Chapter 5

All Men Are Soldiers

Citizenship and Military Service

Everyone says serving as a soldier is hard but I say: it is not. I say: soldiers represent military citizenship. They must serve patriotically. They must be loyal to the emperor. They must sacrifice their body, for the peace of their compatriots. They must be the tooth and claw of the state, take soldiering as a blessing and dying in battle as an honor. They bear responsibility for all citizens.1

—Lu Tong, The Pleasure of Soldiers, 1910

The question of how to govern soldiers and create a better and more efficient army led Chinese military reformers to target society as a whole and take into consideration the military potential of the entire nation, particularly the male population. Together with a broad coalition of politicians, intellectuals, and educators, military reformers transferred ideas of physical exercising and discipline, masculinity, and self-conduct from the governance of military men to the governance of citizens. Virtually every male member of the population, reformers reasoned, could theoretically serve in the military and should thus, physically and psychologically, be prepared to take up arms and go to war and, ultimately, sacrifice for the sake of the greater good: the state. Consistently, military reformers particularly debated the German and Japan models regarding universal conscription and military training, as well as the link between nationalism, citizenship, state, physical education, and military service. Late Qing reformers adopted the European figuration of the “citizen-soldier” and the concept of military citizenship (jungiwmn), making the defense and protection of the nation-state the responsibility of every male adult. The idea of “citizen-soldiers” stemmed from the “people in arms”-concept of the French Revolution but Chinese reformers and intellectuals particularly viewed Germany as a country in which “everyone is a soldier”
CITIZENSHIP AND MILITARY SERVICE IN GERMANY

In the German Empire, military service, citizenship, and military masculinity were entwined in such a way that the army proverbially counted as both “school of the nation” and “school of masculinity.” By serving in the military young men were fully recognized as citizens aware of their duties toward the state and nation. And, moreover, they were nurtured from boyhood with the goal of achieving true and real manhood. Citizenship was linked to the capacity to fight, which was attributed to the male body. In the German Empire, the ideal of citizen-soldiers (and general national military preparedness) was realized, if only theoretically, through a system of compulsory, universal subscription for men, which originally was not an idea of the Prussian military nobility but part of the aspiring bourgeoisie’s claim to political participation. The intention of the bourgeoisie was actually containing war by “democratizing” the army and, at the same time, bourgeois men could prove their manhood through military service, as they contributed to the defense of the emerging nation-state. However, as Thomas Hippler points out, universal conscription implied a contradiction: while serving one’s time implied access to full citizenship in the eyes of the non-noble middle class, for the authoritarian government and the professional and conservative military leadership, conscription was the means of disciplining the citizenry and inculcating it with military values such as obedience and alignment to produce an unlimited supply of Menschenmaterial (human material) for the rank and file. “The efficiency of an army in war,” a Prussian military manual emphasized, “is essentially linked to the quality of the material it is made of and thus closely linked to the military preparedness of the people.”

After the foundation of the German Empire in 1871, the government established a system of compulsory military service in all German states, replacing the existing Landwehr, a militia system established in 1813, which had already been viewed as a manifestation of the citizen-soldier ideal among members of the upper-class German bourgeoisie. Theoretically, every adult male German was obliged to serve in the army for several years, including three years (reduced to two years in 1890) of active service, followed by five years in the first reserve, and another four years as member of the second reserve force. For selection, the army registered every male between 17 and 45 years, who could be drafted between the ages of 20 and 39 years. Mostly for financial reasons—but also out of political concerns, as the government and military leadership sought to keep the army free from undesired groups such as workers and social-democrats—only a selection of all available men was actually drafted.

For the German bourgeoisie, military service stood for political participation and they conceived universal conscription as similar to universal franchise and equated political freedom with military preparedness. Through popular participation in the army, the liberal bourgeoisie hoped to actually limit the danger of war breaking out. Universal conscription linked these claims of the bourgeoisie or middle class with the demand for unconfessed leadership by the aristocratic and military establishment, which was aware of the potential of military service for creating a mass army. In both ways, the military was viewed as the “school of the nation,” where young men fully comprehended selflessness, patriotism, and camaraderie, and where they trained their bodies and “manned up.” However, as Rebecca Claire Snyder points out, these civic virtues could easily turn into vices: selflessness become homogeneity, patriotism become chauvinism, and camaraderie became exclusion (of those not involved). In other words, an individual’s inability to conform to the military habitus could deprive him of his (socially attributed) masculinity and restrict his ability to participate in the political process.

During the reign of Wilhelm II, the prominence of military culture fueled the militarization of large parts of society and at least facilitated an aggressive and militaristic chauvinism. Military service became a marker of manhood and a patriotic duty implying the defense of the nation-state. Although universal conscription was never entirely enforced, it contributed to a profound endorsement of military values and styles and a broad consent to warfare, which were also stimulated through military education in schools, public ceremonies and rituals celebrating the “fatherland” and the monarchy, an aggressive imperialist foreign policy, and through military and physical education associations, veterans’ clubs, and nationalist interest organizations with millions of members. The military’s penetration of German Wilhelminian society was allegedly so strong that contemporary observers within and outside of Germany referred to it as “militarism.” The term “militarism” can be defined broadly as a biased orientation toward military culture in society and politics or, in other words, the transfer (and domination) of norms, values, and ways of thinking and behavior associated with the military organization to civilian life. Contemporaries as well as later historians and sociologists viewed Prussia as the prime example for a society pervaded by a military spirit and soldierly habitus, which emanated from the aristocracy and the monarchy and which was mimicked by the bourgeoisie. Although the strong influence of Prussian military culture on large parts of German society is undeniable, its prevalence has often been strongly exaggerated by both the contemporary
media and post-Second World War scholars. Media coverage of the topic both
by the German and the foreign press at the time was often highly satirical. In
fact, Wilhelminian and Prussian society were far more complex, with many
other socio-cultural value systems competing with Prussian military culture,
including social-democratic or religious ideas, which affected and formed
large parts of society. Furthermore, there were multiple other concepts of the
state that were not predominantly rooted in the mythical manifestation of the
nation through war.11

While universal conscription gained center stage in the negotiation pro-
cess of political participation, franchise, and citizenship, the war of 1870–1871
also anticipated prevalent gender arrangements in imperial Germany,
which derived from a bourgeois ideal: while men went to war to defend
the nation-state, women were assigned the role of caring wives and mothers.2
The German case was not unique. In other countries with movements
demanding the (re-)creation of a nation-state, such as France, Italy, Japan,
and the United States, concepts of military masculinity and the image of citi-
zens as manly warriors, who freely chose to sacrifice for their “fatherland,”
gained currency. Prominent non-aristocratic figures such as the president of
the United States, Theodor Roosevelt, and the British author Rudyard Kipling
promoted physical exercise and a soldierly habitus as masculine qualities.3

Disciplining bodies for the sake of the nation particularly informed the
conceptualization of citizenship. In Germany and other emerging nation-
states or republics male and female bodies were understood as “individual
cells of the body politic” and included in the consolidation and expansion
of the nation-states, according to Maren Lorenz. Bodies were homogenized,
particularly through military service, military education in public schools,
and physical education movements. While women’s bodies were discussed in
terms of motherhood and the “quantity and quality” of the population, men’s
bodies were viewed under the aspect of soldiering, for which they needed a
minimal of physical and psychological robustness.4 In Germany, military
service and physical exercise were increasingly influenced by the idea of
homogenizing, aligning, and disciplining individual bodies.5

Originally, apparatus gymnastics and calisthenics were promoted by early
nineteenth century (romantic nationalist) popular movements, such as the
Turner Movement, against the will of the governments of the various German
states. The Turner Movement was initiated by the educator Friedrich Ludwig
Jahn during the time of Napoleon’s occupation in Germany. The Turners, as
the members of gymnastics clubs were called, demanded the foundation of a
united German nation-state. They propagated the use of apparatus gymnastics
to increase individual physical strength and emphasized the link between
physical fitness, morality, alleged masculine qualities such as courage and
audacity, and the strengthening and rejuvenation of the nation. At the same
time as Jahn, Adolf Spies developed his own form of apparatus gymnastics
exercises, as well as the so-called “free” and “order” exercises (Freibüchungen,
Ordnungsbüchungen), which became part of the school curricula of Prussia and
other German states in the 1840s. Spies’ exercises emphasized obedience and
discipline and were considered as particularly useful for the military
education of both students and soldiers. Both apparatus gymnastics and free
exercises had a strong influence on military gymnastics and calisthenics in
Prussia and elsewhere in Germany.6 In the eyes of popular physical exercise
movements, which also informed the ideology of male homosocial associa-
tions and the masculine connotation of bodybuilding, physical exercise,
and strengthening were always supposed to have a military aspect, with the pur-
pose to establish a liberal republic. Following the failed bourgeois revolution
in 1848 and even more after 1871, gymnastics and calisthenics associations
increasingly focused on collective exercises and the alignment of bodies.7
Most popular physical exercise movements followed the political project of
the conservative aristocratic and military elite, which sought to link nation,
body, masculinity, and military preparedness and conflate military and civic
practices. While they similarly focused on building the physical body, coun-
ter movements such as nudism (Freikörperkultur), on the other hand, sought
to escape and subvert the military-like disciplining of the body and promote
self-awareness and the individual’s independence regarding body and mind.8

In summary, although universal conscription, military education in schools,
military and veterans’ clubs, and the positive public image of military val-
ues, heroism, and military masculinity were influential, the perception that
German society was thoroughly militarized and everyone was, in fact, a sol-
dier was an exaggeration. Nevertheless, the idea of an all-pervasive German
military culture was strong among many Chinese and Japanese reformers
and influenced military reforms in both countries. Chinese military reformers
were impressed by an image broadcasted by specific groups in Germany,
which sought to organize society along military lines. On the other hand,
Chinese military reformers might have deliberately overemphasized the situa-
tion in Germany to promote military and physical education, facilitate the
formation of a martial spirit and a nation-state, and develop the foundations
for a strong army in China.

STATE AND BODY IN EARLY TWENTIETH CENTURY CHINA

The popular ideas, movements, and practices regarding “citizenship” that
emerged in Germany and elsewhere in Europe affected the renovation of
governance practices in China and influenced intellectual debates about
the “state,” “nation,” “people,” and “society.” Central to these debates was
the issue of citizenship and the question of what the relationship between citizens and state should be: what rights and duties toward the state should an individual have? What was the nature and role of the emperor or sovereign, particularly in a constitutional state, whose creation was on the official political agenda of the Qing government from 1905 onward? And finally, how should the people be educated to become worthy citizens? Following the Russo-Japanese War, Cixi and the Qing government yielded to the demands for a constitution and, in 1906, established a commission, led by Zaifeng, to plan and organize the introduction of a constitutional monarchy in Qing China. However, only after Cixi and the Guangxu Emperor both died in 1908 did the government announce a precise time schedule, stipulating the promulgation of the constitution and elections for 1916. The government later advanced this date to 1912 because of the increasing pressure of constitutionalist officials and intellectuals. The first assemblies on the provincial and national levels convened in 1909 and 1910, respectively, and can be considered the antecedents of provincial legislatures and the parliament.

While citizenship in China and elsewhere was and is conceptualized and practiced in many different ways across time and space, the prevalent twentieth century idea of citizenship (guomin, literally, state people or nation people) in China was closely entwined with the central state and defined top-down. There was virtually no independent civil society that formulated and represented interests other than those of the government or administration and the citizenship discourse developed along the question of turning subjects into dutiful citizens. It was guided by the political project of utilizing the population against the foreign imperialist threat, as Chinese media, intellectuals, and politicians developed a strong rhetoric that demanded everyone’s engagement in the national struggle against foreign encroachment. They employed widely circulated slogans demanding participation in “serving the nation” (jiguo) and redeeming the burden of “national humiliation” (guochi) imposed by the foreign imperialists.

Following the Japanese example, late Qing intellectuals, such as Kang Youwei, Tan Sitong, Yan Fu and, particularly, Liang Qichao, “conceptually transformed” the empire into a Chinese state at the beginning of the twentieth century, as they began to view the state as a “human secular construct” rather than a celestial empire. According to Peter Zarrow, three European strands of state theories influenced the debate about the form of state and the nature of the relationship between people and state: social contract theory, the concept of the sovereign territorialized state according to international law, and the idea of the state organism. Moreover, Chinese intellectuals adopted Japanese neologisms such as guoti (“state system” or “state organism”) and zhengti (“form of government”) as they discussed the form and origin of the state; Chinese versus “Western” singularities; the role of sovereignty, law, ruler, and “people”; and the nature of rights and the “body politic.” While Zarrow and other scholars examine in detail the intellectual foundations of this transformation process and the intellectual debates about renovating the state and its citizens, they neglect the importance intellectuals and reformers assigned to military service as a crucial element involving both citizenship and the conceptualization of the state, particularly concerning ideas of an organic state.

Following the concept of the organic state developed by the Swiss-German political theorist Johann Caspar Bluntschli, Liang Qichao re-imagined the state as an organism comparable to the human body: whereas the sovereign or head of state was like the literal head of a physical body, various state institutions were like the limbs or organs of the body. Bluntschli viewed the state as a living organism that was not just the sum of its individual parts and functions like a machine, but a complex entity consisting of institutions which had to function harmoniously to fulfill the purpose of the state: the freedom of the citizens. State institutions such as the bureaucracy had to be organized in a hierarchical fashion and officials selected strictly on meritocratic principles. Serving the state as an official should be, as was the case in Germany, characterized by a sense of loyalty toward the head of the state, a sense of obligation toward the community, patriotism, and professionalism. According to Bluntschli, the army was only one state institution, yet one that was quite specific and important. It was more strict and hierarchical than any other organ because of its use of violence and its central role for the survival and existence of the state. As part of the state organism, it was the “arm that had to serve the head.”

Concerning the organization of the army, he again considered the German case as ideal because of its well-balance mixture of professional officers, who were in the service of the state and thus had an “honorable” profession, and conscripted soldiers. A limited service period allowed the latter to reenter civilian life quickly and retain their freedom. At the same time, because it included the majority of the young men, this system guaranteed the military education of the people, added to its “physical strength,” developed its “masculine virtues” and fulfilled it with a “state spirit.”

Under the impression of Bluntschli’s writing, Liang Qichao completely turned to the idea of the organic state and statism, which placed the state above the individual and society. Even partially embracing despotism, he conceived of the state as the bodily unity of emperor and people: as “one body” or organic whole (yi), paternally represented and headed by the emperor. The people had to be formed into worthy servants of the state or, in other words, into worthy citizens. While Liang—probably owing to the fact that it took up only little space in Bluntschli’s original texts—did not particularly refer to the military as an institution of the organic state, he, starting in 1902, published a series of articles called the Renovation of the
acknowledgment, esteem, and respect in “East and West” and their parents were proud of them. In another article, Li Duo compared the whole army to a body. The commander was the head, battalions and squads were ears and eyes, mouth and nose, and the individual soldiers were arms and legs. All parts were linked together, and every part had its role and task. Yet, in the end, the body depended on a functioning head, which was in charge and control of the rest.

Political theories such as Bluntschli’s concept of the organic state also influenced Yuan Shikai, who was counseled by Liang Qichao and other intellectuals after 1911. While Liang was strongly opposed to reinstating the imperial system, he initially was a member of Yuan’s Republican cabinet and had high hopes for him as a strong, authoritarian president. Yuan referred to the body state metaphor to create a tangible image of the new Republic with himself as controlling head of state and the military as an essential institution. Speaking to military men, he emphasized that soldiers were like the “hands and feet” of the body (the state), which protected it from harm. Head and brain were naturally the most important part of the human body and therefore soldiers had to protect, first and foremost, the head of the state, that is, Yuan himself. Officials, military men, their leader (the president and generalissimo in one person), and the citizens had to become like “one body.” Every institution and every citizen was part of the body, which, *pars pro toto*, was represented and epitomized by the head of state. Furthermore, he declared in a poem, “soldiers and citizens (minren) are born as one body.”

**CITIZEN-SOLDIERS**

Most influential among military reformers was the idea of the “citizen-soldier” or *junguomin*. Initially, Cai E and Jiang Baili (or Jiang Fangzhen), two military cadets well acquainted with Liang Qichao, each published an article in Liang’s *New Citizen’s Journal* (Xinmin congbao) concerning the issue of citizen-soldiers. Both authors demanded changes in the general shape of education in China and argued for the urgent need of instilling a martial spirit in the Chinese people. Cai E was a protégé of Liang and an anti-Qing revolutionary who joined Sun Yat-sen’s Revolutionary Alliance while studying as a cadet in Japan. After graduating from the Japanese Imperial Army Academy (Rikugun Shikan Gakkō) in 1904, he joined the Lujun. During the Revolution in 1911, he became the military leader of Yunnan province and, together with Jiang Baili, part of Yuan Shikai’s entourage and military advisory circle during the first years of the Republic. However, alienated by Yuan’s attempt to establish himself as emperor, Cai subsequently became one of his leading opponents. His article *Citizen-Soldiers (Junguominpin)*,
relations. In 1938, Jiang translated the book *Das Volk in Waffen* (The People in Arms) by the German general Colmar von der Goltz, which had been originally published in 1883.\(^{41}\) His ideas later influenced Mao Zedong's military thinking and notions on people's war.\(^{42}\)

In the context of growing anti-Russian sentiments among Chinese students, Cai and Jiang participated in the foundation of the Society for the Education of Citizen-Soldiers (*Jingguomin jiaoyu hui*) in Tokyo in May 1903. Only a few weeks earlier, the Russian army had expanded its presence in Northern China, triggering massive Chinese protest gatherings in Shanghai and Tokyo. A charter described the purpose of the Society for the Education of Citizen-Soldiers to be the "cultivation of a martial spirit and the implementation of patriotism."\(^{43}\) The society organized target practice classes and study courses, as well as physical and military drill exercises. The almost two hundred members mainly consisted of anti-Qing revolutionaries such as Huang Xing, who later became one of Sun Yat-sen's most important military advisors and the first supreme commander of the Nationalist Party Army. In 1905, the Society for the Education of Citizen-Soldiers merged with Sun's Revolutionary Alliance.\(^{44}\)

Apart from Liang Qichao, Cai E, and Jiang Baoli, other strong proponents of the citizen-solder idea were leading educators such as Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Jian, and Yang Du, who later supported Yuan Shikai's attempt to establish his own dynasty. Furthermore, between 1902 and 1919, numerous journals and newspapers dealt with the term *jingguomin*, universal military service, and general education along military principles, including leading educational journals such as the *Educational Weekly* (*Jiaoyu zhoubao*) and the *Journal of Education* (*Jiaoyu zazhi*), as well as many progressive Japan-based student periodicals such as *Foreign Students' Translations* (*Youxue yiban*), *Hubei Student Circle* (*Hubei xueshengjie*), and *Zhejiang Wave* (*Zhejiangzao*).\(^{45}\)

In fact, the term *jingguomin* conveyed a variety of meanings and some authors had more far-reaching intentions and ideas in mind than others. Essentially, it was based on the view that all political and military powers possessed some sort of conscription system. A pronounced martial spirit and the admiration of a military masculine ideal, which emphasized heroic deeds, self-discipline, and physical exercise, allegedly pervaded the societies of these countries and were inculcated in every citizen from childhood on. In this view, powerful countries were nation-states that drew their strength and competitiveness from a patriotic citizenry and every man's willingness to sacrifice his life to defend the nation. Citizenship and full participation in the political process of these nation-states were based on military service. The preface of the first issue of the *Nanyang Military Journal* from 1906, for instance, announced:
In various Western countries, all citizens are soldiers, all men at the age of 20 are mustered and [everyone] till the age of 45 is obliged to do military service. The East must imitate the Western countries. Early, the Meiji Empire has enacted a law which obliges all male subjects from the age of 17 until the age of 40 to serve as soldiers.48

Lan Tianwei, who was also a military cadet in Japan, called for the establishment of an "iron and blood" hero cult and for the worship of military men, who were both savage and civilized, both brutal and honorable when defending the country.49 Lan and other authors viewed Germany as the prime example of a modern nation-state that had successfully implemented the ancient Spartan citizen-soldier ideal: in Sparta, boys were raised in barracks where they received military training from an early age. After completing their school education, they had to serve for ten years in the military to become full citizens. In Germany, Chinese reformers believed, similarly "everyone was a soldier" (jin min wei bing)—a phrase attributed to the Prussian King Frederick Wilhelm I by the officials Wu Zongliang and Pan Yuanzhan in their book The German Army System (Deguo Lijunzhi), published in 1902 by the Jiangnan Arsenal.44 Numerous authors in specialist military and general publications, particularly in the New Citizen's Journal, referred to Sparta (and sometimes Rome) as the very origin of a militarized citizen-state. Even Lu Xun, who later became one of the most influential Chinese fiction writers, published one of his first articles, the Soul of Sparta (Sibada zhi hun) on the topic. In this story, he described the heroic resistance of the Spartan King Leonidas and his men against the invading Persians, which offered parallels to the Chinese situation.49

A comprehensive and representative article bearing the title On the Army Implementing Schools for the Young emphasized that, in ancient Sparta, children were educated after the principle of "all citizens are soldiers." They left home at the age of seven and were raised in schools where they lived, ate, drilled, and worked with thousands of other healthy children. Following the ideal that the "whole country is an army" (guo jie bing wei zhu), they received their education neither at home nor in school but in the army, which focused on physical education. "Governing a country is like governing an army" (zhiguo ru jinjun) and both country and army demanded "ultimate discipline," the author, under the pseudonym Wu Wo, proclaimed: there was no difference between citizens and soldiers in Sparta and, as everyone possessed the ability of self-governance (zizhi) and had an independent spirit, Spartan soldiers dominated the whole of Greece.50 Referring to the Beiyang Standing Army (Changlejun) system, he claimed that China had some sort of conscription system, which, however, was not sufficient. Military education should become a project of the entire society; "everything [should] follow military statutes and arrangements" and "become part of the national defense scheme."52 Schools in general should have a "military outlook" (junshi zhi yanghuang) and stress physical exercise. Germany was most advanced in this regard, as primary schools students were already prepared for military service in a way that ensured positive and "most joyful" connotations with the army. In the same vein, schools in China should be organized along military lines, following the Spartan archetype. Young people, first, would learn patriotism, be prepared to sacrifice their lives, protect the country, and become its true "shields and walls" (guojia zhi gancheng). Second, through companionship and joint activities in the army, they would learn a sense of community, public spirit, and morality. Third, they would learn about reputation and honor, which were the foundation of courage and discipline, and about cleanliness and hygiene, physical drill, and exercise. Furthermore, military songs would deepen the martial inclination of young people.53 Nowadays, the author concluded, the social standing of the army had changed, citizens sacrificing for the country (guomin zhi xisheng) were loved and respected, and the old saying that "good men do not become soldiers" was disappearing. The next step was to embrace the Spartan idea of the citizen-soldier and follow the example of Europe, the United States and, particularly, Japan, which had become powerful nation-states by creating citizen-soldiers. Finally, he emphasized again, to realize the idea of "the whole country being an army," the military should establish schools.54

UNIVERSAL CONSCRIPTION

Like Wu Wo, many Chinese authors pointed out that the Japanese army and the transformation of military culture in Japan had a profound impact on the development of the Japanese society and facilitated a "modernization" quite similar to that in the German Empire after 1870. Universal conscription and international conflicts gave rise to a strongly militarized nationalism, at least among parts of society. As in the German case, some historians therefore refer to the term "militarism."55 After the turn of the century, the alleged militarization of society made the German and Japanese models attractive to many Chinese reformers, who perceived the German Empire's system of conscription and the German people's allegedly deeply rooted Prussian militancy and cultic appreciation of military culture as an ideal of national military preparedness. They viewed the German Empire as the archetype of a nation-state in which all male citizens united to defend emperor and homeland. However, the idea of universal conscription only became popular in late Qing China because it had been adopted earlier by Japanese reformers. In 1873, following
Chapter 5

the German example, the Meiji government had implemented compulsory military service for every male citizen over 23 years of age. Japanese law stipulated seven years of active service followed by four years in the reserve. The creators of the conscription law in Japan viewed military service as essential for educating the people and turning them into citizens. The Japanese government understood conscription as a tool for national integration, equality, and "democracy" that eliminated the social difference between the samurai and peasant classes, because now both served the state as soldiers and officers. Moreover, universal conscription was the logical perpetuation of the nation-in-arms and, in Japan, praised as resurrection of an ancient ideal of community and service.  

