

THE UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHERN QUEENSLAND

**LEARNING FROM THE WEST: THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
CHINESE ART EDUCATION FOR GENERAL EDUCATION IN THE  
FIRST HALF OF 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CHINA**

A Dissertation Submitted by  
Cheng, Yuk Lin  
BA (CUHK, Hong Kong), MA (LMU, Munich)

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of  
Doctor of Philosophy

2010

## ABSTRACT

Art education for general education was first introduced to China in 1902, when the reforms of Chinese education were begun. Despite China possessing a unique cultural tradition an overwhelming number of Western ideas were “borrowed” to develop art education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China. From an historical, political and cultural perspective, this was not an isolated phenomenon in China at that time. After the defeat of China in the Opium War, generations of Chinese intellectuals devoted themselves to the long quest for Westernization. Many Chinese wished to modernize China by replacing the backward practices perceived in Chinese civilization with ideas from modern Western civilization; or to create a new culture through merging the essence of Chinese and Western culture.

Since the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the May Fourth Movement in 1919, the pace of direct learning from the West increased rapidly. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century the influence of the West had penetrated into every aspect of Chinese culture including visual arts education, visual arts and general education. At the same time, the flow of such an enormous amount of Western ideas worried many Chinese intellectuals who found it a threat to Chinese cultural traditions. As well, there were concerns also about the blind adoption of Western ideas or the quality of the Chinese studies of Western knowledge. In today’s sense, all these concerns are equivalent to the notions of Globalization and Glocality.

This development of Chinese visual arts education as well as education and visual arts was under mostly Japanese, American and German influences. Japan was regarded as a bridge for China to learn from the West during the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and much of Western knowledge such as German pedagogic and art educational thinking and was imported to China indirectly through Japan.

This study seeks out and reviews the available Chinese writings on art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and suggests that among this mass of the Western ideas on art

education being imported into China especially from Germany. Thus the introduction of German ideas on art education, the study of the contextual factors of the formulation of German art educational notions at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (including the Dresden conference on art education) in these Chinese writings, are selected as part of the case study of this dissertation. Focus will be given to an in-depth analysis of the quality of study on this issue in the Chinese writings.

The Chinese and German intelligentsia's and art educators' original written texts published from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century form the primary sources for this dissertation. All these written materials are text corpus and constitute the objects of scrutiny for the research. This thesis is significant because it is the first to explain and develop an insight into the development of Chinese art education for general education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with a view to trace where many of the ideas originated from, how they were introduced and by whom. The study concludes with an examination of the German influences through a qualitative analysis of the available Chinese and German written texts of the period.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to give my Principle Supervisor, Dr. Robyn Stewart, my warmest thanks. During the process of this big project, I have encountered time pressure and suffered minor but irritating health problems. She has given me her enduring support, assistance and friendship. It is with her encouragement that I am able to bring this big project to an end. I also would like to thank my Associate Supervisor Professor Donald McMillen for all the supports and critical comments.

I owe a great debt of gratitude to my dear friends, especially to David & Nancy Wong for editing my dissertation and comments, Dr. Karl-Heinz Ludwig and Eva Rimmele for editing my German translations, and Prof. Christopher Kelen for valuable advice during the initial stage of designing the research. Their help and friendships are invaluable to me.

My thanks also go to my former colleagues at Faculty of Education, University of Macau and present colleagues at Hong Kong Institute of Education. With their friendships and administration help, my research is progressed quickly.

A final word of thanks belongs to my family. My parents' love and understanding have supported my long quest for knowledge. Also thanks my siblings and many friends for their supports and understandings.

## CERTIFICATION OF DISSERTATION

I certify that the ideas, analyses and conclusions drawn by this dissertation are entirely the result of my own endeavor, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award.

---

Signature of Candidate

---

Date

## ENDORSEMENT

---

Signature of Supervisor

---

Date

---

Signature of Supervisor

---

Date

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
<b>Abstract</b>	ii
<b>Acknowledgements</b>	iv
<b>Certification of Dissertation</b>	v
<b>Table of Contents</b>	vi
<b>List of Figures</b>	x
<b>List of Tables</b>	xii
<b>Chapters</b>	
<b>I. Introduction</b>	-----1
1. Central Questions of the Study	-----5
2. The Literature Contexts	-----6
3. Contextualization of the Study	-----8
4. Methodology	-----16
5. Chapter Organization	-----21
6. Definition of Terms Used Throughout the Study	-----22
<b>II. Political and Socio-cultural Background: Arguments about Westernization</b>	-----25
1. Political Background	-----25
1.1. Western Aggressions in the Late Qing Period	-----25
1.2. Political Turmoil in the First Half of 20 <sup>th</sup> Century China	-----27
2. Westernization and Traditionalism in General Aspects	-----29
2.1. Westernization in Late Qing – an Initial Step	-----29
2.1.1. The First Phase of Learning from the West	-----29
2.1.2. The Second Phase of Learning from the West	-----33
2.1.3. Characteristics of the Chinese Intellectuals’ Attitude to Westernization	-----36
2.2. Westernization from the 1910s to the 1940s – a Hasty Pace	-----37
2.2.1. Advocates of Westernization	-----39
2.2.2. Opponents of Westernization – Traditionalism	-----43
2.2.3. Characteristics of the Chinese Intellectuals’ Attitude to Westernization	-----47
3. Westernization and Traditionalism in Chinese Visual Arts	-----51
3.1. The Importation of Western Visual Arts	-----51
3.1.1. The Importation of Western Visual Arts before the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----52
3.1.2. The Importation of Western Visual Arts in the First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----58
3.2. The Quest for a New Art for China - Westernization and Traditionalism	-----64
3.2.1. Westernization of Visual Arts in China	-----65

3.2.2. Traditionalism of Chinese Paintings	-----73
3.2.3. Combining the Essence of Chinese and Western Visual Culture	-----77
3.3. The Chinese Intellectuals' Attitudes towards Learning from the Western Visual Culture	-----79
3.3.1. Eagerness to Connect China to the World	-----80
3.3.2. Concerns about a Blind Adoption of Western Ideas	-----84
4. Conclusions	-----85
<b>III. Development of Art Education in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century China</b>	-----87
1. Development of Chinese General Education	-----87
1.1. Traditional Chinese General Education	-----88
1.2. The Reform of Education in Late Qing	-----90
1.3. The Development of Chinese Education between 1911 and 1949	-----94
1.3.1. The Development of School Systems	-----94
1.3.2. The Drafting of Curriculum Guidelines	-----98
1.4. Characteristics of the Development of Chinese Education	-----102
2. Development of Chinese Art Education	-----105
2.1. Chinese Art Education before the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----105
2.2. Chinese Art Education in the Late Qing – a New Era of Chinese Art Education	-----107
2.3. The Development of Chinese Art Education between 1911 and 1949	-----112
2.3.1. Definitions of the Different Chinese Terms for Art Education	-----113
2.3.2. Changing of Names Used for Art and Craft Subjects	-----127
2.4. Different Stages of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----147
2.5. Characteristics of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----150
3. Conclusions	-----158
<b>IV. Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education through Publications of Chinese Writings in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century</b>	-----160
1. Visual Arts Publications	-----161
1.1. The Importation of Western Ideas on Visual Arts through Books	-----162
1.2. The Importation of Western Ideas on Visual arts through Articles	-----164
1.3. Contributing Factors in the Importation of Western Visual Arts to China	-----175
1.3.1. Rapid Development of the Printing and Publication Industry	-----175
1.3.2. The Emergence of Art Professionals	-----176
1.3.3. Channels Used for Importing Western Discourse on Visual Arts to China	-----177
1.3.4. Compilation of Articles into Books	-----183
2. Art Education Publication	-----185

2.1. Books on Art Education	-----185
2.1.1. Themes of Discussion	-----187
2.1.2. Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education	-----190
2.2. Articles on Art Education	-----196
2.2.1. Articles Published in Different Journals	-----197
2.2.2. Discussion Themes in the Articles	-----207
2.2.3. Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education	-----209
2.3. Contributing Factors in the Importation of Western Art Education to China	-----211
2.3.1. Chinese Art Educators' Engagement in Importing Western Art Education	-----212
2.3.2. Channels of Importing Western Discourse on Art Education to China	-----213
2.3.3. Compiling Articles into Books	-----223
3. Conclusions	-----227
<b>V. Study of German Art Education Movement in Chinese Writings</b>	-----230
1. The Political Socio-cultural Context of Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Century and Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Century Germany	-----231
1.1. The German Political Scene of the Late 19 <sup>th</sup> and Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Centuries	-----232
1.2. German Socio-economic Conditions in the Late 19 <sup>th</sup> and Early 20 <sup>th</sup> Centuries	-----235
1.3. German Art Education Movement in the Late 19 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----238
1.3.1. General Artistic and Cultural Distress	-----238
1.3.2. Discontent with the Competitiveness of the German Arts and Crafts Products	-----241
1.3.3. Discontent with the German Education System	-----242
2. Study of Contextual Factors of Germany's Art Education Movement in Chinese Writings	-----246
2.1. Tian Min's 天民 Study	-----246
2.2. Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 Translations	-----250
2.3. Other Chinese Art Educators' Studies	-----265
2.4. Characteristics of the Chinese Studies of the German Art Education Movement	-----270
2.4.1. A Lack of Chinese Studies on the Contextual Factors of the German Art Education Movement	-----271
2.4.2. A Lack of Cultural Awareness	-----272
3. An Investigation into <i>Kunsterziehungstag</i> in Dresden in Chinese Writings	-----275
3.1. The Dresden Conference	-----276
3.1.1. Conference Presentations	-----276
3.1.2. The Significance of <i>Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag</i>	-----282
3.2. The Study of <i>Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag</i> in Chinese Writings	-----285
3.2.1. The Study of <i>Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag</i>	-----285
3.2.2. The Introduction of the Aim of Art Education	



Advocated in <i>Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag</i>	-----290
3.3. Limitation of the Chinese Studies on the <i>Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag</i>	-----292
4. Conclusions	-----296
<b>VI. Concluding Discussion and Analysis</b>	-----298
1. Westernization and Traditionalism	-----299
2. Westernization of Chinese Art Education	-----302
3. Quantity and Quality of Chinese Art Educators' Introduction of Western Ideas	-----304
4. Characteristic of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century	-----308
5. Enlightenment from Historicized Account of Westernization of Chinese Art Education	-----309
6. Directions for Future Research	-----311
 Bibliography	 -----313
 Appendixes	 
1. Books or Essays on Chinese Art Education Published in the First Half of the 20 <sup>th</sup> Century China	-----328
2. Books or Essays on Chinese Art Education Published after 1949 China	-----364

## LIST OF FIGURES

(The images are taken by the researcher during the library research, except otherwise acknowledged)

1. Liu Haisu's 劉海粟 *Shenhe xin xuezhi Yishuke kecheng gangyao yihou* 《審核新學制藝術科課程綱要以後》 (*Examining the curriculum guideline for art education in new school system*) (1923?). Photographed by David and Nancy Wong -----117
2. Zhejiang shengli Hangzhou shifan xuexiao's 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangchow) *Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu* 《小學勞作教育》 (*Labour Education in Primary School*) (1933) -----125
3. *Xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biao zhun* 《小學課程暫行標準》 (*Provisional Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (1929) -----135
4. *Chuji/gaoji zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《初級/高級中學課程標準》 (*Junior/Senior Secondary School Curriculum Guide*) (1932) -----137
5. *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (*Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (1936) -----140
6. *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) Published by 'Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan' 上海圖畫美術院 (Shanghai Drawing and Fine Art School) -----167
7. (From left to right) *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*), *Yishu xun kan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L'Art*) and *Zhongguo meishujie jikan* 《中國美術界季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*) -----169
8. *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*) -----170
9. Examples of the Art Journals Published in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century -----173
10. *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) -----174
11. Liu Haisu's 劉海粟 *Ouzhou minghua daguan* 《歐洲名畫大觀》 (*A Magnificent Spectacle of European Master Pieces*) (1936) -----179
12. Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925) -----188
13. Examples of Books on Teaching Method for General School Subjects including Art and Craft -----190
14. (Right) Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*) (1934); (Left) Zong Lianghuan's 宗亮寰 *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu ke jiaoxue fa* 《小學校形象藝術科教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930) -----191
15. (Right) Pan Danming's 潘淡明 *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoshi shouce* 《小學美術教師手冊》 (*Handbook for Primary School Art Teacher*) (1948), (Left) Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知

- 識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*) (1948) -----192
16. Wang Benwei's 王本偉 *Tuhua lilun ji jiaoshoufa* 《圖畫理論及教授法》 (*Theories on Painting and Teaching Method*) (1919) -----193
17. Huang Yi's 黃翼 *Ertong huihua zhi xinli* 《兒童繪畫之心理》 (*Psychology of Children's Drawing*) (1938) -----194
18. Wu Chengjun's 吳成均 *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidaofa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Methods of Art Appreciation with Children*) (1933) -----195
19. *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) Published by *Zhonghua meiyuhui* 中華美育會 (Society of Zhonghua Aesthetic Education) -----198
20. *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) -----202
21. *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*) -----203
22. *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*) -----204
23. *Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan* 《國民教育指導月刊》 (*The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education*) -----206
24. (Right) *Meiyu zhi yuanli* 《美育之原理》 (*Principle of Aesthetic Education*) (1925); (Left) *Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu* 《教育之美學的基礎》 (*Aesthetic Bases of Teaching*) (1925) -----225
25. Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) (1932) -----225
26. Johannes Richter's *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens* (*The Development of Art Educational Thinking*) (1909) -----242
27. Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutsche* (*Rembrandt as Educator: from a German*) (1890) (Retrieved 21/4/2010, from <http://www.archive.org/stream/rembrandtalsenzi00languoft#page/n0/mode/2up> & <http://www.archive.org/stream/rembrandtalsenzi00languoft#page/n3/mode/2up>) ---243
28. Proceedings of the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* -----276

## LIST OF TABLES

1.	Examples of Book Titles Appearing in Both Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 Records	----162
2.	Examples of Books with the Term <i>Xiyang</i> 西洋 (Western) or Including the Name of the Continent or the Country as Title	----163
3.	Examples of Books with the New Visual Art Terms or Concepts as Title	----164
4.	Xu Zhihao's 許志浩 Classifications of Art Journals	----165
5.	Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 Classifications of Art Journals	----168
6.	Examples of Articles on Foreign Visual Arts Published in <i>Dongfang zaizhi</i> 《東方雜誌》 ( <i>The Eastern Miscellany</i> )	----170
7.	Chinese Articles on Art Education Published from 1900-1949	----328
8.	Chinese Books on Art Education Published from 1900 to 1949	----350
9.	Books on Teaching Method for Art & Craft and Other Common School Subjects	----186
10.	Themes of the Books on Art Education	----188
11.	Articles Published in <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> )	----354
12.	Articles Published in <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> )	----359
13.	Articles Published in <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> )	----204
14.	Theme of Discussions of the Articles	----207
15.	Examples of Articles Being Compiled into Books	----224
16.1.	Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----247
16.2.	Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----249
17.1.	Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----252
17.2.	Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----253
17.3.	Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----253
17.4.	Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	----255

17.5. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----255
17.6. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----257
18.1. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----259
18.2. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----260
18.3. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----261
18.4. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----261
18.5. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----262
18.6. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----263
18.7. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts	-----264
19.1. Comparison of Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 Texts	-----266
19.2. Comparison of Wu Chengjun's 吳成均 and Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 Texts	-----268
20. Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 Texts	-----289

# CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

This research is devoted to an investigation into the Western influence on Chinese Art Education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century China and its connection with the attitude of the Chinese art educators toward the issue of learning from the West during that period.

In the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century, while art education in primary and secondary schools in China was still in an embryonic stage, publications about art education were prolific. Many scholars and art educators such as Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, Fung Zikai 豐子愷 and Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 had devoted themselves to writing books or articles on art education.

Art education was first introduced to public school education in China in 1902<sup>1</sup>, the year when the late Qing government had planned to reform the Chinese education system. In 1912, when the new Republican Government of China replaced the Qing regime, aesthetic education was declared as one of the four components of general education in China<sup>2</sup>. At the very beginning of the 1900s, essays on aesthetic education began to be published. One of the examples was Wang Guowei's 王國維 essay "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education) (1903). According to this study's preliminary survey, it was during the 1920s and 1930s that the highest number of published books or essays on Chinese art education was reached in China. In appendix 1, tables of the essays or books on Chinese art education published from the 1900s to the 1940s in China indicates this surge of interest.

---

<sup>1</sup> In the 1902 *Qinding xuetaang zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations*), drawing was included in the subjects being taught in higher primary and secondary schools.

<sup>2</sup> According to the announcement of the Education Ministry of Chinese Republican Government in 1912, aims of education were: "to emphasis moral education, support it with utilitarian and military education and complete it with aesthetic education." (注重道德教育，以實利教育、軍國民教育輔之，更以美感教育完成其道德)。In: Jiaoyubu zongwuting wenshuke 教育部總務廳文書科 (Education Ministry General Service Department Secretary Section) (ed.) (1919), *Jiaoyu fagui huibian* 《教育法規匯編》 (*Collection of Laws and Regulations of Education*), p. 87. Cited from Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.) *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao* 《中國近代教育史資料》 (*Documents of History of Contemporary Chinese Education*). Beijing 北京: Renmin Jiaoyu 人民教育, p. 223.

It was a characteristic of the written works of that time that many Western ideas were introduced. Information on the history of Western art education, Western philosophers, art educators or artists (like Plato, Aristotle, Baumgarten, Schiller, Dewey, Herbert Read, Cizek, Millet, Courbet, Monet, and Giotto) could easily be found in these written works. For example, in Wang Guowei's 王國維 article "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education), he argued that a complete education should include physical education, intellectual education, moral education and aesthetic education and cited Confucius and two Western scholars. One of them can be identified as Schiller, and the other should be Schelling.<sup>3</sup>

In Cai Yuanpei's 蔡元培 essay "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian" 《對於教育方針之意見》 (Opinion about the Guiding Principles for Education) (1912), which was written while he held the position of the first Minister of Education of the Republic China, Kant's notion about aesthetic perception was also mentioned. While arguing for the legitimacy of moral education, military education, utilitarian education, and aesthetic education, he referred to Western education combined with ancient Chinese education:

Let us prove it with Western education, the Greece education consisted of physical education and art, that is actually military education and aesthetic education. The contemporary European educators, like Herbart advocated aesthetic education only; on the other hand, the followers of Dewey in today's America are advocators of utilitarian education.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> Wang did not provide any alphabetical spelling of the original name for the Western scholars except for their Chinese translation of pronunciation in his article, therefore, it is hard to identify for which Western scholar he referred to. From two of these Western scholars, this researcher can only identify one of them as being that of Schiller. Wang provided more information on the same person in another article "Kongzi zhi meiyu zhuyi" 《孔子之美育主義》 (Confucius's Ideas on Aesthetic Education) (1904) published in *Jiaoyu shijie* 《教育世界》 (*Education World*). He mentioned that this Western scholar was German poet and had written a book called *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen* (*Letters on Aesthetic Education of Man*). Although there was no original German title given, it is not difficult to identify the title of the book from the meaning of the Chinese translation. For the other, its Chinese translation was Xihenlin 希痕林 and the pronunciation is similar to Schelling.

<sup>4</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1912), "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian" 《對於教育方針之意見》 (Opinion about the Guiding Principles for Education). In: *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*), vol. 8, no. 10, p. 20994. In Cai's essay, no original spelling of Herbart was given, it is by checking Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 *Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu* 《小學教師應用美術》 (*Art for Primary School Teacher*) (1933) (p. 39) that the information was found. The Chinese translation of the pronunciation of Herbart in both Cai's essay and Yu's book are the same. The original Chinese version in Cai's writing is: "以西洋之

In the very first sentence of his book *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidaofa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*) (1933), Wu Chengjun 吳成均 mentioned that art appreciation education was being valued in Europe and America. Wu's book consists of eight chapters. Western ideas were being obviously introduced in most of the chapters, like “thoughts on art education and picture appreciation”, “meaning of art”, “theories of art”, “the ability of art appreciation”, etc. He also devoted a whole chapter, more than ten pages, to a history of Western Art. In the second section of his book's first chapter, “thoughts on art education and picture appreciation”, Wu mainly talked about the then current thinking concerning aesthetic education in Europe, especially in Germany. Wu stated in the very first sentence that thoughts on aesthetic education originated in ancient Greek since 400 B.C. and then he gave a brief introduction of the social and cultural context for the emergence of the advocacy of aesthetic education. Furthermore, he quoted the ideas from two German art education advocates, Schalz and Lange<sup>5</sup> to argue how important art appreciation was for people.

The preliminary study indicates that among all the Western ideas on art education being imported into China, many were from Germany. Besides Wu Chengjui's 吳成均 introduction of how Schalz criticized the German people in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and Lange's idea about how aesthetic education contributed to the cultivation of the German people, there are also many other examples for the importation of German ideas. They include: Wu Mengfei 吳夢非, “Meiyu shi shenme” 《美育是什麼?》 (What is aesthetic education?) (1920); Shen Jianping 沈建平, “Jindai ge pai yishu jiaoyushuo zhi pi pan” 《近代各派藝術教育說之批判》 (Critic of the contemporary art education theories) (1925); Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學形象藝術教

---

教育證之，希臘人之教育為體育與美術，即軍國主義與美育主義也。歐洲近世教育家，如海爾巴脫氏純持美育主義，今日美洲之杜威派，則純持實利主義者也。”

<sup>5</sup> Wu only mentioned the last name of these two German art educators. According to this researcher's knowledge, the spelling of “Lange” is correct, but for the spelling of “Schalz”, a further investigation is required. Quotations of the two German art educators' writings in Wu's book were translated into Chinese. Wu had not given any information about the title of their writings and/or the date of publication. Therefore, there is a need to make further investigation into the full name of these two German art educators and identification of their writings.



學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930); Zhejiang jiaoyu ting 浙江省教育廳 (Zhejiang Education Department), *Meishuke Kaizi Jiaoxuefa* 《美術科開始教學法》 (*Methods of Teaching Art at the Beginning*) (1934); Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, *xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*) (1934); Feng Zikai 豐子愷, “Jinshi yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近世藝術教育運動》 (Contemporary art education movement) (1939), and so on.

Beyond this, this research has also found that there is a similarity between the introduced German art education objective and that being promoted by a number of Chinese art educators for Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In “Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education) (1916), the author Tian Min 天民 stated that Konrad Lange, one of the advocates of the German Art Education Movement, argued that the aim of art education was not training artists but evoking a heart for art from the majority.<sup>6</sup> When we take a look at Lei Jiajun’s 雷家駿 book *Meishu ji yinyue jiaoxuefa* 《美術及音樂教學法》 (*How to Teach Art and Music*) (1925), we find a similar aim was also designed for Chinese art education. In Lei’s book, it states clearly that the aim of art education in primary school is different from that in an art college. That is, it was not aimed at training artists but providing ordinary children with chances to get closer to art, cultivating their interests in beauty and evoking their demand for beauty.<sup>7</sup>

Other questions pertinent to this study arise from this brief review of the literature. They consider the indications of the phenomena revealed in the literature review above. How should it be interpreted? Does it reflect the fact that the Chinese art educators at that time possessed a very positive attitude towards the introduction of Western ideas given that China had a very different cultural context? What kind of future paths did Chinese art

---

<sup>6</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), “Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*Education Magazine*), vol. 8, no. 11, 1916, p. 11170.

<sup>7</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925a), *Meishu ji yinyue jiaoxue fa* 《美術及音樂教學法》 (*How to Teach Art and Music*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 4-5.

educators in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China intend to shape for the Chinese art education? As German art educational ideas interested more Chinese art educators, how were these ideas introduced to China and what kind of qualities did the Chinese art educators' study of these ideas present?

## 1. Central Questions of the Study

The main goal of this study is to find answers to the above questions by discovering and studying the publications available on art education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century China, as a barometer of Western influences on Chinese art education. This thesis will account for the quantity and quality of publications on art education as an indicator of the Chinese art educators' attitudes towards learning from the West. The aim of the research in dealing with these influences will be, in summary:

1. to examine the political and socio-cultural history of 20<sup>th</sup> century China and its relation to Chinese art educators' attitude to learning from the West.
2. to depict and examine art education development in China in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century at the levels of a.) definitions of art education, and b.) official school curriculums.
3. to develop points of reference for analyzing the Western influence by making inquiry into a.) the quantity of Chinese art educators' introduction of Western art education in the period concerned; b.) the quality of Chinese art educators' introduction of Western art education, especially German art educational ideas.
4. to ground a conception of present problematic and future choices on a well historicized account of Western influences on Chinese visual arts pedagogy.

Among these, this study will pay particular attention to the examination of the quantity and quality of Chinese art educators' introduction of Western art education to China in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century China. This will involve an examination into the kind of ideas introduced in written texts and the resources and references they drew upon while

constructing their theoretical and practical framework for Chinese art education in early 20<sup>th</sup> Century China.

## 2. The Literature Contexts

According to the preliminary findings of this project, publications on art education were quite sparse in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong from the 1950s to the 1970s. It is only since the late 1980s or early 1990s that an increasing number of writings on art education were published. However, among all those books or articles on art education, only a small number devoted to an examination of the history of Chinese art education were published in Mainland China, Taiwan or Hong Kong in the past decade. The table in appendix 2 indicates the interest in art education among the art educators in the three regions during the last sixty years. From a brief review of those writings on Chinese art education, such as Shan Shilian's 單世聯 and Xu Linxiang's 徐林祥, *Zhongguo meiyu shi* 《中國美育史》 (*History of Chinese Aesthetic Education*) (1992), Wong Tienyi's 王天一 "Zhongguo putong xuexiao meishu jiaoyu lilun yu shijian de lishi huigu yu xianzhuang fenxi" 《中國普通學校美術教育理論與實踐的歷史回顧與現狀分析》 (Theories and Practice of Art Education in Chinese Normal Schools – Historical Overview and Analysis of the Present Situation) (1992), Li Yonglin's 李永林 *Zhongguo gu dai mei shu jiao yu shi gang* 《中國古代美術教育史綱》 (*Outline of Ancient Chinese Art Education*) (2002), Pan yaochang's 潘耀昌 *Zhongguo jindai meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國近代美術教育史》 (*History of Contemporary Chinese art education*) (2002) and Huang Dongfu's 黃冬富 *Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國美術教育史》 (*History of Chinese Art Education*) (2003), it is apparent that the information they contain is general and broad. In Pan Yaochang's 潘耀昌 book, the coverage of Chinese art education ranges from the period before the 20<sup>th</sup> century to the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, and concentrates on art education in tertiary institutes, that is, the development of art education in art academies throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Huang Dongfu's 黃冬富 *Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國美術教育史》 (*History of Chinese Art Education*),

there is an account of the development of Chinese art education from the pre-historical period to 1911. Huang devotes his last chapter to the study of the dawn of the new art education in the late Qing. In this chapter Huang first makes an investigation into the two Imperial Orders on School Regulations issued in 1902 and 1903, respectively. He then gives a detailed study on the development of art teachers' education in one of the earliest teacher education institutes in China – the *Liangjiang youji shifan xuetang* 兩江優級師範學堂 (Liangjiang Teacher Training Institute).

This study is significant because this researcher's preliminary reading indicates that in China many areas in the history of Chinese art education have been overlooked. For instance, how Western art education was introduced to China by the writings of Chinese art educators in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has not been fully explained by any known study. Therefore, this study can be regarded as a new and key investigation on this topic. And, it is proposed that revealing the silent sites of this history will contribute to the enrichment of the content and genesis of Chinese art education history.

Questions about how the present phenomenon of Western influence on Chinese art education occurred have underpinned this study. It is significant because this historical enquiry has the potential to provide a better understanding of the present situation, and to reveal contemporary Chinese art education from a new perspective. Furthermore, it is believed that this research on the history of Chinese art education will also provide other Chinese art educators, or those who are interested in Chinese art education, insight into or reflection on the problems concerning the development of Western influences on Chinese art education over the past century. As well, it is hoped that this historical research on Chinese art education will provide, for those interested in or devoting themselves to the future development of Chinese art education, in Peter Smith's word, "a foundation for viewing education in visual art in a different light. Perhaps that change will lead to new ways of acting, of doing".<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Smith, Peter (1996), *The History of American Art Education*. Westport: Greenwood Press, p. 8.

### 3. Contextualization of the Study

The impetus for this study stems from a discussion this researcher had with a friend regarding art education in Hong Kong. It began in 1996, when I had just come back to Hong Kong after finishing my study in Germany. During the conversation, my friend mentioned DBAE (Discipline-Based Art Education), an art educational model promoted by the Getty Center for Education in the Arts in the U.S.A., and I asked what it was. She was very surprised to find that I had never heard of it though I had studied art education in Germany. Although this happened more than ten years ago, my friend's surprise still haunts my mind. I still find it difficult to understand why it is important for a Chinese art educator to have the knowledge of an art education programme promoted by a group of American art education advocates, especially as this programme was designed to respond to an American context. Significantly, I had never heard about DBAE in any lectures, books or journals concerning art education in Germany.

As I later read books or magazines about art education published in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Mainland China during the period from the late 1980s to the mid 1990s, I found that DBAE was a key topic. In Mainland China, a series of books published by the Getty Center were translated into Chinese in the 1990s.<sup>9</sup> In Taiwan, DBAE was introduced in a large number of articles or books,<sup>10</sup> and the reputation of DBAE in the Hong Kong art education circles was evidenced in the newsletters published by Hong Kong Society for Education in Art during this period.

---

<sup>9</sup> Examples of the books are: 1.) Smith, Ralph A. (1989), *The Sense of Art, A Study in Aesthetic Education*. New York: Routledge; 2.) Parsons, Michael J. and Blocker, H. Gene (eds.) (1993), *Aesthetic and Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois; 3.) Addiss, Stephen and Erickson, Mary (eds.) (1993), *Art History and Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois.

<sup>10</sup> Examples of the articles and books are: 1.) Wang Hsiohung 王秀雄 (1989), "Zenyang jiao meishu piping—meishu jianshang jiaoxue zhi yanjiu" 《怎樣教「美術批評」--美術鑑賞教學之研究》(How to Teach Art Criticism – Research on Teaching Art Appreciation). In: *Meiyu yuekan* 《美育月刊》(*Art Education*), 10/1989, pp. 7-13; 2.) Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥 (1992), *Zhong mei liang guo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shishi xiankuang zhi bijiao yanjiu* 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域實施現況之比較研究》(*Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study*). Taipei 臺北: Wen Jing 文景.

My friend's surprise and the quantity of Chinese writings devoted to importing DBAE suggests to me that contemporary art educators in these three regions<sup>11</sup> have had a very positive attitude toward learning from the West. More accurately, this phenomenon indicates that the idea that DBAE is universal and appears important to Chinese art education remaining unquestioned by many Chinese art educators. As DBAE enjoys such popularity in the three regions, it is difficult for Chinese art educators to ignore this American art educational model. In fact, it may be that the expertise of a Chinese art educator is measured by her/his mastery of Western knowledge of the subject instead. This puts pressure on those who want to be recognized in the field to devote more time to update their knowledge about new trends in Western art education. To criticize this as "cultural colonialism" requires a review of the role of Chinese art educators in this matter.

Yet as Zong Baihua 宗白華 noted, "China has her own unique culture, why should we be so keen on learning from the West?"<sup>12</sup> Historically, China possessed a unique tradition of art practice, art criticism and art education. This cultural tradition means rich resources and references are available to inform the construction of an ideological and practical framework for art education in contemporary China and, I believe, should have a direct bearing on the development of Chinese art education. As McFee and Degge state, art has a close relationship with culture and is "a means of communicating, teaching, and transmitting"<sup>13</sup> culture. According to *The Arts Curriculum Framework* published by the Department of Education and Training in the Australian Capital Territory (no published date), art plays an important role in shaping the student's sense of personal, social and cultural identity. Through arts,

students develop insights and an appreciation of past and present social and cultural values. ... They are part of every culture, and provide students with a sense of belonging and continuity through understanding, sharing, celebrating and reflecting upon cultural heritages.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> The term "three regions" is commonly used in the writings published in these places. It has a sense of political neutrality.

<sup>12</sup> Zong Baihua 宗白華 (1981), *Meixue sanbu* 《美學散步》 (*Ambling in Aesthetic*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai Renmin 上海人民, p. 58.

<sup>13</sup> McFee, June King and Degge, Rogena M. (eds.) (1977), *Art, Culture, and Environment*. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt, p. 272.

<sup>14</sup> Department of Education and Training [n. d.], *The Arts Curriculum Framework*. Australian Capital Territory, Department of Education and Training, page number is not printed.

I agree that “the ‘national’ and the ‘global’ are in many ways complementary rather than necessarily conflicting social forces”.<sup>15</sup> Though I think that the framework of art educational theories and practice should be rooted in local situations, I do not mean to infer that learning about art from other cultures should be discriminated against. Nor do I mean that art educators should not devote any time to communicate with counterparts from other parts of the world. On the contrary, art education should also be aimed at encouraging children to understand and respect the cultures of other nations and to achieve this art educators need better understanding of art education in the other countries. In short, I embrace the concept of “glocality”.

### Globalization and glocality

As Joseph Mensah states, “the multidimensional nature of globalization makes it not only difficult to find a logical point of departure for its analysis, but even to come up with an all-inclusive definition.”<sup>16</sup> Despite this difficulty, there is a common idea about globalization<sup>17</sup>, and that is, using Jan Aart Scholte’s words, identifying globalization “as the spread of transplanetary - and in recent times also more particularly supraterritorial – connections between people”.<sup>18</sup> Or, as A.G. McGrew states, globalization is “the process by which events, decisions, and activities in one part of the world can come to have significant consequences for individuals and communities in quite distant parts of the globe”.<sup>19</sup> Similarly, Paul Duncum also points out that “increasing numbers of people all over the world now experience the same complex repertoires of print, celluloid,

---

<sup>15</sup> Holton, Robert J. (1998), *Globalization and the Nation-State*. New York: St. Martin’s Press, p. 7.

<sup>16</sup> Mensah, Joseph (2004), “Integrating Culture into Globalization and Development Theory: Towards a Human Factor Approach”. In: E. Osei Awadwo Prempeh; Joseph Mensah and Senyo B. -S.K. Adjibolosoo (eds.), *Globalization and the Human Factor*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> Scholars who share the common notion about globalization include: 1.) Choi, Jung Min; Murphy, John W., and Caro, Manuel J. (eds.) (2004), *Globalization with a Human Face*. London: Praeger Publishers, p. 1; 2.) Scholte, Jan Aart (2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 59; 3.) Held, David and Koenig-Archibugi, (eds.) (2003), *Taming Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 1; 4.) Held, David (ed.) (2004, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *A globalizing world? culture, economics, politics*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 6.

<sup>18</sup> Scholte, Jan Aart (2005), p. 59.

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in: Mensah, Joseph (2004), p. 53.

electronic screens, and billboards.”<sup>20</sup> According to David Held’s observation, there are four different perceptions of globalization and they are: characterizing globalization as homogenization of economy and culture, looking at the significance of increased connectedness, highlighting the similarity to the language of unregulated capitalism, and emphasizing the global power of America.<sup>21</sup> It is obvious that there are both positive and negative aspects of globalization. While globalization can be regarded as a kind of enhancement of communication among people from all over the world, it can also be viewed as “a threat to the histories and cultural differences in society, to traditional ways of life and to the scope for individual or collective agency or autonomy”.<sup>22</sup>

According to *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words* (1991), “glocal” means “simultaneously global and local”.<sup>23</sup> The notion of “glocality” originates in business<sup>24</sup>, it then extends to other areas including culture. Since the mid 1990s, there are arguments that global and local should be regarded as complementary social forces.<sup>25</sup> For example, Vincent Tucker states that “the local and the global are not separate spheres but rather they represent different but complementary perspectives”.<sup>26</sup> For Robert Holton, “glocal” “means the combination of global and local elements within human activities”.<sup>27</sup> In the case of cultural development of a country, the concept of glocality means both global and local perspectives should be valued. In short, “glocality” involves the combination, interpenetration or interconnectedness of global and local.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>20</sup> Duncum, Paul (2001), “Theoretical Foundations for an Art Education of Global Culture and Principles for Classroom Practice”. In: *International Journal of Education & the Arts*, vol. 2, no. 3. Retrieved 18/3/2006, from <http://www.ijea.org/v2n3/index.html>.

<sup>21</sup> Held, David (ed.) (2004, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 13.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 13.

<sup>23</sup> Tulloch, Sara (compiled) (1991), *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Holton, Robert J. (1998), p. 7; Tucker, Vincent (1997), *Cultural Perspectives on Development*, London: Frank Cass, p. 14; Mensah, Joseph (2004), p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> Tucker, Vincent (1997), p. 14.

<sup>27</sup> Quoted in: McMillen, Donald H. (2009), “China, Xinjiang and Central Asia – ‘glocality’ in the year 2008”. In: Colin Mackerras and Michael Clarke (eds.), *China, Xinjiang and Central Asia: History, Transition and Crossborder Interaction into the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. London and New York: Routledge, p. 5.

<sup>28</sup> See McMillen, Donald H. (2009), in: Colin Mackerras and Michael Clarke (eds.), pp. 5-8.



I contend that it would be ideal if people of different cultures had more understanding of each other and culture difference were respected and preserved. The premise of this ideal is for every nation to get an equal opportunity to introduce their cultural values and traditions to other nations, so that no single culture could dominate or be threatened by other cultures. Would there be any possibility of achieving this ideal? I believe an investigation into the development of cultural communication between different nations would provide a clue to the question. The purpose of this research is to examine the challenge of globalization to Chinese art educators from an historical perspective.

### Threat of globalization

Contemporary Chinese writings on aesthetics, art creation and art education make similar observations about the “threat” of Westernization or Americanization, a negative aspect of globalization. For instance, according to Pan Zhichang 潘知常, Chinese aestheticians in the past hundred years have used Western models and themes to reconstruct or modernize Chinese aesthetics. Furthermore, Western modes of thinking and research methods are also employed to solve the problems of Chinese aesthetics. As a result, Pan points out, Chinese aesthetics becomes an oriental version of Western aesthetics.<sup>29</sup>

Ah Xian 阿仙 (Liu Ji Xian) also talks about the problem of globalization or the inundation of “international art” or “globalised art culture in a globalised form” in his catalog *China China* (2000). He states that many non-Western background artists “have been heavily influenced and moulded by Western concepts and style”.<sup>30</sup> Ah Xian observes the threat of globalization to Chinese culture:

As a result of what seems like a tidal-wave of Western influence, a fault-line had developed in Chinese culture, wiping out what had been a more or less orderly progression. Apart from some recognized historical vestiges, architecture such as in the Forbidden City or the Courtyard are not used or developed any more; traditional brush-ink painting is becoming folk-art like; audiences for Peking Opera diminish; there is no new development in the ceramic field in either an artistic or a technical

---

<sup>29</sup> Pan Zhichang 潘知常 (2000), *Zhongxi bijiao meixue lungao* 《中西比較美學論稿》 (*Draft of Comparative Discussions about Chinese and Western Aesthetics*). Nanchang 南昌: Baihuazhou wenyi 百花洲文藝, p. 5.

<sup>30</sup> Liu Jixian (2000), *China China*. Exhibition catalog, p. 8.

sense. Instead of valuing and progressing our culture, concrete skyscrapers are constructed; artists seek opportunities to participate in major international art events by showing international-style art work; people enjoy seeing Hollywood movies or sitting in a pub to drink brandy or coffee.<sup>31</sup>

In the 18 December 2005 issue of *Yazhou zhoukan* 《亞洲周刊》 (literally as *Asia Weekly*), there was a report written by Ji Shuoming 紀碩鳴 on the struggle for preservation of the Beijing *Siheyuan* 四合院, the traditional and residential quadrangles with a distinctive style of their own. Together with Pan Zhichang's and Ah Xian's writings, Ji Shuoming's report clearly indicates how a blind adoption of Western ideas can demolish the uniqueness of Chinese culture. Similar worry about the problem of globalization also existed in Chinese art education. In her book, *Taiwan shijue yishu jiaoyu yanjiu* 《台灣視覺藝術教育研究》 (*The Study of Visual Art Education in Taiwan*) (1990), Lin Manli 林曼麗 voiced her concern about Taiwan keeping pace with other members of the global village without losing its unique qualities. She criticised the way Taiwan art educators learn from the West. She found that art education circles in Taiwan were too eager to make use of the advance of Information Technology to introduce the most up-to-date international art education fashions to Taiwan. Lin thought this was because the art education circles in Taiwan were too keen in keeping Taiwan on the same track as their international counterparts:

Since absorbing the American “creativity” art educational theory from the 1940s onwards, the norm of “creativity” in art education has become common and natural in Taiwan. ... Following the swings of international art education, ripples in the art educational circle in Taiwan occur. ... As a result of the development of contemporary society and the coming of the era of Information Technology, the ideal of turning all nations into one global village has become true now. Isn't it our dream to introduce promptly first hand information from foreign countries to Taiwan and thus enable the Taiwanese to be an international member who is keeping the same pace with the world? However, we then encounter another problem: what will be our standing point if we want to enjoy an equal status with other global members? If we always play a passive and receiving role, what we will become is only a second colony of the culture of other countries. Actually, it is not only the problem of art education but of other areas as well.<sup>32</sup>

---

<sup>31</sup> Ibid, p. 9.

<sup>32</sup> Lin Manli 林曼麗 (1990), *Taiwan shijue yishu jiaoyu yanjiu* 《台灣視覺藝術教育研究》 (*The Study of Visual Art Education in Taiwan*). Taipei 臺北: Xiongshi 雄獅, p. 54. The original Chinese version is: “吸取了美國 1940 年代以降“創造性”美術教育理論的主張，『創造性』美術教育的現象在台灣，已經成爲普遍而理所當然的美術教育新型態。.....就這樣，隨著世界藝術教育潮流的擺盪，台灣的美術教育界也激起了陣陣的漣漪。...由於現代社會的發展，科技、資訊時代的來臨，世界各國成爲一個

It might be a coincidence, however, that a similar criticism of the way Chinese art educators learn from the West could also be found nearly eighty years earlier in Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 book *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu de yanjiu* 《小學美術教學的研究》 (*Study of Art Teaching in Primary School*), published in 1934. In the preface to his book, Yu Jifan criticized art education in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China:

In the past, our country's drawing lesson in primary school followed the trend of international educational thought and joined the mission towards utilitarianism. Recently, the Education Ministry has set three objectives of primary school art lessons: 1. arouse the children's interest in studying art by conforming to their natural fondness for beauty; 2. enable the children to reach a higher standard of appreciating and recognizing beauty, and foster their ability to create beauty; 3. assist the children in learning the principle of art, and applying the knowledge to their lives. The content of these objectives is similar to those being emphasized in Europe, America and Japan. These are: the respect of children's character and cultivating children's personalities through art. The other walks, we walk; the other runs, we also run. We would not be able to show any result if we used the slogans plagiarized from others to replace our signboards.<sup>33</sup>

At first glance, it would seem that Chinese art education in late 20<sup>th</sup> century China had a similar problem in giving too much emphasis to borrowing from the West, as did Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The criticism of Lin Manli 林曼麗 and Yu Zhifan 俞寄凡 may therefore be interpreted as an indication that the eagerness of contemporary Chinese art educators for borrowing ideas from the West is a kind of reoccurrence or continuum of the history of Chinese art education that can be traced back to early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. As Edward Said points out, “appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present.”<sup>34</sup> I believe that historical study as applied to the research here can inspire problem solving by providing glimpses of past experience.

