study of Lu Hsiin's contribution to the new culture see Huang Sung-k'ang, Lu Hsiin and the New Culture Movement of Modern China.

3. Hu Shih is known to the West as the father of the pai-hua movement, whereas Ch'en Tu-hsiu's contribution to the same movement has sometimes been ignored. Although Hu Shih wrote the first article suggesting a certain line for reforming the Chinese literary medium, it was Ch'en's daring support and bold pronouncements that gave the movement its driving force. As editor of the Hsin Ch'ing-nien he put pai-hua into use and proved its value as a medium to substitute the wên-yen. His part as an advocate of the pai-hua movement could rank equal to Hu Shih's.

4. Edgar Snow in The Other Side of the River quoted Mao Tse-tung who said that in his young days he received greatest influence from the writings of Ch'en Tu-hsiu. Mao had also read a book of ethics translated by Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei. See p. 367 and fn. 23 below.

5. 'Ts'ai Chieh-min Hsien-shêng Shih-shih Hou Kan-yen' 蔡子民先生逝世後感言 in I-wên, 582.

6. 'Ts'ai Hsien-shêng Pu Hsiu' 蔡先生不朽, I-wên, 575.

7. Huang Shih-hui, 558.

It may be noted that bargaining over the price of commodities and services is a more common practice in the East than in the West.

8. I-wên, 446, 'E'

9. When Sun Yat-sen formed the Chung-hua Kê-ming Tang 中華革命黨 in 1915 he demanded that all members owe personal allegiance to him.

10. Quoted in Hu Shih, 'Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei I Ch'ih-chih Wei K'ang-i' 蔡元培以解職為抗議 (hereafter 'I Ch'ih-chih Wei K'ang-i'), in Nu-li Chou-pao, No. 38 (21 January 1923), hereafter NLCP.

11. 'Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei Shih Hsiao-chi Ma?' 蔡元培是消极嗎 NLCP, No. 40 (4 April 1923).

12. 'Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei Ti Hsüan-yen' 蔡元培的宣言 NLCP, No. 39 (28 January 1923), Appendix.
13. 'Pa Ts' ai Chieh-min Hsien-sheng Chuan-lüeh'拔蔡子民先生傳略 in Ta-kung Pao, 4 May 1943.


16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.


20. Mao Tun矛盾 is the nom de plume of Shên Yen-p'ing

沈雁冰 (1896- ).

A native of Chekiang, Mao Tun is an art and literary critic, and a romantic writer. Known for his introduction of foreign literature, Mao Tun founded the Literary Research Society and became editor of the Hsiao-shuo Yüeh-pao 小説月報 (The Short Story Magazine'). Among his early stories were the trilogy Huan-mieh 幻滅 ('Disillusion'), Tung-yao 動搖 ('Agitation') and Chui-ch'iu 追求 ('Pursuit'). These three stories later published together as Shih 蝕 ('Eclipse') made him well-known in China.

One of the founders of the League of Left-wing Writers, Mao Tun carried on the spirit of Lu Hsun and probed into the problems of national language and literature. In 1946 he lectured in the Soviet Union on Chinese Literature. He has been Minister of Culture in the Political Affairs Council and President of the Committee of Management of the Chinese Writers' Association. Among his other well-known writings are his novels Hung 虹 ('Rainbow'), San-jen Hsing 三人行 ('Three Persons'), Lu 路 ('The Way'), Ch'un-ts' an 春蟬 ('Silkworms'), and Hsiang-yeh Hung 落葉紅似二月花 ('Frosty leaves are as red as February Flowers').

21. Pa Chin 巴金, real name Li Fei-kan (1906 - ), native of Chengtu in Szechuan. A novelist, short story writer, essayist and publisher, he studied biology in Paris but later changed to literary studies. In 1949 he became a member of the Committee on Culture and Education of the Political Affairs Council, and in October 1953 was chosen President of the Committee of Management of the Chinese Writers' Association, a post previously held by Mao Tun. He has a long list of publications - mainly short stories and novels.

See Who's Who in Modern China, 169.

22. 'Tao Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei Hsien-sheng' 悼慕元培先生 in Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 8.


25. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 8.

26. Shao Li-tzǔ 鄧力子 tzǔ Feng Shou鳳壽 hao Chung-hui 仲輝 (1881 - ). Born in 1881 at Shao-hsing, Chekiang, he obtained his chul-jen degree and then graduated from the Université L'Aurore in Shanghai. In 1914 he joined the editorial staff of the Shang-hai Min-li Pao 上海民立報, and from 1916 to 1925 was chief editor of the Shang-hai Min-kuo Jih-pao 上海民國日報. In 1925 he became head of the political department of the Whampoa Military Academy of which Chiang Kai-shek was principal, and in 1940 he was appointed Chinese Ambassador to Soviet Russia. During the latter part of his career he was considered a pro-Russian member of the Kuomintang.