The notion that, in the German Empire, everyone was at least potentially fulfilling some sort of military service, as well as reports about the German universal conscription system were already popular in the post-1895 books and manuals on German military organization in China. Shen Dunhe outlined both the general draft system for the army and the wartime conscription system in Germany in his Description of the German Military System. During war, he explained, everyone was made use of to defend the state—even the old and the disabled, who could, for instance, bake bread. "There is not one citizen who is not in the service of the state. There is not one citizen who is not considered for the military," he stated.  

Theodore H. Schnell similarly declared that, in Germany, "every man has to serve as a soldier." Xu Jianyin, whose book was strongly informed by his observations of German military organization, suggested introducing a militia system (mibing) based on ancient Chinese and modern German models. He argued, conversely, that "if not everyone is a soldier, every family may suffer from war." His idea was to raise one out of two hundred able-bodied men for the army and train these men for three years. The militia-soldier would be collectively financed and the whole system would facilitate the dissemination of "loyalty to the emperor and patriotism" (zhongjiao aiguo).  

A translation by the American missionary Young John Allen and his Chinese assistant Fan Yi, titled The German Empire of Today (Deguo qujin jinbushi) and originally published under the pseudonym Veritas, declared that "under the laws of the German Federation, all German citizens have the duty to serve as soldiers" and were not allowed to have a substitute. The book explained the lottery system every male at the age of 20 had to participate in and that selected candidates had to serve seven years in the regular army and an additional five years in the reserve forces. It emphasized that, in Prussia, which provided the largest contingent of conscripts, "all citizens are on the army register (junji)." Finally, the book introduced the Landwehr (Lantewei'er), the militia force based on volunteers and established in 1813, which not only made sure that the people could fulfill their duty but also ensured that the army's strength would be maintained. The book explicitly stated that "all men (fan nanzi) have the duty to serve as soldiers."  

Duanfang suggested emulating the conscription systems of Germany and Japan. Particularly, and in the name of the Bureau for Military Training, he demanded the introduction of the Beiyang Standing Army model of a total of ten years of service in the first and the second reserve forces in every province of the empire. This structure, he argued, originated from Germany and allowed for easily increasing the number of soldiers many times during war. The Qing Empire should entirely follow the German and Japanese models and the government should "make everyone know that serving as soldiers is the duty of citizens" (daibing we guomin yin). A journal article by Chen Qi in the same spirit attributed the Prussian victory over France in 1870 to the fact that Prussian citizens had received military training that enabled them to comply with the king's call to arms.  

It was not only the duty of every (male) citizen to defend the country; some Chinese military reformers even interpreted the war-like nature of the German people to be the reason for the existence of the German nation-state in the first place. An article titled Song of the Citizen-Soldiers (Jingguominge) by Yang Yuiling introduced and included a song modeled on the "German patriotism song" (Ri'ermans aiqiue), which German elites allegedly had used to enthuse people in the nineteenth century and inspire sentiments in favor of a German national-state. Following the legacy of German patriotism, Yang's Song of the Citizen-Soldiers would, similarly, make China's soldiers and people rise up. Each line of the song ended with the programmatic sentence "the new national army [consists of] citizen-soldiers (xin guominjun xi jingguomin)."  

The interest in militarizing society and creating citizen-soldiers after an assumed German model eventually lost its appeal after the First World War because of the Allied propaganda against "German militarism" and the emergence of more liberal views on citizenship and education in China after the war. At its peak in 1916, however, an unequivocal article in the Zhongguo Military Journal called again for radically copying the "ideology of all-German-citizens-are-soldiers" (Deyi zhi guomin jie bing zhuo). The goal of the author, Lin Zhixia, a member of the Revolutionary Alliance and the Nationalist Party, was to promote the idea that "all citizens are soldiers." "If China's citizens all serve as soldiers, there will be no [more] shame in the face of danger," he stated. Lin praised the "perfect preparation" of the German army for the war, because the education of every common citizen in Germany included sufficient military training to make him perseverant and "be of one heart and mind" (yi de xin) with everyone else to defend the "fatherland" and "win a hundred battles." China should emulate this unique ideology of the "pure Germans" (changui deren). Besides organizing weapons, supplies,
and clothing for the army, the education of the citizens should be broadened. Special attention should be paid to the “molding of the mind and the forging of muscles and bones,” which lead to “forming complete military citizens.” The responsibility to achieve this goal did not rest with the government or educators but with all citizens, who had to be educated to know their duties toward the nation-state, across all social classes. An article in the same issue, on Germany’s war economy and entitled The Economy of German Militarism, concluded that the major German characteristic was the idea of “one for all, all for one” which it cited in both German (Einer für Alle für einen [sic]) and Chinese (ge ren wei quan, yi quan wei ge ren). To be sure, Germany was not the only country Chinese observers considered as a nation-state with citizen-soldiers. Knowledge of the levée en masse during the French Revolution also strongly shaped the idea of a people or “race” collectively standing up to defend their very existence, although the concept itself only became popular in China in the 1920s with the translation of Jean Jaurès’ book L’Armée Nouvelle. Furthermore, an article by Yang Yuling from 1911 emphasized that not only Prussia and France promoted the citizen-soldiers ideology but that it had been an important factor during the American Revolution against England, when Italy stood up against Austria, or when the Netherlands fought for independence from Spain. And the most recent case was Japan, “three trifling islands,” which had managed to get rid of foreign encroachment and establish itself as an integrated state.

Implementing universal conscription in the Qing Empire or the Republic of China was logistically difficult but, from the perspective of the government, arming and training the masses was also frightening. Like the German government and its military leadership, Chinese military reformers were afraid of subversion and rebellion. As early as 1902, Yuan Shikai introduced a German-style conscription system that obligated a soldier to a period of active service in the Standing Army or Changbei jinjun, which was followed by a few years in the first and second reserve troops. This system theoretically provided Yuan and the Beiyang Army with enough fresh and capable recruits, because every district—originally in Zhejiang province, where Yuan was governor at the time—selected and sent only the strongest young men to the army. However, he was not interested in universal conscription or arming the entire population and unleashing something like a people’s war. In the preface to the Record of Military Planning of the Newly Created Army, Yuan explained that he was assigned to commanding and improving the army according to “Western” ways because the people of the “occident” understood military affairs quite well, very much like their own Chinese ancestors. But neither the ancient Chinese practice of “ten thousand soldiers from the people” (wan bing yu min) nor the “Western” notion that “everyone is a soldier” should be copied. Soldiering was a “refined art” and the army should only invest in the training of the best men. In conclusion, he rejected the sentence, attributed to Confucius: “not to teach the people how to fight is to abandon them.” For Yuan, such a view only instilled fear among the people.

The regulations and outlines for the Army from 1904 repeated Yuan’s opinion, stating that organizing and supplying an army were complex matters, requiring military experts and a great deal of strategic planning. Particularly under the impression of the Boxer War and the uncontrolled uprising of parts of the population in Shandong and other provinces, Yuan Shikai and other military reformers sought to prevent an increase of men at arms and to become independent of mercenaries. Militarizing the entire population was counterproductive to this goal and not on Yuan’s military reform agenda. However, after he was exiled in 1908, the Army Ministry planned to conduct a national census with the aim of establishing a conscription system, first in 1909 and again in 1911. It joined forces with the Ministry of Education to complement the education of citizen-soldiers with a system of military service. The idea of installing a nationwide conscription system after foreign models at that time went back to an initiative of Yinchang. In 1910, the general-governor of Liaoning, Yuan Shuxun, also petitioned to introduce a conscription system by 1914 or 1915, after the “occidental model,” stating that only men with permanent residence should serve. As in Germany and Japan, vagabonds, rascals, and criminals were to be excluded.

As president of the Republic, Yuan gradually adjusted his position on the issue of conscription. In a speech, he emphasized that it was the duty of all citizens to serve as soldier and protect the nation-state. Without soldiers, a nation-state could not be established and thus all the countries in East and West had some sort of conscription system (zhengbing de zhidu), which supplied soldiers for both the standing army and the reserve troops. Departing from his original position, he suggested taking the German conscription system as an example and promoted military education and physical exercise for all citizens, to turn them into citizen-soldiers. In 1915, he promulgated a model which stipulated eight to thirteen years of service, depending on the performance of the soldier and the needs of the army. It included three to five years in the standing army, three to four years in the first reserve, and two to four years in the second reserve. All reserve forces should be called guominbing (national guard or national militia). At the same time, every county should be separated into 14 recruitment districts, which would facilitate the implementation of a compulsory military service system. In the end, neither the Qing nor any Republican government managed to implement military conscription. Only the government of the People’s Republic introduced universal military service in 1949, which, due to the sufficient number of volunteers, has never been enforced.
Nevertheless, the introduction of universal conscription was an important topic in military circles throughout the late Qing and early Republican period and was linked to the more general debate about the duty of men as citizens. “What does military service mean?” Tao Shunmao asked rhetorically in a Nanyang Military Journal article in 1908. “[It means] that all men have the responsibility to defend the nation-state. From the sons of kings and lords to the common people, [all] men have the duty to join the army and serve as soldiers.” Another article in the same journal, called Examination of the Issue of Conscription, praised the idea that every citizen was a soldier as the best one to “establish the state and strengthen the race.” The alternatives to conscription, drafting soldiers only from specific social (or ethnic) groups or recruiting men arbitrarily, were harmful to society. The Prussian model was perfect, the article argued, and China should learn from Japan, which had copied the Prussian system and become a “first class power” (or “manly country,” yideng xiongguo).

Compulsory military service for men and its significance for citizenship education became an even more urgent question after the end of the Qing. An article in the Military Monthly declared that the establishment of a strong new state depended on the readiness of all men older than 24 to die. The nation’s army was an organization made up of citizens and the army’s strength was based on the education, particularly the physical education, of the citizens. A translated Japanese article in the same journal even stated that “whether old, child, or woman, all have the duty to serve as soldiers.” However, soldiers had to be physically and mentally strong and therefore, it concluded, only men between the ages of 17 and 40 actually could fulfill military service.

Numerous articles in the military press similarly treated the issue of the relationship between the education of citizens and soldiers. From the beginning, the Nanyang Military Journal frequently emphasized that military service and defense of the country were the obligation of citizens. One of its first articles stated that war concerned the entire citizenry (guomin quanqi) and it was essential that service in the army transformed the bodies, hearts, and strength of the “millions” into one body, one heart, and one moving being (wu). The army represented the citizens and, thus, military education represented the education of citizens. Physical education was the most important element and should follow the model of Japanese gymnastics and sports societies, as well as the spirit of Bushido and Yamaoto-damashii, to promote military education and turn citizens into citizen-soldiers. The comprehensive education of a citizen would shorten military service time, reduce military expenditures, promote military thinking (junshi sixinjia) among society, and generally improve the physique of the soldiers. In Germany, the article stated, military service lasted (only) two years, due to the comprehensive general military education and preparation of citizens.

According to a certain Zhuang E, educating soldiers and citizens were essentially identical, because both aimed at the comprehensive cultivation of body, morality, and intellect. The best and most “egalitarian” place for a citizen to receive this education was the army. The army is the place of citizenship education, he stated, closely echoing the German perception of the army as “school of the nation.” Zhuang argued that, while victory or defeat in battle depended on the physical strength of soldiers, victory or defeat during “placid war” (pinghe zhanzheng), understood as agricultural, industrial, and economic competition, equally depended on the physical strength of the citizens. This strength was formed nowhere else than in the army, which was also responsible for the moral education of the citizens. Military discipline and obedience were essential for any citizen’s sincerity and spirit, Zhuang claimed. This spirit was the “backbone of the national idea” (goujia guannian wei gugan). To be sure, the author reassured his readers, military-like obedience among citizens did not aim at the creation of slaves who had lost their freedom, but could rather be compared to the loyalty of a minister to the emperor, or the duty of a son toward his father. It was the responsibility of military education to “mold the character of the future citizen.” Finally, three years of service would also complete the intellectual development of citizens. In his conclusion, Zhuang repeated his demand to adopt “the idea that in the whole country everyone is a soldier” (jugu jie bing shuyi) and to “unite the essence” (benzhi zhi heyi) of military and citizenship education. The responsibility of generals—“with the sword in the right hand and the brush in the left hand”—was to instruct both soldiers and citizens, and not only to produce perfect soldiers but also to nurture “eternally good” citizens for the empire within the three years of military service.

According to an article published under the pseudonym Qi Yu, military service was the initiation ceremony of becoming a citizen (dang guomin jiguang). Another article similarly argued that military discipline and the military sense of duty should be the foundation of the citizenry, as it would reinforce the social fabric: “all things military [lead to] respect for those above, love for those below, and to trust among friends.” According to an article that compared the training of new recruits in China with that in other countries, the only problem in China was that most citizens were not aware of their duty.

The relationship between the army as organization, the civilian population, and universal military service was also a topic frequently addressed in the new military academies. In 1908, the translation department of the Beijing Army published the Chinese version of a Japanese textbook on military organization by a certain Saga Tadayoshi. It mostly dealt with military organization in Germany, Japan, and China and emphasized the interdependence of state, army, economy, and the physical strength, intellect, and mental disposition.
of the citizenry. When establishing a national army, not only internal organization of personnel and management had to be taken into account but also global factors such as infrastructure, arms production, and education were important. Moreover, Saga stressed that the state should register the entire population by age to set up quotas for men who had to serve in the army.\textsuperscript{89} Li Jishen emphasized that, if the state implemented a system of conscription, it would be the duty of the citizens to serve in the army. Military education was not just a supplement of citizenship education; the two were closely intermingled, he stated. Without military education, a citizen could not complete his physical, moral, and intellectual training. Starting with military exercises only after joining the army might cause problems. To receive military training, the citizen’s education—which he did not define in detail—had to be completed first. The army itself was the “cream” or “essence” of the citizenry, Li concluded.\textsuperscript{90} Similarly, Liu Yiren discussed in his textbook Military Organization (Junzhi xue jianyi), published in 1917, the relationship between the army, the state and its institutions, as well as the “quality” of soldiers and the population. He closely examined the development of the German and Prussian conscription systems since the Seven Year’s War (1756–1763) and claimed that, with the introduction of compulsory military service, the Germans ushered in a new era in the history of military organization.\textsuperscript{91}

Military journals were similarly concerned with the question of how to actually implement a society of citizen-soldiers. An extensive article in the Nan-yang Military Journal on the education of spirit, intended as teaching material, started with a comprehensive summary of the idea of the citizen-soldier, including references to Sparta and Germany, and a discussion on the necessity of a martial spirit and military preparedness for defending the country.\textsuperscript{85} For some authors, the very survival of nation and “race” depended on the junquomin idea and its endorsement by all people.\textsuperscript{92} One article demanded that men, women, old people, and children all had to acknowledge and honor military service and the significance of conscription. The foundation for the “whole country becoming soldiers” and “militarism” (junguo zhuyi), it stated, were gymnastics, military-style games, and textbooks teaching competitiveness.\textsuperscript{93} Another article announced that “everyone [should] possess the quality and mind of a citizen-soldier to become shield and wall [of the country].”\textsuperscript{94}

One very rare rejection of the junquomin idea during this period was expressed in an article by Huang Fu and appeared in the Tokyo-based journal Wuxue. For Huang, the terms “citizens” (guomin), “new citizen” (xin guomin), and “citizen-soldier” (junguomin) were as old-fashioned as the eight-legged essay Confucian scholars had to produce during the imperial examinations for the selection of officials, and essentially revealed the lack of a real concept of nation-state. The junquomin idea was simply used to discipline and exploit ignorant ordinary people. As a matter of fact, Huang remarked, not the people had to protect the state but the state had to protect the people.\textsuperscript{95} However, he was virtually alone with his opinion. The majority of military reformers and those concerned with resurrecting military power in late Qing and early Republican China, across political factions, embraced the idea of turning every man into a potential soldier.\textsuperscript{96} Through education, they sought to nurture and form new citizen-soldiers whose bodies and minds were directed toward military service and whose lives were organized along the lines of military values and military discipline.

\section*{Citizen-Soldiers Must-Read}

In order to instruct people about their duties as citizens, including military service and exercising, the late Qing government approved of and ordered the publication of a large number of widely circulated textbooks and readers. Either referring generally to “citizens” or more specifically to “citizen-soldiers,” these books detailed, among other things, how people should take care of their bodies, how and why they should exercise, and how they could keep up their health. Although the main audience was students and children, these citizen’s readers targeted virtually every person in the empire and aimed at turning them into worthy citizens. Readers constituted an entire newly emerging genre of easily accessible vernacular texts whose number increased further after the promulgation of the Republic.\textsuperscript{97} One of the first such readers was the two-volume Citizen’s Reader (Guomin duben), edited by Zhu Shuren in 1903, co-founder of the Jiaotong University in Shanghai and author of the very first Toddler Education Reader (Mengxue keben) in 1897.\textsuperscript{98} Education, the foreword of the Citizen’s Reader declared, was essential for the governance and survival of the nation-state. Citizenship education, which meant the cultivation of loyalty and patriotism, determination, and self-governance and autonomy, was a matter of utmost urgency in “Western” schools. Any nation and any government based on a constitution needed citizens, not just “people” (renmin), for self-preservation. The reader, the authors stated, thus captured the essence of “Occidental educational books” to explain, particularly to children, everything that they needed to know about the state and its citizens including, for instance, the political and legal system, as well as the state’s military organization and system of military service.\textsuperscript{99}

In simple “lessons,” the book explained that a strong country was based on strong citizens. Lesson 18, for example, compared the state to a human body. The people were like the limbs of the body, which was of no use without arms and legs. Similarly, the state was powerless without the agency of the people. Lesson 27 dealt with “valiance” (yongwu) and declared that the country was strong if there were many valiant citizens; even strong countries
perished when the people were only cultured but physically weak. Ancient Athens, for instance, was inclined toward culture and thus extinguished by martial Sparta. To prevent other countries from descending upon China’s soil, the people had to overcome their restrained temper, cultural refinement, and lothiness.  

Lessons 46 to 49 explained and discussed the organization of China’s military forces and the Japanese conscription system. The country, the reader announced, had to be defended by soldiers. East and West followed the dictum that “in the whole country everyone is a soldier” (tong guo jie bing), which had also been the “old way” in China. Back then, all people were obliged to go to war and leave the field when hearing the call for duty. “How can one not love to give his life for the nation?” “If I do not defend it, [then] who will?” the reader asked. The armies China currently possessed were all useless and corrupt, it argued. In order to face the challenges now presented by other countries, universal conscription had to be implemented and everyone had to serve in the army. “The way to [create] strong soldiers,” the reader announced, were patriotism and nationwide enthusiasm toward joining the army.

More influential and far-reaching than the Citizen’s Reader was a book published in 1905, written by Chen Baoquan and Gao Buyiug, who both studied together in Japan and worked for the Board of Education in Zhiili province. Chen, originally from Tianjin, later became the department director of the central government Ministry of Education. Gao, who had gained a juren degree in the imperial examinations in his native province Hubei, also joined the Ministry during the early years of the Republic. Their reader, Guomin bida (literally What Citizens Must Read), was endorsed by Yuan Shikai (at the time, incumbent general-governor of Zhiili province) and printed 100,000 times in the first edition and distributed among all students of the province. It was later used as a textbook in public reading schools, which were set up to inculcate citizens’ virtues and duties into a wider audience, including adults and those too poor to send their children to schools.

