TS'AI YUAN-P'EI FROM CONFUCIAN SCHOLAR TO
CHANCELLOR OF PEKING UNIVERSITY, 1868-1923:
THE EVOLUTION OF A PATIENT REFORMER

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
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By

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* * * * * *

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INTRODUCTION

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's life (1868–1940) spanned a period of intellectual and political tumult in China. The nation felt the challenge of Western strength, and individuals confronted the challenge of Western ideas. For sensitive Chinese this was a time when they struggled to create a new set of political and moral beliefs for themselves and for China.¹ Ts'ai operated within this context as he grappled with new ideas and searched for answers to China's many problems.

This study seeks to clarify the basic concerns of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, to ascertain his definitions of China's needs and problems, and to understand and assess his solutions and their implementation. It focuses on the period from 1898 to 1923 when all the diverse strands of traditional Chinese culture were subjected to their severest challenge. This was a time of continuous political change, including a revolution, two attempts at restoring the monarchy, and the divisive atmosphere of the warlords. But perhaps of greater significance, it was also a time of intellectual inquiry and debate. Defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, failure of the Hundred Days Reform, and the final tragedy of the Boxers convinced all but the most conservative that Chinese civilization was morally, socially, politically, and militarily bankrupt. These twenty-five years, then, saw Chinese intellectuals scrutinize their own traditions and eagerly absorb knowledge of Western cultures. For all, the basic concern was finding means to reform and modernize China. The
intellectual dialogue was rarely profound, but it was always earnest. The plight of China disturbed everyone. During this period, dating approximately from 1898 to 1923, China was an intellectual arena in which the most disparate viewpoints waged battle. After 1923, the spotlight of Chinese history gradually began to focus upon the Kuomintang, which experienced a vitalizing reorganization and finally completed the Northern Expedition by 1927.

The nineteenth century context into which Ts'ai was born was characterized by Chinese weakness, Western encroachments, and unsettling confusion regarding the proper course of reform. Confucian and Western ideas vied with each other for the allegiance of Chinese intellectuals. This is not too stark a polarization, despite the complexity and diversity within the two concepts of Confucian and Western. The confrontation served to consolidate the two sides and blur internal differences. The resulting conflict centered around two basically different points of view. Confucianism came to mean an orientation toward moral issues and a traditional concern for good men and an orderly society. Confucian virtues such as chung (faithfulness), shu (altruism), jen (benevolence), yi (righteousness), li (propriety), and chih (moral wisdom) were emphasized. The Confucian outlook stressed moral cultivation and the reform of society through the moral regeneration of men. The Western orientation placed more stress on political, economic, and technological questions. It was much more dynamic in its approach to problems and saw the solution to China's weakness more in terms of changing society than in changing men. Many nineteenth century Chinese
wrestled with these two fundamentally different viewpoints. Attempts at synthesis were tried and found unsatisfactory. By the time of Ts'ai's adulthood, the puzzle remained unsolved, and China remained weak.

Ts'ai's youth was devoted to the orthodox pattern of Confucian study. Well educated in the Classics, he achieved early success in the examinations and became a member of the Hanlin Academy. But he was deeply moved by events of the 1890's especially China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, and began investigating Western thought and re-examining his traditional beliefs. The rest of his life was spent searching for means to reform and strengthen Chinese society. Ts'ai has been labeled a "synthesizer" and a "selector of the best from East and West,"² but, in fact, his diversified interests and activities defy easy classification. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries he was active as an educator, revolutionary, and editor.

From 1907 to 1911 he studied in Germany. Returning to China in 1911 to become Minister of Education, he soon resigned and left, in 1912, for study in France. Responding to an invitation to become Chancellor of Peking University (Peita), he again returned to China in late 1916. During Ts'ai's tenure at Peita (1917-1923), his efforts transformed a conservative diploma mill for would-be officials into the center of Chinese intellectual life. Academic freedom and faculty diversity produced an atmosphere of intense intellectual debate. This study ends with Ts'ai's resignation from Peking University in 1923. His later career was restricted to the role of elder statesman, and his greatest
significance for modern Chinese history lies in his activities during
the period of intellectual dialogue from 1898 to 1923.

In his search for new values for himself and for China, Ts'ai
drew from a rich background of ideas and experiences. As a youth he
absorbed the orthodox neo-Confucian synthesis of Chu Hsi, which com-
bined an earlier Confucian emphasis on ethics with a new, Buddhist
influenced, cosmology. Perhaps the most fundamental ethical theme of
neo-Confucianism was the idea of constant self-examination and moral
cultivation. According to Chu Hsi, man's nature, which was equivalent
to his li or basic principle, was inherently good and pure. It con-
sisted of the virtues of jen (love), yi (righteousness), li (propriety),
and chih (moral wisdom), which revealed themselves through the feelings
of commiseration for others, shame from dishonor, modesty and submis-
siveness, and a sense of right and wrong. But although man's nature
or li was naturally perfect, it expressed or manifested itself through
his ch'i (matter or ether) which was usually impure. Thus the pearl
of man's nature became clouded by his imperfect ch'i. To cleanse one's
ch'i, Chu Hsi urged intense self-cultivation and the "extension of
knowledge" (chih-chih) through the "investigation of things" to learn
about their individual li. But the final objective of the investigation
of things was an enlightenment which would enable men to understand
themselves and thus free the pearl of their li from its cloudy ch'i.
The focus, then, was on self-discipline, self-cultivation, and self-
awareness. And the tone of neo-Confucianism was one of optimism,
since man's human nature is basically good and sagehood is attainable
through dedication and study.

Chu Hsi expressed these ideas in his own writings and in his commentaries to the Four Books which, for the examinations, virtually replaced the Five Classics. The Four Books consisted of the Analects of Confucius, the Mencius which expounded the theory that human nature was good, the Doctrine of the Mean, and The Great Learning. The neo-Confucian term for self-examination (shen-tu) was taken from the phrase in the Doctrine of the Mean: "Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone." The Great Learning contains the famous formula for good government:

The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom first ordered well their own states. Wishing to order well their states, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons. Wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their hearts. Wishing to rectify their hearts, they first sought to be sincere in their thoughts. Wishing to be sincere in their thoughts, they first extended to the utmost their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things.

(James Legge's translation)

Of course, Ts'ai was also aware of the Ming idealism of Wang Yang-ming (Shou-jen). This hsin-hsueh school, rivaling Chu Hsi's li-hsueh school, argued that one's own nature was sufficient for seeking li or principle. The mind of one individual was a microcosm of the whole universe, and thus each and every li was observable in the human mind. Therefore, instead of extending knowledge through the investigation of things, it was only necessary to cultivate one's own mind and
develop one's "intuitive knowledge" (liang-chih). This would enable one to restore his mind to natural purity and to intuitively know right and wrong. Despite the differences of interpretation between the two schools, both emphasized the common virtues of self-cultivation, self-control, and moderation.

The whole Confucian tradition represented a kind of "persuasion" which almost subconsciously molded the outlook of the Chinese elite.\textsuperscript{4} The Chinese Confucian viewed the universe as something like an organism whose many components must be kept healthy and in harmony. Any aggressive act might upset the fragile equilibrium, resulting in chaos and possibly complete destruction. The proper balance and harmony were maintained by the wise management of those properly qualified because of their wisdom. Wisdom, in this context, primarily meant moral wisdom, acquired through continual self-examination and study of the Classics. The governing elite was paternalistic and, ideally, ruled through techniques of moral and ideological persuasion. The evidence is inconclusive regarding how closely this idealized picture conformed to reality during different periods of Chinese history. But one point is certain: the Confucian model was an ideal toward which a good many conscientious scholar-bureaucrats strove. Despite its reduced credibility by the end of the nineteenth century, the Confucian "persuasion" must be considered a significant element of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's intellectual makeup.

Ts'ai was also very much interested in the early Ch'ing reaction against Ming idealism.\textsuperscript{5} The "school of practical statecraft"
maintained that the Ming collapse resulted from an excessive neo-
Confucian concern for abstractions and metaphysics. This school
called for a return to reality, with the emphasis on knowledge for
practical use. However, reality came to mean Confucian principles
and their application throughout history, and the search for knowledge
gravitated toward philological research which soon became an end in
itself. The result was the appearance of the "school of empirical
research" which contained elements of escapist scholasticism. None-
theless, the Ch'ing schools approached traditional materials with new
questioning attitudes. Confucian texts were critically examined,
ersors corrected, and forgeries uncovered. Ts'ai was impressed by
this analytical, almost scientific, methodology. In historical
writings on Chinese philosophy, he singled out Tai Chen (1724-1777),
Wei Yuan (1794-1857), and Juan Yuan (1764-1849) for special recog-
nition. This respect for critical techniques of scholarship prob-
ably helps explain Ts'ai's receptivity to the Western concept of the
scientific method.

This broad outline of traditional viewpoints represents a signi-
ificant portion of the intellectual climate in which Ts'ai lived.
But these were turbulent years in which the traditional framework
was challenged by new ideas. Translations of Western works were
readily available, and Ts'ai, after 1834, began studying and dis-
cussing Western ideas. Yen Fu was probably the most influential
translator, and his rendering of Thomas Huxley's Evolution and Ethics
introduced into popular use such terms as struggle for survival,
survival of the fittest, and natural selection. He later translated writings of John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Adam Smith, and Montesquieu. Of course, as Benjamin Schwartz has shown, Yen Fu distorted Western ideas to fit his preconceived emphasis on "sheer energy" and "public spirit" as the European secrets which would help China modernize. Yet the important point is that Western alternatives were in the air and being discussed. Schopenhauer and Nietzsche were translated by Wang Kuo-wei. Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui, and Wang Ching-wei later translated Prince Peter Kropotkin and other anarchists in their New Century, published in Paris from 1907-1910.

Anarchism and Kropotkin's Mutual Aid had great appeal to many Chinese intellectuals during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Anarchist theory revolved around the idea that the elimination of private property and the state would remove the causes of exploitation and oppression. These would be replaced by voluntary associations of individuals who would allocate work on a cooperative basis. Kropotkin's Mutual Aid, which became almost a bible to some Chinese anarchists, tried to provide a scientific foundation for anarchist ideas. Kropotkin contended that the survival of a species was dependent on mutual assistance and cooperation rather than unrelenting competition. Man's instincts, then, seemed inclined toward cooperation rather than competition, and thus anarchist ideas of voluntary self-regulation were valid and rational. Many Chinese were attracted to anarchism as the most modern, scientific approach to China's ills. Certainly the intense moral fervor of the doctrine
appealed to many, and Chinese anarchists advocated a regimen of personal discipline and devotion to the cause. For some, anarchism and Russian nihilism became interchangeable, and the attraction lay in terroristic methods rather than doctrine. Ts'ai evidenced considerable interest in anarchism, but it stemmed mostly from sympathy with the moral dedication of the anarchists.

In addition to the influx of Western ideas, this was a period of turbulence on the domestic scene. K'ang Yu-wei and the "new text" school offered a revolutionary reappraisal of Confucianism and attempted to act upon it during the abortive Hundred Days Reform. The Boxer Rebellion ran its disastrous course and perhaps symbolized the last gasp of blind conservatism. Recent research clarifies the extent to which the Boxer failure provided a real watershed in modern Chinese history. The decade preceding the 1911 Revolution was one of considerable growth and transformation. Nationalism was increasingly a motivating force among broader segments of the population, and the transformation from t'ien-hsia to kuo-chia became more widely accepted. The imperial government introduced educational, military, and political reforms of unprecedented implications. New attitudes of pride and dynamism characterized large groups of citizens. New groups rose to influence and status, such as students, women, the military, overseas Chinese, and the working class. On another level, Sun Yat-sen initiated revolutionary attempts. Ts'ai's activities during the early 1900's reflected both strains of development. An active educator and editor, he contributed to the spread of new ideas and attitudes. He was also
interested in revolutionary affairs and became a member of the T'ung-meng hui.

The above outline should provide a broad picture of the Chinese side of Ts'ai's background. But there is also a Western component. From 1907 to 1911 he lived in Germany, studying in Leipzig and Berlin. German philosophy and the whole atmosphere of pre-war Germany undeniably left their imprint on Ts'ai's thinking. This was the Germany of Kaiser Wilhelm, of strident nationalism, of Nietzsche's Übermensch. The product may have been German arrogance and World War I, but from the standpoint of a Chinese observer the atmosphere of dynamism, virility, and nationalism must have left a lasting impression.

But in addition to the local German spirit of the time, Ts'ai also absorbed the prevalent European outlook which might be termed a combination of rationalism and liberalism. This was a common legacy, perhaps three centuries in the making, which all Europeans accepted in varying degrees. Its origins might be traced to Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and Rene Descartes (1596-1650), founders respectively of empiricism and the deductive method. They began a new way of looking at man and his universe. Old ideas were re-examined, and new methods yielded a picture of the universe operating according to systematic rules which could be learned and mastered by men. Sir Isaac Newton's (1642-1727) theory of gravity reinforced the idea of an orderly universe governed by discoverable laws. As Alexander Pope wrote: "Nature and nature's laws lay hid in night; God said, 'Let Newton be,' and all was light."
Similar theories of rationality began to be attributed to human behavior. If the universe operated in an orderly fashion, it was natural to assume that mankind also was governed by some rational system of cause and effect. John Locke's (1632-1704) *Essay Concerning the Human Understanding* (1690) suggested that man's knowledge and attitudes were a product of his experiences. The mind at birth was like a tabula rasa. As one matured, impressions were registered and ideas formed in accordance with the nature of the environment to which he was exposed. The eighteenth century "Enlightenment" was a time of continued confidence in reason and progress. All problems were amenable to reason, and unceasing progress was assured as long as men acted rationally. Voltaire (1698-1775) was the chief advocate of this point of view. He deified rationality, vilified religion and superstition, and urged an enlightened despotism, often citing China as the best model, as the most rational form of government. Rationalism continued to be an influential doctrine in the nineteenth century, although for a time romanticism was the prevailing fashion. Nineteenth century social reformers, such as Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) and John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), applied the rationalist approach to social problems and developed the doctrine known as liberalism. While including such ideas as freedom for the individual and laissez-faire economics, its primary emphasis was social reform. In this regard, liberals operated on the assumption that men were molded by their environment. If a good, healthy environment could be provided the result would be good men and, inevitably, a good and progressive society.
Scientific advances, which became especially impressive by the middle of the nineteenth century, strengthened the faith that man was molded by his environment, and progress and the perfectibility of man were inevitable. Charles Darwin's *Origin of the Species* appeared in 1859. Herbert Spencer quickly applied Darwinian concepts of society and developed the appealing dogma of Social Darwinism. Auguste Comte's (1798-1857) positivism also was influential. Comte, the supreme materialist, accepted only verifiable facts and claimed that one could deduce a hierarchy of scientific disciplines based solely on established facts. The highest science was that which dealt with society, and Comte urged that social problems be studied with the same scientific attitudes as were appropriate to the natural sciences. Faith in science led anthropologists and psychologists to disregard ideas of right and wrong and "scientifically" analyze the facts of human behavior. Study of primitive societies by anthropologists showed the practical origins of many religious and moral beliefs. The German psychologist, Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920) and the Russian Ivan Pavlov (1849-1936) demonstrated that behavior, at least for animals, was conditioned by environment and experience. The American J. B. Watson (1878-1958) was later to apply this hypothesis to human behavior, thus developing the behaviorist school of psychology. By the end of the nineteenth century, science had advanced so rapidly that many men were venerating science and reason, abandoning philosophical and metaphysical speculation.

But by the turn of the century an inevitable reaction set in against this materialist view.\textsuperscript{11} Neo-idealism or neo-Kantianism emerged
as a separate stream of thought. Many thinkers began concentrating on the "something" beyond or beneath man's conscious, rational perceptions. There was a change from impressionism to expressionism in art, wherein expressionists painted the essence or inner meaning beneath the apparent surface reality. This was the time of Freud's investigations of the subconscious and Bergson's *elan vital*. The material or phenomenal world was accepted, but a higher reality was believed to exist in the realm of the noumenal world. So a compromise was reached by which science could advance man's understanding of the phenomenal world, but similar progress in the noumenal sphere required concentration on the supra-rational faculties of feeling, intuition, and the human spirit.

Such was the broad range of Chinese and Western elements which provided the intellectual reservoir from which Ts'ai drew as he searched for solutions to China's pressing problems. Ts'ai's interest in and commitment to such diverse ideas produced conflicting impulses. Regarding his European background, Ts'ai was deeply impressed by the rationalist, and environmentalist, interpretation of men and society. He maintained an abiding faith in the usefulness of reason and the scientific method. His German studies particularly concentrated on anthropology and psychology, where his reading and laboratory experiments convinced him that man's attitudes were closely related to his environmental experiences. Thus social reform was basically dependent on changing the environment in which men lived. At the same time, Ts'ai was attracted by the Kantian idea of two levels of awareness.
He often wrote or spoke of helping men direct their thoughts from the phenomenal to the noumenal level, thus moving them to a higher, more spiritual existence. Ts'ai, as an educator and philosopher, was too concerned with moral and spiritual questions to restrict his thinking to the purely material level.

Ts'ai was also torn by conflicting loyalties to both Western and Chinese values. On the one hand, he was passionately committed to modernization and accepted the Western ideal of a democratic, scientific, and secular society. In the forefront of his times, he was a consistent advocate of genuine republicanism, women's rights, universal education, academic freedom, educational independence, and the scientific approach to learning. But the same man harbored a deeply rooted faith in traditional Chinese virtues and, in chün-tzu fashion, tended to moralize about China's substantive problems. Self-cultivation for the elite and a moral renaissance for the masses sometimes seemed to form the core of Ts'ai's plans for modernization.

In many ways, Ts'ai's approach to reform reminds one of the nineteenth century attitudes of Tseng Kuo-fan, although Ts'ai apparently never looked upon Tseng as a model. There is the same emphasis on self-discipline, self-criticism, frugality, modesty, and faith in man's ultimate perfectibility. There is a similar concern for producing men of talent who would restore good government, and men of talent essentially meant men with the proper moral cultivation. The underlying assumption, then, is that good men make a good society, and political problems will respond to moral solutions. But, along with all this
which sounds so traditional, one must remember that Ts'ai's ultimate objective was a strong, modern Chinese nation. He accepted the general Western criteria of wealth and power as the standards of modernization, and he earnestly sought to achieve them for China. In some respects, then, Ts'ai appears to have reversed the traditional t'i-yung dichotomy. As t'i or essence he accepted the Western goal of an economically viable, politically powerful, and scientifically advanced state. As yung or practical techniques he strove to apply the distinctly Confucian methods of moral cultivation and self-examination. In Ts'ai's system, the t'i becomes Western and the yung Chinese.

On many occasions there definitely seemed to be a peculiarly contradictory pattern to Ts'ai's ideas. His background and temperament were so broad that they embraced both Confucian and Western tendencies. As has been suggested regarding other Chinese reformers, it may be that his "ideology" was Western, but his "psychology" remained traditional.\textsuperscript{13} That is, his plans and hopes for China were extremely modern and Western. But in seeking to implement these plans, he was restrained by temperamental, or psychological, yearnings rooted in his Confucian upbringing. This is a suggestive insight, and an inner conflict certainly characterized Ts'ai's struggles to find a viable approach to China's problems. But the terms "ideology" and "psychology" are perhaps too vague a dichotomy to fully reveal the nature of Ts'ai's attitudes.

Like all thoughtful men, especially those in positions of responsibility, Ts'ai was motivated by a variety of impulses as he pursued
his own vision of duty and service. His dedication to a reformed China never slackened, but he experienced much confusion as he searched for appropriate means. Much of this confusion stemmed from his own breadth of experience, and the resulting conflict of loyalties within him. He was an adherent of European rationalism and of the environmentalist approach to reform. But he was also persuaded by the Kantian theory of two realms of awareness, with the higher noumenal world the ultimate reality. Finally, his long Confucian training left him with a deep commitment to the Confucian emphasis on morality and self-cultivation. To a large extent Ts'ai succeeded in reconciling these viewpoints, and his thought and career reveal an essentially consistent synthesis. His program for reform stressed the long term approach of providing a healthy social foundation for a new China. He rejected facile slogans and the ephemeral satisfactions of political activism. Enduring reform required a change in the underlying fabric of Chinese society. A spiritual and intellectual renaissance was necessary, so that the next generation would mature with a fundamentally different set of attitudes. However, the components of the new social foundation, or environment, included many elements of traditional Confucian thought. For example, Confucian virtues were still valuable, the humbleness associated with self-cultivation and self-examination was essential, the missionary sense of service and sacrifice was vital, and the historic Confucian emphasis on moderation was not to be abandoned. Finally, always present in Ts'ai's perspective was the ultimate goal of moving China, and the whole world, to a more spiritual frame of mind, thus advancing
toward the noumenal realm of higher reality. Like all men, Ts'ai was never wholly consistent in thought or action, but he strove sincerely toward a coherent philosophy applicable to China's needs and consonant with his own personal convictions.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


6 T'ai Yüan-p'ei, "Ts'ai chin wu-shih nien Chung-k'uo jen yü che-hsüeh chih kuan-hsi" (The relationship between Chinese and philosophy during the last fifty years), in Sun Te-chung, ed., T'ai Yüan-p'ei hsien-sheng i-wen lei-ch'ao (Classified documents on Mr. T'ai Yüan-p'ei) (Taipei: Fu-hsing shu-chü yin-hang, 1961), p. 193.


10 See the articles in Mary C. Wright, ed., China in Revolution, and especially Mary Wright's introduction, "The Rising Tide of Change," pp. 1-63.


CHAPTER I
1868-1911: CHILDHOOD AND EARLY CAREER

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei was born January 11, 1868 into a comfortable commercial family of Shaohsing, Chekiang Province. The second of three sons, he resembled his father (Kuang-p'u) with his thin face and somewhat yellow complexion. The Ts'ai clan's arrival in Shaohsing dated back to the late Ming, and it had prospered in a variety of commercial pursuits. Ts'ai Kuang-p'u continued the tradition as manager of a local bank or exchange shop (ch'ien-chuang), and of his five brothers only one was interested in scholarly activities. By temperament, however, Kuang-p'u was not suited to commerce, as he was incapable of saying no to friends. This generous man died when Yuan-p'ei was just nine years old (11 sui), and his mother, nee Chou, was the dominant influence during his formative years.

Ts'ai's childhood and early career exemplified the traditional Chinese ideal of success through dedication and self-cultivation. The lenient ways of Kuang-p'u meant hard times for his family after his death. Debts loomed and assets were few. But Ts'ai's mother insisted on managing without assistance, rejecting all offers of loans. She was apparently a woman of remarkably strong character, and Ts'ai was carefully taught the importance of self-discipline and self-improvement. She even impressed upon him the proper way to carry on a conversation— one should always be thinking ahead in order to make an appropriate response, and after concluding the conversation he should review it in his mind, looking for flaws.
in his own performance. Seemingly attuned to this type of Confucian
exhortation, Ts'ai always harbored the most filial sentiments toward
his mother. In accordance with tradition, he even cut flesh from his
arm for a potion when she was ill.

From youth Confucianism molded Ts'ai's character. Beginning his
education with the Hundred Names, Thousand Character Essay, and other
basic texts, he soon progressed to the Four Books and Five Classics.
His training was traditional, with long stints of memorization and eight-
legged essays. However, he was iconoclastic enough to substitute sim-
plified alternatives for any obscure characters he might encounter. Ts'ai
first studied in a family school, then under his uncle's (Ming-en)
guidance, and finally with a variety of tutors. Deeply impressed by the
neo-Confucian ideal of self-examination (shen-tu), he especially admired
an earlier Shaohsing Confucian, Liu Tsung-chou (1578-1645). Liu, a
dedicated official, had starved himself to death rather than serve the
victorious Manchus. He had been an expert on the Sung philosophers and
had strictly disciplined his life, spending half of every day in medita-
tion and study. Ts'ai tried to emulate this example, striving to be strict
with himself and liberal toward others. By one account his scholarship
earned him the title "literary genius of Kiangnan". Certainly he enjoyed
unusual success in the civil service exams, becoming a hsiu-ts'ai in 1883,
a chü-jen in 1889, a chih-shih in 1890, and a Hanlin Compiler Second Class
in 1894. Weng T'ung-ho, the influential Ch'ing official, was favorably
impressed by the young Shaohsing scholar's elegant style and outstanding
talent.
But Ts'ai received the traditional symbols of success at a time of increasing crisis for the tradition. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 clearly demonstrated China's weakness in the face of Western technology. When the despised "dwarf nation" could administer such a defeat, it was surely time to question traditional beliefs. Information on Ts'ai's deepest feelings concerning the crises of the times is unavailable, as Ts'ai himself has left little comment. But several sources agree that in 1894 he began to read translations of Western books and interest himself in Western affairs. By 1898, Ts'ai and friends had established the Eastern Literature Study Society to discuss Japanese writings and translations.

Ts'ai sympathized with the reformers of 1898, cherishing a special admiration for T'an Ssu-t'ung. But their failure impressed two lessons upon him. First, he recognized the futility of working for reform within the Ch'ing administration; and second, he concluded that meaningful changes required the educated awareness of the masses. Ts'ai's dissatisfaction with the Manchus was heightened by the death of the six martyrs and the order to arrest K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao. Consistent with his convictions, he resigned his official position and returned home, determined to devote his life to education and revolution. Chiang Meng-lin, a student and later close associate of Ts'ai, tells a story illustrative of his attitude at this time. Shortly after the failure of 1898, says Chiang, an angry Ts'ai, buoyed by an afternoon of Shaoxing wine, suddenly stood up from the table and in a loud voice criticized K'ang and Liang for having tried to work for reform within the
Manchu regime. "I am not of this mind," said Ts'ai, "Unless you overthrow the Manchus no reform is possible."

Despite this apparent decisiveness, Ts'ai's ultimate ends were far clearer in his mind than the means to their achievement. He sought the removal of the Manchus, and he acknowledged China's need for meaningful changes. Yet he had no plan for revolution, nor any specific program for reform. He was only certain of one thing: for both revolution and reform to be permanent they must be accompanied by the understanding and acceptance of the masses. This attitude should not be misconstrued to indicate a budding faith in Western democracy. Ts'ai's knowledge of Western history was still too limited to have produced such a conviction. Actually, Ts'ai was just calling for more grass roots education so that the masses could understand and accept changes which would be worked in Chinese society by those most capable of doing so. This concept of popular checks on elitist action, institutionalized by Mencius, had ancient roots in Chinese history. It was certainly not democratic in the sense of citizens participating, through elections or some other method, in the determination of political and social policies.

Ts'ai was not a democrat, but one must recognize the extent to which he had broken with the orthodox Confucian structure. Physically, he had severed his connection with the bureaucracy, resigning from this prestigious Hanlin Academy. Of greater importance, Ts'ai's commitment to neo-Confucian outlooks was subtly changing. True, he retained his deep sense of moral concern, and he still thought of reform as something to be developed by an elite. But, and this is of major significance, Ts'ai's view of who
should form that elite was shifting. He still placed much emphasis on morality as a criterion for the elite, and his definition of morality still stressed Confucian virtues. But China's desperate circumstances had revealed the irrelevance of many Confucian beliefs to modern needs. Increasingly, his criteria were broadening to include familiarity with Western attitudes and techniques.