---

地球村的理想已成為事實，將國外第一手的資訊儘速介紹到台灣，讓我們成為與世界同步的國際人，不也是我們夢寐以求的期望？但是這又遇上了相同的問題，如果我們要成為與大家平起平坐的國際人，我們的立足點在哪裡？如果我們一直扮演的是被動的、接收的受容體時，充其量不過是他國的文化次殖民地，其實不只是美術教育是如此，其他所有的事物也是如此。”

<sup>33</sup> Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1934), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu de yanjiu* 《小學美術教學的研究》 (*Study of Art Teaching in Primary School*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華, preface, pp. 1-2. The original Chinese version is: “以前吾國小學圖畫科，隨從世界教育思潮，亦以實際應用為主體。現在教育部所定小學美術科之三項目標：『一. 順應兒童愛美的本性，以引起研究美術的興趣。二. 增進兒童美的欣賞和識別的程度，並陶冶美的發表和創造的能力。三. 引導兒童對於美術原則的學習和應用，以求生活的美化。』又恰與尊重個性，以美術培養兒童人格之歐美日本的情形相一致。

人家走，我亦走。人家跑，我亦跑。抄襲人家的標語，調換我家的招牌，是不會有什麼結果的。”

<sup>34</sup> Said, Edward W. (1993), *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage Books, p. 1.

Through examining history, one might have more ideas of the formation of present phenomena and understanding of the nature or feature of the present problem. And, based on this understanding, a more effective solution might be found.

In the introduction to his book *The History of American Art Education* (1996), Peter Smith argues the value of writing art education history, in particular along the lines of the noted American art educator Elliot Eisner and questions “how history research contributed to the field of art education”.<sup>35</sup> After a short review of John Swift’s writing, “The Use of Art and Design Education Archives in Critical Studies” (1991), Smith sums up the utility of doing historical inquiry in art education in a short sentence: “a careful examination of history provides us with a means of examining, critically and analytically, our own day”.<sup>36</sup> Smith also finds that “because of the present’s confusing novelty, the past does give us a framework from which we can judge. Through the practice of examining that which can be seen in history with some detachment, we can study by comparison (and contrast) what is being done now”.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Smith argues that “the historical researcher can look at our landscape of today with newly opened eyes and with spectacles ground fine by scholarly study of that other place, the past, and see the present as never before”.<sup>38</sup>

As a Chinese art educator, I am concerned about the development of Chinese art education. As a global villager, I am also concerned about the problem of cultural diversities. In order to get more inspiration for shaping the unique paths of Chinese art education, one needs to contribute to the understanding and maintenance of cultural difference. I find it is necessary to comprehend the phenomena of today to see more clearly the ways that contemporary Chinese art educators were learning from their Western counterparts. I believe that ideas for interpreting the present situation will be acquired through studying the past.

---

<sup>35</sup> Smith, Peter (1996), p. 3. According to Peter Smith’s introduction, Elliot Eisner presented an address at the Second Penn State Conference in 1989 under the title “The History of Art Education”. His presentation was entitled “The Efflorescence of the History of Art Education: Advance into the Past or Retreat from the Present?”

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, p. 7.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, p. 8.

#### 4. Methodology

Therefore this study will mainly employ historical research. History is, according to Collingwood, “a special form of thought,” and “a kind of research or inquiry”.<sup>39</sup> In Collingwood’s “provisional definition” of history, the object of history is “actions of human beings that have been done in the past”, “history proceeds by the interpretation of evidence”, and lastly, the value of history “is ‘for’ human self-knowledge”.<sup>40</sup> Walsh has also discussed history, suggesting that

The word ‘history’ is itself ambiguous. It covers (1) the totality of past human actions, and (2) the narrative or account we construct of them now. This ambiguity is important because it opens up at once two possible fields for philosophy of history. That study might be concerned, as it was in its traditional form, with the actual course of historical events. It might, on the other hand, occupy itself with the processes of historical thinking, the means by which history in the second sense is arrived at.<sup>41</sup>

Both Collingwood’s and Walsh’s definitions of history indicate that there are two important components of historical research: the collection of data or evidence from the past and the interpretation of the data. Bruce Berg points out that the core of historical research consists of collection and interpretation of data. He says that,

the major impetus in historical research is, as with other data-collection strategies, the collection of information and the interpretation or analysis of these data. Specifically, historical research is conducted for one or more of the following reasons: to uncover the unknown; to answer questions; to seek implications or relationships of events from the past and their connections with the present; to assess past activities and accomplishments of individuals, agencies, or institutions; and to aid generally in our understanding about human culture.<sup>42</sup>

Using the central questions outlined for the study to interrogate writings and documents published in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, I will endeavour to interpret how, what and why the Chinese art educators borrowed the Western ideas for their construction of a framework for Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>39</sup> Collingwood, R.G. (1994), *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 7, 9.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, pp. 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> Quoted in: Callinicos, Alex (1995), *Theories and Narratives*. Cambridge: Polity Press, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> Berg, Bruce L. (1995), *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon, p. 163.

### Using a China-centered approach

In the field of Chinese history in the 19<sup>th</sup> and the 20<sup>th</sup> century, there are, as Paul Cohen points out, three leading conceptual frameworks used in the West: “the impact-response approach, the modernization (or tradition-modernity) approach, and the imperialism (or, perhaps more aptly, imperialism-revolution) approach”.<sup>43</sup> Since the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a new approach has emerged that is labelled by Cohen as ‘China-centered’. Cohen depicts this approach as aiming to overcome earlier Eurocentric or Western-centric biases. Cohen further argues that

the core attribute of the China-centered approach is that its practitioners make a serious effort to understand Chinese history in its own terms – pay close attention to Chinese historical trajectories and Chinese perceptions of their own problems – rather than in terms of a set of expectations derived from Western history.<sup>44</sup>

The arguments of Cohen do echo the notions of contemporary historical research. Southgate positions the heart of post-colonialism as against the ‘imperialistic imposition of alien values’. Southgate also suggests that post-colonialism presents a challenge to old Eurocentric standards, values and criteria being accepted in the past. Post-colonialism emphasises a self-justifying history and a respect for the autonomy of minority and non-conforming views in history.<sup>45</sup> While this study does not sit specifically within post-colonial theories, it will inevitably reflect aspects of these through its own approach. As a Chinese scholar concerned with the history of Chinese art education, it is important that I draw on a China-centered approach - thus paying close attention to what the Chinese thought and think was or is important, natural and normal in terms of their perceptions of the problems of Chinese art education at a given time. However, this does not imply that I will reject any ‘theoretical insights and methodological strategies of non-Chinese provenance’. As Cohen points out, a China-centered approach does not

give(s) short shrift to exogenous influences; nor, certainly, does it preclude – on the contrary, it warmly embraces – the application to Chinese realities of theoretical insights and methodological strategies of non-Chinese provenance (often developed in disciplines other than history), so long as these insights and strategies are sensitive to the perils of parochial (typically, Western-centric) bias.<sup>46</sup>

---

<sup>43</sup> Cohen, Paul (2003), *China Unbound - Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*. London and New York: Routledge/Curzon, p. 4.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Southgate, Beverley (2001), *History: What and Why?* London: Routledge, pp. 107-113.

<sup>46</sup> Cohen, Paul (2003), p. 4.

It is a view of contemporary theory that there is no single grand approach to doing historical research. Southgate states that

The sceptical approach of postmodernist theorists questions the absolute validity of such concepts (conventional certainties); it concludes that there can never be one single privileged position from which the story of the past can finally be told; it (postmodernism) implies an inescapable and inevitable relativism in our own positions in relation to that past; so it (postmodernism) requires that we see any version of history as nothing more than a tentative hypothesis underpinned by a possibly unstated, but nonetheless specific purpose.<sup>47</sup>

Employing flexibility in the approaches to this research is further supported by Edward Said's idea about a 'contrapuntal perspective'. In Southgate's interpretation, "this sort of approach would theoretically refuse to privilege any one position, any one narrative" and "we should remain aware of the innumerable alternatives that we might equally have adopted."<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Denzin and Lincoln also state that a 'built-in flexibility' should be adopted while designing research procedures so as "to allow for discoveries of new and unexpected empirical materials and growing sophistication."<sup>49</sup>

### Source materials

As Darin Weinberg points out, "For those who would study historically distant peoples and events, documents and material objects are often the only types of data available."<sup>50</sup> For Collingwood, "a document is a thing existing here and now, of such a kind that the historian, by thinking about it, can get answers to the question he asks about past events."<sup>51</sup> My study will mainly draw on the written texts published in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Ian Hodder puts it in his essay "The Interpretation of Document and Material Culture" (2002) that written texts can be regarded as documents, a kind of artefact and an example for material culture in disciplines like history, art history, archaeology, anthropology, sociology and modern material culture studies. Hodder also mentions that

---

<sup>47</sup> Southgate, Beverley (2001), p. 8.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, p. 114.

<sup>49</sup> Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. (eds.) (2000), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, p. 368.

<sup>50</sup> Weinberg, Darin (2002), *Qualitative Research Methods*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, p. 263.

<sup>51</sup> Collingwood, R. G. (1994), p. 10.

written texts are mute evidence and they endure and give historical insight.<sup>52</sup> For David Silverman, written text means “a heuristic device to identify data consisting of words and images that have become recorded without the intervention of a researcher (e.g., through an interview)”.<sup>53</sup>

There are different kinds of classification for historical research source materials. Paul Leedy and Jeanne Ormrod, Bruce Berg and Jack Block classify the sources for historical research into primary and secondary.<sup>54</sup> Jennifer Monaghan and Douglas Hartman find that there are three sources for historical research: primary, secondary and original sources.<sup>55</sup> For W. Lawrence Neuman, there are four types of sources: primary sources, secondary sources, running records and recollection.<sup>56</sup> Among these classifications, the main difference is some authors’ intention to draw a fine distinction among the sources. For example, Monaghan and Hartman distinguish the differences between primary and original sources.<sup>57</sup> While Leedy and Ormrod put recollections within primary resources, Neuman makes recollection an independent category. This research seeks not only data from the published written works, like official documents, curriculum guidelines, articles, books and textbooks in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China, but also the quality and number of such material. I have been collecting many books and articles on early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese art education over many years and they are the primary sources for my study. Among my collection of sources, there are a number of the early publications on Chinese art education from that period which are original but generally are out of print. Another large portion of my collection is photocopies or computer scanned copies of the editions published in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China from dedicated Chinese library sources.

---

<sup>52</sup> Hodder, Ian (2002), “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Cultural”. In: Darin Weinberg (ed.), *Qualitative Research Methods*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 266-280.

<sup>53</sup> Silverman, David (2000), “Analyzing Talk and Text”. In: Norman K. Denzin and Yvonna S. Lincoln (eds.), p. 825.

<sup>54</sup> Leedy, Paul D. and Ormrod, Jeanne E. (eds.) (2001), *Practical Research – Planning and Design*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, pp. 162-165; Berg, Bruce L. (1995), pp. 164-165; Block, Jack (1971), *Understanding Historical Research*. Glen Rock: Research Publications, pp. 9-14.

<sup>55</sup> Monagahn, E. Jennifer and Hartman, Douglas K. (2001), “Historical Research in Literacy”. *Reading Online*, 4 (11). Retrieved 8/07/2010, from [http://www.readingonline.org/articles/art\\_index.asp?HREF=/articles/handbook/monaghan/index.html](http://www.readingonline.org/articles/art_index.asp?HREF=/articles/handbook/monaghan/index.html)

<sup>56</sup> Neuman, W. Lawrence (1997), *Social Research Methods – Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon, p. 396.

<sup>57</sup> Monagahn, E. Jennifer and Hartman, Douglas K. (2001).



There are also reprinted editions of the old books and new books which compile earlier Chinese art educators' writings. The bedrock of my historical research will be constructed on the primary sources I have collected.

The source materials of historical research are subject to two kinds of investigation and criticism: external criticism and internal criticism.<sup>58</sup> A main target of this research is to investigate how the Chinese art educators in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China revealed their thoughts in their writings, their written texts are therefore primary sources for my study. All these written materials are text corpus. These texts constitute the object of scrutiny for the thesis. From a brief examination, the written texts I have collected are authentic and the original editions were printed and published in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. The imprint of these written texts proves their authenticity. Besides, papers of those written texts were brown and quite fragile. For those texts collected and reprinted by other editors or publishers, source information was also given and it is easy to check their authenticity. Internal criticism means investigating the meaning of the written text with questions like “what was the author trying to say? To what individuals or events do certain phrases refer? What interpretations can be extracted from the words?”<sup>59</sup> These questions for internal criticism reflect the research questions of my study, especially through an examination of the written texts of the early Chinese art educators and their thoughts on art education.

### Interpretation of written texts

Paul Leedy emphasizes that “historical research deals with the meaning of events.”<sup>60</sup> For him,

The heart of the historical method is, as with any other type of research, not the accumulating of the facts, but rather the interpretation of the facts. Nothing can take the place of that. The interpretation of the data is central in all research. Without it, there is no research.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>58</sup> See Berg, Bruce L. (1995), pp. 167-169; Leedy, Paul D. and Ormrod, Jeanne E. (eds.) (2001), pp. 167-168; Jack Block (1971), pp. 17-24.

<sup>59</sup> Leedy, Paul D. and Ormrod, Jeanne E. (eds.) (2001), p. 167.

<sup>60</sup> Leedy, Paul D. (1997), *Practical Research – Planning and Design*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, p. 173.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

The major task of my study is to interpret the written texts accumulated. Ian Hodder depicts the link between interpreting a text and the context that embeds it. He points out that “as the text is reread in different contexts it is given new meanings”. He also says that “different types of text have to be understood in the contexts of their conditions of production and reading”. From the first notion, Hodder argues that “there is no ‘original’ or ‘true’ meaning of a text outside specific historical context”. And what we can expect from those historical documents is to give “simply a different picture from that provided by artefacts and architecture”. From the second notion, Hodder emphasises the importance of the contexts of “the conditions of production and reading” of the written texts and written texts can be understood only as what they are “embedded within social and ideological systems”.<sup>62</sup>

As Denzin and Lincoln state, “all social phenomena need to be studied in their historical contexts.”<sup>63</sup> I will, first of all, determine the historical and cultural context of the period when the written texts of my study were produced and read. As mentioned earlier, I will endeavour to investigate the arguments about learning from the West among the Chinese intellectuals in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the importation of Western visual culture. Based on this historical and social context, I will interpret how the writings of the Chinese art educators in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century reflected the “*Shidai jingshen*” 時代精神 or *Zeitgeist* (Spirit of the time) and their concern about learning from the West.

## 5. Chapter Organization

The study is structured into six chapters. This chapter presents the conceptual framework and main issues of the dissertation. Chapter Two is devoted to establishing the historical, political and socio-cultural contexts of this study. Its main focus will be the arguments of Westernization of Chinese culture in general and their implications for reasoning about

---

<sup>62</sup> Hodder, Ian (2002), p. 267.

<sup>63</sup> Denzin and Lincoln (2000), p. 375.

the Westernization of Chinese paintings. Chapter Three investigates the development of Chinese education, especially Chinese art education, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Chapter Four will be an in-depth study into the characteristics of the publication of Chinese writings on art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and how these writings reflected the Chinese art educators' attitudes toward learning from the West. Chapter Five will present a case study of Chinese art educators' study of the German Art Education Movement, and evidence of insights gained to influence the development of art education in China. It is hoped that the attitudes of the Chinese art educators in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China toward learning from the West will be discovered through such a thorough analysis. Chapter Six will present an analytical summary of the general attitudes of Chinese intellectuals to learning from the West together with the conclusions of the study.

## 6. Definition of Terms Used Throughout the Study

According to the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1995), "influence" means: power to have an effect on the way someone or something develops, behaves, or thinks without using direction, force or commands. While "the West" in this thesis is used to refer to Europe and United States, especially the industrialized nations that had challenged China in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early the 20<sup>th</sup> century, "Western influence" therefore means the effect that Western ideas, in particular those from Germany, had on the thinking of Chinese art educators and, in turn, on the development of Chinese art education. Here, the attitudes of Chinese art educators in the 20<sup>th</sup> century toward learning from "the West", and both the quantity and quality of Western ideas being used in their construction of theoretical and practical frameworks for Chinese art education, will be regarded as indications of early "Western influences" on Chinese art education.

From my position as a contemporary Chinese art educator, I define a "Chinese art educator" as a Chinese who has received art education training in teacher's colleges or

universities and most importantly, devotes himself/herself to art education at any level of school education in China.

The term “art education” used in this study refers to “visual arts education” and terms will be used interchangeably. Indeed, one of the research questions in this study considers the kind of terms for art education being used in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and how the early Chinese art educators defined the terms they adopted.

The term “Chinese art education” is used in a broad sense in this study. It refers to the art education for the Chinese people living on both sides of the Taiwan Strait and more exactly, people living in ‘*Liangan si di*’ 兩岸四地 (literally translated, both sides of the strait and four regions), which commonly used to refer to Mainland China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau when activities such as conferences were held in these places.

According to Chris Jenks, the term “visual culture” in a broad sense refers to “all those items of culture whose visual appearance is an important feature of their being or their purpose”<sup>64</sup>. At the same time this term can also be used conventionally and it “signifies painting, sculpture, design and architecture; it indicates a late-modern broadening of that previously contained within the definition of ‘fine art’”.<sup>65</sup> This study adopts this conventional in the use of “visual culture”.

This study focuses on the period from 1911 to 1949, which is chosen for the following reasons. First, a series of epochal changes in Chinese political history took place in 1911 and in 1949: a Republic replaced the Imperial Government after the 1911 Revolution, and in 1949 the Communist Party gained power over Mainland China while the Kuomintang (or Guomintang in pinyin) (KMT), the republican Government, fled to Taiwan to continue its rule there. Second, 1911 was also a symbolic year for Chinese education as a new educational system was implemented. As art education was introduced to Chinese school education from the start of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the study will describe the Chinese art

---

<sup>64</sup> Jenks, Chris (ed.) (1995), *Visual Culture*. London: Routledge, p. 16.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid.

education from 1911 to 1949 as an embryonic stage. As mentioned above, publications on art education were plentiful in China in this period.

In Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong different systems of phonetic transcription of Chinese Characters are used. While the *Hanyu pinyin* system is used in Mainland China, the Wade-Giles system and Cantonese system are used in Taiwan and Hong Kong respectively. In this study, *Hanyu pinyin* is used to transcribe the Chinese book or essay titles, authors' and publishers' names. Sometimes spelling of the names of authors from Taiwan and Hong Kong are provided in the written texts, in this case, the provided spelling will be kept in this study. For the Chinese and Japanese names of people the traditional system of listing the surname before the given name is used.

## CHAPTER II.

### **POLITICAL AND SOCIO-CULTURAL BACKGROUND: ARGUMENTS ABOUT WESTERNIZATION**

The trend of importing Western ideas into Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was not isolated from the political, social and cultural background found in modern China as it dated back to the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This chapter presents a brief study of the political and socio-cultural history, more exactly, the political challenges that China met with from 1839 to 1949 and how these challenges led to a long quest for the Westernization of Chinese culture in general as well as Chinese painting in specific. The focus of this part of the study is to examine the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals to or arguments about learning from the West in this period. Therefore, the central focus to be addressed here is the political and socio-cultural history of 20<sup>th</sup> century China and its relation to Chinese art educators' attitude to learning from the West.

#### 1. Political Background

This section consists, firstly, of a brief study of Western aggressions in the late Qing period, more accurately, the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century; and secondly, the political turmoil in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

##### 1.1. Western Aggressions in the Late Qing Period

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, China faced the challenges of several Western invasions. These included the First Opium War with Britain from 1839 until 1842, the Second Opium War with Britain and France between 1856 and 1860, the Sino-French

War of 1883-1885, the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, the Scramble for Concessions by Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and United States in the late 1890s, and the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900 which consisted of British, Japanese, Russian, Italian, German, French, American (USA) and Austrian troops. The defeat of China in these wars resulted in a number of unequal treaties such as: The Treaty of Nanking in 1842 after the first Opium War; The Treaties of Tientsin in 1858<sup>66</sup> and Peking in 1860<sup>67</sup> after the Second Opium War; The Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895 after the Sino-Japanese War and the Boxer Protocol of 1901 after the Eight-Nation Alliance.

In addition to the huge amounts of indemnity involved, China also had to cede territory to the Western powers. Examples included: the ceding Hong Kong to Britain in the Treaty of Nanking, Kowloon peninsula to Britain again in the Anglo-Chinese Treaty of Tientsin,<sup>68</sup> ceding the Maritime Province between the Ussuri and the Pacific to Russia in the Sino-Russian Treaty of Peking<sup>69</sup> and Taiwan to Japan in the Treaty of Shimonoseki.<sup>70</sup> From the 1870s to 1910, China was divided into six “spheres of influence”, zones in which Germany took Shandong province, Russia north eastern China, Britain the Yangtze River basin, Japan Fujian province and France the south western Chinese provinces bordering on French Indochina. These “spheres of influence” in China, as John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer explained, were created when the demands and seizures of concessions by these great powers were “legalized by treaties with China, usually through ninety-nine-year leases.”<sup>71</sup> China thus came to suffer a semi-colonial status. A further humiliation for the Chinese was the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905,

---

<sup>66</sup> These treaties were signed with Britain, France, USA and Russia in 1858.

<sup>67</sup> These treaties were signed with Britain, France and Russia in 1860. See Ji Pingzi 季平子 (2001), *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao jiawu zhanzheng* 《從鴉片戰爭到甲午戰爭》 (*From Opium War to Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895*). Taipei 臺北: Yunlong 雲龍, pp. 405-409; also see Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), *China: Tradition and Transformation*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, pp. 300-302.

<sup>68</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), pp. 300-301; Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), *Jindai zhongguo shigang* 《近代中國史綱》 (*Outline of Modern Chinese History*). Hong Kong 香港: Zhongwen daxue 中文大學, p. 142.

<sup>69</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), p. 302; Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 146.

<sup>70</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp. 269-275.

<sup>71</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), p. 368.

which resulted in rival imperialist powers, including an Asian state, conquering North-East China and Korea.<sup>72</sup>

Obviously, China was not able to resist foreign aggression and was humiliated by being put in a semi-colonial status after being a unified country for over 2,000 years. This damaged the Chinese psyche and caused further degradation for many Chinese who had for many centuries been told to consider these powers as “barbarians”. This forced a lot of soul searching and led many to seek a transition to a new way forward for the entire Chinese society at that time. This political and social turmoil continued during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and this is elaborated in the next section.

## 1.2. Political Turmoil in the First Half of 20<sup>th</sup> Century China

The corruption of the Qing Regime and its inability to resist foreign invasion from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards disappointed the whole country. More and more people believed that China could only be saved by revolution. An epochal change in the long history of China took place in 1911 when the Qing Dynasty was overthrown and the Republic of China was formed. However, the political situation in China remained tense and unstable.<sup>73</sup>

In 1912, Yuan Shikai 袁世凱 became President of the Republic of China. Yuan was ambitious and wanted to make himself an emperor. However, his plans failed due to the strong opposition from many people including his own army generals and leaders of the Chinese provinces. Yuan’s monarchical fiasco added to China’s decline into Warlordism in the period between 1916 and 1928. However, China was reunified again in 1928, when the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party) led the Northern Expedition from Guangzhou in the south to Beijing in the north and defeated the warlords successfully.<sup>74</sup>

---

<sup>72</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp. 339 - 344.

<sup>73</sup> Hsü, CY Immanuel (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), *The Rise of Modern China*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 452-486.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 475 - 486.



In the 1920s, the Western powers and Japan still enjoyed almost all their accumulated privileges in China. John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer have depicted this:

The Japanese Kwantung leased territory and South Manchurian Railway dominated southern Manchuria. The South Manchurian Railway and the British-owned Kailan Mining Administration policed China's biggest coal mines. At Tientsin, concession areas were still governed by the British, French, Japanese, and Italians. Legation guards still paraded through Peking. Most of Shanghai was governed by the foreign (mainly British) rate-payers through the Shanghai Municipal Council. The trade of South China was largely dominated by Hong Kong. Foreigners still held the top posts in the Chinese Maritime Customs, Salt Revenue, and Post Office administrations, revenues from which went chiefly to pay China's foreign creditors. Foreign steamship lines and gunboats plied China's inland waters all the way into Hunan and Szechwan. Many modern industrial enterprises were foreign-owned.<sup>75</sup>

After gaining power, the Kuomintang's Nationalist government carried out a vigorous foreign policy to whittle away the unequal treaties signed between the Qing government and Western powers. By 1933, there was a full recovery of tariff autonomy and a control over the Maritime Customs, the Salt Revenue Administration and the Post Office. As well, there was a reduction in foreign concession areas from thirty-three to thirteen.<sup>76</sup> This foreign policy slowed down after 1931 due to new Japanese aggression in Manchuria, northeast China. In 1937, there were full-blown unprovoked Japanese attacks near Beijing and Shanghai. Then along came World War 2. It took a full eight years for China to resist and defeat the Japanese invasion.<sup>77</sup> Soon after the end of World War II, the civil war between the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party finally re-erupted in China. Eventually, in October 1949, the Chinese Communist Party won this war and occupied Beijing. The Kuomintang fled to Taiwan and continued its rule there.<sup>78</sup>

The Western aggression from 1842 onward forced the Chinese to realise the weakness of China compared with the West. The idea of strengthening or saving China through learning from the West became a major issue for Chinese intellectuals during this period between the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Generally speaking, there were two stages of learning from the West in China in these

---

<sup>75</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), p. 446.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 451.

<sup>77</sup> Hsü, CY Immanuel (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), pp. 582-610.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 619-639.

one hundred years. The first took place from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century to the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the second stage took place from the 1910s to the 1940s.

## 2. Westernization and Traditionalism in General Aspects

### 2.1. Westernization in the Late Qing – an Initial Step

Facing continuous Western aggression after the Opium War, more and more Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing period found that the only way to save China was to adopt certain products of Western civilization. Generally speaking, learning from the West in the late Qing period could again be divided into two phases. The first phase of Westernization included Lin Zexu's 林則徐 and Wei Yuan's 魏源 recognition of China's need to learn from the West in the late 1830s and the Self-Strengthening Movement in the 1860s. The second phase of Westernization included the Hundred Day Reform in 1898 and some reforms at the very beginning of 1900s.

#### 2.1.1. The First Phase of Learning from the West

##### i. Lin Zexu's 林則徐 and Wei Yuan's 魏源 promotion of learning from the West

Lin Zexu's 林則徐 and Wei Yuan's 魏源's recognition of China's need to learn from the West symbolised the beginning of Westernization movements in the late Qing.<sup>79</sup> Lin Zexu 林則徐 was appointed as the Imperial Commissioner at Guangzhou (Canton) in 1838 to deal with the problem of the opium trade, which Britain used as a means to compensate the deficit of importing Chinese silk and tea. In modern Chinese history Lin is famous for his actions in the burning of opium in 1839. He recognized the military superiority of the West and favoured the “purchase and manufacture of ships and guns

---

<sup>79</sup>Fu Lecheng 傅樂成 (1982), *Zhongguo tongshi* 《中國通史》 (*Chinese General History*). Taipei 臺北: Dazhongguo tushu 大中國圖書, p. 710.

patterned after the Western model”.<sup>80</sup> While dealing with the British problem in late 1830s, Lin began to compile information on the West.<sup>81</sup> He collected reports on Western affairs and translations of Western writings. Lin published *Si Zhou Zhi* 《四洲志》 (*Gazetteer of the four continents*) in 1841. It was a compilation of translations from Murray’s *Cyclopaedia of Geography*.<sup>82</sup> Lin also invited Wei Yuan 魏源, a leading historian and geographer, to compile and published a more extensive work to introduce the Western maritime nations.<sup>83</sup> In his work *Haiguo tu zhi* 《海國圖志》 (*An Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations*), Wei Yuan 魏源 advocated the idea *Shi yi changji yi zhi yi* 「師夷長技以制夷」 (Learning the superior skills of the barbarians so as to control them). Besides collecting information on the West, Lin and Wei also proposed to build shipyards and arsenals, to produce ships and guns, to employ Western technical instructors for training selected Chinese personnel, and to change the military examinations.<sup>84</sup>

## ii. *Zi Qiang* 自強 (Self-Strengthening) Movement

Lin’s and Wei’s proposals did not receive any attention by the Qing rulers. It was some twenty years later when the Qing court began to be aware of the military superiority of the West and believed that military Westernization could solve China’s domestic and foreign problems.<sup>85</sup> The *Zi Qiang* 自強 (lit., “self-strengthening” or “to make ourselves strong”)<sup>86</sup> movement was launched in the 1860s. Ssu-yu Teng and John K. Fairbank found that Feng Guifen 馮桂芬 was probably the first man to apply the term *Zi Qiang* 自強 to China’s modern problems and his ideas anticipated the famous slogan *Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong* 「中學為體，西學為用」 (Chinese learning for fundamentals,

---

<sup>80</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), *China’s Response to the West – a Documentary Survey 1839-1923*. New York: Atheneum, p. 28.

<sup>81</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 29; Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp. 56-57.

<sup>82</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 57; Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 29.

<sup>83</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 76.

<sup>84</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 30.

<sup>85</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 183.

<sup>86</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 50.

Western learning for practical application) in 1890s.<sup>87</sup> Feng recognised “the importance of Western science as necessary auxiliaries of Chinese knowledge”.<sup>88</sup> He suggested the study of Western languages, mathematics and sciences. He also urged for translation of Western writings on “mathematics, mechanics, optics, light, chemistry, and other subjects contain the best principles of the natural sciences.”<sup>89</sup> Feng’s ideas had influenced Li Hongzhang 李鴻章, the leading figure of the Self-Strengthening Movement, and the *Guang fangyan guan* 廣方言館 (Foreign-language School) for Western languages and science was established at his suggestion.<sup>90</sup>

In the Self-Strengthening Movement, a series of programs for the adoption of Western technology and knowledge was carried out. There were, for example, the building of cannons, shipyards and arsenals, railways and telecommunication.<sup>91</sup> The building of ships and the manufacture of arms demanded linguistic and scientific professionals. For this purpose, *Tongwen guan* 同文館 (Interpreters College) at Beijing was founded in 1862, *Guang fangyan guan* 廣方言館 (Foreign-language School) at Shanghai in 1863, *Guangzhou tongwen guan* 廣州同文館 (Foreign-language School) at Guangzhou in 1864 and the translation bureau of *Jiangnan zhizao ju* 江南製造局 (Kiangnan Arsenal) in 1868. From that time, many books on Western knowledge, especially science and technology, were translated.<sup>92</sup>

The establishment of schools of foreign languages and science in the 1860s not only indicated China’s need to introduce Western knowledge but also signified the beginning of China’s adoption of the Western models of education.

---

<sup>87</sup> Ibid.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> Feng Guifen 馮桂芬, “Xiaobinlu kangyi” 《校邠廬抗議》 (Personal Protests from the Study of Chiao-pin). Quoted in: Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 51.

<sup>90</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 50.

<sup>91</sup> Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), *Xifeng dongjian – zhongguo gaige kaifang shi* 《西風東漸 – 中國改革開放史》 (*The West Wind Gradually Blows to the East – the History of Chinese Reform and Opening to the Outside World*). Beijing 北京: Renmin 人民, pp. 264-316.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., pp. 344-348.

Rong Hong 容闳, the first Chinese student to graduate from an American university, persuaded the Qing government to send young Chinese scholars to the United States to study Western science and engineering.<sup>93</sup> In 1872, a group of Chinese children were also sent to study in the United States.<sup>94</sup> In order to master the secrets of Western technology, the Qing government began to send Chinese students to study in Western countries as well as training professionals for Westernization at home.<sup>95</sup>

While there were advocates for learning from the West, there was also reluctance or opposition to this. According to the opponents, Western warships and cannons were not powerful but awkward and clumsy. Besides, the conservatives argued that learning from the West was actually *Yong yi bian xia* 用夷變夏 (using the barbarian to change China) and it meant humiliation for the Chinese.<sup>96</sup>

China's defeat in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the Scramble for Concessions by Britain, France, Germany, Russia, Japan and United States in the late 1890s meant a failure of the Self-Strengthening Movement. C.Y. Hsu described this movement as a kind of superficial attempt at modernization. He explains it was because “only those aspects having immediate usefulness were adopted, while the more commendable parts of Western civilization – political systems, economic institutions, philosophy, literature, and the arts – were totally ignored.”<sup>97</sup> However, it is arguable that its failure to fulfil the expected result did not deny its contribution to the promotion of Western learning in China and the opening of more and more Chinese minds. Furthermore, using Ssu-yu Teng's and John K. Fairbank's words, it became the cause of the Chinese intellectuals' moving “from the appreciation of Western weapons to that of ships and railways, and thence to an admiration of Western political and social institutions”<sup>98</sup> in the late 19<sup>th</sup>

---

<sup>93</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 91.

<sup>94</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 201.

<sup>95</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 91.

<sup>96</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 201; Sun Guangde 孫廣德 (1982), *Wanqing chuantong yu xihua de zhenglun* 《晚清傳統與西化的爭論》 (*Late Qing Tradition and Disputes about Westernization*). Taipei 臺北: Taiwan Shangwu 臺灣商務, pp. 70-73.

<sup>97</sup> Hsü, CY Immanuel (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 10

<sup>98</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 147.

century. In other words, the Self-Strengthening Movement had made an intangible but large contribution in provoking and inspiring a more extensive Westernization in the second phase of learning from the West.

### 2.1.2. The Second Phase of Learning from the West

The second phase of Westernization in the late Qing began with the Hundred Day Reform initiated by Kang Youwei 康有為, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 and Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 in 1898. They were the outstanding examples of Chinese intellectuals who had gained a better understanding of the West and had a great admiration for both Western political and social institutions in that period.

Kang Youwei 康有為 stated in his autobiography that he began learning Western knowledge in 1882.<sup>99</sup> Since Kang's world view was opening, he became very active in promoting Western learning. He had also made references to the West while composing proposals for institutional reforms from 1888 to 1898.<sup>100</sup>

Liang Qichao's 梁啟超 first encounter with information about the West occurred in 1890 when he read the book *Yinghuan zhilue* 《瀛環志略》 (*Brief World History*). Then, according to him, Liang began his learning of so-called Western knowledge with Kang Youwei 康有為.<sup>101</sup> Liang then actively promoted Western knowledge learning in China. He had, for example, published *Xixue shumu biao* 《西學書目表》 (*List of Books on Western Knowledge*) to recommend books or magazines such as *Taixi xinshi lanyao* 《泰西新史攬要》 (*Outline of New History of the West*) and *Wanguo gongbao* 《萬國公報》 (*World News*) to his fellow countrymen.<sup>102</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Quoted in: Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), pp. 402-403.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid., pp. 384-389.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in: Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), p. 403.

<sup>102</sup> Quoted in: Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), pp. 403-404.

Tan Sitong 譚嗣同 was also keen on studying Western knowledge and he had brought many books on Western ideas to be published by the translation department of *Jiangnan zhizao ju* 江南製造局 (Jiangnan Arsenal) in 1893.<sup>103</sup> In his letter to a friend, Tan demonstrated his admiration of the Western legal systems and political institutions:

what you mean by foreign matters are things you have seen, such as steamships, telegraph lines, trains, guns, cannon, torpedoes, and machines for weaving and for metallurgy; that's all. You have never dreamed of or seen the beauty and perfection of Western legal systems and political institutions... All that you speak of are the branches and foliage of foreign matters, not the root...<sup>104</sup>

Though Yan Fu 嚴復 was not formally an associate of these reformers, he had also played an important role in the promotion of Western learning. He had studied at Greenwich Naval Academy and was famous for introducing Western political, social, economic and philosophical thought into China by translating Western books into Chinese. Famous examples of his translations included T. H. Huxley's *Evolution and Ethics*, John Stuart Mill's *On Liberty* and Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.<sup>105</sup>

The reform movement launched by Kang Youwei 康有為 and his fellows in 1898 gained the support of Emperor Guang Xu 光緒. However, it became an immediate cause of the power struggle between the Emperor and Cixi taihou 慈禧太后 (the Empress Dowager). The reform lasted for a hundred days until the coup d'état of Cixi taihou 慈禧太后. Hence it was called the "Hundred Day Reform".

As Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (Ambrose King) maintains, the leaders of the "Hundred Day Reform" had realised the urgency of institutional reform in China.<sup>106</sup> Programs of the reform included adopting Western political, educational and economic systems. The education reforms touched on three areas: the reform of civil examinations, the

---

<sup>103</sup> Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), p. 404.

<sup>104</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 159.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., p. 150.

<sup>106</sup> Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (1974, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), *Zhongguo xiandaihua yu zhishi fenzi* 《中國現代化與知識份子》 (*The Modernization of China and Intellectuals*). Hong Kong 香港: Daxue shenghuo she 大學生活社, pp. 20-21.

establishment of schools based on Western models and sending students abroad.<sup>107</sup> During the period of the reform movement, numerous *Xue hui* 學會 (learned societies) were founded and newspapers were published to introduce Western knowledge and to promote the idea of Westernization.<sup>108</sup> This indicates a leap towards Westernization in late Qing China.

While opponents of the Self-Strengthening Movement attacked the importation of Western technology, those of the Hundred Day Reform attacked the reforms of the political institutions, educational and law systems. These opponents argued that the Chinese traditional political system was praiseworthy and it had a close linkage with Confucianism. For them, the advocacy of civil rights and equality meant destruction of the order of seniority in state and family, i.e. divine duty of loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety to parents. Reform was absolutely unacceptable to them. They were also against the adoption of Western school systems, the teaching of Western knowledge and the reform of civil examinations. They criticized that the reformers were attracted by insignificant gains to promote Western learning in China. Besides causing disturbance and confusion about the sage's doctrine, and the ruin of the traditions of loyalty and filial piety, such reforms also opened a path for Western culture in China and kept China occupied with her responses to the West.<sup>109</sup>

After the Eight-Nation Alliance in 1900, Cixi taihou 慈禧太后 finally saw the inevitability of reforms in China. Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 was the chief designer of the new reforms. Zhang Zhidong's 張之洞 knowledge of the West was not limited to Western technology, he also drew on information about Western governmental institutions which included, as Teng, Ssu-yu and John K. Fairbank point out, "the school system, financial management, taxation methods, military preparedness, laws and statutes, and the encouragement of industry."<sup>110</sup> According to Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 and Zheng

---

<sup>107</sup>Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), pp. 407-418.

<sup>108</sup> Sun Guangde 孫廣德 (1982), pp. 133-136.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>110</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), pp. 164-165.



Pengnian 鄭彭年, the reform program was actually similar to that of the Hundred Day Reform.<sup>111</sup> The program included the building of a new army and police force, the abolition of the old civil service examination system and establishing an extensive proliferation of modern educational institutions based on Western models.<sup>112</sup> There were also “significant developments in the fields of law, industry and communications, banking and finance, journalism, and social custom generally.”<sup>113</sup>

### 2.1.3. Characteristics of the Chinese Intellectuals’ Attitude to Westernization

Characteristics of the Chinese intellectuals’ attitude towards learning from the West in the late Qing period were, in Hu Shi’s 胡適 words, that they favoured a hybrid polity containing both Chinese and Western elements. That is, the preservation of Chinese traditional culture and selective learning of Western technology.<sup>114</sup> Jin Yaoji 金耀基 has made an analysis of this kind of attitude. He found that the introduction of Western warships and gunpowder were “strange technologies” in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. They represented imperialism and invasion, and brought about the humiliation of China. Therefore, the Chinese in the late Qing perceived Western machinery or technology with deep hatred and resentment. According to Jin, this further explained why the Chinese regarded the Western culture as mechanical or material culture and found it disgusting. Yet it was the bloody, cold, hard lessons that forced the Chinese to realise that it was not possible for China to resist the Western technology and machines without learning from the West. As a consequence, selective learning of Western technology became the main program of the reform movements in the late Qing.<sup>115</sup>

---

<sup>111</sup> Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 351; Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), pp. 425-426.

<sup>112</sup> Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), p. 426.

<sup>113</sup> Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 195.

<sup>114</sup> These criticisms could be found in Hu Shi 胡適’s many writings published in 1930s such as: “Zai lun xinxin yu fanxing” 《再論信心與反省》 (Further Discussion of Confidence and Reflection) (1934), “Shi ping suowei ‘zhongguo benwei de wenhua jianshe’ ” 《試評所謂「中國本位的文化建設」》 (Analysis on the so-called “China’s Own Cultural Development”) (1935).

<sup>115</sup> Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (1974, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), pp. 1-3, 18.

Though slow, the progress of introducing Western learning was noticeable. While the first phase of learning from the West aimed at Western science and technology, the second phase included institutional reform based on Western models. Besides, it is also undeniable that the reform movements in the late Qing paved a way for the influx of Western knowledge to China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. For example, the abolition of the traditional examination system and the reforms of the Chinese education system in 1905 created an opening for Western culture and civilization to be introduced formally. Wolfgang Franke explains how

only after the examination had been removed was the door really opened in China to modern scientific and intellectual studies and to political and social ideas from the West. Instead of a largely passive resistance, increasingly difficult to maintain, to Western ideas, there now began an active encounter with Western civilisation.<sup>116</sup>

## 2.2. Westernization from the 1910s to the 1940s – a Hasty Pace

In contrast to the late Qing Chinese intellectuals, although they were still proud of their Chinese cultural tradition, the Chinese intellectuals in the post-1911 period adopted a totally different attitude to the West and to its culture. The pace of Westernization was even more rapid in post-1911 China.<sup>117</sup> The reasons are partly that many had all or part of their education in the West and so were at least familiar with what was on offer.

As indicated in the previous section, China experienced political turmoil from the 1910s to the 1940s – the ambitions of Yuan Shikai 袁世凱, Warlordism, and the continuous Japanese aggression. At the same time, the socio-cultural changes like the abolition of traditional civil service examinations, the alteration of law and abrogation of rites based on Confucianism had caused a crumpling of the traditional Chinese social order and system.<sup>118</sup> More concretely, the influx of Western ideas like individualism, freedom and

---

<sup>116</sup> Franke, Wolfgang; Wilson, R. A. (trans.) (1967), *China and the West*. New York : Harper & Row, pp. 118-119.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

<sup>118</sup> Lin Yusheng 林毓生 (1989), “Maichu 「wusi」 yi guangda 「wusi」 - da Wang Yuanhua xiansheng” 《邁出「五四」以光大「五四」 - 答王元化先生》 (Out of May Fourth to Brightening May Fourth – Answering Mr. Wang Yuanhua). In: Lin Yusheng 林毓生 et al., *Wusi : duoyuan de fansi* 《五四：多元

equality of the sexes after the abolition of the civil service examinations and the adoption of Western models of education meant a great challenge to the traditional Chinese precepts of family loyalty, filial piety, the three cardinal guides and the five constant virtues.<sup>119</sup> In the post-1911 Chinese society, not only had the gentry who dominated Chinese society for centuries faded out but so did the traditional social stratification of the four classes – scholar-official, farmer, artisan and merchant. The compradors and the militarists emerged and represented the new rich and powerful post-1911. Chinese intellectuals were becoming acutely conscious of these severe political, social and cultural crises, and they were all desperately eager and determined to search for and define the new values and goals for the new republican era. Hu Shi 胡適, for example, expressed his worries and frustration about the problems in China in his essay “Cantong de huiyi yu fanxing” 《慘痛的回憶與反省》 (Bitter memories and reflections) (1932).<sup>120</sup> He devoted himself to discussions about the situation in China and the solutions to the problems of China.<sup>121</sup> Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 also clearly pointed out in the preface to his book *Zhongguo wenhua yaoyi* 《中國文化要義》 (*An Introduction to Chinese Culture*) (1949) that his engagement in the study of Chinese culture between the 1920s and 1940s was due to his vexation with the extremely problematic situation of China in this period. In the preface to his book *Mingri zhi zhongguo wenhua* 《明日之中國文化》 (*Chinese Culture in the Future*) (1936), Zhang Junmai 張君勱 described that in this very dangerous situation, the Chinese who were concerned about the future of China were dithering and worrying about the deletion or swamping of old Chinese culture. Zhang pointed out that there were disputes between advocates of total

---

的反思》 (May Fourth: Multiple Reflection). Hong Kong 香港: Sanlian 三聯, p. 31; also see Wang Fansen 王汎森 (1999), “Sichao yu shehui tiaojian” 《思潮與社會條件》 (Trend of Thought and Social Condition). In: Yu Yingshi 余英時 et al., *Wusi xinlun* 《五四新論》 (*New Discussion about May Fourth*). Taipei 臺北: Lianjing 聯經; pp. 104-105.