Similar to Zhu Shuren’s reader, Chen and Gao’s Guomin bida was divided into several lessons. Each lesson consisted of short sentences no longer than half a line. Throughout the multi-volume reader, the role of and care for the individual body, as well as the significance of the army and of compulsory military service after the German-Prussian and Japanese models, were emphasized. The first volume contained 13 chapters and discussed the inseparable relationship between citizens and the nation-state and highlighted the duty of citizens to protect the nation-state. Education was essential to create awareness of the current political situation, the need for universal military conscription, and a martial spirit. Chen and Gao cited the allegedly totally militarily oriented education in ancient Sparta as the archetype that had been adopted and extended by Prussia and Japan. They argued that even contemporaries such as Bismarck attributed important military victories to universal education: common citizens’ military service had enabled Prussia’s victory over France and secured its very survival. Japan had followed this example and introduced universal military service. In ancient times, Chen and Gao announced, China had possessed something similar and now must resurrect its military spirit or would otherwise fall prey to other, more militant nations. The volume closed by presenting four points citizens had to observe to help China to regain prosperity and power. First, poor and rich, “above and below” had to unite because all were sons of the same nation. Second, one should not cling too much to life. The soldiers of the German and Japanese army enlisted and sacrificed their lives for the country, despite other personal obligations. If the citizens understood their relationship to the nation-state they would not hesitate to do the same, the reader explained. Third, the people should unleash their energy and not be idle, and fourth, they should not be concerned with money and riches.

The more general first volume of the reader was followed by more concrete advice and indoctrination in the subsequent volumes, which included lessons on physical exercise, the respect for and self-esteem of soldiers, “public courage” (gongyong), steadfastness, autonomy, and hygiene. The human body was presented as the very fundament of the education of all citizens: “to qualify as a complete citizen (wuanquan guomin), the body must first be healthy and strong.” Every country stressed physical education and all intellect and morality were useless without a healthy body. According to a “Western” saying, the reader quoted, “a sound mind is in a sound body.” A strong body was the foundation for meeting any kind of challenge and everyone, whether scholar, farmer, or artisan, had the duty to serve as a soldier and protect the nation-state, which was not possible with a weak body. Not just men but also women, the reader explicitly noted, should value physical education and stop binding their feet because only physically strong women produced strong children. Other sections of the reader dealt with the social standing of professional soldiers and the considerable harm caused in the past by the saying “good people do not serve as soldiers, good iron is not used for nails.” One lesson dealt with the idea and different aspects of hygiene, which was fundamentally significant in many respects: the strength of the body, the prosperity or decline of the state, the thriving or corruption of society, and the success or decline of one’s family. For a strong body, readers had to pay attention to hygiene every day, including different aspects such as air and breathing, food consumption and smoking, and clothing, cleaning, sleeping, working, and resting.

Apart from the Guomin bida, Chen and Gao published at least one other reader in 1906 called Citizen’s Mirror (Guominjing), which concentrated on loyalty and patriotism (zhongyi aiguo) and the role model of other
nations. It emphasized that the nation was established through the unity and combined strength of all people. Although the concept of citizenship Chen and Gao introduced was based on universal conscription and the obligation to prepare one's body for military service, they did not use the term jungguomin in their readers. However, other readers used it and were directed exclusively at educating citizen-soldiers and preparing those who would be conscripted. An article in the Nanyang Military Journal, which discussed different aspects of a conscription army such as legal matters, education, and finance, emphasized the need for a Citizen-Soldiers-Must-Read booklet (Jungguomin bidaben) for new recruits. Arguing that only few who joined the ranks possessed an education, it was essential to impart knowledge about China's military history, the current political situation, and China's "national shame." Such a reader would provide the conscripts with the information necessary for developing their abilities and qualifications. 

In 1908, Lin Wanli, an educator, journalist, and promoter of patriotism and women's education, published a three-volume Citizen-Soldier's Reader (Jungguomin duben). Lin, like Jiang Baoli and Cai E joined the Society for the Education of Citizen-Soldiers while spending time in Japan, was a strong advocate of vernacular Chinese (bahuax) in written texts. The first two volumes of the textbook thus included short, easily accessible explanations of important writings throughout Chinese history, including military texts such as the Sunzi bingfa and the Siumafa as well as classics such as the Record of the Grand Historian (Shiji) or the Book of the Han (Hanshu). The first volume dealt with the period up to the Tang Dynasty and the second volume included the periods up to the Ming Dynasty. They were intended to be teaching materials for teachers and instructors in military primary schools. However, anyone with a normal school education should be able to understand the text summaries in the volumes, which were much easier to read than the originals. The first two volumes summed up all the great and glorious military deeds and heroic stories in Chinese history, with the aim of stirring the ambition and "heroic spirit" (yinxiongxin) of the citizens. The military events in history should facilitate "cultivating a valiant character among citizens" and raise the martial spirit of students. 

Like the first two, the third volume included 36 sections. Each section addressed one specific aspect and had the purpose of promoting and teaching loyalty to the emperor and patriotism (zhongjian aiguo). It contained general explanations about military service and instructions on the proper conduct, attitude, and behavior demanded from a citizen-soldier during his time in the army. Similar to other readers, textbooks, or articles on universal conscription, the volume presented military service, along with paying taxes, as one of the essential and defining duties of all citizens. More explicit than any other text, Lin declared that "those who do not serve as soldiers cannot be called citizens." And those who obliged and served but were not able to fulfill all the requirements expected of a soldier did not deserve to be classified as human beings. The state was not a matter that concerned only a few individuals; it was a "public product" (gongcehan). Citizens had a responsibility for the public and thus had to serve as soldiers. Not defending it and not possessing the martial qualities to do so was not an option. The section ended with the resolute rejection of the proverb "good boys do not serve as soldiers," using "boys" (er) instead of the usually used terms "men" (nan) or "person" (ren). He exclaimed: "Alas, know that those who do not serve as soldiers are bad boys!"

According to Lin, the conscription system was the chance for this generation to make their own luck and achieve merits that had been denied to men (daizhangfu) before. Those who were selected as conscripts had to follow this call of duty and should be admired and cheered by others, because only strong and healthy men (jian nan'er) would be chosen. When joining the army (for a limited period), the conscript should give up his freedom and independence and commit himself entirely to the corps and his superiors. Only when he protected the country could he be truly free and independent. Even writing letters home should be reduced to a minimum. He should be fully committed to training, drill, and his duties and find joy in comradeship and in the service. However, the men should not be proud and not embrace death, for their duty was defending the country. In great detail the reader then explained the daily regimen of conscript soldiers and emphasized the importance of appearance and order. Personal bodily hygiene had to be as painstakingly observed as the cleanliness of rooms, dorms, sleeping places, or other facilities. The German and Japanese soldiers are the cleanest and their weapons are the brightest," the reader explained and continued that it was no wonder that the Russians, with their rusty guns, had lost against the Japanese in 1905.

Discipline, an orderly and neat appearance, order and cleanliness were attributes military reformers viewed as essential to govern the New Armies and were no less important for conscripts who served for a limited period of time. Most textbooks and readers targeting citizens or citizen-soldiers emphasized hygiene and health and sometimes included instructions on physical exercise for individuals. A citizen was not only obliged to strengthen his body for the sake of national defense but he also had to keep it sound and safe and emulate the healthy body of the soldier. Huang Zan explained the importance of hygiene from the perspective of the army in an article entitled Citizen-Soldier Book (Jungguominshu). The Chinese people lacked knowledge of hygiene and thus could not acquire a soldier's strong intellectual, as well as mental and physical capacities. Once they possessed this knowledge, ordinary people could first become citizens and then citizen-soldiers who sacrificed the "blood and flesh of their bodies for the nation." While everyone loved to live and
pursued happiness, citizen-soldiers loved to die and pursue hardships for the sake of the nation. They needed spirit, courage, and a healthy physique and mind. Therefore, “how could one abandon hygiene?” Huang asked, explaining that hygiene included an eating and drinking routine, a daily life routine, and an exercising routine. Breathing fresh air, replacing old air, and eliminating objects harmful to one’s health were part of these routines and contributed to forming one into a complete citizen-soldier. Huang claimed that “Westerners” highly valued hygiene, their streets were clean and there were no loitering or “places drowning in spit.” There was no “contagious air” and if a man was sick, he was brought to a hospital to prevent the disease from spreading. Looking at the global death rates of one year, he wrote that most people died in China and fewest in the West. “If one citizen is weak, then the nation is also a bit weaker. If there is one citizen-soldier less, the nation lost one member. Citizens are citizen-soldiers, they cannot abandon themselves.”

After the turn of the century, military reformers and army leaders introduced strict regimes of hygiene into the New Armies. Along with physical exercise, hygiene became the fundament of governing the bodies of soldiers and consequently also became a focus of the education of citizen-soldiers. Already in 1905, a small, easily accessible booklet only on hygiene, titled *Hygiene for Citizen-Soldiers* (Juguomin weishengxue), was published by the Shanghai-based New Citizens Publishing House. It was organized in six chapters on clothing, food, housing, soldiering (literally the job as soldier, bingye), marching, and preserving health (yangsheng). Additionally, it provided instruction on first aid methods, including the treatment of wounds and acute diseases (jibing) as well as images that strongly resemble those in military handbooks (compare Figures 5.1 and 5.2 with the figures in Chapter 1 and 2). Similarly, like military manuals, the booklet explained that clothes served to protect the body and keep it warm—a description in stark contrast to the established notion of clothes as a marker of class and status. The food section explained that fish and meat had to be fresh and the housing section dealt with ventilation, light, and temperature in buildings. The soldiering section gave advice on the routine in the army and the use of physical exercise such as calisthenics, swimming, and other forms of physical education. The final part emphasized that, in terms of hygiene and health, one should always rely on oneself, not on others. After the drill, it was important to wash hands, feet, and the face. Finally, it gave instructions on controlling and stopping the spread of diseases.

Physical education and hygiene were also the focus of a book titled *The Education of Citizens* (Guomin jiaoyulan) by the Japanese Ukita Kazutami, translated into Chinese and published in 1906. Progress, Ukita emphasized, was made through two things: great inventions and war. An example of the latter was Bismarck’s and Prussia’s victory over France.

National strength and military power depended on a country’s citizens and the Japanese would benefit greatly by learning from the special characteristics and skills of the English, French, German, Russian, and American citizens. Physical education and hygiene were important to keep the body strong and
healthy. Ukita stated. Only with a healthy body could the people be happy and courageously face challenges. Life expectancy was much higher in countries such as England, France, and Germany. Even the Chinese, he argued, were more robust, which was related to meat consumption. Bodily health achieved through exercising and hygiene, furthermore, influenced morality and spirit and included unhindered movement, breathing, digestion, and the development of all limbs. "Exercising is the goal of life," he declared. Particularly children, whom he described as "automatic machines" (zidong zhi qixi), had to be stimulated by physical education from early on.

Infusing citizenship education with military culture became even more important after 1911 and included the production and distribution of readers and textbooks demanding a lifestyle geared to military discipline and prescribing, for instance, military posture for all citizens. Republican citizens' readers aimed at cultivating disciplined and organized citizens who would serve the Republic and included the depiction of military elements and explanations of the army or military-style physical education in schools. Furthermore, citizenship education included military-style civic ceremonies such as parades and National Day celebrations, as well as new military-style republican symbols and dress codes. As the propagation of the citizen-soldier image intensified, military and educational reformers increasingly focused on school education and raising children and students to become worthy citizen-soldiers. Sporting events for school children emphasized military strength, fitness, and patriotism to the Republic. During the Nanjing decade (1927–1937), Nationalist Party leaders employed student military training less for actual military purposes than for inculcating a "martial form of cultural citizenship."

**CONCLUSION**

At the beginning of the twentieth century, late Qing and early Republican politicians, military reformers, educators, and other intellectuals sought to create a citizenry that fulfilled the needs of the state and that was more actively involved in political processes and current challenges. However, neither the Qing and Yuan Shikai government nor military circles and most intellectuals desired liberal, participating citizens but rather aimed at a new form of self-governing yet obedient subjects, who could be put to the service of the state. The discourse on citizenship and citizenship education interlaced with military reforms and the establishment of the New Armies, as the issue of universal military service and the iconic figure of the citizen-soldier gained currency. Military reformers, as well as other government officials and intellectuals, viewed universal military service not only as essential for increasing national military preparedness but also for disciplining the male segment of the population through the army. While the Qing and all subsequent Republican governments failed to implement a system of universal and compulsory conscription, military physical exercises and military values such as a martial spirit, discipline, and military masculinity became part of citizenship education and inspired attempts to organize society along military lines.

Influenced by German and Japanese examples, and the image of a deeply militarized German people, citizenship in China was discursively linked to military service or, at least, to the intrinsic potential of every man to fight as a soldier. Every man should receive military training and be equipped with the mental and physical qualities of a soldier, which were essential requirements to become a real man and a full citizen. Soldiers or "military men," on the other hand, were portrayed by military reformers and state theoreticians as ordinary citizens in arms. In contrast to their previous status as pariahs at the margins of society, they were now depicted as the epitomization of that society, as role models of loyalty and patriotism, as masculine ideal-types always ready to sacrifice for the state and (other) citizens. Military men became male role models, embodying health, strength, discipline, and martial vigor and their physical bodies became "normal" and desirable. Whereas the army as a whole was imagined by intellectuals as an essential part of the body politic and described as "arms" or "breath," military reformers and leaders inculcated soldiers with the idea of forming "one body" in tactical formations and drill exercises. They transferred this idea of homogenous unity to the wider society through the citizen-soldier concept. Military service should be the
duty of all male citizens. Only by fulfilling this duty could they become a part of the body politic. It created a bond between ruler and people, which intellectuals perceived as the essence of the state. The strength of an individual body epitomized the strength of the body politic and all men had to be physically capable of ensuring the preservation of its existence. While the terms guomin and jin guomin were gender neutral and military reformers—besides occasional explicit references to “men”—used inclusive expressions such as “all people,” “all citizens” (jinmin), or “everyone” (renren), only men would be liable for military service. Only men were viewed as being qualified for warfare and military discipline and thus only men had access to full citizenship. Within the citizenship discourse, the government assigned another role to women—that of caring wives and mothers (see Chapter 6), thus recreating a clear gender arrangement based on inequality that nevertheless sought to include the population as a whole into military reforms.

Chinese reformers did not necessarily advocate copying the German or Japanese example one-to-one but they adopted the notion of the state as a powerful shaper and maker and increasingly perceived the state as an active actor\(^\text{13}\), who, in the case of the military, was able and obliged to govern the military preparedness of the entire nation. The government considered it as a crucial issue for establishing a competitive army and state to regulate not only individual discipline but also the physical and mental constitution of the entire population. In early twentieth century China, regulating the population for tangible military purposes started to become a major focus of policies, including attempts to manage the reproduction and quality of the people. Together with campaigns against foot binding and opium smoking, military-style physical exercises, hygiene, as well as military values aimed at improving the bodily and mental condition of the people and turning them into a disciplined and obedient citizenry.\(^\text{14}\) A functional and effective army had to be embedded in society, from which it drew its most important resource: the soldiers. An army was only as strong as its soldiers and the government sought to ensure their physical disposition by managing the fitness of the entire population. The physical constitution of the individual human body was linked to the quality of “race” and “nation” and its strength became a metaphor for the strength of the nation-state. In the context of military reforms and the citizenship discourse, “population” emerged as an important political category, which remained a central issue for governance in China throughout the twentieth century.

NOTES

1. BBZ 1910, 1: La Tong, Jiaorenle, 123.

2. Historians such as Edmund Fung, Robert Culp, or Andrew Morris (as cited in this book) usually translate the term as “military/martial/militarized citizen(s),” “military/militarizing citizenship,” or even as “militant/militaristic citizens.” In my opinion, “citizen-soldier” best expresses the European ideas behind the term and the fact that military service was intrinsic to the concept of republican citizenship. While Arthur Waldron argues that the case of China is somewhat special and “we don’t find the idea of the ‘citizen-soldier’ with the first role defining the second,” instead we find the idea of the soldier as the model for citizenship, I will argue that the latter idea was already often dominant regarding the conceptualization of citizen-soldiers in nineteenth and twentieth-century Germany as well as other European countries and Japan. See Waldron 2006, 207.

3. Alternative formulations of this phrase in Chinese such as “in the whole country all are soldiers” (guan guo jue bing) were also used frequently in military writings.

4. Marschukat and Steiglitz 2008, 123–30; Hämmerle 2000, 238. Linking military masculinity and physically defending nation and state is still common practice in most countries with a conscript army such as South Korea. See Tikhonov 2009.


6. Kitchener 1869, 357.

7. Pommerin 2010, 455–58; see also Frevert 1996; Frevert 1997a; Frevert 2001, esp. chapter 2. Note that similar to Imperial China common soldiers were long disrespected in the German states before the Landwehr was introduced. On military service in other states in nineteenth-century Europe see Foerster 1994.


12. Becker 2003, esp. 131–32, 139. Women, Becker argues, were nevertheless not free from militaristic attitudes, as the membership in respective political clubs suggests. Women serving as soldiers and arming themselves, however, was perceived as “unconsidered war.”


15. Generally, on the link between nationalism, mass movements, nation building and gender, physical exercises, and sports, see Mayer 2000; Hoerermann 1984; Mosse 1975.


20. Citizenship does not merely designate the legal affiliation of an individual to a particular state including specific rights, freedoms, and duties but can also express
the membership in a—however defined or imagined—national community. Apart from “political citizenship,” which implies participation in the political process, Thomas Hamphrey Marshall and others have emphasized “social citizenship” as a further development of the concept of citizenship, taking into account how the socioeconomic situation of individuals affects their role as citizens within a nation-state. Recently, additional dimensions of citizenship have been distinguished by scholars, notably the idea of “cultural citizenship,” which examines how cultural beliefs and practices such as dress codes and rituals interact with the political and social sphere and the construction of nation-state and citizenship. See Marshall and Bottimore [1949] 1992; Turner 1993; Steenbergen 1994; Ong 1996. On the role of dress for citizenship and gender in general, see Parkin 2002. For a recent “transcultural” perspective on citizenship, see also Mitr 2013.

21. Culp 2007, 1–17 (esp. 7); Goldman and Perry 2002. Besides the term guomin, intellectuals used gongmin (“public people”) and shimin (“city people”) in the debate on the role of the people in a constitutional state. Kang Youwei, for instance, published a piece with the title Gongmin zizhi pian (Citizen Self-government) in 1902, which is discussed in Ma 1997. On citizenship discourses in early twentieth century China, see also Rowe 1993; Fogel and Zarrow 1997; Shen 2006. For an extensive discussion of terms and concepts such as “state” and “nation,” see Wagner 2011b; particularly for the term “society” (shehui), see Saito 2015.

22. Zarrow 2012, 89.

23. The term body politic was coined by the seventeenth century English political philosopher Thomas Hobbes, who emphasized the collective unity of the “body politic” personified by, and coming into existence through, the sovereign. Hobbes, along with Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Johan Caspar Bluntschi, became of major interest to Liang Qichao and other intellectuals at the beginning of the twentieth century. On Hobbes and “body politic,” see Malcolm 2002, 224. See also Harvey 2007.


25. For Liang’s partial translation and discussion of Bluntschi’s theory, see Liang Qichao, Zhengchizhe dajie Boliunzhi zhi xueshuo in Liang [1902] 1995, 67–89. See also Zarrow 2012, chapter 3; Lei 2010; Li 2004a; and Bastid-Bruguier 2004, 105–24 on Bluntschi’s influence on Liang.


27. Bluntschi 1885, 276.


29. Zarrow 2012, 104.

30. Another translation is New Citizens. The series comprises 20 chapters and was published between from 1902 to 1906 in the New Citizen’s Journal (Xinmin congbao), edited by Liang himself in Yokohama (Japan). Chapter 17, “Lun shangwu,” appeared in 1903 (number 29). For discussions see also Fung 1980, 95–6; Morris 2000, 881; Ly 2010; Zarrow 2012, 77, 111–12, 154. There is no room here to discuss Liang’s theories on citizenship and the people in detail but it is important to consider his ideas on a newly militarized and physically exercising citizenry, which influenced the military reform discourse.


32. Zhang [1898] 1998, 9767 (emphasis in the original). Whereas Bluntschi systematically redeveloped the concept of the state as an organic unity, which had existed in Europe since the Middle Ages, Chinese intellectuals also drew on the analogy between the human body and the secular and cosmic order, which had existed in China since the third century B.C. Daoist texts imagined the body as a divine “replica of the universe” and a number of state theoretical treatises depicted a well-ordered empire as the image of a well-ordered universe. The state was compared to a body, which had to be kept healthy by ministers or physicians, respectively. Furthermore, the body of the emperor represented cosmic order by correctly performing imperial rituals. See Lévi 1990, 105; Sin 1995; Wagner 2011a; Zito 1997, 1–9.

33. NBZ 1907, 8: Li Dehua, Lun jiaren wei jiaren yaozi, 9.

34. NBZ 1908, 18: Li Du, Bingjiluan, 1.

35. Yuan 1912–1916, speech no. 1 and no. 3.


37. Both articles are only summarized here in short as they have been discussed in detail elsewhere. See Fung 1980, 95–7; Morris 2000, 881–82; Hwang 2001, 45–7.

38. The article was published as a series in several issues. See Xinmin congbao 1902 issues 1, 3, and 11; Fan Gesheng, Jiaxunminjian. The complete article was reprinted in 1904 in the selected articles edition of the New Citizen’s Journal. See Xinmin congbao huihe 1904, 565–77. Other examples for a national soul or guohun were, according to Cai, the Monroe Doctrine of the United States or Russian Pan-Slavism. The idea of guohun was taken on by a few other writers, including Jiang Baoli, see Zhejiangcha 1903 (3): Feisheng, Guohunjian. See also Xie 1988, 77.

39. According to Thomas Harnisch he joined the Seventh Army Corps led by Paul von Hindenburg, who later became field marshal during the First World War and president of the Weimar Republic. Hindenburg, however, never commanded the Seventh Army Corps but the Fifth. See Harnisch 1999, 92.

40. Xinmin congbao 1903 (22): (Jiang) Baoli, Jiaxunmin zhi jiaoyu.

41. Harnisch 1999, 93. Goltz later gained a reputation as a military advisor to the Ottoman army. Jiang was obviously aware of Goltz’s much older work before he published his translation.