In 1899 Ts'ai helped establish and became supervisor (chien-tu) of the Shaoxing East-West School. Perhaps the most progressive school of its time, it featured a diversified curriculum and an activist faculty. English and French were taught, as well as Japanese, and the curriculum also included philosophy, history, literature, math, and science. Teachers introduced Darwin's theory of evolution and promoted democracy and women's rights. However, conservative objections convinced the Board of Trustees to ask that Ts'ai be more orthodox. Angered by interference, he resigned in 1900.

While in Shaoxing, Ts'ai's first wife died, and the eligible chin-shih was besieged by go-betweens. Ts'ai's selection of a new wife reveals an uncertain wavering between traditionalism and modernity. As a modern Chinese he established five progressive conditions under which he would agree to marry—the girl must not have bound feet; she must be literate; the husband was not to take concubines; if the husband died, the wife should be entitled to remarriage; and both partners should have the right of divorce. Yet, tied to tradition, he used the services of a go-between, and the wedding ceremony respected traditional Confucian practices. And his new wife, Huang Shih-chen (Chung-yi), from Chekiang, had once filially
cut flesh from her arm when her father had been ill.

The early years of the twentieth century were busy ones for Ts'ai. In 1901 he helped organize the Chinese Education Society and the Shanghai Patriotic Girls School. The former was ostensibly designed to broaden and improve education, and it initially worked to provide better textbooks. But many zealous revolutionaries were admitted and it became, in fact, a secret revolutionary organization, hoping to use education as a means to revolution. At the Shanghai Patriotic Girls School, Ts'ai lectured on the French revolution and the Russian anarchists. By Ts'ai's own account, he now became more deeply committed to revolutionary goals. Thinking in terms of uprisings and assassinations, he even interested himself in explosives. He studied military training techniques and secretly rented a house to experiment with explosives.

During this period Ts'ai also taught a special class at the Nanyang Public School, in Shanghai. Independent thinking was encouraged, with Ts'ai analyzing and criticizing periodic student essays. The students also studied Japanese, which Ts'ai could read but not speak, and practiced translating it into Chinese. Shanghai at that time was a hotbed of revolutionary agitation, and Ts'ai's progressive inclinations were further inflamed by the passionate speeches of Wu Chih-hui and Chang T'ai-yen (Pinglein). Students were similarly moved, and in the fall of 1902 more than two hundred Nanyang students struck in protest against administrative restrictions. Even Ts'ai's special class joined the strike, and many observers claimed that this was a result of Ts'ai's promotion of progressive ideas. Ts'ai accepted the blame and resigned, as he had done earlier at Shaoxing
and would do many times in the future. For Ts'ai, resignation was a form of moral protest, and he later detailed a theory of massive resignations as the most dramatic means to express disapproval of political corruption or moral decay.

With help from Ts'ai and the Chinese Education Society, the striking students organized their own independent Patriotic School. Many members of the society, including Ts'ai, accepted teaching positions at the new school, and the atmosphere was one of white-hot zeal. A student militia was organized, and Ts'ai cut his queue, put on a military tunic, and practiced marching. All teaching and administrative jobs were unpaid, but to meet operating expenses the school negotiated an agreement with the Shanghai newspaper, Su-pao. The school received one hundred yuan a month in return for providing a daily article. This obligation rotated among Ts'ai, Wu Chih-hui, Chang T'ai-yen, and others. Very soon the newspaper came to be something of an organ for the school, and a clarion for progressive causes.

Ts'ai was a leading figure in these events of 1902-1903, and he was by then calling himself Ts'ai Min-yu (friend of the people). He more deeply involved himself in revolutionary affairs as one of the founders, in 1903, of the Kuang-fu hui (Restoration Society). A secret revolutionary organization, composed mostly of Chakiangese, it contained an Assassination Corps (An-sha t'uan) which experimented with explosives. Evidence of such revolutionary activities provoked government action, culminating in the famous Su-pao case of 1903. Ts'ai, fearing implication, had accepted his brother's advice and fled to Tsingtao before the case
broke. However, in the end Ts'ai was not implicated, and he returned to Shanghai in July, 1903 and resumed his progressive activities. He and friends established the Warning News of Russian Affairs (O-shih ching-wen), which reported the activities of Russian radicals and anarchists, hoping to indirectly arouse the Chinese people without directly preaching revolution. During the Russo-Japanese War the title was changed to Warning Bell (To csin) (Ching-chung jih-pao), and its coverage broadened to include all themes of contemporary importance. Ts'ai, as editor, worked almost alone in a big, unheated warehouse. One associate recalls him writing editorials, one in wen-yen and another in pai-hua, and struggling to finish as his fingers grew colder and colder. It was during this period that Ts'ai adopted the tz'u of Chien-min (alone among the people). The newspaper grew increasingly radical until it was finally banned in January, 1905.

Consistent with his revolutionary inclinations, Ts'ai joined the T'ung-meng hui in 1905, becoming head of the Shanghai branch. A dedicated member, he introduced many young revolutionaries to the organization. He also again interested himself in military matters and explosives. In fact, weaponry and explosives were a continuing interest of this cultivated Confucian scholar, and Lin Yu-t'ang has recalled that Ts'ai kept bombs and hand-grenades on display in the waiting room to his office at Peking University.

However, there was another more moderate side to Ts'ai, and his outlook during these early years of the twentieth century was ambivalent. For example, he objected to the violent anti-Manchulism represented by Tsou
Jung's famous 1903 pamphlet, The Revolutionary Army (Ko-ming chün). \(^{27}\) Ts'ai thought it pointless to differentiate between Han people and Manchus at that late date. \(^{28}\) Generations of intermarriage and acculturations had eliminated all meaningful racial or cultural distinctions. Only the Manchu's special political position set them apart, and the removal of special privileges would end the need for killing. Racial hatred did not stir Ts'ai. He desired an end to Manchu domination, but only because they represented the entrenched status-quo, not because they were Manchu. The brief emotional uplift of vengeance was nothing compared with the need for enduring reform of Chinese society. However, Ts'ai's precise plans for reform were only vaguely defined. He was aware of the socialist theories then entering the country, but his response was unenthusiastic. \(^{29}\) While sympathizing with socialist objectives, he argued that they were attainable only after long, patient efforts. It would be futile to introduce socialism before moral education had provided the universal spirit of unselfishness in which it could survive.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai, then, was a revolutionary in the sense of wanting to remove the Manchus. But his motive was not racial hatred, but rather the necessity to remove the main obstacle to reform. He was a reformer, then, in the sense of wishing to see a new, revitalized China. But he held no well formulated views on the political, economic, or social changes which were necessary. He knew only that reform required long-term commitments and patient efforts, and that it must be accompanied by an ever-increasing educated citizenry. Deeply schooled in the traditional attitudes of Confucianism, he leaned toward moderation and compromise. \(^{30}\) Ts'ai him-
self often remarked about his natural inclination for scholarship rather than practical affairs. Yet his active involvement in revolutionary organizations, his interest in military matters, and his radical journalism all belie this assertion. These were complicated times for China, and the men who worked for change were multi-sided in their interests and attitudes. Ts'ai was no exception and he was, at the same time, both a traditionalist and a reformer.

During 1905 and 1906 Ts'ai held temporary teaching positions in Shaohsing and at the Interpreters' College (I-hsueh kuan) in Peking. However, his real interest was finding a way to study in the West, and he spent most of his time in the capital trying to make suitable arrangements. Unfortunately, the government then seemed unwilling to provide funds for students to go to Europe or the United States, and Ts'ai was not interested in Japan. Finally, he negotiated a monthly fee for translations from the Commercial Press; and with assurances of help from his longtime friend Sun Pao-ch'i, newly appointed Ambassador to Germany, Ts'ai set out for Berlin. In 1907, at the age of thirty-nine, Ts'ai began a four year stay in Germany.

First in Berlin and later in the University of Leipzig Ts'ai pursued a diversified curriculum, including literature, philosophy, comparative history, anthropology, experimental psychology, and aesthetics. In addition, he translated Friedrich Paulsen's Principles of Ethics, produced five textbooks on ethics, and wrote The History of Chinese Ethics. Ts'ai has left no specific comments on his impressions of Europe; however, its influence was undeniably great. As one fleeting indication: on receiving a
letter saying his third son had just been born, Ts'ai wrote back direct-
ing that he be named Po-lin (Berlin).

As mentioned earlier, Ts'ai was exposed to the broad European view-
points of rationalism and liberalism. Central to these concepts was the
idea that the universe operated rationally, and progress was assured if
society could be made to conform to the rule of reason. In his studies,
Ts'ai emphasized anthropology and experimental psychology. He became con-
vinced that man's behavior, both historically and in the present, could
be understood by the application of scientific research techniques. From
anthropological studies he concluded that social mores, including those
connected with religion, had clearly discernible secular origins. What-
ever proved practical was gradually accepted by society as morally good
and soon strengthened by religious sanctions. Psychological experiments
convinced him that human behavior, like that of animals, was largely re-
lated to habitual conditioning. Certain stimuli produced predictable re-
ponses, and repeated exposure to these stimuli made the established re-
sponse habitual. In practical terms, what this meant for Ts'ai was that
social reform depended upon improving the environment in which people
matured and formed their basic attitudes.

The choice of Paulsen as a subject for translation reflects Ts'ai's
new interpretation of social development. A proponent of what was called
"teleological ethics," Paulsen rejected a priori moral laws and emphasized
the consequences of action as the critical concern of ethics. This view
conformed to Ts'ai's understanding of the historical evolution of moral
codes, and his own philosophical writings, discussed in a later chapter,
reveal a continuing interest in practical and applied ethics.

Ts'ai's translation apparently circulated through China as a textbook. It is perhaps indicative of a "generation gap" between two groups of Chinese reformers that Mao tse-tung, while a student of Changsha Normal School in 1917-1918, considered Paulsen's views to be similar in spirit to traditional Confucian repressiveness. Writing in the margin of his text, Mao argued that the individual should be free to fully develop his physical and mental capacities without any artificial social fetters. For Ts'ai, ethics was a means to social order, useful as long as the moral guidelines were rationally grounded in practicality. For the young Mao, any societal pressures, be they Confucian or Western in substance, were artificial barriers to individual development.

Ts'ai's History of Chinese Ethics, while primarily an uninterpretive narrative, in spots subtly reflects the impact of his contact with the West. One immediately apparent characteristic is Ts'ai's commitment to modern techniques of historical analysis. All of China's past is open to objective study; neither people nor ideas are considered too sacred for critical assessment. Perhaps he even extended this modern perspective too far by judging China's classical thinkers according to contemporary standards of deductive logic. While unconvinced by Mencius or Hsun-tzu regarding the predisposition of human nature, he remarked on Hsun-tzu's more cogent techniques of argument.

Seeking the origins of Chinese ethical beliefs, Ts'ai denied the existence of any innate, or divinely-ordained, code of laws. Instead, natural rules of behavior developed in accordance with the practical needs
of society. What was useful gradually came to be considered the ideal. Eventually such moral guidelines were expressed in the ancient classics. The first great student of Chinese ethics was Confucius. Confucius neither assumed that human nature was necessarily good nor necessarily bad, propounding the theory that all men could learn and achieve sageshood. He urged study of the ancient books, cultivation of proper virtues, and striving to become an ideal man or chün-tzu. Ts'ai mentions with approval that government and morality were interrelated in the teachings of Confucius. Men of virtue could solve all governmental problems.

Mencius developed Confucian ideas, also recognizing a close relationship between government and morality. Ts'ai praised Mencius' broader perspective, with his concern for the rights of the people (mín-ch'üan), a theme which Confucius never expressed. However, as discussed above, Ts'ai was unimpressed by Mencius' argument that human nature was inherently good. He also criticized his refusal to analyze the sources of men's desires. Mencius, according to Ts'ai, was content simply to treat desires as something harmful which ought to be restrained.

Ts'ai's account expressed considerable respect for Hsun-tzu's recognition that it was men, and not heaven, that formed the foundation of society. He also praised Hsun-tzu for realizing that history marched on, with the ideal world in the future rather than in the past. Han Fei-tzu received similar tributes for understanding that new times presented new problems requiring creative solutions. It was foolish to revere outdated ideas just because they were ancient. But the overall Legalist approach to government was dismissed as being too extreme.
was taken of people's natural human needs. It provided no sense of purpose to people, no satisfactory *raison d'être*. Similarly, Mo-tzu was praised for his practicality, frugality, pacifism, and doctrine of universal love; but reproached for his disregard for beauty and the natural human emotions.\(^42\) Mo-tzu was also taken to task for his attitude toward spirits and the supernatural.

Taoism was classed as a philosophy with appeal in times of disorder, but little relevance during periods of stability and progress.\(^43\) Ts'ai expressed admiration for the Confucian emphasis on ritual and ethics, both of which were important for maintaining social order. The Taoists, however, considered such doctrines an unnatural restriction of individual freedom.

In general, Ts'ai had much praise for Confucianism as it evolved into a practical and eclectic philosophy.\(^44\) According to Ts'ai, it established a moderate position between means and ends, between public and individual needs, between personal fulfillment and an obligation to public service, and between human and spiritual affairs. While not as profound as Taoist thought, not as thorough in the application of law as Legalism, not as sympathetic to the common man as Mo-tzu, and not as impeccable in logical analysis as might be wished—still, Confucianism because of its moderation and flexibility came to be an extremely workable way of life for millions of people over many generations. Only Buddhism, of outside philosophies, had any noticeable effect on Chinese outlooks.\(^45\) According to Ts'ai, Buddhism introduced new philosophical concepts to be analyzed, produced in China an element of stoic indifference to humble material circumstances,
and added the idea of a glorious afterlife to the religious thought of the masses. But the dominant otherworldly orientation of Buddhism was too contrary to historic Chinese attitudes to achieve permanent acceptance. In fact, to Ts'ai regret, Confucianism became so predominant that the richness of thought characteristic of other cultures never developed in China. Of pre-Ch'in thinkers, Mo-tzu was interested in natural science; but the post-Han period, after Confucian orthodoxy was established, revealed no further developments. Similarly, pre-Ch'in discussions of formal logic were not pursued in the later period. Ts'ai, thus, lamented the narrow scope of Chinese thought. Only the limited range of questions which fit within the Confucian framework were acceptable for discussion. Not until the recent challenge of the West had China's self-satisfaction been stirred by new perspectives.

The History of Chinese Ethics, then, provides a useful reflection of Ts'ai's thinking during his stay in Germany. In many ways his outlooks seem very Western. He clearly had a deep respect for modern techniques of scholarship. He approached his subject as objectively and "scientifically" as possible. His interpretation of the secular evolution of Chinese mores conformed to European views of the development of primitive societies. Ts'ai avoided discussion of the relationship between history and such all-pervasive forces as the Tao or the T'ai-chi. His attention was focused on the scientifically verifiable facts of human behavior. Finally, Ts'ai's praise for legalist viewpoints was based on their iconoclastic rejection of ancient verities. Ts'ai himself recognized that China's very existence depended on finding effective responses to unprecedented challenges. The modern world provided a wholly new context, and
all traditional assumptions needed to be re-examined in the light of contemporary needs.

But obviously some traditional Confucian ideas still retained contemporary relevance. Ts'ai had much praise for the moderation and flexibility of Confucianism. He clearly felt that the general Confucian emphasis on the middle way and harmony should be maintained as China struggled to modernize. He expressed a good deal of admiration for Confucian techniques of social control. The indirect method of moral and ideological persuasion impressed him as something of enduring value. Legalist harshness might be temporarily more effective, but for the long term it was crucial to satisfy the spiritual and emotional needs of mankind. Some convincing philosophy of life or raison d'être was essential. Perhaps much Confucian ritual and many Confucian attitudes were outdated, but respect for the best ideas of the "Confucian persuasion" would provide an effective assurance of social stability. The close association of morality and public service in Confucian ideology had helped create efficiency and honesty in government, characteristics missing from the Chinese political scene at that time.

The overall impression left by Ts'ai's History is one of openmindedness. He was certain that truth was a commodity to be objectively sought without any nationalistic myopia. All ideas should be studied, the scientific method should be employed, and one should cautiously determine what was appropriate to China's current needs.

While in Leipzig Ts'ai learned of the successful Wu-chang uprising. So elated that he couldn't sleep, his only regret was not being able to
participate in the fighting. However, Ts'ai's pleasure was tempered by the news of Yuan Shih-k'ai's increasing prominence. Feeling that Yuan was neither another Tseng Kuo-fan nor another George Washington, Ts'ai feared that he would try to destroy the revolutionary forces and make himself emperor. But his enthusiasm and hope for the revolution scarcely waned. In one letter, he argued at length the advantages of mobile canons and urged that he be authorized to purchase them in Germany, at 5000 marks each.

Truly a "man for all seasons," Ts'ai in his early forties, could write a history of Chinese ethics one year and debate the merits of modern weaponry the next. He even found time to consider Li Shih-tseng's arguments against eating meat, and until an illness in 1921, Ts'ai was a vegetarian. Yet, when he probed his own motives, Ts'ai was forced to admit that vegetarianism was not a logically consistent doctrine. Technically, vegetables were living things and water contained millions of microscopic animals. So, while vegetarians did not eat meat, they still devoured living creatures.

Ts'ai's friendship with Li Shih-tseng indicates he probably was familiar with Chinese anarchist activities in Paris. Li and Wu Chih-hui published the anarchist journal New Century there from 1907 to 1910, promoting a bewildering variety of iconoclastic causes. But more important than these was the high moral and spiritual commitment which characterized Chinese anarchists. Adherents voluntarily vowed to live the most Spartan existence, inspired by the purity of their ideals. Ts'ai was in complete
agreement with this element of anarchism, and in 1912 he became a member of Li and Wu's Chin-te hui (Society to advance morality) which pledged its members to maintain varying degrees of self-denial.\(^5\) Ts'ai was later to foster a similar society at Peking University. He certainly sympathized with some anarchist tenets such as mutual aid, the need for popular understanding and support of revolution, anti-religion, and the justification of assassination in certain circumstances.\(^4\) But he could not have accepted the abstract idealism which rejected all governments and armies in favor of a universal purification of morals. That is, he could only have accepted it as a utopian vision, not as something operative in the field of practical reform. At any rate, Ts'ai was not a dogmatist, and he could never have pledged allegiance to any broad ideology.

In 1911, Ts'ai returned to China to become Minister of Education in the new republic. At the age of forty-three his ideas were still crystallizing, but since resigning from the Hanlin Academy in 1898, his views had undergone considerable development. In 1898, Ts'ai harbored vague yearnings for revolution and reform. During the early years of the twentieth century he was involved in a variety of educational, editorial, and revolutionary activities. Associated with China's most prominent progressives, he was himself an advocate of diverse progressive causes. But although he was distinctly aware of China's desperate circumstances, he was uncertain about the exact nature which reform should take. Ts'ai's four year stay in Germany exposed him to rationalistic modes of thought and the environmentalist approach to reform. By 1911, he had formed a clearer understanding of the mechanics of social development, and he had
begun to define a program of reform for China. He was then, and was to remain, both Confucian and Western in outlook, though certainly not an un-critical devotee of either. Recognizing the tragic weakness of contemporary China, he still considered many Confucian attitudes valid. These included self-cultivation, self-examination, moderation, social order, submissiveness, morality in government, and a missionary sense of moral obligation. He accepted the Western materialist commitment to political and economic strength; and the scientific techniques of analysis necessary to obtain them. Yet he retained a distinctly Confucian concern for moral and spiritual questions. The concern was reinforced, and given a new vocabulary, by Ts'ai's receptivity to Kantian metaphysics. But he remained fundamentally Confucian in his belief that good men and progress in the moral realm, rather than state power, were the ultimate ends of man's endeavors.
CHAPTER I

1. The most useful account of Ts'ai's childhood and early career is Huang Shih-hui, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng chuan-lueh" (A short-biography of Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min), Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 2 (1967), pp. 107-14 (Originally published in Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng yen-hsing lu, 1920), hereafter cited as Huang Shih-hui. Also see Hsiao Yu, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng tsu-chuan 1 chang" (A chapter of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's autobiography; told to Hsiao Yu by Ts'ai in Hong Kong in 1940), Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1 (1967), pp. 43-44; and the "Nien-p'u" (Chronological biography) in Sun Te-chung, ed., Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng i-wen lei-ch'ao (Classified documents on Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei) (Taipei: Fu-hsing shu-ch'ü, 1961), pp. 1-20--hereafter cited as IWLC.

2. Huang Shih-hui, pp. 107-08; Mao Tzu-shui, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng lueh-chuan" (A short biography of Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), Hua-Mei jih-pao, February 2, 1968, p. 3.

3. Huang Shih-hui, p. 108.

4. Lo Chia-lun, "Kuo-li Pei-ching ta-hsueh" (National Peking University), in Chang Ch'i-yün, Chung-hua min-kuo ta-hsueh chih (Account of the universities in the Chinese Republic), (Taipei: Chung-hua wen-hua, 1954), I, p. 55. Also see Ts'ai's appreciative remarks on the Confucian moralism of a Shaoxing study society in Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chi Shao-hsing chih-hsueh-hui ti san ta-yuan" (Recalling the three great wishes of a Shaoxing study society), in Sun Ch'ang-wei, ed., Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng ch'uan-chi (The complete works of Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei) (Taipei: Taiwan Commercial Press, 1968), pp. 646-47--hereafter cited as CC.


8. "Weng T'ung-ho jih-chi" (Weng T'ung-ho's diary; entry for May 17, 1892), CC, p. 1665.


12. Wang Yün-wu, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng yü Kuang-tung jen" (Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min and men from Kwangtung Province), Tung-fang ts'ai chih, XXXVII, no. 8 (April 15, 1940), p. 62.


15. Huang Shih-hui, p. 108; "Cheng-hun t'iao-chien" (Marriage conditions), CC, p. 1027.


23 Sun Te-chung, "Nien-p'u," IWLC, pp. 6-7; Huang Shih-hui, p. 110.

24 Ma Chien, "Chi-nien Ts'ai Chien-min hsien-sheng" (Recalling Mr. Ts'ai Chien-min), Tung-fang tsa-chih, XXXVII, no. 8 (April 15, 1940), p. 65.

25 Huang Shih-hui, p. 110; Hsiao Yu, Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, p. 44; Chih Weng, "Ts'ai Chien-min ti chin-pao yu feng-ko" (The temperament and manner of Ts'ai Chien-min), CC, p. 1558.

26 Lin Yu-t'ang, "Chi Ts'ai Chien-min hsien-sheng" (Recalling Mr. Ts'ai Chien-min), CC, p. 1471.

27 For information on Tsou Jung see Y.C. Wang, Monumeta Serica, pp. 92-95.

28 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Shih ch'ou-Man" (Explaining revenge against the Marchus), IWLC, pp. 462-64 (Originally published in Su-pao, 1903).

29 Huang Shih-hui, p. 110; Chiang Wei-ch'iao "Min-kuo chiao-yu tsung-chang Ts'ai Yuan-p'e" (Minister of Education Ts'ai Yuan-p'e), TS, p. 100.

30 See the perceptive comments in Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 2.

31 Chiang Wei-ch'iao, "Min-kuo chiao-yu tsung-chang Ts'ai Yuan-p'e," TS, p. 100.


36 Ibid., p. 4.

37 Ibid., p. 10.


39 Ibid., pp. 17-19.
40 Ibid., p. 41.
41 Ibid., p. 43.
42 Ibid., pp. 31-34.
43 Ibid., pp. 20, 23, 28-29.
44 Ibid., p. 45.
46 Ibid., pp. 2, 102.
47 Letter to Wu Chih-hui (October 18, 1911), CC, p. 1034.
48 Ibid., pp. 1034-35.
49 Letter to Wu Chih-hui (October 26, 1911, CC, p. 1039.
50 Huang Shih-hui, p. 111; Hsiao Yu, Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, I, p. 44.
52 See, for example, Pa Chin's attitude in Olga Lang, Pa Chin and His Writings: Chinese Youth Between the Two Revolutions (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 95ff.
53 Scalapino and Yu, pp. 37-38.
54 Ibid., pp. 6-14.
CHAPTER II

1911-1916: MINISTER OF EDUCATION TO ACCEPTANCE OF CHANCELLORSHIP

Following the 1911 revolution, Ts'ai returned to China to become Minister of Education in Sun Yat-sen's Provisional Government. Sun originally hoped to appoint Chang T'ai-yen (Ping-lin), but the provincial representatives rejected this choice. He and Huang Hsing then decided upon Ts'ai.¹ The new Minister faced the immediate need to redefine educational objectives so as to bring them more in line with republican ideals.² Manchu education had been specifically designed to develop loyalty to the emperor and reverence for Confucius.³ It was important for Ts'ai to adopt new textbooks and shift the spirit of education toward more republican objectives.

At first conditions within the Provisional Government were so chaotic that Ts'ai had to search for his own office space.⁴ Gradually order was established, and Ts'ai's staff grew to more than thirty. In time-honored fashion he rewarded many fellow Chekiangese, including Lu Hsin, with sinecures in the Ministry.⁵ However, he was concerned and accessible enough to offer a job to a young reformer who had written him an impressive letter on educational problems.⁶ Initially, Ts'ai's political preoccupations as a Cabinet member left him little time to implement his concerns. Most of the responsibilities fell on his secretary, Chiang Wei-ch'iao, who was not as committed to reform as Ts'ai. However, the Ministry did manage to dispatch frequent new instructions to the provinces.⁷
Important changes included the elimination of the Classics from the primary, middle, and normal school curricula; coeducation at the lower primary level; the updating of textbooks; and more attention to manual arts in the curriculum. The Ministry also urged the provinces to expand their programs of social education. Since no one was too old for education, the provinces were encouraged to offer such facilities as public lectures, museums, and libraries. This was a continuing concern, and a special Bureau of Social Education was later created to foster such programs.

In February, 1912 Ts'ai published a major statement of his educational ideas entitled "My Views on the New Education." He began by stressing the changes in education which should accompany the establishment of a republic. During the Ch'ing monarchy, he claimed, education had been subordinate to politics, with educators thinking first of the best interests of those in power. In a republic education should transcend politics and correspond to the wishes and interests of the people. Accordingly, Ts'ai recommended a five-theme curriculum as best suited to the needs of the people--military, utilitarian, ethical, world-view, and aesthetic education.

First, military education, so that a strong China could defend itself and regain its lost rights. Also, he felt that a broadening of the military base, through national military training, would balance the concentrated strength of the few militarists who had created the revolution, thus lessening the danger of military tyranny. Second, utilitarian or industrial education, to enable China to exploit its natural resources and
broaden its industrial structure.

Third, ethical education, to insure that a militarily and industrially strong China did not ignore moral principles. Here Ts'ai elaborated his theory of "ethics of citizenship" (kung-min tso-te) as the ideal which would channel the masses into socially useful activities. The ethical ideal which Ts'ai sought to inspire was patterned after the French slogan of liberty, equality, and fraternity. To make these themes more meaningful to the Chinese mind he equated them with the traditional Chinese concepts of i (righteousness), shu (reciprocity), and jen (benevolence or humanity). Elucidating the principle of liberty, Ts'ai quoted Confucius as saying: "The will of even a common man cannot be taken from him;" and Mencius who stated: "To be above the power of riches and honors to make dissipated, of poverty and mean condition to make swerve from principle, and of power and force to make bend." This linking of righteousness and liberty was somewhat farfetched, and it made liberty mean only the freedom not to swerve from the appropriate path of righteous behavior. This probably suited Ts'ai's purposes since he was deeply interested in fostering a spirit of sacrifice and duty among the people. But he may have had no such ulterior motive, and might just have been trying to present a foreign concept in familiar terms. At any rate, the other two equations were more closely parallel. Equality was equated with shu, and Confucius' negative golden rule was cited. Fraternity was equated with jen, and Ts'ai recalled the sentiments of the Great Yu and Hou Chi. The former thought that if anyone in the Empire drowned, it was as if he himself had drowned. The latter felt so badly if anyone suffered from hunger that it
was as if he himself were the cause.