<sup>119</sup> “Three cardinal guides” means ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife. “Five constant virtues” means benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity.

<sup>120</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1932), “Cantong de huiyi yu fanxing” 《慘痛的回憶與反省》 (Bitter Memories and Reflections). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), *Hu shi wencun* 《胡適文存》 (*Collected Works of Hu Shi*) vol. 1-4. Taipei 臺北: Yuandong 遠東, vol. 4, part 4, pp. 450-457.

<sup>121</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1930), “Women zou na tiao lu” 《我們走那條路》 (Which Way Should We Go). In Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 4, part 4, p. 429.

Westernization and Traditionalism among the Chinese intellectuals who were involved in these searches for an ideological reconstruction of Chinese life.<sup>122</sup>

For the advocates of Westernization, such as Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 and Hu Shi 胡適, Western culture meant an ideal model for the development of China. They found that Chinese cultural traditions on the other hand were too problematic and many of them should be demolished. At the same time, there were also Chinese intellectuals like Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘<sup>123</sup>, Liang Qichao 梁啟超, Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 and Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 who were skeptical about the attributes of Western culture, disagreed with the notion of total Westernization and placed more value on traditional Chinese culture.

### 2.2.1. Advocates of Westernization

#### i. New Cultural Movement – destruction of Chinese cultural tradition

In the second half of the 1910s, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 and Hu Shi 胡適 initiated a significant intellectual movement in the history of modern China. This intellectual movement was known as *Xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動 (New Cultural Movement), or better known as *Wu si yundong* 五四運動 (May Fourth Movement). *Wu Si* 五四 (May Fourth) was actually a phrase derived from the student demonstrations on that date in Beijing. China participated in the Paris Peace Conference in January 1919 when World War I ended. Though China had entered the War and contributed to the victory of the Western Allies, United States President Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination did not apply to China. In 1915, Japan imposed the infamous Twenty-one Demands on China to recognise its occupation and interests in China. Prior to the Treaty of Versailles, Japan had already signed secret treaties with the Western powers to support its position in China. Hence, when Chinese diplomats requested the restoration of

---

<sup>122</sup> Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1936), *Mingri zhi zhongguo wenhua* 《明日之中國文化》 (*Chinese Culture in the Future*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, preface, p. 1.

<sup>123</sup> In Ku Hungming's 辜鴻銘 English written work, the Wade-Giles system was used for transcribing his name. It is Gu Hongming in Pinyin.

Shantung province, which was first a German concession and then taken by Japan during World War I, it was negated by the Allies. This aroused tremendous Chinese public concern and caused a demonstration by thousands of Chinese students in Beijing on May 4, 1919. This demonstration quickly became a national movement and eventually led to China's refusal to sign the Versailles Treaty of the Paris Peace Conference.<sup>124</sup> As John K. Fairbank and Edwin O. Reischauer have stated, the phrase *Wu Si* 五四 (May Fourth) derives from this incident and “has been taken in the Chinese numerary fashion to designate the whole intellectual movement roughly from 1917 to 1921.”<sup>125</sup> Programs of the New Cultural Movement included attacks against reactionary or irrelevant Chinese cultural traditions, the advocacy of vernacular literature, and reforming Chinese arts.

In 1915, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 founded a monthly periodical called *Qingnian zazhi* 《青年雜誌》 (*La Jeunesse*, lit., *Youth Magazine*), this Chinese title was renamed as *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*, lit., *New Youth Magazine*) a year later. Chen dedicated the magazine to a mission to attempt to arouse Chinese youth to destroy stagnant Chinese traditions and create a new culture.<sup>126</sup> Together with other Chinese intellectuals, like Hu Shi 胡適 and Qian Xuantong 錢玄同, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 called for a holistic Westernization and re-evaluation of Chinese traditional culture. Chen and his group disapproved of the Chinese cultural traditions. In the first issue of the magazine, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 urged his fellow citizens to strive for newness and improvement and stated that he “would rather see the essence of Chinese culture being discarded than have the present or future Chinese nation be eliminated due to the failure to adapt the rule of survival”.<sup>127</sup> Chen rejected “old ethics”, “old politics”, “old fine art”, “old religion” and “old literature”, and found that all these elements of traditional Chinese culture should

---

<sup>124</sup> Hsü, CY Immanuel (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), pp. 479-478, 502-505.

<sup>125</sup> Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (1989), p. 434.

<sup>126</sup> Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1915), “Jinggao qingnian” 《敬告青年》 (Inform Young People). In: *Qingnian zazhi* 《青年雜誌》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-6 (numbering restarted each article in this issue).

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3. The original Chinese version is: 吾寧忍過去國粹之亡，而不忍現在及將來之民族，不適世界之生存而歸削滅也。

give way to democracy and science.<sup>128</sup> Actually, “new” and “old”, as Wang Shuqian 汪叔潛 stated, had been an issue in China since the late Qing. Wang applied “new” to the imported Western culture and “old” to the existing Chinese culture, i.e., the Chinese cultural tradition based on Confucian doctrine.<sup>129</sup>

The new literature reform, or vernacular literature, movement was launched in 1917, when both Hu Shi 胡適 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 promoted the use of plain language or contemporary vernacular speech patterns in works of literature in *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*).<sup>130</sup> This became an instant hit topic in Chinese intellectual circles and most of the responses were positive.<sup>131</sup> It was a big success for the movement. As Hu Shi 胡適 pointed out, the agenda of using plain language in Chinese primary school textbooks was approved in 1919 and the number of people using plain language in their writings increased gradually.<sup>132</sup>

In 1919, Lü Cheng 呂澂 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 discussed the reform of fine art in China.<sup>133</sup> Chen criticized the orthodox school of Chinese painting and stated that the techniques of realistic painting in the West had to be used to reform Chinese painting.<sup>134</sup> A study of the arguments about the reform of Chinese painting and the Western influence in this matter will be presented in the next section.

---

<sup>128</sup> Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1919), “Ben zhi zuian zhi dabian shu” 《本誌罪案之答辯書》 (Reply to the Case of this Magazine). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 10-11.

<sup>129</sup> Wang Shuqian 汪叔潛 (1915), “Xinjiu wenti” 《新舊問題》 (The Problem of New and Old). In: *Qingnian zazhi* 《青年雜誌》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-4 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>130</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1917), “Wenxue gailiang chuyi” 《文學改良芻議》 (Proposal for the Reform of Chinese literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 1-11 (numbering restarted each article); Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1917), “Wenxue geming lun” 《文學革命論》 (The Reform of Chinese Literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 1-4 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>131</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1918), “Jianshe de wenxue geming lun” 《建設的文學革命論》 (Discussion about the Reform of Chinese Literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 289-306.

<sup>132</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1926), “Xin sichao de yiyi” 《新思潮的意義》 (The Meaning of New Trend of Thought). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 1, part 4, p. 731.

<sup>133</sup> Lü Cheng’s 呂澂 and Chen Duxiu’s 陳獨秀 discussions were published under the title “Meishu geming” 《美術革命》 (The Reform of Fine Art). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, 1918, pp. 84-86.

<sup>134</sup> Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1919), in: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, p. 86.

## ii. Total Westernization

In the 1920s, Hu Shi 胡適 praised Western civilisation in the highest terms. In response to the idea that Western culture was purely materialistic and Eastern culture spiritual, Hu condemned the idea as utterly groundless and a poisonous fallacy.<sup>135</sup> He found that the spiritual and material aspects of culture should not be regarded as alternatives or antitheses, but asserted that spiritual culture must be built on a base of material culture.<sup>136</sup> For him, Western culture did not ignore the desires of the human mind and the spirit.<sup>137</sup> Hu claimed that the valuable elements in Chinese culture also existed in European culture. He went further that the elements which were unique to European culture were excellent. But the exclusive elements of Chinese culture were cultural relics which shamed the Chinese. These were, for example, parallel prose, regulated verse, the eight-legged essay and bound feet.<sup>138</sup> Hu proclaimed that in comparison with the other (the West), everything in China lagged behind:

Not only material and machinery are inferior to the other, but political system, morality, literature, music, fine arts and physical stature are inferior to the other as well.<sup>139</sup>

---

<sup>135</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1926), “Women duiyu xiyang jindai wenming de taidu” 《我們對於西洋近代文明的態度》 (Our Attitude to the Western Modern Culture). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 3, part 1, p. 1. According to the editor of *Hu shi wenji* 《胡適文集》 (*Collected Works of Hu Shi*) (1998), this essay was first written in English. It was included in *Renlei xiang hechu qu – xiandai wenming gaiguan* 《人類向何處去 – 現代文明概觀》 (*Where are Human Beings Going – Introduction to Modern Culture*) and published by Longman publishing company in New York in 1928. It was translated into Chinese by Yu Xijian 于熙儉 and the title of the Chinese translation was *Renlei de qiancheng* 《人類的前程》 (*Future of Human Beings*). It was published by Shangwu yinshu guan 商務印書館 in 1930. See Hu Shi 胡適 (1998), *Hu shi wenji* 《胡適文集》 (*Collected Works of Hu Shi*), vol. 1-7. Beijing 北京: Renmin wenxue 人民文學, vol. 3, p. 435.

<sup>136</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1926), “Women duiyu xiyang jindai wenming de taidu” 《我們對於西洋近代文明的態度》 (Our Attitude to the Western Modern Culture). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 3, part 1, pp. 1-7; also see Hu Shi 胡適 (1998), pp. 418-419.

<sup>137</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 3, part 1, pp. 4-5; also Hu Shi 胡適 (1998), p. 420.

<sup>138</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1934), “Zai lun xinxin yu fanxing” 《再論信心與反省》 (Re-discussion about Confidence and Reflection). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 4, part 4, p. 465. The original Chinese version is: 我們所有的，人家也都有；我們所沒有的，人家所獨有的，人家都比我們強。至於我們所獨有的寶貝，駢文、律詩、八股，小腳……又都是使我們抬不起頭來的文物制度。

<sup>139</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1930), “Jieshao wo ziji de sixiang” 《介紹我自己的思想》 (*Introduction to My Thought*). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 4, part 4, p. 618. The original Chinese version is: 百事不如人：不但物質機械上不如人，不但政治制度不如人，並且道德不如人，文學不如人，音樂不如人，藝術不如人，身體不如人。

In short, Hu Shi 胡適 favoured a radical Westernization. In the late 1920s, he began to talk about “Wholesale Westernization” or “Wholehearted Modernization”.<sup>140</sup>

In the 1930s, the issue of Wholesale or Total Westernization became a major topic for discussions among Chinese intellectuals. Chen Jingxu 陳經序 had, for example, published his books *Zhongguo wenhua de chulu* 《中國文化的出路》 (*The Outlet of Chinese Culture*) and *Dongxi wenhua guan* 《東西文化觀》 (*View on Eastern and Western Culture*) in the 1930s to argue for a total Westernization, and that it was the only outlet for Chinese culture and there were two reasons for this:

first, the European modern culture was indeed much more advanced than the Chinese culture; second, the modern Western culture, whether we like it or not, is the trend of the contemporary world.<sup>141</sup>

## 2.2.2. Opponents of Westernization – Traditionalism

### i. Skepticism about Western materialistic civilization and the eulogy of Chinese spiritual civilization

While interest about the West continued in the 1910s and the term “science”, according to Hu Shi 胡適, had enjoyed a status of great sanctity between 1890 and 1920, there was also scepticism about science and Western civilization after World War I.<sup>142</sup> Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 were the examples of Chinese intellectuals who adopted an attitude of revulsion and disgust toward Western materialistic civilization.

---

<sup>140</sup> According to Hu Shi 胡適, he had mentioned these two terms in an article published in the *Christian Year-book* in 1929. See Hu Shi 胡適 (1934), “Chongfen shijiehua yu quanpan xihua” 《充分世界化與全盤西化》 (Fully Globalization and Wholesale Westernization). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 4, part 4, pp. 541-542.

<sup>141</sup> Chen Jingxu 陳經序 (1934), *Zhongguo wenhua de chulu* 《中國文化的出路》 (*The Outlet of Chinese Culture*), Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 98. The original Chinese version is: 1. 歐洲近代文化的確比我們進步得多。2. 西洋的現代文化，無論我們喜歡不喜歡，它是現世的趨勢。

<sup>142</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1926), “Kexue yu renshengguan xu” 《科學與人生觀序》 (Preface to Science and Outlook on Life). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 2, part 1, p. 121.



They “blamed Western materialism as the cause of World War I and suggested Chinese spiritualism as an antidote”.<sup>143</sup>

Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 had studied in Europe. He worked for Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 from the late 1880s to 1910 and was responsible for translation and foreign affairs.<sup>144</sup> Ku regarded Chinese civilization as spiritual and Western culture as based on materialism, terrorism and greed. He deemed that Western utilitarian culture was unable to cultivate the inner mind, and that China’s spiritual civilization could not only save China but also salvage Western culture from its crisis. He vigorously opposed science and machines, warships and railways. He advocated a cultivation of a richer inner life and the Chinese mode of living.<sup>145</sup>

As indicated above, Liang Qichao 梁啟超 was very active in introducing Western knowledge to China at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, Liang also shared this repulsion toward the West after World War I. He argued that Western civilization was bankrupt in “Ouyou xinying lu” 《歐遊心影錄》 (A Record of Impressions on Travelling in Europe), an account of his travel in Europe in 1919. He was critical that the Europeans overdeveloped their material culture and exaggerated science, and this encouraged warfare and the habit of serving up the weak as prey to the strong. For him, European society seemed to have fallen into perplexity in the spiritual realm.<sup>146</sup> In his writing, he explained his doubt about science:

those who praised the omnipotence of science had hoped previously that, as soon as science succeeded, the golden age would appear forthwith. Now science is successful indeed; material progress in the West in the last one hundred years has greatly surpassed the achievements of the three thousand years prior to this period. Yet we human beings have not secured happiness; on the contrary, science gives us catastrophes. We are like travellers losing their way in a desert. They see a big black shadow ahead, and desperately run to it, thinking that it may lead them somewhere. But after running a long way, they no longer see the shadow and fall into the slough of despond. What is that shadow? It is this ‘Mr. Science’.<sup>147</sup>

---

<sup>143</sup> Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 505.

<sup>144</sup> Li Renkai 黎仁凱 (2004), *Zhang Zhidong mufu* 《張之洞幕府》 (*Commanding Officer Zhang Zhidong’s Office*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi 中國廣播電視, pp. 212-219.

<sup>145</sup> Teng Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), p. 232.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

<sup>147</sup> Liang Qichao 梁啟超, “Ouyou xinying lu” 《歐遊心影錄》 (A Record of Impressions on Travelling in Europe). Quoted in: Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (2005), *Liang Qichao jiang wenhua* 《梁啟超講文化》 (*Liang*

## ii. Arguments of cultural differences

According to Liang Shuming's 梁漱溟 observations, the whole world had almost been westernized by the 1920s.<sup>148</sup> In these circumstances, it was inevitable for Chinese culture to face vigorous challenges from the movement towards Westernization. At that time, the most critical problem for China was whether the root of Chinese culture should be removed and replaced by Westernization.<sup>149</sup> For Liang, the proper way to seek solutions for China's problems was to make historical enquiries into Chinese culture and compare both Chinese and Western cultures. He mentioned that China had adopted a different cultural direction from the West and that this explained why the practices like democracy, conquering nature and employing scientific methods in academic research were unfamiliar to China.<sup>150</sup> Liang stated that the life of a people depended on their basic spirit and it would damage China's destiny to surrender its own spirit in favour of a foreign culture and institutions. For Liang, China should develop its strength solely from its own standpoint.<sup>151</sup>

Zhang Junmai 張君勱 also found that there was a distinct cultural difference between China and the West and that China should not destroy its own cultural heritage in order to copy the other. Zhang proclaimed the importance of local context in cultural development and opposed a blind imitation of others. Zhang was highly critical of the few Chinese intellectuals who were incapable of grasping the essence of the predecessors on the one hand and were keen to destroy Chinese tradition while being dazzled by the novelty of the West on the other hand. He claimed that this kind of attitude had damaged the confidence of the Chinese.<sup>152</sup>

---

*Qichao on Culture*). Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji 天津古籍, p. 15. English translation quoted in: Franke, Wolfgang; Wilson, R. A. (trans.) (1967), *China and the West*. New York : Harper & Row, p. 124. The original Chinese version is: 當時謳歌科學萬能的人，滿望著科學成功，黃金世界便指日出現。如今，功總算成了，一百年物質的進步，比以前三千年所得還加幾倍，我們人類不惟沒得著幸福，倒反帶來許多災難。好像沙漠中失路的旅人，遠遠望見個大黑影，拼命往前趕，以為可以靠他嚮導，那知趕上幾程，影子卻不見了，因此無限悽惶失望。影子是誰，就是這位「科學先生」。

<sup>148</sup> Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1923), *Dongxi wenhua jiqi zhixue* 《東西文化及其哲學》 (*East and West: Their Civilizations and their Philosophies*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 3.

<sup>149</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-16.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

<sup>151</sup> Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 509.

<sup>152</sup> Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1936), pp. 158-159.

### iii. Further criticism against Westernization

While the *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*) was founded to promote Westernization and destroy Chinese cultural traditions, *Xue heng* 《學衡》 (*The Critical Review*) was founded to oppose the New Cultural Movement, to defend the honour of Chinese traditions and to propel Chinese culture forward.<sup>153</sup> Finding that the radical leaders sought a total break with the Chinese tradition and a wholesale adoption of Western culture and civilisation, Mei Guangdi 梅光迪, one of the founders of *Xue heng* 《學衡》 (*The Critical Review*), expressed his worry that China would become the dumping ground for Western routine banalities and dubious ideologies in years to come. Mei pointed out that there were two categories of Chinese who had acquiesced to this outcome. He said that the first category was the crowd who adopted Western ideas unreflectively. These people had, according to Mei,

become disdainful of their ancestors and taken over without compunction and dispute the current official philosophy of the West at its face value, with democracy and science and efficiency and progress as its chief ingredient... Mr. Nathaniel Peffer, in a recent article in *Harpers*, spoke of a Chinese who would tear down the beautiful old shrines and residences around the famous West Lake, China's national garden, unrivalled in historical and artistic associations, and put up in their place "New Jersey factory buildings". He and his kind are now omnipresent-in factories, in banking houses, in government offices, and in academic halls; and the whole Chinese atmosphere is resonant with their "plans for development".<sup>154</sup>

Mei went further stating that "the men of the second category" aimed at a radical cultural revolution or a total Westernization. Mei said that this group of men,

are vigorously employed in effecting not only particular political and social reforms, but a total cultural revolution. Chiefly under the leadership of such clever and up-to-the-minute modernists as Dr. Hu Shih, they are working towards such an uncompromising Westernization of Chinese life and thought that it is in danger of proving itself not a "Chinese Renaissance", as it is often claimed to be, but a "Chinese Suicide".<sup>155</sup>

---

<sup>153</sup> Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1932), "Humanism and Modern China". Quoted in: *Mei guangdi wenlu* 《梅光迪文錄》 (*Writings of Prof. K. T. Mei*) (1968). Taipei 臺北: Lianhe 聯合, pp. 19-25. K. T. Mei was the phonetic transcription of Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 in Wade-Giles system.

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 and his fellows of the *Xue heng* 《學衡》 (*The Critical Review*) magazine regarded it as their duty to protect the reputation of Chinese intellectual traditions and to push the Chinese culture forward. For them, the most important task was to re-examine the achievements of the Chinese closely, so as to rebuild balanced and stable attitudes and emotions, and to critically select valuable elements of Western culture for inclusion into Chinese culture.

### 2.2.3. Characteristics of the Chinese intellectuals' attitude to Westernization

This study argues that there were different strands of thought that defined the split that existed among Chinese intellectuals on the issue of Westernization. All of these cultural and ideological battles in China in the 1920s and 1930s, according to Mei Guangdi 梅光迪, hung upon “the attitudes of the differing camps towards Confucius, since he has been the fountain-head of virtually all the intellectual and spiritual streams for twenty-five centuries or so”.<sup>156</sup>

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 had clearly pointed out in *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*) that in order to embrace *De xiansheng* 德先生 (literally translation: Mr. De, which actually means democracy), they had to oppose Confucianism.<sup>157</sup> The radical leaders attacked the ritualistic notions and practices such as filial piety and urged people to throw the thread-bare Chinese books into the toilet. This reflected a push for the destruction of *Kong jia dian* 孔家店 (lit., Confucian doctrine) or “to overthrow the Confucian stall”.<sup>158</sup>

At the same time, Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘, Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 and Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 were examples of Chinese intellectuals who defended Confucianism. Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 praised the Chinese socio-cultural system based on Confucius's doctrine. His English writing, *The Spirit of the Chinese People*, in 1915 was designed to promote

---

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>157</sup> *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, p. 10.

<sup>158</sup> Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (1974, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), p. 22.

Confucianism. Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 also devoted himself to discover the worth of Chinese culture and to reveal the truth embodied in Confucianism as the core of Chinese traditional culture.<sup>159</sup> He had published a number of books on this subject at that time. For the editors of *Xue heng* 《學衡》 (The Critical Review), the position of the magazine was Confucian, even though it did not “so much as declare for a Confucian movement”.<sup>160</sup> Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 pointed out that Confucius

has been the fountain-head of virtually all the intellectual and spiritual streams for twenty-five centuries or so, and he is still the paramount influence among millions of Chinese, whether they are conscious of it or not, despite the work of the anti-Confucian modernists who just now have the cry.<sup>161</sup>

Generally speaking, interest in the West increased in post-1911 China, and the pace of learning from the West was both hasty and dominant. As Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 pointed out, the life of the Chinese in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, whether spiritually, socially or materially, was westernized to a very high degree<sup>162</sup>. An obvious indication of this was the replacement of the Chinese traditional writing style with plain language in newspapers, magazines, school text books and literature within a short period. In addition, the influx of Western ideas could easily be seen in the reforms of Chinese education and Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, as will be assessed in Chapter III.

Despite the continuing battles over Westernization and Traditionalism, both groups of Chinese intellectuals recognised the importance of learning from the West and the studying of the Chinese cultural heritage but differed in the manner and the degree. Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 was an adherent of Confucian doctrine. However, as Oscar A. H. Schmitz pointed out in the preface to the German translation of Ku Hungming’s 辜鴻銘 English book, *The Spirit of the Chinese People, with an Essay on the War and the Way-out* (1915), Ku understood that China could gain benefit from learning from European culture. What Ku opposed was, Schmitz stated further, the Europeanization of China and

---

<sup>159</sup> Xiong Lümao 熊呂茂 (2000), *Liang Shuming de wenhua sixiang yu zhongguo xiandaihua* 《梁漱溟的文化思想與中國現代化》 (*Liang Shuming’s Cultural Thoughts and China’s Modernization*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan jiaoyu 湖南教育, p. 2.

<sup>160</sup> Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1932), p. 20.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

<sup>162</sup> Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1923), pp. 3-4.

destruction of Chinese culture.<sup>163</sup> Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 himself found that the progress of modern Western science was praiseworthy and what disgusted him was not the modern Western civilization but the misuse of the powerful products of modern civilization in the West.<sup>164</sup>

Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 had also declared that he and his fellows actually did not argue against learning from the West under the condition that there was no self-annihilation. In his essay “Humanism and Modern China”, he said that

...no one seems more willing than the editors of *The Critical Review* to admit that their cultural tradition, which has suffered from a narrow self-sufficiency through its long geographical isolation, and its consequent lack of the advantages of comparison and competition, must needs be enriched, supplemented and, in the case of its aberrations, rectified. And its present contact, certainly the most significant in its historical career, with Western culture should afford it a welcome opportunity for expansion and self-improvement, but not for self annihilation, as some of its modernist enemies wish.<sup>165</sup>

At the same time, as Immanuel C. Y. Hsü points out, the advocates of Westernization also demonstrated interest in a scientific and critical re-evaluation of the Chinese cultural heritage.<sup>166</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 had, for example, advocated utilizing Western approaches and methods of research to sort out *Guo gu* 國故 (the Chinese cultural heritage) in the late 1910s.<sup>167</sup> For Hu, *Guo gu* 國故 meant Chinese history and culture.<sup>168</sup> He had actually employed Western scientific research methods to study the history of Chinese philosophy and Chinese classics like *Lü shi chun qiu* 《呂氏春秋》 (*Lü's Spring and Autumn Annals*) and *Hong lou meng* 《紅樓夢》 (*A Dream of Red Mansions*)

---

<sup>163</sup> Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘; Schmitz, Oscar A. H. (trans.) (1917), *Der Geist des Chinesischen Volkes und der Ausweg aus dem Krieg. (The Spirit of the Chinese People, with an Essay on The War and the Way-out)*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs, preface, p. 2.

<sup>164</sup> Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘; Huang Xingtao 黃興濤 et al. (trans.) (1996), *Gu Hongming wen ji* 《辜鴻銘文集》 (*Collected Works of Gu Hongming*). Haikou 海口: Hainan 海南, p. 279.

<sup>165</sup> Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1932), p. 22.

<sup>166</sup> Hsü, Immanuel C. Y. (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 509.

<sup>167</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1919), “Xin sichao de yiyi” 《新思潮的意義》 (*The Meaning of New Trend of Thought*). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 1, part 4, p. 735.

<sup>168</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 (1923), “Guoxue jikan fakan xuanyan” 《國學季刊發刊宣言》 (*Declaration of the Issue of Chinese Studies Quarterly*). In: Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), vol. 2, part 1, p. 9

In summary, learning from the West in the late Qing was slow because the Chinese intellectuals were still proud of Chinese traditional culture and found that Western culture was not worth learning. In the second phrase the pace of Westernization had become even hastier and it made many Chinese intellectuals feel that traditional Chinese culture was under threat.

Since the Western aggression of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, China had been struggling for survival. Consequently the Chinese saw the necessity of learning from the West. There were, generally speaking, two different attitudes about learning from the West from the late Qing to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. While the Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing period were proud of Chinese cultural traditions and were therefore only willing to import selective Western knowledge to China, those in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century aimed at a radical shift away from the traditional Chinese position toward complete Westernization. Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 also found that it was amazing “how the Chinese have within one generation turned from extreme conservatism to extreme radicalism.”<sup>169</sup>

As Yu Yingshi 余英時 explains, Chinese intellectuals in the late Qing or Republic of China eras were not able to look at, experience or appreciate the Western culture with a clear, calm and quiet mind and attitude. Yu states that the relationship between China and the Western countries was invader and sufferer, super power and weak nation. Being under the shadow of Western imperialism, the Chinese intellectuals were desperate for instant success and quick profits in learning from the West. Yu goes further that this kind of feeling of hatred in the hearts of the Chinese had obstructed them from finding an effective combination of the Western and Chinese culture even though they wished to do so. He mentions that the Chinese intellectuals who embraced the idea “*Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong*” 「中學為體, 西學為用」 (Chinese learning for fundamentals, Western learning for practical application) in the late Qing as well as those who advocated a total

---

<sup>169</sup> Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1932), p. 16.

Westernization in the May Fourth Movement had made mistakes. They were either parochially arrogant or self-abased.<sup>170</sup>

This discussion of “Westernization and Traditionalism in general aspects” has revealed the complicated, contradictory, controversial and complex attitudes of the Chinese intellectuals to Westernization in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. The following section is devoted to a further investigation into this problem specifically focusing on how these kinds of attitudes were reflected in the field of visual arts in China.

### 3. Westernization and Traditionalism in Chinese Visual Arts

As indicated above, Lü Cheng 呂澂 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 had discussed the problem of Chinese painting using the term “reform” for the first time to deal with this problem in 1918.<sup>171</sup> This indicates that Chinese visual culture was inevitably being involved in the period of a grand debate about Westernization. For this part of the study, the problem of Westernization in Chinese visual culture is conducted in two different ways: firstly, a brief investigation into the history of the importation of Western visual arts to China; and secondly, an examination of the attitudes of Chinese intellectuals towards the increasing Westernization of Chinese visual culture.

#### 3.1. The Importation of Western Visual Arts

There are, generally speaking, two phases of the importation of Western visual arts to China. The first phase was before the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the second phase was in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. While the Catholic missionaries had played an important role in the first

---

<sup>170</sup>Yu Yingshi 余英時 (1984), “Wusi wenhua jingshen de fanxing” 《五四文化精神的反省》 (Reflection of the Spirit of May Fourth Movement). In: Zhou Cezong 周策縱 et al., *Wusi yu zhongguo* 《五四與中國》 (*May Fourth Movement and China*). Taipei 臺北: Shibao wenhua 時報文化, pp. 409-410.

<sup>171</sup> See Chen Duxiu’s 陳獨秀 reply to Lü Cheng’s 呂澂 letter. In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, 1918, p. 85.



phase of introducing Western visual arts to China, the Chinese students who returned from studying abroad assumed this role in the second phase.

### 3.1.1 The Importation of Western Visual Arts before the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

The importation of Western visual arts has a long history in China and can be dated back to the late 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>172</sup> As well as the Catholic missionaries mentioned above, Western artists who stayed in China had also made a great contribution to the importation of Western visual arts to China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### i. The role of missionaries in importing Western visual arts to China

In 1579, the Jesuit missionary Michel Ruggieri brought with him Christian art when he came to Zhao Qing 肇慶, Guangdong province.<sup>173</sup> During the same period, Matteo Ricci had also arrived in China<sup>174</sup> and presented Christian art works and printed matters with illustrations to his Chinese counterparts during his long stay in China.<sup>175</sup> In addition to Ruggieri and Ricci, Johann Adam Schall, Louis Baglio and Gabriel de Magalhaens, etc. also introduced Christian artworks to China.<sup>176</sup> In Li Chao's 李超 words, it was a kind of cultural phenomena that saw missionaries bringing with them Christian artworks when

---

<sup>172</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), *China's Response to the West in Art: 1898 – 1937*. Doctoral Dissertation. Stanford University; Li Chao 李超 (2004), *Zhongguo zaoqi youhua shi* 《中國早期油畫史》 (*A History of Early Period Oil Painting in China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), *17-18 shiji chuanjiaoshi yu xihua dongjian* 《17-18 世紀傳教士與西畫東漸》 (*Missionaries and Eastern Transition of Western Painting in 17-18<sup>th</sup> Century*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院.

<sup>173</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 25; Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 79; Chen Jichun 陳繼春 (1998), “Aomen yu xihua dongjian de qi yuan” 《澳門與西畫東漸的起源》 (*Macau and the Origin of Importing Western Art*). In: Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 et al., *Aomen-dongxi wenhua jiaohui diyimen* 《澳門 – 東西文化交匯第一門》 (*Macau – the Gate of Meeting of Eastern and Western Culture*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo youyi 中國友誼, p. 198.

<sup>174</sup> according to Mo Xiaoye 莫小也, Matteo Ricci arrived China on 10 September 1583. See Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), p. 32.

<sup>175</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 80, 100.

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

they came to China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>177</sup> Needless to say, it was for the sake of spreading their religion in China that the Catholic missionaries brought these artworks to China. However, this action did make a great contribution to the importation of Western visual culture to China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Besides these artworks brought from Europe, those produced in China by the Catholic missionaries became the other means of introducing Western visual culture to China. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries, many missionaries who came to China were good at painting and became court artists.<sup>178</sup> Giuseppe Castiglione, who took the Chinese name Lang Shining 郎世寧, was the most famous and influential of the missionary painters in the Qing court.<sup>179</sup> Others included Ferdinand Verbiest, Matteo Ripa and Jean Denis Attiret.

By involving themselves in art education, the Catholic missionaries made another contribution to the introduction of Western visual culture in China. In the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, the Catholic missionaries founded an art school in Macau and taught local people Christian art.<sup>180</sup> Missionary court painters like Giuseppe Castiglione had many Chinese students.<sup>181</sup> In 1864, an art and craft centre was established in Tushanwan 土山灣, Shanghai by missionaries. It became regarded as the cradle of Chinese Western paintings and many famous contemporary Chinese artists who became devoted to Western paintings, like Zhou Xiang 周湘 and Ding Song 丁悚, had received training at this school.<sup>182</sup>

Writing was another means for the missionaries to introduce Western visual culture to China. According to Li Chao 李超, the Italian missionary Francesco Sambiasi had written *Hua Da* 《畫答》 (*Answers to Paintings*) to explain Western painting techniques

---

<sup>177</sup> Ibid.

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., pp. 116-132.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>180</sup> Li Ruixiang 李瑞祥 (1996), "Aomen-zhongguo youhua de faxiangdi" 《澳門－中國油畫的發祥地》 (Macau: the Origin of Chinese Oil Painting). In: *Wenhua zazhi* 《文化雜誌》 (*Revista de cultura*). Chinese version, no. 29. See Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 338.

<sup>181</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 128, 338.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., pp. 339-341, 466.

in 1629 and this was the earliest publication on Western painting to be found in China.<sup>183</sup> In addition, A. Pozzo's *Perspective Pictorum et Architecturum* was also brought to China by the missionaries.<sup>184</sup> His book had become the reference source for Nian Xiyao's 年希堯 *Shixue jingyun* 《視學精蘊》 (*Essence of Perspective*) in 1729.<sup>185</sup>

## ii. The role of the Western artists in introducing Western visual arts to China

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Western artists who stayed and worked in Southern Chinese cities like Hong Kong, Guangzhou and Macau also played a role in introducing Western visual culture to China. George Chinnery was the most famous example.<sup>186</sup> He came to Southern China in 1825 and stayed in the South China cities for 27 years.<sup>187</sup> Besides making numerous sketches, drawings and paintings of the South China cities, Chinnery had also founded a school of painting in Macau.<sup>188</sup> According to Kao Mayching 高美慶, Chinnery's influence was represented by his Chinese students who became "the nucleus of what has been loosely called the 'Chinnery School' of painting" and the pictures of these students charmed the growing Chinese merchant class as well as the foreign visitors to the treaty ports in Southern China.<sup>189</sup>

## iii. The Western influence on Chinese visual arts

During the period from the 17<sup>th</sup> to the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there were a number of Chinese scholars who wrote about Western paintings and compared them to Chinese paintings. They included Gu Qiyuan 顧起元, Jiang Shaoshu 姜紹書, Wu Li 吳曆 and Xue Fucheng 薛福成.<sup>190</sup> All these writers stated that the most amazing feature of Western painting was

---

<sup>183</sup> Ibid., pp. 119-120.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

<sup>186</sup> Xiao Fengshuo 蕭豐碩 (1998), "Ju ao yingguo huajia qiannali" 《居澳英國畫家錢納利》 (Chinnery – the British Artist Living in Macau). In: Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 et al., pp. 226-261.

<sup>187</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 45.

<sup>188</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 46-47; also see Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 236-241.

<sup>189</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 46-47.

<sup>190</sup> These Chinese painters' or scholars' writings are as follows:

the concentration on physical likeness and the images being rendered by means of shadowing and perspective. And that is what was neglected by Chinese painting. Wu Li 吳曆 stated that the Chinese paintings,

do[es] not seek physical likeness [xingsi 形似], and does not depend on fixed patterns; we call it ‘divine’ and ‘untrammelled’. Theirs [Western paintings] concentrates entirely on the problems of dark and light, front and back, and the fixed patterns of physical likeness.<sup>191</sup>

The brief discussion above indicates that the employment of shading and geometric perspective to depict images in Western visual arts generally interested many Chinese. The influence of these Western painting methods could be found in the artworks of Chinese artists such as Zeng Jing 曾鯨 and Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞. Zeng Jing 曾鯨 was a famous portrait painter in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. In his portraits, the application of Western shading techniques was observable and this differentiated his figurative paintings from the more traditional paintings.<sup>192</sup> Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞 was a court painter in Qing dynasty and had contacts with the Western missionary Ferdinand Verbiest. In his paintings, the application of linear perspective was very observable in his works.<sup>193</sup>

- 
1. Gu Qiyuan 顧起元 (1565-1628), “Kezuo zhuyi” 《客座贅語》 (Ramblings from Guest Seats), see Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), *Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國美術教育史》 (*History of Chinese Art Education*). Taipei 臺北: Shida shuyuan 師大書苑, p. 185; also see Li Chao 李超 (1995), *Shanghai youhua shi* 《上海油畫史》 (*History of Oil Painting in Shanghai*). Shanghai 上海: Renmin meishu 人民美術, p. 1.
  2. Jiang Shaoshu 姜紹書 (date of birth unknown) (1646), “Wu sheng shi shi” 《無聲詩史》 (History of Silent Poetry), see: 1.) Sullivan, Michael (1973), *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*. London: Thames & Hudson, p. 48; 2.) Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), p. 185; 3.) Li Chao 李超 (1995), p. 3.
  3. Wu Li 吳曆 (1632-1718), “Mojing zhi ba” 《墨井志跋》, see Michael Sullivan (1973), p. 62 and also Li Chao 李超 (1995), p. 14.
  4. Xue Fucheng 薛福成 (1838-1894), *Chushi ying fa yi bi si guo riji* 《出使英法義比四國日記》 (*Diaries on Diplomatic Duties in Britain, France, Italy and Belgium*) and “Guan bali youhua ji” 《觀巴黎油畫記》 (Notes on Watching Oil Paintings in Paris), see Li Chao 李超 (1995), p. 3.

<sup>191</sup> English translation is quoted in: Michael Sullivan (1973), p. 62; phonetic transcription of Chinese character xingsi 形似 is changed from “hsing-ssu” (Wade-Giles) to “xingxi” (pinyin) and the original Chinese character is also added. Original Chinese text is quoted in: Li Chao 李超 (1995), p. 14. The original Chinese version is: 我之畫不取形似，不落窠臼，謂之神逸，彼全以陰陽向背形似窠臼上用工夫。

<sup>192</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 155-160; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), pp. 139-146.

<sup>193</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 137-142.

Both Li Chao 李超 and Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 made a study of the influence of Western visual arts on Chinese painting, and they recognised three aspects to consider. First, there was the application of shadowing to portraits by Chinese painters like Zeng Jing 曾鯨, Mang Huli 莽鶴立 and Ding Yuntai 丁允泰, as stated above.<sup>194</sup> Second, there was the transformation of Western copperplate engravings into Chinese wood engravings like *Chengshi moyuan* 《程氏墨苑》 (*Ink Studio*).<sup>195</sup> Li Chao 李超 finds that this kind of transformation indicates that the Chinese artists had acquired the techniques of Western visual arts.<sup>196</sup> Third, a new style of court paintings which combined both Chinese and Western paintings emerged in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Giuseppe Castiglione and his fellow Chinese court painters, like Jiao Bingzhen 焦秉貞, Leng Mei 冷枚, Cao Chong 曹重 and Zhang Shu 張恕, were involved in creating these kinds of artworks. In their artwork, materials and tools for Chinese painting, such as Chinese rice paper, Chinese brushes, Chinese inks and ink stones, were used. Western techniques were employed to depict figures and Chinese painting techniques were applied to create mountains and water in the background.<sup>197</sup>

According to Kao Mayching 高美慶, the extent of influence of Western visual arts on Chinese painters in the period of the late 16<sup>th</sup> century to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was still debated among scholars in the 1960s.<sup>198</sup> In 1926, however, Pan Tianshou 潘天壽 noted that “the influence of Western art in China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century was very limited, in spite of the intensive activities of the foreigners”.<sup>199</sup>

Li Chao 李超 compared the influence of Western visual arts created by Matteo Ricci and Giuseppe Castiglione. He found that Ricci’s introduction of Western painting had more impact in South China, possibly because of the presence of the Macau enclave in later

---

<sup>194</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 155-160; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), pp. 139-146.

<sup>195</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 100-105; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), pp. 100-128.

<sup>196</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 103-104.

<sup>197</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 124-142; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), pp. 241-261.

<sup>198</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 2.

<sup>199</sup> See *Ibid.*, p. 203.

years, while Giuseppe Castiglione's Western paintings had more influence on court paintings in the North.<sup>200</sup>

iv. The Chinese attitude toward Western visual culture

Zou Yigui 鄒一桂, a court painter around the Emperor Qianlong 乾隆 period (1736-1795) of the Qing dynasty, made a comparison of Western and Chinese paintings in his text *Xiaoshan huapu* 《小山畫譜》 (*Xiaoshan Picture Collection*):

The Westerners are skilled in geometry, and consequently there is not the slightest mistake of their way of rendering light and shade [yinyang 陰陽] and distance [near and far]. In their paintings all the figures, buildings, and trees cast shadows, and their brush and colours are entirely different from those of Chinese painters. Their views (scenery) stretch out from broad (in the foreground) to narrow (in the background) and are defined (mathematically measured). When they paint houses on a wall people are tempted to walk into them. Students of painting may well take over one or two points from them to make their own paintings more attractive to the eye. But their paintings are entirely lacking of brush work; even though the pictures are perfectly painted it is simply a kind of craftsmanship [*jiang* 匠] and cannot consequently be classified as art.<sup>201</sup>

In this text, Zou has pointed out that the most striking feature of Western paintings is the employment of geometric perspective and shading to depict images, thus making the images possess qualities of actuality. Zou had also compared Western paintings to Chinese paintings. The statement “but their paintings are entirely lacking of brush work; even though the pictures are perfectly painted it is simply a kind of craftsmanship “*jiang*” 匠 and cannot consequently be classified as art”<sup>202</sup> reveals the characteristic of Chinese paintings – where brush work plays a very important role in Chinese paintings. And, it is so important that it becomes one of the critical criteria for judging whether a piece of work can be classified as art in China. Furthermore, this statement also clearly reveals that the Chinese intellectuals or painters before the 20<sup>th</sup> century actually belittled the

---

<sup>200</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 22.

<sup>201</sup> Slightly modified from Michael Sullivan's translation in *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (1973), p. 85. The original Chinese version is: 西洋人善勾股法, 故其繪畫於陰陽遠近, 不差錙黍; 所畫人物屋樹, 皆有日影; 其所用顏色與筆, 與中華絕異; 布影由闊而狹, 以三角量之, 畫官室於牆壁, 令人幾欲走進。學者能參用一二, 亦具醒法, 但筆法全無, 雖工亦匠, 故不入畫品。(Quoted in: Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), p. 197.)

<sup>202</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), p. 197.

quality of actuality. Even though they were attracted by this painting technique, they found that it was merely a kind of craftsmanship “*jiang qi*” 匠氣 and the artists who were good at it were artisans.<sup>203</sup> For the Qing Emperors, especially Emperor Qianlong 乾隆, they found that the chiaroscuro (contrasts of light) technique of oil paintings was not attractive and demanded that the missionary court painters create a new style that combined Western and Chinese painting techniques.<sup>204</sup> In Li Chao’s 李超 words, the Chinese appreciation of the quality of actuality of Western painting was only a superficial phenomenon. Kao Mayching 高美慶 also points out that

using criteria for traditional painting, Chinese critics of Western art arbitrarily considered Western painting, as well as attempts to incorporate Western scientific method, not true art. Literal resemblance to natural objects and over-reliance on technique are the points often criticized.<sup>205</sup>

### 3.1.2. The Importation of Western Visual Arts in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

While the missionaries had played a very important role in importing Western painting to China, this role was later overtaken by the Chinese, especially the returning Chinese students from Japan and Western countries in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Lü Peng 呂澎, approximately two hundred Chinese students went aboard to study Western visual arts between 1887 and 1937. This was a small percentage of the huge number of Chinese students studying in foreign countries.<sup>206</sup> However, these Chinese students then actively introduced Western visual culture to China upon their return.