43. Cited in Xie 1988, 74.

44. Xie 1988, 73–5.

45. See for instance Yuxue yibian 1902 issues 1, 2, 4; Minyoushe, Wubei jiaoyu and Zhongguzheng 1903 (3): Feisheng (Jiang Baoli), Zhe jiaoyu. For an overview over the discussions about jiaxunmin see Fung 1980, 87–99 and Hwang 2001, 43–57.

46. NBZ 1906, 1: Xayan, 2.

48. Wu and Pan 1902, foreword. The book was a translation from a French book. During his career, Wu served as translator, official, and ambassador to the Qing and Republican embassies in Russia, England, Spain, Italy, and other European states.


50. NBZ 1906, 3: Wu Wo, Lan jundui wei qingnian zhi shixing xuexiao, 5. The title can also be translated as The Army as School of the Young.

51. Ibid., 5–6.

52. Ibid., 7.

53. Ibid., 8–10.

54. Ibid., 10–12. Other examples in the same spirit, which refer to the Spartan citizen-soldier ideal, include BBZ 1910, 2: Li Renlin, Lan jundui jiaoyu dang yi peiyang jingshen weibu ren; ZBZ 1915, 16: Li Erkang, Muji jundui zhi jiaoyuguan; ZBZ 1916, 28: Tang Zhongyong, Jundui zhi xixing zhe jin yi yan.


56. As in Germany, exemptions and exclusions were made: criminals, for example, were banned from military service. Hackett 1964, 335–37. An example for the circulation of the idea of the citizen-soldier is the translation of a book by the Japanese expert in constitutional law Inoue Eizushi, His Examination of Public and Private Rights of the Citizens of Various Countries was published in China by the Commercial Press in 1902 and introduced the Chinese-Japanese rendering of the French and German terms droit civil (civil law, translated as gongquan), Staatsburgerrecht (sic) (citizen’s rights, ziquan), Öffentlich recht (sic) (public law, gongmingquan). Gongquan or civil law, the book noted, included the duty of the people to sacrifice their lives for the nation-state and countries with a civil law always had some sort of military service. Inoue 1902, 6.

57. Shen 1897a, 10

58. Schnell 1897, 5.


60. Ibid., 725–31.


62. NBZ 1907, 7: Zou jinsheng zhongxue qing ze yao qifu gengru zhidaizhe, 11.

63. NBZ 1907, 12: Chen Qi, Lan zhengbing yi ling minggao.

64. NBZ 1909, 21: Yang Yuling, Jiaoyu mingzhi, 2–3. Yang probably referred to the Song of the Germans/Germany (Lied der Deutschen/Deutschland), which became the German national anthem in 1922. Another such piece of art, which were quite common in the Nanjing Military Journal and other military periodicals, was Wan Dezun’s poem Jiaoyumin. See NBZ 1907, 14 (shige). Cai E also referred to a Song of the Fatherland (Zuguojie) to describe the German “national soul.”

96. See for instance NBZ 1909, 30: Zhong Shi, Shi nian hou zhongguo zhi ganyan.
97. BBZ 1910, 3: Wan Dezun, Zhongguo jinri she junshi wai ji bu neng shencunlun, 15–16.
98. NBZ 1909, 30: Jiang wutang zu ye xueyuan liu bie mou jiaossi jinianwen, 7.
100. See also Fu 1944.
101. Judge 2002a, 30. These readers were mostly commercial publications by publication houses based in Shanghai. According to Judge, the Ministry of Education sought to produce its own reader in 1908. On the role of history textbook for the education of citizens, see also Hon and Culp 2007.
102. Zhu 1903. The Citizen's Reader contained advertisement for books about the education of toddlers, including one on physical exercises (tiaoz) and one on hygiene.
104. Ibid., 20–1, 40.
105. Ibid., 35–39.
106. Lyon 1905; Peake 1932.
108. Chen and Guo 1905, pian 1; Lyon 1905.
109. Chen and Guo 1905, pian 2, 3.
110. Ibid. This is probably a translation of the Latin proverb mens sana in corpore sano, a widely used slogan used in Germany in the context of education.
111. Chen and Guo 1905, pian 2, 3–4.
112. Ibid., pian 3, 1–4.
113. Ibid., pian 3, 27–9.
114. Chen and Guo 1906.
115. NBZ 1908, 28: Han Yingwu shuang lujunkushu, 12–13. See also the first part of the article, which discusses universal conscription in respect to the German-Japanese practices the Chinese army now followed. NBZ 1908, 27: Han Yingwu shuang lujunkushu, 15–17.
117. Ibid., ce 3, 5.
118. Ibid., 6.
119. Ibid., 3, 17. Lin does not provide the full proverb.
120. Ibid., 14–15, 17.
121. Ibid., 15.
122. NBZ 1907, 8: Huang Zan, Jiuwuominshu, 13–14. The first part of the article referred to the idea of the citizen-soldier in Japan (including the Yamato-damokii idea) and Sparta and discussed the aspects reputation and public morality. See NBZ 1906, 2.
123. See also Yuan et al. (1899) 1992, 1145–154.
124. Haidong 1905.
125. Ukita 1906, 1–6.
126. Ibid., 13–19.
127. Ibid., 19–28. The quotations are on page 25 and 26, respectively.
Chapter 6

School Reforms and the Education of Citizen-Soldiers

In his article, the Renovation of the People (Xumiushuo), Liang Qichao pointed to the great significance that the German emperor, Wilhelm II, attributed to the physical education of students for military purposes. Indeed, Wilhelm II was the prominent voice of political and military circles in the German Empire, which promoted early military education of children and viewed it as indispensable for the military preparedness and defense of both monarchy and nation. Moreover, he generally described schools (as well as theaters) as his “weapons” with which people would be drilled along military lines and disciplined to become obedient and loyal subjects. Because they faced an increasing social-democratic influence among the urban population and the reduction of compulsory military service from three to two years in 1890, Wilhelm II and the conservative German government and military leadership promoted military education in schools to increase the number of both fit and politically compliant army recruits. The Berlin School Conference on higher education set the agenda for introducing military education into schools, intensifying physical exercise, and promoting hygiene to increase the military preparedness of the nation. In his opening statement, Wilhelm II emphasized that a good physical constitution was the fundament of mental fitness and pre-military training was essential for patriotism and loyalty. Subsequently, militaristic and nationalistic associations, writers, educators, and military officers such as Friedrich von Bernhardi highlighted the threat of a coming people’s war, which made it necessary that every man served as soldier. A special commission on military preparedness (Wehrkraftausschuss) repeatedly pronounced the significance of physical and military education in schools for the sake of national military preparedness.

Military-style physical exercises and the idea of rearing citizen-soldiers also became central aspects of the new multilevel, age-graded civilian school
system launched by the Qing government in 1904. Chinese school reformers took into account different role models and, following individual preferences, argued in favor of the German, French, or Japanese role models. However, during the two decades after the turn of the century, the new educational system was strongly geared toward national defense and military preparedness and informed by conservative German educational doctrines. The late Qing and early Republican government directly adapted the Japanese school system, where, based on German and other European examples, military elements such as uniforms and the emphasis on strict obedience and physical discipline were common. Chinese reformers increasingly treated children as a resource that could be regulated and harnessed. And they viewed school education as the principal way of cultivating a martial spirit as well as physically strong and disciplined future citizen-soldiers. The education of citizen-soldiers (junguomin jiaoyu) in schools became a central aim of schooling and nurturing children and, indirectly, eventually encompassed the education of girls and women.

**REFORMS IN EDUCATION**

Education in Qing China centered on the civil service examination, which tested knowledge of Confucian classical writings and their prevalent interpretations, official annotations, and commentaries as well as sophisticated skills in language and writing. The examination system was hierarchically structured and consisted of four levels. While at the lowest (county) level, in principle, any man could participate, at the subsequent levels (provincial, metropolitan, imperial palace) permission to attend the exams was only given to candidates who had passed all previous levels. Successful candidates were ranked and earned titles, which enabled them to gain a corresponding office within the metropolitan bureaucracy or, much more popular and remunerative, in the provinces. Although examinations had existed since the Han Dynasty, the Sui Dynasty established the system of examination in 605 and began to turn them into the most major path to office. During the Song Dynasty it finally became by far the most important institution to select employees for government positions. During the late Ming and Qing Dynasties, the imperial Board of Rites administered the examinations but education was not formally institutionalized and learning and teaching were organized privately. Theoretically, any male adult could become a scholar-official but, in fact, the access to teachers, academies, and learning material of all kinds, as well as the freedom to prepare for and participate in the time-consuming exams strongly depended on wealth and social background. Through the civil service examinations, learning became enormously prestigious in late imperial China but not all studying served the purpose of becoming an official and cultivating ideal Confucian gentlemen (junzi). Scholars studying in academies (shuyuan), for instance, were interested in various fields of knowledge such as mathematics and medicine. Moreover, a large number of various family, lineage, community or charity schools existed, which provided elementary moral education and basic literacy. Estimations suggest that the degree of literacy in Qing China was relatively high compared to Europe, with up to 30 percent of the population possessing basic writing and reading skills. However, while the notion of educating or “enlightening” common people was quite central in Confucian thinking, a public school system and the idea of universal education did not exist.

In the early twentieth century, the established examination system was increasingly viewed as backward and failing to produce enough qualified people who were able to cope with the challenges of the time, including foreign pressure, economic and financial crises, or “Western” thinking, science, and technology. Already in 1895, intellectuals such as Kang Youwei demanded the establishment of new structures for education and he linked broad school education to “turning the people into soldiers” (yi min wei bing), as all “occidental powers” did. In 1896, Li Duanfen, an official and reformer, proposed the establishment of a new school system. These suggestions, however, went unheeded and the attempts at reform failed with the coup of 1898, which led to the expulsion of the first cohort of reformers after 1895. Only after the Boxer War in 1901, did the government reform the contents of the civil service examinations, which then included essays on contemporary issues and history. Finally, in late 1905, the examinations were abolished once and for all and replaced by an age-graded, consecutive school system that consisted of both government and privately run schools and which corresponded to the military school system established a few month earlier. The new educational system included kindergarten, primary school, middle school, college (or specialized higher schools), and university and was modeled after European, American, and Japanese examples. Primary schools were broken down hierarchically into lower primary school and higher primary school that students, starting from the age of seven, should attend for five and four years, respectively. Middle school lasted five years and was followed by the higher school or college, which lasted three years. After graduating, students could then attend university for three or four years and subsequently become researchers. The basic subjects in all schools were Chinese language, history, geography, arithmetic, physical exercise, and “moral education” (xiushen, literally maintaining the body, self-improvement, or self-cultivation).

On the one hand, the new system was supposed to create specialized officials who could replace the Confucian scholar-bureaucrat generalists. The established official degrees were therefore supposed to be awarded to the
To correct their—not further specified—vices, stimulate the flow of qi and blood, encourage their spirit, cultivate an orderly social behavior, and internalize a gracious way of walking and standing. "Useful" games and exercises, furthermore, would guide the students to "extend their thoughts." Regular calisthenics (puiong ticao) was added to these game-like exercises in the final years of lower primary education.¹⁴

In December 1905, the government installed a new Ministry of Education (Xuebu) to oversee the implementation of the new school system.¹⁵ In the following year, in 1906, the Ministry proclaimed five Aims of Education (Jiaoyu zongzhi): "loyalty to the emperor" (zhongjun), "veneration for Confucius" (zun Kong), and the development of a "public spirit" (shanggong), a "martial spirit" (shangwu), and a "spirit of practicality" (shangshi). "In various countries in East and West," the specifications of "martial spirit" stated, "the whole country serves as soldiers. From the sons of the head of state to the common people, everyone has the duty to serve as a soldier. [...] In these countries soldiering is called the blood tax of the people." In China, the universal duty of military service would create a bond (tongxin) between the son of heaven and the common people. Exercising soldiers inspired the people and, braving the hostile elements, "old, young, men, women happily become soldiers, and [die] in battle for glory (zhansi wei rong)." The dynasty, the text continued, was now determined to make defensive preparations (wadei) and training soldiers was imperative. Military discipline should be included in schools across the whole country to cultivate vigorous (gangjian) children who could endure hardship. In order to increase the sense of loyalty and to strengthen the idea of the nation-state over the self-interest and urge for self-preservation among the people, school textbooks should promote the concept of citizen-soldiers (jianguomin zhiyi). Literature, history, geography, and other disciplines should include military elements, give historical accounts of the heroic deeds of Chinese troops in naval and land battles, and include illustrations of canons, ships, and flags. Children should learn songs and poems about the military exploits of the Qing Dynasty for inspiration and encouragement. In calisthenics classes, strict discipline should be observed, although primary school students were allowed a more playful version of military-style physical exercises (youxi ticao), so that children’s bodies could develop gently. Finally, the authors of the Aims of Education asked: "three generations ago, everyone knew the meaning of soldiering, can we not revert to this?"¹⁶

Although the implementation of the ambitious national school program was slow in terms of absolute numbers, the government and the provincial bureaucracy was relatively successful. In 1904, a national total of over 4200 schools with approximately 92,000 students existed officially. According to the annual report of the Ministry of Education published in early 1911, over 1.5 million students attended more than 50,000 schools, including
13,000 girls. Although previously existing private village or lineage schools were often simply renamed and integrated in the new school system, and although teachers for the new subjects were in short supply, a sorting number of children received the new type of age-graded education in accordance with the new directives. Most significantly, an increasing number of children performed physical exercises and was inculcated with a martial spirit and the idea of becoming militarily prepared citizens.8

**DRILL AND MILITARY EDUCATION IN THE NEW SCHOOLS**

General gymnastics were first introduced to Qing China by missionary schools in the 1870s. Missionaries from Europe or the United States viewed Chinese boys as weak and effeminate and introduced gymnastics as a part of the general education in the schools they founded and operated. They employed physical exercise not only to impose their notions of body and gender on the children but also to bridge cultural differences and make their own values, such as diligence or self-discipline, more accessible. Popularizing gymnastic exercises, however, was difficult in China at this point, particularly among members of the elite, who regarded Christianity skeptically.19 In 1890, although he was not a missionary, Henry Paul King, an Englishman serving as a commissioner for the Chinese Maritime Customs Service, wrote one of the first textbooks on physical exercise for school beginners, called Body Exercises for the Elementary School (Youxue caoshen).20 King’s book introduced 32 illustrated exercises, including exercises for the different parts of the body, explanations about how to breathe while exercising, and instructions on how to use various pieces of equipment, such as the dumbbells or chairs and tables, which could be used to do push-ups and other specific movements. Similar to military training books, physical drill was depicted as a means to train both mind and spirit. According to King, it not only helped to achieve a strong and healthy body, including a long life and a constant flow of blood and qi, but also bolstered courage and will. Young children should be introduced carefully and playfully to simple exercises to prevent them from refusing physical education in general. Ultimately, according to King, the purpose of exercising consisted in strengthening the body and all the senses, which was essential to defend the country (as “shields and walls”) and withstand foreign aggression (gancheng yuwe).21

Physical education in missionary schools and other early school projects—the first Chinese school not under missionary auspices was created by Kang Youwei in Guangzhou in 1891—anticipated some of the directions late Qing reformers implemented for the new education system at the beginning of the twentieth century: the physical education of large segments of the population, starting from early childhood in order to be maximally effective, had the purpose of increasing the military preparedness of the entire nation by targeting individual bodies and minds. Both in Germany and Japan, education had the very same purpose, at least to a large degree. Knowledge of German educational organization and philosophy was theoretically accessible to Chinese elite members since the German missionary and sinologist Ernst Faber published his book in Chinese on Germany’s schools (Deguo xuexiao lunli, in German: Die Schulen Deutschlands) in 1873. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1894–1895, the interest of Chinese elites in European and American educational structures increased as they viewed learning as one of the most important and fundamental factors for regaining national strength. German schools were among those studied most intensely and Faber’s book was reprinted at least once in 1897.

Publications and reports on education in the German Empire, such as the book Summary by an Envoy to Germany (Shide shali) by Yang Sheng or the translation of The German School System (Deguo xuexiao zhida), originally penned by the Japanese Kato Komushi, confirmed the idea that, in Germany, boys from an early age onward received physical training. Yang started his career as a Zongli Yamen officer and later studied military affairs and law at the Humboldt University in Berlin in 1896. He later served as an aide to Yinchang on Zaifeng’s tour of atonement to Germany after the Boxer War in 1901. He subsequently served Yuan Shikai in Shandong and later become Qing ambassador to Austria, the Netherlands and, in 1905, to Germany. Upon his return to China, he held a variety of administrative offices and was later engaged in the Red Cross Society. He retired from his career in the bureaucracy in 1928 and henceforth engaged himself in commercial affairs in Shanghai. In his book, he emphasized that, in Germany, calisthenics instructions were already given in primary school and that military schools took young boys at the age of eight or nine years.22 Kato, who was an advisor to the Commercial Press, similarly reported that primary school boys in Germany performed calisthenics, while girls attended handicraft classes.23 Other publications, such as the Chinese-language periodical Xiehebao, published by Germans in Shanghai, occasionally reported on education and schools in German and thus stabilized existing views; one article in 1910, for instance, reported on the introduction of new forms of gymnastics at primary schools in Berlin.24

Furthermore, in Jiaozhou, Shandong province, the German navy established a protectorate in 1899, which included German-style schools for Chinese students. The curriculum included calisthenics as it was taught in the German Empire and the Chinese students were among the first to be exposed to this kind of military discipline.25 In Dalian, which was under Japanese control after the Russo-Japanese War in 1905, the Japanese colonial administration introduced military-style group calisthenics to schools because it
aimed at inculcating discipline into the Chinese students. While the Chinese students in Dalian increasingly turned to sports, particularly soccer, as a form of resistance to regain control over their bodies, German calisthenics and gymnastics nevertheless became part of the new school curricula promulgated by the Qing government.

Like the military reforms, educational reforms were centrally initiated and regulated while implementation mainly remained in the responsibility of the provinces. In 1905, Tang Jingchong, for instance, the official in charge of education in Jiangsu Province, published a textbook catalog for the upper primary schools of the province that described the different subjects and curricula for this level. Concerning tiaoa, the catalog introduced a book on regular calisthenics (putong tiaoa) as well as Theodore H. Schnell’s and Xiao Songfen’s military manual German military gymnastics (Deguo wubei tiaoxue), which was used by the New Armies. Regular calisthenics was supposed to introduce students to simple calisthenics without weapons as well as exercises with the dumbbells, “pole ball” (qiugan, probably tetherball), stick, and rings. With Schnell’s gymnastics manual, upper primary school students then received the full military calisthenics and drill, with and without weapons.

After the proclamation of the Aims of Education in 1906, the Ministry of Education produced book catalogs that standardized the use of textbooks and course materials for both students and teachers. Physical education of primary school children should be playful, not endanger the students, and there should be “no lack of enthusiasm.” For the lower primary school, the ministry stipulated that teachers and instructors used the textbook Calisthenics for the Elementary School (Youxue tiaoa), issued by the Zhili (Province) Department of Educational Service. This textbook, reprinted by the Ministry of Education, contained instructions on “light calisthenics” (rouruan tiaoa) and, in a second volume, descriptions of more advanced exercises. The first volume explained how to line up and position when starting calisthenics, and described exercises for the head, shoulders, the upper body, and the legs, as well as techniques for running, racing, and jumping. The instructions emphasized that the exercises should aim at providing elementary school students with a systematic introduction that focused on joy and that should not overstrain the children. Only later should the exercises become more complex and demanding. Generally, exercises should “activate physical strength, regulate the bearing, and inculcate commands.” According to the textbook, the physical development of the children was important to “turn the weak into robust, the robust into strong” because training the “four limbs and hundred bones provides daily vigor. It does not only make the body healthy and enables it to endure hard work but also affects virtue and intellect.”

Calisthenics for the Elementary School repeated many times that young children should start exercising carefully and slowly, to avoid both injuries and resentment among the students. They should begin with only one hour of training and only perform calisthenics in a group after practicing the movements individually. However, the whole set up was very military-like and the exercises aimed at nothing less than disciplining the body and mind in the military fashion. The children performed group calisthenics after a simple call and response routine, with an instructor uttering a simple command, which provoked a reaction by the group, just like in the army. Both exercises and commands were no different from those in the military. The students were arranged according to age and height and had to wear close-fitting, neat uniforms, which were supposed to make them more nimble and flexible. They should be reminded to drill with their full heart and body. Moreover, instructors should also take care of hygiene, including the environment and general conditions: drill grounds, for instance, should be surrounded by trees that protected students from wind and heat and provided them with fresh air. While the first volume aimed at teaching students basic postures and moves correctly, the second volume introduced more advanced exercises, which were not only suitable for children but also for adults. Constant support for those training at home should be given, meaning that people had to be reminded all the time not to neglect exercising. The volume focused extensively on breathing techniques and introduced simple stretching exercises but also pointed out that military-style apparatus gymnastics would be very beneficial for older people. Similar to military manuals, Calisthenics for Elementary School contained illustrations of people performing the exercises it described, which hardly look different from those in the Detailed and Illustrated Manual; they are wearing a close-fitting, new-style drill uniform with boots and a high collar and with allegedly traditional Chinese elements such as the conical hat. A pigtail is sometimes visible and, probably following the idea that exercising should be joyful for children, the figure in the illustration appears to be smiling and happy.