See Gendai Chugoku Jinmei Kan, 362; Hsin Chung-kuo Jên-wu Chih, II, 1-3; and Who's Who in Modern China, 179-80.
27. Ma Liang 马良 tzu Hsiang-pê 湘伯 (1840-?).
A noted Chinese scholar and chü-jên graduate, he served as Secretary in various embassies to Europe and Japan. After retiring from diplomatic service he was engaged in educational work in Shanghai. In 1913 he acted as Head of the Peking University for two months. He was known to be a scholar with a new outlook.

Kaitei Gendai Shina Jinmei Kan, 27.

28. 'Wo Suo Chui-nien Ti Ts'ai Hsien-shêng'我所追念的蔡先生
in Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 9.

29. The likes and dislikes refer to the different interpretations of history by Marxist and non-Marxist historians. Lü was probably hinting at the fact that Communist historians could not avoid labelling Ts'ai as a bourgeois intellectual because he had been a high official in the Kuomintang and had in the days of Communist-Kuomintang entente supported the Kuomintang in its policy of clearing the Party of Communists. Lü himself is an historian who lives in China, and this observation shows his attempt to be objective in assessing Ts'ai's place in the history of modern China.

See 'Ts'ai Chieh-min Lun' 蔡子民論 in Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 15-16.

30. Ts'ai Shang-ssü, 368 and chapter sixteen passim.

31. Huang Sung-k'ang, Lu Hsün and the New Culture Movement of Modern China, 8 and 123.

42. *Ibid.*
46. See chapter three p.94.
48. For an account of Ting Wen-chiang see *Kaipei Gendai Shina Jinmei Kan*, 754.
49. For example, the Institute of Advanced Studies of the Australian National University began first with a Research School of Medicine, but has now expanded to include the Research School of Physical Sciences, the Research School of Social Sciences, and the Research School of Pacific Studies.
See *Australian National University Calendar 1963*.
CHINESE AND JAPANESE SOURCES

A. THE WRITINGS OF TS'AI YÜAN-P'EI

The present list includes all of Ts'ai's published books and nearly all his speeches, articles and essays published at different times in four collections. Section I is a list of the titles of published books, including the four collections. In Section II a selection of articles, essays and speeches frequently cited in this thesis has been listed in alphabetical sequence under each collection.

Section I. Titles of published books and collected works.


2. K'o-p'ei Shih Chê-hsüeh Yao-ling (Outline of Krube's Philosophy), Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1903.

This is a translation.


包爾生氏倫理學原理 上海 商務


   This book incorporated mainly the philosophy of Richter in his *Einführung in die Philosophie*, supplemented by philosophies of Paulsen and Wundt in their *Einleitung in die Philosophie*, as well as some interpretative ideas from Ts'ai, the translator.


7. **Wên-pien San-chüan** (*Three Volumes on the Development of Language*). No publishing data available.

This was a translation of a Japanese book by INOUE Enryō.


11. **Yü Li-ch'u Hsien-shêng Nien-p'u** (A Chronological Biography of Mr Yü Li-ch'u). This book was compiled and edited by Wang Li-chung. Ts'ai revised it and added a colophon. Published by the An-hui Ts'ung-shu Pien-yin Ch'u, 1934.

Section II. Selected articles, essays and speeches frequently cited in this study.


'A' 'Tsai Hsin-chiao Tzu-yu Hui Chih Yen-chiang' 在 信 教 自 由 會 之 演 講 ("Lecture given at the Society for Religious Freedom"), I, 45-49.

'B' 'Hei-an Yu Kuang-ming Ti Hsiao-ch'ang' 黑 暗 與 光 明 的 消 長 ("The Waxing and Waning of darkness and light"), I, 84-90.
'C'  'Lao-kung Shen-sheng' 燈工神聖 ('The Sacredness of Labour'), I, 168-169.

'D'  'Kung-hsueh Hu-chu T'uan Ti Ta Hsi-wang' 工學互助
圆的大希望 ('The great hope of the work-

'E'  'Kuo-wai Ch'in-kung Chien-hsueh Hui Yu Kuo-nei
Kung-hsueh Hu-chu T'uan' 國外勤工儉學會與國內
工學互助圈 ('The Society for diligent labour
and frugal study abroad and the work-and-learning
mutual aid team within the country'), I, 174-179.

'F'  'Tui Yu Chiao-yü Fang-chêns ch'i-i-chien' 對於教育
方针之意見 ('My view on the objectives of
education'), I, 189-203.

'G'  'I Mei-yu Tai Tsung-chiao Shuo' 以美育代宗教說
('On substituting of aesthetics for religion'),
I, 203-213.