The term “returned Chinese students” could be viewed in two ways. In the broad sense, it included students who studied related subjects like history of Western art and Western aesthetics, such as Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培. It also included those who made study tours to

---

<sup>203</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 57; also see Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), pp. 259-260, 291.

<sup>204</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 131; Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), p. 242.

<sup>205</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 37.

<sup>206</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 states that there were around twenty thousands of Chinese students studying abroad in the period between 1900 and 1911. See Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), *20 shiji zhongguo yishu shi* 《20世紀中國藝術史》 (*A History of Art in Twentieth-Century China*). Beijing 北京: Beijing Daxue 北京大學, p. 83.

Japan or Europe, such as Liu Haisu 劉海粟. In a narrow sense, this includes the Chinese students who received formal training in art academies in Japan or Western countries.

i. Chinese students studying Western visual arts in Japan

As will be discussed in the next chapter “Development of Chinese General Education” and “Development of Chinese Art Education”, Japan was regarded as the most convenient place for the Chinese to acquire Western knowledge in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 points out that Japan had imported Western art education in the last few decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>207</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 also mentions that there was a “craze for Western things and Western ideas”<sup>208</sup> in the period following the Meiji Restoration. The official Japanese Technological Art School was founded in 1878 and its aim was to introduce the Western art methods.<sup>209</sup> Besides having European artists like Antonio Fontanesi teaching in the Japanese art schools, there were also lots of Japanese students who went to Europe to study Western visual arts. At the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 states, five generations of Japanese art students had already received training in Europe.<sup>210</sup>

The Chinese students began to study Western visual arts in Japan at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Huang Dongfu 黃冬富, 34 Chinese students studied arts and handcraft in Japan from 1902 to 1911. For example, Li Shutong 李叔同 went to study in Japan in 1906, Wang Jichuan 汪濟川 in 1909 and Zheng Jin 鄭錦 in 1911.<sup>211</sup> Though there were more and more Chinese students travelling to the West for a direct experience with genuine Western visual culture after 1911, there were still many Chinese

---

<sup>207</sup> Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), *Zhongguo jindai meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國近代美術教育史》(*History of Contemporary Chinese Art Education*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院, p. 15.

<sup>208</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 12.

<sup>209</sup> Ibid.

<sup>210</sup> Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), p. 15

<sup>211</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), pp. 289-293.



students who went to Japan to study Western visual arts.<sup>212</sup> Chen Baoyi 陳抱一, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 and Guan Liang 關良 went to Japan to study Western visual arts in the mid 1910s, while Ding Yanyong 丁衍庸 and Ni Yide 倪貽德 studied in Japan in the 1920s.

## ii. Chinese students studying in Western countries

Few Chinese students went to Europe to learn Western visual arts before 1911. According to Huang Dongfu 黃冬富, only 5 Chinese students studied Western visual arts in the West from 1887 to 1911.<sup>213</sup> Li Tiefu 李鐵夫 went to England to study in 1887 and was probably the first Chinese student who received a formal training in Western visual arts in the West in the late Qing period.<sup>214</sup> The other four included Feng Gangbai 馮鋼百, Li Yishi 李毅士, Li Chaoshi 李超士 and Wu Fading 吳法鼎.<sup>215</sup>

After the 1911 Revolution, the number of Chinese students studying Western visual arts in the West grew. Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻, Lin Fengmian 林風眠, Yan Wenliang 顏文樑, Pan Yuliang 潘玉良, Li Jinfa 李金髮, Fang Junbi 方君璧, et al. made extensive in-depth studies of Western visual arts in Europe.

For many Chinese, a direct contact with genuine Western visual culture was their goal. Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 studied Western visual arts in Japan from 1917 to 1921, and made a study tour to Europe from 1928 to 1930.<sup>216</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟, the founder of *Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao* 上海美術專科學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School) was self-taught

---

<sup>212</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 323-357.

<sup>213</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), pp. 289-293.

<sup>214</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 333.

<sup>215</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), pp. 289- 293; Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), *Zhongguo jindai meishu shi: 1911-1949* 《中國近代美術史: 1911-1949》 (*History of Contemporary Chinese Art 1911-1949*). Hong Kong 香港: Shangwu 商務, pp. 14-19.

<sup>216</sup> Xu Changming 徐昌酩 (ed.) (2004), *Shanghai meishu zhi* 《上海美術志》 (*History of Art in Shanghai*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫, p. 430.

in Western visual arts, also conducted study tours to Europe from 1929 to 1935.<sup>217</sup> Through his account of his art study activities in Paris, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 had demonstrated his enthusiasm for studying Western visual arts:

My days in Paris, a great part is spent on visiting museums and galleries. From Giotto to Botticelli, from Titian to Fragonard, from Pousin to David, from Ingres to Cézanne, ... I walk from the Spanish Gallery [in the Louvre] to where the Netherlandish artists are exhibited ... After visiting the Louvre, I even go straight to Luxemburg Palace to look at the modern paintings ... Every time I visit several galleries, inevitably I feel an infinite change in my heart; sometimes I feel lost, other times I feel enlightened. This is very meaningful.<sup>218</sup>

### iii. The Contributions of these returned Chinese students

The returning Chinese students' contributions to the importation of Western visual arts was realised in several areas: first, through direct participation in art education, second, by producing and exhibiting art works, third, writing on Western visual arts; and fourth, founding art study associations to promote the study of Western arts.

Li Shutong 李叔同 was regarded as one of the first Chinese who introduced Western visual culture to China.<sup>219</sup> After his return from Japan in 1911, Li Shutong 李叔同 taught Western visual arts at teacher institutions.<sup>220</sup> In 1913 or 1914, Li introduced nude drawing to *Zhejiang liangji shifan* 浙江兩級師範 (Zhejiang Two-Level Teacher Training School) and this was revolutionary in a Chinese cultural context.<sup>221</sup> Feng Gangbai 馮鋼百 studied Western painting in Mexico and America from 1906 to 1911.<sup>222</sup> He taught Western painting at *Guangzhou shili meishu xuexiao* 廣州市立美術學校 (Guangzhou Municipal Art School) after returning to China in 1921.<sup>223</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 studied Western visual arts in France in 1919 and returned China in 1926. After his return, Lin

---

<sup>217</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 241-242; also Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), p. 118.

<sup>218</sup> Quoted in: Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 15.

<sup>219</sup> Li Chao 李超 (1995), p. 45; also Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 330-332.

<sup>220</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), p. 291.

<sup>221</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 83.

<sup>222</sup> Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), p. 291.

<sup>223</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 77.

was appointed to be in charge of art institutes such as *Guoli beiping yishu zhuanke xuexiao* 國立北平藝術專科學校 (Beiping National Art School) and *Guoli yishuyuan hangzhou* 國立藝術院杭州 (National Art School Hangzhou).<sup>224</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 studied in France from 1919 to 1927, and after his return from France in 1927, he was put in charge of the National Central University.<sup>225</sup>

Kao Mayching 高美慶 describes how these returned Chinese students demonstrated a solid technical foundation and a firm grasp of the Western oil medium. They also initiated “serious study and disciplined training” on Western visual arts in the art schools in China.<sup>226</sup> For those returned from Japan, they introduced a freer self-expression style in the art school. Through the returned students from Europe, the Chinese visual culture “which formerly depended entirely on second-hand sources of reproductions and filtered versions from Japan”<sup>227</sup> was thence directly under the influence of European visual culture had a direct influence on

As Kao Mayching 高美慶 points out, the returned Chinese students “also adopted a Western way of communication with the general public: by exhibitions.”<sup>228</sup> One-man exhibitions and group exhibitions were held and Western visual culture was demonstrated in the artworks created by these returning students. According to Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, the first art exhibition was held in 1913 and Western-style painting was exhibited.<sup>229</sup> However, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 also pointed out, the Western-style paintings at that time were actually a variation on Chinese paintings. In 1929, the First National Art Exhibition supported by the Ministry of Education was held in Shanghai. It featured different kinds of artwork selected from artists all over the nation including old and contemporary traditional Chinese paintings, embroidery, sculpture, architectural design, photography,

---

<sup>224</sup> Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), pp. 28-31.

<sup>225</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>226</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 129.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 102.

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>229</sup> Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), *Wang Yachen yishu wenji* 《汪亞塵藝術文集》 (*Wang Yachen's Collected Works on Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫, p. 505.

and last but not the least, Western-style paintings.<sup>230</sup> In these different kinds of exhibition, Kao Mayching 高美慶 states, “it was demonstrated that the Western-style artists were freely experimenting in the imported styles”.<sup>231</sup>

As it will be shown in Chapter IV “Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education Through Publications of Chinese Writings in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century”, many Chinese students like Chen Baoyi 陳抱一, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, Ni Yide 倪貽德, Pang Xunqin 龐薰棻, Li Jinfa 李金髮, Fu Lei 傅雷, Lin Fengmian 林風眠, Pang Xunqin 龐薰棻, et al. were active in writing on Western visual arts. They were highly enthusiastic about importing Western knowledge of visual arts to China.

Furthermore, many of these returning Chinese art students were also active in organizing art associations to promote the study of Western visual arts.<sup>232</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 points out that those students returning from Europe, together with those who favoured Western visual culture, founded many art study associations in the 1920s.<sup>233</sup> For example, Xu Dunggu 許敦谷, Feng Gangbai 馮鋼百 and Hu Gentian 胡根天 found the *Chishe meishu yanjiuhui* 赤社美術研究會 (Art Study Society) in 1921.<sup>234</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠, Lin Wenzheng 林文錚, Li Chaoshi 李超士 founded the *Yishu yundongshe* 藝術運動社 (Society of Art Movement) in 1928,<sup>235</sup> and *Juelan she* 決瀾社 (Society) was founded by Ni Yide 倪貽德 and Pang Xunqin 龐薰棻 in 1931.<sup>236</sup>

As stated earlier, Liu Haisu 劉海粟, had made art study tours to Europe between 1929 and 1935 to get direct and genuine experiences with Western visual culture. He was also very active in introducing Western visual culture to China. In his record of his art study

---

<sup>230</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 130-131.

<sup>231</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>232</sup> Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), pp. 33-36.

<sup>233</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 195-196.

<sup>234</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 330, 350; also Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 77.

<sup>235</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 336; also Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 199.

<sup>236</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 338, 340; also Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 267.

tour in Europe, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 also described his ambitions as to establish a Chinese national museum with copies of Western masterpieces. He wrote:

I have arranged with a dozen of comrades studying art here [Paris], to visit the Louvre every afternoon and to copy the masterpieces from Renaissance on. I am now copying a representative work by Delacroix, a great French eighteenth-century [should be nineteenth] master, the giant of Romanticism, Dante and Virgil. It is a huge painting, two feet long. Its theme comes from Dante's Inferno. In expressing the melancholy of life and the beauty of the human body, this painting is supreme. There are some artists who go to other museums to copy more recent works. After two or three years, we may be able to gather one hundred or more paintings to contribute to the [Chinese] Ministry of Education for the purpose of establishing a national museum.<sup>237</sup>

### 3.2. The Quest for a New Art for China - Westernization and Traditionalism

In 1928, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 pointed out satirically in his article “Xiandai zhongguo huatan de zhuangkuang” 《現代中國畫壇的狀況》 (The Present Situation of Chinese Art Circles) that there were multifarious schools of painting in China at the time, new, old, fauvism, mixture of Chinese and Japanese style, eclecticism, etc. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 found that these different schools of painting dazzled the Chinese by vying for the lead.<sup>238</sup>

Fu Lei 傅雷 also described how visual arts as well as politics and the economy was thrown into panic in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China in his article “Xiandai zhongguo yishu zhi konghuang” 《現代中國藝術之恐慌》 (The Panic of Modern Chinese Art) (1932). He said that it was impossible for China to maintain her tranquility and peace while being pounded by the trends towards Westernization.<sup>239</sup>

---

<sup>237</sup> Quoted in: Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 16.

<sup>238</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1928), “Xiandai zhongguo huatan de zhuangkuang” 《現代中國畫壇的狀況》 (The Present Situation of Chinese Art Circle), quoted in: Lin Mu 林木 (2000), *Ershi shiji zhongguohua yanjiu* 《二十世紀中國畫研究》 (Study of Chinese Painting in 20th Century). Nanning 南寧: Guangxi meishu 廣西美術, pp. 9-10.

<sup>239</sup> Fu Lei 傅雷 (1932), “Xiandai zhongguo yishu zhi konghuang” 《現代中國藝術之恐慌》 (The Panic of Modern Chinese Art). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (L'Art), vol. 1, no. 4, p. 3.

Both Yu Jianhua's 俞劍華 and Fu Lei's 傅雷 articles revealed the eagerness of the Chinese to import Western visual culture and to revitalize Chinese visual arts in the critical moment in Chinese history. Though suggestions for reforming Chinese visual arts were heterogeneous, it could be roughly divided into two camps: Westernization and Traditionalism.

### 3.2.1. Westernization of Visual Arts in China

As early as 1912, Chen Shuren 陳樹人, one of the founders of the *Lingnan pai* 嶺南派 (Lingnan School), had pointed out the inevitability for Chinese visual culture to learn from the West:

No art can fail to be influenced by its time, painting is not an exception. Now that the material and spiritual civilization of the East is entirely dependent on the West, how is it possible to maintain an isolationist policy in art? ... Unless we in the Orient do not wish to spread Oriental painting in glory, but if we do, it would be poor judgment not to adopt the Western way of training as foundation. ...

It is wrong to accuse anyone using oil paints and watercolours of imitating Western painting. If we hope to express our emotions, we have to use Western colours and techniques (it is a well-known fact to anyone acquainted with painting that Oriental colours are inadequate) ...<sup>240</sup>

The Westernization of Chinese visual arts, as Fu Lei 傅雷 pointed out in his article “Xiandai zhongguo yishu zhi konghuang” 《現代中國藝術之恐慌》 (The Panic of Modern Chinese Art) (1932), was dominated by two big streams. One advocated young artists to follow the French Neoclassicism artists such as Ingres and David and create ‘Distingue’,<sup>241</sup> ‘Noble’ and ‘Elegant’ artworks. The other tried hard to study impressionism and related artists such as van Gogh, Cezanne and even Matisse.<sup>242</sup> This, in Kao Mayching's 高美慶 words, means that one of the dominating currents of Westernization in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century China was the pursuit of the scientific method of

---

<sup>240</sup> quoted in: Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 4.

<sup>241</sup> This word was found in Fu Lei's article. There is a Chinese translation *piaoliang* “漂亮” (beautiful or fine) of this word. This researcher guesses it might be a French word, because the author had studied in France.

<sup>242</sup> Fu Lei 傅雷 (1932), in: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (L'Art), vol. 1, no. 4, p. 4.

Western art, the other advocated the expressive power in line and colour of the modern European schools.<sup>243</sup>

i. Advocates of Western Realism

Western Realism employed scientific methods to depict the objective world. For many Chinese artists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, like Sun Fu-hsi 孫福熙, the scientific method of Western art meant analyzing nature, observing the laws of perspective, anatomy and light. These were the merits of Western painting.<sup>244</sup>

In the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kang Youwei 康有為, the leader of the Hundred Day Reform in 1898, had urged the use of scientific methods of Western visual arts to reform Chinese visual arts. Kang had had a close encounter with the Western visual arts during his travel in Europe from 1904 to 1908.<sup>245</sup> He praised the quality of actuality of Western paintings. On the other hand, he found that the deteriorating nature of Chinese paintings after the Sung dynasty was due to its stress on depicting images according to the imagination and impression. For Kang, Chinese painting in the Qing Dynasty was at its lowest ebb and could not be handed down to the later generation.<sup>246</sup> He urged a reform of Chinese painting and argued that a new art should be created through incorporating Chinese and Western painting. Thus, he meant to employ the realistic techniques of Western painting to reform Chinese painting.<sup>247</sup>

Similar to Kang Youwei 康有為, Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 also criticised the Chinese painters in the Qing dynasty who put too much stress on copying the old masters' artwork. In his discussion with Lü Cheng 呂澂 about the problem of Chinese art circles in the

---

<sup>243</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 164.

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., p. 159.

<sup>245</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), p. 394.

<sup>246</sup> Kang Youwei 康有為 (1918), *Wanmu caotang canghua mu* 《萬木草堂藏畫目》 (Catalogue of Wan Mu Hut's Collected Paintings), quoted in: Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), p. 76.

<sup>247</sup> Li Chao 李超 (2004), pp. 394-396.

*Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*, lit., *New Youth Magazine*) in 1918, Chen argued strongly that it was a disaster that every artist in the Qing dynasty:

used the four important skills – *lin* 臨 (copy), *mo* 摹 (trace), *fang* 仿 (imitate) and *fu* 撫 (play) – to copy old masterpieces. There was hardly any new and independent creation of these painters.<sup>248</sup>

Chen also advocated the reform of Chinese painting by employing Western realistic techniques.<sup>249</sup> For Chen, only the spirit of Western realism could reform the Chinese painting. More exactly, only realism could enable the artists to bring their talents into play, to create their own style and thus to break free of conventions.<sup>250</sup>

Kang Youwei's 康有為 and Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 advocacy for employing Western realistic painting techniques to reform Chinese painting were echoed by other Chinese intellectuals like Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 and Wang Yachen 汪亞塵. They also admired the Western realistic drawing methods and concluded that this technique should be transferred to Chinese painting.<sup>251</sup>

While Kang Youwei 康有為 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 advocated the employment of scientific techniques to reform Chinese painting through theories, Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 put it into practice. More accurately, he promoted the scientific techniques through art creation and teaching. In his Western style art creations, i.e. drawings and oil paintings, Xu demonstrated his mastery of Western techniques of anatomy and academic form.

---

<sup>248</sup> Chen Duxiu's 陳獨秀 reply to Lü Cheng's 呂澂 letter. In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, 1918, p. 86. The original Chinese version is: 大概都用那臨、摹、仿、撫四大本領，複寫古畫；自家創作的，簡直可以說沒有

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 84-85..

<sup>250</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>251</sup> See 1.) Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1919), "Zai beida huafa yanjiuhui yanshuoci" 《在北大畫法研究會演說詞》 (Speeches for the Society of Painting Technique at Peking University). In: Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan* 《蔡元培美學文選》 (*Cai Yuanpei's Selected Work on Aesthetic*). Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue 北京大學, p. 80; 2.) Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 (1920), "Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian" 《對於普通教授圖畫科意見》 (Opinion on Teaching of Drawing). In: *Huixue zazhi* 《繪學雜誌》 (*Journal of Drawing*). Quoted in: Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), *Zhongguo meishu de xiandaihua* 《中國美術的現代化》 (*Modernization of Chinese Art*), Beijing 北京: Sanlian 三聯, p. 77; 3.) Lin Mu 林木 (2000), pp. 34-35.



Through his art teachings, Xu emphasized the importance of drawing in fundamental training.<sup>252</sup> As early as 1918, Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 had criticized the decadence of traditional Chinese painting. He stated that it had slipped back fifty steps when compared with the Chinese painting twenty five years earlier and eight hundred steps in comparison with the Chinese painting a thousand years ago.<sup>253</sup> He proclaimed that realistic drawing techniques were the solution for rejuvenating Chinese painting.<sup>254</sup> In his pursuit to reform traditional Chinese painting, Xu combined his Western knowledge of anatomy and academic form with Chinese brush and ink.<sup>255</sup> For example, he used realistic drawing techniques to depict the figures in his brush and ink paintings. Xu criticised the figurative drawing in Chinese paintings as bad and lacking in visual naturalism and in this way, he reformed the figurative drawing in Chinese painting.<sup>256</sup>

As a matter of fact, *xiesheng* 寫生 (sketching from life or nature) or *xieshi* 寫實 (realistic drawing) based on scientific methods represented a revolutionary or advance guard in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese visual arts circles. Not only did Chinese artists who created Western style paintings draw from life, but the artists who were devoted to traditional Chinese paintings such as Qi Baishi 齊白石, Huang Binhong 黃賓虹 and Zhang Daqian 張大千 made *xiesheng* 寫生 (sketching from life or nature) as important means to create their artworks as well.<sup>257</sup>

---

<sup>252</sup> Zhang Yuying 張玉英 (ed.) (2000), *Xu Beihong tanyi lu* 《徐悲鴻談藝錄》 (*Collection of Xu Beihong's Discussions on Art*). Zhengzhou 鄭州: Henan meishu 河南美術, p. 86.

<sup>253</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1918), “Zhongguohua gailiang zhi fangfa” 《中國畫改良之方法》 (*Methods for Improving Chinese Painting*). In: Zhang Yuying 張玉英 (ed.) (2000), p. 1.

<sup>254</sup> Lin Xingyue 林愷嶽 (2002), *Zhongguo youhua bainian shi* 《中國油畫百年史》 (*History of One-Hundred-Year Chinese Oil Painting*). Taipei 臺北: Yishujia 藝術家, p. 135.

<sup>255</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 155-156.

<sup>256</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1918), “Zhongguohua gailiang zhi fangfa” 《中國畫改良之方法》 (*Methods for Improving Chinese Painting*). In: Zhang Yuying 張玉英 (ed.) (2000), p. 5; also see Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 206.

<sup>257</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 19.

ii. Borrowing ideas from modern European art schools

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, not only classical Western painting, or more correctly, Western naturalistic painting, but the up-dated modern Western art schools like impressionism, post-impressionism, fauvism, expressionism, Dadaism and futurism were also well known to the Chinese artists and intellectuals. Many Chinese artists embraced these new art streams whole-heartedly.<sup>258</sup>

Lin Fengmian 林風眠, another pioneer of Westernization of Chinese visual culture, also condemned the stress on copying the old masterpieces in Ming and Qing dynasties as the main cause of the deterioration of Chinese art. He maintained that those who still valued traditional painting would doubtlessly drive Chinese art into a fatal position.<sup>259</sup> He and his friends aimed at making a breakthrough of Chinese visual arts by devoting themselves to creating Western style painting and promoting the communication between Chinese and Western art.<sup>260</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 was strongly influenced by Vlaminck, van Dongen, and other German Expressionists. For Lin, compositions of strong colours, expressive lines and symbolic forms allowed him a stronger expression of his feelings and emotions.<sup>261</sup> In the matter of reforming Chinese painting, Kao Mayching 高美慶 points out that Lin and his friends “attempted to absorb the impact of Western art by translating into the native idiom the discoveries of modern artists in abstraction and design”.<sup>262</sup>

Liu Haisu 劉海粟 was attracted also by the modern European art schools. In his oil paintings, as Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 maintained, Liu demonstrated a strong tendency to

---

<sup>258</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 267-269.

<sup>259</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1929), “Yishu yundongshe xuanyan” 《藝術運動社宣言》 (Declaration of Society for Art Movement). In: *Yaboluo* 《亞波羅》 (*Apollo*). Quoted in: Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), *Lin Fengmian tanyi lu* 《林風眠談藝錄》 (*Record of Lin Fengmian's Talk on Art*). Zhengzhou 鄭州: Henan meishu 河南美術, p. 110.

<sup>260</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1927), “Zhi quanguo yishujie shu” 《致全國藝術界書》 (Letter to National Visual Arts Circle). In: Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), p. 45.

<sup>261</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 163.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 154.

post-impressionism.<sup>263</sup> By means of writings and the creation of Western style painting, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 demonstrated his passion and determination of promoting Western visual culture, especially the modern one, to China and made a great contribution to the Westernization of Chinese visual culture.<sup>264</sup>

Besides Lin Fengmian 林風眠 and Liu Haisu 劉海粟, members of *Juelan she* 《決瀾社》 (Juelan Society) were also active in borrowing ideas from modern Western art schools to Westernize Chinese visual culture. In their declaration “Juelan she xuanyan” 《決瀾社宣言》 (Declaration of Juelan Society) (1932), Ni Yide 倪貽德, Pang Xunqin 龐薰棻 and other members proclaimed that they were disgusted with the old form, old colour and the ordinary and vulgar painting techniques. They wanted a new technique to express the spirit of the new era, like what Fauvism, Cubism, Dadaism and Surrealism in Europe did.<sup>265</sup>

In the First National Art Exhibition held in 1929, there were hundreds of paintings “in styles ranging from Realism to Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, and Fauvism.”<sup>266</sup> Needless to say, this was the result of the promotion of modern Western art schools in China.

### iii. Conflicts among the advocates of Westernization

According to Kao Mayching 高美慶, Lin Fengmian 林風眠 and Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 were the leaders of the two different camps on the Westernization of Chinese visual culture. While Lin Fengmian 林風眠 in Hangzhou happened to be the central focus of the

---

<sup>263</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1922), “Jieshao yishujia Liu Haisu” 《介紹藝術家劉海粟》 (Introduce Artist Liu Haisu). In: *Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui* 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), p. 151.

<sup>264</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 239-241.

<sup>265</sup> Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1932), “Juelan she xuanyan” 《決瀾社宣言》 (Declaration of Juelan Society). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 5, p. 8.

<sup>266</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 130-131.

modern Western visual arts, the artists trained in the European art academies congregated around Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 in Nanking to promote Western realism.<sup>267</sup>

In 1929, two years after returning from his study in France, Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 attacked the modern European art schools. Xu expressed his concern with the aimless imitation of modern styles of Fauvism, Cubism, Dadaism, and Futurism. He reaffirmed the need for art to be true to reality. By refusing to participate in the first national art exhibition held in 1929, Xu protested its inclusion of paintings influenced by the modern European art schools.<sup>268</sup> He also had a fierce debate with Xu Zhimo 徐志摩, a poet of the Romanticist school, about the problems of promoting modern Western art schools in China. In his open letter “Huo” 《惑》 (Perplexity) to Xu Zhimo 徐志摩, he expressed his disapproval of modern Western visual arts. Xu attacked Manet, Renoir, Cezanne, Matisse and Bonnard, and others on the one hand, and praised Prud’Hon, Ingres, Delacroix, Puvis De Chavannes, Bonnat, Corot and Millet, and others on the other.<sup>269</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 points out that Xu saw the new styles of Western visual arts as formalism instead of possessing the capacity to honestly reflect reality. Xu found that the new Western visual arts were neither true nor beautiful.<sup>270</sup> He stressed the importance of visual realism and urged a precise observation of objects. For Xu, no art existed without the physical form which represents the objective world.<sup>271</sup>

On the other hand, the Chinese artists who preferred the modern Western visual arts found that Western Realism was too mechanical and incapable of expressing emotions. Lin Fengmian 林風眠 had already abandoned Western academic realism while he was studying in France.<sup>272</sup> In his text, “Dongxi yishu zhi qiantu” 《東西藝術之前途》 (Future of Eastern and Western Arts) (1926), Lin clearly pointed out the weakness of

---

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., p. 134.

<sup>268</sup> Lin Xingyue 林惺嶽 (2002), pp. 118-119.

<sup>269</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1929), “Huo” 《惑》 (Perplexity). Quoted in: Lin Xingyue 林惺嶽 (2002), pp. 119-121.

<sup>270</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), p. 134.

<sup>271</sup> Quoted in: Lin Xingyue 林惺嶽 (2002), p. 123.

<sup>272</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 290.

Western visual naturalism. He said that Western realism actually depicts only a profile of the nature confronted. For Lin, the naturalistic depiction technique was over-developed in Western visual arts and this had led to its incapability to express emotion. As a consequence, Lin went further, the artwork had become mechanical and had no difference from printed matter.<sup>273</sup> Though Lin favoured modern Western art schools, he found that the different art schools should be united in the quest of reforming Chinese visual culture rather than having internal dissension.<sup>274</sup>

As revealed previously, there was scepticism about science among the Chinese intellectuals after the First World War. This attitude could also be found within the Chinese visual arts circles.<sup>275</sup> Chen Shiceng 陳師曾, a famous artist who devoted himself to the creation of traditional Chinese painting, was also concerned about the problem of borrowing Western ideas on visual arts. Western visual culture was actually not strange to Chen because he had also learned Western oil painting.<sup>276</sup> According to Lin Mu 林木, Chen had changed his attitude toward Western realism within a very short period.<sup>277</sup> In his “Duiyu putong jiaoshou tuhuake yijian” 《對於普通教授圖畫科意見》 (Opinion on Teaching of Drawing) (1920), Chen demonstrated his admiration for the Western realistic drawing techniques.<sup>278</sup> However, within a short period, he changed his attitude and pointed out that the task of artistic creation was to represent the soul, character and feeling, not to depict the object mechanically and naturalistically, which would look like photography.<sup>279</sup>

---

<sup>273</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1926), “Dongxi yishu zhi qiantu” 《東西藝術之前途》 (Future of Eastern and Western Arts). In: Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), p. 41.

<sup>274</sup> Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1929), “Yishu yundongshe xuanyan” 《藝術運動社宣言》 (Declaration of Art Movement Association). In: Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), p. 41.

<sup>275</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), pp. 8-9; pp. 23-45.

<sup>276</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 113.

<sup>277</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 26.

<sup>278</sup> Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), p. 77.

<sup>279</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 26.

Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 also changed his attitude towards Western realism in the 1920s.<sup>280</sup> In his essay “Zhongguo yishujie shinian lai jingguo de ganxiang” 《中國藝術界十年來經過的感想》 (Impressions of Chinese Art Circle in Ten Years) (1922), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 criticized that it was not in vogue and inappropriate to regard realism as the latest model of Western painting and introduced it to China.<sup>281</sup>

Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌, the art historian, criticized Kang Youwei’s 康有為 advocacy of Western realism and stated that he did not understand the visual arts. Zheng found that the reasons for Kang’s admiration of Western realism were his seeking for visual sensation and being ignorant of mind-composing.<sup>282</sup> For Zheng, the principles of art were not imitating nature or representing the world realistically because photography could do a better job.<sup>283</sup>

### 3.2.2. Traditionalism of Chinese Paintings

According to Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, no Chinese was interested in Western painting before 1911. It was at the turn of 1910s that more and more Chinese studied Western painting and the number of those learning Western visual arts had reached five thousand 10 years later.<sup>284</sup> This hasty pace of Westernization in visual culture in China made many traditional Chinese painters feel threatened and aroused their determination to defend, rescue and reform traditional Chinese visual culture.<sup>285</sup>

---

<sup>280</sup> Ibid., pp. 34-35.

<sup>281</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1922), “Zhongguo yishujie shinian lai jingguo de ganxiang” 《中國藝術界十年來經過的感想》 (Reflections on Chinese Art Circle in the Past Ten Years). In: Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), p. 534.

<sup>282</sup> Zheng Wuchang 鄭午昌 (1931), “Zhongguohua zhi renshi” 《中國畫之認識》 (Understanding Chinese Painting). In: *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*), vol. 26, no. 1. Quoted in: Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 30.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid.

<sup>284</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, pp. 534-535.

<sup>285</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 108.

Regarding the increasing number of young Chinese people studying in the West, Lin Shu 林紓 felt grief and indignation. He criticized:

As new learning became flourishing, most young people studied art aboard. The Chinese traditional painting was thus abandoned as straw dogs.<sup>286</sup>

Though Jin Cheng 金城 had received education in the West, he was against the idea of Westernization of visual culture in China. He defended traditional Chinese painting as valuable and criticized the reformers of Chinese visual arts. He said:

Chinese painting, having a thousands year of history, achieves splendid results and commands admiration from the whole world. However, there are ignorant people who have no idea about preserving and carrying forward the quintessence of Chinese culture but talk brazenly about reforming Chinese art and being art renegades. Don't they feel ashamed when they reflect in the midnight?<sup>287</sup>

At the same time, Huang Banre 黃般若 also criticised the Westernization of Chinese visual culture. He found that it was absurd to abandon the invaluable Chinese art and “hold the Western painting technique which belonged to the past”.<sup>288</sup> Though Huang did not state clearly what he meant by ‘the past’, this researcher suggests that he referred to the classical Western painting technique because, as stated above, the up-dated modern Western art schools such as Dadaism and futurism had been well-known to China at his time.

Ideas about rescuing traditional Chinese visual arts were diversified in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There were, roughly speaking, three kinds of suggestions for rescuing Chinese painting. First of all, there were conservatives who embraced traditionalism whole-

---

<sup>286</sup> Shui Tianzhong 水天中 (1997), “Zhongguohua lunzheng 50 nian (1900-1950)” 《中國畫論爭 50 年 (1900-1950)》 (50 Years' Disputes on Chinese Painting). In: Cao Yiqiang 曹意強 and Fan Jingzhong 范景中 (eds.), *20 shiji zhongguohua-chuantong de yanxu yu yanbian* 《20 世紀中國畫 – 傳統的延續與演變》 (*Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century: Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition*) conference proceedings. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin meishu 浙江人民美術, p. 44; also see Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 109.

<sup>287</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 108. The original Chinese version is: 吾國數千年之藝術，成績斐然，世界欽佩。而無知者流，不知國粹之宜保存，宜發揚。反觀顏曰：藝術革命，藝術叛徒。清夜自思，得無愧乎？

<sup>288</sup> Huang Banre 黃般若 (1926), “Biaoxian zhuyi yu zhongguo huihua” 《表現主義與中國繪畫》 (Expressionism and Chinese Painting). In: *Guohua tekan* 《國畫特刊》 (*Special Issue on Chinese Painting*). Quoted in: Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), p. 118.

heartedly. They simply found that traditional Chinese painting was invaluable and the only way to rescue it was to preserve it.<sup>289</sup> Secondly, there were those who promoted the study and rediscovery of the nature and value of traditional Chinese paintings in a historical perspective. Thirdly, there were comparisons of Chinese and Western painting hoping to create a new art through the combination of Chinese and Western painting.

i. Embracing traditional Chinese painting

Jin Cheng 金城 and Lin Shu 林紓 were representative of the conservatives who rejected the assimilation of any Western ideas into Chinese painting and emphasised the superiority of Chinese painting.<sup>290</sup>

Jin Cheng 金城 founded the Zhongguohua yanjiuhui 中國畫研究會 (The Study of Chinese Painting Association) with Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 and Zhou Zhaoxiang 周肇祥 in 1920. The mission of this association was to “*Tichangfengya baocunguocui*” 提倡風雅，保存國粹 (promote literary pursuits and preserve the quintessence of Chinese culture).<sup>291</sup> In practice, Jin studied and copied the artworks of ancient Chinese painters. He believed that the combination of poem, calligraphy, painting and seal could rejuvenate traditional Chinese painting.<sup>292</sup>

Lin Shu 林紓 was famous for rendering Western novels into classical Chinese in the late Qing period. He was unfamiliar with foreign languages. With the help of “oral translation” from the others, Lin transposed many Western novels into Chinese.<sup>293</sup> He was also well-known for his vigorous opposition to the new literature reform launched in 1917. In his Chinese painting, Lin showed his favour of the style of *Si wang* 四王 (Four Wangs), the Qing painters who were seriously attacked by Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀. Lin also

---

<sup>289</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 108.

<sup>290</sup> Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), p. 117.

<sup>291</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 109.

<sup>292</sup> Ibid.

<sup>293</sup> Hsü, CY Immanuel (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), p. 424.



loved to combine poems with his paintings and demonstrated the charm of traditional Chinese painting.<sup>294</sup>

## ii. The study and rediscovery of traditional Chinese painting

In comparison with the conservatives who were nervous and perplexed, Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 had demonstrated his confidence in traditional Chinese painting through his investigation into the subject matter.<sup>295</sup> In his studies, Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 aimed at rediscovering the value and essence of traditional Chinese painting and its right to further existence. He also wanted to show his fellow Chinese the vitality of Chinese tradition and its importance during that chaotic changing moment.<sup>296</sup> Chen published his research such as “Zhongguo renwuhua zhi bianqian” 《中國人物畫之變遷》 (Changes of Chinese Figurative Paintings), “Qingdai shanshuihua zhi paibie” 《清代山水畫之派別》 (Different Schools of Mountain and Water Painting in Qing Dynasty), “Qingdai huahuihua zhi paibie” 《清代花卉畫之派別》 (Flouriest Painting in Qing Dynasty), *Zhongguohua xiaoshi* 《中國畫小史》 (Concise History of Chinese Painting), *Zhongguo huihua shi* 《中國繪畫史》 (*History of Chinese Painting*) and “Wenren hua de jiazhi” 《文人畫的價值》 (The Value of Literati Painting).<sup>297</sup> It is well recognised that Chen Shiceng’s 陳師曾 most important contribution to the preservation and promotion of traditional Chinese painting was his study on *Wenren hua* 文人畫 (literati painting), the art stream which dominated Chinese visual culture for almost a thousand years.<sup>298</sup> Chen maintained that *Wenren hua* 文人畫 (literati painting) focused on the spirit instead of *xingsi* 形似 (physical likeness). More exactly, Chen found that *Wenren hua* was able to express personality, temperament, character and feeling. In other words, *Wenren hua* was emotional, subjective and spiritual.<sup>299</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 points out that the

---

<sup>294</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 109-111.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid., p. 113.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid.

<sup>297</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 245.

<sup>298</sup> See Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 245 and Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 113-115.

<sup>299</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 245.

publication of “Wenren hua de jiazhi” 《文人畫的價值》 (The value of literati painting) should be regarded as a response to the panic among many Chinese painters. Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 aimed to explain the reasons for the existence of Chinese painting and warned his fellow people about the importance and vitality of tradition in the turmoil of Chinese visual cultural reform.<sup>300</sup>

As indicated in the previous section, there was actually a call for returning to the Chinese traditions in the 1920s and 1930s. Within this larger framework of society, there was also a call for studying and rediscovering the values of traditional Chinese painting. In 1933, an article entitled “Yishu jiaoyu” 《藝術教育》 (Art Education) written by an anonymous author criticized the lack of systematic study of Chinese art.<sup>301</sup> Similarly, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 also called for a study on the nature of traditional Chinese art. Liu argued that the rejuvenation of Chinese painting could not be realized by absorbing or imitating Western visual culture alone. In other words, this must be accompanied with the understanding of the nature of traditional Chinese painting.<sup>302</sup>

### 3.2.3. Combining the Essence of Chinese and Western Visual Culture

Besides rediscovering the value of traditional Chinese painting, there were also studies that aimed to compare Chinese and Western visual arts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The main purpose of these comparative studies was to research the valuable elements of the two visual cultures for the creation of a new Chinese art. The ideas “Ronghe zhongxi” 「融合中西」 (Merging Chinese and Western elements), “Zhongxi hebi” 「中西合璧」 (good combination of Chinese and Western elements) or “Yi xiren zhi chang, bu

---

<sup>300</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 113.

<sup>301</sup> Yi Ming 佚名 (Anonymous) (1933), “Yishu jiaoyu” 《藝術教育》 (Art Education). Extracted from: Zhonghua pinmin jiaoyu cujinhui 中華平民教育促進會 (Zhonghua Society for promoting education for common people), *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (Art Education). Quoted in: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), *Zhongguo jinxiandai meiyu lunwenxuan (1840-1949)* 《中國近現代美育論文選 (1840-1949)》 (*Selected Papers on Aesthetic Education in Modern China [1840-1949]*), Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育, pp. 226-234.

<sup>302</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 393.

*zhongguo zhi duan*” 「以西人之長，補中國之短」 (Replacing the weakness of China with the strong point of the Westerner) were very popular in these studies.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 made a brief comparison of Chinese and Western painting in 1919. In this brief study, he pointed out that it was the era of simulating Eastern and Western culture. For Cai, the formula to merge Chinese and Western visual culture was to adopt the stronger points of Western visual culture, that is, the scientific techniques of Western painting, into Chinese painting.<sup>303</sup>

Similarly, Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 had also made a brief comparative study of Chinese and Western painting. In Chen's opinion, Chinese painting should be treated as the principle part in comparative study. While the weakness of Chinese painting should be abandoned, the strong point of Western painting should be adopted.<sup>304</sup> More precisely, Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 found that realistic drawing techniques like shadowing and perspective were not stressed in Chinese *Shanshui hua* 山水畫 (Mountain and Water Painting). He therefore suggested that Chinese painting adopt these realistic techniques.<sup>305</sup> According to Lü Peng 呂澎, Chen's painting *Beijing fengsu tu* 《北京風俗圖》 (Beijing Genre Painting), which depicted lots of ordinary or daily life topics like fortune tellers, beggars, people pulling carts, hawkers selling soy milk or sweets, had demonstrated his adoption of Western ideas.<sup>306</sup> Lin Mu 林木 also points out that Chen had employed Western painting techniques of shadowing, volume and perspective in his garden and figure paintings.<sup>307</sup>

In 1935, the art magazine *Guohua yuekan* 《國畫月刊》 (*Chinese Painting Monthly*) published by an influential Chinese painting association *Zhongguo huahui* 「中國畫會」 (Chinese Painting Association) devoted two special issues to a comparative study of the

---

<sup>303</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1919), “Zai beida huafa yanjiuhui yanshuoci” 《在北大畫法研究會演說詞》 (Speeches for the Society of Painting Technique at Peking University). In: *Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui* 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), p. 80.

<sup>304</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 245.

<sup>305</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 244-254.

<sup>306</sup> Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), p. 113.

<sup>307</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 248.

thinking of Chinese mountain and water painting and Western landscape painting. In these two special issues, there were 17 articles published. Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 finds that this was the first comparative study on the two art streams made by Chinese painters and the study was conducted in an active and open manner.<sup>308</sup> Generally speaking, the authors handled the themes in a philosophical or historical perspective. Besides separate studies of the two art streams, there were also comparative studies on their differences or similarities.<sup>309</sup> According to Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬, the authors of these articles, writing from the perspective of Chinese painting, suggested borrowing Western ideas to improve traditional Chinese painting.<sup>310</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華, for example, had made this suggestion in his article: everything related to composition and perspective should be borrowed from the West, brushwork and colour work should be from China. Yu found that this combination was quite workable.<sup>311</sup>

### 3.3. The Chinese Intellectuals' Attitudes towards Learning from the Western Visual Culture

As Chen Shuren 陳樹人 and his many fellow Chinese intellectuals observed, learning from the West had become an inevitable fact in China. During the process of assimilating Western visual culture to Chinese visual culture, the Chinese intellectuals' or artists' attitudes towards Western visual culture was very complex. Summarizing these attitudes to Westernization, there were two characteristics: the eagerness to connect China to the world and the worries about a blind adoption of Western ideas.

---

<sup>308</sup> Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), p. 97.

<sup>309</sup> Ibid., pp. 93-104.

<sup>310</sup> Ibid., p. 103.

<sup>311</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1935), "Zhongguo shanshuihua zhi xiasheng" 《中國山水畫之寫生》 (Sketches of Chinese Mountain and Water Painting). In: *Guohua yuekan* 《國畫月刊》 (*Chinese Painting Monthly*), no. 4, 1935, pp. 73-74. Quoted in: Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬, (2008), p. 100. The original Chinese version is: 一切構圖視點停點等用西法，而用筆用色則用中法。畫成以後，尙有可觀，於是信心始堅。

### 3.3.1. Eagerness to Connect China to the World

In this study of the “Political and socio-cultural history in China”, it has been shown that there was an eagerness of many Chinese intellectuals to connect China to the world, or more exactly with the West. This attitude was also clearly reflected in the Chinese visual arts circle’s discussions about Chinese visual arts. While talking about the development of Chinese painting or defending the values of Chinese painting, Western standards were used.

#### i. Judging the development of Chinese visual arts

In 1924, Wu Yifeng 烏以鋒 published his article “*Meishu zahua*” 《美術雜話》 (*Talking on Art*) in the art magazine *Zaoxing meishu* 《造型美術》 (*Formative Arts*). He stated that

Western painting has been developing at a tremendous pace. Numerous art schools like Naturalism, Impressionism, Post-impressionism, Cubism and Futurism appeared within two or three hundred years. On the contrary, Chinese painting is still very conservative. ... even Naturalism has not been reached in the present development of Chinese painting, what is the use of talking about Impressionism, Cubism or Futurism?<sup>312</sup>

As Lin Mu 林木 interprets, Wu’s arguments represented the typical phenomena in Chinese visual cultural circles: using the Western standard of evolution or development of painting to judge Chinese painting.<sup>313</sup> This reflects how Chinese intellectuals regarded the Western model of the evolution of painting was universal and could be applied to the development of Chinese painting. In this sense, Chinese painting should follow the steps of Western development - first Naturalism and then Impressionism, Cubism, Futurism, and so on.