Apart from military gymnastics, other elements taken from the army made education and schooling reminiscent of military drill and the meticulous regulation of the physical body in the army. One such element was school uniforms whose introduction, however, was a very controversial issue, and part of the struggle between the advocates of “Chinese-style” and “Western-style” clothes. Zhang Zhidong, for one, was the first to order the use of close-fitting military-style uniforms for students in Hubei while exercising and conducting gymnastics. However, he insisted that they otherwise had to maintain the established long-gown style and refrained from cutting their queues. Duanfang was initially indifferent toward school uniforms but later pointed out the advantages for the children’s discipline. Other officials, on the other hand, were completely against introducing “Western-style” uniforms because of the high costs, which were usually imposed upon the parents. Although
School Reforms and the Education of Citizen-Soldiers

...the central government and the Ministry of Education sought to standardize the dress of students, the responsibility for regulation and providing uniforms remained with the schools. As a result, simple military-style drill clothes were commonly used as uniforms in many places. In 1905, the Government Reform Commission petitioned to standardize school dress on the provincial level according to the different types and grades; this was divided into formal dress and drill clothes. Zhang Zhidong consequently issued regulations for Hubei that stipulated new uniforms with a design based on the established "Chinese" style. This way, the student's loyalty to the Qing and their identity as Chinese citizens should be strengthened. The Ministry of Education officially followed this arrangement and ordered that middle and high school students must not wear close-fitting dress in public but only the unlined long gown. However, many officials felt that the Hubei uniforms were neither Chinese nor "Western" in style. Eventually, many schools followed the example of Japanese regular school uniforms, which were originally modeled after the Prussian army uniform for boys and after English naval uniforms for girls.55

Another major military disciplinary technology adopted for general schools was the strict regulation of hygiene. In 1903, a translation of a book titled School Hygienics (Xuexiaoweihsengxue), originally written by the German-educated Japanese doctor and hygiene pioneer, Mishima Michiyoshi, was published. It quoted six books written by German doctors or published by medical facilities in Berlin that were highly popular among medical instructors and architects who constructed school buildings, according to Mishima.56 The book highlighted the development and health of the body as the foundation of the nation. School hygiene was linked to the strength of the citizenry, and thus the strength of the nation. Europe and the United States had strong soldiers because they took physical education very seriously. A crooked body and wrong posture, lack of light and warmth all harmed the body, Mishima argued, and a physically weak race consumed all the strength of a nation. Therefore, hygiene could not be emphasized too much: if it was not taken care of, "those who must sacrifice their lives cannot fulfill their task."57 On the following pages, he detailed at great length virtually every aspect of hygiene and health education, including the construction of dorms as well as play and exercising grounds, air circulation, furniture, equipment, or the medical supervision of students.58 Influenced by both foreign educational examples and the New Armies, hygiene education subsequently became a part of the new school curricula in China and was viewed as an important element for educating and preparing the physical body.

School uniforms, hygiene, and physical drill all had an inherent military direction. Similarly, singing songs in schools, particularly while conducting physical exercises, became effectively militarized. While performing group calisthenics, students often sang or reproduced songs especially written for drilling that were supposed to help them to concentrate and coordinate. Zhang Zhidong himself composed a lengthy School Song (Xuetangge) in early 1905 for the schools in Huguang, where he served as governor-general. The song contained over 130 lines of thirteen characters each and was supposed to stir the martial spirit of the children and teach them loyalty and courage. According to the accompanying instructions, they should conduct six steps while slowly reciting the first six of thirteen characters of one line and another four steps while quickly saying the final seven characters. According to the song, physical education and hygiene "make the people strong." And through ethical education (deyu), the following line emphasized, everyone becomes a patriot and people become good. The song was supposed to make exercising easier, but it also helped to instill ideas and knowledge into the students. Basically, it dealt with every current political topic. "Learn from the Army," one line explained, "[it] consists of two schools, tactics and strategy, to eliminate crudeness and rashness." Prosperity, another line emphasized, depended on exercising, which made "everyone worthy to become a soldier and [made] the country flourish." The song also included lines which were supposed to explain why one should learn a foreign language: English was the language of commerce, French the language of diplomacy, Japanese the language that made foreign books accessible in translation, and German was the "meticulous" military language. Germany, another line added, was strong because of Bismarck and the fact that "everyone was a soldier" (renren dang bing).59

In Germany, and later also in Japan, educators and politicians viewed singing and music as very useful for the military education of students.60 Liang Qichao and Kang Youwei had already pointed out, before 1898, the importance of music and singing for the physical, moral, and intellectual education of citizens. They and other intellectuals identified military music, marches, and songs as part of the allegedly deeply militarized German culture. A book called The German Army System by the officials Wu Zongliang and Pan Yunsha introduced both the German national anthem, written by August Heinrich Hoffmann von Fallersleben in 1840, and the song Die Wacht am Rhein (Laiyinjiang xubingxing), a chauvinist, anti-French song, which became famous after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871 and which developed into a popular, unofficial hymn in the German Empire.61

After the turn of the century, educational reformers such as Duanfang, Tan Sitong, Yang Du, and Huang Zunxian regarded military songs and martial music, along with poetry and other works of literature and art, as useful media for the cultivation of citizen-soldiers at an early age. Liang Qichao who, like Tan Sitong and Yang Du, himself wrote military songs and even translated the national anthems of Germany and France into Chinese, was very enthusiastic about the use of marches and songs to raise patriotic feelings and the martial spirit among the people. He was particularly in favor of the marches
and songs written by his friend Huang Zunxian, a prolific writer and poet who also had served as a Qing diplomat to Japan, England, the United States, and Singapore. Influenced by Cai E’s idea of citizen-soldiers, he wrote a number of songs to encourage military service for the nation. In Liang Qichao’s eyes, Huang’s military marches and songs, which “undeniably possessed an imposing manly (xiōnghuáng), lively, profound, and far-reaching spirit,” inspired masculinity in the listeners: “anyone who reads these verses without starting to dance cannot be a [real] man” (bì fēi nánzǐ). In Liang’s view, military songs and martial music had led the ancient Spartans to great victories and, generally, helped to overcome fear and cowardice.42

The use of songs to inculcate specific ideas and behavioral patterns in children was quite popular among many Chinese educators after the turn of the century. Numerous song textbooks for students circulated that offered easily accessible and catchy introductions to the new school subjects.43 One of the most ardent promoters of songs in schools for these practical reasons was Shen Xingong, who was motivated by Liang’s promotion of military music. After receiving an education at Shanghai Polytechnic and at St. John’s College (also located in Shanghai), Shen went to Japan, where the use of songs and music as a source of inspiration and motivation deeply impressed him. Although he did not receive a formal education in music, he soon started to write his own songs, which were strongly informed by Japanese songs, melodies, and military music. His first piece, Boys Must Have High Aspirations (Nán’er de yì zhìqìgáo), published in 1903 and originally bearing the title Tícao—Bínghào (Physical Exercise—Military Drill), became hugely popular. Apart from compiling and publishing school song books, Shen, between 1904 and 1937, wrote over one hundred and eighty school songs, often with melodies adopted from Christian songs. According to Gong Hengyu, he is today sometimes referred to as the “father of school songs” in China. Shen, who himself taught singing in schools, as well as other educators, intellectuals, and song writers increasingly viewed music and physical exercise as closely linked. A few normal schools started to offer specialist courses for teachers in music and calisthenics (yínqǔ tícāo zhùxiǎosuì) from 1906 onward and music as a subject was added to the official school curriculum as an optional subject in 1909. In the following year, singing became mandatory in primary schools. During the early years of the Republic, Shen and others edited schools song anthologies dedicated to the education of the Republican citizenry. In 1913, Feng Liang, who had previously studied in Japan, for instance, published a Collection of Songs for the Education of Citizen-Soldiers (Jiànguó mín chángjièi).44

Military journals also included songs as well as short stories, poems, and images that promoted the idea of citizen-soldiers, patriotism, and values linked to military masculinity among students and children. The Nanyang

Military Journal had a series called Heroic Boys and Girls (Ernǐ yingzì) in its “military short stories” (jūnshí xiǎoshù) rubric. The contributions in the series often repeated—sometimes through child characters—typical military phrases such as “dying in battle is honorable” or “helping my compatriots makes me happy.” One story by Yang Yuling, published in 1909 and titled Account of China at War in the Future (Zhongguo zhànzhēng wéiáiji), contained a picture that epitomized the significance assigned to the military education of children and the cultivation of citizen-soldiers (Figure 6.1). In the picture, common soldiers say goodbye to their wives, parents, and

Figure 6.1 “Seeing off the Soldiers.” Source: NBZ 1909, 39; jūnshí xiǎoshù, Zhongguo zhànzhēng wéiáiji.
children, who are encouraged by their mothers and grandparents to cheer and rejoice. Outside the window, another soldier is rushing away, probably to his regiment or into battle. At the window a slogan reads: “sacrifice to save [your] compatriots” (xisheng jiu tongbao). The whole picture represented a military culture that was deeply seated in society. Serving as soldier, it conveyed, is an honorable duty of men for family, nation, and state.35

THE EDUCATION OF CITIZEN-SOLDIERS IN THE EARLY REPUBLIC

Universal conscription was never implemented during the late Qing and Republican period, but Chinese educational and military reformers increasingly considered training and preparing students directly for military service. Apart from the Ministry of Education’s aim to cultivate citizen-soldiers, military training was introduced on the upper levels of school education toward the end of the dynasty. In late 1910, Yinchang and the Army Ministry, aiming at elevating the status of military men and persuading more men to join the army, demanded the inclusion of basic military training in the curriculum of all schools.46 Others repeated this demand, including the governor-general of the three Northeast provinces (Manchuria) Xiliang and the National Education Conference convened by the Jiangsu Education Association. In April 1911, the Ministry of Education eventually ordered that all schools from the middle school level and above should copy military training from the Lujuan. The great disparity between calisthenics in schools and the training in the army, a memo by the Ministry noted, were the reason for the failure to instill a martial spirit and “cultivate strong and firm talent.” Hence, to fulfill the aim of educating citizen-soldiers, military drill, field exercises, the “general idea of military science” (bingxue dayi), and particularly target and gun practices should be included in the curricula of all middle and higher schools. Once a week, the students should practice shooting with real ammunition, supervised by graduates from military schools.47

The late Qing plan to establish a constitutional monarchy stipulated teaching students about their obligations as citizens: the payment of taxes and military service. Schools should prepare boys for military service, which reformers and educators envisaged as the duty of every male citizen in a future constitutional state. The cultivation of citizens-soldiers, including the inculcation of a martial spirit, military drill, firing practice with live ammunition, physical exercise, and military science was supported by numerous provincial education associations independent of the central government. Zhang Jian, an entrepreneur and vice-chairman of the Jiangsu Education Association, for instance, viewed popularizing a martial spirit as one of the main goals of education.48 The project of education for citizen-soldiers was further pressed ahead by the Central Education Council (Zhongyue jiaoyu hu), which was created by the Ministry of Education and convened in July and August 1911. The Central Education Council, including over 130 educators, school inspectors and supervisors, and education association members from the whole country, demanded an explicit imperial endorsement of military education from the higher primary school onward. It demanded that the Qing officially acknowledge and promulgate military education as a fundamental goal of general education and make it mandatory at both private and public schools. Most importantly, the Central Education Council promoted the expansion of physical education to include all levels of education.49

For a variety of political, cultural, financial, and logistical reasons, the Qing were not able to implement these demands of increasing military education in general schools, but the reorganization of the school and educational system continued in this direction. Soon after the foundation of the Republic, in January 1912, the Nanjing government under Sun Yat-sen appointed Cai Yuanpei as Minister of Education. Cai, who had studied philosophy, psychology, and art history at the University of Leipzig in Germany and became chancellor of the Peking University in 1917 and the first president of the Academia Sinica in 1928, adjusted the national school curricula to the republican ideology.50 Basically, the new curricula promulgated by the government resembled those from 1904 but included a number of modifications. The Qing Dynasty and the emperor were removed from their place as highest authority and replaced by the Republic, which now should receive the loyalty of the citizens. Confucian thought and writings were entirely eliminated and official degrees were no longer awarded to graduates from primary and middle schools. Organizationally, the government shortened the time a student had to spend in school and, moreover, boys and girls should hence be able to attend the lower primary school together. Military drill and physical exercises were still of great importance and should be reinforced, along with courses teaching manual skills, above the primary school level. In addition to the reorganization of the formal school system, Cai’s preliminary outline stipulated measures to expand universal education (so-called shehu jiaoyu and tongsu jiaoyu), including public lectures, libraries, and “moving pictures” (huadonghua). The overall aim of education should be the creation of a new, republican citizenry, familiar with its responsibilities and rights, knowledgeable about the economic and military needs of the Republic, and endowed with a sense of public virtue and martial spirit.

Cai, who had been a member of the Revolutionary Alliance, resigned in July 1912 and went to Germany and France because of dissension between him and the new president Yuan Shikai. However, Cai’s ideas and designs were integrated into the new Aims of Education and school system...
promulgated by the Ministry of Education (now renamed into 資政院) in September of the same year. The emphasis of education should be on “moral and virtue”—a rather vague concept open to interpretation, which was complemented by utilitarianism, the idea of citizen-soldiers, and aesthetics. While it was not mentioned in the educational directives, inculcating patriotism was another major aspect of education that had already been stressed by Cai and became an element of subsequent regulations. Children should express their patriotic sentiments, for instance, by singing the national anthem and flying the Republican Flag during National Day on October 10.

The basic patterns of the school system introduced in 1912 remained intact until 1922. From 1913 until his death in 1916, education was, however, overshadowed by Yuan Shikai's views and political goals. Yuan early discovered the importance and potential of public schools and, while acting as the governor of Zhili province, he undertook wide-ranging efforts to establish schools with foreign-style curricula and increase the number of students. According to a survey by the Ministry of Education in 1907, more than 8000 schools of different types existed in Zhili, attended by over 160,000 students. Military drill was part of the school curricula from the level of the lower primary school upward.

Yuan's approach to education was anti-elitist and his goal was implementing nationwide primary education. He shared this view with Sun Yat-sen and many educators in late Qing and early Republican China but it was ultimately opposed to the views of Cai Yuanpei, who favored higher education, cosmopolitanism, and aestheticicism and who aimed for the establishment of universities after the German model. Yuan, however, rather than pursuing a social agenda opposed to Cai's allegedly reactionary ideas, sought after the best way to create patriotic, obedient, dutiful, and militarily prepared citizens. Yuan promoted general education, but he envisioned a double-track system after the German model to separate common from better-off children. This scheme, which was rejected by many educationalists as strongly elitist and feudalistic, was supposed to provide the foundation for highly educated military men and other specialists.

For reasons of moral indoctrination, Yuan first reintroduced the cult of honoring Confucius and, in 1915, Confucian classics again became part of the school curriculum, with the aim of teaching students virtues such as loyalty and piety. These concepts deliberately referred strongly to the late imperial legacy. In Yuan's view, presented in the Promulgation of the Aims of Education in January 1915, education above all had to fan patriotism, raise the martial spirit, and produce sincere, honest, and eager citizens with the ability to self-govern (治世) and to enrich the state. Concerning patriotism, he used the same rhetoric as when addressing soldiers and employed terms such as fatherland (祖國), iron and blood (鐵血), and sacrifice (犧牲). According to Yuan “true patriotism cannot be destroyed.” He emphasized that state (國) and people (人) were linked and interdependent: “with the skin gone, what can the hair attach itself to?” A strong state rested on strong citizens (民), who in turn depended on a strong body, and a strong body resulted from martial spirit. Protecting the body/oneself (護身) was like protecting the state. And how would one protect oneself? Yuan asked. Today, there existed “strong and healthy men” (壯壯健健) and “gentle and frail scholars” (文弱之士). Only the latter got sick of bad weather, because they did not possess a martial spirit like the strong men. And, for that reason, everyone talking about the education of citizens agreed, he claimed, that physical education was the most important element, more important than virtue and knowledge. Children should play to “activate the spirit” and, when they were older, conduct military gymnastics and improve their physique. How would that help the state? Physical exercise and martial spirit were the manifestation of the ancient idea that “the whole country served as soldier,” Yuan argued. Everywhere, in “East and West,” particularly where systems of conscription were enforced, every citizen had the duty to serve as a soldier. There was “no citizen who was not a soldier, no soldier who was not a citizen.” Soldiering was joy, and dying in battle was glorious, he emphasized. "Martial spirit is the quality [one needed] to prepare for becoming a soldier." In the decade after the fall of the Qing, citizenship and school education remained strongly influenced by the idea of the citizen as soldiers. Although competitive sports and the idea of free development of a child began to emerge in China, most educators, reformers, and politicians, like Yuan Shikai, favored and promoted military gymnastics, military discipline, and military values. Military gymnastics remained an important part of the school curriculum and military circles demanded that military-style physical exercises should not be neglected in schools. In 1915, the government renamed lower primary schools to citizen schools (國民學校) and decreed that all schools must have a training ground for gymnastics (體操場). Like other subjects such as drawing, singing, sewing, or handicrafts, gymnastics should always be taught by specialists and not by regular schoolteachers. Furthermore, considering the significance of healthy physical bodies for the state and military, the government banned corporal punishment for school children.

Eventually, after the First World War, Chinese educators and intellectuals increasingly rejected German military gymnastics because of its alleged “militaristic” connections. While military gymnastics or 体操 was still practiced in the army, after the 1910s, other forms of physical education became more popular among Chinese urbanites. Particularly Anglo-American competitive team sports and track and field, subsumed under the terms 田徑 or 体育 (deriving from the Japanese terms 競技 and 体育, respectively), proliferated in urban China. As a wide-ranging discourse on physical education in
newly emerging general and specialist periodicals enfolded, the purpose and meaning of exercising became less tangible (for military service) and increasingly abstract (for the "nation") and widespread. Similar struggles between military-inspired forms of gymnastics and competitive sports, which were connoted as “peaceful,” also occurred in Europe at the same time. In Britain, sport was only added officially to the school curriculum in 1906; the emphasis in state elementary schools had previously lain on military-style drill.44

By 1910, Andrew D. Morris argues, the link between physical exercise, individual health, and fitness for the survival and development of the Chinese nation-state seemed obvious to large parts of the population. Military gymnastics and other forms of physical education became increasingly popular among the wider society and were promoted strongly by military and educational reformers. Physical education was increasingly in vogue in urban China and politicians and intellectuals, among others, viewed it as a means of overcoming the image of "the sick man of East Asia" and the (self-) attribution of Chinese men and women as being weak and spiritless for cultural reasons.45 Apart from schools, the Scouting Movement, which gained an increasing foothold in China after 1911, contributed to citizenship education with a military orientation. The Boy Scouts, a number of similar organizations and their respective journals, such as the Boy Scouts Monthly (Tongji jian yuekan), promoted a male body ideal along the lines of military discipline, masculinity, and values.46 Together with student military training groups, boy scouts engaged in large military-style reviews and parades in the 1910s and 1920s that were supported by political leaders such as Jiang Jieshi.47

As physical education became more nationalistic in the early years of the Republic, allegedly traditional martial arts experienced a renaissance. A strong movement consisting of practitioners and politicians started promoting "Chinese martial arts," then termed Wushu, as a national cultural heritage. Practitioners created a few, clearly identifiable and defined styles out of the manifold and piecemeal forms of martial arts that existed throughout the country. They created fixed sets of techniques, regulations, and rules, and organized contests. However, as in the case of other, long-existing forms of bodily practice systems such as Yoga or Jujutsu, Wushu absorbed elements from European sport and exercise regimens at the beginning of the twentieth century, including military-style gymnastics.48 As president of the Republic, Yuan Shikai became one of the most important patrons of Wushu training in schools that aimed at the toughening-up of young people for potential military service—similar to German military gymnastics but with a strongly traditionalist and nationalist undertone. In 1915, martial arts became part of school curricula without replacing gymnastics or other forms of exercise. Two years later, in 1917, the government in Beijing made Wushu, at least officially, part of the basic training in the army. Ticao, however, was still in use and later also practiced by the Nationalist army and the Communist People's Liberation Army.49

MOTHER OF CITIZEN-SOLDIERS

The educational system outlined in 1904 neither stipulated the establishment of public schools for girls nor the introduction of coeducation. Instead, the authors of the educational outlines, Zhang Zhidong, Rongqing, and Zhang Baixi, argued that women's education should solely take place at home and follow the idea that girls should be brought up to be "good wives and worthy mothers" (xiannu liangqi). Following established customs, they feared that too much education for women ultimately led to moral decay, including free marriage and promiscuity. However, private schools, missionary schools, nursery schools, and kindergartens, which often accepted girls older than the nominally allowed age, already existed. In 1907, on order of Empress Dowager Cixi, the Ministry of Education finally promulgated the Regulation for Girls' Schools (Niizi xuezhang zhangcheng) and the Regulations for Girls' Normal Schools (Niizi shifan xuezhang zhangcheng) and introduced public primary and normal schools for female students. In 1912, the government installed secondary education for girls as well as co-education in primary school and, in 1919, it sanctioned the establishment of higher normal schools for women and allowed them to enter Peking University.50

The major issue related to the education of girls or women was not a general social or cultural rejection but the exposure of female bodies in public schools. Generally spoken, the higher the social standing and reputability of a woman, the more she was confined to her own chambers. Confucian orthodoxy endorsed education and emphasized its transformative potential and positive influence on both men and women. In the late imperial era, women usually were taught proper behavior, their position as wife or daughter in the family, and certain skills they needed for the household. Although they were not eligible to participate in the examinations for officials, women from wealthy and educated families often learned to write and read to a quite sophisticated degree. In any case, the education of girls and women had to happen at home behind closed doors and no woman was supposed to display her knowledge and learnedness. Moreover, as mothers, they were largely responsible for the moral upbringing of their children and teaching them basic writing and reading skills.51

After the turn of the century, the notion that female education should aim at fostering worthy (or wise) mothers and good (or virtuous) wives prevailed. The term was first introduced in the translation of a Japanese article in the Educational Miscellany (Jiaoyu congshu) journal, whose founding was
backed by Liu Kunyi and Zhang Zhidong. The idea of good wives and worthy mothers, formulated after European examples, was the principle idea around which debates concerning the education of women in Japan had centered since the start of the Meiji era. After 1895, it became the official leitmotif of educational politics in Japan. After the turn of the century, it was then appropriated by Chinese educators and soon became the focal point of an ambiguous debate about women's rights, their political and social role, and feminism. A consequence of the aim to educate women to be good wives and worthy mothers was a concentration on household education, which was depicted as an issue of national importance: women had to be primarily taught to make the home run smoothly and give their husbands the space to accomplish great deeds of national importance. Households duties of women were sometimes viewed as similar to the patriotic duty of men serving in the military. Good wives and worthy mothers had an active responsibility for the condition of Chinese society and the nation as a whole. From the perspective of military reformers, the idea of "worthy mothers" was essential. Military leaders and reformers viewed women not only as central to the basic pre-school education of toddlers and small children but also for the prenatal and biological preconditions of citizen-soldiers. They directly related the fitness and health of prospective mothers to the military preparedness of the people and the "race."