Ts'ai's attention to ethics was related to his interest in the phenomenal and noumenal worlds. The phenomenal world (hsien-hsiang shih-chieh) consisted of the physical sensations and material things which appeared to be reality to us. In actuality, however, the noumenal world (shih-t'i shih-chieh), a higher spiritual realm, represented the true reality. As mentioned above, this Kantian dichotomy was characteristic of the neo-idealism prevalent at the turn of the twentieth century. The basic idea of a higher reality, beyond man's experience, was also a component of Buddhism. In Ts'ai's view, an excessive concern with the phenomenal world tended to produce an unhealthy materialism and selfishness. Ts'ai hoped that the cultivation of proper ethical standards would help foster more altruistic and elevated sentiments, thus shifting one toward a noumenal point of view (shih-t'i kuan-nien).

Ts'ai's last two themes, education for a world-view and aesthetic education, were also designed to nurture a noumenal point of view. The former encouraged the conviction that truth was not restricted to one culture or one school of thought. One's outlook would become unconfined by time or space, as it searched intently for the most convincing synthesis of ideas. Aesthetic education, according to Ts'ai, was a link between the two worlds. With aesthetic training, men used the phenomenal world as material for inspiration, and his feelings were pure and beautiful. For example, a strong wind destroying a boat was a dreadful experience, but it evoked totally different emotions as a scene for a painting. Ts'ai's hope was that aesthetics would induce purer emotions and help eliminate
baser ones such as selfishness, stubbornness, and hatred.

According to Ts'ai, all the traditional subjects could be covered within his five-theme division, and he even suggested the percentage which each theme should occupy in the curriculum. Military education was to be given 10% of the time, utilitarian education 40%, ethical education 20%, world-view education 5%, and aesthetics 25%. Ts'ai's educational program illustrates the intellectual pressures vying for dominance within him. Aware of the practical prerequisites of modern society, he strove to develop them. His curriculum gave due attention to military training and industrial arts. Yet always he felt constrained to give equal attention to moral cultivation. To most Chinese, Ts'ai's arguments for ethical, world-view, and aesthetic education seemed vague and impractical. But for Ts'ai they were a vital aspect of his reform program. The basic ingredient of a new society was a new spirit, or a new attitude. In the traditional Chinese manner, a better society came only from better men.

In March, 1912 the new Yuan Shih-k'ai government took power after an unsuccessful effort, under Ts'ai's direction, to persuade Yuan to come South for the inauguration. Ts'ai undertook this mission hoping to establish the principle that the legislature was the host, because in a republic it should not be subordinate to one strong-man. Initially, Ts'ai enjoyed friendly talks with Yuan and received no indication that he was unwilling to go South. Quite soon, however, Ts'ai and the other delegates began to receive oral and written communications to the effect that Yuan's stabilizing presence was required in the North. These came from various politicians, generals, and businessmen, but were doubtless inspired
by Yuan himself. Ts'ai sent these communications South for consideration, and while awaiting instructions the famous troop disturbances occurred. Ts'ai reported that the presence of Yuan at the time of the outbreak seemed to prove that no close relationship existed between Yuan's residence in the North and order. Nonetheless, Yuan insisted that he now could not journey South, and the Nanking government was forced to accept his decision.

Ts'ai retained his post as Minister of Education in the new Cabinet and set about planning reforms. He ordered a thorough survey of the educational systems of all provinces, called a national educational conference for July, 1912, and introduced a broad reorganization program. This last was designed to create decentralization, with more local autonomy in financing and administering educational affairs. This was a pet plan, designed to remove education from politics, and it was to receive a brief trial in the 1920's. But in 1912 it received little support and was never implemented. In general, Ts'ai chose to concentrate most of his reform energies on higher education. He has written that he often disagreed with his second in command, Fan Ching-sheng (Yuan-lien) who wanted to begin by improving primary education. A compromise was worked out whereby each concentrated on his preference, so that reform would develop at all levels. Ts'ai was also dedicated to extending and improving education at the lowest level. But he approached the problem obliquely, convinced that superior university education would provide better teachers for the middle schools and, ultimately, better teachers for lower schools. Partly, this was just being realistic, since good teachers
were the most important component of quality education. Partly, it reflected a preference on Ts'ai's part for training a morally committed elite to serve as examples as well as teachers.

Within Ts'ai's chosen province he introduced some significant changes which brought Chinese higher education closer to modern standards. First he studied the high schools (kao-teng hsueh-t'ang) in each province and found them of uneven quality. Many graduates had considerable difficulty upon entering universities. Consequently, he ordered them gradually phased out, to be replaced by preparatory schools attached to each university. These could maintain common standards and prepare students to enter the respective universities. The change would also stimulate the provinces to establish their own universities, and more universities was another of Ts'ai's goals. Within the universities, he eliminated the Classics department and directed that various aspects of the Classics be studied within the literature, philosophy, and history departments. He also designated the university as a place for pure research, assigning emphasis to the arts and sciences rather than to preparation for future careers. This prefigured his policy as Chancellor of Peking University and, again, it indicates his preoccupation with developing proper attitudes. Pure thought, with the complete intellectual dedication which this term implies, was more important than applied knowledge.

In the summer of 1912 the first National Educational Conference met, with Minister of Education Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei as chairman. Ts'ai delivered a major address to the meeting, in which he reviewed and elaborated some of his educational ideas. He began by explaining the new spirit which should
pervade republican education. It should emphasize experimentation and curiosity. All citizens, young and old, must be made to approach learning like children, without fixed ideas. Also, education must help cultivate a spirit of obligation and sacrifice among the people. They must be brought to realize the importance of working for the greater good. This led Ts'ai to renewed discussion of his "ethics of citizenship" and of his five-theme curriculum. Concluding with a reference to Western learning, Ts'ai urged a moderate position. Chinese should be neither too proud nor too humble. They should neither blindly import nor reject all foreign ideas, but should instead investigate and adopt what seemed appropriate.

Ts'ai's remarks at the conference were limited to such elevated abstractions. As always, his concern was with attitudes, and he spoke of curiosity, sacrifice, moderation, and investigation. His entire term as Minister followed this pattern, and the reason is not hard to find. Ts'ai conceived his main task to be shifting the fundamental assumptions of Chinese education. He wanted to breathe a new spirit into the entire structure, and more mundane problems were of little concern to him. At any rate, Ts'ai's stay as Minister was brief. He quickly became disheartened by the political weakness of the Cabinet under Yuan Shih-k'ai, and he suggested to the other T'ung-meng hui members that they all resign. This would at least register a unified protest. The others agreed and, in the middle of the National Educational Conference, they all resigned.

After Ts'ai's resignation there were some suggestions that he be appointed Chancellor of Peking University. But, reportedly, Yuan Shih-k'ai
feared Ts'ai's radical ideas and associations and worried that he would gather a group of revolutionary thinkers about him. This revealed remarkable prescience on Yuan's part. The appointment was not offered and, in the fall of 1912, Ts'ai left for his second trip to Europe. At Leipzig he listened to lectures and studied at the Institute for Research on World Cultures. Returning to China in the summer of 1913, he fruitlessly tried to mediate the "second revolution." This futile uprising against Yuan lasted from July to September, 1913, although a contributing cause was the March, 1913 assassination of the prominent Kuomintang leader, Sung Chiao-jen. Seven southern and southwestern provinces declared their independence, but the movement lacked funds and popular support. Yuan's quick victory solidified his position and provided further impetus to his monarchist ambitions.

Ts'ai returned to Europe in the fall of 1913, traveling this time to France. He first lived on the outskirts of Paris, but with the war he moved to southwestern France. Besides his own writings and translations, Ts'ai actively assisted Li Shih-tseng, Wang Ching-wei, and Wu Chih-hui with the Frugal French Study Society, which enabled Chinese students to live economically in France under a work-study arrangement. French cooperation was obtained, and Ts'ai became president of the Sino-French Educational Association which later collaborated in the formation of a special Chinese university at Lyons. The entire program worked effectively during the war, with thousands of Chinese students benefiting. But France's postwar economic decline caused problems, and by 1920 over a thousand Chinese students were stranded in France, without funds or
employment. Some assistance was offered by the French government, but it did not abate student protests, and the whole affair ended in confusion and bitterness.

Ts'ai did considerable original writing during this period, including a study of the Renaissance painter, Raphael, an interpretive commentary on The Dream of the Red Chamber, and a short outline of philosophy (to be examined in a later chapter). He also wrote textbooks on ethics for Chinese workers sent to France during the war. These amounted to short lectures or sermons, thirty dealing with moral education (te-yü) and ten with culture or mental training (chih-yü). The former contained several dominant characteristics. Moderation was a major theme. One should be enthusiastic but not timid. Special emphasis was placed on fostering a spirit of self-sacrifice and group orientation. The individual was part of a larger whole, Ts'ai argued, and individual well-being always depended on the welfare of the larger entity. Mutual assistance brought progress, and the strongest society was one infused with this atmosphere. Individual freedom and self-development were important, but the public welfare was the transcendent concern. Ts'ai even discussed the symbolic importance of respecting public parks and buildings. Some mundane preaching regarding cursing, good hygiene, and sexual restraint was also included. The last ten lectures were brief, but rather effective, essays on various cultural topics such as literature, painting, music, drama, poetry, history, and geography. Each included the basic information which an average citizen should know about those specific fields. There was usually a short definition of the major concerns and an historical summary. Often Western
names and concepts were introduced. These textbooks, then, reflect some of the basic values which Ts'ai hoped to instill in the Chinese workers living in France. It is evident that he wished to broaden their viewpoints and make them familiar with Western developments in various fields of study. Hopefully, they would absorb a feeling for the scientific method and give less credence to superstition. But at least equal attention was given to molding a moderate, obedient, and self-sacrificing spirit. The language was not always Confucian, but the general tone was that of Confucian exhortation.

France, despite the inconvenience of war, further strengthened Ts'ai's predisposition toward scientific and secular Western society. But the general attitudes of European thought were not new to him, and it seems apparent that Ts'ai's French experiences served merely to reinforce, rather than broaden, his ideas. Approaching fifty, and burdened with numerous responsibilities, Ts'ai was very busy with his own work. He was deeply involved in his Outline of Philosophy, and this directed his attention primarily to German concepts and sources. It is perhaps significant that in three years Ts'ai acquired only the barest knowledge of spoken French. His eldest son, Wu-chi, presumably did better, as Ts'ai enrolled him in the University of Toulouse.

Ts'ai's stay in France ended abruptly when, in the winter of 1916, he received a telegram from the Ministry of Education, requesting that he return to become Chancellor of Peking University. Traveling first to Shanghai, he conferred with friends. Most urged him not to accept, arguing that Peita was irredeemably corrupt and his reputation would suffer if he
failed to produce reforms. A few contended that Peita's notorious corrup-
tion was the best possible reason for attempting reform. Ts'ai agreed
with the latter and decided to accept. He was quite familiar with the
low intellectual and moral climate which dominated Peking University,
commonly referred to as the "Brothel Brigade" (t'an-yen t'wan) and the
"Gambling Den" (tu-k'u). Rich students spent their time gambling,
going to the theater, or visiting prostitutes. There was no communi-
cation between students and teachers, and administrative procedures were
thoroughly old-fashioned. Whenever a student had business with the ad-
ministration, he would send a petition (ch'eng-wen) which would be duly
commented upon (p'ing) and affixed to a public bulletin board. After
Ts'ai's arrival he made the students use the public mails.

The sterile intellectual atmosphere particularly distressed Ts'ai,
who knew that students were more interested in a professor's official rank
than his wisdom. Teacher-officials who merely repeated old lectures were
welcomed because they could be useful to students after graduation. Ts'ai
was aware that students merely attended lectures to collect lecture outlines
(chiang-i), concerned only with the diploma which opened the door to of-
official careers. The political instability of this period made Ts'ai's
task even more difficult: struggles between North and South, warlords,
and various cliques continued throughout Ts'ai's tenure as Chancellor. Nonetheless, Ts'ai came to the job with some well-formed educational
theories and with a dedication to genuine reform.
NOTES

CHAPTER 2

1 Chih Weng, "Ts'ai Chieh-min ti chin-pao yü feng-ko" (The temperament and manner of Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 1560.

2 Cyrus H. Peake, Nationalism and Education in Modern China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 74-75.


4 Tai Chin-hsien, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng yü wo" (Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min and I), CC, p. 1388.


7 Peake, pp. 75-76; Kuo Ping-wen, p. 111. Also see the telegrams to the provinces in CC, pp. 1042-1055.

8 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "T'ai-yü chiao-yü fang-ch'en chih i-chien" (My view of the direction of education), WML, pp. 77-84 (Originally published as "T'ai-yü hsien chiao-yü chih i-chien," in Chiao-yü tsao-chih, 1912). For a restatement of Ts'ai's ideas, in English translation, see Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "The New Education," The China Mission Year Book, 1913 (Shanghai: Christian Literature Society for China, 1913), pp. 252-57.


10 T'ang Leang-li, Inner History, pp. 95-96. Also see Ts'ai's contemporary and still somewhat optimistic account in "Jen-tzu yang Yuan shih-mo" (The complete story of my trip to welcome Yuan in 1912), in Tso Shun-sheng, Chung-kuo chin-pai-nien shih tzu-liao (Chinese historical materials for the last hundred years) (Taipei: T'ai-wan Chung-hua shu-chu, 1958), pp. 519-22.

11 Tai Chin-hsien, pp. 34-35.


14 Ibid., pp. 41-42; Mao Tzu-shui, "Tui-yü Ts'ai hsien-sheng ti i-hsieh hui-1" (Some memories of Mr. Ts'ai), Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1 (1967), p. 35; Chou Yu-t'ung, Chung-kuo hsien-tai chiao-yü shih (The history of modern Chinese education) (Shanghai: Liahg yu, 1934), pp. 199-200.

15 Peake, p. 145; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Tui chiao-yü tsung-chih-an chih shuo-ming" (Explaining the general principle of education; July 10, 1921), IMLC, pp. 85-88.

16 Shu Hsin-ch'eng, "Liu-shih nien lai Chung-kuo chiao-yü ssu-hsiang tsung-p'ing" (Critical survey of Chinese educational thought in the last sixty years); Chiao-yü tsa-chih, XX, no. 9 (1928), p. 2.

17 Huang Shih-hui, pp. 111-12. See Ts'ai's resignation in CC, p. 1062.

18 Ts'ai Shang-ssu, pp. 18-19.

19 Huang Shih-hui, p. 112; Tai Chin-hsien, pp. 69-81; Lo Chia-lun, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng yü Pei-ching tsu-.getService; Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1 (1967), p. 31.


21 Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 36ff; Scalapino and Yu, pp. 48ff.

22 Hua-kung hsueh-hsiao ch'iang-i (Lectures for the Chinese Workers School), CC, pp. 190-251.

23 Lo Chia-lun, "Kuo-li Pei-ching tsu-IGINAL SERVICE; Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1, p. 31.

24 Ch'en Hsi-jung, "Kuan-yü Ts'ai hsien-sheng ti hui-1" (Memories regarding Mr. Ts'ai), CC, p. 1537 (Originally published in Chungking Central News, March 24, 1940).

25 Li Shu-hua, Columbia Oral History Project, p. 22.

26 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching tsu hsueh ti ching-li" (My experiences at Peking University), IMLC, pp. 307-08; Lo Chia-lun, Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1, p. 31.

27 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo ts'ai chiao-yü-chieh ti ching-yen," TS, pp. 43-44; Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 49-50; "Pei-ching tsu hsueh ch'i eng-li chi ch'i yen-ko" (The founding and development of Peita), Tsung-fang tsa-chih, XIV, no. 3 (March, 1919), pp. 161-62.

28 Yu I, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng" (Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), CC, p. 1353.

CHAPTER III

1917-1919: EARLY REFORMS AT PEKING UNIVERSITY

In assessing the need for reform at Peita, Ts'ai assigned top priority to changing student and teacher attitudes. Student disinterest in learning was painfully apparent. Spending their time in idleness, or worse, students got by through cramming at exam time. Virtually all pursued diplomas with a singleminded concern for their practical uses. They insisted on easy courses and were prone to strike if teachers became too strict or demanding. The faculty passively condoned this state of affairs. Most were scholar-officials with more interest in politics than scholarship. They requested frequent vacations and leaves, and their teaching style, when they were present, consisted of handing out old lectures and reading them aloud to their classes. Neither students nor teachers encouraged originality or creativity. Faced with such apathy, Ts'ai dedicated himself to the creation of a new moral and intellectual climate, hoping to erase Peita's image as just a short cut to officialdom.

Ts'ai revealed his basic aspirations for Peita in his initial speech to students, in January, 1917. He urged students to view Peita as a place for scholarship and not as a breeding ground for official careers. Commitment to learning was the highest ideal, and it should transcend all thoughts of money and position. With this in mind, he encouraged students to abandon their traditional concentration on the law curriculum in favor of work in the arts and sciences. As discussed below,
Ts'ai considered the arts and sciences to be the purest form of scholarship or learning. Other subjects were more skills than scholarship. Addressing himself to the problem of student attitudes, he called for a new seriousness. Students should struggle ceaselessly in their devotion to learning, continually testing and challenging themselves. They should also work to create a new spirit of cooperation at Peita, by which students and faculty could help each other replace corruption and decadence with a more constructive environment. To assist, Ts'ai promised better teachers, more library resources, and a revamped lecture system. Regarding the last, he directed that only brief lecture outlines be distributed in class, with the details provided by the lecturer and recorded by the students. This was a first step toward more meaningful classroom instruction. Ts'ai's address reached a large audience, and the majority were apparently deeply moved by his soft voice and earnest manner. Ts'ai had taken an important stride toward altering the traditional atmosphere at Peking University.

Maintaining the momentum of reform, Ts'ai quickly organized the Association for the Advancement of Morality (Chin-te hui). A similar organization had been founded, in Shanghai, in 1912 by Wu Chih-hui, Li Shih-tseng, and Wang Ching-wei. Influenced by anarchist ideas and based on the premise that a new society required a new morality, members pledged themselves to follow certain strict rules of behavior. There were various levels of membership, according to the number of rules one accepted. Ts'ai had been a "general member," agreeing to abstain from prostitutes, concubines, and gambling. In accordance with the
principle of moral persuasion, violators of the rules experienced no physical punishment but were subjected to considerable social pressure from other members.

The new Chin-te hui was similarly designed to cultivate the Confucian virtues of self-discipline and self-examination. In harmony with his preoccupation with new attitudes, Ts'ai was making every effort to produce a new moral awareness among students. Membership was divided into three levels. The lowest for those who agreed to give up prostitutes, concubines, and gambling. The next included those who adhered to the previous three restrictions and also agreed not to accept an official position or become a member of parliament. The highest level was reserved for those who accepted the above five rules and added proscriptions against eating meat, smoking, and drinking. Confucian moralism pervaded the entire venture, although it is possible to point to parallel anarchist influences. The main objective was the development of new men, with new moral strength, who could form the nucleus for a better society and influence others by their examples. With faith in the perfectibility of men, all were urged to reform, and past transgressions were not held against anyone. Present and future conduct was the sole concern of the association.

It is however, of some interest that Ts'ai supplemented the traditional Confucian inducements to self-discipline by adding some very practical comments about the psychological advantages of the simple life. He pointed out that Western priests and many scholars lived celibate and Spartan lives in order to concentrate their energies on learning. And
he cited an old saying which, liberally translated, reads: "With neither position nor wife, there's half the strife" (jen pu hun huan, ch'ing yu shih pan). Once again, one must be impressed by the many-sidedness of Ts'ai's personality.

In addition to the Chin-te hui, Ts'ai initiated a variety of study societies—music, art, journalism, etc. Partly, these were created to channel students' extracurricular activities along properly productive routes, offering alternatives to the lower pleasures which had previously been so appealing. Partly, they were designed to broaden student interest in aesthetic experiences. All modern nations needed both science and aesthetics, Ts'ai observed, and while China was beginning to make progress in the former, it continued to neglect the latter. Partly, they were planned to provide another link between Eastern and Western learning. Western journalistic techniques, especially the emphasis on critical analysis, were invaluable for modernizing Chinese newspapers. In art, Ts'ai urged a fusion between the best characteristics of East and West, encouraging Chinese artists to profit from the Western tradition of drawing from real life as opposed to the Chinese custom of copying models. Such borrowing should prove no embarrassment for China, he argued, since in the past the West had borrowed much from China.

But, surpassing in importance the above considerations, Ts'ai's main motive for establishing these societies was the hope that they would help develop student initiative and self-reliance. These qualities had been sadly missing from Peita's tradition. The atmosphere of apathy and preference for rote memorization were hardly likely to develop them.
Ts'ai wanted to sweep away this oppressive malaise and stimulate a new student spirit of inquisitiveness and independence. His expectations are best revealed in a speech regarding the creation of the Peking Monthly, which was founded in January, 1919. To be sure, he first spoke of the lack of space in the Daily for longer theoretical articles, and thus the need for an additional publication. But he quickly moved on to explain the real value of the Monthly, which was the challenge it would provide the students. A successful venture required a spirit of sacrifice and cooperation. Students would learn that the fulfillment of such important responsibilities involved much hard work. Ts'ai wanted the Monthly to include the broadest spectrum of material. This meant investigating Western learning and evaluating its suitability to China's needs. It also meant maintaining a continuing interest in tradition or "national quintessence" (kuo-t's'ui). Toward both, Ts'ai urged the application of the scientific method, hoping to orient students toward a new critical and comparative approach to learning. Study now implied more analysis than memorization. Western culture should not be blindly imported, but those elements which would speed China's progress should be sought out. There should be no stubborn clinging to tradition, but student should critically sift through Chinese culture to get at its enduring strengths. These values which Ts'ai sought to instill in his student clearly mirrored the ideal which he set for himself—dedication to learning, the search for a synthesis between Eastern and Western cultures, and utilization of modern critical techniques.
Supplementing Ts'ai's concern for moral regeneration and student initiative was his desire to orient Peita toward pure research. He firmly believed that the arts and sciences (wen-li k'q) should form the foundation of a university, with pure research the major objective. Other subjects such as law, commerce, agriculture, and medicine were more skills (shu) than scholarship (hsueh), and they should form the branches to the root of wen-li k'q. Striving to create some tangible distinction between the two, Ts'ai first suggested the creation of Root Colleges (per-k'q ta-hsueh) and Branch Colleges (fen-k'q ta-hsueh). The former would be restricted to the arts and sciences, while the latter would encompass all other subjects. This plan evoked little enthusiasm, and he next proposed separating all the supplementary subjects from the "university," which would specialize in the arts and sciences, and establishing separate, independent "colleges" for each. There would thus be an independent College of Law, College of Agriculture, etc., all theoretically equal in status to the university. This scheme also received little support, and the entire project was allowed to undergo a quiet demise.

In the abstract Ts'ai's ideas conformed to the principles enunciated by Mencius of separating theory from practice—some were mind-workers and some were hand-workers. But they threatened the structure of vested interests too greatly to be influential. The fact that he made the effort, however, speaks well for Ts'ai's independence of spirit. At all times, he conducted himself like a fearless censor, urging reforms where needed without regard for the personal or political
consequences. Actually, Ts'ai was probably not so much motivated by traditional precedents as he was by his new concern for revitalizing attitudes. For Ts'ai, the university was a place for developing students capable of creative thought. Pure scholarship, as represented by the arts and sciences, seemed better designed for this purpose than the auxiliary subjects, which seemed more involved with accumulating and cataloguing data. Ts'ai may have been narrow-minded in his evaluation, but he certainly tried to act upon his convictions.

When he was unable to achieve a far-reaching reorganization Ts'ai settled for lesser changes. Mostly this involved a matter of emphasis, with Ts'ai constantly stressing the importance of wen-li k'o and making minor adjustments to give it special prestige. One major change was the integration of the commerce course within the law department, with its scheduled elimination with the graduation of the current class. Another significant move was to transfer the engineering department to Pei-yang University, utilizing its annual allocation to strengthen the science department. But, when this has been said, it must be recognized that Ts'ai had very little success in altering the organizational structure of Peita and only limited success in inducing students to leave traditional areas of study. After two years of Ts'ai's tenure, Peita was organized into four departments (k'o). These were: Arts (wen-k'o) with the five divisions of Chinese, philosophy, English, French, and history; Sciences with the four divisions of physics, chemistry, math, and geology; Law which included government, law, and commerce; and engineering for those students enrolled when the department was
transferred to Pei-yang. Regarding enrollments, 341 students were matriculated in the Arts Department and 134 in Science, but the Law Department still maintained numerical superiority with 532 students.

These were busy and exciting times for both Ts'ai and Peking University. There is an interesting letter in the January, 1917 issue of New Youth calling for the publication of articles by the notable progressive, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei.17 Ch'en Tu-hsiu, the editor, replies that he has already asked Ts'ai but was told that at present he was too busy with his duties at Peita. Fairly soon Ts'ai did begin contributing to the journal, but his pieces were mostly excerpts from speeches. He was simply too busy for additional writing. Peita at this time was a dynamo of activity, and added to its academic responsibilities was a diverse mixture of other activities. For example, Peita was the sponsor of a program to collect specimens for a national biological society, and it also directed the cataloguing of folk songs from the Sung Dynasty to the present.18 It was also, for a time, the headquarters of the National Historiographer's Office.19 Of course, political disruption meant added burdens, and Ts'ai was even forced temporarily to move to Tientsin during Chang Hsun's abortive restoration attempt in July, 1917.20

Atmosphere at Peita

The main reason these were such exciting times for Peita was Ts'ai's success in making the university into the intellectual center of the nation. Inevitably, the most gifted teachers and students gravitated to it. T'ang Leang-li credited Ts'ai with "...the creation within a few years, of an incredibly productive intellectual life, probably
unparalleled in the academic history of the world." Other contemporaries chose phrases such as "intellectual dynamo" and "the roar of waves" to describe the new creative atmosphere of Peking University. The fundamental impulse behind these developments was Ts'ai's adherence to the policy of academic freedom. He consciously sought to assemble the widest diversity of opinion, tolerating all points of view and encouraging intellectual debate. The acceptance of heterodoxy is not a notable Confucian trait, but Ts'ai claimed that even as a child he favored the most unrestricted exposure to all viewpoints in the search for truth. In his earliest studies, according to Ts'ai, he disagreed with Tung Chung-shu's decision to reject the hundred schools in order to render sole homage to Confucius. Certainly Ts'ai's adult educational career reflects such a conviction. At the Shachsing East-West School he encouraged divergent views, in Germany he tackled the broadest range of subjects, and as Minister of Education he urged education for a world-view which would be unrestricted by national prejudices. This open approach to knowledge received its fullest flowering during Ts'ai's term as chancellor of Peita. With respect to students, it resulted in the introduction of an elective system, with the hope it would increase student independence and permit them to tailor their programs to their needs. Regarding professors, it resulted in the creation of a highly competent and committed faculty, differing with each other on intellectual and political questions. Ts'ai's general purpose was to stimulate a climate of debate among the competing ideologies then flooding into China, and he welcomed all shades of thought.
from anarchism and communism to monarchy. He even tolerated such personal idiosyncrasies as English professor Ku Hung-ming's division of English poetry into the categories of the Shih-ching (ta-ya, hsiao-ya, kuo-feng, etc.). The important thing was to assemble China's best minds and the world's best ideas and allow them free interplay. Hopefully, such genuine intellectual exchanges would also serve as a model for students.