---

<sup>312</sup> Wu Yifeng 烏以鋒 (1924), “*Meishu zahua*” 《美術雜話》 (A Chat about Art). In: *Zaoxing meishu* 《造型美術》 (*Formative Art*), no. 1. Quoted in: Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 55. The original Chinese version is:

「西洋繪畫進步之遠，真是一日千里。自然派、印象派、後期印象派、立體派、未來派，二三百年之中，畫派之蔚起者甚多。然中國繪畫仍固守殘缺，息息待滅。…故現在中國繪畫自然派尚未走到，還講什麼『印象』、『立體』、『未來派』？」

<sup>313</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 55.

Similar to Wu Yifeng 烏以鋒, Wu Wan 吳琬 also applied Western models of the development of visual arts to analyse the development of Chinese visual arts in his article “Guan Liang ji qi zuopin” 《關良及其作品》 (Guan Liang and His Artworks) (1937). Wu urged that if the Chinese wanted to participate the world’s cultural realm, they should hurry up and run side by side with the West. That meant all the new fashions of Western visual arts should be imported to China.<sup>314</sup>

Guan Liang 關良 had the same attitude. In his arguments to his fellow Chinese artists that they should learn from the modern Western art schools rather than the classical one, Guan Liang 關良 demonstrated his eagerness to keep Chinese visual arts on the same plain as the development of Western visual arts.<sup>315</sup>

## ii. Defending the value of traditional Chinese visual art

Lin Mu 林木 found that the Chinese intellectuals’ admiration for Western science and culture had aroused their desire for equality for China. This led to their arguments that there was no difference between East and West and the world was actually the same.<sup>316</sup> For example, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 stated that there was no need to divide or demarcate the boundaries among different countries in the world of modern art.<sup>317</sup> Fang Rending 方人定 even maintained that “art is boundless and worldwide. Whether cultural invasion or not, it is not a problem.”<sup>318</sup>

There also were arguments that Chinese and Western paintings had similar principles or ideologies. Chen Shiceng 陳師曾, for example, claimed that Chinese and Western art actually had similar principles and evidence could be found in the ancient paintings of both art streams.<sup>319</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 also found that there was no difference between

---

<sup>314</sup> Ibid., p. 56.

<sup>315</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., p. 52.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Ibid.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid.

the principles of Chinese and Western art and that art was a common language in the world.<sup>320</sup>

In addition to using the models of the development of Western visual arts to judge Chinese visual arts, it was also a practice for the Chinese intellectuals to use Western terminology, or more correctly the Western concepts, to study Chinese painting. In his article, Li Baoquan 李寶泉 used the two Western terms “Classicism” and “Naturalism” to analyse Chinese mountain and water painters. He stated that “Classicism” started in Li Sixun’s 李思訓 painting in the 7<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., the Tang dynasty) and continued until the Ming dynasty, while “Naturalism” was also originated in Wang Wei’s 王維 painting in the 8<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., the Tang dynasty) and lasted until the Ming dynasty.<sup>321</sup>

In 1921, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 wrote an article with the title “Shi Tao yu houqi yinxiangpai” 《石濤與後期印象派》 (Shi Tao and Post-impressionism). Liu said that in Shi Tao’s 石濤 art work, which was created three hundred years ago, there was an expression of personal character rather than representation of reality.<sup>322</sup> Liu found that this tallied with the ideas of Impressionism and Expressionism. According to Lin Mu 林木, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 had also compared other ancient Chinese masters with modern European masters such as comparing Ni Zan 倪瓚 in 14<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., the Yuen dynasty) and Shen Zhou 沈周 in the 15<sup>th</sup> century (i.e., the Ming dynasty) with Van Gogh in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>323</sup> By maintaining that the new thinking of European painting had actually existed in Chinese painting hundreds of years ago, Liu Haisu 劉海粟 gained support for his ideas about the value of Chinese painting and pride in Chinese culture.

In his article “Biaoxian zhuyi yu zhongguo huihua” 《表現主義與中國繪畫》 (Expressionism and Chinese painting) (1926), Huang Banre 黃般若 stated that art

---

<sup>320</sup> Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 (1947). In: Zhang Yuying 張玉英 (ed.) (2000), p. 86; also: Lin Mu 林木 (2000), pp. 52-53.

<sup>321</sup> Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), pp. 99-100.

<sup>322</sup> Lin Mu 林木 (2000), p. 388.

<sup>323</sup> Ibid., p. 389.

creation in the modern West was based on inspiration. This meant that Chinese and Western art theories coincided.<sup>324</sup> Obviously, Huang also borrowed Western examples for his defence of the value of Chinese painting. Similarly, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 pointed out that the idea of Expressionism, that is, to express the mind of the artist through the form of the objects, was actually similar to the spirit of Chinese painting – creating the artwork according to the mind or spirit of the artist.<sup>325</sup>

Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had also attempted to reveal the value of Chinese painting by searching Western references. In 1926, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 published an article entitled “Zhongguo meishu zhi yousheng” 《中國美術之優勝》 (The superiority of Chinese art) to argue for the superiority of Chinese painting. Feng stated that Impressionism and Post-impressionism, which were influenced by traditional Japanese painting, were in fact under the influence of Chinese visual culture. Feng’s explanation was that traditional Japanese painting not only originated from Chinese painting but also was constantly under its influence.<sup>326</sup> Furthermore, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 maintained the line, that the major visual element of Chinese painting also was adopted by the modern Western painters. For example, Van Dongen had borrowed the Eastern lines to create his paintings.<sup>327</sup> In addition, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 claimed that Theodor Lipps’ *Einführung* theory and Kandinsky’s theory on modern art were similar to Chinese “*qiyun shengdong*” 氣韻生動 (spirit resonance).<sup>328</sup>

---

<sup>324</sup> Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), p. 119.

<sup>325</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1922), “Jie ‘yihuo zhi dian’ ” 《解「疑惑之點」》 (Explanation of Puzzling Points). In: *Shishi xinbao* 《時事新報》 (*New Current Events Post*). Quoted in: Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), p. 115.

<sup>326</sup> Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 “Zhongguo meishu zhi yousheng” 《中國美術之優勝》 (The Superiority of Chinese Art) was first published in *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellan*) in 1926. It was revised in 1934 and republished. See Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1978), *Huihua yu wenxue* 《繪畫與文學》 (*Art and Literature*). Hong Kong 香港: Hongtu 宏圖, p. 77.

<sup>327</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1978), pp. 83-84. According to the Chinese artists such as Lin Fengmian 林風眠 and Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, Chinese culture is the representative and origin of Eastern culture. See Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1926), “Dongxi yishu zhi qiantu” 《東西藝術之前途》 (The Future of Eastern and Western Art). In: Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), p. 39; also see Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), p. 526.

<sup>328</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1978), pp. 87-104.



### 3.3.2. Concerns about a Blind Adoption of Western Ideas

As mentioned earlier, the pace of Westernization of Chinese visual culture was very hasty in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. All kinds of information about Western visual culture poured into China and this indicates that many Chinese intellectuals or artists were very eager to adopt Western ideas for reforming Chinese visual culture. At the same time, there were also many Chinese intellectuals or artists who worried about this phenomenon. The problem was, many Chinese intellectuals or artists adopted Western ideas blindly and their knowledge of the Western visual culture also was superficial.

For instance, Lü Cheng 呂澂 had raised his concern about the problems that existed during the process of importing Western visual culture to China in his discussion with Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 in 1918.<sup>329</sup> More accurately, he found that there was only scant knowledge of or even misunderstandings about Western visual culture in China. Lü therefore urged the necessity to make thorough studies of the scope and meaning of the Western concept ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (Fine Art) and the history of Western painting, especially in modern history.<sup>330</sup>

Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 also pointed out this problem in his articles published in 1920s and 1930s.<sup>331</sup> He found that there was a lack of in-depth study of the imported Western visual culture and the danger was that people who had no idea about the historical context of Western art schools involved themselves in the introduction of such art schools to China.<sup>332</sup>

---

<sup>329</sup> Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1918), *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, p. 86.

<sup>330</sup> Ref. footnote 131; also see Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), pp. 97, 99.

<sup>331</sup> Wang Yachen’s 汪亞塵 comments on this problem could be found in his articles such as: “Jiangsu diyijie meizhan shugan” 《江蘇第一屆美展述感》 (Impression on the First Jiangsu Art Exhibition) (1924), preface to “Huihua gaiyao” 《繪畫概要》 (Introduction to Painting) (1924) and “Yishu chuanguo lun” 《藝術創作論》 (Discussion on Artistic Creation) (1933).

<sup>332</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1933), “Yishu chuanguo lun” 《藝術創作論》 (Discussion on Artistic Creation). In: Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), p. 43.

Lu Xun 鲁迅, the great writer had described the problematic aspect of the introduction of Western learning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century China:

A horrifying phenomenon in the world of literature and arts in China now is the importation of an “ism”, but without introducing the meaning of this “ism”. As a result, everyone uses his own interpretation. When he reads a work mainly on the author himself, he calls that “Expressionism”. If it concerns other people more, then it is “Realism”. To be moved by a girl’s exposed legs to write poetry is “Romanticism”, but to look at a girl’s legs and not be allowed to write “poetry is called ‘Classicism’.” A head falls down from the sky, on this head stands a cow, oh, love ... such is “Futurism”, etc., etc.<sup>333</sup>

To sum up this section’s treatment of the Westernization of Chinese painting, Western visual culture was known to China before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Western painting had been introduced to China by the missionaries whose original intention was not to promote Western visual culture but Western religion in those early stages. After the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Chinese intellectuals played a very active role in importing Western visual culture. Their intention was very simple: to Westernize and rejuvenate Chinese visual culture.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Western visual culture was imported indirectly from Japan to China. It was from 1911 onwards that Western knowledge was imported directly from the West. In each case, the eagerness of Chinese intellectuals to learn from the West was obvious. While the Chinese appreciation of the quality and actuality of Western painting was merely a superficial phenomenon before the 20<sup>th</sup> century, many Chinese intellectuals or artists advocated borrowing Western painting to revitalize Chinese painting in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. And this hurried progress of the Westernization of Chinese painting had caused many Chinese intellectuals or artists to feel threatened.

#### 4. Conclusions

In examining the political and socio-cultural history in 20<sup>th</sup> century China and its relation to Chinese art educators’ attitude to learning from the West, this researcher has found that

---

<sup>333</sup> Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), pp. 125-126.

Chinese intellectuals in general had adopted a very positive attitude to learning from the West in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This finding thus serves as the contextual background of this research's investigation of the Chinese scholars' and art educators' attitudes in borrowing Western ideas for their studies on art education in the other chapters.

Due to earlier and continuing Western and foreign aggression, many Chinese intellectuals saw the need to learn from the West. This indicated the changing world view of the Chinese intellectuals: from regarding China as the center of the world to seeing China as part of the world and hoping China would be able to connect to the world.

The pace of learning from the West before the collapse of Qing dynasty was very slow due to the Chinese intellectuals' pride about Chinese traditional culture. It became quicker thereafter because many Chinese intellectuals believed that the adoption of Western culture could modernize and therefore strengthen China. Under these circumstances, Western visual arts poured into China after 1911. The Chinese painters, playing a very important role in introducing Western visual arts to China, determined to make use of Western visual arts to rejuvenate Chinese painting.

On the other hand, this faster pace of Westernization also was seen to be destructive of Chinese cultural traditions by many Chinese intellectuals. There was also criticism that Western ideas were blindly adopted. More exactly, according to such critics, the advocates of Westernization had only a superficial understanding of Western culture as well as a lack of in-depth study about Chinese cultural traditions. In the next chapter, there will be an evaluation of how the notion and process of Westernization affected Chinese education, especially art education, and whether there was similar criticism about the blind adoption of Western ideas in the two fields.

## **CHAPTER III.**

### **DEVELOPMENT OF ART EDUCATION IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY CHINA**

As discussed in the previous chapter, Westernization meant modernization for many Chinese intellectuals and the pace of Westernization in China had become faster in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Art education in general education was a totally new idea in China at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century and it was imported from the West. The central question to be treated in this chapter concerns the development of art education in China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century at the levels of a.) definitions of art education, and b.) official school curricula. This chapter concentrates on the problem of whether the development of Chinese art education in general education was also under strong Western influence due to the fast tempo of Westernization in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China. This chapter is structured in two sections. The first section is devoted to a brief investigation of the development of Chinese general education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to provide a context for the discussion in the second section. The second section considers the development of Chinese art education during the same period.

#### **1. Development of Chinese General Education**

In order to cope with the aftermath of Western invasion over the previous century, Chinese leaders felt that China badly needed self-strengthening and modernization. Reforming education was therefore the imperative as an instrument for achieving this target. During the process of developing a modern education system, China had adopted a Western model as an education system, including pedagogic thinking and curriculum design. The following evaluation looks at the development of Chinese education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and is divided into four parts: first, an investigation into traditional Chinese education; second, a study of the reform of Chinese education in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; third, an examination of the development of Chinese

education between 1911 and 1949; and, last, a discussion about the characteristics of the development of Chinese education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 1.1. Traditional Chinese General Education

Until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the overwhelming majority of schools in the Qing Dynasty was private and could be divided into two different types. First, there were schools known as *Sishu* 私塾 for lower level children. *Sishu* 私塾 could be found where school teachers conducted classes at home or in rental places; or they could be run by individual families, clans or villages. Most of these school teachers were men who had obtained their first degree of the civil service examination or who had failed to win any degree in the examination. Second, there were schools for children of well-to-do families or candidates for higher degrees. Classes or tutorials were conducted by holders of higher degrees in civil service examinations or even by some officials who had a higher degree and were active in community service.<sup>334</sup>

Until the reform of Chinese education in the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup> century, the curriculum of all schools was influenced by the civil service examinations. At the very beginning of schooling, Chinese students had to learn the Chinese Classics. Small children at the *Sishu* 私塾 were learning materials such as *Sanzijing* 《三字經》 (*Three Words Poem*). The older children would learn *Tangsong ba dajia wenchao* 《唐宋八大家文鈔》 (*Collected Writings of Eight Great Writers of Tang and Song Dynasties*), *Guwen guanzhi* 《古文觀止》 (*Appreciation of Classics*), and so on. Students in the upper levels had to learn

---

<sup>334</sup>Biggerstaff, Knight (1961), *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*. Port Washington: Kennikat Press, p. 11.

*Baguwen* 八股文 (eight-legged essay)<sup>335</sup>, *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books)<sup>336</sup> and *Wujing* 五經 (Five Classics)<sup>337</sup>.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 provided a lively picture of the traditional Chinese education in the school system, based on rote-learning and related teaching materials and methods in his memories of the traditional Chinese education received during his schooling in 1870s. As described in his essay, the content of learning then included reading, literacy, calligraphy, making antithetical couplets and essay writing:

I went to *Jiashu* 家塾 (family school) at six (it was counted according to the Chinese calendar. I should be four years old according to the new calendar). I read *Baijiaxing* 《百家姓》 (*Hundreds of Family Names*), *Qianziwen* 《千字文》 (*Essay in Thousand Words*), *Shentong shi* 《神童詩》 (*Poem of the Wonder Child*), etc. ...After I read three *Xiaoshu* 小書 (small books, books for elementary level), I started to read the *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books). When I finished the *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books), I started the *Wujing* 五經 (Five Classics). The teacher said nothing when I read the *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books). He then explained a bit when I started reading *Wujing* 五經 (Five Classics). Anyhow, reciting was required. No matter whether I understand what I read or not, I am able to recite it after reading it for many times.

Besides reading books, I also learned literacy, calligraphy and antithetical couplet. That was my beginning of understanding the literary content. The teacher taught literacy with Chinese characters... I copy after a model when learning Chinese calligraphy... antithetical couplet meant learning syntax. When I mastered antithetical couplet, the teacher taught me *Bagu* 八股 (eight-legged essay).<sup>338</sup>

As stated in Cai's memory, learning *Sishu* 四書 (Four Books), *Wujing* 五經 (Five Classics) and *Baguwen* 八股文 (eight-legged essay) was compulsory in Chinese

---

<sup>335</sup> The *Baguwen* 八股文 (eight-legged essay) means a literary composition prescribed for the imperial civil service examinations, it is well known for its rigidity of form and poverty of ideas.

<sup>336</sup> The Four Books means *Daxue* 《大學》 (*Great Learning*), *Zhongyong* 《中庸》 (*Doctrine of the Mean*), *Lunyu* 《論語》 (*Analects of Confucius*) and *Mengzi* 《孟子》 (*Mencius*).

<sup>337</sup> The Five Classics means *Yi* 《易》 (*Changes*), *Shu* 《書》 (*History*), *Shi* 《詩》 (*Songs*), *Chunqiu* 《春秋》 (*Spring and Autumn Annals*) and *Liji* 《禮記》 (*Rites*).

<sup>338</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1967), *Cai Yuanpei zishu* 《蔡元培自述》 (*Cai Yuanpei's Account*). Taipei 臺北: *Zhuanji wenxue* 傳記文學, p. 1. The original Chinese version is: 我六歲，(以陰曆計，若按新法只有四歲餘)入家塾，讀百家姓，千字文，神童詩等。...我讀了三部「小書」以後，說讀四書。四書讀畢，讀五經。讀小書四書的時候，先生是不講的，等到讀五經了，先生才講一點。然而背誦是必要的；無論讀的書懂不懂，讀的多了，居然背得出來。讀書以外，還有識字，習字，對句的三法，是我了解文義的開始。識字是用方塊字教的...習字是先摹後臨...對句是造句的法子...我的對句有點程度了，先生就教我作八股。

education because these were the content of the civil service examinations. Thus, all education in China at that time was preparatory to the Imperial civil service examinations. Acquisition of a thorough knowledge of Chinese classics was the most important preparation for these examinations and those who performed would be selected as officials.

## 1.2. The Reform of Education in Late Qing

China's defeat in the Opium War in 1842 provoked some intellectuals and officials to question the causes of the failure and think about ways of self-strengthening and learning from and about the West. So China gradually took the steps to recast her education system, hoping to train more personnel for these self-strengthening programs. As indicated in the previous chapter, the foundation of interpreter colleges or foreign-language schools at Peking, Shanghai and Canton<sup>339</sup> was regarded as a first step to founding schools based on Western learning. As well, China implemented a policy for training students abroad,<sup>340</sup> and missionaries were also permitted to establish schools in China.

The humiliating defeat suffered by China in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and the escalating threats from foreign imperialism in the following years led to the urge for greater intensification of the self-strengthening reform. Consequently, education played a dominant role in the modernization of China when the Qing government announced educational reform. In 1902, the *Qinding xuetang zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations*) or *Renyin xuezhì* 《壬寅學制》 (*Renyin*

---

<sup>339</sup> Tongwen guan 同文館 (Interpreters College) at Beijing was found in 1862, Guang fangyan guan 廣方言館 (Foreign-language School) at Shanghai in 1863, and Guangzhou tongwen guan 廣州同文館 (Foreign-language School) at Guangzhou in 1864.

<sup>340</sup> As stated by Ssu-Yu Teng and John K. Fairbank, the project was “promoted by Yung Wing (1828-1912), the first Chinese graduate of an American university – Yale in 1854 – by which one hundred and twenty Chinese students were brought to the United States in the decade 1872-1881”. See Teng, Ssu-Yu and Fairbank, John K. (1967), p. 91.

School System )<sup>341</sup> prepared by the Minister of Education Zhang Baixi 張百熙 was announced. This introduced a new school system and school curriculum. The new education was divided into five stages: Preschool education (4 years), primary school (lower primary 3 years, higher primary 3 years), secondary school (4 years), high school (3 years) and university. However, as Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 point out, the *Qinding xuetao zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 established the first official school system with teacher education added.<sup>342</sup> The *Qinding xuetao zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 was not put into effect. In 1903 Zhang Baixi 張百熙, Rong Qing 榮慶 and Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 designed new school regulations based on the Japanese model of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>343</sup> In January 1904 the *Zouding xuetao zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations*) or *Guimao xuezhi* 《癸卯學制》 (*Guimao School System*) was announced.<sup>344</sup> Compared with the first regulations, the *Guimao xuezhi* 《癸卯學制》 (*Guimao School System*) had a more detailed description of the entire system of education, including aims of education, curriculum and teaching methods. While the 1902 school regulations provided solely a brief introduction to the content of teaching of each subject, the objectives as well as content of the teaching of each subject could be found in the 1904 school regulation. The new structure for a public education system proposed by the 1904 regulations was: kindergarten (for 3 to 7 years old children), lower primary school (5 years), higher primary (4 years), secondary school (five years), high school (3 years), university (3-4 years), and post-graduate study (5years).

---

<sup>341</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao zhongce* 《中國近代教育史資料中冊》 (*Contemporary History of Chinese Education*). Beijing 北京: Renmin jiaoyu 人民教育, pp. 394-411, 492-500, 533-561.

<sup>342</sup> Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (2002), *Zhongguo jiaoyuxue bainian* 《中國教育學百年》 (*The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*). Beijing 北京: Jiaoyu kexue 教育科學, p. 3.

<sup>343</sup> Chen Xuexun 陳學恂 (1981), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu dashi ji* 《中國近代教育大事記》 (*Record of the main Educational Events in Contemporary China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育, p. 136; also see Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe bianjibu 中國大百科全書出版社編輯部 (Editorial Department, Chinese Encyclopedia) (1992), *Zhongguo dabaike quanshu-jiaoyu* 《中國大百科全書-教育》 (*China Encyclopaedia – education*). Beijing 北京: Author, pp. 112-113, 550.

<sup>344</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), pp. 194-217.



Obviously, the systematic division of all education into different stages, with each stage consisting of a definite number of years was new to Chinese education. Also new were many subjects in the new school curriculum such as geography, physics, chemistry, foreign language, drawing, handiwork and singing.

As Li Huaxing 李華興 points out, it was the Japanese model which shaped the education system established by the two imperial reforms. Li has compared the school system set up by the *Guimao xuezhi* 《癸卯學制》 (*Guimao School System*) with the Japanese school system in 1900. He finds that the two systems were similar.<sup>345</sup> In fact, many Chinese officials found that Japan was the ideal place to send Chinese students to study. In the *Xuewu gangyao* 《學務綱要》 (*Outline of School Administration*) of the *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations*), it is stated in paragraph 5 that due to the high cost of studying in the West, Japan became by default the ideal place for Chinese school administrators to go to learn Western teaching and learning, and school management techniques and methodologies:

Not only the teaching staff but the school administrative staff as well were important to school... big number of delegates was the preference, [period of studying] could be as long as one year or as short as a few months. [The delegates] should investigate precisely the size, system, management and teaching method of different schools in foreign countries. They should watch how the foreign teachers teach and how their students learn, how school administrative officials manage the school. ... Since it is too far and too expensive to go to Europe and America, it is impossible to visit these places too often. Therefore, Japan is the place that we should not neglect. This is the ABC of [learning how to run] a school and absolutely no expenses on this should be spared.<sup>346</sup>

Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, one of the three writers of the *Xuewu gangyao* 《學務綱要》 (*Outline of School Administration*), gave further arguments for sending Chinese students to study in Japan in his prominent work *Quanxue pian* 《勸學篇》 (Exhortation to

---

<sup>345</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), *Minguo jiaoyushi* 《民國教育史》 (*History of Education in Republic China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育, pp. 82-83.

<sup>346</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 199. The original Chinese version is: 學堂所重，不僅在教員，尤在有管理學堂之人。…員數以多為貴，久或一年，少或數月，使之考察外國各學堂規模制度，及一切管理教授之法，詳加詢訪體驗。目睹外國教習如何教，生徒如何習，管理學堂官員如何辦理。…歐美各國道遠費重，即不能多往，而日本則斷不可不到。此事為辦學堂入門之法，費用萬不可省。

Learning). He argued that besides sparing expenses, the other advantages of sending the students to Japan were the close distance, similar language and customs:

After the political reform, Japan became the military power in the East... Concerning the matter of studying abroad, the West is not comparable to the East. First of all, more people can be sent to Japan as the expenses can be saved with the short distance; secondly it is near China and easily to conduct tour of investigation; thirdly, Japanese is close to Chinese and it is easy to understand the language; fourthly, Western knowledge is complex and complicated, but the Japanese had abridged or made alterations to the unnecessary materials. China and Japan had similar situations and customs; it is therefore easy to copy. This is what we mean getting twofold results with half the effort. Should people want to make an extensive and in-depth study, then, why not have further studies in the West?<sup>347</sup>

The two quotations above demonstrate that the ultimate target of China was to learn from the West and borrow Western ideas for the modernisation of China. It was due to the considerations of the convenience that the Qing government decided to learn about the West through Japan, which had started educational reform from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and had acquired a large amount of knowledge about the West. The other important factor was that Japan was regarded as a successful example of transforming herself to a wealthy and powerful country by adopting the Western ideas for reform on the one hand and preserving her traditional culture on the other. Thus the Japanese experience was regarded as an ideal model for Chinese modernization and the short cut to learn from and about the West.

Needless to say, the implication of the *Guimao xuezhi* 《癸卯學制》 (*Guimao School System*) for the development of Chinese education was that it marked the ending of the traditional Chinese education system and the beginning of a new schooling system adopted from the West. Li Huaxing 李華興 finds that the schooling system was significant for its contribution to the spread of Western culture in China.<sup>348</sup>

---

<sup>347</sup> Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, *Quanxuepian* 《勸學篇》 (Exhortation to Learning). The original Chinese version is: 政事一變，雄視東方。...至遊學之國，西洋不如東洋，一. 路近省費，可多遣；一. 去華近，易考察；一. 東文近於中文，易通曉；一. 西學甚繁，凡西學不切要者，東人已刪節而酌改之。中東情勢，風俗相近，易仿行，事半功倍，無過於此。若自欲求精求備，再赴西洋，有何不可。 Quoted in: Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1961), p. 975.

<sup>348</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), p. 96.

The Guimao School System was implemented until 1911, when the Qing regime was overthrown. However, Ruth Hayhoe points out that the new school system was a failure. This was because it “remained largely an empty shell in the absence of any substantial input on the part of a beleaguered imperial government”.<sup>349</sup> The Qing regime had collated and stipulated educational aims of the new school system in 1903 and 1906 and both still aimed mostly at inculcating loyalty to the Emperor and veneration of Confucius.<sup>350</sup> Needless to say, such educational aims were too old and traditional for the new era and thus prompted new school regulations. The following section presents a brief study of the development of Chinese education between 1911 and 1949.

### 1.3. The Development of Chinese Education between 1911 and 1949

#### 1.3.1. The Development of School Systems

After overthrowing the Qing Dynasty, the Republican Government announced a new series of school regulations in 1912 and 1913, it was known as *Renzi Guichou xuezhì* 《壬子癸丑學制》 (*Renzi Guichou School System*). According to this school regulation, the structure of the public education system should be: Kindergarten, lower primary school (4 years), higher primary school (3 years), secondary school (4 years), tertiary education (include 3 years matriculation and 3 or 4 years university). This education system was implemented until 1922. As Li Huaxing 李華興 points out, the *Renzi guichou xuezhì* 《壬子癸丑學制》 (*Renzi Guichou School System*) of Republic China was actually based on the *Guimao xuezhì* 《癸卯學制》 (*Guimao School System*). The most significant differences of the two school regulations included a shorter period of

---

<sup>349</sup> Hayhoe, Ruth (1984), *Contemporary Chinese Education*. London: Croom Helm, p. 36.

<sup>350</sup> Feng Kaiwen 馮開文 (1994), *Zhongguo minguo jiaoyu shi* 《中國民國教育史》 (History of Education in Republic China). Beijing 北京: Renmin 人民, p. 13.

schooling and the right of the girls to receive school education was affirmed in the *Renzi Guichou xuezhi* 《壬子癸丑學制》.<sup>351</sup>

In 1922, the Education Ministry announced a further reform of the school system with the addition of the *Renxu xuezhi* 《壬戌學制》 (*Renxu School System*). The structure of the new school system was: primary school (lower level 4 years, higher level 2 years), secondary school (6 years) and university (4 or 5 years). The 1922 *Renxu School System* finalized the structure of school system in China. By laying such a foundation for the modern Chinese education system, *Renxu School System* thus played a significant role in the development of the Chinese education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>352</sup>

In 1928, the *Zhonghua minguo xuexiao xitong* 《中華民國學校系統》 (*Republic China School System*) was announced and it followed the rules set down by the 1922 *Renxu School System*. In 1937 and during the anti-Japanese war period between 1938 and 1945, there were also announcements of school reforms all based on the system set by the 1922 *Renxu School System*.

While the model of the Japanese school system was adopted by China in the first two decades of 20<sup>th</sup> century, an American model was adopted by the *Renxu School System* in 1922. The new school system introduced was, like America, six years for primary education, three years for junior secondary education and another three years for senior secondary education.<sup>353</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 finds that the American model made the different levels of general education dovetail.<sup>354</sup> For Bastid, the education reforms of 1922,

carried out more by educators than by politicians, saw the victory of the American model. Its liberalism suited the aspirations of many university scholars and intellectuals. ... The

---

<sup>351</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), p. 112; also see Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), *Zhonghua minguo jiaoyu shi* 《中華民國教育史》 (*History of Education of Republic China*). Chongqing 重慶: Chongqing 重慶, pp. 34-35.

<sup>352</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), pp. 153, 163.

<sup>353</sup> Yuan Qing 元青 (2001), *Duwei yu zhongguo* 《杜威與中國》 (*Dewey and China*). Beijing 北京: Renming 人民, p. 197.

<sup>354</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), pp. 150-152.

new system thus focused on children themselves, no longer on concerns external to the school.<sup>355</sup>

Regarding the change of influence from Japan to America, Hayhoe finds that there were two significant factors for this. One was due to the widespread antagonism towards Japan in China and the other was the search for a new “psychology”:

Japan’s infamous 21 demands of 1915 and her manipulation of western powers prior to the Treaty of Versailles inspired such widespread antagonism in China that Chinese leaders were eager for a new educational model to emulate by 1919, and for this they turned to America. The other significant change which turned the minds of Chinese educators from Japan to the West was the definitive rejection of the Confucian framework of values that took place in the May Fourth Movement of 1919, and the beginning in earnest of a search for that new ‘psychology’ which Liang Qichao wrote about in 1922.<sup>356</sup>

In this researcher’s opinion, this change of influence was also due to the direct contact between China and America. Wang Lunxin 王倫信 points out that there had been an intention to make reference to European and American school systems while the 1912 *Renzi Guichou xuezhì* 《壬子癸丑學制》 (*Renzi Guichou School System*) was being drafted. However, a clear picture of the European and American school systems was unavailable at that time due to the lack of returned Chinese students who had studied education in Europe and America. As a consequence, the Japanese model was still adopted in the *Renzi Guichou School System*.<sup>357</sup> In 1908, America began to make use of the indemnity paid by China according to The Boxer Protocol in 1901 to set up a fund for supporting Chinese students to study in America. Since then, more and more young Chinese went to America to study. For example Hu Shi 胡適, Jiang Menglin 蔣夢麟, Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 and Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 were famous and influential scholars and

---

<sup>355</sup> Bastid, Marianne (1987), “Servitude or Liberation? The Introduction of Foreign Educational Practices and Systems to China from 1840 to the Present”. In: Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid (eds.) (1987), *China’s Education and the Industrialized World*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, p.11.

<sup>356</sup> Hayhoe, Ruth (1984), p. 37.

<sup>357</sup> Wang Lunxin 王倫信 (2002), *Qingmo minguo shiqi zhongxue jiaoyu yanjiu* 《清末民國時期中學教育研究》 (*A Study of Secondary Education in Late Qing and Republic China*). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學, p. 31.

educators in modern China who had studied education or psychology in Columbia University in America around 1917.<sup>358</sup>

As Wang Lunxin 王倫信 points out, Chinese students who studied in America began to return China in the 1920s and they promoted educational reform based on an American model.<sup>359</sup> As well, they also made a great contribution to promote American, more correctly John Dewey's, pedagogic thinking in China. In 1919, John Dewey was in Japan and was visited by Jiang Menglin 蔣夢麟, his former student at Columbia University. Jiang acted as representative of Peking University and the Jiangsu Education Association and invited Dewey to extend his journey to China.<sup>360</sup> Dewey stayed in China for more than two years. He gave lectures at the Educational Research Section of the Peking Advance Normal Institute from 1920 to 1921. During his two years stay in China, Dewey visited Beijing, Shanghai and 11 provinces including Shangdong, Guangdong and Jiangsu. Not only were his lectures widely introduced by the press, but many of his studies of education like *Democracy and Education*, *The Source of a Science of Education*, *Interest and Effort in Education* and *Education Today* were also translated into Chinese.<sup>361</sup> In this case, his former Chinese students at Columbia University had made a significant contribution.

The *Renxu* School System, presented no firm educational aims but seven standards were drawn up. According to Li Hongwu 栗洪武, this was under the influence of Dewey's

---

<sup>358</sup> Hu Shi 胡適 obtained a doctoral degree in philosophy in 1917, Jiang Menglin 蔣夢麟 gained a doctoral degree in education in 1917, Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 obtained a master degree in education in 1918 and had started doctoral study in psychology before he returned China in 1919; and Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 pursued his doctoral study in education from 1915 to 1917. See Yuan Qing 元青 (2001), pp. 182-184, 216-217, 264.

<sup>359</sup> Wang Lunxin 王倫信 (2002), p. 49.

<sup>360</sup> Sizer, Nancy F. (1966), "John Dewey's Ideas in China 1919 to 1921". In: *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, p. 393.

<sup>361</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), *Zhongguo jiaoyuxueshi yigao* 《中國教育學史遺稿》 (Manuscript of History of Chinese Pedagogy). Beijing 北京: Beijing shifan daxue 北京師範大學, p. 7; also see Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Honyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), *Zhongguo jinxindai jiaoyu shiyanshi* 《中國近現代教育實驗史》 (*History of Experimental Education in Contemporary China*). Jinan 濟南: Shandong jiaoyu 山東教育, p. 261.

notion that “education itself has no objective”.<sup>362</sup> These seven standards, according to Yuan Qing 元青, were also derived from Dewey’s thinking. For example the standards “meeting the need of social evolution” and “emphasising life education” were derived from Dewey’s notions of “education and society” and “education is life”.<sup>363</sup> For Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉, John Dewey’s notions such as “Education is Life”, “School is Society”, “Child-Centred Approach” and “Learning from Doing” became the most fashionable pedagogic viewpoints in Chinese education circles from 1920s to 1940s.<sup>364</sup> For Chinese art education, as it will be handled in the next section, there was an obvious influence of Dewey’s “Education is Life” and “Child-Centred Approach” on the curriculum in art education in and after 1923.

After Dewey, other American educators like Paul Monroe, Helen Parkhurst and George Twiss also visited China. The coming of American scholars to China, as Hayhoe points out “strengthened the impact of American values and institutions on Chinese education”.<sup>365</sup> The going of Chinese students to study in America and the coming of American scholars to give lectures in China were the most significant examples of direct contact between China and America. This had indisputably led to the popularity of American pedagogy in China from the 1920s onward.

### 1.3.2. The Drafting of Curriculum Guidelines

There were several curriculum guidelines and amendments issued in the decades from 1910 to 1949. According to the curriculum guidelines for primary and secondary

---

<sup>362</sup> Li Hongwu 栗洪武 (2002), *Xixue dongjian yu zhongguo jindai jiaoyu sichao* 《西學東漸與中國近代教育思潮》 (The Spread of Western Learning and Contemporary Chinese Educational Thinking). Beijing 北京: Gaodeng jiaoyu 高等教育, pp. 204-205; also see Chen Qitian 陳啓天 (1983), “Zhongguo jiaoyu xiandaihua de jincheng” 《中國教育現代化的進程》 (Progress of Modernization of Chinese Education). In: Lu Hongji 陸鴻基 (ed.) (1983), pp. 14-15.

<sup>363</sup> Yuan Qing 元青 (2001), pp. 197-198.

<sup>364</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), p. 7.

<sup>365</sup> Hayhoe, Ruth (1984), p. 38; also Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 89.

education announced by the Education Ministry in 1912,<sup>366</sup> subjects taught in the primary school included moral education, Chinese, arithmetic, handiwork, drawing, singing, history, geography and science. The subjects for the secondary school included moral education, Chinese, foreign language<sup>367</sup>, history, mathematics, biology, physics and chemistry, law and economic, drawing, handiwork, music and singing, and physical exercise. Comparing the 1912 curriculum guidelines with the one issued in 1904, the significant differences were the abolition of the educational objectives “loyalty to the emperor” and “respect to Confucius” and the abandonment of the study of Chinese classics in the later curriculum design.

In 1922, a Drafting Committee of Curriculum Design for the New School System was founded. The committee invited many experts to draft curriculum outlines for different subjects.<sup>368</sup> After a year, the *Xinxuezhì kecheng biao zhun gangyao* 《新學制課程標準綱要》 (*Curriculum Outline for New School System*) was published. As Xiong Mingan 熊明安 points out, there were new changes in the 1922 curriculum outline. First, titles of the primary school subjects ‘*guowen*’ 國文 (Chinese language) and ‘*xiushen*’ 修身 (moral education) were changed to ‘*guoyu*’ 國語 (Chinese) and ‘*gongmin*’ 公民 (civil education); second, the content of the drawing and handiwork lessons in primary school were enriched; and third, humanities and science subjects were strengthened in the secondary school.<sup>369</sup> Hayhoe finds that the 1922 curriculum was “reorganised along the lines of the American pragmatic curriculum, focusing less on academic subjects than on skills for citizenship and the service of society.”<sup>370</sup>

---

<sup>366</sup> They were provided in the *Xiao xuexiao jiaozhe ji kechengbiao* 《小學校教則及課程表》 (*Teaching Objectives and Methods and Curriculum Table of Primary School*) and *Zhongxue xiaoling shixing guize* 《中學校令施行規則》 (*Regulations of Implementing Secondary School Order*). See Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), pp. 451, 521.

<sup>367</sup> According to the guideline, English was the first taught foreign language. In some areas, it might selected one from French, German and Russian according to the local situation. See Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 521.

<sup>368</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 61 and Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), *Shenhe xin xuezhì yishuke kecheng gangyao yihou* 《審核新學制藝術科課程綱要以後》 (*After Reviewing the Art Syllabus in New School System*). Publisher unknown, p. 2.

<sup>369</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 61.

<sup>370</sup> Hayhoe, Ruth (1984), p. 38.



A new Drafting Committee of the Secondary and Primary School Curriculum Guide was founded in 1928 and a year later the provisional curriculum guides for primary and secondary schools were announced by the Education Ministry. In the *Xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biao zhun* 《小學課程暫行標準》 (*Provisional Primary School Curriculum Guide*), there was a simplification of curriculum by combining several subjects into one. For example, ‘*shehui*’ 社會 (social studies) and ‘*ziran*’ 自然 (nature studies) were combined to ‘*changshi*’ 常識 (general knowledge) in lower primary. In upper primary, civil education, health education, history and geography were combined to ‘*shehui*’ 社會 (social studies).<sup>371</sup> For senior secondary school, art and science groups were combined in the 1929 *Gaoji zhongxue zanxing kecheng biao zhun* 《高級中學暫行課程標準》 (*Provisional Senior Secondary School Curriculum Guide*).<sup>372</sup>

In 1932, the drafting of primary and secondary school curriculum guides were finalized and issued separately. There were a few amendments in the 1932 *Xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《小學課程標準》 (*Primary School Curriculum Guide*) and these included the adding of ‘*gongmin Xunlian*’ 公民訓練 (civil training) and ‘*weisheng*’ 衛生 (health education).<sup>373</sup> In the *Zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《中學課程標準》 (*Senior Secondary School Curriculum Guide*), new changes included replacement of credits with hours, substitution of the subject ‘*dangyi*’ 黨義 (party doctrine) with civil education and the cancellation of elective courses.<sup>374</sup>

After four years, the first revision of the curriculum guides was issued. The revised copy simplified the curriculum by combining aspects of the two subjects into one. Examples included combining ‘*shehui*’ 社會 (social studies) and ‘*ziran*’ 自然 (nature studies) to ‘*changshi*’ 常識 (general knowledge), and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 and ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine arts) to

---

<sup>371</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 135.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 137.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 136.

<sup>374</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143.

‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) in the lower primary.<sup>375</sup> In the revised copy of the curriculum guide for secondary schools, changes included the shortening of school hours and cancelling the time scheduled for self learning.<sup>376</sup> According to the Education Ministry, the writing of the *Youzhiyuan xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (*Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (1936) was started in 1928 and finished in 1936. There were 5 stages of the compilation of this guideline. The first stage was drafting, reorganizing, checking and revising in the period between 1928 and 1929; the second stage was experimentation and research in 1930, the third stage was the finalization in 1931, the fourth stage was the announcement and implementation in 1932 and the last stage was the revision completed in 1936.<sup>377</sup>

In 1942, there was a second revision of the curriculum guide for primary education. The modifications included changing the titles of some subjects and separating the subjects combined. Consequently, ‘gongmin xunlian’ 公民訓練 (civil training) was called ‘tuanti xunlian’ 團體訓練 (team training) and ‘meishu’ 美術 (fine arts) became ‘tuhua’ 圖畫 (drawing) in the second revision. Music, physical education, drawing and ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (literal translation means labour) became separate subjects.<sup>378</sup> There was also a new revision of the curriculum guide for secondary schools in 1940. The amendments included the shortening of teaching hours, strengthening the teaching of Chinese history and combining subjects. In this revision, ‘dongwu’ 動物 (zoology) and ‘zhiwu’ 植物 (botany) were combined to ‘bowu’ 博物 (natural science), ‘shengli’ 生理 (physiology) and ‘weisheng’ 衛生 (health) became one subject called ‘shengli weisheng’ 生理衛生 (physiology and health).<sup>379</sup>

---

<sup>375</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>376</sup> Ibid., p. 143.

<sup>377</sup> “Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun bianding bing xiuzheng jingguo” 《幼稚園/小學課程標準編訂並修正經過》 (The Progress of Compiling and Revising the Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936), *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (*Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication).

<sup>378</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 230.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., p. 252.

Xiong Mingan 熊明安 points out that there were three revisions of the curriculum guidelines for primary school education between 1928 and 1938. For him, this indicated that the Republican Government paid more attention to primary school education.<sup>380</sup>

According to Sun Mujian 孫慕堅, the second revision of the primary school curriculum guide in 1942 copied foreign practice. He claimed that education of foreign countries focused on child-centered theory. Due to the consideration of children's health, school curriculum was simplified. China adopted this practice, that is, making the subjects easier, shortening the school hours and integrating the subjects.<sup>381</sup> In fact, as indicated above, not only the 1942 revision of primary school curriculum but also other versions of curriculum from 1920s to 1940s were under Western influence.

#### 1.4. Characteristics of the Development of Chinese Education

Generally speaking, the development of Chinese education from the 1840s to the 1940s can be divided into three phrases. The first phrase was between 1842 and the 1890s, the second between the 1890s and 1925 and the third between 1925 and 1949. As Bastid points out, there were based on different levels of penetration of foreign educational ideas into China in these one hundred years. From 1842 to the 1890s, Bastid states, "foreign education was first viewed solely as the vehicle of new knowledge in specific fields. Then, from the 1890s to 1925, came the adoption of one foreign model that served both to liberate and to unify. The years from 1925 to 1949 were a period of eclectic educational borrowing"<sup>382</sup>.

The Japanese model was borrowed by the imperial reforms of education in 1902 and 1904. Apart from the system of education, the theory of pedagogy was also imported from Japan through the Japanese writings or textbooks on pedagogy and through the

---

<sup>380</sup> Ibid., p. 136.