Concepts of femininity and the social roles of women in China changed dramatically at the beginning of the twentieth century. On the one hand, these changes occurred due to the radical repositioning of women through successful feminist agendas of equality and liberation. On the other hand, both a newly developing governance rationality and nationalist ideology modified established gender roles and concepts. Military reforms not only produced new concepts and practices of masculinity but also strongly facilitated the conceptualization of "women as mothers of citizens" (guomin zhi mu). The idea that women were themselves not citizens but only mothers of (male) citizens became the "applied gender ideology" depicted in textbooks. Women were denied citizenship but construed as "progenitors" of citizens, who were responsible for the biological quality of the race and the strength of the nation. This quality, Joan Judge argues, was perceived as physical rather than intellectual or moral and, as a consequence, girls should receive physical and hygiene education to become strong, robust, and healthy. While educators usually insisted strictly on women as schoolteachers for girls, in the case of physical exercise classes, men were admitted as instructors.

Among the first to advocate both a broad and systemized education for women and the reconfiguration of gender arrangements were post-1895 intellectuals such as Liang Qichao, Kang Youwei, and Tan Sitong. In his influential essay Discussion of Women's Education (1897), Liang argued that women needed to be educated to become economically independent from men. Although this would certainly increase the status and improve the treatment of women, his aim was to turn them into producers who were able to support the family and reduce the husband's burden of providing. He did not necessarily question the established family and gender arrangement and demanded that education should serve practical purposes. The purpose of educating women was to make the interaction in family and household smoother and to prepare women to instruct their children in the right way. Finally, Liang emphasized, physical education of women was crucial to ensure the fitness of the offspring and the survival of race and nation.

After the turn of the century, an increasing number of intellectuals and politicians followed the argument that educating women made them productive contributors to China's economic recovery. However, they usually had training in handicraft skills in mind and only a few, such as Zhang Zhidong, actually considered women as a potential workforce for the emerging industrial sector. While the New ARmies virtually never considered the employment of women as "human resources" in any way, one article by Wan Ao in the Nanyang Military Journal from 1909 suggested developing the working skills of the female members of military households and establishing handicraft schools where they learned sewing, weaving, or needlework. They would not only be able to help the family economically, particularly if a soldier died in service, but they would also support the army by producing military equipment such as uniforms and shoes. Consequently, military dress no longer needed to be imported from abroad and this, implicitly, strengthened the national economy. Wan concluded that handicraft schools and women sewing uniforms would strengthen the bond between people and the military and raise the status of soldiers.

The idea of women being the mothers of future citizens became much more important. Educators, intellectuals, and military reformers considered the education of women as essential for the development of boys into healthy and worthy citizens. In 1902, Zhang Yingxu, an architect and official educated in Japan, and Yang Du, Yuan Shikai's later advisor who also went to university in Japan, published their translation of an essay on the educational situation of women in China, originally written by the Japanese educator Shimoda Utako. Shimoda was a woman who strongly promoted the ideology of "good wives and worthy mothers" and herself established the Hissen Women's School near Tokyo (in 1899), which had a large number of female Chinese students. Her ideas on women's and girls' education influenced important political figures such as Zhang Zhidong, Cixi, and Sun Yat-sen. In essence, the translation argued that "the education of women is the source of men's education, (because) education at home is the foundation for school education." According to Shimoda, the education of prospective mothers had, in fact, two dimensions: a biological and a moral one. As in Korea, Annan (Vietnam),
Burma, or Turkey, everyone in China was weak because women did not receive an education, Shimoda argued. Unlike Japanese women, Chinese elite women all had bound feet and were fragile and docile. The result was that the “Chinese race” was weak. On the other hand, she emphasized, “if the bodies of women of one country are strong, then the bodies of men will be even stronger!” The physical, intellectual, and moral education of women, through schools, educational societies, or periodicals, was the very foundation of a strong nation. Apart from the reproductive responsibility of their bodies to produce healthy and fit children, women were in “charge of observing the conduct of men.” Finally, for the sake of balance and harmony, women also had to be taught patriotism, “the beautiful gist of citizenship and strongest foundation of the nation.” According to Shimoda, it would do the country no good if one-half of the citizens was patriotic and the other half was not. The shame foreigners inflicted on the country also concerned women and thus, she demanded, they had to participate in protecting it.

Until the 1910s, the debate about school education of women and girls, particularly their physical education, was strongly dominated by the idea of “women as mothers of citizens” and promoted in periodicals, school publications, and official regulations. The underlying goal of politicians and reformers was breeding fitter children who would become more capable and stronger soldiers, compared to the weak and sickly men of the past. Physical exercise and hygiene prepared women to give birth to sturdy men, whose rights and duties as future citizens were linked to their ability to physically defend the nation and ensure the survival of the race. Particularly hygiene, Sarah Stevens argues, was an instrument to “co-opt” women for the project of founding a strong nation. In 1905, Yuan Shikai himself published an article with the title Women are the Mothers of Citizens in the Shuntian Shibao, a Japanese newspaper based in Beijing. Yuan polemically underlined the importance of girls’ schooling and repeatedly described girls as the foundation of the wealth and strength of country and race. “A stupid and clumsy cow—can she give birth to a unicorn?” Yuan asked. First, he pronounced, the bad habit of foot binding had to be abolished and girls should participate in gymnastics. Second, they would learn arithmetic, geography, science, and other subjects. Learning and exercise made them strong and if girls were strong they would become strong mothers, resulting in a stronger race. Before citizens could be cultivated, women had to be cultivated, Yuan declared and observed that talents (rencai) did not fall from the sky but they were born by women (and not from men). “Without women, there are no citizens!”

After the Qing government officially decided, in 1907, to establish state-run schools for girls, specific textbooks on virtue of education for girls followed that emphasized the role of women as mothers and wives as well as the significance of physical education, patriotism, and martial spirit. In many ways, these textbooks embodied the attempt to comprehensively regulate women’s bodies. One richly illustrated volume from 1909, the Reader for the Self-Cultivation for Female Students (Nüzí xiushen duben), edited by Zhang Renan, strongly followed the idea that “women are the mothers of citizens.” While it frequently referred to established Chinese notions on the conduct of women, such as filial piety, the reader also emphasized motherhood and placed it in an international context: “in China and the West, everyone says that women are the mothers of citizens. The backwardness of the [Chinese] citizens is connected to the decline of mothers’ education [because] women’s education is the foundation of the nation [...].” The Ministry of Education published similar educational materials that repeated the same message. The Self-Cultivation Textbook for Girls’ Lower Primary Schools (Nüzí chudeng xiaoxue xiushen jiaokeshu) from 1910, a book consisting completely of illustrations, emphasized hygiene, orderliness, discipline, appearance, and respect for teachers and other people. For instance, one picture showing a girl sitting upright and attentive at a desk is contrasted with a picture of an obviously bored girl who idly lunched over her desk. Other illustrations show girls on the “exercise ground” (tiaochang), playing hoopla, or ball games. Moreover, early in 1910, the Ministry Education issued a regulation concerning the style and color of girls’ school uniforms, which should be a simple blue or light blue dress covering the knees and made of home-produced linen or cotton. Primary school students, however, should generally simply wear what they wore at home. Bound feet, the regulation explicitly stated, were forbidden.

The first magazines for women, issued during late Qing and early Republican years, such as the Nüzí shijie (Women’s World), Funü Shibao (The Women’s Eastern Times) and Funü zazhi (The Ladies’ Journal), similarly promoted physical education and gymnastic exercises for women and often repeated the designation of women as mothers. An article on Women’s Gymnastics (Shou nüzí zhi tiaox) by Tang Jianwo, published in the Funü Shibao in 1911, argued that there were not many big differences between men and women apart from the fact that men had the duty to serve as soldiers. Women’s bodies were frail compared to the bodies of men but they still needed to exercise. She stated that the Berlin medical society, in 1864, had announced that the bad health of a mother affected her offspring. “Thus, the weak body of a woman might become a calamity for the citizenry,” she declared. According to Tang, women were only slightly different than men, but this small difference became in fact decisive in the discourse on citizenship: men could become soldiers; women could not. However, for the sake of the military preparedness of the nation, they had to take care of their bodies and were responsible for producing strong prospective soldiers and citizens. The idea derived from Europe and was particularly prevalent in the German educational system.
martial stories, which often spared the reader details about fighting and the battlefield, twentieth century women activists nevertheless drew on martial female figures such as Hua Mulan, along with social heroines, to demonstrate their feminist or nationalistic conviction. For instance, one early Republican version of the Hua Mulan theme was packed into a report about the First World War in Europe: according to the Zhejiang Military Journal, many Russian men had died and so women, dressed in men’s uniforms, took over their duties. Although it was a violation of international military law, some of these Russian woman soldiers even went to the battle line, disguised as men. These “brave female soldiers wearing men’s uniforms,” the report declared, “really possess a spirit of public service and loyalty, and willingly sacrifice themselves (xisheng qi shen) without reward.”

The moral of this cross-dressing story was not filial piety and virtue, but sacrifice and struggle for the nation-state. Joan Judge points out that this recoding was common in numerous stories about past Chinese and European martial heroines such as Hua Mulan, or the French medieval iconic warrior Jean d’Arc that were published in women’s magazines at the turn of the twentieth century. Along with social heroines such as Florence Nightingale, these martial heroines symbolized the empowerment of women and were supposed to encourage women to take responsibility for their own lives and for the nation. The popularity of martial heroines, and the emphasis on their martial valor, demonstrated how military masculine characteristics became, in turn, important for citizenship. One exemplary rendering of the Mulan story by the (male) author Liu Yazi appearing in the Women’s World in 1904, emphasized her martial spirit, her patriotism, and her qualification as citizen-soldier (junganjun zige). In the story, Mulan says: “although I am a girl, I am also a member of the citizenry.”

A few female activists fighting for gender equality claimed the same rights for women by actively emulating male (military masculine) connoted behavior and appearance. The most notable figure was Qiu Jin, who joined the Revolutionary Alliance in Japan and became a martyr after the Qing government executed her in 1907. She practiced shooting and fencing and learned how to use explosives. She studied physical education and, as the principal of a normal college in Hangzhou, drilled her own students in military gymnastics. As many photographs documented, she experimented with many kinds of Chinese or foreign male clothing styles, with the declared intention of achieving a mind like that of a man. Qiu Jin, who admired Hua Mulan, herself became an ideal of martial devotion for other women.

In the wake of the revolution of 1911, a number of progressive and educated women claimed and fought for equality in the new Republic beside male revolutionaries, particularly by aspiring to the military masculine values now increasingly popular among elite men. Inspired by stories and tales of
brave women warriors such Hua Mulan, women formed army companies to reinforce the anti-Qing troops and joined the fights in Nanjing and Hankou. For a few months, young women in cities often wore uniforms to express their support for the revolution.89 Related to this issue, Zhang Zhujian, a woman who, like Sun Yat-sen, was a graduate from the Boji Medical College in Guangzhou and later joined the Revolutionary Alliance, published an article in the Dongfang zazhi with the title On the Establishment of a Women’s Army. Men and women, she argued, all shared the duty to fight and hence deserved the same rights. No matter who, she claimed, is “spilling blood and dying in battle [for the Republic, he or she] becomes honorable.”89 Fighting and physical sacrifice were the ultimate source of honor that could not be reserved only for men, Zhang demanded. Eventually, however, on order of the provisional Republican government in Nanjing, all army corps consisting of women had to be disbanded and the parliament in Nanjing, after rejecting fierce protests by feminist groups, subsequently confirmed that “citizen” stood for men only. Although Sun Yat-sen was a supporter of women’s education and fought against the practice of foot binding, he was reluctant concerning the introduction of women’s suffrage or equal treatment as citizens. Yuan Shikai eventually even prohibited the emerging women’s rights movement.89

CONCLUSION

The overall aim of educational reformers in late Qing and Republican China was to transform society away from kinship and family-based organization into a state populated by participating and responsible citizens.97 For most educators, intellectuals, politicians, and military people, this almost always implied physical and military education, because the new citizens should be citizens-soldiers who were able to fulfill their civic duties and defend the state, as well as the people or nation. Leading military reformers, such as Yuan Shikai and Zhang Zhidong, were involved in educational reforms and were industrious promoters of universal physical and military education based on the German and Japanese models. Thus, the idea of the citizen-soldier became part of the new official age-graded school system that was to prepare boys and their bodies for the transition into adulthood. Military-style exercises and drill, martial songs and stories, as well as military uniforms became important elements of civilian schools at all levels and were supposed to increase the martial inclination of children and prepare boys for military service. Education and the new school system were geared to produce physically strong and brave men with a pronounced martial spirit. Intellectuals and politicians increasingly thought of these men as citizens instead of subjects and thus citizenship was strongly linked to the male body and defined according to the ability to fight. As military service became an issue of both manliness and civic obligations toward the state, education had to prepare boys for this duty. Women were not supposed to serve as soldiers and, consequently, could not obtain full citizenship. However, their gendered social role in the re-conceptualized postimperial state also changed, because they were defined according to their role as mothers of citizens and, explicitly or implicitly, citizen-soldiers. A few early twentieth century feminists sought to recreate and emulate legendary women warriors, who had acted as men and crossed (actually unstable) gender boundaries. They copied manly behavior and appearance, which was increasingly militarized at the beginning of the twentieth century. But although they influenced many elite urban women, they were not able to prevent the large-scale reduction of women to their biological bodies as “Republican mothers.” Education for girls, including physical education, had the main purpose of preparing them for their role as mothers of future citizens. If they gave birth to boys, these were able to qualify for citizenship by being, at least theoretically, able to serve in the army. Girls, on the other hand, were excluded from active military service and, being reduced to their biological sex, only could hope to become mothers of strong boys. Although a few women in urban centers such as Shanghai were able to develop a different, more self-determined and independent lifestyle, the mainstream idea that a woman had primarily to serve the family and nation as a mother only began to erode in the 1950s, arguably without ever vanishing completely.

Educational reforms, Sally Borthwick points out, were crucial for the development of an “understanding of the center as initiator, as activator, with powers of compulsion and regulation unknown in China.”98 The idea of state and government as active shapers, responsible for educating and cultivating citizens, derived from Germany and Japan. New technologies of gathering and creating knowledge enabled new practices of governing the entire population through education and schooling. In 1907, for the first time ever and still with many deficiencies, the Ministry of Education conducted a national population survey to explore the conditions of the school reform programs. Regular inspections, furthermore, constantly examined the implementation of the new school policy.99 Education no longer only referred to the potential to enlighten an individual—a central notion in Confucian thought—but also the power to discipline and direct, physically and psychologically, the entire population. Disciplining the body and mind of an individual, and uniting these disciplined individuals into groups was the new, central governance rational of the New Armies. Through educational reforms and the agenda to cultivate citizen-soldiers, this form of disciplinary power was extended beyond the military and combined with the idea to govern the biological quality of the population for the sake of national military preparedness.
introduced textbooks and educational materials in Chinese and English. See Lyon 1905; Sites 1905; Graybill 1911; King 1911; Kuo 1913; Kuo 1915; Edmunds 1919. Somewhat later but with the benefit of hindsight are McCloy 1923 and Peake 1932. Edited primary source collections include Shu 1961; Gu and Chen 1991; Zhu 1993.

15. GX, chapter 7, Xuetang zhangcheng, 1, 5.
18. For the numbers, see, for instance, Ichiko 1980, 375. The same numbers are already given by Kuo 1915, 107.
20. King’s Chinese name was Qingpi. See Qingpi and Di 1895. The book was first published in 1890 and reprinted at least twice in 1895 and 1896. Note the use of shen instead of ri, the former rather representing a person or the self and the latter for the physical body.
21. Qingpi and Di 1895.
22. Yang 1907.
27. Tang 1905, 15.
29. Ministry of Education [after 1906].
30. Ibid., juan 1, 1.
31. Ministry of Education [after 1906], juan 1, 2.
32. Ibid., juan 2, 1. The individual exercises were called gongfu in this volume. Interestingly, not only new, foreign-inspired textbooks were used but, sometimes, old Chinese material for children’s education was also reprinted. In 1908 and in 1916, the textbook Youxue xu zhi jujue (also Youxue qinglin) by the Ming scholar Cheng Dengji was republished. It contained no guidelines for physical exercise but only explanations about the body (shenri). See Cheng 1908.
33. For instance Ministry of Education after 1906, juan 1, 9.
34. See Bailey 1990, 30, 163.
35. Fan 2007b. Fan argued that Zhang Zhidong’s notion on school uniforms strongly followed his inclination toward using Chinese ideas as a substantial core and anything “Western” for practical use. Ibid., 136–37.
36. Mishima 1903.
37. Ibid., 1–4.
38. The book also emphasized the need of physical education for girls because “according to a Western saying, when the girls are healthy, then the nation is healthy.” Mishima 1903, 50.
39. Zhang 1905. At the same time, Zhang also wrote an Army Song, probably for the same purpose. Another example of such a song, called School Song for Elementary Students (Youtiao xiaozong), can be found in BBZ 1910, 1.


41. Wu and Pan 1902, appendix. Traditional German military song collections were also found in a translation by Yao Shouxiang (Stephen Yao) of an American book on physical education from 1904, published by the Shanghai-based Commercial Press, which addressed a general readership rather than soldiers. The book explained that knee bends, push-ups, dumbbells, and other exercises were best done with music. Besides a few English songs, it introduced a German military song entitled Soldaten Lieder (sic, Soldiers’ Songs). See Yao and Luckesi 1904.

42. Liang Qichao, Yinhengshi shihua, 42–3. See Liang (1902–1907) 1959: Liang’s text has attached three of Huang’s songs. See also Mao 2012, 65; Gong 2011; Schmidt 1994, 56.

43. For instance one of the earliest such books by Zhang Yipeng, see Zhang 1900.

44. See Gong 2006, 302–12, 322–34 (esp. 330); Mao 2012. On the Communist Party’s later use of songs and music for military and political purposes, see also Hung 1996.

45. NBZ 1909, 39: Yang Yuling, Zhongguo zhanzheng weizhijli, 1–4. Another example is NBZ 1911, 56: Cheng Fengzhang, Ernai yingxiong. See also Ma 1958, 279.

46. XT, chapter 32: Xueba zuyi tong du zu zhongxi yixiang xueyong xuehui ticao fangzao liyuan lianzheng, 16–17.


49. On Cai see Wang 1996b; Cai 1998, 278–322; Duiker 1977. Cai established five fundamentals of education: virtue, intellect, body (of), collective, and aesthetics, which have still some value in Taiwan, Macao, and Hong Kong.


54. Liu 2004, 98.


58. Ibid., 250.

59. Ibid., 251.

60. Ibid., 251–52.

61. Ibid., 249.

62. Gaomin xuejiaoleng 1915 [1916], see articles 13, 29, 35. See also ZBZ 1915, 21: Hu juanin, 9, which also emphasized the importance of ticao for educating citizen-soldiers.


64. Some teachers, however, organized team games and competitions before their official introduction. See Mason 1989, 2. See also Mason and Riedl 2010. On the link between sports and the military in Japan, see Guttman and Thompson 2001, 70–1, 153–54.


66. Tongzijian yuekan. 1919. See also Xin qingnian 1917 (2, 5), which included several articles on the Boy Scouts.


68. Singleton 2013.

69. Filipik 2008, 198–204, Cup 2007, 198. See also David A. Palmer’s work on qigong, a form of physical and mental self-cultivation consisting of breathing techniques, meditation, and exercise that, similarly, is an “invented tradition,” created by Communist officials after 1949. See Palmer 2007.


76. Bailey 2007, 2. Before the first Chinese schools, such as the Women’s Gymnastics School (Nüzi ticao xuesiao) in Shanghai, founded in 1908, trained female physical education instructors, Japanese women were also hired to conduct classes. See Judge 2002b, 232. See also Gimbel 2006.


78. Borthwick 1985, 72, 80.

79. NBZ 1909, 40: Wang Ao, Yi she nügong xueyong yi shan juanren zhi jiasi, 1–7. An early article in the Wangguo tongyi, titled Nüzi congjian, from 1894 expressed the concern that women (as nurses in the battlefield) affected the morale of the soldiers negatively. Reprinted in Li and Zhang 1975, 292.


82. Ibid., 15.
83. Ibid., 16 (here and following citation).
84. Ibid., 17.
85. On the development of physical education in China until the 1930s, see also Yu 2009a.
88. Ibid., 606.
89. Ibid., 607.
92. Xuebu bianyi tushujiu 1910.
94. Examples include Nuizi shijie 1904 (7): Liu Rui’e Ji nüxue tiao; Nuizi shijie 1904 (10): Ya Hua, Nuizi jianyi de tiyu; Nuber 1909 (2): Jiyouancunzi, Nuizi yu tiyu; Nuber 1909 (2): Chen Yiyi, Nan zhi yi bei xianmu liangci; Funü Shibao 1911 (5): Suchou nüzuixue shi tiao (image of eight girls performing group calisthenics); Funü zazhi 1915 (1): Shen Weizhen, Lun xiaohan bi yu nu tiyu; Funü zazhi 1915 (9): Mukefushan, Er tong tiyu zhi yanjiu. See also Yu 2005; Chiang 2007. From 1914 on, for the same reasons, fetal education increasingly became a political topic. See Richardson 2012.
96. Ibid., 9. Tang concluded her article by remarking that clothes, too, were responsible for the crooked posture of women but announced that this should be the topic of a separate article. She published another article in the previous issue, Funü Shibao 1911 (2), introducing Rope Exercises for the Home (Jiting yundong sheng tiao) and one article on Exercises to cure gynecological problems and other illnesses (Furenbing ji ta zhong jibing zhi yundong liangci) in Funü Shibao 1911 (4). See also Finmane 2008, 82–90.
97. Randt used two authoritative Latin slogans to underline what the direction of women’s education should be: Mens sana in corpore sano (a sound mind in a sound body) and fortes creantur fortibus (brave men are begotten by the brave). Randt 1904, 255, 258.
99. ZBBZ 1916, 24 (25): Tang Zhongyong, Sibada zhi nuizi, 10–15 (6–10). Tang used the expressions mageguoshi (“men die wrapped in horsetail”) and the term xunguo (“sacrifice for the country”), which were both used frequently in military journal articles on the duties and character of military men. See also Judge 2002a, 35. On the broad reception of the battle throughout European history, see Albenz 2006.
100. ZBBZ 1916, 31: Zhong Zhihong, Egao zhi nanguang nerving, 34.
Conclusion

China’s national strength is exhausted and its martial spirit is low. The physical constitution of the people deteriorates further every day.