One of Ts'ai's earliest appointments was Ch'en Tu-hsiu as Dean of the Arts Department (wen-kuo). This developed from the recommendation of Ts'ai's longtime friend T'ang Erh-ho, head of the National Medical College in Peking. On arriving in Peking, Ts'ai visited his friend to elicit information and advice regarding conditions at Peking University. T'ang suggested Ch'en as dean, citing his editorship of New Youth and the high esteem with which he was regarded by the young. On hearing of Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Ts'ai was reminded of the favorable reports he had once heard, in the early 1900's, of one Ch'en Chung-fu. While working on the Warning Bell News (Tocsin), Ts'ai had frequently heard of the courage of Ch'en Chung-fu as he persevered in his efforts to operate a successful pai-hua journal. T'ang Erh-ho informed Ts'ai that the two Ch'en's were the same individual, and Ts'ai immediately went to Ch'en Tu-hsiu's home and persuaded him to accept the appointment as dean.

Ch'en Tu-shiu (1879-1942) spent his career deeply involved with progressive causes. He is perhaps best known for his association with the journal New Youth. Founded by Ch'en, in Shanghai, as Youth Magazine (Ch'ing-mien tsa-chih), its first issue appeared on September
15, 1915 and immediately stirred widespread enthusiasm, especially among the young. Six issues were published through February, 1916, then the journal ceased publication for half a year. It reappeared September 1, 1916 with the altered title of New Youth (Hsin ch'ing-nien). When Ch'en came to Peita as dean, he brought his journal with him. Although the printing was still done in Shanghai, Ch'en continued as chief editor, working in Peking. In January, 1918 a reorganization occurred, and the editorship began to rotate among Ch'en and five others. These five, all faculty members at Peita, were Hu Shih, Li Ta-chao, Liu Fu, Shen Yin-mo, and Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung. With only a brief suspension at the time of the May Fourth episode, the journal continued without interruption until its final issue on July 1, 1922. However, in the spring of 1920, Ch'en moved it from Peking back to Shanghai and turned it into a communist organ. At this time, all his liberal colleagues, excepting Li Ta-chao, dissociated themselves from the enterprise.

The original purpose of New Youth was non-political. Working from the assumption that China's problems were more fundamental than just political corruption, Ch'en strove to generate a genuine intellectual transformation among the Chinese people. He lamented that Chinese culture seemed stultified by an excessive veneration of tradition.

To replace this, he extolled the creativity and dynamism of youth. The old would be eliminated and a new China would rise on a strong, new foundation. However, beyond this general broad framework, Ch'en and his associates had few areas of common agreement. Cooperation was
maintained for a while on the basis of vague concepts such as liberalism, democracy, and science. Their very vagueness offered the appearance of unity to the most diverse kinds of programs. But even this illusory unity soon broke down. Ch'en very quickly felt the need for a more politically involved journal, and this feeling became more insistent with Ch'en's increasing dissatisfaction with the regime of Tuan Ch'i-jui. In the 1918 reorganization of New Youth, all the main collaborators agreed to avoid involving the magazine in politics. Consequently, Ch'en's political views found their outlet in a journal, The Weekly Critic (Mei-chou p'ing-lun), which he and Li Ta-chao founded in December, 1918. Ch'en edited this publication until his arrest in June, 1919, and it was finally closed by the police in August of that year. Ch'en's arrest, June 11, 1919, came because of his activities during the May Fourth incident. He deeply sympathized with student objectives and even took to distributing handbills. Ironically, at the time of his arrest he was on a year's leave from Peita, assigned to prepare material for a new course on the history of the Sung dynasty. After his release from prison in September, 1919, Ch'en resigned from Peita, returned to Shanghai, and completed his shift to the left.

Another of Ts'ai's most important appointees was Hu Shih, who joined Peita's faculty in the summer of 1917. Hu's ideas and activities were well known among Chinese intellectuals, and Chancellor Ts'ai was especially impressed by his thorough knowledge of both Chinese and Western learning. This dual competency, so similar to
that of Ts'ai himself, was the goal Ts'ai set for his students. Hu was assigned to teach courses on Chinese history, and his innovative approach initially shocked the majority of his students.\textsuperscript{34} Hu completely bypassed the entire pre-historical period before the Chou, claiming it was too steeped in myth to be considered history. He treated the Shih-ching as source material for the early Chou, discarding traditional Confucian moralistic interpretations. Throughout the course Hu's attitude reflected the academic training he had received in the West. His scholarly writings showed similar tendencies, and the first volume of his Outline of Chinese Philosophy, published in 1919, caused quite a stir, although Hu considered it just a "minor revolution."\textsuperscript{35}

Hu Shih was also very involved in non-academic activities and was a major force in the intellectual upheaval associated with the May Fourth period. Unlike Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Hu unswervingly maintained that the priority areas for reform were intellectual, cultural, and literary.\textsuperscript{36} Since political questions were ephemeral and not immediate to Chinese reform, he suggested that intellectuals refrain from political discussions for twenty years. They should instead concentrate on creating a "Chinese renaissance," thus developing a broad spectrum of new attitudes and outlooks. Basic to the new attitude which Hu sought to instill was the pragmatism so closely associated with John Dewey. As Dewey's foremost Chinese disciple, Hu constantly advocated the Dewey methodology and served as Dewey's interpreter during his 1919-1921 lecture tour of China. Once a new intellectual climate was created,
the details of political structure could be constructed on a solid foundation. The early emphasis of the May Fourth period conformed quite well to Hu's ideal. But, increasingly, politics intruded and the May Fourth Incident itself was considered by Hu to have been an "interruption" of the necessary renaissance movement.37

Of course, the reform most clearly connected with Hu Shih during these years was the vernacular or pai-hua movement.38 Hu's interest in this matter developed during his years in America, taking shape through frequent discussions and exchanges of letters with other ardent Chinese students abroad. Before his return to China, Hu, in the January, 1917 issue of New Youth, published his "Wen-hsueh kai-liang ch'u-i" (Tentative proposals for literary reform). At Peita he worked hard for language reform, arguing for the middle ground between those who opposed all reform and those who wished to establish a standard pai-hua language to be taught in all schools. Hu wanted to see the language develop naturally as it was used, and he himself helped to develop natural standards through his own clear, forceful pai-hua writings.

Peking University accommodated the views of numerous other liberals or progressives. Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung (1887-1939) joined the faculty in 1915 after a long career of radical activities in China and Japan.39 Born in Kiangsu, of a native Chekiang family, his father had once been Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's teacher. He received a traditional education and developed an early interest in philosophy. But, influenced by the writings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Tsou Jung, he cut off his queue in 1904 and became a revolutionary. Traveling in Japan in 1906, he was
further moved by contacts with Chang Ping-lin and Liu Shih-p'ei. He participated in various progressive groups there and also became interested in anarchism, studying Esperanto for a while. Returning to China in 1910, he taught linguistics in Chekiang and Peking, and then joined the faculty of Peita. At Peita he supported the pai-hua movement and published articles on the need for language reform, diverging somewhat from Hu Shih's approach by his advocacy of a phonetic script. His attitude toward traditional learning, and especially the "old text" school, became so critical that in 1925 he changed his family name to I-ku (Doubting the past). 40

Another Peita advocate of language reform was Liu Fa (Pan-nung) (1891–1934), who joined the faculty in 1917. 41 Liu, born in Kiangsu, manifested an early inclination toward pai-hua and Western languages. As a youth he supported himself by translating Western works and as a free-lance writer. An article of his for New Youth attracted Ts'ai's attention and he asked Liu to join the faculty as an instructor in Chinese. Liu accepted and immediately took an active part in the discussions on language reform.

Chou Tso-jen (1885– ) came to Peita in 1917, first working in the Historiography Office and then as a member of the faculty. He was active in the literary reform movement, experimenting with pai-hua and new literary forms. His literary philosophy, at least during his early years, was didactic. 42 Literature was a means of developing a new morality among the people. It should concern itself with the affairs of ordinary men, but arousing the purest emotions and avoiding
baser concerns such as sex. When directed toward the elite, it should awaken them to the advantage of modern ways of thought and stimulate the highest ideal of service to all mankind. This didactic spirit prevailed during the May Fourth period, and it was mostly a reflection of the optimism which characterized Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and much of the Peita staff. Chou Tso-jen's brother, Lu Hsin (Chou Shu-jen), also stressed the educational possibilities of literature. He joined the Peita faculty in 1920, although previously in close contact with Peita as an employee of the Ministry of Education, in Peking. 44

Li Ta-chao was another prominent progressive attached to Peking University. In February, 1918, Li became chief librarian, and in September, 1920, he was named professor of history and political science. 45 Li was especially sympathetic toward the personal and intellectual problems of students. The financial plight of a young Hunanese, Mao Tse-tung, moved Li to offer him a job as library clerk. He was instrumental in obtaining financial assistance for the student publication, New Tide (Hsin-ch'ao), and also assisted in the formation of the Young China Association in July, 1919. This empathy for the young made Li a popular figure with students, and his library office was a main gathering spot. Of course, as Li's political views swung leftward he naturally carried many of his student admirers with him. 46

Another influential Peita progressive was Liang Shu-ming (1893- ). 47 Greatly impressed by Liang's article on Buddhism which appeared in Eastern Miscellany, Ts'ai invited him to become a member of the faculty. Liang accepted and during his years at Peita he formulated his synthesis
of Eastern and Western philosophies. Portraying the West, China, and India as having their own distinct social and cultural patterns, he argued that one would succeed the other. Currently the West, with its practical and material advantages was dominant. Soon the Chinese outlook, harmonizing the material and the higher spiritual components, would replace it. In the distant future, Indian attitudes would orient the world toward more transcendent objectives.

Other modern-minded intellectuals attached to Peita included the anarchist Li Shih-tseng who taught biology, the poet Shen Yin-mo, the social scientist T'ao Li-kung, and the logician Ch'en Ta-ch'i. Much of the staff had studied abroad, and by 1921 Peita's faculty included twenty-eight returned students: nine from France, six from the United States, five from Germany, five from England, and three from Japan. 48

The conservative viewpoint, both intellectual and political, was well represented at Peita by such important figures as Ku Hung-ming, Liu Shih-p'ei, Huang K'an, and others. Though differing among themselves as well as with the progressives, these conservatives were generally united in their opposition to the new culture movement, especially the literary reform effort. Participating in the intellectual debates of the times, they even established their own journal, The National Heritage (Kuo-kyu), as a forum for their views. However, conservatives were fighting against the fervent emotional currents of the time, their message was often couched in the most archaic language, and they evoked only limited support. 49 Their journal lasted but four issues.
Ku Hung-ming (1857-1928) was born in Malaya, of Chinese parents whose ancestral home was Amoy. He was educated at the University of Edinburgh and in Germany, but always remained a staunch upholder of Chinese tradition. Returning to China in 1880, he spent twenty years as a secretary and adviser to Chang Chih-tung. Familiar with numerous Western languages, Ku was never able to speak fluent Mandarin. Yet he wore a queue, dressed in a traditional Chinese gown, and fiercely defended the old ways. Opposing Western political and intellectual values, he labeled democracy "demo-crazy" and Dostoyevsky "Dostowhisky". At Peita he taught English and Latin, but spent much of his time denouncing the pai-hua movement and other reform programs. A confirmed monarchist, he even accepted a position in Chang Hstun's short-lived restoration government.

Liu Shih-p'ai (1884-1919) was born in Kiangsu and received the traditional classical education. However, after failing the metropolitan exam in Peking 1903, he went to Shanghai where he became part of the highly charged Shanghai scene of that time. He was friendly with Chang Ping-lin and served as editor for Ts'ai's Warning Bell News. Traveling to Japan, he worked for the Min-pao and joined the Chung-meng-hui. However, quite suddenly, in 1909, Liu broke with the anti-Manchu movement and returned to China to serve the Manchus until the end of the dynasty. After 1911, Lui continued his conservative ways and became a supporter of Yuan Shih-k'ai. He was one of the "six gentlemen" who founded the Ch'ou-an hui (Planning for peace society) which promoted Yuan's monarchist ambitions. Nonetheless, despite his conservative stance, Ts'ai
invited Liu to join the faculty in 1917, and he remained a Peita profes-
sor until his death in 1919.

Huang K'an (1886–1935) was born in Hupeh and was sent on a provin-
cial scholarship to study in Japan. There he became one of Chang
Ping-lin's leading pupils. Returning to China in 1912, he began teach-
ing at Peita. Interestingly, he and Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung, Chang Ping-lin's
other prominent disciple, often found themselves aligned on opposite
sides in most intellectual debates. Huang generally opposed the reform
objectives, and during the May Fourth Incident he resigned from Peita
to express his protest against the demands of student leaders.

The best foreign minds were also welcomed at Peking University. Ts'ai
had dismissed most of Peita's original foreign contingent, charg-
ing them with conformity to the general spirit of decadence. But he
energetically sought important foreign intellectuals, and his efforts
were rewarded. John Dewey arrived during the period of the May Fourth
Incident, and stayed in China for two years. Visiting eleven provinces
and making numerous speeches, he delivered five major addresses at
Peita. With Hu Shih as interpreter, Dewey's topics were: Social
Philosophy and Political Philosophy, the Philosophy of Education, Ways
of Thinking, Three Philosophers of Our Times (Bergson, Russell, James),
and Ethics. Ts'ai definitely sympathized with Dewey's pragmatic attitude
toward problems. As stated earlier, he did not advocate a wholesale
importation of Western ideas, but he urged using Western scientific
techniques to examine all cultures. Ts'ai frequently emphasized those
aspects of Chinese tradition which reflected this experimental spirit,
such as Confucius' pragmatic and Socratic teaching methods. He urged more studies along the lines of Hu Shih's objective analysis of Møtzø. In October, 1920 Bertrand Russell arrived, staying almost a year. He also delivered five major lectures in Peking, entitled: Mathematical Logic, Analysis of Matter, Analysis of Mind, Problems of Philosophy, and On the Structure of Society. Russell, as an advocate of socialism, was received with considerable attention. Other important foreign figures included Paul Monroe, the American educator; the German vitalist philosopher, Hans Driesch; and Indian poet, Rabindranath Tagore.

Ts'ai's overall purpose in assembling such a broad array of viewpoints was to generate a new spirit of investigation among staff and students. Faculty participation in the intellectual controversies of the times indicates success with regard to the former. Students also responded to the new atmosphere, rising from lethargy to take the most active interest in the new learning and contemporary affairs. As a later chapter will reveal, Ts'ai was not pleased by student involvement in politics, but he could only have been delighted with student receptivity to new ideas circulating among his faculty. For the most part, students were receptive, and certainly Peita at this time contained a large number of exceptional students who broadened Peita's identification with progressive issues.

In the fall of 1917, Fu Ssu-nien, his roommate Ku Chieh-kang, and Hsu Yen-chih, all Peita students, began talking of forming a new student magazine. After much pondering, the students discussed their ideas with the sympathetic librarian, Li Ta-chao, and the activist dean, Ch'en
Tu-hsiu. Both pledged their support, Li offering a room in the library as an office and Ch'en assuring them financial assistance from the university. At the first planning meeting, on October 13, 1918, the joint Chinese-English title of Hsin-ch'ao-Renaissance was adopted. Probably the choice of Hsin-ch'ao (New Tide) was influenced by the fact that several progressive Japanese journals had similar names. The next month, at an organizational meeting, Fu Ssu-nien was elected editor-in-chief and Lo Chia-lun editor. The first issue of Hsin-ch'ao appeared in January, 1919 and, under Fu Ssu-nien's editorial guidance, it adopted a progressive, even radical, stance. Urging a national awakening, its three guidelines were critical spirit, scientific thinking, and language reform. There was also talk of the need for social revolution, and Fu's opening statement designated the "New Tide" to be social revolution based on the Russian model, with democracy replacing monarchism and the masses removing the oppressors. In November, 1919 Lo Chia-lun succeeded Fu as editor-in-chief when the latter went to study in England. In 1920, Lo went to America to study and was replaced as editor by Chou Tso-jen, the only faculty member of the New Tide Society. The magazine continued to be published until March, 1922, but during its last two years many of the original student collaborators were studying abroad.

The two most important members of the New Tide Society, Fu Ssu-nien (1896-1950) and Lo Chia-lun (1896- ), represented the activist wing among Peita students. Fu entered Peita's preparatory school in 1913, and followed an outstanding record there by entering the
division of Chinese literature at Peking University. He was deeply concerned with contemporary problems, supplementing his contributions to Hsin-ch'ao with political activism. He was one of the student leaders and a parade marshal during the May Fourth demonstration. After graduating in 1919, Fu went to England for advanced study on a Shantung Province scholarship. His later career was less radical, and he served as director of the Academia Sinica's Institute of History and Philology for twenty-two years, and later as chancellor of National Taiwan University. Lo Chia-lun, whose native home was Shachsing, Chekiang, matriculated at Peita in 1917 and chose foreign languages and literatures as his major. He also was active in the May Fourth demonstration, being one of three students chosen to call on the British, American, French, and Italian legations in protest over the Versailles Treaty. Graduating in 1920, he went to study in the United States. He remained abroad until 1926, studying in England, Germany, and France. Like Fu, his later career was devoted to education, and he became president, successively, of Tsinghua University, National Central University, and the Academic Historica.

As indicated, some Peita students were genuinely inspired by their progressive teachers, even surpassing their mentors in their zeal for liberal causes. Certainly some disappointed their chancellor, who was a champion of moderation, by arguing that conditions dictated the need for radical changes, allowing no possibility for compromise. On the other hand, not all Peita students became so politically committed. Some experienced exactly the kind of spiritual and intellectual
awakening which Ts'ai hoped they would. They concentrated on their studies and found them challenging. They devoted their spare time to the many study societies which Ts'ai had established. They confronted the new ideas then circulating and read the fashionable journals, but maintained the scholarly detachment which Ts'ai recommended. An impressive list of future educators, writers, and scholars graduated from Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's Peita, including Ku Chieh-hang, Mao Tzu-shui, Chang Sung-nien, Fung Yu-lan, and numerous others. There is, of course, also evidence that many students still avoided classes and studies, choosing to group themselves into various cliques according to their dilettantist inclinations. These included a new culture clique, a politicians' clique, and a gentleman's clique. These circles considered it unfashionable to study, and anyone who did so was subjected to considerable ridicule. No firm generalizations, then, can be made about student attitudes at Peita. But the opportunities were there for those students who wished to seize them.

Ts'ai's own personality formed a vital part of Peita's atmosphere. A cheery doff of the hat and low bow greeted everyone regardless of his station, setting an example of courtesy to all. Frugal in his wants, with the exception of the natural scholar's passion for books, Ts'ai even traveled about on foot until a friend sent him a carriage and his own favorite horse. Speaking frequently, always insisting on student discipline and sacrifice, Ts'ai evoked an almost worshipful respect from his students. His 1921 lectures on aesthetics were so heavily attended that they necessitated several changes of classroom. Numerous
small incidents reveal his efforts to instill a sense of responsibility and discipline in his students. On one occasion when students rebelled against taking a special exam, he severely reprimanded them and personally administered the test. Another time he vigorously criticized anonymous fault-finders for placing unsigned placards on the bulletin boards. One should not shirk responsibility for his own opinions, and no-one adhered more faithfully to this principle than Ts'ai himself. By all accounts a remarkable man, he rarely deviated from the words on the scroll by the side of his desk—"Study unceasingly, teach untiringly."  

**Exchange with Lin Shu**

The transformation of Peita, especially the assembling of the most influential exponents of reform, was bound to prompt criticism from the defenders of tradition. Since Peita seemed the center of reform agitation, it was natural that conservatives should attack the university and its chancellor. The most famous confrontation between conservatives and the university developed through a public exchange of letters, in March, 1919, between Ts'ai and Lin Shu (Ch'in-nan). Lin Shu, the famous translator of Western classics, had at first been slow to react to the new reform movement. But as it gained impetus it provoked his criticism, and in February and March of 1919 he published two satirical short stories, ridiculing Ts'ai, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Hu Shih, and Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung. There is some indication that Lin's opposition was motivated by more than intellectual considerations. During his period of greatest popularity, his remuneration for each
thousand words was $6.00 compared to $3.00 for the average translator. But with the pai-hua and New Culture movements the public was less interested in reading the classical style. In fact, the Commercial Press was delaying publication of some manuscripts which Lin had previously submitted. At any rate, probably with mixed motives, on March 18, 1919 Lin's letter appeared in the public press, and Ts'ai's reply quickly followed.69

Lin reminded his readers of nineteenth century contentions that elimination of certain traditional practices, such as the civil service examinations, the eight-legged essay, and queues would make China strong. Since these had proved to be incorrect, what reason was there for believing modern reformers who wanted to go further? They, in fact, even wished to overthrow the five virtues and five ethical relationships. This was like a sick child refusing to see a good doctor yet denouncing his parents for giving him the illness. Confucianism was flexible, Lin argued, and could not be blamed for China's present difficulties. Lin particularly opposed the pai-hua movement, so closely associated with the university. If the classical language (wen-yen) were replaced by the vernacular (i.e. essentially the Mandarin dialect), he contended, then the rickshaw boys of Peking and Tienstin would write more grammatically than professors from Fukien or Canton.

Ts'ai's response was cautious, but surprisingly forthright considering that the tremendous shift in popular attitudes connected with the May Fourth Movement was still two months off. He concentrated on the two charges that Peita was seeking to uproot the traditional virtues and to substitute pai-hua for wen-yen. Regarding the first, he argued
that many professors at Peita still greatly respected Confucius and Meng-cius and taught traditional viewpoints to their students. Some professors, he admitted, did publish contrary views outside the university, but these appeared in only a few journals, such as New Youth, and were not the university's responsibility. Moreover, with the exception of the relationship between an emperor and his subjects, which was inapplicable in a republic, all the other relationships and virtues were being conscientiously fostered among Peita students through ethics courses and organizations such as the Association for the Advancement of Morality.

Regarding the second charge, Ts'ai completely denied that Peita was discarding the classical language in favor of pai-hua. Ts'ai felt that each had its proper place, and he pointed out that the university taught courses in Chinese literature using textbooks in wen-yen, the lecture guides (chiang-i) were in wen-yen, and much of the material in the Peking University Monthly was written in wen-yen. It was true that Hsu Shih's Outline of Chinese Philosophy was written in the vernacular, but a pai-hua explanation of the Classics was always necessary for students to understand their meaning. Finally, confronting Lin's remark about rickshaw boys, Ts'ai maintained that pai-hua was just a means of expression and that content was what really mattered. As always, only well-read and thoughtful people would be able to produce worthwhile writing.

In conclusion, Ts'ai enunciated two main policies which he intended to continue at Peita. Following the example of all great universities, he would accept the principle of intellectual freedom and
tolerate all ideas which had not been eliminated through natural selection (t'ao-t'ai). Also, he would judge professors solely on the basis of their academic qualifications and not interfere with their extracurricular activities, either social or political.

Conclusion

Ts'ai's early accomplishments at Peita were closely related to his pursuance of the above two policies. Despite pressures, he maintained the university as a forum for all viewpoints. This primarily benefited the reformers who were provided a haven, and a focal point, from which to propagate their ideas. It is true that the assemblage of intellectuals was powerless to implement policies, but it was potent in the intangible sphere of public opinion. As evidenced by the success of the pai-hua, New Culture, and May Fourth Movements, a major change in popular attitudes occurred among a significant portion of China's citizens.

The precise nature of this attitudinal change is hard to define, but it is safe to conclude that it was a reflection, however dim or distorted, of the themes espoused by Peita's progressive faculty and students. Of course, debates among progressives themselves were almost as frequent as their controversies with conservatives. There were few areas of common conviction for people with views as divergent as those of Hu Shih, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Li Ta-chao, and Ch'ien Hsuan-t'ung. But, in these pre-May Fourth years, there was a general optimism that all problems were solvable, and there was a common faith in the critical, scientific techniques of problem solving associated with the West.
There was common acceptance that Chinese traditions should not be un-
thinkingly perpetuated and that China's backwardness should not be pas-
sively accepted. Traditions should be critically examined, weaknesses
should be revealed and discussed, new approaches to problems should
be debated. Pre-May Fourth Peita generally adhered to Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's
priorities regarding the steps toward China's modernization. Of primary
importance was the creation of a new, questioning spirit among the
people -- a willingness to criticize tradition and an openmindedness
toward new ideas. Of parallel importance was the need for a national
moral regeneration, rekindling a sense of dedication and purity among
the masses. No discussion of specific programs was meaningful until
this fundamental two-fold foundation had been laid. The post-May
Fourth concern with politics and the polarization over ideologies de-
parted from Ts'ai's vision of proper priorities, but this earlier
period conformed fairly closely to it. It seems apparent that the
faculty and students of Peita did contribute in a significant way toward
producing new attitudes among the Chinese people. This was a necessary
first step, and Ts'ai deserves credit for establishing his philosophy
of modernization and attempting to implement it. Whether his phil-
osophy was appropriate to China's needs, then and later, is a question
which will be examined in another chapter.
NOTES

CHAPTER 3

1. Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IWLC, pp. 308-09.

2. Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Chiu-jen Pei-ching ta-hsueh hsiao-chang chih yen-shuo-tz'u" (Speech on assuming the chancellorship of Peking University; January 9, 1917), IWLC, pp. 316-18.

3. Ibid., p. 318; "Ts'ai Chieh-min cheng-tun ta-hsueh chih pan-fa" (Ts'ai Chieh-min's plans for reordering the university), Chiao-yü tsa-chih, IX, no. 2 (1917), news, p. 11.

4. Yuan Hsi-p'eng, "Hui-i" (Reminiscences), IWLC, p. 591 (Originally published in Chungking Central News, March 24, 1940); Ch'en Chi-lu, "Ti'ing Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng yen-tz'u kan-yen" (Impressions on hearing Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min's speech), Hsin ch'ing-nien, II, no. 6 (February, 1917), pp. 531-32.


6. Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Pei-ching ta-hsueh chih Chin-te-hui chih ch'u-shu" (On the objectives of the Peita Chin-te hui), IWLC, pp. 325-26.

7. See Ts'ai's speeches on the founding of each of these study societies, IWLC, pp. 341ff.

8. IWLC, p. 341.

9. Ibid., pp. 344-45.

10. Ibid., p. 342.

11. Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Pei-ching ta-hsueh yueh-k'an fa-k'an-tz'u" (Forward to the Peking University Monthly), IWLC, pp. 329-31.

12. Huang Shih-hui, p. 113; Ts'ai Shang-ssu, pp. 219ff; Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IWLC, pp. 310-11.