'H'  'P'in-erh-yuan Yu P'in-erh Chiao-yü Ti Kuan-hsi'
貧兌院與貧兌教育的關係 ('The Relationship
between Homes for Destitute Children and the education
of Destitute Children'), I, 231-241.

'I'  'Hsin Chiao-yü Yu Chiu Chiao-yü Chih Ch'i-tien'
新教育與舊教育之歧點 ('The distinction
between new education and old education'), I, 241-247.
'J'  'Chiu-jên Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Hsiao-chang Yen-shuo' 就任北京大学校長演說 ('Speech given on assuming the post of chancellor of the Peking University'), II, 292-296.

'K'  'Tsai Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh K'ai-hsueh Shih Chih Yen-shuo'在北京大學開學式之演說 ('Speech given at the Peking University Opening Ceremony in 1918'), II, 296.

'L'  'Chih Kung-yen Pao Ping Ta Lin Ch'in-nan Chun Han' 致公言表並答林琴南君函 ('Letter to the Kung-yen Times in reply to Lin Ch'in-nan'), II, 314-333.


'N'  'Hua-fa Chiao-yu Hui Chih I-ch'u'華法教育會意趣 ('The Intentions of the Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation'), II, 371-376.

'O'  'Tsai Pei-ching Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui Chiang-yen Hui Yen-shuo Tz'u'在北京留法僑學會講演會演辭 ('Speech given at a lecture to the Liu-fa Chien-hsüeh Hui of Peking'), II, 376-381.
'P' 'Ch'in-kung Chieh-hsüeh Chuan Hsü' 勤工儉學傳序 ('Preface to the Biographies of Diligent labour and frugal study'), II, 381-386.

'Q' 'Hua-fa Chiao-yü Hui Ts'ung-shu Hsü' 華法教育會叢書序 ('Preface to the Société Franco-Chinoise d'Éducation Collected Reprints'), II, 386-

'R' 'Wên-ming Chih Hsiao-hua' 文明之消化 ('The Digestion of Civilization'), II, 404-407

'S' 'Ts'ai Ch'ing-hua Hsüeh-hsiao Kao-têng K'o Yen-shuo Tz'ü' 在清華學校高等科演說詞 ('Speech given to the Higher Classes of the Tsinghua School'), II, 407-412

'T' 'Yû Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Hsüeh-shêng Hua-pieh' 與北京大學學生話別 ('Farewell to the students of Peking University'), II, 475-482

'U' 'Ta-hsüeh Kai-chih Chih Shih-shih Chi Li-yu' 大學改制之事實及理由 ('The truth and reason for changing the university system'), II, 573-580

In Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei Hsüan-chi. Abbreviated as Hsuan-chi.

'A' 'Ts'ai Ai-kuo Nü Hsueh-hsiao Chih Yen-shuo' 在愛國女學校之演說 ('Speech given at the Patriotic Girls School'), 49-52.
B' 'Hung-shui Yu Meng-shou' 洪水與猛獸 ('The Flood and the fierce beast'), 114.

C' 'Fei Tsung-chiao Yun-tung' 非宗教運動 ('Non-religion Movement'), 193-194.

D' 'Wu-ssu Yun-tung Tsui Chung-yao Ti Chi-nien' 五四運動最重要的紀念 ('The most important commemoration of the May Fourth Movement'), 195-196.

E' 'Mei-yü Shih-shih Ti Fang-fa' 美育實施的方法 ('The method for the practical application of aesthetic culture'), 197-203.

F' 'Han-tzǔ Kai-kê Shuo' 漢字改革說 ('On Reforming the Chinese Writing'), 204-207.

G' 'Kuan-yü Pu Ho-tso Ti Hsüan-yen' 開始不合作的宣言 ('Statement concerning non-cooperation'), 212-214.

H' 'Tsai Chung-kuo Min-ch'üan Pao-chang T'ung-mêng Chung-wai Chi-chê Chac-tai Hui Ti Chih-tz'ü' 在中國民權保障同盟中外記者招待會的致詞 ('Speech given at the China League for Civil Rights Reception for Foreign and Chinese Reporters'), 285-286.

I' 'Wo Tsai Pei-ching Ta-hsüeh Ti Ching-li' 我在北京大學的經歷 ('My experiences at the Peking University'), 287-295.
'J' 'Lun Ta-hsüeh Ying Shê Ko K'o Yen-chiu-so Chih Li-yu' 論大學應設各科研所之理由 ('A discussion of the reasons why a university should establish research institutes in the various subjects'), 308-312.

'K' 'Tui-yü Tu-ching Wên-t'i Ti I-chien' 對於讀經問題的意見 ('Opinion concerning the problem of studying classics'), 312-313.