—Mao Zedong, A Study of Physical Education, 1917

In 1917, the young Mao Zedong, working as a librarian at Peking University, published his first article in the avant-garde journal New Youth (Xin qingnian). In this rather eclectic article, titled A Study of Physical Education, he claimed that the only way to overcome the weakness of the nation was to make everyone regularly do physical exercise, ideally, twice a day in the nude. Exercising, Mao emphasized, enhanced physical fitness as well as mental, intellectual, emotional, and moral capacities. Toughening-up the body unleashed a man’s “martial valor” and made him “fierce,” “dauntless,” “fearless,” and “perseverant.” He demanded that it was everyone’s responsibility to become strong and healthy, and prepare body and mind for the greater good of the Chinese nation and “race.” In China, he argued, wen had always been favored over wu. Although exercising and military gymnastics had increasingly been promoted and even incorporated into the official school curriculum, physical education was only carried out halfheartedly and was still considered second to moral and intellectual education. Citing the Ming scholar Gu Yanwu, Mao asked: “to lack either wen or wu—how can that be the right way?” Students, he complained, were not encouraged enough to exercise and thus disdained it. Flowing garments, a slow gait, and an earnest and calm gaze were still considered to be fine deportment, and generated awe and respect. Exposed limbs and the bending and stretching of arms and legs, on the other hand, were viewed as shameful. As a result, the bodies of students were often crooked and their heads hung low. Bodily development, Mao demanded, should become the
most important goal of education and take the physical and martial culture of both the “West” and Japan as an example. While in Japan the spirit of Bushido (Way of the Warrior) enjoyed a high reputation, fencing was very popular in Germany. Physical culture flourished in both countries and was strongly represented in Germany by the famous bodybuilder, Eugen Sandow, and in Japan by the founder of Judo, Kano Jigoro. Moreover, in the United States of America even the president, Theodore Roosevelt, was an outspoken devotee of boxing and exercising. All these men, Mao emphasized, should be taken as examples and be emulated.3

Like most of his contemporaries who were concerned with the critical political and military situation of late Qing and early Republican China, Mao absorbed European and American notions about the governance of the physical body in terms of both an individual and collective social dimension.3 His essay dealt with the most pressing issues the Chinese state and its people were confronted with and, at the same time, it typifies the central themes of this study: first, body and discipline; second, military culture and the conceptualization of masculinity; and, third, the governance of soldiers and officers, military units, citizens, students, and the entire population, for the sake of the state. The body as an object of governance was not only the central topic of Mao’s essay, it has also served as the staple of this book—regardless of whether it deals with the dress and drill of new soldiers, the motivation and masculine identity of new officers, or the physical constitution and military preparedness of new citizens.

In late imperial China, people referred to ethical, religious, and medical texts to make sense of their bodies and ascribe meaning to them.4 Similar to Daoists, Confucian thinkers emphasized that the body was not one’s own property but a gift from the parents. It was the obligation of an individual to take good care of his (or her) body out of filial piety, to protect it from damage or harm, and to put it to good use by fulfilling its reproductive function. Both Confucianism and Daoism idealized a long life (shou). Daoists even pursued immortality through various body practices, exercises, and diets. They believed that humors, demons, and spirits affected the body and that all kinds of medical, sexual, and dietary practices would prolong its existence. While the Daoist practice of yangsheng (to keep in good health, nurturing life) was actively trying to influence the longevity of the physical body, the Confucian notion of “maintaining the body” (xishen) had an explicitly ethical connotation and referred more to moral self-cultivation.5 However, the Confucian ideal was far from being contemptuous of physical exercise as an ideal and a truly virtuous literature was supposed to refine both his intellectual and martial skills. Mark Elvin objects to the image of Qing scholar-officials shunning and despising any kind of physical activity, whether working or exercising, which they allegedly viewed as unseemly and inappropriate for men of their standing. According to Elvin, this is a misinterpretation by Western scholars and he claims that the late imperial educated (male) elite of the Ming and Qing periods was not only “obsessed” with diets and medicine but also valued physical exercising.6

Nevertheless, these existing techniques to cultivate and exercise the body differed strongly from the European physical culture of the nineteenth century, which did not aim at sexual virility, mental energy, and moral discipline but at physical strength, control, subordination, and alignment. The European form of physical exercise and discipline was intrinsically military and aimed at conformity and clout, ultimately serving the exclusive unity of the nation-state and not individual health or universal moral enlightenment, as in the Chinese case. Standard Chinese convention dictated that, apart from the face, no other part of the body should be exposed to the eyes of others. Members of the educated elite would never perform any physical exercise in front of others. Preventing illness and, at best, staying agile and nimble were central to strenuous physical activities. European physical culture, on the other hand, aimed at optimizing the body and increasing physical strength, constitution, collective efficiency, discipline, and homogenization. At least for the latter, exposure or visibility was essential.7

Instigated by the late nineteenth century New Armies, the perception and practices of physical culture common in Europe, the United States, and Japan influenced a similar physical education movement in twentieth century China. Late Qing military reforms therefore had a lasting and significant effect on the reconceptualization of the human body in twentieth century China. Military reformers appropriated European disciplinary techniques, which they adopted directly from the reputedly archetypical German army or indirectly from Japan, where these techniques were allegedly customized for a Chinese context. Military reformers and the New Armies first and foremost sought to create physically and mentally strong and healthy soldiers. German-style physical exercise, including group calisthenics, apparatus gymnastics, as well as the rigorous training of posture, gait, and motion, prepared soldiers for marching in step, close unit drill, and tactical formations. The aim was forming individuals into a cohesive unity or, in other words, conjoining a number of bodies into one collective body. Moreover, exercise should motivate the soldiers and increase their morale, self-confidence, and spirit. In order to achieve a total grip, the New Armies closely regulated and scheduled life in the barracks. Soldiers were literally “incorporated” into a well-defined environment to further deepen their group discipline and align their bodies. Strict hygiene regimes among soldiers aimed at regulating their everyday routines through their bodies. Ultimately, military reformers and the army leadership viewed the body as some sort of container of intellect and morale. Military instructors such as Li Jishen viewed physical education as useless or empty
Conclusion

without a matching development of spirit and mind. Reforms in penal law and punishment reflected this idea as the prison replaced corporal punishment as the standard penalty. Incarceration should keep the individual body undamaged and was directed more at disciplining the mind than inflicting physical pain. In the end, the new, foreign-style military training served to govern the physical body, spirit, and behavior of soldiers.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth century military reforms and the establishment of the New Armies did not stop there. Starting in the final years of the Qing Dynasty, military circles, intellectuals, politicians, and educators began to consider the entire population as a potential source of new recruits. They sought to create “citizen-soldiers” through a mixture of physical exercise and citizenship education, which were modeled after military training and permeated with military values. While a system of universal military service was never implemented, the newly established school and civic education system had the purpose of militarizing citizens from early childhood onward, preparing their bodies and minds for military service, and endowing them with manly qualities such as valor, perseverance, and a martial spirit. Yet, militarizing society had a further dimension apart from preparing men for military service. It also aimed at creating a more dutiful, loyal, and controllable citizenry, whereby men and boys should be inculcated with the responsibility of protecting the state and sacrificing their lives for the nation. While women were excluded from military service and thus denied acknowledgment as full citizens, their patriotic duty lay in fulfilling their role as mothers of citizen-soldiers. Women and girls had to keep their bodies in good shape by exercising and observing hygiene rules so that they could give birth to healthy and sturdy children. Exercising the body for the nation subsequently became a recurrent theme in Republican China and in the People’s Republic, including not only sports but also the military training of society in general, particularly school and university students. While military training was mandatory for both male and female students during the 1950s and 1960s, it was somewhat neglected in the 1970s and then resumed in 1985 with the reintroduction of military drill for college freshmen, including goose stepping and standing at attention.

Throughout the twentieth century, there were recurrent attempts to organize society along military lines. Rarely were these attempts top-down political projects as various agents and institutions and multiple processes of negotiation were involved. During the late Qing and early Republican period, the introduction of military education outside the army was already demanded and welcomed by the educated urban elite, who wished to contribute to “saving the nation.” However, because of the rise of warlord armies, civil war battles, and the news from the atrocious war in Europe, the idea of the citizen-soldier lost its appeal by the end of the 1910s. Yet, after the Nationalist

Party established the Nanjing Republic, it sought to govern the people by organizing society according to military values and discipline. The climax of this project was when Jiang Jieshi initiated the New Life Movement in 1934, which consisted of a mixture of anti-Communist, Confucian, Christian, and nationalist elements and which aimed at inculcating citizens with military discipline and frugality. However, according to Robert Culp, there was “in no sense a unified and uniform system of disciplinary power.” Civic education was multidimensional and the product of an intricate interaction among the party, state officials, educators, and students. Citizenship education, furthermore, included scouting (for both boys and girls), and competitive sports as well as moral cultivation along imperial patterns. While the Nationalists revived the concept of women as “republican mothers,” female students received classes in the militarily useful skill of nursing.

The army itself, whether the late Qing New Armies, the Nationalist army, or the Red Army/People’s Liberation Army, was supposed to represent a role model for society. The (male, brotherly) comradeship and esprit de corps upheld in the army epitomized the community of all people. Although this idea was not as strong in China as in Germany before the First World War, many politicians viewed the nation as the army writ large. Despite the fact that Communists and Nationalists fought the “militaristic” warlords, they both viewed the military as essential for establishing a modern state because it offered a blueprint for governing the country and the population at large. In the 1950s, Mao Zedong and other Communist Party leaders evoked the early twentieth century slogan “everyone a soldier,” to speed up the formation of mass movements driven by a martial spirit and by collectivism. Reminiscent of the early twentieth century emphasis on will and morale in Germany and Japan, this mass movement was actually used for military purposes during the Korean War (1950–1953), where millions of Chinese volunteers were sent out to overwhelm the enemy by numerical superiority and sheer will power. Echoed by Mao in his essay of 1917, late Qing military, educational, and state reformers began to think of “people,” “citizenry” or “nation-race” in terms of a governable “population.” In 1901, the Qing government launched the New Policy reforms, which addressed and dealt with the reorganization of the bureaucracy and state administration, foreign affairs, internal (police, penal law, prisons) and external (military) security, law and legal affairs, economic and social policies, education, and even the political system. These reforms did not simply produce new organizations and institutions but they did contribute to the emergence of a governance rationale that was informed by European governmentality. Apart from disciplinary techniques focusing on the body, the Qing and successive Republican Chinese governments began to become interested in demographic developments and the management of the population. They increasingly viewed “population” as a major factor for
national prosperity and strength that needed to be measured, categorized, and classified to an unprecedented degree. After 1949, the management of all aspects of population development became one of the most crucial concerns of the Communist governments. The final years of the declining Qing Dynasty already anticipated the political focus on governing sexuality, reproduction, hygiene, health, and “race,” and the use of population statistics and social surveys as well as the huge “passion for facts.”

To be sure, this argument is not made to propagate the existence of an inexorable and unilinear process of progress that leads to “modernity.” Frederick Cooper emphasized that the concept of governmentalization is connected to an idea of modernity that is inextricably linked to European history. The fluctuating definition of what “Europe” is, he points out, reveals that terms such as “modernity” and “modernization” are misleading and suggest dichotomies and general developments that do not exist in such clear forms. Moreover, assuming that there are different forms and strategies of reacting to modernity or arguing for the existence of multiple modernities still perpetuates the problem of an allegedly consistent Europe. In China, the transformation of governance rationale and governance practices was highly complex and influenced by long-term developments and reinterpretation within China and the alternately syncretic and selective adaptation of foreign elements. Confucian ideas of self-cultivation and self-discipline, the interest in population statistics during the Ming and Qing Dynasty, or new ideas on statecraft that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, for instance, contributed to new ways of governing and discipline China’s population in the twentieth century.

Starting with military reforms, which represented perceptions, generalizations, and adaptations of European, American, and Japanese military and political cultures as well as indigenous developments, ideas and practices of governing in China shifted toward biopower. Governing the bodies and minds of people through institutionalized discipline and individual self-discipline conjoined with the biopolitical concern of regulating and managing the demographic developments. The late nineteenth and early twentieth century military reforms, thus, had wider social implications and affected not only the attitude of Chinese society toward its armed forces but also the way society was itself governed, disciplined, and aligned to an alleged “norm.”

Changing bodily practices, as well as discourses, perceptions, and representations related to the body affected the conceptualization of gender and masculinity in the twentieth century. Gender concepts depend on how humans perform as men and women, on the way they use their bodies and the multiple gendered practices or techniques related to the body. Bodily performance essentially defines the way gender is “done.” Under the impression of foreign influences, the perception, imagination, and representation of men, male roles, and manliness as well as the way men behaved and thought changed dramatically in China in the twentieth century. As women demanded and gained more rights and the nature of families began to change, men’s role in relation to women increasingly differed from imperial times. The cultured literatus, the iconic wen figure, was replaced by the intellectual who engaged in professionally structured scientific research and higher education. The successful businessman emerged as another powerful wen figuration, as material wealth increasingly became the decisive marker for power and masculine potency. And, to be sure, the new military man became a potent icon of martial wu masculinity, forcefully existing alongside and in relation to other concepts of masculinity, without replacing or dominating them. Like many emperors in earlier times, Mao, for one, sought to represent both scholarly wen and martial wu masculinity by appearing, at times, as a diligent intellectual and Marxist theoretician or by regularly swimming through the Yangzi River as part of a widely publicized event. Or by being depicted as either wearing the blue late Qing and early Republican scholar’s robe or the military-style “Mao suit.”

Although the concept of military masculinity did not become hegemonic, military reformers and army circles created a powerful iconic masculine figuration that motivated an increasing number of men. One of the major goals of the late Qing and early Republican military reforms was the cultivation of a new class of military leaders, an officer corps based on the Euro-American, particularly German, and Japanese role models. Military reformers implemented a system of military schools and officer education to promote specialization and professionalism that encouraged officers to become rational technocrats and war managers. At the same time, they sought to raise the martial spirit, particularly in elite men, by invoking qualities such as courage, heroism, valor, perseverance, honor, comradeship, savagery, and audacity. Finally, they linked serving in the army to sentiments of patriotism and loyalty and to the willingness to sacrifice one’s physical body pro patria.

Sacrifice and death implied the destruction or damage of the physical body but the body was also decisive for this emerging concept of military masculinity in many other ways. Probably more than in any other case, emphasis on wu masculinity and military culture affected the physical appearance of men, who had to demonstrate the suitability and qualification for their occupation with the fitness and strength of their bodies. At least as much as the bodies of common soldiers, those of officers had to express strict discipline, which became manifest in every gesture, movement, or posture. Physicality, moreover, was strongly expressed through the newly introduced close-fitting European-style military uniforms, which challenged established customs of clothing, general appearance, and demeanor. Following Euro-American stereotypes and ascriptions, many reformers and most military people viewed
the customary long gown of elite men as effeminate and promoted body-hugging uniforms, which represented physical strength, stern discipline, martial spirit, as well as affiliation and loyalty to army and state. In effect, officers literally embodied military masculinity.

The introduction of new uniforms influenced male and female fashion throughout almost the entire twentieth century, but it met much resistance in the beginning. Particularly at the level of officers and military leaders, uniforms represented a premature break with established bodily and cultural norms. Indeed, the truth was that military reformers aimed at nothing less than changing the demeanor and conduct of men through governing their (dressed) bodies. This could not simply be achieved by applying oppressive and coercive disciplinary techniques but by allowing for much more subtle and “liberal” technologies of self-conduct, self-governance, and self-discipline. Military men chose to commit to the army’s codes of conduct and raison d’être and therefore, at least on the level of superficial consciousness, accepted the influence of the emerging military culture on their own identity formation. After the death of the Empress Dowager Cixi, even the imperial family changed to the new military clothes and publically fostered a martial style in line with the New Armies. Despite the gathering anti-Manchu momentum, this endorsement at the highest political level facilitated the dissemination of the military masculinity concept. Subsequently, every state leader, from Yuan Shikai, Sun Yat-sen, and Jiang Jieshi, to Mao Zedong and his successors, appeared at least occasionally in a military uniform or a uniform-like dress.77

Historians usually view the late Qing military reforms against the demise of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, in which case they are, by and large, a failure.34 Moreover, similar to early Republican observers, they make the New Armies responsible for the emergence of the militaristic warlords, who plunged China into a devastating and ferocious era of civil war. Following the National Protection War (Huguo xianzheng) in 1915–1916 that saw various contingents of Lüjin troops fighting either for or against Yuan Shikai and his attempts to establish a dictatorship, the civil war that started in 1916 witnessed numerous former Lüjin officers or military school cadets becoming rivaling provincial or regional warlords.29 In 1917, a Chinese newspaper worryingly stated that China had become a “military men’s world” (wuren shijie) and, indeed, military men influenced politics and society for the most of the Republican period.30 According to the historian Zhang Cheng, the Zhongde military exercise in 1906 was already a preview ceremony of the future early Republican political elite, because many participating officers later became president, ministers, and military leaders.31 The positive image of military men created in the early twentieth century began to destabilize as common soldiers were increasingly perceived as pillaging, raping, and murdering social outcasts and were depicted (again) in terms of the proverb “good iron is not used for nails, good men do not serve as soldiers.” The iconic figure of the “Warlord” was ridiculed as a self-aggrandizing character from an operetta, wearing a shiny uniform and lusting for power and admiration.32

Nevertheless, neglecting simple categories such as failure or success (to copy European models, to secure the survival of a regime or the state of peace), the late nineteenth and early twentieth century military reforms had tremendous, lasting effects on Chinese society and culture, in terms of the conceptualization of military men. The idea of a highly skilled, professional army was revived by Jiang Jieshi and the National Army, who were driven by the self-perception of being national saviors and, at least publicly, adhered to strict codes of conduct, to discipline, and maintained a stern appearance. According to Henrietta Harrison, “Chiang’s [Jiang Jieshi’s] ramrod straight posture was one of his trademarks and was associated by him with moral integrity.”33 The Pacification Army (Anguojun), a consortium of three larger warlord armies fighting against Jiang in 1927–1928, was led by officers who similarly understood themselves as professional soldiers and patriotic defenders of the Chinese culture and nation against a foreign, infiltrating enemy. The Communist People’s Liberation Army, was also guided by the principles of professionalism propagated among the New Armies. The doctrine of professionalism had to compete with Communist ideology as the guiding principle of military organization throughout the history of the People’s Liberation Army. Yet, in the twenty-first century, it is again the driving force of the army, which also increasingly seeks to promote physical discipline, military masculinity, and other aspects of military culture among society in general.34

NOTES

2. Mao 1917, chapter 4. Sandow, whose real name was Friedrich Wilhelm Müller, at the turn of the century helped bodybuilding and weightlifting achieve a hitherto unparalleled popularity in Europe and the United States. He was famous for his shows, called “muscle displays,” where he lifted heavy objects such as a horse. Sandow founded one of the first gymnasia for bodybuilders in 1897 and launched the monthly magazine Sandow’s Magazine of Physical Culture in 1898. Later he was also known for the movie “Sandow” and for organizing the first bodybuilding competition in London in 1901. In 1905, Sandow traveled to Burma, Java, Japan, and China, where he performed for a large audience in Shanghai. See Chapman 2006, 156 and the North China Herald from August 4 (258) and August 11 (315–16).
3. Mao was particularly influenced by the German philosopher Friedrich Paulsen, who emphasized diet, hygiene, physical education, and Social Darwinism. Another major influence was his father-in-law Yang Changji, a philosophy professor who had traveled to Germany, Scotland, and Japan and who strongly advocated physical exercise. See Wakeman 1973, 157, 163, 165, 203–04.

4. See for instance Lévi 1990 and Kohn 2008. See also Gullik 1961; Kuriyama 2002; and Mann 2011, 39, 84, 118–19. For an account on how ancient ideas about the body survived in present-day China, see Farquhar and Zhang 2012.

7. See also Mechikoff 2010.
8. Both Li and Mao argued that military spirit and physical exercise ultimately should serve the nation. Initial instruction by others should be followed by the mastery of one’s own body through a strong will and strict self-discipline. Li and Mao were connected through a long political relationship over 30 years. In turn, they were either companions or enemies. They did not meet before 1924, which was seven years after Mao published his article, and it is not clear whether and how Li influenced Mao or whether the two men had a common source of inspiration. See Jiang and Jiang 2001.
13. Ibid.
18. This is Andrew Morris’ translation of the term mînz, see Morris 2000, 883.
23. The Confucian ideas of self-cultivation and moral edification of the people through education can be compared to the idea of “conduct of conduct” but it is limited to the elite and its moral leadership. See, however, Miller 2000. The use of population statistics in imperial China was well established by the Ming Dynasty but it rather resembled a dispositional mode of governance because interest in demographic developments did not exist. On the issue of population statistics in imperial China, see Osterhammel 2009, 58 and Ho 1959. See also Kuhn 1995.
24. See also Möhring 2004, 11–34.