13. Ts'ai Yuan-p'e', "Pei-ching ta-hsueh kai-chih chih shih-shih chi li-yu" (The implementation and reasons for Peita's reforms), Hsin ch'ing-nien, IV, no. 6 (August, 1917), pp. 589-91.

14. Ts'ai's efforts did evoke some vocal opposition, however. See, for example, a letter of protest in Hsin ch'ing-nien, IV, no. 5 (May, 1918), pp. 491-94.
For a running account of these activities see the "educational news" section for each issue of the Chiao-yü tsa-chih for 1917.

"Kuo-li Pei-ching ta-hsueh chih nei-jung" (The content of Peking University), Tung-fang tsa-chih, XVI, no. 3 (March, 1919), pp. 163-66.


Wang Tsi C., p. 109; "Pei-ching ta-hsueh cheng-chi ch'uan-kuo chin-shih ko-yao chien chang" (Regulations for Peita's collection of modern folksongs), Hsin ch'ing-nien, IV, no. 3 (March, 1917), pp. 311-13.

Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 64.


Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo tsai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLC p. 311.

Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 65; "Pei-ching ta-hsueh cho-shou hsiu-kai hsueh-chih" (Peita begins to reform the educational system), Chiao-yü tsa-chih, IX, no. 12 (1917), news, pp. 89-90.

Huang K'an, the conservative philologist, was even said to have threatened his colleague, Ch'en Han-chang, over a matter of scholarly disagreement. See Howard L. Boorman, ed., Biographical Dictionary of Republican China (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968), II, p. 198.

Lo Chia-lun, Chuan-chi wen-hsueh, X, no. 1, p. 31.

See Ts'ai's letters to Wu Chih-hui and Wang Ching-wei, CC, pp. 1062-63.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo tsai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLC, pp. 308-10; Chow Tse-tsung, p. 52.

Boorman, II, pp. 240-48; Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 42ff.

Boorman, II, pp. 241-42; Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 45-47.

Chow Tse-tsung, p. 57; Li Shu-hua, "Reminiscences," pp. 194-95.

Hu Shih, "Dr. Hu Shih's Personal Reminiscences" (Chinese Oral History Project, Columbia University), p. 190.
33. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMOC, p. 310.


36. Ibid., pp. 198-99.

37. Ibid., pp. 163.

38. Ibid., pp. 159-63; Boorman, II, pp. 169-70.


41. Boorman, II, pp. 394-95; Chow Tse-tsung, p. 53.


44. Boorman, I, p. 417.

45. Ibid., II, p. 330; Chow Tse-tsung, 53-54.

46. Li Shu-hua ("Reminiscences," pp. 189-90) states that Li Ta-chao was made a professor, in addition to librarian, because this made him a member of the faculty, and Ts'ai wanted the faculty to help administer the university after the May Fourth incident. Li Shu-hua implies that this accidental appointment, with the assignment of a two hour course entitled "Contemporary Politics," resulted in Li Ta-chao's interest in Marxism. However, Li's interest in this subject manifested itself as early as 1918 and had already resulted in articles for New Youth. See Maurice Meisner, Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 63ff.


Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Tu-wei po-shih liu-shih sheng-jih war-ts'an-hui yen-shou-tzu'u" (Speech at Dr. Dewey's sixtieth birthday dinner; October 20, 1919), IWLC, pp. 300-01.

For two favorable evaluations of the success of that effort, see "Pei-ching ta-hsueh wen-k'o chih cheng-i" (Conflicts in Peita's Arts Department), Chiao-yü tsa-chih, IX, no. 4 (1917), news, pp. 84-85; "Pei-ching ta-hsueh chih ch'eng-li chi ch'i yen-ke" (The founding and development of Peita), Tung-fang tsa-chih, XIV, no. 3 (March, 1919), pp. 162-63. Some skeptics, however, refused to believe that any changes had taken place. See, for example, Chi Cha'i, "Tui-yü chin-jih hsueh-hsiao chih p'i-p'ing" (Criticism of today's schools), Hein ch'ing-nien, V, no. 6 (December, 1918), pp. 678-80.


See, for example, Hu Che-mou, "P'ien-chi yü chung-yung" (Exaggeration and moderation), Hein ch'ing-nien, III, no. 3 (May, 1917), pp. 259-63. Some, including Chang Kuo-t'ao and Ch'ü Chiu-pai, ended up as Marxists.

Chiang Fu-tsung, "Chui-nien Ts'ai hsien-sheng" (Remembering Mr. Ts'ai), IWLC, pp. 606-09.

See the list in Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 56-57.


Yu I, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng" (Mr. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), CC, p. 1354.

Ts'ao Chien, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti feng-ku" (The character of Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 1601.

Tuan Hsi-p'eng, "Hui-i," IWLC, pp. 591-93; Fu Ssu-nien, "Wo so-ching-yang ti Ts'ai hsien-sheng chih feng-ko" (The qualities of Mr. Ts'ai which I respected), IWLC, pp. 587-90; Chiang Fu-ts'ung, "Chui-nien Ts'ai hsien-sheng," IWLC, pp. 606-09.

Lo Chia-lun, "Wei-ta yu ch'ung-kao" (Great and lofty), IWLC, p. 597.

Kuo Chan-po, Ch'in wu-shih nien Chung-kuo ssu-hsiang shih (History of Chinese thought of the last fifty years) (Hong Kong: Lung-men shu-tien, 1965), pp. 97-99. Some of the attacks were open, in public journals, but others were more insidious and consisted of spreading malicious rumors. See Ch'en Tu-hsiu, "Kuan-yü Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti yao-yc" (The rumors about Peita), in Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Tu-hsiu wen-t'ung (Writings of Ch'en Tu-hsiu)
(Hong Kong: Yuan-tung t'u-shu kung-ssu, 1965), pp. 601-05.

67 Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 64-68.

68 Tso Shun-sheng, "Reminiscences," pp. 11-12.

69 TWLC, pp. 32-40; Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 68-72.

CHAPTER IV

1919: THE MAY FOURTH INCIDENT

The May Fourth Incident has generally been accepted as a watershed in modern Chinese History, despite disagreements regarding its precise nature, leadership, and consequences. Certainly it was the first time that modern nationalism was able to transcend social, economic, and regional barriers to provide considerable national unity. The broader May Fourth Movement, defined to include the new thought, literary reform, and pai-hua movements, similarly left a large imprint on modern China. Chow Tse-tsung has thoroughly detailed these events and documented the important role which Peking University played in each. Most of the leaders identified with the new thought currents were associated with Peita, and Ts'ai's sponsorship of intellectual debate has previously been mentioned as one of his most significant achievements. Regarding the Incident itself, Peita students, and some professors, were largely responsible for its initiation and spread. Most of the important student meetings convened at Peita, Peita provided the largest core of student protesters and Lo Chia-lun drafted the students' manifesto of protest, and several of the five determined students who jumped through the window of Ts'ao Ju-lin's house were from Peita. Since these developments have been so fully related by Professor Chow, this chapter will be limited to a discussion of Ts'ai's attitudes and activities during the Incident, his efforts to gain release
for imprisoned students, his resignation from Peita, and his return in September, 1919.

Indirectly, Ts'ai's leadership at Peita created the atmosphere among students which resulted in the May Fourth protest demonstration. It was he who encouraged intellectual discussion among proponents of new ideas and challenged students to assess and absorb those ideas which seemed relevant. Under these conditions, students inevitably began formulating a much more dynamic view of human affairs, and traditional ideas about moderation and respect for antiquity were bound to be undermined. Students were expected to think for themselves, and their sense of independence was nurtured by the many self-governing student organizations created at Peita. Their views on democracy and broadened public understanding of national issues were shaped by Ts'ai's strong support for such causes. The entire climate of intellectual excitement was bound to stimulate the enthusiasm of students, and conditions inexorably impelled them from cogitation to agitation. Ts'ai engendered in his students a passion for new ideas and a new China. Yet their idealism was frustrated by international realities and an unresponsive central government. Chinese students, their traditional sense of self-esteem further heightened by the rarefied intellectual discussions at Peita, became like bombs with lit fuses. Given the passion, frustration, and elitist self-esteem of Peita students, political activism was almost an inevitable development.

However, Ts'ai didn't view matters in this light. His intention had always been for students to devote themselves to study, without involvement in political activities. The intellectual debates fostered at Peita
were designed solely to stimulate academic enthusiasm. In fact, students under twenty were prohibited by Ts'ai from participation in political affairs, although older students were free to join political organizations. All were earnestly advised to prepare for future service by concentrating on their studies. In May, 1918 Ts'ai even threatened resignation to prevent Peita students from demonstrating against a Sino-Japanese military agreement which seemed too pro-Japanese to students. Regardless of the merits of the political cause involved, Ts'ai steadfastly opposed students leaving their studies to participate. He maintained this conviction with regard to the May Fourth outbreak as well, and despite his efforts on behalf of the broad themes of the May Fourth Movement, he was completely opposed to student involvement in the Incident. Ts'ai’s advocacy of student aloofness from politics may have been partly motivated by hopes that politicians would reciprocate by permitting education freedom from political interference. But, more likely, he was impelled by his vision of the long term nature of China’s reform priorities and the need for basic intellectual and social changes in Chinese culture before political reform could be soundly grounded. With such a view, it was entirely consistent to oppose student pre-occupation with politics as largely irrelevant and only likely to misdirect the essential reform impulses.

Despite Ts'ai’s opposition, Peking University students did play a leading role in the May Fourth Incident, and twenty Peita students were among the thirty-two arrested as a result of the demonstrations. Ts'ai did his best to assist those thirty-two students who were arrested. On the
evening of May 4th, students met in the law school auditorium to discuss the best means of securing release for the imprisoned protesters. Ts' "Today's affair represents a patriotic movement. This kind of movement is very common in all countries and no-one should be alarmed by it. I will take personal responsibility for freeing the arrested students." On the afternoon of May 5th, the heads of fourteen Peking higher schools met at Peita, and Ts'ai and six others were sent as delegates to the police station. The Police Commissioner, Wu Ping-hsiang, maintained that he required a government order to release the students. The delegates then went to the Ministry of Education and the President's office, but received no cooperation. Meanwhile, the government, alarmed by the widespread sympathy developing for the students, held a special Cabinet meeting on the evening of May 6th. It resolved that the students could be bailed out after their transfer to the courthouse. Upon hearing this decision, Ts'ai and the other delegates met with Police Commissioner Wu and the Minister of Education, seeking immediate release of the students. Commissioner Wu finally agreed to free the students if two conditions were met—first, that the students not participate in the National Humiliation Day demonstrations (May 7: anniversary of the Twenty-one Demands), and second, that all students immediately return to classes. Early the next morning, May 7th, a government representative checked at Peita and elsewhere and found that students had resumed classes, in accordance with Ts'ai's request. Therefore, at 11:00 that morning the thirty-two students were released.

Although the May Fourth Incident grew from the frustration of the
entire Peking student community; government conservatives placed the blame on Peita and Ts'ai. Many politicians viewed the disturbances as a perfect pretext for curtailing student organizations; and rumors that Ts'ai was to be removed, and even assassinated, circulated widely.

One oft-repeated story reported that Ts'ao Ju-lin and Chang Tsung-hsiang were seeking, with three million yuan, to hire an assassin. Other accounts hinted darkly of the burning of Peita and the slaughter of its students. While the students were imprisoned, Ts'ai remained unmoved by the possibility of personal danger. But with their release, and with a fairly clear indication that his removal was imminent, he quickly resigned and left Peking.

Resigning on May 9th, Ts'ai left his official resignation letters and a famous brief bulletin which read:

I am tired! "Those who have killed the gentleman's (chun-tzu) horse are the children by the side of the road." "The people indeed are heavily burdened, but perhaps a little rest may be got for them." I also want a little rest! I have already tendered my resignation as Chancellor of Peking University. All my other affiliations will, from May 9th, be terminated. May those who understand me pardon me.

The first quotation, from an ancient story, referred to a high official who carefully groomed a beautiful horse, rarely showing it to others. Once as he was riding, however, the children by the roadside so praised the horse that the official rode it too fast, and to its death. The line cited by Ts'ai elicited a variety of interpretations. Some said that the gentleman or high official referred to the Peking government, the horse to Ts'ao and Chang, and the children to the protesting students. Some superficial logic supports this interpretation, but it hardly fits the
spirit of the line. Another possibility, although progressives never offered it, was to link the fine horse with Ts'ai, who had succumbed to the praises of his young students. Following this line of reasoning, Ts'ai might have thought that he should have made a more strenuous effort to uphold his educational philosophy and restrain students from political activism. But, the argument could continue, his will was weakened by the fear of having student adulation withdrawn. At any rate, Ts'ai gave no explanation of his meaning, and probably the most generally accepted interpretation came from Ch'ang Hui, professor of literature at Peita. Writing May 10th, in answer to a student request, Professor Ch'ang argued that Ts'ai merely wanted to indicate that he was tired from the strain of a job which placed him so constantly in the limelight, and he just wanted to rest.

The second quotation came from the Book of Odes. The entire stanza reads (Legge, Part III, Bk. II, Ode IX, Stanza 2):

The people indeed are heavily burdened,
But perhaps a little rest may be got for them.
Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom,
And make it a gathering place for the people.
Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious,
In order to make the noisy braggarts careful,
And to repress robbers and oppressors; --
So the people shall not have such sorrow....

As with the first quotation, Ts'ai's true meaning was much debated. Reproducing the entire stanza allows Ts'ai's reference to be given a very patriotic, anti-Japanese, and anti-government tinge. The "wily and obsequious" might be taken to mean the pro-Japanese clique in government which had been dealing so spinelessly with the "noisy braggers," meaning the
Japanese. Or, equally satisfying to nationalist sentiment, the stanza could be interpreted as criticism of the Versailles settlement and the entire international community. On the other hand, it would have been equally consistent with Ts'ai's views for him to have obliquely criticized the protesting students as rabble-rousers who would only add to the burdens of the people. In this case the phrase "Let us give no indulgence to the wily and obsequious" could be interpreted as a warning that students not become tools in the hands of scheming politicians. The phrase "Let us cherish this centre of the kingdom, and make it a gathering place for the people" could also be seen in this light as a plea that Peita be preserved as a haven for intellectual investigation free of political overtones. In the final analysis, one can only speculate; and again, Professor Ch'ang's opinion rejected speculative interpretations.\textsuperscript{14} He maintained that Ts'ai meant only to use the first two lines, without implying anything about the remainder of the poem. The "people" in the citation, according to Ch'ang, just referred to Ts'ai himself who desperately needed a respite.

Ts'ai's writings provide no clarification regarding an "inner meaning" to his intriguing message. In later reminiscences Ts'ai explained that he resigned to avoid being formally dismissed, which would have heightened student antagonism toward the government, and to remove any student suspicions that he was overly concerned with keeping his high position.\textsuperscript{15} Others have contended that he resigned from fear of being assassinated, or because of his anger at government repression, or because he was shocked by the violence.\textsuperscript{16} Further uncertainty clouds the issue as a
result of a curious letter written May 10 by Ts'ai to Peita students.\textsuperscript{17}

Here he expressed respect as a private citizen for the students' sincere, patriotic impulses. But, he explained, as Chancellor of Peita, he had been deeply ashamed and took full blame for the disturbances. This stance seemed to imply that the public and the official world should properly adopt two different standards of right and wrong, so that a private citizen might applaud an event while an official should feel ashamed. Ts'ai had never previously expressed such a view, and, in fact, he was a staunch upholder of broadened public education and responsibility, which would seemingly imply closer ties between official and public attitudes. The precise reasons for Ts'ai's resignation, then, remain unclear. Probably among the mixture of motives was a clear intention to reemphasize his opposition to student involvement in politics. The strength of this conviction reveals itself as Ts'ai's post-resignation activities are detailed.

After leaving Peking, Ts'ai went first to Tienstin, then to Shanghai, and finally to a friend's house on Hangchow's West Lake. He sent Chiang Monlin to Peita where Chiang spoke to the students as Ts'ai was later to do—telling them that their motives were patriotic but that they had more important contributions to make to the nation.\textsuperscript{18} After the government capitulation and reopening of schools, Hu Jen-yuan, former Peita Chancellor, was appointed as a temporary replacement for Ts'ai. Bitterly opposed by the students, he was unable to function in office.\textsuperscript{19}

Throughout this period of confusion Ts'ai steadfastly refused to return to Peita, even rejecting pleas from student delegations sent to
persuade him. But after a further period of disruptive conditions at Peita, Ts'ai gradually began to reconsider his position. In July, 1919 he promised to return, but he prefaced his decision with a strong declaration that students henceforth not participate in politics. In a letter to the Peking University and National Student Unions Ts'ai presented his case for students being students. He told the students that in their zeal for patriotism and saving the nation they had been neglecting their studies. While everyone wanted to save the nation, modern society was so complicated that a division of labor provided the best approach. Farmers should farm, laborers should labor, and students, of course, should study. The student responsibility to the nation, in fact, encompassed far more than mere rabble-rousing. Students should prepare to make contributions with long range, enduring influences. This meant educating themselves for future service and cultivating those qualities which would offer a good example to the Chinese masses. There is no available account of student reaction to this broadside, but it seems reasonable to assume that a good many students envisioned a different social role for themselves than Ts'ai outlined. Nonetheless, I have not found any evidence that Ts'ai's rapport with students was any less after May Fourth, and, indeed, some of the most favorable appraisals of Ts'ai's character and career were recorded by those students active in May Fourth activities.

Perhaps an indication of continuing student support for Ts'ai emerges from the following story of Peking intrigue. On the evening of July 16, after hearing of Ts'ai's intended return, some governmental members of the Anfu clique gave a banquet for a group of Peita students. There they
bribed a small number to foment trouble at Peita and publicize a resolution that the majority of Peita students did not want Ts'ai to return. The next day, when the plotters met, they were seized by Peita supporters of Ts'ai and locked up. These supporters were later indicted for holding an illegal trial, but their actions were overwhelmingly approved by Peita students and the general public.

For the remainder of the summer of 1919, Ts'ai continued to express his view that a students' primary task was to study. Whenever students gathered to welcome him, he unswervingly voiced the unpopular opinion that saving the country required more than emotion and fervor. It required a solid foundation of broad learning and new attitudes, and education was the key to these goals. In his official return speech of September 20, 1919, Ts'ai praised the students for their patriotism but again emphasized that their zeal was misplaced and should be directed toward scholarship. He lauded them for their initiative but urged that in the future they apply it in the library and the laboratory. A short while later Ts'ai's famous article, "Floods and Wild Beasts," was published in New Youth. This compared the student movement and the warlords to the "floods and wild beasts" which Mencius had named as the country's biggest worries. Maintaining his critical stance, Ts'ai argued that if student enthusiasm could be channeled, as the great Yu had controlled the flooding waters, it could benefit all. But if allowed to spread unrestrained, it would lead to great destruction. For the wild beasts, the warlords, Ts'ai had nothing but contempt. They were enjoying all of life's pleasures while the hard-working masses suffered.
It seems evident that Ts'ai's opposition to student activism in general, and to the May Fourth Incident in particular, stemmed from a vision of the May Fourth Movement which he shared with Hu Shih and some others. According to this vision, the May Fourth Movement was most vital to China's needs precisely because it was a non-political and intellectual movement. It was primarily a Renaissance-like time of intellectual emancipation in which reason would destroy traditional fetters on thought, freedom would triumph over authority, and a new spirit of life-assertion would rejuvenate a tired culture. Of course, it's not difficult to point out inconsistencies in the comparison of a changing China with Renaissance Europe, and a good argument can be made that a closer European parallel would be the Enlightenment, with its spirit of skepticism and iconoclasm. Nonetheless, Hu Shih argued that developments during the New Thought and New Culture movements (essentially the May Fourth Movement without the May Fourth Incident) resembled the European Renaissance for three reasons. These were: the effort to create a new, living literature in the vernacular; the progress made in freeing people's minds from the intellectual restraints of tradition; and the critical re-examination of traditional culture using modern, scientific methods of analysis. Hu looked upon the May Fourth Incident as a "political interruption". Henceforth, ideas came to be used as political weapons, and the essential task of building an intellectual and attitudinal foundation for a new China was subordinated to superficial political preoccupations.

Ts'ai's commitment to this long term, gradual program of modernization has already been mentioned. There is no doubt that he too deplored the diverting of energies to what seemed a peripheral area of concern.
Absorption in ephemeral political questions was a luxury, in Ts'ai's view, in which genuine reformers could not indulge. China's real needs were far more fundamental than political reform and, basically, they revolved around the necessity for a broad reorientation of popular attitudes. China had to go through an intellectual and spiritual Renaissance, just as the West had experienced, before it could effectively confront the challenges of the modern world.

Unfortunately, according to Ts'ai, China had only begun to benefit from such a period in relatively recent times. In Ts'ai's view of Chinese history, China had passed through stages of development similar to those of Egypt, Greece, and European scholasticism. But only with the early Ch'ing School of Han Learning did Chinese scholars begin to adopt some of the critical outlooks which characterized thinkers of the European Renaissance. However, because China remained dedicated to human affairs rather than the natural sciences, the scope of these researches was very narrow, and thus the early Ch'ing did not produce a Renaissance-like change of orientations. Only with the introduction of Western ideas, through translations and returned students, did China begin its Renaissance. Two decades of critical scholarship, using scientific methods, had begun to reorganize Chinese traditions and fit them to contemporary needs. Just four more decades of tranquility would allow China to make the same leap which had taken Europe four centuries and would enable China to contribute to the world on an equal basis with the West.

Unquestionably, when Ts'ai made such comparisons between Chinese and Western history, he recognized that he was oversimplifying and stereotyping both. But, on these occasions, Ts'ai's concern was not so much
historical precision as finding one more way to articulate his view of China's reform priorities. He consistently assigned top priority to creating a new intellectual atmosphere, with special emphasis on developing a critical approach to traditional verities. He firmly believed that university students were the best hope for gradually creating this new atmosphere—through their experience with pure scholarship, through their teaching efforts, and through the examples they set for the rest of society. In this context, Ts'ai could only have regarded the May Fourth Incident as an unfortunate political distraction.
NOTES

CHAPTER 4

1 Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 338-68.

2 Ibid., pp. 100-01, 106, 111, 388.

3 Ts' ao Shun-sheng, "Wu-ssu yün-tung yi Ts'ai Chieh-min" (The May Fourth Movement and Ts'ai Chieh-min), in Chung-kuo hsien-tai ming-jen i-shih (Sketches of famous modern Chinese) (Hong Kong: Tzu-yu ch'u-pan-she, 1951), pp. 39, 44. Ch'en Tu-hsiu claimed that he, Hu Shih, and Ts'ai were most responsible for the public opinion of that time. "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng shih-shih hou kan-yen," p. 584. Li Shu-hua stated: "In my opinion he [Ts'ai] was the real creator of the movement. Without his staunch support of the ideas behind the movement, it would not be easy [sic] for the movement to take place." ("Reminiscences," p. 218).

4 For recent analyses of the nature of student activism see the articles by Seymour Martin Lipset, E. Wright Bakke, and Philip G. Altbach in Comparative Education Review, X, no. 2 (June, 1966), pp. 132-87. Also see the suggestive remarks in Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 19.

5 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e i, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMJC, p. 312.

6 Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 65.

7 One source, however, claims that on the evening of May 3rd, Ts'ai, apparently aware of student plans, summoned Tu Fu-ting, executive secretary of the student union, and "encouraged" (ku-li) him. Pao Tsun-p'eng, Chung-kuo chin-tai ch'ing-mien yün-tung shih (A history of modern Chinese youth movements) (Taipei: Pamir shu-tien, 1953), p. 26. This would have been contrary to Ts'ai's words and actions before and after the May Fourth Incident, and I have found no other evidence to support this statement.

8 The details which follow were taken from what seems the most cautious and accurate account—Sun Te-chung, "Wu-ssu ai-kuo yün-tung chi-yao" (A record of the patriotic May Fourth Movement), CC, pp. 1096-1108 (Originally published in The Fortieth Anniversary of the May Fourth Movement, 1960). Somewhat different versions can be found in Wang Tsi C., The Youth Movement in China (New York: New Republic, Inc., 1927), p. 169; and Ts'ao Chien, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti feng-ku" (The character of Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 1599. Ts'ai's own writing provide no details whatsoever.


11 North China Herald, May 17, 1919, p. 412. Ts'ai's resignation bulletin is in IMLC, p. 332.

12 Chow Tse-tsung, p. 136; Kao P'ing-shu, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng chuan-lueh" (A short biography of Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 1320.

13 See IMLC, p. 332.

14 Ibid., p. 333.

15 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLE, p. 312.


17 CC, pp. 1108-09.


19 Ts'ai Shang-ssu, p. 67; Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLE, p. 312.

20 Chow Tse-tsung, p. 138.

21 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Wo ts'ai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLE, p. 313.

22 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Kao Pei-ching ta-hsueh hsueh-sheng yu chuan-kuo hsueh-sheng lien-ho-hui shu" (A letter of the Peita and National Student Associations; July 9, 1919), IMLE, pp. 334-36.

23 John and Alice Dewey, Letters, pp. 296-98; Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 167-68.

24 Tuan Hsi-p'eng, "Hui-ts'un" (Reminiscences), IMLC, p. 593.

25 Ts'ai Yuan-p'e, "Hui-jen Pei-ching ta-hsueh hsiao-chang ts'ai chuan-ti hsueh-sheng huan-ying-hui yen-chuo-tzu" (Speech to the student welcome meeting on resuming Peita's Chancellorship), IMLE, pp. 337-38.
26. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Hung-shui yu meng-shou" (Floods and wild beasts), IMLC, pp. 51-52.

27. Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 338-42.


30. However, some contemporaries failed to understand Ts'ai's opposition to the May Fourth Incident, assuming that, as a "progressive," he automatically supported it. See Lo Tun-wei, Wu-shih nien hui-i lu, p. 22.

31. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chung-kuo ti wen-i chung-hsing" (China's literary and artistic renaissance), IMLC, pp. 5-12.
Chapter V

1919-1923: POST-MAY FOURTH PEITA AND 1923 RESIGNATION

Post-May Fourth Peita continued to demonstrate progressive tendencies, and Ts'ai continued to call for dedication to scholarship. He urged Peita students to erase the false image that they could only exert themselves in political demonstration. He restated his objective of making Peking University an institution of genuine scholarship, which meant not the blind parroting of old ideas but use of the most modern scientific methods to reorganize (cheng-li) Chinese outlooks. By cheng-li he simply meant that all traditional beliefs should be objectively reconsidered, and only those relevant to contemporary needs should be retained. Devotion to study should replace the mechanical concern for fulfilling requirements, as Ts'ai persisted in his campaign for disinterested scholarship. Student patriotism was praised, but broader applications were urged. Continually, Ts'ai stressed the need for a larger spirit of sacrifice and national obligation. Student strikes gained short-lived successes but inevitably involved losses. Study time was wasted and the general atmosphere of fervor delayed an orderly return to disciplined study. He urged that students never again resort to this "suicidal" (tzu-sha) policy. Instead, Ts'ai encouraged students to pursue their studies, cultivate themselves, and use their extra time and energy bringing education to the common people, broadening the base of educated citizenry.
Ts'ai devoted considerable thought in these years to his long time concern of defining the precise objectives of education, especially higher education. He agonized over the timeless problem of whether education should strive to produce self-development or an obligation to others. That is, should education be primarily concerned with an individual's growth and fulfillment or with fostering the social skills and attitudes which would most benefit society as a whole. This has never been a uniquely Chinese question, but China has certainly recognized the conflict in the dichotomy of hsiu-shen and p'ing t'ien-hsia, although theoretically these were supposed to be complementary and not contradictory. Ts'ai added no novel insights in his writings. Sometimes he compromised the issue by vaguely urging that education seek to develop both tendencies, in order to produce the complete citizen. At other times, he was inclined to place more stress on nurturing a sense of duty and obligation in students. He recognized that this was an open question, and that throughout history different thinkers had struck different balances between obligations and privileges. As examples he cited Yang Chu's hedonism, Mencius' concern for righteousness, and Nietzsche's extreme individualism. And he granted the fact that the acceptance of obligations was not necessarily natural or inherent in mankind. Animals for the most part had no sense of duty, although there were exceptions. Men, too, were born only with an awareness of wants, such as the desire for food or warmth. But, in a leap of faith, Ts'ai maintained that as they matured men realized that self-sacrifice and duty were the highest ideals. It was the responsibility of education to assist in this natura-
tion process. People should be made to see that acts of duty affected many, while acts of privilege reached only the single individual involved; and acts of duty could have enduring effects over many generations, while acts of privilege died with the individual. So Ts'ai criticized selfish individualists, especially the nihilists and escapists. He urged students to take up their responsibilities willingly and selflessly. He seems never to have considered, at least not openly, that many students would accept his call to involvement but hold different views on the nature of their obligations.