'L' 'Wo Ch'ing-nien Shih-tai Ti Tu-shu Shêng-huo' 我青年時代的讀書生活 ('Student life during my young days'), 323-335.

'M' 'Wo Tsai Chiao-yü Chieh Ti Ching-yen' 我在教育界的經驗 ('My experience in the educational circles'), 328-336.

In Ts'ai Yuan-p'e1 Hsien-shêng I-wên Lui-ch'ao. Abbreviated as I-wên.

'A' 'Tui Chiao-yü Tsung-chih An Chih Shuo-ming' 對教育宗旨案之說明 ('An explanation of the aims of education'), 85-88.

'B' 'Chiao-yü Tu-li I' 教育獨立議 ('Proposal for Independent Education'), 100-102.

'C' 'Tui-yü Ch'ing-nien Yün-tung T'i-an' 對於青年運動提案 ('A motion concerning the youth movement'), 138-142.
"D" "Ta-hsüeh-yüan Kung-pao Fa-k'an Tz'u" 大学院公報
發刊詞 ('Foreword to the publication of the
Ta-hsüeh-yüan Gazette'), 353-355.

"E" "Chi Huang Fu-jên Wen" 祭黄夫人文 ('Funeral
ode to Madame Huang'), 466-468.

"F" "Tsên-yang Ts'ai P'ei Ch'êng-tso Hsien-tai Hsueh-
shêng" 怎樣才配稱做現代學生('How could
one be fit to be called a modern student'), 478-486.

"G" "Min-kuo Shih-erh Nien I Yüeh Shih-ch'i Jih Wei Lo
Wên-kan Tsao Fei-fa Tai-pu and Tz'ü-chih Ch'êng'
民國十二年一月十七日為羅文幹遭非法逮捕案
辭職呈 ('Resignation submitted
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TS'AI YUAN-P'EI (1868-1940)

AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO MODERN EDUCATION IN CHINA

SUMMARY

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was one of China's foremost modern educators. He was closely connected with the development of modern education in China during the first four decades of this century. A traditional Chinese scholar who had the enviable achievement of passing the chin-shih examination and receiving the appointment of Assistant Hanlin Compiler, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was notable for his encouragement of the new learning that was coming through from the West. But what made Ts'ai an acceptable leader of the Chinese intelligentsia was his ability to synthesize Chinese and Western values and select the best from both cultures.

Ts'ai's contribution to education in China may be divided into five phases, viz., his early educational activities connected with revolutionary propaganda (1900-1910), his achievements as the first Minister of Education under the Republic (1912), his contribution to the work-and-study movement and the education of Chinese workers in France (1914-1916), his chancellorship of the National University of Peking (1917-1926), and his work as founder President of the Academia Sinica 中央研究院 (1928-1940).
Ts'ai's chancellorship of the University of Peking stands out as the most important period of his career which is also the most prominent in the history of the university. Peking university was the "cradle of the Chinese Renaissance" and this was due partly to Ts'ai's enlightened leadership and liberal administration. Under his moral protection the new learning centred at the Peking University flowered into the new culture movement which brought about China's intellectual revolution.

His early educational work was aimed at furthering the cause of political revolution in China. He was a founder of the Chinese Educational Society 中國教育會, a semi-educational organization in Shanghai which spread revolutionary ideas through the two schools it sponsored — the Patriotic School 爭愛國學社 and the Patriotic Girls' School 愛國女學校. Ts'ai taught in both schools for several years. He also taught in various schools in his native town of Shaohsing. In all these schools Ts'ai advocated progress and revolution and emphasized the study of foreign languages. As result of his radical views he clashed with the more conservative teachers.

As the Republic's first Minister of Education Ts'ai was responsible for promulgating two temporary ordinances which formed the basis for the implementation of a new school
system in force in China from 1912 to 1921. He publicized new aims of education which laid emphasis on aesthetic and "world-view" education. This resulted in the increased teaching of art and music in schools.

Ts'ai's support of work-and-study schemes in France led to a greater respect for manual labour among intellectuals and thus narrowed the traditional gap between scholars and artisans. The scheme to educate manual labourers constitutes one of the early attempts at eradicating illiteracy in China. One important result of the respect for labour was the founding of the Labour University 劳動大學 which was a precursor of present day developments in mainland China.

Finally Ts'ai was important as a pioneer of scientific research in China. It was through his efforts that the Chung-yang Yen-chiu-yuan (Academia Sinica) was established in 1927 as China's highest research institution to promote research in the natural sciences. The establishment of the Academia Sinica as a national organization signifies the recognition of research as an integral part of national reconstruction. The Academia Sinica still exists today in Peking and Taipei. This and the recent explosion of a nuclear bomb by Chinese scientists testify to the far-sightedness of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei in emphasizing the importance of research in the then backward China.