<sup>381</sup> Sun Mujian 孫慕堅 (1948), *Xiaoxue di nianji geke jiaoxuefa* 《小學低年級各科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Junior Primary School Subjects*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 126.

<sup>382</sup> Bastid, Marianne (1987), p. 4.

many Japanese instructors in the teacher training institutes in China in the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>383</sup> Since the Meiji Restoration in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japan had begun to learn from the West, especially Germany. It was then that the German pedagogical thinking was first made known in China.<sup>384</sup> In fact, German education was regarded as the best in the West in the late 1890s China and Kang Youwei 康有為 suggested that the ultimate target was to learn from German education while the short one was to adopt the Japanese model in his memorial to the emperor in 1898.<sup>385</sup> The importation of German pedagogical thinking indirectly from Japan thus symbolized the realization of the Chinese scholars' or officials', in particular Kang Youwei's 康有為 and Zhang Zhidong's 張之洞, plan to use Japan as a bridge to learn from the West.

As Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 point out, the German pedagogical thinking imported to China through Japan was mainly Johann Friedrich Herbart's or Herbartian's theories. Herbartian "*Wuduan jiaoxuefa*" 五段教授法 (five steps of instruction), for example, was regarded as a solution to the problem of teaching a class of students during the early years of education reform in China while individual instruction was the main means of teaching in the traditional Chinese school education.<sup>386</sup> According to Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉, the Chinese pedagogy before the May Fourth Movement in the late 1910s was under the influence of Johann Friedrich Herbart and Immanuel Kant.<sup>387</sup> There were actually two channels for the importation of German pedagogy to China. One was through direct translation of the German writings. The other was, as mentioned previously, through the Japanese instructors in China and the translation of Japanese writings.<sup>388</sup>

---

<sup>383</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), p. 3; also see Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), pp. 25-38.

<sup>384</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), p. 3.

<sup>385</sup> Kang Youwei 康有為 (1898), "Qing kai xuexiao zhe" 《請開學校折》 (Proposal for Founding Schools). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 2.

<sup>386</sup> Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (2002), pp. 10-11; also see Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), pp. 25-38.

<sup>387</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), p. 6; also see: Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (2002), pp. 10-11.

<sup>388</sup> Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), pp. 2-3.

As revealed above, there were two reasons for China to adopt a Japanese education model in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The first reason was the belief that the Japanese experience was an ideal model for Chinese modernization and a short cut to learn from and about the West. Second was the lack of Chinese expertise about European and American education. In 1922, as a result of the direct contact between China and America the Japanese model of education was replaced by the American model. By having more Chinese students studying in America after the 1910s and inviting American scholars to give lectures in China in 1920s, American pedagogic thinking was imported to China directly and became more and more popular.

While John Dewey's Chinese students, according to the brief study in the last section, had played a very active role in promoting his pedagogic thinking in China, there were also other Chinese intellectuals who continued the promotion of Johann Friedrich Herbart's (or Herbartian's) theories in China.<sup>389</sup> Sheng Langxi 盛朗西, for example, defended the value of Herbartian "Wuduan jiaoxuefa" 五段教授法 (five steps of instruction) in China in his writing on the re-evaluation of Herbart's theories in 1924.<sup>390</sup> In 1936, Herbart's *Allgemeine Pädagogik (General Pedagogy)* (1806) was translated into Chinese.<sup>391</sup> As Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 point out, Herbart's theories were still widely introduced in the Chinese writings on pedagogy in the 1930s.<sup>392</sup>

It is apparent that the Chinese intellectuals had been very keen on introducing Western pedagogy thinking and practice to China in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>393</sup> At the same time, it also created the problem of blind adoption of Western ideas in the development of Chinese education. In his study "Xiaoxue kecheng zhi yanjiu" 《小學課程之研究》 (The Study of Curriculum in Elementary School) (1925), Chang Daozhi 常道直 stated repeatedly that China was keen on copying curriculum from other countries even though

---

<sup>389</sup> Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (2002), p. 24.

<sup>390</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), pp. 37-38.

<sup>391</sup> Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (2002), p. 24.

<sup>392</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), p. 34.

<sup>393</sup> Ibid., pp. 7-8.

the development of curriculum needed to be rooted in local conditions.<sup>394</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 also point out that there had been blind imitation of Western, especially American experiments on education in the period concerned that provoked criticism from many people.<sup>395</sup> Wang Xiunan 王秀南, for example, criticised the Chinese experimental schools as too eager to follow every American experiment on education in his “Shiyan jiaoyu fawei” 《實驗教育發微》 (Study on Experimental Education) (1933).<sup>396</sup> Similarly, Tao Xingzhi 陶行知 argued that China’s learning from Japan, Germany and America was a failure owing to the problem of blind imitation.<sup>397</sup>

## 2. Development of Chinese Art Education

As indicated above, the development of Chinese education in the period concerned was under great Western influence. The following section focuses on a study of Western influence on the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially during the period between 1911 and 1949. A brief investigation into Chinese art education before the 20<sup>th</sup> and in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century will be developed in order to provide a contextual background for the study of Chinese art education in this period.

### 2.1. Chinese Art Education before the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Art education did not hold a position in Chinese school education before the 20<sup>th</sup> Century. Jiang Danshu 姜丹書, a famous Chinese art educator and one of the first graduate

---

<sup>394</sup> Chang Daozhi 常道直 (1925), “Xiaoxue kecheng zhi yanjiu” 《小學課程之研究》 (The Study of Curriculum in Elementary School). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi she* 教育雜誌社 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) (1925), *Xiaoxue de xin kecheng* 《小學的新課程》 (*New Curriculum in Elementary Schools*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 17-18.

<sup>395</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), p. 713.

<sup>396</sup> Wang Xiunan 王秀南 (1933), “Shiyan jiaoyu fawei” 《實驗教育發微》 (Study on Experimental Education). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 20, no. 8. Quoted in: Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Hongyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), p. 713.

<sup>397</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), p. 142.

students of the art and handiwork program at *Liangjiang shifan xuetaang* 兩江師範學堂 (Nanking Liangjiang Institution of Teacher Training) from 1907 to 1910, gave an account of the situation of art education in traditional Chinese education:

there was only one curriculum [Chinese Classic] being implemented in *Sishu* 私塾 education. ... How could drawing, handiwork and music be taken into consideration? This model of education was the same in every corner of China, from *Heilongjiang* 黑龍江 (Heilung River) in the very north to *Hainan Dao* 海南島 (Hainan Island) in the very south. It was not only within but also beyond these hundred years.<sup>398</sup>

Furthermore, Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 described how in the past the Chinese scholars or gentry who loved painting learnt it by being self-taught during their spare time. They usually copied old ‘*huapu*’ 畫譜 (literally translated, book on the art of drawing or book of model paintings) or masterpieces. As well, private tuition was also a common means of learning painting. As Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 stated, “the gentry might become artists as well as scholars; while the common people might become artisan-painters. In conclusion, this is nothing to do with formal education.”<sup>399</sup>

Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 also points out that private tuition or apprenticeship were the means of learning painting in traditional Chinese art education. And, the only teaching and learning method was copying masterpieces or works of the teachers. Pan goes further, saying that tuition in painting was normally given by one teacher, and

the apprentice learnt the thinking, conduct and ways of expressing of his teacher. He should copy the art works of the teacher or the one assigned by him. There was no clear system of teaching and curriculum.<sup>400</sup>

---

<sup>398</sup> Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1940), “Xiandai zhongguo yishu jiaoyu gaiguan” 《現代中國藝術教育概觀》 (Overview of the Contemporary Chinese Art Education). It is collected in Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1991), *Jiang Danshu yishu jiaoyu zazhu* 《姜丹書藝術教育雜著》 (*Jiang Danshu's Writings on Art Education*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育, pp. 108-109. The original Chinese version is: 書塾之中所實施的學程，只有一門文字。…那裡談得到什麼圖畫、手工、音樂等類的活動呢？這種教育實際情形，北至黑龍江邊，南至瓊崖島(今海南島)畔，普天同式。且不但近百年來，即百年以外，亦久已如此。

<sup>399</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 109. The original Chinese version is: 上焉者造成文人餘事的畫家，下焉者造成通俗職業的畫匠。總之，都與正式的教育事業無關。

<sup>400</sup> Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), preface, p. 2. The original Chinese version is: 學徒所學的就是該教師的思想、行為和創作方式，模仿這個老師指定的作品，包括他本人的作品，這裡沒有明顯的教學體系和課程組合。

## 2.2. Chinese Art Education in the Late Qing – a New Era of Chinese Art Education

The *Qinding xuetang zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations* 1902) was a watershed for the development of Chinese art education. It was the first time that art education was introduced to general school education. In the *Qinding xiaoxuetang zhangcheng* 《欽定小學堂章程》 (*Imperial Regulations for Primary Schools* 1902), it was stated that drawing was one of the 11 subjects for higher primary school<sup>401</sup>. Students learned how to draw simple forms in the first year and then how to draw models in the second and third years.<sup>402</sup>

The *Qinding zhongxuetang zhangcheng* 《欽定中學堂章程》 (*Imperial Regulations for Secondary Schools* 1902) also indicated that drawing was included in the 12 subjects.<sup>403</sup> Students copied landscape drawings in the first year, and then made geometric drawings from the second to fourth years.<sup>404</sup>

In 1903, *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 was issued.<sup>405</sup> It pointed out clearly in the *Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定初等小學堂章程》 (*Imperial Regulations for Lower Primary Schools* 1903) that drawing and handiwork were ‘*suiyike*’ 隨意科 (elective subjects)<sup>406</sup> and could be added according to the needs of the school.<sup>407</sup> It mentioned that the meaning of drawing was: “to practice hands and eyes,

---

<sup>401</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 403.

<sup>402</sup> Ibid., pp. 403-404.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid., p. 493.

<sup>404</sup> Ibid., pp. 493-494.

<sup>405</sup> Date of the *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 was different in different publication. While Shu Xincheng 舒新城 and Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 make it 1903, Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 make it 1904 (see Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹, Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), *Meishu jiaoyu zhanwang* 《美術教育展望》 (*Prospect of Art Education*). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學, pp. 22-23.)

<sup>406</sup> According to the “Xuewu gangyao” 《學務綱要》 (Outline of School Administration) of the *Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations*), the implementation of ‘*suiyike*’ 隨意科 relied on the spare energy of the school and the decision or willingness of the student.

<sup>407</sup> It stated in the second paragraph, Chapter 2 that eight subjects would be taught in the lower primary school and they were: morals, Chinese classics, Chinese, arithmetic, history, geography, science (animals, plants, mineral substance) and physical education. These were the complete subjects to be taught. It was clearly stated that drawing or/and handcraft could be added according to the needs of the schools. It stated



get children into the habit of paying attention to things encountered and memorizing their appearance. Only simple objects, not complicated ones, should be shown to the children”<sup>408</sup>. For handiwork, it aimed at “practicing hands and eyes, enabling the children to make simple objects, and to be a person who likes working and bears hard work. Children in lower primary school should be taught to use paper, silk and clay to make simple vessels. Complicated work should be avoided.”<sup>409</sup>

In *Zouding gaodeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定高等小學堂章程》 (*Higher Primary School Regulations* 1903), drawing was one of the nine compulsory subjects to be taught in upper primary school while handiwork was still regarded as an elective subject.<sup>410</sup> It stated that the aims of drawing were “to make children observe the shape or form of real objects and their pictures. Teachers should instruct the students how to draw, help them master the skills, make them get used to fine works and let them gain happiness in it.”<sup>411</sup> For handiwork, it aimed at “enabling the children to make simple objects and to acquire a habit of thinking hard and bearing any hard work.”<sup>412</sup>

In *Zouding zhongxuetang zhangcheng* 《奏定中學堂章程》 (*Imperial Regulations for Middle School* 1903), drawing was included in the curriculum while handiwork was excluded.<sup>413</sup> It claimed that “students should learn to draw real objects or models. In free drawing lessons, students should have more practice at artistic conception. Technical drawing should also be taught, so as to provide a foundation for drawing maps and machinery, and studying commerce and industry in the future. While teaching drawing, the main concern should be on composition, shape, form and different tones of ink and

---

that these two subjects were casual subjects and no teaching hour for them was stated. See Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 414.

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., p. 417. The original Chinese version is: 『要義在練習手眼，以養成其見物留心、記其實象之性情，但當示以簡易之形體，不可涉於複雜。』

<sup>409</sup> Ibid. The original Chinese version is: 『要義在使練習手眼，使能制作簡易之物品，以養成好勤耐勞之習；而在初等小學，則但當教以紙制、絲制、泥土制之手工，以能成器物為主，不可涉於繁費。』

<sup>410</sup> Ibid., p. 429.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid., p. 431. The original Chinese version is: 要義在使觀察實物形體及臨本，由教員指授畫之，練成可應用之技能，並令其心思習於精細，助其愉悅。

<sup>412</sup> Ibid. The original Chinese version is: 要義在使能制作簡易之物品，養成其用心思耐勞煩之習。

<sup>413</sup> Ibid., pp. 501-502.

colour. Let the students draw according to their own concept and teach them techniques of using colours.”<sup>414</sup>

Comparing *Qinding xuetaang zhangcheng* 《欽定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations* 1902) with *Zouding xuetaang zhangcheng* 《奏定學堂章程》 (*Imperial Order on School Regulations* 1903), it is obvious that drawing and handiwork subjects were given more attention in the later School Regulations. While the curriculum design of the 1902 School Regulations was incomplete, the one provided in the 1903 School Regulations was comprehensive and it included an introduction of objectives, teaching contents and methods.

It is clear that skills of observation, drawing and making objects were stressed in the objectives of the 1903 drawing and handiwork curriculum. The requirements of observation ranged from lower primary children “paying attention to things encountered and memorizing their appearance” to higher primary children having the ability to “observe shape or form of a real object and their pictures.” For skills of drawing, there were different levels of requirement. In primary school levels, children were required to draw “shapes and forms of real objects” at first and then to make “realistic drawing” later. In secondary school levels, students were required to “draw real objects or models” and make “technical drawings”, and the ultimate goal was to draw “maps and machineries”.

This brief study indicates that art education in late Qing, as Jiang Sunsheng 蔣蓀生 points out, “obviously had a very close relationship to science and industry. It emphasized skills and abilities to make practical or functional objects.”<sup>415</sup> Lin Manli 林曼麗 also finds that the aims of art education in the late Qing emphasised precise training of ‘hands’ and ‘eyes’ for geometric and technical drawings. The art subject was

---

<sup>414</sup> Ibid., p. 506. The original Chinese version is: 習圖畫者，當就實物模型圖譜，教自在畫，俾得練習意匠，兼講用器畫之大要，以備他日繪畫地圖、機械圖及講求各項實業之初基。凡教圖畫者，以位置形狀濃淡得宜爲主，時使學生以自己之意匠爲圖稿，並應便直授以渲染彩色之法。

<sup>415</sup> Jiang Sunsheng 蔣蓀生 (1987), *Zhongdeng xuexiao meishu jiaoxunfa* 《中等學校美術教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Middle School Art*). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu jiaoyu 江蘇教育, p. 26.

totally attached to the value of pragmatism and became a supplement to science subjects.<sup>416</sup>

As discussed in the previous section, the reform of general education in 1902 and 1903 was under influences from Japan, as was the development of Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In his text “Sanshiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu” 《三十五年來中國之藝術教育》 (Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 pointed out that it was under the Japanese influence that art education was imported to China.<sup>417</sup> He argued further that China had adopted the Japanese model of school curriculum and set up drawing and singing lessons in primary and secondary schools. According to Lin Manli 林曼麗, drawing education was introduced to Japan on 1872 and it adopted a Western model of art education almost exactly.<sup>418</sup> This Japanese model of art education was transferred to China, or more accurately, Western art education was transferred to China indirectly. Lin maintains that the terms ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 used for drawing and *sloyd*<sup>419</sup> subjects in the 1902 and 1903 Chinese Imperial Order on School Regulations were the same as those used in Japan. Furthermore, she points out that there are similarities between the aims of drawing subjects in the 1903 Chinese *Lower Primary School Regulations* and the one in the Japanese *Outline Primary School Education* in 1891. In paragraph 9 of the Japanese *Outline Primary School Education*, it stated that objectives of drawing in primary school were “training of hands and eyes, helping children make correct observation of common shapes and forms, and have the

---

<sup>416</sup> Lin Manli 林曼麗 (1990), p.14.

<sup>417</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1931), “Sanshiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu” 《三十五年來中國之藝術教育》 (Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years). In: Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and He Shengnai 賀聖鼐 (eds.) (1931), *Zuijin sanshiwu nian zhi zhongguo jiaoyu* 《最近三十五年之中國教育》 (*Chinese Education in the last 35 Years*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 217.

<sup>418</sup> Lin Manli 林曼麗 (1990), p. 15.

<sup>419</sup> According to Wikipedia, *Sloyd* was derived from Swedish Slöjd, which means “sleight of hand, skilled or crafty”. Retrieved 31/1/2010, from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sloyd>. According to Wordsmyth, *sloyd* means “a manual training program developed in Sweden that uses hand tools for woodcarving and joining”. Retrieved 17/3/2010, from <http://www.wordsmyth.net/live/home.php?script=search&matchent=sloyd&matchtype=exact>. This term or more correctly this subject was, as indicates in the later section of this research, imported to China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

ability to draw them”.<sup>420</sup> Similar objectives were found in the 1903 Chinese Imperial Orders on School Regulations.

Besides borrowing the Japanese model of art education, the late Qing government had also employed many Japanese art teachers to teach drawing and handcraft in art schools or teacher training institutions. *Liangjiang shifan xuetang* 兩江師範學堂 (Liangjiang Teacher Training Institute) was one of the examples. Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 explained three reasons for this, as a language and cultural tradition, the wealth and power of Japan, and the dearth of Chinese professionals:

First of all, China and Japan have similar language and cultural tradition, it is therefore suitable as well as easy for the Chinese to learn. Secondly, this Japanese educational model has been implemented for twenty years since the Meiji Restoration and Japan has become a wealthy and powerful country, it is therefore worth borrowing the Japanese model. Thirdly, there is a lack of Chinese professionals at the moment, and employing Japanese during this transitional period is the solution. This is why a great number of science teachers in Liangjiang Teacher Education Institute are Japanese and the subjects taught by them are most important.<sup>421</sup>

These reasons were well known in China in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As indicated previously, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 had also given similar arguments for using Japan as a bridge to learn from the West.

The Liangjiang Teacher Training Institute was the first advanced teacher education institute in China, it also set the first model for the training of art teachers in the history of Chinese art education. In 1902, Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 changed *Wenchang shuyuan* 文昌書院 (Wenchang College) in Nanjing into *Sanjiang shifan xuetang* 三江師範學堂 (Sanjiang Teacher Training Institute). Its name was again changed to *Liangjiang shifan xuetang* 兩江師範學堂 (Liangjiang Teacher Training Institute) in 1905. In 1906, the

---

<sup>420</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>421</sup> Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (n.d.), *Liangjiang youji shifan xuetang yu xuebu fushi biyesheng an huiyilu* 《兩江優級師範學堂與學部復試畢業生案回憶錄》 (Memoirs on Nanking Liangjiang Advance Institution of Teacher Training and Records of Graduates of the Reinstated Civil Service Examinations). In: Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1991), p. 173. The original Chinese version is: 一因它是同文同種，比較適宜而易學；二因他們自明治(六年)維新，行此教育二十餘年，一躍而富強，值得規仿；三因自己的科學教師一時缺乏，便於借聘客卿來幫助過渡。因此種種，所以兩江師範的科學教師，日本人特別多，而且以他們所教的功課為最重要。

then chancellor Li Ruiqing 李瑞清 had gained the approval of the Qing government to set up a drawing and handiwork program in the institute. According to Jiang Danshu 姜丹書, the curriculum adopted from Japan and Chinese painting was excluded from the beginning. This was because a student from the first graduating class failed the examination in Chinese painting in the National Examination in which the subject was taught. According to Jiang's description, courses in drawing were Western painting, Chinese painting, technical drawing and pattern drawing. Under Western painting, there were pencil and charcoal drawing, water colour, and oil painting. In Chinese painting, there were mountain and water painting, and flower painting. Technical drawings included two and three-dimensional drawing.<sup>422</sup>

Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 noted that all courses in Western and technical painting were taught by Japanese. Jiang described how Japanese teachers taught at Liangjiang Teacher Training Institute: during the lesson, a Japanese teacher would be accompanied by an interpreter. Both the teacher and the interpreter stood on a stage. After the teacher spoke a few sentences, the interpreter would immediately translate them into Chinese.<sup>423</sup>

So, this analysis indicates that the ultimate target of Chinese art education in late Qing was similar to the one of general Chinese education reform; that is, to learn from the West. It was for convenience that the Qing government turned to Japan and used it as a bridge for importing Western knowledge.

### 2.3. The Development of Chinese Art Education between 1911 and 1949

From Chinese writings on art education published in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 'meiyu' 美育 (aesthetic education), 'yishu jiaoyu' 藝術教育 (art education), 'meishu jiaoyu' 美術教育 (fine art education) and 'tuhua jiaoyu' 圖畫教育 (drawing education) were the terms often used. There were also several names for the two visual art education

---

<sup>422</sup> Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1940). In: Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1991), p. 110.

<sup>423</sup> Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (n.d.). In: Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1991), p. 175.

subjects and they were used alternatively from 1911 to 1949. ‘*Tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing), ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) and ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) were the alternative names for visual arts lessons. ‘*Shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*), ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts), ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (literal translation means work) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) were names for craft lessons. Doubtlessly, these different terms or names reflected not only different understanding of the Chinese art educators of the subject but also the development of Chinese art education in the period concerned. The following section will first investigate how the different Chinese art education terms and names were defined and how the use of these terms reflected the development of Chinese art education, especially concerning the issue of Westernization, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### 2.3.1. Definitions of the Different Chinese Terms for Art Education

‘*Meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education), ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) and ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) were the new terms and new concepts in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Among these terms or concepts, ‘*Meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education) was for the first time introduced to China.

#### i. ‘*Meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education)

In 1903, Wang Guowei 王國維 discussed ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education) in his essay “Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi” 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education). Wang raised the proposal that aesthetic education should be one of the three important components in the education of a whole person. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 claimed that he was the first person who translated the German term *Ästhetische Erziehung* into Chinese ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 in his article “Ershiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi meiyu” 《二十五年來中國之

美育》(Chinese Aesthetic Education in the last 25 Years) (1931).<sup>424</sup> As Wang Guowei's 王國維 text "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》(Discussion on Objectives of Education) was published in 1903 and Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 had not published any writing on aesthetic education before 1912, Wang should therefore be regarded as the first Chinese scholar who introduced the term 'meiyu' 美育 (aesthetic education) to China. According to Chen Wenzhong 陳文忠, Wang's term was imported from Japan and Cai's term was translated directly from the German.<sup>425</sup> In comparison with Wang, Cai's role in promoting aesthetic education in China was more recognised and he was regarded as the first advocate of aesthetic education in China.<sup>426</sup> From 1912 to 1938, Cai had been very active in promoting aesthetic education in China.<sup>427</sup> He had made aesthetic education one of the five components of education when he was the first Minister of Education of the Republic China in 1912. Besides, he was also keen on writing about aesthetic education. Cai studied in Germany from 1908 to 1911. In his writings he introduced many German scholars', especially Kant's, theories to promote aesthetic education.<sup>428</sup>

In "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》(Discussion on Objectives of Education), Wang Guowei 王國維 argued that aesthetic education was important because it enabled

---

<sup>424</sup> In: Shen Shanrong 沈善洪 (ed.) (1993), *Cai Yuanpei xuanji shangjuan* 《蔡元培選集上卷》(*Selected Works of Cai Yuanpei*), vol. 1. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育, p. 312.

<sup>425</sup> Chen Wenzhong 陳文忠 (2001), *Meixue lingyu zhong de zhongguo xueren* 《美學領域中的中國學人》(*Chinese scholars in the aesthetic field*). Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu 安徽教育, p. 26.

<sup>426</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1929), "Meigan jiaoyu sixiang" 《美感教育思想》(Thought on Aesthetic Education). In: Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (ed.), *Jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiangshi* 《近代中國教育思想史》(*History of Contemporary Thoughts on Chinese Education*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華. Quoted in: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 184; also see Chen Qitian 陳啓天 (1923), "Zhongguo xin jiaoyu sichao xiaoshi" 《中國新教育思潮小史》(*A Concise History of New Educational Thinking in China*). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 《中華教育界》(*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 9-11 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>427</sup> Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), pp. 225-231.

<sup>428</sup> Examples of Cai's application of Kant's theory to promote aesthetic education included "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian" 《對於教育方針之意見》(Opinion about the Guiding Principles for Education) (1912); "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo" 《以美育代宗教說》(Substituting Religion with Aesthetic Education) (1917); and "Meiyu" 《美育》(Aesthetic education) (1930a).

people to reach a stage of perfection through building up their feelings and emotions.<sup>429</sup> According to Yu Zhen 余箴, aesthetic education, in the narrow sense, meant employing natural or artistic beauty to arouse people's subjective aesthetic feelings or sentiments. In a broad sense, Yu stated, it meant education through beauty. Through aesthetic education, the entire sentiment would be powerfully built and the stage of completeness would be reached.<sup>430</sup> For Li Shicen 李石岑, aesthetic education meant developing a heart for appreciation of beauty or moulding a beautiful temperament.<sup>431</sup> In his writing "Meiyu" 《美育》 (Aesthetic Education) (1930), Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 defined aesthetic education as the application of aesthetic theories to education and it targeted the cultivation of feeling and emotion.<sup>432</sup>

Generally speaking, aesthetic education for many Chinese scholars meant the cultivation of emotions, feelings or sentiments. Besides, many Chinese scholars found that the scope of aesthetic education was broad. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, for example, stated that the scope of aesthetic education included arts, building of an art gallery, management of theatres and cinemas, city or village planning and decoration, speech and the appearance of a person.<sup>433</sup> For Wu Mengfei 吳夢非, drawing, music and handiwork were the major subjects of aesthetic education at school, while literature and physical exercises were the minors.<sup>434</sup>

---

<sup>429</sup> Wang Guowei 王國維 (1903), "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 11.

<sup>430</sup> Yu Zhen 余箴 (1913), "Meiyu lun" 《美育論》 (On the Aesthetic Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 5, no. 6, pp. 5423-5424.

<sup>431</sup> Li Shicen 李石岑 (1922), "Meiyu zhi yuanli" 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), pp. 106-112.

<sup>432</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1930a), "Meiyu" 《美育》 (Aesthetic Education). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 207.

<sup>433</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1930b), "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao" 《以美育代宗教》 (Substituting Religion with Aesthetic Education). In: Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), p. 179.

<sup>434</sup> Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 (1920), "Meiyu shi shenme?" 《美育是什麼?》 (What is Aesthetic Education). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), pp. 50-59.



ii. ‘Yishu jiaoyu’ 藝術教育 (art education)

According to Li Xinfeng 李心峰, the term ‘yishu’ 藝術 appeared in ancient Chinese classics but it contained a different meaning to the same term used nowadays. Li points out that the modern concept of ‘yishu’ 藝術 (art) was imported from the West by Japanese scholars. After the Chinese scholar transferred the Japanese term to Chinese, ‘yishu’ 藝術 (art) then became part of the modern Chinese language terminology and possessed a modern concept of art.<sup>435</sup> In his writing, *Shenhe xin xuezhi yishuke kecheng gangyao yihou* 《審核新學制藝術科課程綱要以後》 (*After Reviewing the Art Syllabus in New School System*) (Figure 1), Liu Haisu 劉海粟 stated that the history of ‘yishu jiaoyu’ 藝術教育 (art education) in the West was long. On the contrary, it was new in China.<sup>436</sup> Both Li Xinfeng’s 李心峰 study and Liu’s statement suggest that the Chinese term ‘yishu jiaoyu’ 藝術教育 (art education) was also imported from the West. Another clue for this argument is that this term cannot be found in ancient Chinese writings. This study finds that the first Chinese writing introducing this term was Xun Wu’s 巽吾 translation “Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli” 《藝術教育之原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) (1912)<sup>437</sup>. In his translation, Xun Wu 巽吾 stated that the original author of the article, Po luoxie 潑洛歇<sup>438</sup> was a psychology teacher at the University of *Habodeng* 哈勃登<sup>439</sup> in America. Feng Zikai 豐子愷 also introduced this term through translating a Japanese writing on art education, “Yishu jiaoyu sixiang de fada” 《藝術教育思想的發達》 (*The Development of Art Education Thinking*). In Feng’s translation, it stated that ‘yishu jiaoyu’ 藝術教育

---

<sup>435</sup> Li Xinfeng 李心峰 (2005), *Ershi shiji zhongguo yishu lilun zhutishi* 《20世紀中國藝術理論主題史》 (*History of the Theme of Chinese Art Theories in 20<sup>th</sup> Century*). Shenyang 瀋陽: Liaohai 遼海, pp. 3-4.

<sup>436</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), pp. 1-2.

<sup>437</sup> In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 4, no. 1, 2 and 6, 1912. Both the title and content of this translation were the same as those of the book *Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli* 《藝術教育之原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) (1915) edited by Zhu Yuanshan 朱元善, this researcher therefore believes that Zhu’s book was actually a compilation of Xun Wu’s 巽吾 translation.

<sup>438</sup> The original spelling of the American author was not provided by Xun Wu 巽吾.

<sup>439</sup> The original spelling of the American university was not provided by Xun Wu 巽吾.

(art education) in German was *Kunsterziehung* or *Künstlerische Erziehung* (art education or artistic education).<sup>440</sup>

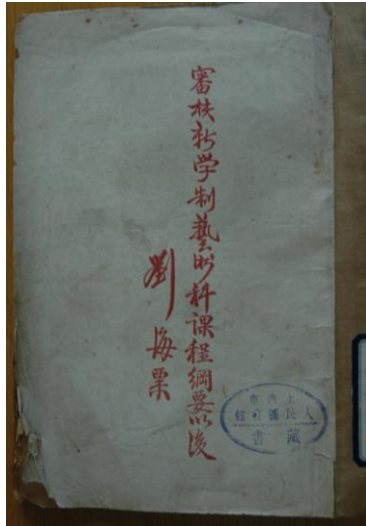


Figure 1 Liu Haisu's 劉海粟 *Shenhe xin xuezhi yishuke kecheng gangyao yihou* 《審核新學制藝術科課程綱要以後》 (After Reviewing the Art Syllabus in New School System) (1923?)

There were few Chinese writings devoted to discussions about the definition of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) and these discussions were very brief. Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明, for example, simply stated that ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art) was a kind of emotional and sentimental activity, and ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was related to the cultivation of feeling, emotion and sentiment.<sup>441</sup>

For Tian Min 天民, the other name of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education)<sup>442</sup> and Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 also claimed that

<sup>440</sup> Abe Shigetaka 阿部重孝; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1930), “Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fazhan” 《藝術教育思想之發展》 (The Development of Art Education Thinking). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 22, no. 12, p. 35911.

<sup>441</sup> Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), “Yishu jiaoyu he xiaoxue yishu kecheng” 《藝術教育和小學藝術課程》 (Art Education and Primary School Art). This is an extract from the two authors’ book *Xiaoxue jiaoshi de yishu zhishi* 《小學教師的藝術知識》 (*Knowledge of Fine Art for Primary School Teacher*). Quoted in: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 270.

<sup>442</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1921), “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking on Art Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 17771-17788; no. 2, pp. 17925-17934.

‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 in English was aesthetic education.<sup>443</sup> Both Tian Min 天民 and Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 did not provide any further explanation on this issue. According to Liu Haisu 劉海粟, ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was ‘*mei de jiaoyu*’ 美的教育 (education of beauty) or ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education).<sup>444</sup> Lu Qiqing 陸其清 also equated ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) to ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education). He explained sketchily that ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 meant a concrete expression of beautiful feelings and ‘*jiaoyu*’ 教育 (education) was life. Put the two terms together, Lu said, and they denoted beautiful life and that was ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education).<sup>445</sup>

In Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 translation of “Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fazhan” 《藝術教育思想之發展》 (The Development of Art Education Thinking), there was a comparison study of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) and ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education).<sup>446</sup> German terms, i.e. *Kunsterziehung* or *Künstlerische Erziehung* (art education or artistic education) and *Aesthetische Erziehung* or *Bildung* (aesthetic education), were given in this translation. This indicates that German references were used in this study. It stated that ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) began to be promoted in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century when it received more recognition. It also pointed out that should art education be similar to or be part of ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), it would have a much longer history which could be dated back to ancient times. Furthermore, Feng’s translation provided two different opinions about the relation of art education and aesthetic education. One of them found that both art education and aesthetic education stressed the importance of aesthetic and fine art in education and they therefore belonged to the same theoretical system. The other argued that ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education) was different from ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education). They

---

<sup>443</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Art in Elementary Schools*), Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務 (The Commercial Press), p. 1.

<sup>444</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), p. 1.

<sup>445</sup> Lu Qiqing 陸其清 (1940), “Yishu jiaoyu de xiaoneng” 《藝術教育的效能》 (Function of Art Education). In: *Yinyue yu meishu* 《音樂與美術》 (*Music and Art*), no. 5.

<sup>446</sup> Abe Shigetaka 阿部重孝; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1930). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 22, no. 12, pp. 35911-35913.

claimed that the aesthetic education thinking represented by Schiller was philosophic and aristocratic. On the other hand, ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was not only a product of thinking but also a kind of cultural issue which responded to the social circumstances of the time. Therefore, characteristics of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) were practical, democratic and social.<sup>447</sup>

For many Chinese art educators, the scope of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was broad. Hu Renzhuang 胡人樁 suggested that Chinese literature, history, drawing, singing, handiwork and physical exercise were the subjects which were means to realize the objectives of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education).<sup>448</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 found that ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) was extensive and it was not possible for drawing and music lessons to fulfil this criteria. In other words, ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) for Feng covered a wide range of areas which included every meal, every grass and tree, and every movement. Feng went further that ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) at school meant the entire education and should be integrated into every subject.<sup>449</sup> Similarly, Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明 also found that the scope of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) included not only ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and music subjects, but also the design of school building, decoration of school and the personality of the school teacher.<sup>450</sup>

Apart from this, there were Chinese art educators like Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 who found that art education subjects at school simply included drawing, handiwork and music.<sup>451</sup>

---

<sup>447</sup> Ibid., p. 35912.

<sup>448</sup> Hu Renzhuang 胡人樁 (1922), “Yishu jiaoyu gailun” 《藝術教育概論》 (Introduction to Art Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 14, no. 9, p. 20377.

<sup>449</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1928), “Feizhi yishuke” 《廢止藝術科》 (Abolishing the Art Subject). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 30729-30730.

<sup>450</sup> Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), pp. 270 - 274.

<sup>451</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925a), p. 2; Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948d), *Meishu yu meishu jiaoyu* 《美術與美術教育》 (*Art and Art Education*). Taipei 臺北: Shijie shuju 世界書局.

iii. *'Meishu jiaoyu'* 美術教育 (fine art education)

Besides *'meiyu'* 美育 (aesthetic education) and *'yishu jiaoyu'* 藝術教育 (art education), *'meishu jiaoyu'* 美術教育 (fine art education) was the other term often being used by the Chinese educators. According to Lu Xun 魯迅, the term *'meishu'* 美術 had not existed in ancient Chinese and it was translated from the English term “art or fine art”.<sup>452</sup> Li Yishi 李毅士 also mentioned that *'meishu'* 美術 was translated from English ‘Fine Art’ and French ‘Beaux Arts’.<sup>453</sup> This information apparently indicated that *'meishu jiaoyu'* 美術教育 (fine art education) was also a new term and a new concept in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China.

This study reveals that as early as 1919, Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 had used the term *'meishu jiaoyu'* 美術教育 (fine art education) in his article “Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu” 《文化運動不要忘了美育》 (Aesthetic Education should not be Ignored in the Cultural Movement). Cai did not define the meaning of *'meishu jiaoyu'* 美術教育 (fine art education) but provided vague remarks on the scope of *'meishu'* 美術 and *'meishu de jiaoyu'* 美術的教育 (literally translated as education of fine art) in his writing. On the one hand he said *'meishu de jiaoyu'* 美術的教育 (education of fine art) at school was composed of drawing and music lessons. On the other hand, he stated that there were *'meishu xuexiao'* 美術學校 (fine art schools) and *'yinyue xuexiao'* 音樂學校 (music schools) for professional training, and in this sense, *'meishu'* 美術 (fine art) did not include *'yinyue'* 音樂 (music). In 1920, Cai wrote about the origin of *'meishu'* 美術 (fine art). This time he clearly pointed out that *'meishu'* 美術 (fine art) could be viewed in both narrow and broad senses. In a narrow sense, it meant architecture, sculpture, painting and crafts. In a broad sense, it included literature, music and dancing.<sup>454</sup>

---

<sup>452</sup> Lu Xun 魯迅 (n. d.), “Ni bobu meishu yijian shu” 《擬播布美術意見書》 (Suggestions for Promoting Arts). Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 30.

<sup>453</sup> Li Yishi 李毅士 (1936), “Yishu shiyi” 《藝術釋義》 (The Definition of Art). In: *Zhongguo meishuhui jikan* 《中國美術會季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*), 1<sup>st</sup> issue, p. 5.

<sup>454</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1920), “Meishu de qiyuan” 《美術的起源》 (The Origin of Fine Art). In: Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1983), p. 86.

In his article, “Gaijin wo guo meishu jiaoyu de chuyi” 《改進我國美術教育的芻議》 (A Rustic Opinion on Improving Chinese Fine Art Education) (1925), Li Bangdong 李邦棟 found that ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) was concerned about the development of people’s ability to appreciate and enjoy art activities, which in turn would built up their creative ability.

For Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, ‘*meishu*’ 美術 was the main domain of ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art). He pointed out that ‘*meishu*’ 美術 could also be called ‘*kongjian yishu*’ 空間藝術 (spatial art) and it consisted of painting, architecture, sculpture and industrial arts.<sup>455</sup> Obviously, ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) for Wen was visual arts. Wen also stated that there were three different aspects of ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education), namely practical, educational and moral. In the practical aspect, ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) was crucial to training the student’s ability to observe and understand. Wen found that such training was important for preparing the student’s future career, improving the nation’s skills and developing the country’s craft industry. From an art educational perspective, Wen went further, ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) helped people acquire an harmonious life because it involved the enjoyment and the creation of beauty. Viewed from a moral perspective, the cultivation of morals could be carried out when students involved their feelings in art appreciation and art making.<sup>456</sup>

#### iv. ‘*Tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education)

‘*Tuhua*’ 圖畫 was not a new term in China. As early as the Sung Dynasty (960-1279), Guo Ruoxu 郭若虛 had used this term often in his book *Tuhua jianwen zhi* 《圖畫見聞誌》 (*Record of Paintings*). He applied this term to paintings, or more exactly Chinese paintings. However the Japanese model of art education were adopted by China in the

---

<sup>455</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948c), *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 1.

<sup>456</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 111-114.

very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and drawing subjects in Japanese school were called ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫.<sup>457</sup> So, in this sense, the term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 had a new usage and ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) was a new concept in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China.

There are not many discussions about the term ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) to be found. In his text “Xiaoxue *tuhua jiaoxuefa*” 《小學圖畫教學法》 (Teaching Method for Primary School Drawing) (1937), Qian Yunqing 錢雲清 simply said that ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) was one kind of ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education).<sup>458</sup> Though Qian Yunqing 錢雲清 did not specifically suggest the scope of drawing education, the content of teaching he referred to was the use of different types of drawing such as still life, landscape, figure, memory and technical drawing and pattern design. There are other suggestions such as that the scope of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was small. Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典, for example, found that ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was the most important component of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and the scope of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) was smaller than that of ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art).<sup>459</sup>

Feng Zikai 豐子愷 claimed that ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) was ‘*jiaoyu shang de tuhua*’ 教育上的圖畫 (drawing in education) in his essay “Zhongdeng xuexiao de *tuhua jiaoyu*” 《中等學校的圖畫教育》 (Teaching Drawing in Middle School) (1925). He stressed that drawing in education was, as with language, an important instrument for expressing thoughts and feelings. In 1928, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 introduced another explanation for ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) in his translation of a Japanese counterpart’s “*Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa*” 《圖畫教育的方法》 (Methods of Drawing Education). It said that drawing education meant enabling children

---

<sup>457</sup> Lin Manli 林曼麗 (1990), p. 15.

<sup>458</sup> Qian Yunqing 錢雲清 (1937), “Xiaoxue *tuhua jiaoxuefa*” 《小學圖畫教學法》 (Method of Teaching Drawing in Primary School). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 27, no. 11/12, p. 45441 (no.11 and 12 were a combined issue).

<sup>459</sup> Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 (1947), “Meishu kecheng zhong de tu he hua” 《美術課程中的圖和畫》 (Picture and Drawing in Fine Art Teaching). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), resume publication, vol. 1, no. 12, p. 27?

to grasp the beauty of fine art and nature through formative arts such as drawing or sculpture. Furthermore, the meaning of drawing education was not teaching the children with beautiful things but helping them learn about beauty in a natural way.<sup>460</sup>

v. 'Shougong jiaoyu' 手工教育 (Sloyd Education)

Fo Chu 佛初 stated in his article, "Shougong jiaoshou zhi yanjiu" 《手工教授之研究》 (The Study of Sloyd Teaching) (1913) that as early as mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, there was advocate of 'shougong' 手工 (sloyd) in Europe. He said that 'shougong' 手工 was 'Slojd' and it derived from Swedish 'Slah'. He also said that it was 'Slay' or 'Sly' in English and 'Schlag' or 'Vehshlagen' (the correct spelling is 'Verschlagen', which means hitting) in German.<sup>461</sup>

There were only a few writings devoted to the discussions about sloyd education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This study finds that the term 'shougong jiaoyu' 手工教育 (sloyd education) was first introduced in Tian Min's 天民 translation of his German counterpart's "Shougong jiaoyu lun" 《手工教育論》 (Discussion of Sloyd Education) in 1914. In this text, there was no clear definition of sloyd education but it discusses the significance of hand training in the perspective of physiology, psychology, pedagogic and sociology. It stated that the hand for Aristotle was 'Tool of tools' and advanced tools required a well-developed or clever hand. The author also argued that the hand and brain had a very close relationship and a person who had clever hands must have a clever mind.<sup>462</sup>

---

<sup>460</sup> Kishida, Ryūsei 岸田劉生; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1928), "Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa" 《圖畫教育的方法》 (Methods of Teaching Painting). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 20, no. 2, p. 30755.

<sup>461</sup> Fo Chu 佛初 (1913), "Shougong jiaoshou zhi yanjiu" 《手工教授之研究》 (The Study of Teaching Handcraft). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educatinal Review*), 7/1913, p. 80.