The atmosphere at post-May Fourth Peita contained elements of both self-development and public service. Students were given increasing freedom to select their own courses and administer their own affairs. There was considerable interest in letting the young follow their own natural inclinations, thus developing their creative abilities and their sense of self-reliance. On the other hand, there was a definite conviction that the new education should be concerned with improving society rather than creating a few great scholars. Education under the old society was criticized for producing self-cultivated scholars who were mere ornaments, useless for any practical affairs. Ts'ai generally tried to maintain a balance between the two approaches. He certainly wanted moral cultivation and self-examination among students, but he also sought to instill a deep commitment of service to society. Ts'ai's basic approach to modernization hinged on the efforts, and examples, of an educated elite as it strove for the gradual betterment of society. As has been mentioned, men were improvable if their environments could be improved.
Ts'ai used the recently concluded World War for further discussion regarding the nature of education. He rejected four pre-war concepts. First, was "militaristic education" as epitomized in Germany and Japan. This emphasized obedience to orders and military training. More scholarly inclinations were actually discouraged by governments as potentially subversive. Second, was "gentlemen's education" as developed in England. Here the main objective was to create so-called gentlemen. Science was de-emphasized to concentrate on inculcating the proper social and cultural attitudes among the elite. "Religious education," fostered in church run schools, was also rejected because of its intolerance for divergent viewpoints. Finally, "capitalistic education," with America as the best representative, was characterized by a worshipful attitude toward the making of money. Ts'ai doubtless realized that he was oversimplifying pre-war education, but there was certainly a core of truth in his stereotypes. At any rate, he drew on this background to support his call for freedom of intellectual inquiry and the broadest possible spread of education.

Ts'ai himself helped to implement this last suggestion. In January, 1920 night schools were opened at Peita for university employees and working people living in the university vicinity. Ts'ai remarked that this was the first time outsiders had been allowed into Peita, although of course the police and military were an exception. The school had been opened because students and staff were sincerely concerned that so many of their fellow citizens had no chance for learning. The university furnished rooms and textbooks, but the students themselves did the teaching, without pay.
Classes met five nights a week with a curriculum of primary and middle school material. Even a free meal of soup and Chinese bread was provided, paid for by what the Peita teacher-students could contribute or solicit from outside.

As has been repeatedly stressed, Ts'ai was determined to broaden the base of educated citizens. He felt that in any society men were closely inter-dependent, and especially in China enduring progress toward modernization depended on widespread cooperation. Ts'ai also showed considerable awareness of class divisions and the need to remove social inequities. He recognized that in China social realities produced situations where men worked excessive hours and still lacked essential needs. His basic remedy, however, was worker education and worker improvement, as implemented through night schools, public lectures, and other sources of continuing education. On one occasion, Ts'ai did speak of a future "workers' world" in which all who produced something for others, whether by physical or mental effort, would live together in a spirit of equality. This was clearly a utopian vision, however, and for the foreseeable future Ts'ai's ideas centered around the gradual spread of learning by an educated, but socially and morally responsible, elite. This kind of faith in education was not limited to Chinese intellectuals. It was characteristic of much reform thought throughout the world and, as has been discussed, was the product of diverse forces such as rationalism, behaviorism, and pragmatism.

Also in 1920, Peita became one of China's first co-education universities. Initially, one girl was allowed to audit courses, because it was too late to take the entrance exams. Later she and several others
passed the entrance exams and were formally enrolled. Ts'ai never officially sought permission from the Ministry of Education, but it tacitly approved. As Ts'ai put it, since the Ministry had never issued a specific order limiting enrollment to boys, he saw no reason to seek special permission. Co-education had been making very slow progress before Ts'ai's decisive action, and his decision provided significant impetus to the entire women's rights movement. Ts'ai had long considered discrimination against women to be outdated and undemocratic, and he had advocated such things as mixed schools, girls to play girls' roles in the theater, and natural associations between the sexes.

Another of Ts'ai's post-May Fourth reforms was the establishment of a variety of new offices and councils, designed to provide more efficient and more democratic administration of the university. An administrative dean was appointed to handle business affairs, with a dean of faculties responsible for academic matters. Several consultative councils were established, with the Senate, composed of professors elected by the faculty, as the highest deliberative body. It was hoped that the new framework would broaden the sources of responsibility, thus freeing the university from dependence on any one man, such as the Chancellor. However, the new structure functioned erratically, and Ts'ai's absences produced considerable instability. On one occasion, the university professors, providing leadership for all the national higher schools in Feking, went on strike for five months, while Ts'ai was on an educational mission in Europe. Circumstances probably warranted some form of protest, since faculty salaries were four months in arrears. But it is not likely that Ts'ai could have
sanctioned such a long term strike when he viewed student strikes as suicidal. Even during Ts'ai's presence, conditions at Peiting were not always tranquil. Ts'ai was forced to roll up his sleeves and offer to fight in order to quell one petty student strike.\(^{16}\)

Consistent with his desire to make Peiting independent of one man's whims, Ts'ai also advocated freeing education from all political or religious restrictions.\(^{17}\) He contended that political control led to a short term view of education, with policies changing as political parties shifted. Education should, instead, be concerned with enduring principle and should transcend political considerations. It should also dissociate itself from religion, which was reactionary and intolerant. Ts'ai even suggested an administrative plan to implement his ideal.\(^{18}\) This involved dividing the country into a number of regions or districts (ch'\(\text{u}\)), each having a university. The university would oversee all primary, middle, and adult education in the district. Control of the university and district educational affairs would rest with an Educational Committee, organized by university professors. The university Chancellor would be chosen by the Committee, and all the district Chancellors would form a Council of Higher Education to formulate educational policy along with the Minister of Education, who had to be approved by the Council. Funds would come from local taxes, but a poor district could request aid from the central government upon receiving approval from the Council of Higher Education. This complex proposal to remove education from politics was closely modeled after the system which operated in France during Ts'ai's stay there.\(^{19}\) It received little consideration when broached, but in 1927
a related plan, under Ts'ai's direction, was given a brief trial by the Kuomintang. 20

In some respects, Ts'ai's post-May Fourth years at Peita centered around such visionary plans as that detailed above. This period also saw the initiation of ten and thirty year plans to build a "Greater National University." 21 The goal was expanded facilities to double and triple the number of students, while preserving a high quality. Of considerable interest was the fact that the first priority was the building of a central library center. In the midst of intellectual greatness, Peita had existed with its book collections scattered throughout various departmental libraries. Also in the plan was a large combination gymnasium-auditorium building. The total campaign required gifts of $250,000, and as a special inducement to giving, the main reading room in the library would be named for the largest donor. This was also the time of grandiose plans for Peita's graduate school, but implementation awaited the necessary funds. 22 But the picture of Peita should not be painted in gray tones. This was still China's main center of learning, the most prominent professors still taught there, and there was a general consolidation, and in some cases such as science, strengthening of the curriculum. 23 However, the drama of earlier years was gone. Leading intellectuals such as Ch'en Tu-hsiu and Li Ta-chao were following their own visions, and the Chinese intellectual world no longer displayed the same exciting unity of purpose which had characterized the immediate May Fourth period. 24 One critic of Peita even quipped that with regard to the New Culture Movement, the university was showing more visible movement than culture. 25
One reason for the changed atmosphere at Peita was that Ts'ai was increasingly occupied with outside concerns. Some were political and will be discussed shortly; others of an educational nature diverted his attention from strictly Peita affairs, although the university always remained one of his major interests. From November, 1920 to August, 1921, for instance, he traveled throughout Europe and America on an information gathering mission for the Ministry of Education. He was received with much fanfare and, while in America, was granted an honorary degree from New York University. Taking advantage of his travels, Ts'ai sought out Chinese studying abroad, trying to recruit them for Peita on their return. He also invited foreign scholars to Peita, collected works of art for the university, and solicited funds for the new library. While in France he collaborated with Wu Chih-hui and Li Shih-tseng to found the Lyons China-France University, to which some of China's best students were sent. Using some converted French forts, the university provided free room and board and prepared Chinese students for entrance to the University of Lyons. Before returning to China, Ts'ai represented the Minister of Education at the Pan-Pacific Educational Conference in Honolulu, in August, 1921. After his return he became a member of the Board of the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Education, an organization with broad objectives, which met for the first time in Shanghai on February 8, 1922. After Ts'ai's resignation from Peita, in 1923, he represented this body at another world conference on education, in San Francisco.

One sad event touched Ts'ai during his foreign travels. While in Paris he learned that his second wife, nee Huang Chung-yü, had died.
Ts'ai wrote a poignant poem, regretting his many absences and grieving over the realization that only death revealed how much she meant to him.  
But the general impression left by the poem was that Chung-yü was a traditional girl who played little role in Ts'ai's public life. She had even refused to let Ts'ai bring her Western clothes or other gifts from the cities of the world that he visited. Despite his moving expressions of grief, he decided that he could not end his mission to return to China to mourn for her. Public duty overrode all private considerations.

January, 1923: Resignation

As indicated above, these years saw Ts'ai more actively involved in political affairs. In 1919, for example, he helped organize the Society for the Promotion of a Constitution (Kuo-min chih-hsien ch'ang t'ao hui), which spoke in utilitarian terms of providing the greatest happiness for the greatest number. In May, 1922 Ts'ai's name headed a list of signatories to a public manifesto entitled "Our Political Proposals" (Wo-men ti cheng-chih chu-chang). Signed by seventeen intellectuals, fourteen of whom were associated with Peita, the statement basically called for a more honest and efficient government. It listed China's priorities to be obtaining good men to participate in government and developing an aroused public opinion to watch for wrongdoing. Other basic needs were a constitution, more publicity for governmental decisions, and more efficient central planning. Further specific needs included a reconciliation between the northern and southern factions, an effective civil service system with a general reduction in the number of bureaucrats, election reforms, and a
balanced budget.

In September, 1922 three of the signatories to this manifesto became members of the Cabinet, including Lo Wen-kan, Ts'ai's longtime friend, as Minister of Finance. But, within two months internal political conflicts resulted in Lo's arrest, on the charge of accepting bribes. The arrest, occurring at 1:00 A.M. in the morning, was made by the police without a warrant. In January, 1923 Lo was released for lack of evidence, but he was quickly rearrested, apparently at the instigation of P'eng Yun-ê, the Minister of Education. Ts'ai was infuriated by the arbitrary exercise of police power against his good friend. He publicly protested, calling it a violation of civil rights and a cowardly attempt to curry favor with the warlords. Deciding that a more dramatic indication of disapproval was required, he and some of his associates tendered their resignations.

Ts'ai's letter of resignation complained of intolerable governmental evils, especially the destruction of judicial independence which had culminated in the illegal arrest of Lo Wen-kan. Unable to tolerate this "fool's paradise" (kou-an) of corruption and wrongdoing, he felt compelled to resign. Shortly afterward Ts'ai published an elaboration of his views, urging mass resignations as the most effective protest against corruption. Citing the I Ching (Classic of Changes) that "Small men know how to advance but not how to retreat," he argued that retreating not only had the negative function of avoiding troubles but could also have a positive effect. The contemporary application of this principle was the policy of "non-cooperation" as implemented through mass resignations.
Ts'ai had previously suggested such a policy a number of times. The gist of it was that whenever teachers felt their grievances warranted such a step, they should all tender their resignations to their respective school officials. Nationwide application of this strategy would provide a far more effective bargaining lever than empty protests or merely stopping classes through strikes.

This attitude, permitting faculty resignations, hardly seems consistent with Ts'ai's firm opposition to student strikes as suicidal. If one of China's primary needs was education, Ts'ai could not consistently sanction either teacher or student abduction of their respective responsibilities. However, Ts'ai presumably felt that as a last resort, when conditions became completely intolerable, some form of dramatic moral assertion was mandatory. One of the most dramatic options available was a public resignation, and Ts'ai had taken this step several times in the past—in 1900 at the Shaohsing East-West School, in 1912 when Yuan Shih-k'ai's Minister of Education, and during the May Fourth Incident. He apparently felt that circumstances in the winter of 1922–1923 justified another such resignation of protest. The Lo Wen-kan affair precipitated the act, but Ts'ai's writings make it clear that he had long contemplated the step. Being in Peking had given him a close view of government corruption, and he became increasingly disturbed by the futility of education in such an atmosphere. Given this context, Ts'ai's resignation is more understandable. Ts'ai was a man who still used the rhetoric of hsiao-jen and ta-jen, and moral considerations were of paramount importance. Reform and modernization could only develop, and endure, in
China within a new moral atmosphere. If the moral climate was worsening rather than improving, a dramatic attempt to reverse the process was essential.

Ts'ai's moral protest and call for "non-cooperation" evoked only limited popular response. There were some student protests, criticizing the government and asking that Ts'ai return. But the intellectuals, whom Ts'ai hoped to reach, manifested little interest. Ch'en Tu-hsiu thought that mass movements rather than elite protests were needed. Hu Shih, while recognizing Ts'ai's sincerity, argued that Ts'ai was not Gandhi and China was not India. In the shameless China of the time, he pointed out, Ts'ai's appeals to conscience were ineffective. Moreover, it was much easier to arouse anger against a foreign foe, such as the British in India, than against domestic evils. Finally, he cited Ts'ai's own concern for education and his policy of reorganizing Peita so it no longer was dependent on one man. In accord with these ideas, Hu Shih urged educators to express sympathy for Ts'ai, but to make sure that their institutions continued to function. In these circumstances, Ts'ai departed for another trip to Europe, and the period of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's Peita came to a close.
NOTES

CHAPTER 5

1 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Pei-ching ta-hsueh erh-shih-erh chou-nien k'ai-hsueh shih chih yen-shuo-ts'u" (Speech on the twenty-second anniversary of opening classes at Peita; September, 1919), IWLC, pp. 320-21.

2 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Ch'ü-nien wu yueh ssu-jih i-lai ti hui-ku yu chin-hou ti hsi-wang" (Looking back on the time since May Fourth and future expectations; May, 1920), IWLC, pp. 339-40; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chiao-yü chih tui-tai ti fa-ch'en" (The development of an attitude toward education; 1920), IWLC, pp. 89-90.

3 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chiao-yü chih tui-tai ti fa-ch'en," IWLC, pp. 89-90.

4 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "I-wu yü ch'uan-li" (Obligations and rights), IWLC, pp. 471-73.


6 Ch'en Tu-hsiu, "Hsin chiao-yü shih shen-ma" (What is new education?), in Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Tu-hsiu wen-ts'ung (Writings of Ch'en Tu-hsiu) (Hong Kong: Yuan-tung t'u-shu kung-ssu, 1965), II, pp. 567-69.

7 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Ou-chan hou chih chiao-yü wen-t'ı" (Educational questions after the European war), IWLC, pp. 91-95.

8 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Tsai p'ing-min yeh-hsiao k'ai-hsueh-jih ti yen-shuo" (Speech on the opening of night school; January 18, 1920), IWLC, pp. 129-30; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Pei-ching ta-hsueh-hsiao yi-yeh-pan k'ai-hsueh shih yen-shuo-ts'u" (Speech on the opening of the night school for university workers), IWLC, pp. 348-49; Grover Clark, "Passing on Their Education," The Weekly Review, October 21, 1922, pp. 259-60.

9 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Kuo-wai tung-kung chien-hsueh hui yi kuo-nei kung-hsueh hu-chu-t'uan" (The workers' frugal study societies and the workers' study assistance groups), CC, pp. 521-23.

10 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Lao-kung shen-sheng" (The divinity of labor), IWLC, p. 469.

12. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, Chung-kuo chiao-yü shih, pp. 687-88; Wang Shih-chieh, "Chui-l Ts'ai hsien-sheng" (Memories of Mr. Ts'ai), IMLC, p. 579.


17. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chiao-yü tu-li i" (On the independence of education), IMLC, pp. 100-02.

18. Ibid., pp. 101-02.


20. Ibid., pp. 763-64.


27. Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Yü Pei-ching ta-hsueh hsueh-sheng hua-pieh" (A farewell to Peita students; October 20, 1920), CC, pp. 798-801.

"Chung-hua chiao-yü k'ai-chin she chih ch'in-hsing chi-hua" (The plans of the Association for the Advancement of Chinese Education), Chiao-yü tsa-chih, XIV, no. 5 (1922), educational news, pp. 2-3.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chi Huang fu-chen wen" (Ode to my wife Huang Chung-yü), CC, pp. 525-27.

Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 239-41; Tai Chin-hsiao, pp. 111-13.

CC, pp. 531-35.


Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wo tsai Pei-ching ta-hsueh ti ching-li," IMLC, p. 315.

Ts'ai's brief resignation memorandum is in CC, p. 1115.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Min-kuo shih-erh-nien i-yueh shih-ch'ai jih wei Lo Wen-kan tsao fei-fa an-tz'u chih ch'eng" (January 17, 1923 resignation because of the illegal arrest of Lo Wen-kan), IMLC, p. 495.

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Min-kuo shih-erh-nien i-yueh erh-shih-san-jih wei Lo Wen-kan tsao fei-fa tai-pu an k'ang-i hsuan-yen" (January 23, 1923 protest of the illegal arrest of Lo Wen-kan), IMLC, pp. 496-99.

Ibid., p. 496; Hu Shih, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei i tz'u-chih wei k'ang-i" (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's use of resignation as a protest; January, 1923), CC, pp. 1428-29; Lin Yu-t'ang, "Chi Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng" Remembering Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 1470.


"Pei-ching ti hsueh-ch'ao" (The student atmosphere in Peking), Tung-fang tsa-chih, XX, no. 1 (January 10, 1923), pp. 17-19.


Hu Shih, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei ti pu-ho-tso chu-i" (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei's theory of non-cooperation; January, 1923), CC, pp. 1431-32; Hu Shih, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei yü Pei-ching chiao-yü-chiēh" (Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei and Peking educational circles), CC, pp. 1432-34.
Chapter VI

TS'AI'S PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT

Despite an active involvement in contemporary affairs, Ts'ai found time for contemplation of philosophical questions. His ideas were most fully presented in his *Outline of Philosophy*, written during his stay in France; but other writings, especially those on aesthetics, are also useful. Ta'si's philosophical speculations conformed closely to the traditional European categories of epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, and aesthetics. However, his writings leave the clear impression that he found discussion of the latter two more fruitful. Epistemology and metaphysics were thoroughly treated, but Ts'ai was hesitant about drawing any definite conclusions regarding questions of such an abstract nature. On the other hand, he was distinctly interested in the practical aspects of ethics and aesthetics.

Although he occasionally employed a Chinese concept or example for illustration, his main focus was on the basic problems of European philosophy. The dimensions of these problems developed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, culminating in Immanuel Kant's confrontation with David Hume's skepticism. Hume (1711-1776) was the supreme empiricist. He denied the existence of any innate ideas, postulating that all man's knowledge was the result of his impressions and experiences as gathered by sensual perceptions. He insisted that all vague, unclear ideas be made concrete by tracing them to the impressions from which they originated.

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Abstract reasoning, such as that involved in metaphysics, was suspect unless it rested on the solid ground of sensual perceptions. In fact, since objective reality was limited to immediate sensual impressions, Hume questioned all reasoning which departed very far from these basic starting points. He even denied validity to the analysis associated with scientific investigation. Such efforts merely produced subjective knowledge, no more substantial than a house of cards. Hume also expressed skepticism regarding accepted ideas of causality. For Hume, all events were just separate, distinct impressions. There existed no objective rationality linking separate events together. There was no objective reason for saying that one caused the other. If we see one ball move and hit another, and then the second ball moves, we assume that the action of the first ball causes the second to move. But according to Hume, there can be no objective, sensual knowledge of such causality. What we have done is to fallaciously reason post hoc, ergo propter hoc. Our reasoning in this manner was based on repeated experiences of this phenomenon. We have seen many balls strike another causing the struck ball to move. So we assume that some sort of causality is involved and that the struck ball will always move. Hume regarded this assumption as invalid, arguing that all beliefs of causality were merely the product of "habitual associations." If Hume is right, there is no guarantee that the sun will rise tomorrow.

Profoundly impressed by Hume's arguments, Kant (1724-1804) struggled to find a new route for rational speculation. He found it by changing the angle of vision with which he approached the process of analysis. Instead
of dealing with things in themselves, Kant proposed that the focus should be upon things as the mind perceived them. Thus, according to Kant, things in themselves were unknowable. The true reality of things lay in the noumenal world beyond human experience. Instead man's experience was limited to "phenomena," which were things as perceived by our minds. Kant then broadened his argument, contending that the mind "structured" all sensual impressions or phenomena according to certain innate principles resident within it. Thus, although our senses were the operative faculties, providing us with our impressions and experiences, all sensual perceptions had to be filtered through the mind and ordered according to the mind's inherent logic. All knowledge had to conform to such mind-structured ways of perception and understanding.

Here Kant comes to grips with Hume's skepticism. Hume argued that analysis was suspect because it was merely based on the habitual association of distinct sensual impressions. Kant, with his new angle of vision, maintained that analysis was legitimate because it stemmed not from sensual perceptions of things in themselves but from the mind's perception of impressions as organized by the mind's own governing principles. Rationality, then, was not just thrashing about in a world of subjective knowledge, without solid foundations. Rather, it was solidly grounded in certain innate, a priori principles. Kant's next task was to study the mind, seeking the "pure," "universal and necessary," and "transcendental" elements of the mind, through which all sensual impressions were filtered.

In thinking upon this matter, Kant began by citing the concepts of time and space as two basic principles of the mind. In Kant's view, time and space were no longer characteristics of events or things, but the product
of some innate, intuitive "systematizer" of the mind. Seeking other intuitive characteristics of the mind, Kant decided that rationality was another systematizer. All sensual impressions were ordered by the mind in accordance with its own innate need for rationality. Applying the principle of rationality to ethics and aesthetics, Kant was able to elaborate a rather detailed philosophy of moral behavior and aesthetic judgments. Thus, while initially limiting knowledge to the phenomenal world, Kant, through his transcendental approach, slightly opened the door to noumenal speculation which he had seemingly closed earlier.

Nineteenth century philosophers were all forced to confront Kantian ideas regarding the relation of experience to reality. It was necessary to ask whether, by restricting knowledge to the phenomenal world, wasn't Kant conceding Hume's main contention? Were the truly meaningful questions about reality unanswerable? Many denied that this was the case, and romanticism and idealism became fashionable outlooks. Romantic poets, composers, and painters flourished. Idealist philosophers, such as Hegel and Schopenhauer, offered their interpretations of reality. Moreover, despite Kant's Critique of Pure Reason, the rationalists did not abandon the field, and by the mid-nineteenth century rationalism—as represented by Comte's positivism, faith in science, and Spencer's Social Darwinism—gradually rose to predominance. Toward the turn of the century, neo-Kantianism or neo-idealism experienced a revival, with men such as Freud and Bergson seeking to penetrate beneath surface manifestations to a deeper reality. Such, in brief, was the context of European thought in which Ts'aoi worked. For a non-Westerner, his writings demonstrated a
remarkable knowledge of European philosophical trends.

Ts'ai's philosophical writings conformed, in organization, to the accepted European pattern. He began with basic definitions and then proceeded to the various formal divisions of the discipline. In seeking a definition of philosophy, Ts'ai reviewed earlier traditions from the broad Greek emphasis on the search for knowledge, through the English concern for man's conduct and consciousness, to the contemporary German interest in ethics. He opted for a general definition of philosophy as the highest form of learning, encompassing the material and intellectual worlds. It should seek to formulate both a view of the world and a philosophy of life (jen-sheng kuan) for individuals. Regarding the relation of philosophy to science, Ts'ai again traced the historical background. In ancient times, philosophy had been so broadly defined as to include science. More recently science had advanced so rapidly that philosophy was left an ever diminishing sphere of relevance. Ts'ai argued that the two should co-exist, each with its own specific role. Philosophy could assume the tasks of organizing and unifying scientific discoveries, questioning the directions and pointing out contradictions, and investigating those speculative questions which science has not yet answered. These unanswered questions embraced the fundamental categories of philosophical inquiry.

Beginning with epistemology, Ts'ai investigated various theories regarding the nature of knowledge. He reviewed the empiricist explanation that all knowledge came from sensual experiences; and the rationalistic counter that some knowledge, for example the self-evident axioms of logic
and mathematics, came from innate, a priori, insights within the mind. Ts'ai adopted a moderate stance, arguing that knowledge required a mixture of experience and reason, with each acting as a check against the other. This compromise actually avoided the central issue of the original source of knowledge. Ts'ai also tended to sidestep the other basic epistemological question of the relation between percepts and things. That is, whether an object which we perceive, such as a chair, really exists or whether it actually has no reality outside our own minds. Again, he reviewed the arguments, discussing the realist and idealist schools of thought, but concluding that the question was unresolvable. Neither side could be definitely judged right or wrong, and it seemed best to rely on the standard of common sense. Although this approach was far from infallible, whatever the majority considered to be real, such as chairs, tables, pens, etc., could probably be assumed to have objective existence. This somewhat unphilosophical interpretation of reality had a long tradition, its best known proponents belonging to the "Scottish school of common-sense philosophy."

In his metaphysics, Ts'ai discussed both ontology (composition of the universe) and cosmology (order of the universe). Regarding the former the fundamental question was whether matter or spirit composed the basic substance of the universe. He analyzed the debates between materialists (who reduce all spirit to matter, assigning ultimate reality to matter alone), idealists (who argue the reverse, reducing matter to spirit or consciousness as the prime substance), dualists (who consider both matter and spirit to co-exist separately), and monists (who maintain that matter and
spirit are both part of the same fundamental reality, being two different manifestations of something higher). After thoroughly presenting all sides, Ts'ai concluded that the metaphysical realm was too tenuous for human comprehension. Man couldn't even explain the source of such a simple sensation as hunger, how could he expect to understand the deepest questions associated with the original source of the universe? Similarly, Ts'ai voiced an open, but dubious, attitude toward discussions about the ultimate force or organizer of the universe. Citing Chinese and Western examples, he pointed out the ease with which labels might be assigned, such as T'ai-chi, Tao, or God. In Judaism it was called the Creator of all things, in Christianity the Trinity, for Spinoza an immanent causal force (yuán-yin), for Hegel a rational dialectic, for Schopenhauer the uncontrollable will. Despite many such profound attempts, and some that bordered on mere superstition, no verifiable answers were possible. Both epistemological and metaphysical questions, then, remained for Ts'ai within the noumenal realm and thus beyond the reach of man's rationality.