28. This is, for instance, the general tenor of the seminal works of Ralph Powell and Edmund Pung.
29. Zhang 1986. Generally, on the military history of this period, see Zhang and Sun 1987; Jiang 1987. A large amount of research has been done on both individual warlords and the period, much of which tends to view the late Qing military reforms as mere foundation of a devastating militarism in the post-Yuan Shikai period. See Sheridan 1966; Gillin 1967; Chen 1968; Ding 1972; Sheridan 1975; Ch’i 1976; Ch’en 1979b; Sutton 1980; Lany 1985; Forbes 1986; Zhang and Li 1996; Waldron 1991; Bonavia 1995; Von 1996. On the Guomindang military in the early Republic see also Wang 1988b.
34. Its commander, Zhu De, graduated from the military academy in Yunnan in 1908. See Dreyer 1972; Jordan 1972; Mulvenon 2003. For the aspects of gender and martial spirit in the People’s Liberation Army see also Hung 1996 and Spakowski 2009.
Appendix

Chinese Character List

ai fengsu zhiduxin
ai guo xiaoxue
ai guo zhongjian
ai guoxin
ai min
Aiminge
ai xin
ai yanyuxin
Anguo jun
Anji
ba
baihua
ban
bao de bao en
bao gu jia/bao zhongzu
Baoding
baoguo
bao guo
Baqi
Bei yang dachen
Bei yang jun yi xuetang
Bei yang jun jiao lianchu xu e wa
Bei yang jun wu bei xuetang
Bei yang jun xing ying jun guan
xuetang
Bei yang wu bei bian yiju
Bei yang wu bei yanjia suo
Beiyangjun
ben
bei fei nanzi
bianbu
bianzi
biao
Bingheichu
Bingbu
binghun
bingjia
Bingqi
bingshi ticao/bingcao
bingshi zhi weisheng
bingxue dayi
bingye
Bingyiju
bishu
bowu
bu
bu goizhuang
bubing rouran ticao
budui qixie ticao
bufa
caizi
caoling
Cannouchu
Canyiteng
caoafa
cehui iushuo
Cehui xuetang
cehui/celiang
cenzi
chajian
chang shiqi
Changbeijun
changfu
Changshengjun
changxiang
changyi
chaqingse
chengpai chengdui

Chengzhengting
chernxiang
chizi
Chouban haijun shiwuchu
chuanranbing
chunceu deren
cixiong
Congjange
da lifu
Da Qing hongshi hui
dahao nan'er
Dakehu/Yamato
daijiangjun/jiangjun
Daiqi
Daiyuan
dang bing wei guomin yiwu
dang guomin jiguang
danren
dapai (or pai)
dayuanshuai
dayue
dazhengfu
dazhengfu magu guoshi
dazhong yili
de ri chengzui
Deiyi guomin jie bing zhui
deyu
diaocha lu
dingdai
Dingwujun
dongya bingfu
duan
duanfu
duanlian shenti
Ducaochu
Duchayuan
dudu
dai
Dulian gongsuo
er
Erni yingxiong

Chengzhengting
chernxiang
chizi
Chouban haijun shiwuchu
chuanranbing
chunceu deren
cixiong
Congjange
da lifu
Da Qing hongshi hui
dahao nan'er
Dakehu/Yamato
daijiangjun/jiangjun
Daiqi
Daiyuan
dang bing wei guomin yiwu
dang guomin jiguang
danren
dapai (or pai)
dayuanshuai
dayue
dazhengfu
dazhengfu magu guoshi
dazhong yili
de ri chengzui
Deiyi guomin jie bing zhui
deyu
diaocha lu
dingdai
Dingwujun
dongya bingfu
duan
duanfu
duanlian shenti
Ducaochu
Duchayuan
dudu
dai
Dulian gongsuo
er
Erni yingxiong

Chengzhengting
chernxiang
chizi
Chouban haijun shiwuchu
chuanranbing
chunceu deren
cixiong
Congjange
da lifu
Da Qing hongshi hui
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dapai (or pai)
dayuanshuai
dayue
dazhengfu
dazhengfu magu guoshi
dazhong yili
de ri chengzui
Deiyi guomin jie bing zhui
deyu
diaocha lu
dingdai
Dingwujun
dongya bingfu
duan
duanfu
duanlian shenti
Ducaochu
Duchayuan
dudu
dai
Dulian gongsuo
er
Erni yingxiong

Chengzhengting
chernxiang
chizi
Chouban haijun shiwuchu
chuanranbing
chunceu deren
cixiong
Congjange
da lifu
Da Qing hongshi hui
dahao nan'er
Dakehu/Yamato
daijiangjun/jiangjun
Daiqi
Daiyuan
dang bing wei guomin yiwu
dang guomin jiguang
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dapai (or pai)
dayuanshuai
dayue
dazhengfu
dazhengfu magu guoshi
dazhong yili
de ri chengzui
Deiyi guomin jie bing zhui
deyu
diaocha lu
dingdai
Dingwujun
dongya bingfu
duan
duanfu
duanlian shenti
Ducaochu
Duchayuan
dudu
dai
Dulian gongsuo
er
Erni yingxiong
Junzichu
Junzifu
juzhi
kake
kankanren
kaojibiao
ke
kexue yubei
kongshou ticao
kousling
kuaiyi
kuaiwu
kuan
kuixu
Laiyinjiang xunbingxing
Lantewei'er
lanyu chongshu
laoruo pi long
li
li
lian
lian
Lianbingchu
liangmin
Lianjun
lianli
lianshi guanbian
lifa
ling
lingjian
liumang
liyi
lizheng
li
Laanzhou
Lacao xinyi
Lujun
Lujun bingguan xuetang
Lujun canmu daxue
Lujun chengfa guoshi zhangzheng
Lujun chengfa zhuanzhang
Lujun chengfa qianzhang
Lujun chengfa jianzhang
Lujun chengfa lianzhang
Lujun chengfa shouzhang
Lujun daxue
Lujun guizhou xuetang
Lujun jianyu zhangcheng
Lujun jinchadai
Lujun jingchadai shibian zhangcheng
Lujun jingchadai xuehui
Lujun jingchadai tiaolie
Lujun jingchadat xiaoju
Lujun shenpan xuetang
Lujun shenpan zhangcheng
Lujun shenpan tiaolie
Lujun xiaojing
Lujun xuexi
Lujun xuehui
Lujunbu
Lüxing
mailuo changshu
mantoubao
mashi xiongjiu
mayi-xuetang
mianqiang zhi yong
mimai
minbing
mingmai
mingyu
minzu
minzu jingzheng zhi shidai
mubing
muhou er guan
muzha
nai denglao
Nan geng nü zhi
nan yu han
nan'er
Nan'er hange
Nan nü you bie
Nanyang lujun weisheng xuetang
Nanyuan
nei
nengli
nisu
Nü junrenchuan

Lujun chengfa qianzhang
Lujun chengfa lianzhang
Lujun chengfa shouzhang
Lujun daxue
Lujun guizhou xuetang
Lujun jianyu zhangcheng
Lujun jinchadai
Lujun jingchadai shibian zhangcheng
Lujun jingchadai xuehui
Lujun jingchadai tiaolie
Lujun jingchadat xiaoju
Lujun shenpan xuetang
Lujun shenpan zhangcheng
Lujun shenpan tiaolie
Lujun xiaojing
Lujun xuexi
Lujun xuehui
Lujunbu
Lüxing
mailuo changshu
mantoubao
mashi xiongjiu
mayi-xuetang
mianqiang zhi yong
mimai
minbing
mingmai
mingyu
minzu
minzu jingzheng zhi shidai
mubing
muhou er guan
muzha
nai denglao
Nan geng nü zhi
nan yu han
nan'er
Nan'er hange
Nan nü you bie
Nanyang lujun weisheng xuetang
Nanyuan
nei
nengli
nisu
Nü junrenchuan

Lujun chengfa qianzhang
Lujun chengfa lianzhang
Lujun chengfa shouzhang
Lujun daxue
Lujun guizhou xuetang
Lujun jianyu zhangcheng
Lujun jinchadai
Lujun jingchadai shibian zhangcheng
Lujun jingchadai xuehui
Lujun jingchadai tiaolie
Lujun jingchadat xiaoju
Lujun shenpan xuetang
Lujun shenpan zhangcheng
Lujun shenpan tiaolie
Lujun xiaojing
Lujun xuexi
Lujun xuehui
Lujunbu
Lüxing
mailuo changshu
mantoubao
mashi xiongjiu
mayi-xuetang
mianqiang zhi yong
mimai
minbing
mingmai
mingyu
minzu
minzu jingzheng zhi shidai
mubing
muhou er guan
muzha
nai denglao
Nan geng nü zhi
nan yu han
nan'er
Nan'er hange
Nan nü you bie
Nanyang lujun weisheng xuetang
Nanyuan
nei
nengli
nisu
Nü junrenchuan
nü zhangfu
nuxing xianxian
Niizi tiao xuexiao
pai
paoba
peng
pinghe zhanzheng
pixiu baiwan
putong ticao
qi
qi qi xin zhi
qianbai ren jie neng zhengqi ru yi
Qiangxuege
qifu
qigong
qiju
qiju ticao
qilin
qing
Qinghe
qimi tongxue
qishe
qitan heyue
qiugan
qixie ticao
qixin xieyi
qizhansi
qu
quan
Quan zhen guanzhang bingqi yanxi
Quanbingge
Quancongjunge
quanguo jie bing
Quanxuepian
guai zhi yi
remin zhi guojia
ren
ren
rencal
remen
renren dang bing

renren shenti
Ri'erman aiguoge
Ri'erman
ribenhun
Rikugun Daigakkō
Rikugun Shikan Gakkō
rongfu
rouran ticao
sandeng juji
Sanguo yanyi
sashuang yingzi
shanggong
shangshi
shangwu

shangwu jingshen (shangwu zhi jingshen, shangwu zhuyi)
Shangwu yinshuguan
shangwuude
shaoxifa
shetui jiaoyu
shen
Shenjiying
shenli
shenti jiancha
shi
shi
shi
shimi qiangzhuang
shibian
shige
shiju jianwei
shizu
shimin
shi si ru gui
shiyi jitong shangyi
shizheng shenxun
shou
shouyi xuetang
shuang shou chayao fa
shuchang qizue
shuke

renren shenti
Ri'erman aiguoge
Ri'erman
ribenhun
Rikugun Daigakkō
Rikugun Shikan Gakkō
rongfu
rouran ticao
sandeng juji
Sanguo yanyi
sashuang yingzi
shanggong
shangshi
shangwu

shangwu jingshen (shangwu zhi jingshen, shangwu zhuyi)
Shangwu yinshuguan
shangwuude
shaoxifa
shetui jiaoyu
shen
Shenjiying
shenli
shenti jiancha
shi
shi
shi
shimi qiangzhuang
shibian
shige
shiju jianwei
shizu
shimin
shi si ru gui
shiyi jitong shangyi
shizheng shenxun
shou
shouyi xuetang
shuang shou chayao fa
shuchang qizue
shuke

renren shenti
Ri'erman aiguoge
Ri'erman
ribenhun
Rikugun Daigakkō
Rikugun Shikan Gakkō
rongfu
rouran ticao
sandeng juji
Sanguo yanyi
sashuang yingzi
shanggong
shangshi
shangwu

shangwu jingshen (shangwu zhi jingshen, shangwu zhuyi)
Shangwu yinshuguan
shangwuude
shaoxifa
shetui jiaoyu
shen
Shenjiying
shenli
shenti jiancha
shi
shi
shi
shimi qiangzhuang
shibian
shige
shiju jianwei
shizu
shimin
shi si ru gui
shiyi jitong shangyi
shizheng shenxun
shou
shouyi xuetang
shuang shou chayao fa
shuchang qizue
shuke
武藝
武毅軍
武勇
武勇之氣魄
先鋒隊
湘軍
賢母良妻
孝
笑柄
小排
鼻首
小站
俠義
協
新國民軍兮軍國民
心力未齊
新學問
形
新建陸軍
新建陸軍兵略錄存
新軍
新軍北洋督練處
心力
信賢必罰
信義
新政
效命捐躯
雄之國
雄偉
雄武活潑之氣概
雄武之英姿
雄壯
犧牲
犧牲救同胞
犧牲生命
犧牲一身(其身)
西式
西式縫紉
西式全皮靴
帝制新法
修身

西藥
西藥之醫
鐵鋼軍
雪國兵
學部
學科
血氣之勇
學識
學術
學堂
學務總署
學習官
訓
訓兵四言歌
巡防隊
演
演
洋操
養成
養成軍紀
養成氣力
養成軍活潑
洋學
養生
洋務運動
養修
研究戰術
演習見習長禮節
要道
意
一個奇男子
以民為兵
以身許國
義/義氣
一德一心
一等兵國
義和團
陰陽
義
義不屈之精神
Character list of works and official texts mentioned in the book

Banding jiaoyu yaozhi 颁定教育要旨
Bianji dayi 編輯大意
Bubing caidian 步兵操典
Da Qing huidian 大清會典
Da Qing liuli 大清律例
Daqing zongli 大清通禮
Deguo bubing caidian 德國步兵操典
Deguo caidian changcheng 德國操練章程
Deguo hemeng jishi benmo 德國合盟紀事本末
Deguo lianbing xinshu 德國練兵新書
Deguo lianbing changcheng liu tiao 德國練兵章程六條
Deguo lijun caidian rumen 德國陸軍操典入門
Deguo wubei ticaofa 德國武備操法
Deguo wubei ticaoke (xue) 德國武備操課 (學)
Deguo xuexiao lunli 德國學校論理
Deguo siyuan zhengzheng 德國議院章程
Deguo zhouhengfagai dayao 德國征兵法大要
Fanyin lijun xujia guiya 翻印陸軍舊家規條
Gongmin zizhiquan 民公自治權
Haihang xinli 海防新論
Houhanshu 後漢書 (Houhanshu 漢書)
Jiaoyubu gongbu jiaoyu zongzi 教育部公布教育宗旨
Jingzhizhong 警世鐘
Jinweijun yingzhi xiangzhang 禁衛軍營制總章
Jun xuan jiuqu 君完設國論
Junhui guoji jianfa 軍隊救急簡法
Junguomin bidubian 軍國民必讀本
Junguomin changjige 軍國民唱歌集
Junshi zhidu fenli 軍制制度分類
Junzichou zu junghuan xueyuan xu xuan banfapian 軍咨處奏軍官學選辦法片
Junzichou zu zhou ni lijun canmou changchengezi 軍咨處奏議陸軍參謀章程摺
Junzichou zong she junshi guanzhaoapian 軍咨處奏擬設軍督管報片
Keluobupao tushuo 克魯卜施圖說
Lianbing dachen Yuan Shikai deng wei chen xiaojujulijun huchao qingxing shi zoushe 練兵大臣袁世凱等之飾校陸軍操慣章程摺
Lijun guanzhao fu zhang 陸軍官製服章
Lijun huchao ge xiang tiaogui qingdan 陸軍軍操各項條規清單
Lijun junhui xuetang fuce changjigishu tushuo 陸軍軍隊學堂服色章程圖說

Lujun nubing yimao tushuo 陸軍日兵衣帽圖說
Lun nuxiue 論女學
Lunyu 讀誦
Mengxue keben 蒙學課本
Mengzi 孟子
Namer di yi zhiqigao 男兒第一志氣高
Niehaitiao 聶海花
Nizi shijian xuetang changcheng 女子師範學堂章程
Nizi xuetang changcheng 女子學堂章程
Pu Fa zhansi 普法戰記
Riben putong ticao xue 日本普通體操學
Shi ji 史記
Shijing 詩經
Shuihuzhuan 水許傳
Siku quanshu 四庫全書
Simafa 司馬法
Sunzi bingfa 孫子兵法
Waiwubu zongli dachen Yikuang deng niding xunzhang changcheng 外務部總理大臣奕釗等拟定章程章程
Waiwubu zongli dachen Yikuang deng wei zongzhi huiyi ge xiang xunzhang shiyi niding changcheng shi zoushe 外務部總理大臣奕釗等為遵旨會議各項章程事宜並擬定章程章程摺
Wanbao quanshu 萬寶全書 (Qixia shuju 启新書局)
Wubeizhi 武備志
Wuqian qishu 武經七書
Xiguang yuexue geshu 西國軍學各書
Xinbian guomin daben 新編國民讀本
Xiyang lianzheng xinshu 西洋練兵新書
Xubu zongzhi Dong du zuo zhongxue yishang xuetang bingshi ticao fangzhao lijun lianxizhe 學部遵旨東中學以上學堂兵式操照陸軍練習督
Xue bu zuo quan ni nuxiue fuse changchengezi 學部奏擬女學服色章程摺
Xue bu zuoquang xuanzhu jiaoyu zongzi 學部奏議宣統女學章程摺
Xunjiang yangyan 訓導要言
Xunbing yangyan 訓兵要言
Xunlian jinwujun dachen Zaitao deng wei qingniu banxing ge xiang xunzhang changcheng zoushe 軍練禁衛軍大員載鴻等為清擬施行各項章程章程摺
Xu yuan enshang changcheng 慘旌恩賞章程
Yinzi xiongshen 營制標章
Yuli 玉麗
Zhanfa jiyao 戰法輯要
Zhanchonglun 戰爭論
List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>English Description</th>
<th>Chinese Description</th>
<th>Journal Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BBZ</td>
<td>Beiyang bingshi zazhi 北洋兵事杂志</td>
<td>東方雜誌</td>
<td>Beiyang Military Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DFZZ</td>
<td>Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌</td>
<td>閒談新法令</td>
<td>Eastern Miscellany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GX</td>
<td>(Da Qing) Guangxu xin fa ling (Da Qing) Guangxu xin fa</td>
<td>Guangxu xin fa ling 光緒新法令</td>
<td>New Laws and Regulations of the Guangxu Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JJ</td>
<td>Junxue jikan 军学季刊</td>
<td>陸軍學會軍事月報</td>
<td>Military Studies Magazine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LX</td>
<td>Lujun xuehui junshi yuebao 陸軍学会军事月报</td>
<td></td>
<td>Military Monthly (of the Army Learned Society)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NBZ</td>
<td>Nanyang bingshi zazhi 南洋兵事雜誌</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nanyang Military Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WX</td>
<td>Wuxue 武學</td>
<td></td>
<td>Martial Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XBB</td>
<td>Xuebaoping 閒兵報</td>
<td></td>
<td>Journal for the Instruction of Soldiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XT</td>
<td>(Da Qing) Xuantong xin fa ling (Da Qing) Xuantong xin fa</td>
<td>顯統新法令</td>
<td>New Laws and Regulations of the Xuantong Period</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ZBB</td>
<td>Zhejiang bingshi zazhi 浙江兵事雜誌</td>
<td></td>
<td>Zhejiang Military Journal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Beiyang bingshi zazhi 北洋兵時雜誌
Beiyang guanbao 北洋官報
Dali 大陸
Dangbao 達報
Dagongbao 大公報
Datongbao 大同報
Dongfang zazhi 東方雜誌
Fubai Shibao 脫衣時報
Fubai Zazhi 脫衣雜誌
Guofengbao 國風報
Guominbao huijuan 國民報摘要
Huazi huijuan 華字匯報
Hubei xuezhengjiegao 湖北學政揭報
Jiaoyu congshu 教育叢書
Jiaoyu yuanyu 教育研究
Jiaoyu zazhi 教育雜誌
Jiaoyu zhoubao 教育週報
Jiaoyu jiaoyu 教育界
Jingwu congshu 勤工叢書
Jingye xunhuan 眾樂旬報
Jianzuo jikan 軍學期刊
Lunjia xuehui junshi yuebao 陸軍学会軍事月報
Mingguo ribao 民國日報
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North China Herald 北華報
Nubes 女報
Nüzi Shijie 女子世界
Qingyibao 清議報
Shenbao 申報
Shibao 申报
Shihsi huijuan 時事畫報
Tiyu jikan 體育季刊
Tiyu zazhi 體育雜誌
Tiyu zhoubao 體育周報
Tongwenbao 通報報
Tongzijian yuekan 童子軍月刊
Wenbao qingzhang 萬寶全書
Wangguo gongbao 國務公報
Wuxue 武學
Xin qingnian 新青年
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NOTES

1. Year, place of publication, and publisher are only included in the case this information was available.
2. For reasons of space, this bibliography does not include a list of journal articles, which are all cited in full in the notes.

Page references for figures are italicized

Aims of Education, 289, 292, 299–300
Aisin Gioro, 156, 171
American Civil War (1861–1865), 91, 193
Anhui Army (Huajin), 27, 43–44n126–27, 73, 178n3
Army Ministry (Lujunbu), 47n172, 98, 155, 167, 169, 198, 209, 226; 263, 298;
and military justice, 118–19, 121;
organization and departments of, 35–36, 105–6, 119, 121, 123, 163, 172, 192;
regulations and publications of, 79, 84, 118, 129n78, 224, 232, 233n14, 236n41, 241n131;
and regulation of uniforms, 142, 150–53, 167.
See also Bureau for Military Training
Army Staff Academy (Lujun dazue), 33, 46n156, 122, 196
Austro-Prussian War (1866), 193
Bahr (first name and dates unknown), 105
Baoding Military Academy/Baoding Army Officer School (Lujun jinguang xuejian), 32, 226, 256
Baoding Officer College (Beiyang lujun xingyong jinguang xuejing), 12, 33
Baur, Georg (1859–1935), 39n37
Beilsaif 貝來法 (dates and original name unknown), 180
Beiyang Army:
drill and codes of, 59–61, 79, 87n32, 88n57, 92n130, 97, 99, 112, 117, 125, 265;
medical care in, 105–7, 129n94;
and military exercises, 198–200, 237n60, 238n86;
military schools of, 31–33, 155;
organization of, 12, 29–30, 35, 60, 65–66, 89n69, 45n138, 45n141, 100, 258, 261–62;
uniforms and ranks of, 140–41, 145.
See also New Armies; Newly Created Army; Standing Army
Beiyang fleet, 185
Berlin School Conference, 285, 312n4
Bernhardt, Friedrich von (1849–1930), 285, 312n3
Bian Changsheng 卞長勝 (dates unknown), 145