<sup>462</sup> (Germany) Babushi 巴布士; Tian Min 天民 (1914), "Shougong jiaoyu lun" 《手工教育論》 (Discussion of Sloyd Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 6, no. 7, pp. 7205-7218; no. 8, pp. 7351-7364.



vi. *'Laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education)

Huang Jingsi 黃敬思 stated in his study that G. Kerschensteiner advocated *'gongzuo jiaoyu'* 工作教育 (work education) in Germany and the Russian government carried out *'laodong jiaoyu'* 勞動教育 (labour education). This practice was adopted in China and there was *'laozuo ke'* 勞作科 (labour subject) in Chinese primary schools (Figure 2).<sup>463</sup> Chen Xuanshan 陳選善 also said that *'laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education) was a new term in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. He found that many people might not understand its meaning and everyone had a different definition of the term.<sup>464</sup> Chen defined the term in both a narrow and broad sense. He maintained that *'laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education) in the narrow sense focused on the actual labour of children; that is, developing working skills, forming labouring habits and having no contempt for labour. In this sense, the purpose of labour education was to lay a foundation for education for production. At school, *'laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education) was formalized into in the subject *'laozuo'* 勞作 (labour) and focused on the actual practice of children. Chen stated further that *'laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education) in the broadest sense emphasised actual work and proactive action. It aimed at helping children to obtain rich and real experience, to acquire knowledge and to know how to put it into practice, and, to use head and hand simultaneously. Chen found that the realisation of *'laozuo jiaoyu'* 勞作教育 (labour education) in such a broad sense could not be achieved simply by creating the subject *'laozuo'* 勞作 (labour), but required a reform of four areas: significance of learning, teacher's role, curriculum design and teaching methods.<sup>465</sup>

---

<sup>463</sup> Huang Jingsi 黃敬思 (1933), "Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu zhi zhexue de jichu" 《小學勞作教育之哲學的基礎》 (Foundational Philosophy of Primary School Labour Education). In: Zhejiang shengli Hangzhou shifan xuexiao 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou), *Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu* 《小學勞作教育》 (*Labour Education in Primary School*). Hangzhou 杭州: Author, p. 1 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>464</sup> Chen Xuanshan 陳選善 (1933), "Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu zhi xinli de jichu" 《小學勞作教育之心理的基礎》 (Foundational Psychology of Primary School Labour Education). In: Zhejiang shengli hangzhou shifan xuexiao 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou) (1933), p. 1.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid.

For Jiang Wenyu 江問漁, ‘*laozuo jiaoyu*’ 勞作教育 (labour education) meant the education which put stress on activities like collecting water, cleaning tables and planting trees.<sup>466</sup>

Gong Zhengtao 龔徵桃 made a brief study of the relationship between ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) and ‘*jiaoyu*’ 教育 (education) throughout human history. He pointed out that although labour and education was as one in primitive society, they became two separated matters in feudal society. By the time of capitalism and with the promotion of labour education, labour and education were still two separate issues. However, in the socialist societies, labour education became more important and common, and the two became one again.<sup>467</sup>



Figure 2 Zhejiang shengli Hangzhou shifan xuexiao’s 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou) *Xiaoxue lao-zuo jiao-yu* 《小學勞作教育》 (*Labour Education in Primary School*) (1933)

At first glance, ‘*shougong jiaoyu*’ 手工教育 (*sloyd* education) and ‘*laozuo jiaoyu*’ 勞作教育 (labour education) were very different to the other terms used for art education introduced above. There are, however, connections between the two groups of concepts when we take a closer look on their curriculum. Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 also pointed out in his article, “*Xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong lianluo jiaoshou zhi shangque*” 《小學校圖

<sup>466</sup> Jiang Wenyu 江問漁 (1933), “*Xiaoxue lao-zuo jiao-yu yu shehui wenti*” 《小學勞作教育與社會問題》 (Primary School Labour Education and Social Problems). In: Zhejiang shengli hangzhou shifan xuexiao 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou) (1933), p. 3.

<sup>467</sup> Gong Zhengtao 龔徵桃 (1935), “*Cong lao-zhan shuo dao lao-zuo jiao-yu*” 《從勞展說到勞作教育》 (From Handwork Exhibition to Labour Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 25, no. 3, pp. 39188-39189.

畫手工聯絡教授之商榷》(Discussion about Integration of Drawing and *Sloyd* in Primary School) (1915), that the nature and objectives of both drawing and *sloyd* subjects were similar. More accurately, both related to the training of fingers and visual sensation, and both aimed at training skills required for life and the cultivation of aesthetic sentiment.<sup>468</sup> According to Liu Haisu 劉海粟, art was being taught in both subjects, i.e. two dimensional artworks were taught in ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) lessons and three dimensional artworks were taught in ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*).<sup>469</sup> In his book *Xiaoxue laomei heyi jiaoxue de yanjiu* 《小學勞美合一教學的研究》(Study of Teaching Art and Craft in Primary School) (1949), Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 pointed out that it was not easy to separate the two subjects. It was because ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) always involved ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and it was the same the other way round.<sup>470</sup> In the 1936 school curriculum revision, ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) were combined and called ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (literally translated as work) in primary one and two.

To summarize this section of the review of key terms, the data indicates that the terms ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education), ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) and ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education) were used alternately in the period between 1911 and 1949.<sup>471</sup> For instance ‘*shougong jiaoyu*’ 手工教育 (*sloyd* education), appeared in the 1910s and ‘*laozuo jiaoyu*’ 勞作教育 (lit. trans. labour education) in the 1930s and 1940s. This study also finds that the different Chinese terminologies for “art” and “art education” were translated from English or German. However, it is difficult to find out which terms were translated directly from English or German due to a lack of information. It is only known that the

---

<sup>468</sup> Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 (1915), “Xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong lianluo jiaoshou zhi shangque” 《小學校圖畫手工聯絡教授之商榷》(Discussion about Integration of Drawing and *Sloyd* in Primary School). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》(*Zhong Hua Educational Review*), vol. 4, no. 11, pp. 1-18 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>469</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), p. 5.

<sup>470</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1949), *Xiaoxue laomei heyi jiaoxue de yanjiu* 《小學勞美合一教學的研究》(Study of Teaching Art and Craft in Primary School), pp. 1-2.

<sup>471</sup> This is shown in this researcher’s survey of the Chinese writings on art education published in the early 20th century. See table 7 “Chinese Articles on Art Education Published from 1900-1949”.

modern concept of ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art) was imported from the West through Japan, and the term and concept of ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education) was also imported from Japan by Wang Guowei 王國維 before Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 translated it directly from the German. The importation of Western terminologies of art education through Japan is evidence that Japan had been a bridge for China to learn from the West. Furthermore, the willingness to use this indirect source served as further evidence of the Chinese intellectuals’ eagerness to acquire Western knowledge. A brief investigation of the importation of Western ideas on visual arts and visual arts education through translating or re-translating Japanese writings is a focus of the next chapter.

This research also indicates that discussions about the meaning of the different terminologies for art education in the Chinese writings in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century were brief although most of the concepts were new to China. Generally speaking, there was no unified or clear distinction of these terminologies in these Chinese writings. For example, though ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education) and ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) were different in wording, many Chinese art educators or scholars made a similar definition of the two and some even found that they were the same.

There is a lack of comparative studies of these terminologies in Chinese writings, however the definitions provided by the Chinese writers do suggest that there was a hierarchical relationship among these various terms and it was determined by the scope they covered. The hierarchy of these terms were: ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education), ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) and ‘*tuhua jiaoyu*’ 圖畫教育 (drawing education).

### 2.3.2. Changing of Names Used for Art and Craft Subjects

In the official Chinese curriculum guides as well as the Chinese writings on art education published in the period between 1911 and 1949, the names for art and craft subjects had

changed several times. ‘*Tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing), ‘*xingxiangs yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art), ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art), ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*), ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts), ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) were the different names for art and craft subjects used in different curriculum guides for primary education. In secondary education, the same term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was used in different curricula. It was the term for the craft subject that was changed several times. These terms were ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*), ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) or ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts), and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour). This changing of names reflected the different understandings of the two subjects in China at different periods and during the different developmental stages of Chinese art education.

i. ‘*Tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) in 1912

In the 1912 *Xiaoxue xiaoling* 《小學校令》 (Regulations for Primary School) and *Zhongxue xiaoling* 《中學校令》 (Regulations for Secondary School), the two terms ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) were used.

It stated in the *Xiaoxue xiao jiaoze ji kecheng biao* 《小學校教則及課程表》 (Principle of Teaching and Syllabus for Primary School) that the objectives of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) were “to enable children to observe objects and master the skill of drawing; and to cultivate their sense of beauty.”<sup>472</sup> For ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*), its objective was “to have the children make simple objects and develop a hardworking habit.”<sup>473</sup>

Students in lower primary learned the drawing of simple shapes and forms, and those in upper primary studied different forms and made simple geometric drawings.<sup>474</sup>

According to Pan Danming 潘澹明, pencil and ink brush drawing was taught in ‘*tuhua*’

<sup>472</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 454. The original Chinese version is: 圖畫要旨，在使兒童觀察物體，具摹寫之技能，兼以養其美感。

<sup>473</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 453. The original Chinese version is: 手工要旨，在使兒童製作簡易物品，養成勤勞之習慣。

<sup>474</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 454.

圖畫 (drawing) and copying ‘*huatie*’ 畫帖 (book of model drawings) was the means of teaching and learning.<sup>475</sup> The content of learning and teaching of ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) in lower primary included simple fine *sloyd* with materials such as paper, beans, clay and wheat stems. In senior primary, fine craftwork with bamboo, wood and metal was added.<sup>476</sup>

For the secondary school, the aim of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was to help students “look closely at objects and practice ‘*yijiang*’ 意匠 (artistic conception), and to cultivate their sense of beauty.”<sup>477</sup> The aim of ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) was to have students “practicing skills, making simple objects, getting pleasure out of work and developing habit of hard working”.<sup>478</sup>

The content of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) in secondary school included ‘*zi zai hua*’ 自在畫 and ‘*yong qi hua*’ 用器畫. ‘*Zi zai hua*’ 自在畫 meant drawing from life and creating according to concept and idea. ‘*Yong qi hua*’ 用器畫 meant technical drawing like geometric drawing.<sup>479</sup> The content of ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) in secondary school included making simple household utensils and fine craftwork, and learning about the features of materials and the maintenance of tools. In girls’ secondary school, weaving, embroideries, cotton picking and making artificial flowers, and so on were emphasised.<sup>480</sup>

Generally speaking, the 1912 curriculum of art education was similar to the one in the late Qing. Besides using the same titles for the two art education subjects, both curricula had similar objectives and content. As Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 points out, the main difference

---

<sup>475</sup> Pan Danming 潘澹明 (1931), “Xiaoxue meishuke xuyao keben ma” 《小學美術科需要課本嗎？》 (Do Primary School Art Need Textbooks?). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 19, no. 4, p. 171.

<sup>476</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), p. 453.

<sup>477</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523. The original Chinese version is: 圖畫要旨在使詳審物體，能自由繪畫，兼練習意匠，涵養美感。

<sup>478</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523. The original Chinese version is: 手工要旨在練習技能，使制簡易物品，養成工作之趣味、勤勞之習慣。

<sup>479</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 522-523.

<sup>480</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 523.

was that the objective ‘*hanyang meigan*’ 涵養美感 (cultivating sense of beauty) was introduced in the 1912 curriculum.<sup>481</sup>

ii. ‘*Xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) and ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) in 1923

As indicated in the previous section, there was a reform of education in 1923 and a new school system was then implemented. In that year, the *Xinxuezhì kecheng biao zhun gangyao* 《新學制課程標準綱要》 (*Curriculum Outline for New School System*) was announced. Names of the art subjects for primary school were changed. The term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was replaced by ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) by ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts).<sup>482</sup> However, in the curriculum for lower secondary school, the two terms ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) remained.<sup>483</sup> In the senior secondary school no art education subjects were provided.<sup>484</sup>

There were arguments about the names for the two subjects while the 1923 curriculum was being drafted. Since 1918, there had been opinions that the contents of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) were misfits. An example was that paper-cutting was taught in ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*).<sup>485</sup> In addition to this criticism, there were arguments that the scope of the ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) lesson itself was too limited and that only drawing was taught.<sup>486</sup> In respond to these criticisms, some Chinese art educators suggested copying the practice of American primary schools and changed the

---

<sup>481</sup> Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 (2005), *Meishu jiaoxue lilun yu fangfa* 《美術教學理論與方法》 (*Theories and Methods of Teaching Art*). Beijing 北京: Gaodeng jiaoyu 高等教育, p. 82.

<sup>482</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 61.

<sup>483</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>484</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.

<sup>485</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), p. 6.

<sup>486</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), *Yishu jiaoyu xue* 《藝術教育學》 (*Art Pedagogy*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 153-155.

two subject titles to ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts).<sup>487</sup> The content of the two subjects under the new names were expanded.<sup>488</sup> However, there was another concern that the scope of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) was too big.<sup>489</sup> In addition, there were also disputes about the terms ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) and ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts). Some found that the subject was for the training of hands and the term ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) should therefore be kept; but the other argued that the term ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts) was more suitable since the aim of the subject went beyond that of the training of hands.<sup>490</sup>

At last, ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) was used to replace ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing), and ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) substituted ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*).<sup>491</sup> According to He Mingzhai 何明齋, the term ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) was borrowed from Frederick Gordon Bonser’s book *The Elementary School Curriculum*.<sup>492</sup>

Besides using new names, the two art education subjects also had new objectives and content in the 1923 *Xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun gangyao* 《小學課程標準綱要》 (*Primary School Curriculum Standard Outline*). Objectives of *xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) were to: “arouse the children’s artistic instinct, enhance [their] standard

---

<sup>487</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), p. 6.

<sup>488</sup> Ibid., p. 6-7. Also see He Mingzhai 何明齋 (1935), “Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa” 《小學美術教學法》 (Methods of Teaching Fine Arts in Primary Schools). In: Fujiansheng jiaoyuting 福建省教育廳 (The Education Department of Fujian Province), *Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa jiangyanji* 《小學各科新教學法講演集》 (*Collection of Speeches on New Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects*). Fuzhou 福州: Fujiansheng zhengfu mishuchu gongbaoshi 福建省政府秘書處公報室, p. 267; also Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), pp. 153-155.

<sup>489</sup> Ibid., p. 6. Also see Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), p. 154.

<sup>490</sup> He Mingzhai 何明齋 (1934), *Xiaoxue gongyong yishuke jiaoxuefa* 《小學工用藝術科教學法》 (*The Teaching of Practical Arts in Primary School*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 1-2, also see Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 (1933), “Cong shougongke shuo dao luozuoke” 《從手工科說到勞作科》 (From Handiwork Subject to Labour Subject). In: Zhejiang shengli hangzhou shifan xuexiao 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou), p. 3 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>491</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), pp. 154-155; Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), pp. 6-7.

<sup>492</sup> He Mingzhai 何明齋 (1934), p. 2; also see Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), pp. 6-7; Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), pp. 154-155.



of appreciation and discernment of beauty, foster [their] ability of expression and creation of beauty; cultivate [their] sentiment and arouse [their] amusement [in art].”<sup>493</sup> The content of learning and teaching consisted of three domains: art appreciation, art making and the study of art. In art making, the program included drawing, pattern design, collage and modelling.<sup>494</sup> The content of the study of art included studying visual languages and those of art appreciation included scenery photos, architecture and paintings.<sup>495</sup>

As Yu Lihai 余禮海 stated, ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) in the 1923 primary school curriculum was composed of three areas: knowledge, skill and cultivation.<sup>496</sup> Objectives of the subject under the new title were to: “investigate the source, function and manufacture of materials for clothing, food and living and get practice at using these materials; study the structure and usage of the tools; arouse respect for work and enjoyment in appreciation of industrial products; cultivate the quality of sensibility, preciseness, neatness and industriousness”.<sup>497</sup> The content of this subject was expanded to three areas: textiles and clothing, food and cooking, and crafts with clay, wood and metal.<sup>498</sup>

In the 1923 *Zhongxue kecheng gangyao* 《中學課程綱要》 (*Secondary School Curriculum Outline*), ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) were ‘*yishu ke*’ 藝術科 (art subjects).<sup>499</sup> The aim of the “*Chuji zhongxue tuhua kecheng gangyao*” 《初級中學圖畫課程綱要》 (*Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Outline*)

---

<sup>493</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), p. 10, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), p. 155; Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 28. The original Chinese version is: 啓發兒童藝術的本性，增進美的欣賞和識別的程度；陶冶美的發表和創造的能力；並涵養感情引起樂趣。

<sup>494</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), pp. 7-10; also see Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoshi shouce* 《小學美術教師手冊》 (*Handbook for Primary School Art Teacher*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華, p. 2.

<sup>495</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), pp. 16-20.

<sup>496</sup> Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), *Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoshi shouce* 《小學勞作教師手冊》 (*Handbook for Primary School Handcraft Teacher*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華, p. 2.

<sup>497</sup> He Mingzhai 何明齋 (1934), p. 8. The original Chinese version is: 研究並實習衣食住所需最普通的原料的來源用途和製法，工具的構造和使用，並引起尊重工作的觀念欣賞工業品的興味，和涵養敏確整潔耐勞等德性。

<sup>498</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 8-12.

<sup>499</sup> Feng Kaiwen 馮開文 (1994), p. 46.

was to: “enrich the knowledge of [art] appreciation, so as to get some idea of beauty; develop spiritual comfort and happiness, so as to show fine qualities of personality; practice artistic techniques, so as to enhance the ability of aesthetic expression.”<sup>500</sup> Though the term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) remained in the secondary school curriculum, content of the subject had expanded and consisted of art theory, observation and the practice of drawing techniques.<sup>501</sup> However, due to a lack of information within the available documentation, it is not possible for this study to make an analysis of the ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) in the 1923 secondary school curriculum.

The disputes about the titles of the two primary school art education subjects reflected the continuing disparate views that Chinese art educators held on different ideas about the content of the subjects. This doubtlessly further suggested that the Chinese art educators had more, though different, understandings and expectations of art education.

Obviously, the scope of learning and teaching in the 1923 art education curriculum was much broader than the one in 1912. Art appreciation became one of the three learning domains in the art curriculum. This meant recognition of art appreciation education by the Chinese art educators. Furthermore, it also signifies that China had kept its pace with the West. Art appreciation education was promoted in American and Germany at the turn of the century. It was called ‘Picture Study’ in America. According to Arthur Efland, “picture study was an art activity began at the turn of the century and gained adherents through the first decade of the twentieth century”.<sup>502</sup> In Germany, it was called ‘*Kunstbetrachtung*’ (Art Appreciation) and was also promoted at the turn of 20<sup>th</sup> century. Alfred Lichtwark and Konard Lange, the two popular German scholars in the Chinese writings devoted to the importation of German ideas on art education, had played very active roles in promoting art appreciation in Germany at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>500</sup> Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 29. The original Chinese version is: 增進鑒賞知識，使能領略一切的美；並涵養精神上的慰安愉快，以表現高尚人格。練習製作技藝，使能發表美的本能。

<sup>501</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>502</sup> Efland, Arthur (1990), *A History of Art Education*. New York: Teachers College Press, p. 162.

When compared with the 1912 curriculum, the draft of the 1923 curriculum was more professional. It provided not only a relatively clear and detailed introduction of content of teaching but a guideline for assessment as well. Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 was responsible for drafting the art curriculum in primary school in 1923 and afterwards.<sup>503</sup> He stated that the child-centred approach and life-centred approach were adopted in the 1923 curriculum guides.<sup>504</sup> According to Zong, it was under the influence of the two approaches that the “cultivation of a sense of beauty” was the first priority of the 1923 curriculum and the “training of techniques of drawing” the second, and it was opposite to those of the curriculum in 1912 and earlier.<sup>505</sup>

As Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 points out, there were three characteristics of the 1923 ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) curriculum: 1. being different from the drawing subject which emphasized training of drawing techniques, it began to take each child’s nature, aesthetic instinct, sensibilities, creativity, and art and life into consideration; 2. it criticized ‘copying’, advocated the teaching method of guiding children to compare and research, and favoured the teaching of imagination, creativity and realistic drawing; and 3. it raised the idea of ‘integrating drawing with other subjects’.<sup>506</sup>

### iii. ‘Meishu’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) in 1929

In the 1929 *Xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biaoqun* 《小學課程暫行標準》 (*Provisional Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (Figure 3), ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) became new names for the two art education subjects. It was stated in the curriculum guide that the term ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) was used to replace ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts) because the content of this subject had been expanded. As a consequence,

---

<sup>503</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1923?), p. 4; Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1929), *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biaoqun* 《幼稚園/小學課程暫行標準》 (*Temporary Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, appendix, p. 3; Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936), introduction section, p. 2.

<sup>504</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), p. 10.

<sup>505</sup> Ibid.

<sup>506</sup> Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 (2005), p. 83.

according to the curriculum guide, there was also demand for changing the term ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art). Many Chinese art educators suggested replacing it with ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and the content of this subject was expanded.<sup>507</sup>

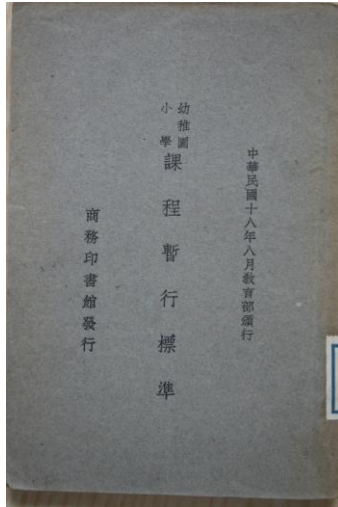


Figure 3 *Xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biao zhun* 《小學課程暫行標準》 (*Provisional Primary School Curriculum Guide*)(1929)

The content of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) was comprised of art appreciation, art making and the study of art.<sup>508</sup> Objectives of this subject included: 1. conforming to children’s love for fine art and arousing their interest in studying fine art; 2. improving standards of appreciating and discerning beauty, and fostering the ability of aesthetic expression and creation; and 3. guiding the learning and application of principles of fine art, so as to lead towards a beautify life.<sup>509</sup>

The content of ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) consisted of school affairs, home affairs, agriculture, practical arts and commerce.<sup>510</sup> Its objectives covered three areas: 1. field work: developing working skill and a spirit of equality and cooperation; 2. planning and creation: developing mind and ability of construction; and 3. investigation and research:

<sup>507</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>508</sup> Ibid., pp. 108-109.

<sup>509</sup> Ibid., p. 108. The original Chinese version is: 1. 順應愛好美術的本性，以引起研究美術的興趣。2. 增進美的欣賞和識別的程度，陶冶美的發表和創造的能力。3. 引導對於美術原則的學習和應用，以求生活的美化。

<sup>510</sup> Ibid., pp. 90-93.

improving the ability of judgment, arousing interest in production, inspiring willingness and knowledge to improve living, agriculture and industry.<sup>511</sup>

In the 1929 *Zhongxue kecheng zanxing biao zhun* 《中學課程暫行標準》 (*Provisional Secondary School Curriculum Guide*), the term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) remained and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) was replaced by ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts) in junior secondary school. The two subjects were excluded in senior secondary school.<sup>512</sup> It is impossible to make an analysis of the 1929 secondary school art education curriculum due to a lack of documentation available. No copy of this curriculum could be found and there appears to be a lack of study about this curriculum by Chinese art educators since it was issued.

In comparison to the 1923 curriculum of primary school art education, the 1929 curriculum had apparently adopted the framework of the former. The components of learning as well as the assessment criteria in the 1929 curriculum were the same as those in the 1923 curriculum. The only new idea introduced in the 1929 curriculum was to apply principles of fine art to life.<sup>513</sup> This indicates a concern about the integration of art learning with life in the new curriculum. According to Qian Chuxi 錢初熹, there were several other new ideas initiated in the 1929 curriculum and they included: 1. integrating ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) with other subjects like ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work), ‘*ziran*’ 自然 (nature) and ‘*shehui*’ 社會 (social studies); 2. making use of materials found in nature such as leaves, grass, feathers, shells and broken pieces of pottery for art making; 3. focusing on the formation of learning motivation; 4. using a scale to help the children know about the development of their skills; and 5. exhibiting children’s art works at school and taking children to art museums and famous scenic spots.<sup>514</sup>

---

<sup>511</sup> Ibid., p. 90. The original Chinese version is: 實地操作：養成勞動的身手，平等互助的精神；計劃創造：發展建造的思想和能力；調查研究：增進評價能力，生產興趣，並啓發改良生活，改良農工業等的志願和知識。

<sup>512</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 142.

<sup>513</sup> Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1929), p. 108.

<sup>514</sup> Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 (2005), p. 84.

While there were only three components of the content of learning in the 1923 ‘gongyi’ 工藝 (practical arts) curriculum, these in 1929 ‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) curriculum had been expanded and there were now five learning areas. Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 found that the design of objectives of ‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) in the 1929 curriculum were relatively complete as they covered both cognitive and practical aspects. In the cognitive perspective, the curriculum focused on research and planning; in the practical aspect, it emphasised operation, creation, and real production.<sup>515</sup>

iv. Meishu 美術 (fine art) and ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (labour) in 1932

In the 1932 *Xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《小學課程標準》 (*Primary School Curriculum Guide*), the term ‘meishu’ 美術 (fine art) remained and ‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) was replaced by ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (labour).<sup>516</sup> For the 1932 *Chuji/gaoji zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《初級/高級中學課程標準》 (*Junior/Senior Secondary School Curriculum Guide*) (Figure 4), the term ‘tuhua’ 圖畫 (drawing) was kept and ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (labour) was used to replace ‘gongyi’ 工藝 (practical arts). ‘tuhua’ 圖畫 (drawing) was taught in both junior and senior secondary school and ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (labour) was taught only in junior secondary schools.<sup>517</sup>

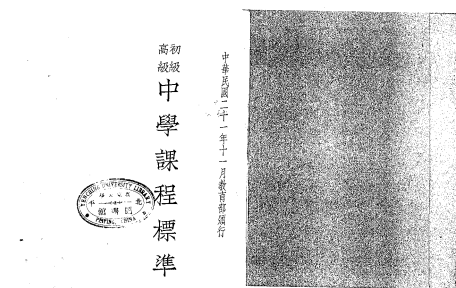


Figure 4 *Chuji/gaoji zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《初級/高級中學課程標準》 (*Junior/Senior Secondary School Curriculum Guide*) (1932)

<sup>515</sup> Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 (1933), p. 8.

<sup>516</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), pp. 135-136.

<sup>517</sup> Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), *Zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《中學課程標準》 (*Secondary School Curriculum Guide*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華. Also see Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), pp. 142-143.

The objectives and contents of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) in the 1932 curriculum guide for primary art education were almost the same as those in the 1929 primary school curriculum guide.<sup>518</sup> However, for ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour), there is a lack of information.

In the 1932 “*Chuji zhongxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun*” 《初級中學圖畫課程標準》 (Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Guide), it stated that objectives of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) were to: 1. inspire the aesthetic instinct of students, cultivate their sentiment, help them understand the relation between fine art and life, and improve the meaning of their life; 2. have the students practising observation of human beings and shapes in nature, and the techniques of drawing; and 3. instil principles, common knowledge and techniques of art into the students’ mind, so as to foster their ability of applying art to their environment.<sup>519</sup> The content of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) consisted of two components: 1. observation and appreciation; and 2. studio practice.

For ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour), its objectives were to help the student: 1. understand the relation between labouring and life, develop a concept that every occupation was equal; 2. do exercise and field work, in order to develop habits and fine character of hardwork, endurance, precision and correctness; 3. acquire necessary knowledge and technique of craft work for daily life, so as to develop a mind for and ability of design and creativity; and 4. learn the foundation of industrial work.<sup>520</sup> The content of ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour)

---

<sup>518</sup> Compare the information provided by Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1929), p. 108 and the one provided by Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 30.

<sup>519</sup> “*Chuji zhongxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun*” 《初級中學圖畫課程標準》 (Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication). The original Chinese version is: 啓發學生審美本能，涵養其性情，使學生了解美術與人生之關係，以增進其生活之意義。使學生練習對於人物、自然形態之觀察力，與描寫技能。灌輸學生藝術真理、常識、技術，以養成其應用藝術應付環境之能力。

<sup>520</sup> “*Chuji zhongxue laozuo (gongyi) kecheng biao zhun*” 《初級中學勞作(工藝)課程標準》 (Junior Secondary School Labour [Handiwork] Curriculum Guide ). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication). The original Chinese version is: 1. 使學生了解勞動工作與人生之關係，養成一切職業平等之觀念。2. 使學生實地操作鍛鍊，以練成其勤勞、耐苦、精密、正確等良善德性與習慣。3. 與以日常生活必需之工藝知識技能，以發展其設計創造之思想與能力。4. 培養從事工業之基礎。

was composed of ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts), ‘*nongye*’ 農業 (agriculture) and ‘*jiashi*’ 家事 (home affairs).

In the “Gaoji zhongxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun” 《高級中學圖畫課程標準》 (Senior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Guide), the objectives of ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) were to: continue the cultivation of [student’s] beautiful character and [their] interest in beauty; improve [their] ability to make applied art; advance [their] standard of drawing, which served as a preparation for further studies; foster [their] ability to express thoughts and feelings, so as to enhance the realisation of new life.<sup>521</sup> Content of teaching included: 1. research and appreciation; and 2. studio practice.

While no information about the 1929 curriculum of secondary school art education could be found and the 1923 “Chuji zhongxue tuhua kecheng gangyao” 《初級中學圖畫課程綱要》 (Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Outline) was the only documentation available, this study compared the 1932 Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum with the one in 1923. According to available documentation and literature there were two new changes in the 1932 curriculum: 1. the nature of the student was taken into consideration, or in other words, a child-centred approach was adopted; and 2. the integration of art and life was promoted.

Lastly, it was a major development of Chinese art education that an art subject was included in the senior secondary school in 1932.

---

<sup>521</sup> “Gaoji zhongxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun” 《高級中學圖畫課程標準》 (Senior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication). The original Chinese version is: 繼續培養美的德性與興趣。增進關於應用藝術之製作能力。提高圖畫程度，為深造之預備。培養表現思想感情之創作能力，以促進新生活之實現。



v. ‘Meishu’ 美術 (fine art), ‘laozuo’ 勞作 (labour) or ‘gongzuo’ 工作 (work) in 1936

In 1936, a revision of *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (*Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (Figure 5) was announced. The main amendment of the curriculum was the combination of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) into ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) in primary one and two. For the other levels, the two subjects were taught separately.<sup>522</sup>

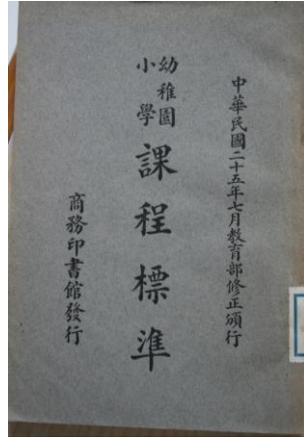


Figure 5 *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (*Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*) (1936)

The aims of ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) were to: develop the children’s habit of serving and labouring, build up the children’s ability of expression and creation; improve the children’s standard of appreciation and arouse their interest in production.<sup>523</sup>

The objectives and content of the 1936 ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) curriculum were almost the same as those in the 1932 curriculum. As there is a lack of information about the objectives and content of the 1932 ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) curriculum, this study, like that of Yu Lihai 余禮海, compared the 1936 ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) curriculum with the one

<sup>522</sup> “Xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun zonggang” 《小學課程標準總綱》 (*The General Principles of Primary School Curriculum Guide*). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936), p. 3 (numbering restarted each section of this publication).

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.* The original Chinese version is: 培養兒童服勞、愛美的習慣。發展兒童發表、創造的能力。增進兒童欣賞的程度及生產的興趣。

in 1929.<sup>524</sup> Similar to Yu, it is found that the objectives of the two curricula were quite similar. There was only one new objective found in the 1936 curriculum and it was to guide the children to experience a real journey of economic life.<sup>525</sup> For the content of teaching, a new structure was used in the 1936 curriculum, and it consisted of textile and clothing, food and cooking, buildings and domestic affairs, transportation and the construction of roads.<sup>526</sup>

There was also a revision of *Zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《中學課程標準》 (*Secondary School Curriculum Guide*) announced in 1936. The only information about this curriculum is found in Xiong Mingan's 熊明安 study. According to him, there was an amendment of 'laozuo' 勞作 (labour).<sup>527</sup> However, Xiong does not provide any further information about this.

#### vi. 'Tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) and 'laozuo' 勞作 (labour) in 1942

In 1942, *Xiaoxue kecheng xiuding biao zhun* 《小學課程修訂標準》 (*Primary School Curriculum Guide – Revision*) was announced.<sup>528</sup> The term 'meishu' 美術 (fine art) was replaced by 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing). In this curriculum, 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) and 'laozuo' 勞作 (labour) were taught separately from the first to the sixth grade.<sup>529</sup> The content of 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) consisted of three areas and they were art appreciation, foundation exercises and artistic expression.<sup>530</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 found that the content of 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) was divided into “knowledge” and “technique” and

---

<sup>524</sup> Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), pp. 2-3.

<sup>525</sup> Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1929), p. 90; “Xiaoxue zhonggao nianji laozuo kecheng biao zhun” 《小學中高年級勞作課程標準》 (Middle and Upper Primary School Labour Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section). Also see Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), pp. 2-3.

<sup>526</sup> Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936).

<sup>527</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 143.

<sup>528</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 229.

<sup>529</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 230.

<sup>530</sup> Liu Yingjie 劉英杰 (2001), *Zhongguo jiaoyu dashidian* 《中國教育大事典》 (*Book of Major Educational Events in China. 1840-1949*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育, pp. 438-439.

there were four features in this curriculum which were: 1. focused on the training of [drawing] techniques; 2. laid stress on fundamental exercises; 3. cancelled the programme ‘study of art’; and 4. disliked the idea of beautification of life.<sup>531</sup> For Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 this curriculum had a number of problems including violation of the psychology of learning that was a retrogression in comparison with the earlier curriculum.

Yu Lihai 余禮海 had made a brief study of the 1942 ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) curriculum. He found that a new system of classification of teaching material was used in this curriculum and much of the old content had been left out. It had included three categories of teaching: 1. observation and appreciation; 2. fundamental exercise; and 3. expression and application. The objects for ‘observation and appreciation’ were craftworks, agricultural products and household utensils. In the categories for ‘fundamental exercise’ and ‘expression and application’, the content of learning included handcraft, agriculture and home affairs.<sup>532</sup>

According to Xiong Mingan 熊明安, there was a new revision of “Zhongxue kecheng biao zhun” 《中學課程標準》 (Secondary School Curriculum Guide) announced in 1940. However, Hong has not provided any information about ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) in the new amendment.<sup>533</sup>

vii. ‘*Meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) in 1948

In 1948, *Xiaoxue kecheng dierci xiuding biao zhun* 《小學課程第二次修訂標準》 (*Primary School Curriculum Guide – Second Revision*) was announced. In this revision, the names for the two subjects were ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour).

---

<sup>531</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1946), “Ping xiaoxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun” 《評小學圖畫課程標準》 (Opinions on Syllabus for Primary School Drawing). In: *Shenbao* 《申報》 (*Shen Post*) (20/3/1946).

<sup>532</sup> Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), pp. 3-4.

<sup>533</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 252.

There was a combination of ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) to ‘*gongzuo*’ 工作 (work) in the first two years of primary school.<sup>534</sup>

The objectives of the middle and upper primary ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) curriculum were to: 1. conform to children’s aesthetic instinct, arouse their interest in art appreciation and studying fine art; 2. improve the children’s aesthetic ability, so as to enable them to have the ability to beautify their environment and lives; 3. develop children’s ability of aesthetic expression and creativity; and 4. guide the children to understand and appreciate Chinese art.<sup>535</sup>

For ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) in middle and higher primary school, the objectives were: 1. training children in labouring and operation; helping them develop a habit of hardworking and thrifty; 2. giving children instructions in production and practice; enhancing their ability of design and creativity, and fostering their head and hands cooperation; and 3. helping children understand the relationships between production and life, and grasping the concepts of the evolution of different kinds of occupation. The content of the subject was similar to those in the 1942 curriculum and it included craftwork, agriculture and home affairs.<sup>536</sup>

According to Pan Danming 潘淡明, there were several amendments in the new curriculum. These included: 1. sloughing off the materials related to the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-1945), such as creating picture posters for the War; 2. cancelling ‘fundamental exercises’; 3. resuming ‘study of principles of fine art’ as well as ‘art appreciation’ and ‘art expression’; and 4. combining ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and

---

<sup>534</sup> Ibid., p. 334.

<sup>535</sup> Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), p. 5. The original Chinese version is: 1. 順應兒童愛美的天性，使有欣賞美術、學習美術的興趣; 2. 增進兒童審美的識力，使有美化環境，美化生活的知能; 3. 發展兒童關於美的發表力和創造力; 4. 指導兒童對於我國固有藝術的認識和欣賞。

<sup>536</sup> Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), pp. 4-5. The original Chinese version is: 一. 訓練兒童勞動操作，使有勤勞儉樸的習慣。二. 指導兒童製作實習，激發設計創造的能力，使能手腦並用。三. 指導兒童明瞭生產和人生的關係，使有職業演進的觀念。

'*laozuo*' 勞作 (labour) to '*gongzuo*' 工作 (work) in the first two years of primary school, and teach these separately in middle and senior primary school.

For Pan, the cancellation of 'fundamental exercises' and combination of '*meishu*' 美術 (fine art) and '*laozuo*' 勞作 (labour) had considered children's drawing and learning psychology.<sup>537</sup> According to Sun Mujian 孫慕堅, '*gongzuo*' 工作 (work) was actually not an ideal term for the integrated subject. It was used due to the difficulty of getting an appropriate term.<sup>538</sup> Sun claimed that the 1948 primary school curriculum guide had copied the practice of foreign countries. He said that education in foreign countries was based on child-centred theory. In practice, children's health was taken into consideration and this led to the simplification of the school curriculum. China adopted this practice. That is, making the subjects easier, shortening teaching hours integrating subjects.<sup>539</sup>

Xu Jianrong 徐建融、Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 described a further amendment of the secondary school curriculum in 1948. Objectives of the junior secondary school drawing curriculum were: 1. training the ability of painting and making every kind of drawing according to the needs of life; 2. instilling the knowledge of fine art [into the student], so as to [help them] get a precise observation of human and natural forms and shapes; 3. guiding [the student] to appreciate every kind of art work, in order to arouse their interest in beauty and help [them] make a habit of loving beauty; and 4. encouraging [the student] to participate in every kind of fine art activity during their leisure time, so as to cultivate a high quality of character.<sup>540</sup> The objectives of drawing in senior secondary school were: 1. to improve the ability of painting and making every kind of drawing which fit in with the needs of life; 2. to instil theories of fine art into [the student] and let them know the factors of the formation of beauty; 3. to provide opportunity to appreciate every kind of artwork, so as to increase [their] interest in beauty;

---

<sup>537</sup> Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), pp. 4-5.

<sup>538</sup> Sun Mujian 孫慕堅 (1948), pp. 126-127.

<sup>539</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>540</sup> Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 35. Original Chinese version is: 1. 訓練繪畫及切合生活需要各項作圖的能力; 2. 灌輸美術常識, 使於人物、自然形態有精確之體察; 3. 指導欣賞各類美術作品, 使有愛美之興趣與習慣; 4. 鼓勵休閒時習作各種美術以涵養優良品性。

and 4. to encourage participation in every kind of fine art activity during their spare time, so as to cultivate a graceful character.<sup>541</sup> As there was a lack of information about the curriculum of the secondary school handcraft; it is not possible to carry out a review of this for the present study.

To summarise the above discussion, there were altogether seven curriculum guides issued from 1912 to 1948. The curriculum guides issued in 1929, 1932, 1936, 1942 and 1948 were, as reviewed herein, very similar to, or based on, the 1923 curriculum. This indicates that the 1923 curriculum guides provided a foundation for the curriculum in later years, or, as Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 point out, the issue and implementation of the 1923 curriculum guides had advantaged the further development of Chinese art education.<sup>542</sup>

The Chinese names for both art and craft subjects in primary school had been changed three times. ‘*Meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) and ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) were the terms used in many curriculum guides. The changing of names reflected changing of objectives and contents for the two art education subjects in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China. After ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was replaced by ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) and ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) by ‘*gongyi*’ 工藝 (practical arts) in the 1923 curriculum guides, the content of the subjects expanded.

The names for the two art subjects in secondary school had not been changed as often as those for primary school in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More precisely, terms for the craft subject had been changed twice and the term ‘*tuhua*’ 圖畫 (drawing) was used for the whole time. It is difficult to interpret this feature as there is a lack of information about the Chinese secondary school art education. Though names for the two art subjects

---

<sup>541</sup> Ibid., p. 35. Original Chinese version is: 1. 訓練繪畫及切合生活需要各項作圖之能力，並求其精進；2. 灌輸美術理論，使知美之構成因素；3. 供給欣賞各類美術作品之機會，提高愛美之興趣；4. 使能於休閒時自動創作各項美術，以涵養優美品格。

<sup>542</sup> Ibid., p. 29.

in secondary school seldom changed, the content of the two subjects was, as indicated above, expanding in each new version of curriculum.

Yao Jiadong 姚家棟 stated that the main reason for changing the subject names was the desire to get a more appropriate name for the two subjects.<sup>543</sup> In fact, this changing of names did reflect the Chinese art educators' understanding or expectations of the two subjects and this was demonstrated in their arguments about replacing the term 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) with 'meishu' 美術 (fine art) or 'xingxiang yishu' 形象藝術 (formative art). Besides, the changing of names also meant the realization of the Zeitgeist "learning from the West", as evidenced by the suggestion to copy American practice of naming the two art subjects while the Chinese art educators were looking for new names to replace 'tuhua' 圖畫 (drawing) and 'shougong' 手工 (*sloyd*). In addition to this, the adoption of the child-centred approach and the emphasis on art appreciation in the 1923 curriculum also demonstrated the Chinese intellectuals' wishes, using Yu Jianhua's 俞劍華 words, to keep the pace with the West at that time.<sup>544</sup>

In the late 1940s, there were a number of Chinese art educators making a review of the development of Chinese art education. All of them divided the stages of development according to the changes of names used for the two art subjects in the official curriculum guides. The next section presents a brief introductory assessment of these Chinese art educators' analyses of the development of Chinese art education in the period concerned, based on the changing terms and conditions for the two art subjects.

---

<sup>543</sup> Yao Jiadong 姚家棟 (1948), *Di nianji gongzuo jiaoxuefa* 《低年級工作教學法》 (*Teaching Hand Craft in Junior Primary Schools*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 6.

<sup>544</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1935), *Zhongxiaoxue tuhuake yi shou guohua yi* 《中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議》 (Discussion about Chinese Painting Should be Taught in Primary and Middle School). In: 《國畫月刊》, no. 5, p. 110.

#### 2.4. Different Stages of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

Pan Danming 潘淡明, Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, Yu Lihai 余禮海 and Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 had made a brief study of the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More correctly, Pan Danming 潘淡明 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 focused on the development of ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education), while Yu Lihai 余禮海 and Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 concentrated on the development of ‘*shougong jiaoyu*’ 手工教育 (handiwork education) or ‘*laozuo jiaoyu*’ 勞作教育 (labour education).

For Pan Danming 潘淡明 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, the development of art education during this period could be divided into different stages.<sup>545</sup> Though they used different terms for these stages, both used the same theme for their study, that is, the changing of names for the art and craft subjects.

Pan Danming 潘淡明 found that the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century could be divided into four phases. The first one was in art education from 1903 to 1911, the second phase was from 1912 to 1922, the third phase from 1923 to 1928 and the fourth phase from 1929 to 1948. Pan stated that the ‘*tuhua ke*’ 圖畫科 (drawing subject) in the first phase was a new subject in the new school system and was not well accepted by the Chinese. There was an unclear understanding of curriculum by the Chinese and a lack of art teachers in this phase. Therefore, the subject became optional and unimportant. Pan described the progress of art education in the second phase because drawing from life and simple geometric drawing were added in the 1912 curriculum. However, according to Pan, in reality, copying was still the main means of learning and teaching.

---

<sup>545</sup> Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), p. 3; Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948e), *Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa* 《小學美術科教材和教法》 (*Teaching Materials and Methods for Primary Art Education*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 4-5.



After more art teachers had been trained and the curriculum of drawing of some primary schools had become more comprehensive, there was a demand for reform by the end of second phase, i.e. around 1922. In the third phase, ‘*tuhua ke*’ 圖畫科 (drawing subject) was changed to ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) and there were three components of the subject: art appreciation, art making and art study. Free expression and art making with form and colours was also advocated. Pan pointed out that the curriculum design for this subject became substantial. In the fourth phase, ‘*xingxiang yishu*’ 形象藝術 (formative art) changed to ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art). For Pan, the content of curriculum of this phase was enriched and completed. It was because, as indicates below, there was a full implementation of the three components.