In his treatment of ethics, Ts'ai continued to view unanswerable theoretical questions with tolerant detachment. For example, he addressed himself to the problem of establishing objective values upon which all might agree. He pointed out that philosophers, in their attempts to define such standards, had listed pleasure, happiness, survival, and power as the four basic human drives. However, Ts'ai was quick to stress that such theories had been based on the conduct of the majority, and there were many exceptions. As examples he cited Mo-tzu who worked unstintingly
for his vision of a better society, and the Taoists whose ideal was submissiveness and harmony with nature. Correspondingly, the supposed Chinese ideal was the Tao, yet many Chinese were motivated by the four previous Western values. Ts'ai therefore concluded that there were no eternal, universal standards for all. Instead, each individual established his own values in accordance with the dictates of his own conscience. And, drawing upon his anthropological and psychological studies, he restated his interpretation that constant repetition of an act eventually made it habitual. Gradually, it unconsciously evolved into what might be termed "dictates of conscience." As these guidelines were accepted by the majority, they became institutionalized as customs, thus coming to form what was commonly regarded as morality. There was nothing transcendent about such codes of behavior, and they naturally changed with time and circumstances.

Here, dealing essentially with practical ethics, Ts'ai was on solid and familiar ground. Very early in his career he recognized that China's basic need was for a new Weltanschaung. New laws and institutions were unavailing unless people were supplied with some "article of faith" (hsin-t'iao) enabling them to distinguish between good and bad, and to live involved lives. In his ethical writings, Ts'ai focused directly on providing a new faith both satisfying to individuals and socially beneficial. He carefully constructed a vision of mankind moving from an ethic based on individualism, to utilitarianism, and finally to a kind of universalism. Individualism subordinated everything to the fact of one's own existence. Personal survival, material comfort, and emotional happiness were the supreme objectives. Self-development and the complete life were different
expressions of the same goal. Ts'ai recognized the appeal of such an ethic, but he pointed out the inevitable clash of egos if each individual thinks only of himself. Far better, he thought, would be a utilitarian ethic positing the welfare and advancement of society as the highest ideal. Society was an all-embracing, enduring entity, larger than the single individuals who composed it. Individuals should recognize that the whole was more important than its parts, willingly making sacrifices for the future good of the whole society. The final, supreme moral system was one in which men thought beyond their own societies to the needs of all humanity; and then even beyond this to include all animals, plants, and even inanimate things. All would be seen as part of the great, interconnected cosmos. Here was a utopian world in which man approached the transcendent noumenal frame of reference. This does seem to have overtones of neo-Confucian cosmology. But Ts'ai used none of the traditional neo-Confucian terms, such as "li, ch'i, or t'ai-chi, and probably he just had some undefined spiritual utopia in mind rather than any precise cosmological system.

Despite his vision of a distant utopia, Ts'ai recognized that China's immediate need was the fostering of a utilitarian ethic of social concern. As mentioned in earlier sections of this study, Ts'ai unceasingly preached the merits of self-sacrifice and duty. Three quick examples might include his ideas on the "ethics of citizenship," his discussion of the proper balance of rights and obligations, and the variety of inspirational appeals employed at Peita. Again and again he stressed the transcendent importance of the larger community, arguing that social progress was assured when
citizens worked together in a spirit of self-sacrifice and cooperation. He was a champion of Kropotkin's theory of mutual assistance, maintaining that man's evolutionary progress had resulted from his learning to apply the techniques of cooperation and mutual aid.

Always looking for new ways to express the same message, Ts'ai represented World War I as a battleground for the conflicting principles of competition and mutual aid. The Central Powers personified unrelenting competition and the Allies mutual aid; the former was darkness and the latter light. The Germans were convinced that the natural law of evolution was for the strong to eliminate the weak. However, argued Ts'ai, biologists had proven that evolution came not from the struggle for survival but rather from the ability to devise methods of cooperation, and the Allied victory seemed to confirm the effectiveness of mutual assistance.

Advocating mutual assistance, Ts'ai not surprisingly evidenced an interest in socialism. However, he viewed socialism as a conceivable, but distant, goal which could only develop if China lay the proper foundation for it. An appropriate moral and social atmosphere had to precede the introduction of socialism if the doctrine was to have a chance to endure. The moral atmosphere required precisely those qualities of self-sacrifice which Ts'ai was urging. Appropriate social conditions basically implied a labor force with political consciousness and organizing experience. Both preliminary steps could best be accomplished, in Ts'ai's opinion, by the educational and inspirational approach to which he had dedicated himself.

The final area of Ts'ai's philosophical thought was aesthetics. Ts'ai's interest in art and aesthetics had begun quite early. While
studying in France his textbooks for Chinese workers contained material on the arts, and he wrote a short study of the Renaissance painter, Raphael. This mostly consisted of a list and brief description of Raphael's most famous paintings.\textsuperscript{14} Ts'ai limited his critical remarks to the observation that Raphael had adhered unquestionably to the accepted styles of his time, some of which were considered unacceptable by contemporary standards. This struck Ts'ai as quite normal, and his theoretical writings on aesthetics stressed the view that aesthetic tastes were subjective and constantly changing.\textsuperscript{15} As with ethics, no absolute, universal standards could be established. There were always differences of opinion between experts and the masses, and even experts were rarely able to agree on aesthetic evaluations. Recognizing this, Ts'ai merely suggested that one be cautious in making such evaluations, thoroughly pondered an artistic creation and letting any initial strangeness wear off. To Ts'ai's mind one of the qualities which aesthetics might impart was that of tolerance regarding divergent opinions. Hopefully, aesthetic experiences would sufficiently broaden one's viewpoint so that the concept of heresy, which plagued religion, would never form a part of his makeup. Mao Tzu-shui, a graduate of Peita, relates a story illustrative of Ts'ai's own attitudes regarding taste.\textsuperscript{16} In the midst of a Peita conference concerning the most handsome style of student uniforms, Mao jumped up and blurted out that whatever was most appropriate, whether simple or elaborate, was beautiful. Ts'ai, who was present at the meeting, rose and quietly agreed with Mao.

Ts'ai wrote extensively on the origin and growth of artistic creativity.\textsuperscript{17} He traced beauty to flowers, animals, and birds. Nature provided
beautiful flowers, and animals and birds had beautiful fur or feathers. But, Ts'ai pointed out, all this was merely an endowment of nature and not an artistic creation. Birds even sang and built nests, but these were just instinctive acts. Only man had the ability to consciously create beauty. In searching for the origin of man's artistic sensitivities, Ts'ai cited archeological evidence and anthropological studies of surviving uncivilized tribes. He traced man's earliest artistic impulses back to ornaments, jewelry, and other adornments of the face and body. Gradually painting and sculpture developed, centering mostly around mundane themes such as hunting and fishing. The dance also was an early art form, and this gradually evolved more sophisticated styles until it became drama. Such primitive beginnings eventually developed into modern art forms which are themselves continuing the process of evolution.

Despite his evident competence concerning aesthetic theory, Ts'ai was most interested in the social applications of aesthetics. In the context of modern Chinese needs, he felt that aesthetics might help nurture pure and beautiful emotions in people, helping to spread a spirit of altruism.\(^{18}\) Appreciation of beauty, moreover, was a universal characteristic, and aesthetics would help create a tolerant, open-minded attitude toward all ideas. Basically, Ts'ai hoped that broader aesthetic education might lead individuals to transcend themselves, that is, to move beyond the restrictions of their own egos and thus pass from the phenomenal to the noumenal world. In practical terms, this meant making people more receptive to the ideas of cooperation and self-sacrifice. Ts'ai even devised a cradle to grave program for aesthetic education.\(^{19}\) Actually, beginning in the prenatal period with a quiet, scenic environment for the expectant mother, it
then detailed the various cultural experiences which a child should receive at each stage of its development. Moreover, since not all citizens could be reached through the normal educational structure, Ts'ai supported a widespread program of concerts, art exhibits, museums, public parks, lectures, etc.

Clearly, Ts'ai was here applying his basic convictions regarding the environmental approach to reform. The various suggestions outlined were designed to produce a new generation with more benevolent and refined temperaments. It was the only way to permanent reform. However, in his passion for this idea, Ts'ai sometimes became carried away. For example, he once revealed an "ideal" program of education in which children would be removed from their homes as soon they were weaned. On this occasion, Ts'ai expressed grave doubts about the value of education and training given children by their parents. Parents were generally too busy, too lenient, or too strict. They lacked special training, had no understanding of children's natures, and often provided bad examples by their own conduct. It would be much better to transfer a child, as soon as he was weaned, to a nursery school staffed by trained experts. The mother could find a job or devote herself to household duties.

The theme most associated with Ts'ai writings on aesthetics was his effort to substitute it for religion. Ts'ai realized that religious doctrine might contain many truths. Many spiritual questions remained beyond the scope of scientific investigation, and he urged that both religion and philosophy be freely probed in search of satisfactory answers. On the death of his wife, he revealed his own deep yearning to believe in an afterlife where he would dwell with her forever. But the established
religion of ceremonies and liturgy was regarded by Ts'ai as merely a residue of ancient superstitions. In Ts'ai's view, the origin and growth of religion could be easily traced. It succeeded by: first, answering ancient man's uncertainties about physical phenomena; second, spreading a "divinely inspired" moral spirit of cooperation in a time of destructive individualistic competition; and finally, exploiting man's love of beauty by establishing churches in scenic locations and formulating attractive rituals.23 By these means, religion unjustifiably embedded itself deeply within man's three most dominant "functions" (tso-yung)—knowledge (provided explanations of the physical world), will or faith (postulated an altruistic moral philosophy), and emotions (by catering to his love of beauty). But modern science, Ts'ai argued, had invalidated religious explanations of past mysteries. Social scientists had shown that moral values varied with time and place, and were thus not transcendentally unchangeable. Therefore, the only logical tie between man and religion was his emotional needs. Religion, however, stirred up (chi-tzu) man's emotions, especially since each religion was so dogmatically opposed to any divergence from its own orthodoxy. Wasn't it far better, Ts'ai asked, to eliminate religion and cultivate the pure universal emotions of aesthetics?

Ts'ai especially opposed the plan to make Confucianism a state religion, both because he thought it more an ethical system than a religion and because he opposed all state religions.24 A government, he argued, should be responsible for men's activities after birth and before death; it should not be concerned with the period before birth and after death. Ts'ai was
also active in larger anti-religion movements. In response to a meeting of the World Student Christian Federation at Tsinghua University in April 1922, a group of intellectuals (Li Shih-tseng, Wu Chih-hui, Wang Ching-wei, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, and Ts'ai) organized the Great Federation of Antireligionists. This body convened April 9, 1922 at Peita, and Ts'ai upheld the principle of religious freedom but firmly advocated the separation of education from religion.

Ts'ai philosophical writings reveal an impressive familiarity with Western intellectual history. It is indicative of the breadth of his Western background that he could write knowledgeably about so many diverse Western figures. Moreover, he treated them all to careful analysis. The case of Kant, the giant of modern European philosophy, provides a clear illustration. Ts'ai had great respect for Kant and was attracted to the concept of two spheres of reality. However, while inclined toward Kant's initial assumption, he refused to draw the same implications from it. He was not persuaded that the mind contained certain innate systematizers, which made universal "categorical imperatives" feasible. For Ts'ai, there were no universal standards, either in ethics or aesthetics, and all values gradually evolved according to the unpredictable needs of society. He rejected Kant's idea that the rightness of an act was related to some internal, a priori standards of the mind. Instead, he preferred the utilitarian interpretation which judged rightness by the consequences of an act. For Ts'ai, the criterion was usefulness of society. Here he was also departing, in theory, from the neo-Confucian emphasis on the Tao as the ultimate goal of all action. However, as mentioned
previously, in practice Ts'ai considered many neo-Confucian attitudes to be useful, indeed essential, to social welfare.

It is evident that this was Ts'ai's deepest concern. He was competent in dealing with philosophical abstractions, but he was most interested in the practical needs of mankind. The problems of contemporary China were too pressing to permit the luxury of pointless theorizing. Epistemological and metaphysical questions were unresolvable, but the crucial questions of Chinese reform were more tangible. Here Ts'ai was on solid footing, and he confidently reiterated the same inspirational message that he had expressed elsewhere. Empty theorizing was useless, but equally meaningless was material reform without a new moral and spiritual climate. The new climate might contain many elements that were old, but what was essential was a new commitment. A few faith was required, and this called more for a preacher than a philosopher. In these circumstances Ts'ai, who could be either, chose to be more of a preacher. It is to his credit that he made that choice.
NOTES

CHAPTER 6


2 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Che-hsueh ta-kang" (Outline of Philosophy), CC, pp. 106-07.

3 Ibid., pp. 107-09; Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Che hsueh yü k’o-hsueh" (Philosophy and science; January, 1919), CC, pp. 490-93.


5 Ibid., pp. 122-31.

6 Ibid., pp. 132-34.

7 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "K’o-hsueh chih hsiu-yang" (The cultivation of science; March, 1919), IMLC, pp. 474-77.

8 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Che-hsueh ta-kang," CC, pp. 134-37.

9 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Shih-chieh kuan yü jen-sheng juan" (World view and philosophy of life; April, 1913), CC, pp. 459-63.

10 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Hei-an yu kuang-ming ti hsiao-ch’ang" (The ebb and flow of darkness and light; November, 1918), CC, p. 765.

11 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Wo chih Ou-chan kuan" (My view of the European war), IMLC, p. 28; Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Ou-chan yu che-hsueh" (The European war and philosophy), Hsin ch’ing-nien, V, no. 5 (October, 1918), pp. 494-96.

12 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "She-hui chu-i shih hsü" (Preface to the History of Socialism), Hsin ch’ing-nien, VII, no. 1 (September, 1920), pp. 13-16.


14 Ts’ai Yuan-p’ei, "Lai-fei-erh" (Raphael), CC, pp. 181-89.
15 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Mei-shu ti p'ing ti hsiaung-tui-hsing" (The relativity of judgments on art), IMLC, pp. 248-49.

16 Mao Tzu-shui, "Tui-yü Ts'ai hsien-sheng ti i-hsieh hu-i" (Some memories of Mr. Ts'ai), Chuan-chi wen-huaeh, X, no. 1 (1967), p 36.

17 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Mei-shu ti ch'i-yuan" (The origin of art), IMLC, pp. 256-76; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Mei-shu ti chin-hua" (The evolution of art), IMLC, pp. 236-40.

18 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "I mei-yü tai tsung-chiao shuo" (Substituting aesthetics for religion; 1917), IMLC, pp. 229-33; Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Wen-hua yün-tung pu yao wang-le mei-yü" (The cultural movement should not overlook aesthetics; 1919), IMLC, pp. 234-35. Apparently, Ts'ai was able to nurture the proper emotions in himself; see Wang Yün-wu, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng pai-ling tan-ch'en chi-nien chi t'ung-hsiaung mu-shih chin tz'u" (Remarks on Ts'ai's 100th birthday and the unveiling of his bust), CC, p. 3.

19 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Mei-yü shih-shih ti fang-fa" (Ways of implementing aesthetic education; 1922), IMLC, pp. 241-47.

20 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "I'en-erh-yuan yü p'in-erh chiao-yü ti kuan-hsi" (The relationship between houses for the poor and education for the poor; March 15, 1919), CC, pp. 771-72.

21 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Ts'ai Ch'ing-hua hsueh-hsiao kao-teng-k'o yen-shuo" (Speech to the senior class of Tsing-hua University; March 29, 1917), CC, pp. 725-28.

22 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Chi Huang fu-jen wen," CC, p. 527.

23 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "I mei-yü tai tsung-chiao shuo," IMLC, pp. 229-33.

24 Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei, "Po tsun K'ung-chiao wei kuo-chiao shuo" (In opposition to making Confucianism the state religion; 1917), IMLC, pp. 29-31; "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng tsai hsin-chiao tai-yu-hui chih yen-shuo" (Ts'ai Chieh-min's speech at the Religious Freedom Society), Hsin ch'ing-nien, II, no. 5 (January, 1917), pp. 435-37.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei enjoys the unusual distinction of being well treated in both Nationalist and Mainland accounts. Nationalist writers praise him for his highmindedness and his many political, educational, and social contributions.¹ Included among the latter are his early revolutionary activities, his opposition to Yuan Shih-k'ai and advocacy of a responsible cabinet, his tenure as Minister of Education, and, most important, his years as Chancellor of Peking University. Ts'ai's reforms at Peita are generally regarded as vital to the regeneration of China's youth, and closely tied to the May Fourth Movement. The intellectual currents of the May Fourth period have not always been looked upon with favor by the Kuomintang.² Nonetheless, Ts'ai, perhaps because of his opposition to student activism and his respect for Confucian virtues, has received almost unqualified acclaim in Nationalist sources. Only Lo Chia-lun, a former student, offers slight criticism of Ts'ai policy of academic freedom which, he feels, enabled Communist propaganda to begin the beguilement of native Chinese youths.³

The Mainland evaluation also contains much that is favorable.⁴ It praises Ts'ai for consistent leftism and progressivism, for his unrelenting resistance to reactionary elements in Chinese society, and for his advocacy of democracy and women's rights. It applauds Ts'ai's transformation of Peita and his insistence on intellectual freedom,
which served to shelter new ideas in their infancy. Ts'ai's policies at Peita granted progressive thinkers both a haven and a platform. Thus, at a critical time, Ts'ai contributed to the cause of progressivism, including Communism. But the Mainland position, with its Marxist perspective, also contains a critical dimension. There Ts'ai's thought is assessed as progressive for its time, but not very thorough (pu ch'e-ti) by modern standards. Although he recognized the existence of classes, Ts'ai opposed class struggle as tending toward more chaos. Instead he tried to "harmonize" the classes, eliminate selfishness, and develop an atmosphere of public-spiritedness. Moreover, Ts'ai's efforts to reform society through spiritual regeneration and education overlooked the urgent need to change China's material conditions. Finally, while Ts'ai's opposition to religion was actually one means to resist imperialist encroachments, Ts'ai had no conception of it as such. In fact, he did not understand the techniques of imperialism and opposed religion purely on scientific and social grounds. In Marxist terms, then, Ts'ai's ideas were hopelessly impractical and earn for him the label "bourgeois idealist."  

Of course, the ready labels and categories of Marxist historiography are always open to debate. Ts'ai's class background might possibly be considered bourgeois since his family had long engaged in small business enterprises. But his education and early career linked him more closely with the literati, a class always ill-suited to Marxist categorization. Moreover, it is certainly debatable whether Ts'ai's viewpoints were impractical and idealistic. As Mainland accounts
acknowledge, Ts'ai had a clear understanding of the existence of class divisions and social inequities. His ultimate objective was, as with Communism, a classless society in which all workers, regardless of the nature of their work, would contribute selflessly to a utopian world. His methods for realizing this objective, however, differed considerably from Marxist doctrines. Instead of viewing class conflict as the inevitable course, Ts'ai hoped that the moderate approach of reorienting men's attitudes would achieve the desired result. Widespread education and a new environment would produce a generation with more altruistic attitudes. Self-sacrifice and duty would be virtually inbred, and on this foundation a better society could rise. Others might regard Ts'ai as an idealist, but he considered his ideas practical means to reform. And his patriotism and devotion to a strong, independent China is an indubitable fact. His early interest in reform was sparked by China's desperate weakness in the nineteenth century. Underlying all his writings and activities was an implicit dedication to a new China able to confront all the challenges of the modern world. Reportedly, Ts'ai's last words were: "Science can save the nation." Most appropriately, then, his very last words were "save the nation." This end obsessed everyone. Only the means were open to question.

As mentioned earlier, the period under study was one of searching intellectual debate. It was a time when concerned Chinese struggled for viable answers to China's problems. The nineteenth century witnessed numerous efforts to fashion a workable synthesis of Western and Chinese ideas. These characteristically took Chinese spiritual
values as their core, limiting Western imports to military and technical skills. Toward the end of the century, especially following the Sino-Japanese War, many Chinese became receptive to new approaches. K'ang Yu-wei's "new text" interpretation flourished briefly, but its influence was limited by the unsuccessful reform effort of 1898. Of more lasting importance were the ideas advanced by Yen Fu. Yen recognized that the "wealth and power" of the West stemmed from more than its military and technological superiority. Its strength, instead, rested on the political, social, and intellectual structure of the entire society. Therefore, to achieve "wealth and power" China needed a critical reassessment of its most basic assumptions and values, an approach previously closed to Chinese reformers. Specifically, Yen mentioned such established attitudes as: China's respect for tradition compared with the West's love for the new, China's cyclical view of history and the West's conviction of limitless progress, and China's emphasis on harmony and quietude as opposed to the West's glorification of struggle and achievement.

Of course, Yen is best known for his popularization of Herbert Spencer and the idea of evolution, and for the peculiar way in which he interpreted Spencer to support his own view of China's needs. Yen tended to view the West's strength as stemming from the two values of "energy" and "public service" which seemed to pervade Western society. Although he appreciated Spencer's contention that the energy of the West was best liberated by an atmosphere of individualism, he distorted the thrust of Spencer's argument by shifting the emphasis from individual
liberty to the welfare of the state. China, to achieve the desired goals, had to cultivate the Western habits of dynamism and concern for the public welfare.

Despite the progressive character of his ideas, Yen was conservative when it came to their implementation. Partly this was due to a timid and scholarly temperament. But mostly it resulted from the substance of his reform philosophy. Reform in China required an evolutionary, gradualistic, altering of the basic foundations of society. The ground had to be carefully cultivated and seeded before a strong crop could sprout. What was needed was an orderly remaking of Chinese attitudes, which demanded the patient creation of a new atmosphere.

In the early twentieth century Liang Ch'i-ch'ao became the chief spokesman for this gradualistic approach to reform. In polemical battles with Sun Yat-sen's Min-pao, Liang upheld an evolutionary program to create new people, with new Western attitudes such as aggressiveness, rationalism, and patriotism. Essentially, Liang sought change within the system. New dedication would make the system work more effectively. Partly because of these convictions and partly because he feared foreign intervention, Liang opposed the anti-Manchu revolutionaries. Although recent research indicates some revolutionary sentiments in Liang, he was most closely associated with the advocacy of a constitutional monarchy and a responsible parliamentary system. 

Counterpoised to Liang in the early twentieth century were Sun Yat-sen and the revolutionaries. This group blamed the Manchus for China's
backwardness and plotted to overthrow them. They tended to be vague regarding specific reform proposals, although generally they were inclined to be more aggressively anti-traditional and more hopeful of rapid change. According to Sun, it was time to "make one all-out effort and be forever after at ease."

However, the distinctions between twentieth century "reformers" and "revolutionaries" should not be overdrawn. In many ways their objectives were similar, and they stood as one in their rejection of nineteenth century approaches to reform. By now the transition from t'ien-hsia to kuo-chia was accepted by all. Reform required a reassessment of all the assumptions of Chinese society. The basic fabric of the nation, including customs, institutions, and outlooks was opened to critical appraisal. Confucianism, with its paternalism and passiveness, was viewed as an obstacle to the kinds of attitudes necessary to a modern society. However, there was considerable disagreement regarding exactly which specific aspects of Confucianism were outmoded and what elements of Western learning could be advantageously imported. Increasingly, and especially during the New Thought period, all the various "isms's" were tested for their relevance to China's needs.

From 1898 Ts'ai was an active participant in this process. He admired and associated with both "reformers" and "revolutionaries." However, as his ideas took shape they tended to conform to the gradualist approach, and he remained a "patient reformer" even when it was unfashionable to be one. This concluding chapter will try to trace the roots and growth of Ts'ai's ideas. His devotion to a reformed China
existed from the beginning, but only time allowed him to define the kind of reform needed and the means to achieve it. The final expression of Ts'ai's ideas was a product of his broad background which embraced both Chinese and Western learning.

Fundamental to Ts'ai's evolving system of thought was his early Confucian training. He pursued the orthodox program of Confucian education, memorizing the Classics and writing eight-legged essays. Greatly impressed by the neo-Confucian emphasis on self-examination, he took as his model Liu Tsung-chou, a Shachsing neo-Confucian official who starved himself to death rather than serve the new Manchu masters whom he considered unworthy. From youth, Confucian attitudes molded Ts'ai's character, and his life exemplified the ideal Confucian pattern. Frequently compared with the Duke of Chou, Ts'ai was said to possess the perfect Confucian spirit—gentle, upright, courteous, temperate, and yielding (wen, liang, kung, chien, jang). Numerous witnesses have testified to his complete dedication to his work. Except for an extensive library, his material possessions were extremely scant. In a time of widespread corruption, Ts'ai's estate was so limited that, following his death, financial help from friends and former students was required to educate his children. He was, by all accounts, most accommodating toward others and rarely rejected a request for a letter of reference or preface to a book. In fact, in 1935, he became so overwhelmed that he was forced to call a halt to such activities. Pleading advancing age, he terminated his affiliations with some twenty-five boards of trustees, announced he would accept no further writing
assignments (until he had cleared his backlog), and declared he would write no more letters of reference (since, in many instances, numerous applicants for the same job held letters from him, thus completely canceling all his efforts).\textsuperscript{12}

While seriously dedicating himself to the hsiu-shen (self-cultivation) aspect of Confucianism, Ts'ai obviously did not neglect the complimentary p'ing t'ien-hsia (order the world) obligation. Despite an interest in scholarship, his attention rarely wandered from its central focus on solving China's practical problems.\textsuperscript{13} Despite the political atmosphere and the frustrations of working for reform amidst corruption, Ts'ai seemingly never accepted defeat. Like a censor, he fearlessly maintained his own version of the truth regardless of personal consequences. He was found of citing the ancient lines: "When the weather is stormy, the fowls do not stop their cry." (Feng yu ju jui, ch'i min pu i). That is, even in bad times, good men have the courage to speak out. However, Ts'ai's "fighting spirit" was tempered by the moderate's ability to compromise.\textsuperscript{14} He often remarked that the main strength of Confucianism was its eclectic nature, its facility for blending divisive elements into a harmonious proper balance between contending positions. He seemed temperamentally inclined toward compromise. On most issues, such as Western vs. Chinese traditions, wen-yen vs. pai-hua, and individualism vs. public welfare, he adopted the moderate stance of compromise.

Needless to say, Ts'ai was not without human failings. He had, for example, cultivated a taste for Shaohsing wine and insisted on
having it served with his afternoon and evening meals. He was also an uncommonly poor orator, speaking in an uninspiring monotone and a Shachsing accent. Finally, his self-contained manner often verged on aloofness, and despite efforts to appear friendly he apparently had no knack for putting people at their ease.

Ts'ai's Confucian background enabled him to make rapid progress within the traditional bureaucratic structure. He passed the examinations at an unusually early age and quickly established a place for himself within the official world. But his success came at a time of increasing challenge to the orthodox system. The events of the 1890's, especially the Sino-Japanese War, disturbed Ts'ai and prompted him to begin reading translations of Western works. The reform attempt of 1898 evoked his support and sympathy. He especially admired T'an Ssu-t'ung and his Jen-hsueh (Study of Jen). T'an viewed Jen (benevolence) as a common component of the thinking of three outstanding religious leaders—Buddha, Confucius, and Jesus. He worked toward a synthetic philosophy, blending divergent traditions into a composite applicable to China's needs. The fundamental emphasis, however, was on spiritual regeneration and the power of the heart (hsin-li). While not specifically singling out Jen, Ts'ai's own reform philosophy similarly emphasized spiritual regeneration.

Ts'ai has written that the failure of the Hundred Days Reform taught him two lessons. He recognized the futility of working for reform within the Manchu government, and he realized that permanent reform required the understanding of an educated citizenry. Consistent
with these beliefs he resigned his official position and returned to Shaohsing. At this time his ideas were still in the formative stage. He vaguely knew the Manchus had to be removed and China had to undergo reform. He had no positive plans for either, except a commitment to broaden China's educational base. Despite this commitment to education, Ts'ai's overall approach was still very paternalistic. He thought in terms of creating an atmosphere, through widespread education, more receptive to changes initiated by the qualified few. The masses were to give some undefined support to the changes, but Ts'ai has no immediate intention of instituting a democracy in which the masses participated in the selection of new policies. Ts'ai's views, then, conformed closely to the Confucian ideal of government, whereby an elite ruled but only with the implicit approval of the masses. Moreover, he had no clear idea of exactly what changes should be worked in Chinese society. He had only an awareness of China's weakness and a willingness to investigate Western learning for possible solutions.

At Shaohsing Ts'ai became supervisor of a school which placed considerable emphasis on Western learning. During the early years of the twentieth century he continued an active role within progressive educational circles. Wherever he taught he attempted to provide a Western orientation to the curriculum, emphasizing independent thinking and lecturing on Western history. These years also saw him involved in revolutionary affairs. He associated with prominent revolutionary figures, was a founder of the Restoration Society, and became a member of the T'ung-meng hui. Ts'ai's journalistic endeavors also were progressive,
and he was active on the Su-pao and the Warning Bell News. However, his attitude was more reformist than revolutionary. He advocated the removal of the Manchus, not as an act of racial vengeance, but because they were a conservative force blocking reform. He also was inclined to see reform as a gradual process of educating and reorientating the viewpoints of society. But he had no precisely formulated schedule of reform in mind. Like so many others, Ts'ai recognized China's obvious weaknesses, but he was still searching for the appropriate direction of reform.

At this time, Ts'ai began directing his energies toward finding a way to study in the West. Finally, in 1907 at the age of thirty-nine, he began a four year stay in Germany. Here his studies and experiences exposed him to two prevailing European strains of thought. First, he encountered the traditional European viewpoints of rationalism and liberalism (or rather the environmentalist aspect of liberal reformism). He was convinced of the value of rational analysis and the efficacy of the scientific method. All practical problems seemed amenable to reason, and material progress was assured if men could abide by the rule of reason. He also became committed to the liberal conviction that social reform was possible if positive improvements could be worked in the social environment. Human behavior was seen as a product of the conditioning received during the process of maturation. Changes in man's environment would produce predictable changes in man's attitudes. Social reform, then, depended on the long term effects of environmental reform. The second influential European strain of
thought was neo-Kantianism of neo-idealism, prevalent in the early twentieth century as a reaction against nineteenth century materialism. Neo-Kantianism stressed the Kantian division of the universe into two realms of reality. The phenomenal world was composed of the "phenomena" which we perceived with our sense. However, a deeper, truer reality resided within the noumenal realm, beyond the reach of man's experience. In the twentieth century context, adherents recognized the validity of science and reason to advance man's knowledge of the phenomenal world. However, they postulated that the most meaningful truths lay within the noumenal world, and progress in this area depended on supra-rational techniques associated with the inner resources of the spirit.

Ts'ai found both currents of European thought convincing. He became a consistent advocate of rationalism, urging open-minded analysis of all viewpoints. He pursued this ideal in his own writings, while Minister of Education, and as Chancellor of Peita. Environmental assumptions, which meshed so nicely with certain basic Confucian attitudes, formed the foundation of the reform philosophy which he gradually evolved. But the Neo-Kantian noumenal sphere also remained an ultimate goal for Ts'ai, although he carefully remembered China's more immediate needs. As with all things, he searched for the proper blend, trying to fit the various separate philosophical strands into a coherent whole.

During his stay in Germany, Ts'ai completed his first major work of scholarship, entitled The History of Chinese Ethics. Careful reading of it reveals Ts'ai's ideas beginning to take shape. One can perhaps see the meshing of two outlooks, Chinese and Western, into a coherent whole.
The overall tone is one of objective analysis. Nothing in Chinese History was treated as sacred, and all was subjected to critical scrutiny. Classical thinkers were criticized for logical flaws in argument, and they were praised for urging new approaches to new problems. The study, then, was characterized by a basic open-mindedness. So-called truths were to be carefully studied, using the scientific approach. Those withstanding the test of reason were acceptable; the others could be legitimately dismissed. However, despite this iconoclastic attitude, Ts'ai praised certain aspects of Confucianism. He had great respect for its moderation and flexibility, which allowed the eclecticism necessary for survival. He was especially appreciative of Confucian techniques of social control. Rejecting the harsh coercion of Legalism, it utilized moral persuasion which virtually moved people to regulate themselves. The elite, too, were swayed by similar techniques, and an obligation to public service became part of their accepted code of behavior.

By the time Ts'ai's stay in Germany came to a close his ideas had progressed noticeably toward crystallization. He had formed a clear view of the mechanics of social development, and the view seemed based on valid, "scientific," evidence. He had developed an orderly schedule of the priorities of reform. Since environmental changes were of pre-eminent importance, all energies should be concentrated on patiently remaking the fundamental components of Chinese society. However, the exact substance of the new environment was still open to debate. Its creation, according to Ts'ai, should be a product of the critical
assessment of Chinese and Western traditions. To Ts'ai's mind, many Confucian values were worth retention, but he was certainly willing to subject his views, and all others, to the process of rational appraisal. The strongest ideas would survive the challenge of rational appraisal. Ts'ai's faith in the scientific approach was characteristic of virtually all the intellectuals of this period, both Chinese and Western.\(^{19}\) However, always wary of dogmatism, Ts'ai limited his scientific attitude by a parallel commitment to neo-Kantianism. He recognized that his plans for social reform were only valid with respect to the phenomenal world. The higher noumenal point of view always remained an ideal objective.

One shouldn't form the mistaken conclusion that Ts'ai arrived in Germany with a "tabula rasa" and returned with a fully developed philosophy of reform. He left China with a background within the Confucian bureaucracy and a deep, though critical, commitment to many Confucian values. He also had formulated a preliminary approach to reform which rested upon faith in the benefits of education. Not surprisingly, the Western ideas Ts'ai found most attractive were those which blended smoothly with the basic viewpoints of his earlier background. The environmental interpretation of reform is not very different from the neo-Confucian orientation in which Ts'ai matured. The entire Confucian structure rested on the assumption that human nature was naturally good, and man was therefore perfectible. Proper moral cultivation and proper training could produce a good man, even a sage. A fundamental technique of Confucian government was to influence the environment which
conditioned everyone, channeling thoughts along morally and socially acceptable paths. A good society, then, was the product of good men; and good men resulted from proper education and proper guidance. Similarly, the neo-Kantian hypothesis of a higher reality remains one of such transcendent Confucian concepts as the Tao and the T'ai-chi. Familiar with neo-Confucian cosmology, with its Buddhist influences, Ts'ai was receptive to ideas of an ultimate reality beyond that immediately subject to man's perceptions. It is a natural human response to identify new impressions with concepts which are familiar. Faced with a deluge of new ideas, Ts'ai gravitated toward those which tended to support the general assumptions he had already held valid.

It is not true, however, that Ts'ai learned nothing new in Germany and that his entire attitude was just traditionalism with a new vocabulary. Certainly he continued to respect specific Confucian virtues, but he did so because he deemed them useful for the reform of China—not because they were Confucian or because they advanced one toward sagehood. The all-embracing Confucian framework, with its unity of morality and politics, no longer retained validity. He freely distinguished between various Confucian elements, denying the traditional assumptions about their integral relation to the Tao. Moreover, while continuing to believe that a better environment would produce better men, and ultimately a better society, Ts'ai felt free to draw upon Western and Chinese ideas to form the components of the environment. With a deep faith in the potential of reason, Ts'ai wanted to thoroughly analyze all plans and programs, regardless of their sources, which
might bring reform to China. His precise vision of reform was no clearer than somehow correcting the many obvious indications of Chinese backwardness and weakness. The reform philosophy which Ts'ai gradually evolved managed to harmonize competing intellectual loyalties which were products of his experiences in two cultures. For Confucians, men might be reformed by exposure to the Classics and to superior men imbued with the proper virtues. For Westerners, reform would come if the proper rational, or natural, environment could be provided. Ts'ai accepted the premise that man was a product of his environment, and he critically examined both Chinese and Western ideas in order to formulate the best environment.

In 1911, Ts'ai returned to China to become Minister of Education, with a chance to implement some of the ideas he had developed. His immediate concern was to shift the spirit of Chinese education toward Republican objectives. He updated textbooks to eliminate references to the Emperor, introduced co-education, and broadened the program of adult education. His basic philosophy was fully revealed in the five theme curriculum of military, utilitarian, ethical, worldview, and aesthetic education. The practical requisites of modern society were recognized within the spheres of military and utilitarian education. Ts'ai wrote knowingly of China's need to become militarily strong and industrially developed. But, of greater importance were the spiritual and intellectual perquisites. Ts'ai was attempting to provide China with a new atmosphere through the educational process. Ethical education was essential to instill the proper moral qualities. World-view and
aesthetic education were designed to broaden and refine Chinese perspectives. The ultimate goal was the noumenal realm, but Ts'ai's immediate concern was moral and spiritual uplift. His mission was almost evangelical. He wanted to evoke new attitudes of altruism and self-sacrifice among all citizens. Again, one can see a mixture of Western and Chinese viewpoints within Ts'ai's reform framework. He was Western in assigning education a significant role in developing China's military and industrial capacity. Education was no longer viewed solely as a search for self-cultivation, sagehood, and the Tao. But traditional moral and ethical concerns still retained crucial, in fact primary, importance. Chinese reform was dependent upon the creation of a solid environmental base. But the environment was to be composed of Confucian moral values as well as new Western viewpoints.

In 1912, Ts'ai resigned his post as Minister of Education in protest against Yuan Shih-k'ai's dictatorial policies. He spent the next four years in Europe, mostly in France. There he became involved in the work-study program which enabled numerous Chinese to live and study inexpensively in France. The work-study concept is quite foreign to traditional Chinese attitudes regarding student life, but Ts'ai saw nothing wrong with students working part time. During this period he also composed a number of ethics textbooks for Chinese workers in France. These reveal Ts'ai's desire to expose the average Chinese to Western history and ideas. But their chief concern was clearly to instill a spirit of responsibility and group orientation. As with so many other Chinese, perhaps beginning with Yen Fu, Ts'ai was trying to work a
compromise between conflicting Western and Chinese attitudes toward individualism. Ts'ai struggled continually with his desire to stimulate individual initiative and yet orient the newly awakened individual toward social consciousness. As mentioned previously, he sometimes evaded the issue by urging both viewpoints, but more often he leaned heavily toward the side of group responsibility as one of the primary components of a new social environment. He urged individual subordination to the group, then, not because of yearnings for old traditions, but rather because of aspirations for a new society.

In 1917 Ts'ai began his tenure as Chancellor of Peking University. He saw his main task to be eliminating the sterile moral and intellectual atmosphere. He tended to apply at Peita the same reform approach he wished to see implemented throughout all of Chinese society. That is, highest priority was assigned to changing the moral, spiritual, and intellectual environment. Changes in attitudes were all-important. Ts'ai tried to impart a sense of challenge to staff and students, stimulating them with calls for both self-development and service. The Association for the Advancement of Morality was formed, emphasizing the virtues of self-discipline and self-examination. Ts'ai sought to instill a critical approach to learning, urging students to analyze Chinese and Western traditions in search of their basic strengths and weaknesses. He encouraged the broadest spectrum of opinions, sponsoring a climate of intellectual controversy. All viewpoints were expected to contend, the resulting interaction producing a survival of the fittest. In human affairs Ts'ai favored mutual assistance, but in the
realm of ideas he felt competition the best policy. Ts'ai succeeded in creating an exciting atmosphere of concerned inquiry among faculty and students. Peita became the focal point for the common themes of commitment and optimism regarding China's problems. All China's fundamental beliefs were subject to criticism. Weakness and backwardness were no longer passively accepted. Rather, reasons were sought and new policies debated. A spirit of optimism pervaded Peita. All problems were looked upon as resolvable provided the right solutions were adopted. The crucial preoccupation was with finding the correct solutions.

Ts'ai's leadership was a major factor shaping these developments at Peita. His definitions of China's problems and his philosophy of reform came clearly into focus during his early years at Peita. He treated China's political corruption, economic weakness, and social inequities as surface manifestations of a deeper malady. The real problem lay within the deepest recesses of the Chinese spirit. The total society had to undergo a spiritual regeneration, an intellectual renaissance, before political, economic, and social reform could be meaningful. However, it is apparent that the renewal process which Ts'ai envisioned was designed both to awaken certain traditional attitudes long dormant and to introduce new outlooks quite alien to Chinese tradition. Ts'ai frequently applied the term 'Renaissance' to the desired operation, but this perhaps has too many Western overtones to provide an accurate picture of Ts'ai's intentions. The new environment Ts'ai sought was new in the sense that he hoped it would contain
dynamic rather than passive attitudes toward problems; a critical, scientific, and open-minded approach to learning; and a controlled element of individualism and initiative. But it was not really new in the sense that he wished for a revitalization of such Confucian outlooks as self-examination, moral cultivation, and a missionary zeal for public service. This is why it is misleading to think of Ts'ai purely in terms of traditionalism and Westernism. He had loyalties to both, but his fundamental loyalty was to the Chinese state. He clearly has made the transition in outlook from tien-hsia to kuo-chia. China had to be changed so it could meet the diverse challenges of modern life, and Ts'ai measured all ideas, whether Chinese or Western, against this standard. He was not specifically looking for a face-saving synthesis, but as he developed his general program of reform, with a strong China as his goal, the final composite naturally included elements from both cultures.

The May Fourth Incident provided a fair test of the strength of Ts'ai's convictions. An atmosphere of political activism gripped the country, and it took a courageous man to voice a contrary opinion. But Ts'ai steadfastly rejected political activism, reasserting his own unfashionable view of the priorities of reform. Political upheavals were futile unless preceded by fundamental moral and intellectual changes. Students had a special obligation to contribute to the creation of a new moral climate. Student protesters, then, while praised for their patriotism were urged to direct their energies in more productive directions. China in its desperate condition could not afford the
luxury of political movements. The roots of weakness were set deeply within Chinese society. The need was for further efforts along the lines of the New Thought Movement, that is a program directed toward changing attitudes rather than politics. Ts'ai wanted China to go through the rejuvenation that Europe had experienced with its Renaissance. Here he was careless in drawing historical parallels, but essentially what he wanted for China was a new spirit of life-assertion. A new dynamism would replace passivism, new vistas would widen the parochial Confucian viewpoint, and a new rationalism would characterize China's approach to practical problems. If China could just be allowed four decades of tranquility to work the transformation, it could then occupy an equal place among the world's nations.

Here, of course, was the flaw. It was naive to think that China might be granted forty years for quiet intellectual growth. Both domestic and international affairs were too volatile for that. Moreover, few might be expected to have the saintlike patience of Ts'ai, who was prepared to work selflessly for a distant goal beyond the horizon. The young, especially, are not noted for such patience, and many accepted Ts'ai's call to public service but followed their own interpretations of China's needs. Ts'ai never openly expressed his thoughts regarding such matters. He certainly recognized the disruptive political climate and its impact on the moral atmosphere which he was trying to improve. His final resignation represented a dramatic attempt to reverse the process of political deterioration. But such difficulties did not alter Ts'ai's assessment of China's needs or his interpretation of the
priorities of reform. He did not, for instance, shift his emphasis toward a strong party organization, or freedom from Western encroachments, or new industrial projects. These were all necessary in the long-run, but the vital first step toward China's salvation still remained a new intellectual, moral, and spiritual foundation upon which more material changes might rest securely.

During the post-May Fourth period, Ts'ai divided his attention between travel abroad and continuing reforms at Peita. Much of his time was devoted to making Peita's administration more democratic and trying to free education from political controls. This period also saw Ts'ai and Peita much involved in spreading education to the masses, with night schools and various adult education programs. Ts'ai was certainly enthusiastic about such ventures, and in fact his interest in broader education dated back to the nineteenth century. But this does not mean that Ts'ai was becoming democratic, according to Western definitions of that term. The general tone of Ts'ai's reform sentiments still left the distinct impression of paternalism. The elite were to serve as examples and raise the level of understanding among the masses as high as possible. But there was never any mention of the masses playing an active part in decision making. They were still relegated to the vague role of understanding and assenting to reform. Their moral and intellectual development was basic to the new environment Ts'ai envisioned, but their essential responsibilities within a new society were never elaborated. For Ts'ai, the immediate concern was producing a new environment, and that could best be accomplished through the
efforts of a dedicated elite.

After the May Fourth Incident, Ts'ai intensified his efforts to orient students toward his version of social obligations. In a leap of faith he argued that history proved that as men matured they realized that self-sacrifice and duty were the highest ideals. It was one of the obligations of education to foster this maturation process, showing that in the balance between personal development and service to society the pendulum should tip toward the latter. And the services which society demanded of students were far more meaningful than mere rabble-rousing. Students should prepare themselves to make enduring contributions to social welfare. These would come from practical application of their studies and through the examples they set for the masses.

Ts'ai's philosophical writings are useful for demonstrating the breadth of his intellectual interests. His knowledge of Western thought was remarkable and his competence with philosophical theory impressive. But his writing is most striking as an indication of the deep social orientation of Ts'ai's temperament. Quite clearly his real interest lay in the social aspects of ethics and aesthetics. He persuasively argued the position that ethical values evolved naturally according to social needs. Actions which were practical and useful were socially sanctioned as good. Eventually they became habitual and were unconsciously accepted as part of society's established mores. Ts'ai rejected the concept of some transcendent guiding force or principle. He was instead a utilitarian, setting the welfare of society as his criterion of ethical evaluation. He strongly urged the subordination
of individual desires to the greater needs of the total society. Ts'ai's ethical ideal, then, was for men to transcend themselves and willingly labor for the good of the larger entity. Carrying this view to its logical conclusion, Ts'ai envisioned an ultimate utopia in which men could even raise their sights beyond their own societies and selflessly cooperate for the welfare of the whole world. Such circumstances would perhaps allow man to approach the transcendent noumenal sphere of existence. Similarly, Ts'ai hoped that broader aesthetic appreciation would replace man's baser emotions, such as selfishness and intolerance, with the more refined sentiments of altruism and broad-mindedness. Aesthetics, then, would also help man progress toward the immediate goal of social welfare and the ultimate vision of the noumenal world.

It is difficult to make a final summarizing assessment of the broad interests and activities of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei. However, the consistent underlying theme of his career during this period was his concern for reform. Despite scholarly and philosophical interests, his overriding aspiration was to help reform China. Perhaps the fact that he never specifically enumerated his criteria of reform indicates a general acceptance of the broad goal of "wealth and power." Essentially, he worked for a China able to cope with all the challenges of the contemporary world. This required such assets as political stability, military strength, economic independence, and cultural creativity. He knew that China could not escape into a shell of Confucian smugness, ignoring the encroachments of the West. China had to recognize the new standards of the times and somehow fashion the means to adequately
compete. A strong China, therefore, was Ts'ai's paramount objective. However, in seeking means to reach that goal he freely drew upon Western and Chinese traditions. In the end he molded a synthetic philosophy of reform which he felt appropriate to China's specific needs. However, there is no evidence that Ts'ai consciously sought a balance of Chinese and Western ideas, and the synthesis grew naturally as Ts'ai struggled to evolve a coherent philosophy of reform.

Ts'ai's ideas might, from hindsight, be dismissed as idealistic and impractical. China could never hope for the time necessary to implement his gradualistic program of reform. But such criticism ignores two crucial factors determining the overall approach which Ts'ai gradually evolved. First, Ts'ai felt that he had critically and analytically worked out the scientific solution to China's problems. This was, of course, a time of maximum faith in scientism, and Ts'ai could only cling to his convictions even if their application was temporarily impossible. Second, Ts'ai had, with considerable agonizing, developed an intellectual synthesis which satisfied his contending loyalties to both Chinese and Western impulses. This is doubtless a matter for psychological study, but certainly the comprehensive reform philosophy which Ts'ai advocated was the one best suited to his diverse background. Given the context of his career and his divisive loyalties, Ts'ai succeeded remarkably well in creating and adhering to a cohesive, consistent philosophy of reform.

Ts'ai does not fit neatly into a niche as "reformer" or "revolutionary." He associated with both groups and sympathized with certain
ideas of each, but he became a captive of neither. He was a man who painstakingly worked out his own approach to the crucial problems of the times. His convictions evolved gradually from exposure to two cultures, and he consistently upheld them regardless of the personal consequences.

The final synthesis grew from the selective, comparative assessment of Chinese and Western viewpoints. Ts'ai favored neither because it was Chinese or Western, but he measured all ideas by their ability to produce a reformed China. He retained his commitment to the Confucian spirit of moderation and compromise. He also consistently spoke for self-discipline and moral cultivation as desirable attributes for the new men who would create a new society. However, he held no brief for Confucianism per se, and he felt free to select and reject different elements according to their usefulness. The Western component consisted of rationalism, environmentalism, and neo-Kantianism. His rationalism made him wary of dogmatism and extremism. He rejected facile sloganizing, urging the careful analysis of all points of view. His environmentalism compelled commitment to a gradual, long-term, revitalization of the foundations of Chinese society. Political and economic adjustments were looked upon as supplementary, and political upheavals were considered luxuries which China could not afford. Neo-Kantianism gave something of an elevated spiritual quality to Ts'ai's reform outlook, although this should not be overstated. The higher noumenal realm implied an ethereal detachment from the lesser phenomenal world. Ts'ai never retreated into escapism, but this ultimate vision influenced his
attitude toward the phenomenal world. As with Confucianism, Ts'ai held no brief for Western ideas as a total entity, and he freely fashioned his own compromise with individualism, materialism, and democracy.

The theme which gave Ts'ai ideas consistency might best be termed "patient reformism." He wanted to produce better men, with the proper mixture of Confucian and Western attitudes. Better men would eventually make a self-perpetuating better society. The framework was clearly long-term, and Ts'ai believed that he was sponsoring the most feasible approach. Given Ts'ai's temperament and background, his philosophy of reform could hardly have been different. To wish that he had been something else is to ignore the process by which thoughtful men transform assumptions into convictions.
NOTES

CHAPTER 7

1Wang Shih-chieh, "Chui-i Ts'ai hsien-sheng" (Memories of Mr. Ts'ai), IWLC, pp. 577-79; Wang Yin-wu, "Ts'ai hsien-sheng ti kung-hsien" (Mr. Ts'ai's contributions), IWLC, pp. 568-74. For a recent collection of accolades see "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei t'ung-hsiang chieh-mu-li" (The unveiling of a bust of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), Chung-Yang Jih-pao, January 12, 1968, p. 3.

2See Chow Tse-tsung, pp. 342-47.

3Lo Chia-lun, Chuan-chí wen-hsueh, X, no. 1, p. 31. Chiang Monlin, however, calls him the "Socrates of China," unjustly accused of corrupting youth. Tides from the West, p. 118.

4Ts'ai Shang-su, Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsueh-shu ssu-hsiang chuan-chí, passim; Ma Ts'ai, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei ti Ssu-hsiang," pp. 163-72.

5It is interesting that in the recent Mainland rearranged republication of Shu Hsin-ch'eng's 1923 compilation, Chung-kuo chin-tai chiao-yél shih tsu-liao (Materials on the history of modern Chinese Education) (Peking: Jen-min chiao-yel chu-pu-she, 1961), Ts'ai's writings are classified under "Bourgeois Democratic Educational Thought" (Tsu-ch'en chieh-chí min-chu chu-i ti chiao-yél ssu-hsiang).

6Chou Hsin, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti tsui-hou i yen" (Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min's last words), CC, p. 1753.


9Ch'en Liang-yu, "Chui-tao Ts'ai hsien-sheng wo-men ying-yang ti jen-shih" (The attitude we should adopt in mourning Mr. Ts'ai), Ts'ung-fang tsu-chih, XXXVII, no. 8 (April 15, 1940), pp. 66-67; Sun K'o, "Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei hsien-sheng ti chung-shen" (Imitate Mr. Ts'ai's spirit; January 14, 1968 speech), CC, p. 1401; Sun Te-chung, "I wei-ta chiao-yél-chia" (A great educator), CC, pp. 1501-65.
10 li Chi, "Li Chi po-shih t'an Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai ti hsueh-shu kung-hsien" (Li Chi talks of Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai's contribution to scholarship; Chung-hua jih-pao, January 11, 1967), CC, p. 1508; Sun Ch'ang-wei, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng chuan-chi" (A biography of Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min), CC, p. 7.

11 Lin Yu-t'ang, Chi Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng" (Remembering Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min; Taiwan hsien-sheng pao, April 9, 1955), CC, p. 1479.

12 CC, pp. 662-64.

13 It is a tribute to Ts'ai that he did not succumb to the escapism of scholarship or aesthetics. As John Dewey remarked: "It is very easy to see how cultivated people take refuge in art and spirituality when politics are corrupt and the general state of social life is so discouraging." Letters from China and Japan, p. 195.

14 She Lun, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti tou-cheng ching-shen" (Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min's fighting spirit), CC, p. 1814; Sun K'o, "Hsiao-fa Ts'ai Yuan-p'ai ti ching-shen," CC, pp. 1402-03.

15 Chou Hsin, "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti tsui-hou i-yen," CC, p. 1745.


19 D.W.Y. Kwok, Scientism in Chinese Thought, 1900-1950 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1965). Kwok (p. 21) defines scientism as "that view which places all reality within a natural order and deems all aspects of this order, be they biological, social, physical, or psychological, to be knowable only by the methods of science."
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Chiang Fu-ts'ung. "Chui-nien Ts'ai hsien-sheng" (Remembering Mr. Ts'ai; Chungking Central News, March 24, 1940), IML, 606-09.


Chiang Wei-ch'iao. "Min-kuo chiao-yu tsung-chang Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei" (Minister of Education Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei), in Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei tsu shu, 97-101.

Chih Weng. "Ts'ai Chieh-min ti chin-pao yu feng-ko" (The temperament and manner of Ts'ai Chieh-min; Taiwan hsien-sheng pao, March 18, 1965), CC, 1554-66.

Chou Hsien. "Ts'ai Chieh-min hsien-sheng ti tsui-hou 1-yen" (Mr. Ts'ai Chieh-min's last words; Tzu-yu t'ien, 1965), CC, 1743-54.

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