Pan again put the four phases under three main stages of development of Chinese art education. They were the initial stage, transition stage and completion stage. He stated that the first and second phases belonged to the initial stage of the development of Chinese art education. He found that characteristic of this stage was that the understanding of objectives of art education was hazy and the curriculum designs were also confused. At this stage, copying was the only method of teaching. Pan claimed that the aim of this kind of teaching was to make children learn drawing, and train artists for the future. This also meant that child psychology and principles of education were treated with neglect. The third phase was a transition stage for Chinese art education. Pan said that Chinese art education, being inspired by the current notions of the *Zeitgeist* and other trends in education, gradually stepped onto the right and new path. According to Pan, the fourth phase was a completion stage of the development of Chinese art education. At this stage, copying was abandoned, free expression was stressed and individual creation was respected. As well, attention was also given to art appreciation and art study, which aimed at fostering children’s aesthetic judgement and artistic expression.<sup>546</sup>

For Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century could be divided into various stages: 1. education in the formation of art; 2.

---

<sup>546</sup> Pan Danming 潘淡明 (1948), pp. 1-3.

education in the creation of art; 3. education in the appreciation of art; and 4. education in the practice of art. Wen explained briefly that the aim of teaching in the stage of education in the formation of art was to help children make realistic drawing and copying as the focus of teaching and learning. In the stage of education in the creation of art, ‘*tuhua ke*’ 圖畫科 (drawing subject) was changed to ‘*xing yi ke*’ 形藝科 (formative art). The focus of teaching at this stage was to develop individual character or style in art making. The stage of education in the appreciation of art was the period when ‘*xing yi ke*’ 形藝科 (formative art) was replaced by ‘*meishu ke*’ 美術科 (fine art subject). In this period, Wen mentioned, the fine art subject took the notion ‘enjoyment of beauty’ as a guide and there was a stress on the implementation of art appreciation. The stage of education in the practice of art started in 1936 when a revision of “Xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun” 《小學課程標準》 (Primary School Curriculum Guide) was announced. It was said to be a stage of beautifying life.<sup>547</sup>

Yu Lihai 余禮海 did not divide the development of ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China into different stages but gave a brief account of the changing of names, content and objectives of the subject throughout the period. ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) was the first name of the subject. Yu pointed out that ‘*shougong*’ 手工 (*sloyd*) was an elective subject and nothing was achieved in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1923, the subject was called ‘*gongyong yishu*’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) and became compulsory. Yu found that the guidelines for objectives, teaching methods and standard of assessment and so on, were detailed and clear. In 1929, the term ‘*gongzuo ke*’ 工作科 (work subject) was used. In 1932, ‘*gongzuo ke*’ 工作科 (work subject) was replaced by ‘*laozuo ke*’ 勞作科 (labour subject). Yu stated that though the term ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) remained in the 1936, 1942 and 1948 curriculum guides, the content of teaching changed from time to time.<sup>548</sup>

---

<sup>547</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948e), pp. 4-5.

<sup>548</sup> Yu Lihai 余禮海 (1949), pp. 1-9.

Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 had made a similar study and he also pointed out that the changing of names of the craft subject had reflected the changing of teaching objectives, teaching hours, teaching materials and teaching methods.<sup>549</sup>

These studies by the four scholars were brief, but they provided a profile of the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. All of them pointed out two critical periods of the development of Chinese art education. The first, art education in general education, was first known to China when the educational reform was carried out in 1902, the moment when the Qing government finally saw the necessity to carry out a number of institutional reforms. The second is the changing of names for the two art subjects when the American model of education system replaced the Japanese model and the content of curriculum in art education became richer in 1923, while the May Fourth Movement was being launched and the radical advocates were calling for a destruction of Chinese cultural tradition and a holistic Westernization. In the following section, this research will concentrate on analysing the characteristics of the development of Chinese art education in this period.

## 2.5. Characteristics of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

It is evident that the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century depended on Western ideas, from the rationale to every detail of the implementation of art education for general education in China. During the process of adopting Western art education, American and German ideas were incorporated.

### Importing Western art education via Japan

Similar to Western visual arts and general education, Western art education was also imported indirectly from Japan to China at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This demonstrates a realization of the late Qing officials' idea of using Japan as a bridge for

---

<sup>549</sup> Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 (1933), pp. 4-20.

China to acquire Western knowledge. As well as employing Japanese instructors and sending students to study in Japan, adopting the Japanese model of art education, which, as revealed previously, had adopted Western models almost exactly, was the other means to import Western art education to China. Furthermore, the translation of Japanese writings provided another way to import Western art education to China. Feng Zikai 豐子愷, for example, had translated many Japanese articles on Western art education such as “Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa” 《圖畫教育的方法》 (Methods of Teaching Painting) (1928) and “Jindai yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近代藝術教育運動》 (Modern Art Education Movement) (1929). The next chapter will investigate the importation of Western ideas on art education via translations of Japanese writings.

#### Importation of American art education

Given that Chinese general education was under great American influence from 1922 onwards, Chinese art education during the same period had also referenced American experiences and pedagogical thinking. As discussed above, this was reflected in the search for suitable names for the two art education subjects in the 1923 curriculum. In addition, it was also noticeable that the objectives of the two art education subjects in the 1923 curriculum and the later ones had borrowed Dewey’s pedagogy notions of the ‘Child-Centred Approach’ and ‘Education is Life’. For example, objectives such as ‘arousing children’s artistic instinct’<sup>550</sup>, ‘inspiring aesthetic instinct of students’<sup>551</sup> and ‘conforming to children’s love for fine art’<sup>552</sup> were derived from the ‘Child-Centred Approach’. And the ones like “helping them [the children] understand the relationship between fine art and life, and improving the meaning of their life”<sup>553</sup>, “helping the

---

<sup>550</sup> See Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), p. 155.

<sup>551</sup> See “Chuji zhongxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun” 《初級中學圖畫課程標準》 (Junior Secondary School Drawing Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication).

<sup>552</sup> See Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 (2005), p. 108.

<sup>553</sup> See footnote 551.

students understand the relationship between labouring and life”<sup>554</sup> and “training the ability of painting and making every kind of drawing according to the needs of life”<sup>555</sup> were derived from the concept ‘Education is Life’.

Despite the official Chinese art curriculum being under Dewey’s influence, his notions were not often referred to by the Chinese writings on art education. There were only a few examples found during this study. One of them was Wu Junsheng’s 吳俊升 “Yishu kecheng gailun” 《藝術課程概論》 (Introduction to Art Education) (1922) and the other was Huang Gongjue’s 黃公覺 “Jiamu shi zhi meiyu lun” 《嘉木氏 (Garmo) 之美育論》 (Garmo’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education) (1922). Wu mentioned Dewey’s famous notion ‘Education is Life’ and then argued that ‘life’ should be viewed as a whole, which consists of physical, intellectual and sentimental aspects. Wu went further to say that aesthetic education should not be neglected in the issue of helping students to lead a healthy and energetic life.<sup>556</sup> Huang introduced Dewey’s idea about ‘Mental images’. He then discussed how to apply this idea to the teaching of painting and music appreciation.<sup>557</sup> Generally speaking, both Wu’s and Huang’s introduction to Dewey’s pedagogic notions were very brief. It seems that they intended to make use of Dewey’s concept to support their own arguments about the importance of art education rather than providing a systematic study of Dewey’s theories.

### Importation of German theories

The American influence on Chinese art education, especially in the area of curriculum design, was apparent. However, this did not overshadow the considerable German

---

<sup>554</sup> See “Chuji zhongxue laozuo (gongyi) kecheng biao zhun” 《初級中學勞作(工藝)課程標準》 (Junior Secondary School Labour [Handiwork] Curriculum Guide). In: Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), p. 1 (numbering restarted each section of this publication).

<sup>555</sup> See Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 35.

<sup>556</sup> Wu Junsheng 吳俊升 (1922), “Yishu kecheng gailun” 《藝術課程概論》 (Introduction to Art Education). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 12, no. 1, pp. 1-7 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>557</sup> Huang Gongjue 黃公覺 (1922), “Jiamu shi zhi meiyu lun” 《嘉木氏(Garmo)之美育論》 (Garmo’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 14, no. 9, p. 20461.

influence on Chinese art education. As indicated previously, the German term ‘*aesthetische Erziehung*’ (aesthetic education) was introduced through both indirect and direct means to China in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, according to Shu Xincheng 舒新城, was the key person in the field of Chinese aesthetic educational thinking and his notions on aesthetic education were based on his impression of German aesthetic education and especially under the influence of Kant.<sup>558</sup> Cai himself had also clearly pointed out that he was impressed by the aesthetic education in Germany.<sup>559</sup> He mentioned that aesthetic education in Europe developed consciously after Schiller’s discussion about aesthetic education in *Briefe über die aesthetische Erziehung* (Letters on Aesthetic Education) and provided lots of valuable ideas for Chinese art education. Cai went further, claiming that his suggestions for setting up facilities for aesthetic education in China were based on the comparison of Chinese and European social-cultural contexts.<sup>560</sup>

In many Chinese writings, in particular those devoted to theoretical discussions about art education, ideas of German philosophers (like Kant, Schiller and Johannes Volkelt) or art educators (like Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark) were introduced.

Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 mentioned in his article “Meiyu shi shenme?” 《美育是什麼？》 (What is Aesthetic Education) (1920) that the purpose of introducing Western theories was to build up a foundation for Chinese aesthetic education. Most of the Western theories referred to by Wu were from Germany and he devoted nearly half of his article to study Johannes Volkelt’s writings on aesthetics. He also introduced Kant’s aesthetic theories and the famous figures of German art education movement, like Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark.<sup>561</sup>

---

<sup>558</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1929), pp. 184-188.

<sup>559</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1999), *Jiemin zishu* 《子民自述》 (*Jiemin’s Account*). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin 江蘇人民, pp. 52-55; also see Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1929), p. 184.

<sup>560</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1930a). In: Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1983), p. 175.

<sup>561</sup> Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 (1920), pp. 50-59.

Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 in the preface to his book *Yishu jiaoyu xue* 《藝術教育學》 (*Art Pedagogy*) (1925b) noted that there was no book especially written for art education at his time and that one of the aims of his book was to make a systematic introduction of the notions of different art educators. As he pointed out, many German scholars' ideas on art education were introduced in his book. The German philosophers or art educators he referred to included Schiller, Konard Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, J. Leisching, A. Dresdner, A. Schmarsow, Volkelt and Sallwuk, etc.<sup>562</sup>

In his book *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu jiaoxuefa* 《小學形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930), Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 borrowed Konrad Lange's notion of the aim of art education and other German art educators' ideas to discuss the objectives of 'xingxiang yishu' 形象藝術 (formative art) for the 1923 primary school curriculum drafted by him. For example, he made a very brief comparison of the three different German notions of art education, namely, Konard Lange's idea about 'enjoyment of beauty', A. Dresdner's 'Creation of beauty' and A. Schmarsow's 'enjoyment and creation of beauty' and then stated that the objective 'fostering ability of expression and creation of beauty' in the 1923 curriculum guides was derived from A. Schmarsow's eclectic view of art education.<sup>563</sup>

As German influence has been selected as an example for this study of Western influence on Chinese art education, Chapter V, therefore will provide an in-depth examination of Chinese art educators' study of German ideas on art education and an analysis of how this reflected Chinese art educators' attitudes towards learning from the West.

#### Neglect of Chinese cultural tradition and blind adoption of foreign models

Ironically, in contrast to learning from the West, there was a neglect of Chinese cultural traditions such as visual arts, aesthetics, education or visual arts education in official curriculum guides. Though art appreciation had become one of the important components

---

<sup>562</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), pp. 143-153.

<sup>563</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), p. 13.

of art education after the 1923 curriculum guides appeared, it was not until the 1948 curriculum guides that the idea of “guiding the children to understand and appreciate Chinese art”<sup>564</sup> was first announced. In his “Zhongxiaoxue tuhuake yi shou guohua yi” 《中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議》 (Discussion about Chinese Painting Should be Taught in Primary and Middle School) (1935), Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 was critical that though Chinese painting had a long history and good quality, it was being ignored in schools and official curriculum guides. Considering that the entire Chinese school curriculum was copied from the West, Yu was critical of the fact that the curriculum guides seemed to be designed not for Chinese but European and American.<sup>565</sup>

Besides the neglect of Chinese cultural traditions in official curriculum guides, there also was, as He Jingyuan 何景元 noted with disapproval, a lack of discussion about the teaching of Chinese painting among the many discussions about primary school art education in his time.<sup>566</sup> The survey of this research also finds an overwhelming amount of Chinese writing was devoted to importing Western ideas on art education. In the next chapter, there will be an in-depth study of the process and kind of Western ideas imported by the Chinese art educators.

There were also criticisms of blind adoption of other countries’ models of art education in China and this signified Chinese art educators’ attitudes toward learning from the West. As pointed out in Chapter I, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 had criticized the way Chinese art educators learned from the West in his book *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu de yanjiu* 《小學美術教學的研究》 (*Study of Art Teaching in Primary School*) (1934). In Yu’s opinion, Chinese art education had blindly adopted Utilitarianism at the very beginning and then a “Child-Centred Approach” in the 1920s and 1930s. His statement, “the other walks, we walk; the other runs, we also run. We would not be able to show any result if we used the slogans

---

<sup>564</sup> Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 and Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), p. 35.

<sup>565</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1935), pp. 110-111.

<sup>566</sup> He Jingyuan 何景元 (1927), “Xiaoxue meishu yu guohua” 《小學美術與國畫》 (Primary Fine Art and Chinese Painting). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 16, no. 7, p. 1 (numbering restarted each article). The original Chinese version is: 夫國畫亦美術之一，而今之言小學美術者少論及之，殊可怪也！



plagiarized from others to replace our signboard”, clearly revealed his worry about the Chinese art educators’ dependence on Western ideas.

Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 and Wang Xinqu 王欣渠 in their article “Putong xuexiao de gongyike jiaoxuefa” 《普通學校的工藝科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Common School Practical Arts) (1923) also pointed out that there was first of all a blind adoption of Japanese models at the very early stage of the introduction of the craft subject to China. Then there was a blind implementation of Pragmatism around 1914. They also stated that schools had become “factories” and students had become “apprentices” when the thinking about vocational education became popular in China around 1918.<sup>567</sup>

Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 argued that the education model of every country had its own special features, strengths and ways to deal with problems. And he found it absolutely terrifying that the Western model was copied with reckless disregard as to whether it was suitable for China. Yu explained that Japanese model of school curriculum had been adopted without considering whether it was apposite to China at first. Then, following a direct communication with Europe and America, schools in China were Europeanized. Yu protested indignantly that it seemed China was a country without culture and every Chinese should be changed into a Westerner.<sup>568</sup>

Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 related this phenomenon to the political and socio-cultural circumstances in China since the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Yu stated that being shaken by Western powers and realising the weakness of China, the Chinese attitude to the West changed from rejection to worship. And in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Yu described, the Chinese were so eager to follow the West that they took no notice of the question of whether the imported ideas were suitable for China:

Whatever is possessed by Europe and America, China should also have it, regardless whether the Chinese need it or not. Whatever could not be found in

---

<sup>567</sup> Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 and Wang Xinqu 王欣渠 (1923), “Putong xuexiao de gongyike jiaoxuefa” 《普通學校的工藝科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Common School Practical Arts). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 15, no. 1, p. 21000.

<sup>568</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1935), p. 110.

Europe and America, China should not get it, disregarding if [this decision] violates the character of the [Chinese] nation or not.<sup>569</sup>

This study finds that the Chinese art educators either imported Western ideas on art education consciously or unconsciously. There are two possible explanations for this supposition. First, the Chinese art educators might have found it necessary or natural to borrow all sorts of ideas from the West as art education for general education was an entirely new idea from the West, and, as both Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 proclaimed, there was a lack of study of art education in China.<sup>570</sup> Secondly, as Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 maintained, it might have been affected by the political and socio-cultural circumstances in China. The grand debate on Westernization or total Westernization in the 1920s and 1930s meant that the trend of Westernization was irresistible to many Chinese art educators. In other words, they were driven to follow the trend and borrow Western ideas for their discussions about art education. In contrast to the heated discussions about revitalizing Chinese painting with Western techniques, this research could find little argument about borrowing Western ideas for the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More exactly, there was no advocacy evident for learning from Western art education but criticisms against the blind adoption of the foreign model were apparent. This suggests that there was no need for the Chinese art educators to make any effort to promote the learning of Western art education because, as pointed out above, “learning from the West” was in train in Chinese society. Or in other words, many Chinese art educators had already shown their enthusiasm for importing Western art education to China, as indicated by these criticisms.

#### Uneven discussions about primary and secondary school art education

The studies of Pan Danming 潘淡明, Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Yu Lihai 余禮海 were actually about the development of art education in Chinese primary schools. According to this study, most of the Chinese writings on art education, except those talking about the

---

<sup>569</sup> Ibid., original Chinese version is: 凡歐美之所有，俱爲吾人所當有，吾人之需要與否不顧也。凡歐美之所無，亦俱爲吾人所不應有，違反民性與否不顧也。

<sup>570</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), preface; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1932), preface.

rationale of art education, were devoted to the primary education levels. In contrast, information about secondary school art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was very rare and indicates a lack of studies of art education in secondary education in China during this period. As well, very few copies of official curriculum guides for secondary school art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century can be found. This finding echoes Xiong Mingan's 熊明安 discovery that the Republican Government paid more attention to primary school education.<sup>571</sup> A large number of discussions about primary school art education indicate its attraction to the Chinese art educators in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Detailed information about the survey of these Chinese writings could be found in the next chapter.

### 3. Conclusions

This chapter reveals that China had its own system of knowledge for school curriculum in traditional education, which was targeted on the teaching of human relations and ethics.<sup>572</sup> While the Chinese traditional knowledge system emphasized the introverted process of self development, Li Huaxing 李華興 points out, the characteristic of the modern Western knowledge system is extroverted and aims at mastering nature. Following the reform of the school education at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the modern Western knowledge of science, technology, humanities and social science began to penetrate into China. When the 1922 *Renxu School Regulations* were announced, according to Li Huaxing 李華興, the traditional Chinese system of knowledge had almost been eliminated and the modern Western system of knowledge was already coming to dominate the Chinese school education curriculum.<sup>573</sup>

Art education for general school education was new to China. During the process of building up Chinese art education, an overwhelming number of Western ideas were

---

<sup>571</sup> Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), p. 136.

<sup>572</sup> Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), p. 168.

<sup>573</sup> Ibid.

appropriated. These included the rationales as well as ideas about objectives, content, teaching method and assessment for art education. Despite China having a unique and rich visual cultural tradition, Chinese visual culture was often neglected in the official curriculum as well as in written discussions about art education. In this sense, the development of Chinese art education was westernized. This finding thus answers the central question treated in this chapter – to depict and examine the development of art education in China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Due to the eagerness of the Chinese art educators to learn from the West, Western influence on the development of curriculum for Chinese art education during the whole period was noticeable. Besides, this keenness to borrow Western ideas on art education also contributed to a faster pace of Westernization of Chinese culture in general. In the next chapter, a survey of the importation of Western ideas through Chinese writings on art education will be undertaken.

## CHAPTER IV

### IMPORTATION OF WESTERN IDEAS ON ART EDUCATION THROUGH PUBLICATIONS OF CHINESE WRITINGS IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

The idea of “learning from the West”, as indicated in the previous chapter, had penetrated into many aspects in China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The development of art education as well as visual arts and general education at this time had borrowed many ideas from the West. The written texts published during this period demonstrated further evidence of this phenomenon. Thus, the main focus of this part of the study has been to investigate the importation of Western knowledge through the writings on art education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China. In order to have a better understanding, it was important to make a brief investigation into the Western theories found in the Chinese writings on visual arts before studying the relevant Chinese writings on art education. The following discussions reflect this.

Research for this study has found that 921 books and journals on the visual arts, including 34 books on art education, were published in China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This total was developed through the analysis of Wen Zhaotong’s 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu’s 陳池瑜 study and Xu Zhihao’s 許志浩 survey.<sup>574</sup> This research finds 351 pieces publications on art education, including 78 books and 273 articles. The total figure of books on art education was arrived at through searches in the major libraries in China: Beijing National Library, Shanghai Library and Beijing University Library. The number of articles was obtained through researching journals for art education and general education.

---

<sup>574</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1965), *1912-1949 nian meishu lilun shumu* 《1912–1949年美術理論書目》 (*Bibliography of Art Theories 1912-1949*). Shanghai 上海: Renmin meishu 人民美術; Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), *Zhongguo xiandai meishuxue shi* 《中國現代美術學史》 (*History of Modern Chinese Science of Art*). Haerbin 哈爾濱: Heilongjiang meishu 黑龍江美術; Xu Zhihao 許志浩 (1992), *1911-1949 zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu* 《1911-1949中國美術期刊過眼錄》 (*1911-1949 Records of the Looked Over Chinese Art Journals*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫.

Compared with the number of books and journals devoted to visual arts, the number of written texts devoted to art education is small. This finding is verified by Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 1925 observation that there were limited discussions about art education.<sup>575</sup> Besides, Chinese art educators such as Feng Zikai 豐子愷, pointed out in 1928 that it was the lack of discussion about art education that impelled them to write or translate art education texts.<sup>576</sup> This indicates that the development of art education in China was at an embryonic stage in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In spite of the relatively small figure, this number of written texts provides much valuable information for any research on the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. After a review of these writings, this study has found that their most common characteristic was that many of them introduced Western concepts and ideas on art education to the Chinese intelligentsia, artists and art educators.

For the sake of clarity, the study on visual arts publications in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China is divided into three categories: books on visual arts, articles on visual arts and factors contributing to the importation of Western ideas on art to China. The study of art education publications in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China further consists of two subsections: books on art education and articles on art education, followed by an analysis.

## 1. Visual Arts Publications

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, there were hundreds of books and journals on visual arts published and much Western knowledge and ideas easily can be found among these writings.

---

<sup>575</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), p. 33.

<sup>576</sup> Kuroda Hōshin 黑田鵬信; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1928), "Yishu gailun" 《藝術概論》 (Introduction to Art), preface. In: Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶, Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 and Feng Yuancao 豐元草 (eds.) (1992), *Feng Zikai wenji* 《豐子愷文集》 (*Collected Works of Feng Zikai*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang wenyi 浙江文藝, p. 110.

### 1.1. The Importation of Western Ideas on Visual Arts through Books

According to the survey of Wen zhaotong 溫肇桐, 492 books on general theory of visual arts, aesthetics, art history, art appreciation, art education and so on were published between 1912 and 1949<sup>577</sup>. In Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 *Zhongguo xiandai meishuxue shi* 《中國現代美術學史》 (*History of Modern Chinese Science of Art*) (2000), it was recorded that 567 books on the same subject were published. Needless to say, many book titles appeared in both Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 records. (see table 1)

Table 1 Examples of Book Titles Appearing in Both Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 Records

	Author	Date of publication	Book Title	Remarks
1.	Lü Jun 呂澐	1914	<i>Fengjing huafa</i> 《風景畫法》 ( <i>Methods of Landscape Painting</i> )	
2.	Shen Liangneng 沈良能	1917	<i>Toushixue</i> 《透視學》 ( <i>Practical Treatise on Perspective</i> )	
3.	Chen Wangdao 陳望道	1927	<i>Meixue gailun</i> 《美學概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Aesthetics</i> )	
4.	Lü Cheng 呂澐	1923	<i>Meixue gailun</i> 《美學概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Aesthetics</i> )	
5.	Feng Hao 馮皓, Feng Gan 馮幹 and Feng Yan 馮彥	1923	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學美術教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Primary School Fine Art</i> )	
6.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1928	<i>Yishu jiaoyu ABC</i> 《藝術教育 ABC》 ( <i>Art Education ABC</i> )	
7.	Huang Chan Hua 黃懺華	1927	<i>Meishu gailun</i> 《美術概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Fine Arts</i> )	
8.	Xiao Shijun 蕭石君	1928	<i>Xiyang meishushi gangyao</i> 《西洋美術史綱要》 ( <i>Outline of the History of Western Arts</i> )	
9.	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1929	<i>Yanghua ABC</i> 《洋畫 ABC》 ( <i>Western Art ABC</i> )	
10.	Fan Shoukang 范壽康	1930	<i>Yishu zhi benzhi</i> 《藝術之本質》 ( <i>The Nature of Art</i> )	
11.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1932	<i>Yishu gailun</i> 《藝術概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Art</i> )	
12.	Hong Yiran 洪毅然	1936	<i>Yishujia xiuyang lun</i> 《藝術家修養論》 ( <i>The Cultivation of Artist</i> )	
13.	Zhang Zehou 張澤厚	1933	<i>Yishuxue dagang</i> 《藝術學大綱》 ( <i>Outline of the Science of Art</i> )	
14.	Chan Yi 陳易 E. Grosse	1933	<i>Yishu zhi qi yuan</i> 《藝術之起源》 ( <i>The Origin of Art</i> )	
15.	Ma Guoliang 馬國亮	1933	<i>Huihua xinshang</i> 《繪畫欣賞》 ( <i>Appreciation of Painting</i> )	
16.	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1941	<i>Yanghua xinshang ji meishu changshi</i> 《洋畫欣賞及美術常識》 ( <i>Appreciation of Western Painting and Common Knowledge of Art</i> )	

<sup>577</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1965).

Both Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 records show that the publication of books on visual arts started in the 1910s and reached its height in the 1930s. The publication of books on art education will be investigated in the next section of this chapter.

Many Western ideas were introduced in these books on visual arts. Simply by using the term *Xiyang* 西洋 (Western), the name of the continent or the country for the book title, the Chinese authors delivered a clear message that their books were about the Western idea of arts. (See table 2)

Table 2 Examples of Books with the Term *Xiyang* 西洋 (Western) or Including the Name of the Continent or the Country as Title

	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Remarks
1.	Wu Mengfei 吳夢非	1926	<i>Xihua gaiyao</i> 《西畫概要》 ( <i>Essentials of Western Art</i> )	
2.	Li Jinfa 李金髮	1928	<i>Yidali ji qi yishu gangyao</i> 《意大利及其藝術概要》 ( <i>Italy and the Essentials of Italian Art</i> )	
3.	Xiao Shijun 蕭石君	1928	<i>Xiyang meishushi gangyao</i> 《西洋美術史綱要》 ( <i>An Outline of the History of Western Arts</i> )	
4.	Ni Yide 倪貽德	1930	<i>Xiyanghua gailun</i> 《西洋畫概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Western Painting</i> )	
5.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1933	<i>Xiyang meishu shi</i> 《西洋美術史》 ( <i>History of Western Art</i> )	
6.	Chen Zhifo 陳之佛	1934	<i>Xiyang meishu gailun</i> 《西洋美術概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Western Art</i> )	
7.	Wang Jiyuan 王濟遠 and Ni Yide 倪貽德	1935	<i>Xiyang huafa gangyao</i> 《西洋畫法綱要》 ( <i>An Outline of Western Painting Techniques</i> )	
8.	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	1936	<i>Ouzhou minghua daguan</i> 《歐洲名畫大觀》 ( <i>A Magnificent Spectacle of European Master Pieces</i> )	
9.	Wang Yunwu 王雲五	1945	<i>Xiyang meishushi</i> 《西洋美術史》 ( <i>History of Western Art</i> )	
10.	Wu Jingsong 吳景崧	1947	<i>Xiandai ouzhou yishu sichao</i> 《現代歐洲藝術思潮》 ( <i>Thinking of Modern European Art</i> )	

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine arts), ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art), ‘*meixue*’ 美學 (aesthetics)<sup>578</sup>, ‘*toushixue*’ 透視學 (perspective), ‘*secaixue*’ 色彩學 (colour theory),

<sup>578</sup> Zhu Liyuan and Blocker, Gene (eds.) (1995), *Contemporary Chinese Aesthetics*. New York: Peter Lang, pp. 1-11.



‘wenyi xinlixue’ 文藝心理學 (psychology of literature and art), ‘shuicaihua’ 水彩畫 (water colour painting)<sup>579</sup>, ‘youhua’ 油畫 (oil paintings)<sup>580</sup>, and so on represented new terms, new concepts, new art theories and new means of artistic expression, all imported from the West. By using these new terms in the title, these books indicated that they were primarily concerned with the Western study of visual arts. (See table 3)

Table 3 Examples of Books with the New Visual Art Terms or Concepts as Title

	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Remarks
1.	Shen Liangneng 沈良能	1917	<i>Toushixue</i> 《透視學》 ( <i>Practical Treatise on Perspective</i> )	
2.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1923	<i>Meixue qianshuo</i> 《美學淺說》 ( <i>A Brief Study of Aesthetic</i> )	
3.	Hua Lin 華林	1925	<i>Yishu sichao</i> 《藝術思潮》 ( <i>Trend of Thought in Art</i> )	
4.	Xu Jieyi 須戒己	1925	<i>Xinti xiasheng shuicaihua</i> 《新體寫生水彩畫》 ( <i>New Technique for Sketching with Watercolour</i> )	
5.	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1926	<i>Youhuaafa zhi jichu</i> 《油畫法之基礎》 ( <i>Foundational Techniques for Oil Painting</i> )	
6.	Huang Chan Hua 黃懺華	1927	<i>Meishu gailun</i> 《美術概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Fine Arts</i> )	
7.	Xu Qingyu 徐慶譽	1928	<i>Mei de zhexue</i> 《美的哲學》 ( <i>Philosophy of Beauty</i> )	
8.	Li Weici 李慰慈	1930	<i>Shiyong secaixue</i> 《實用色彩學》 ( <i>Practical Colour Theory</i> )	
9.	Jiang Danshu 姜丹書	1930	<i>Yiyong jiepoxue</i> 《藝用解剖學》 ( <i>Anatomy for Artistic Use</i> )	
10.	Zhang Zehou 張澤厚	1933	<i>Yishuxue dagang</i> 《藝術學大綱》 ( <i>Outline of the Science of Art</i> )	
11.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1933	<i>Sumiao rumen</i> 《素描入門》 ( <i>Introduction to Drawing</i> )	
12.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1934	<i>Youhua rumen</i> 《油畫入門》 ( <i>Oil Painting ABC</i> )	
13.	Zhu Guangqian 朱光潛	1936	<i>Wenyi xinlixue</i> 《文藝心理學》 ( <i>Psychology of Art and Literature</i> )	

## 1.2. The Importation of Western Ideas on Visual Arts through Articles

Journal articles were the other important channel for importing Western visual arts to China at this time. In Xu Zhihao’s 許志浩 *1911-1949 zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu* 《1911-1949 中國美術期刊過眼錄》 (*1911-1949 Records of the Looked Over Chinese*

<sup>579</sup> Yuan Zhenao 袁振藻 (2000), *Zhongguo shuicaihua shi* 《中國水彩畫史》 (*The History of Watercolour Painting in China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai huabao 上海畫報.

<sup>580</sup> Li Chao 李超 (1995).

*Art Journals*) (1992), 354 arts journals published between 1911 and 1949 were recorded. Xu noted that there were 9 new art journals published in China during the 1910s, 64 in the 1920s, 175 in the 1930s and 106 in the 1940s. Again, the publication of art journals peaked in the 1930s. Besides classifying the art journals according to the dates of publication, Xu also groups them into eight categories. These were catch-all (generalist), ceramics, comics, printing, sculpture, ‘*jinshi shuhua*’ 金石書畫 (literal translation ‘*jinshi*’ 金石 means inscriptions on ancient Chinese bronzes and stone tablets and ‘*shuhua*’ 書畫 means calligraphy and painting), oil paintings and Chinese paintings. Many art journals published at the time existed for one issue only and most lasted for one or two years, with few surviving for more than four to five years. (See table 4)

Table 4 Xu Zhihao’s 許志浩 Classifications of Art Journals

	Category	Art Journal Title	1 <sup>st</sup> Issue Date	Total No. of Issues	Remarks
1.	Generalist art journals	<i>Zhenxiang huabao</i> 《真相畫報》 ( <i>The Truth Pictorial</i> )	1912-1913	17	This category had the highest number of publications.
2.		<i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> )	1920-1922	7	
3.		<i>Yishujie</i> 《藝術界》 ( <i>World of Arts</i> )	1926-1927	26	
4.		<i>Yadanna</i> 《亞丹娜》 ( <i>Adonna</i> )	1931-1931	10	
5.		<i>Meishu shenghuo</i> 《美術生活》 ( <i>Arts and Life</i> )	1934-1937	41	
6.		<i>Yishu yu shenghuo</i> 《藝術與生活》 ( <i>Art and Life</i> )	1939-1944	40	
7.		<i>Xin meishu</i> 《新美術》 ( <i>New Fine Arts</i> )	1941-1941	3	
8.		<i>Xin yishu</i> 《新藝術》 ( <i>New Art</i> )	1948-1948	2	
9.	Ceramics journal	<i>Taoci banyuekan</i> 《陶瓷半月刊》 ( <i>Ceramics Fortnightly</i> )	1944-1948	42	Only one example for this category
10.	Comics journals	<i>Huaji huabao</i> 《滑稽畫報》 ( <i>Comic Journal</i> )	1911-1911	1	
11.		<i>Manhua shenghuo</i> 《漫畫·生活》 ( <i>Cartoon - Life</i> )	1934-1935	13	
12.		<i>Kangzhan manhua</i> 《抗戰漫畫》 ( <i>Anti-Japanese War Cartoon</i> )	1938-1940	15	
13.		<i>Manhua yu muke</i> 《漫畫與木刻》 ( <i>Cartoon and Woodcut</i> )	1939-1939	1	
14.	Printing journals	<i>Yiyuan zhaohua</i> 《藝苑朝花》 ( <i>Morning Glory of Art Studio</i> )	1929-1930	5	
15.		<i>Xiandai banhua</i> 《現代版畫》 ( <i>Modern Wood Printing</i> )	1934-1937	18	
16.		<i>Muke congji</i> 《木刻叢集》 ( <i>Woodcut Collection</i> )	1939-1941	5	
17.		<i>Zhanshi muke huabao</i> 《戰時木刻畫》 ( <i>Wartime Woodcut Journal</i> )	1940-1940	1	
18.		<i>Shidai banhua</i> 《時代版畫》 ( <i>Contemporary Woodprinting</i> )			

19.	Sculpture journals	<i>Shenche</i> 《神車》 ( <i>Fantastic Vehicles</i> )	1933-1935	30	Three examples for this category
20.		<i>Yonghegong daoguan suokanwu</i> 《雍和宮導觀所刊物》 ( <i>Publication of Taoist Temple of Palace Yonghe</i> )	1934-1934	1	
21.		<i>Dunhuang yizhan teji</i> 《敦煌藝展特輯》 ( <i>Exhibition of the Art of Dunhuang</i> )	1948-1948	1	
22.	Inscription journals	<i>Yishu congbian</i> 《藝術叢編》 ( <i>Art Series</i> )	1916-1920	24	
23.		<i>Jinshi huabao</i> 《金石畫報》 ( <i>Metal and Stone Inscription Pictorial</i> )	1925-1925	13	
24.		<i>Jinshi shuhua</i> 《金石書畫》 ( <i>Metal and Stone Inscription, Calligraphy and Painting</i> )	1934-1937	81	
25.		<i>Caoshu yuekan</i> 《草書月刊》 ( <i>Grass Script Monthly</i> )	1941 1947-1948	6	
26.	Oil painting	<i>Lida xueyuan meishuyuan xihuaxi di er jie huihua zhanlanhui tekan</i> 《立達學園美術院西畫系第二屆繪畫展覽會特刊》 ( <i>The 2<sup>nd</sup> Exhibition of Painting of Western Painting Department, Faculty of Fine Arts, Lida College</i> )	1928	1	One example for this category
27.	Chinese painting	<i>Zaoxing meishu</i> 《造型美術》 ( <i>Formative Arts</i> )	1924	1	
28.		<i>Gugong zhouban</i> 《故宮周刊》 ( <i>Palace Museum Weekly</i> )	1929-1936	510	
29.		<i>Zhonghua guohua zazhi</i> 《中華國畫雜誌》 ( <i>Chinese Painting Journal</i> )	1932-1937	58	
30.		<i>Guohua yuekan</i> 《國畫月刊》 ( <i>Chinese Painting Monthly</i> )	1934-1935	12	
31.		<i>Danqing</i> 《丹青》 ( <i>Chinese Painting</i> )	1947-1947	1	

The art journals which were grouped into the “catch-all” category achieved the highest number of publications. There was only one example of an oil painting journal and ceramics journal in Xu’s record and three examples were devoted to sculpture. This category created by Xu highlights the vitality of the publication of art journals in different decades of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the variety of the themes the art journals were devoted to. This also reflects the diversification of the Chinese scholars’ interest in visual arts and, importantly, the then current trends or thinking such as new fine arts, wartime woodcut and contemporary woodprinting.

Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 made a brief study of the publication of art journals in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century China in his book<sup>581</sup>. He did not provide a full record but simply stated that there were around three hundred art journals published between 1912 and 1949.

<sup>581</sup> Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), pp. 45-53.

Chen grouped the art journals according to the period of publication and divided them into three different periods. The first period was the 1910s, the second was the 1920s and the third was the 1930s and 1940s.

Chen named three important art journals published in the 1910s. Among these three journals, both *Mingxing huabao* 《明星畫報》 (*Film Star Journal*) (first issued in 1918) and *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) (first issued in 1918) were published by ‘*Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan*’ 上海圖畫美術院 (Shanghai Drawing and Fine Art School) (Figure 6).<sup>582</sup> For the third one, *Zhonghua meishu bao* 《中華美術報》 (*Zhonghua Fine Art Journal*) (first issued in 1918), it was published by ‘*Shanghai zhonghua meishu zhuanmen xuexiao*’ 上海中華美術專門學校 (Shanghai Chinese Fine Art Institute).

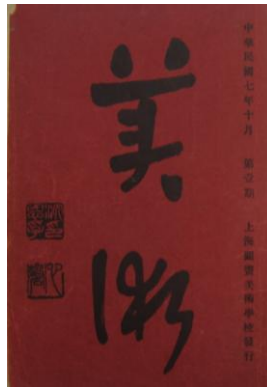


Figure 6 *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) Published by ‘*Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan*’ 上海圖畫美術院 (Shanghai Drawing and Fine Art School)

There were, according to Chen, three groups of art journals published in the 1920s and Chen classifies them according to their publishers. The publishers of the first group were art societies or study groups, the second group was published by art academies and the third group by commercial publishers. Obviously, Chen’s classification puts stress on the

---

<sup>582</sup> ‘*Shanghai tuhua meishu yuan*’ 上海圖畫美術院 (Shanghai Drawing and Fine Art School) was found in 1913, the first name was ‘*Tuhua meishu yuan*’ 圖畫美術院 (Drawing and Fine Art School). It changed its name to ‘*Shanghai tuhua meishu xueyuan*’ 上海圖畫美術學院 in 1915, ‘*Shanghai meishu xuexiao*’ 上海美術學校 in 1920, ‘*Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao*’ 上海美術專門學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School) in 1921 and ‘*Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao*’ 上海美術專科學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School) in 1930. See Xu Changming 徐昌韶 (ed.) (2004), p. 268.

role of the different organisations in the publication of art journals and the promotion of studying visual arts. (See table 5)

Table 5 Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 Classifications of Art Journals

	Category	Publisher Name	Art Journal Title	First Issue
1.	Art societies or study groups	Shanghai zhonghua meiyuhui meiyu zazhishe 上海中華美育會美育雜誌社 (Aesthetic Education Journal, Society of Zhonghua Aesthetic Education Shanghai)	<i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> )	1920
2.		Beijingdaxue huafa yanjiusuo 北京大學畫法研究所 (Institute of Painting, Peking University)	<i>Huixue zazhi</i> 《繪學雜誌》 ( <i>Journal of Drawing</i> )	1920
3.		Beijingdaxue zaoxing meishu yanjiuhui 北京大學造形美術研究會 (Society of Formative Arts, Peking University)	<i>Zaoxing meishu</i> 《造形美術》 ( <i>Formative Arts</i> )	1924
4.		Shanghai yishu xuehui 上海藝術學會 (Shanghai Art Society)	<i>Xin yishu</i> 《新藝術》 ( <i>New Art</i> )	1926
5.		Beipinghu shehuahui 北平湖社畫會 (Beiping Pinghu Art Society)	<i>Hushe yuekan</i> 《湖社月刊》 ( <i>Hushe Monthly</i> )	1927
6.	Art academies	Nanjing meishu zhuanmen xuexiao 南京美術專門學校 (Nanjing Fine Art School)	<i>Nanmei zazhi</i> 《南美雜誌》 ( <i>Southern Art Journal</i> )	1923
7.		Jinan hanmoyuan meishuyuan 濟南翰墨緣美術院 (Jinan Chinese Ink Painting School)	<i>Hanmoyuan</i> 《翰墨緣》 ( <i>Brush and Ink</i> )	1925
8.		Xihu guoli Hangzhou yishu zhuanke xuexiao 西湖國立杭州藝術專科學校 (Xihu National Hangzhou Art School)	<i>Yaboluo</i> 《亞波羅》 ( <i>Apollo</i> )	1928
9.		Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao 上海美術專門學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School)	<i>Congling</i> 《葱嶺》 ( <i>Congling</i> )	1929
10.	Publishing house or press	Shanghai meishu huabaoshe 上海美術畫報社 (Shanghai Fine Art Illustrated Journal)	<i>Meishu huabao</i> 《美術畫報》 ( <i>Fine Art Illustrated Journal</i> )	1926
11.		Shanghai guanghua shuju 上海光華書局 (Shanghai Guanghua Book Store) (published the first issue); Shanghai liangyou tushu gongsi 上海良友圖書公司 (Shanghai Young Companion Books Company) (published the second issue and there after)	<i>Yishujie</i> 《藝術界》 ( <i>World of Art</i> )	1926
12.		Shanghai meiyu zazhishe 上海美育雜誌社 (Shanghai Mi-Yo Journal)	<i>Meiyu zazhi</i> 《美育雜誌》 ( <i>Mi-Yo Journal</i> )	1928

Chen states that the publication of new art journals continued in the 1930s and 1940s. He makes a brief introduction of some important art journals, such as *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*) (first issued in 1930), *Yishu xun kan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*) (first issued in 1932)

and *Zhongguo meishujie jikan* 《中國美術界季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*) (first issued in 1936) (Figure 7).



Figure 7 (From left to right) *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*), *Yishu xun kan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*) and *Zhongguo meishujie jikan* 《中國美術界季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*)

Writings on arts can be found not only in arts journals but also in various other types of journals and newspapers. For example, *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*) (Figure 8) published many discussions on visual arts. According to the preface of the reprint of *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*), the aim of this journal was to expound and propagate academic study and to enlighten society.<sup>583</sup> As Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 points out that *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*) was an influential generalist journal in the academic field in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China<sup>584</sup>. It was, Chen states, a “Review of Reviews” on politics, culture, education, business, current affairs and religion, and so on.<sup>585</sup> Topics of the articles on visual arts published in this journal included discussions about Chinese visual arts and the introduction of aesthetics and visual arts in many European countries such as Spain, Italy, France, Hungary, Denmark, England, Russia and Germany. As well, visual arts from non-Western countries such as India, Mexico and Persia were introduced. (See table 6) This variety of initiatives signified that *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern*

<sup>583</sup> Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1971), “Chongyin dongfang zazhi quanbu jiukan wushi juan xu” 《重印東方雜誌全部舊刊五十卷序》 (Preface – Reprint the Entire Old Issues of *Dongfang zazhi*). In: *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*), no. 1. (Reprint).

<sup>584</sup> Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), p. 45.

<sup>585</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 47.

*Miscellany*) aimed at providing the readers with a broad view of visual arts from all over the world, with an emphasis on European countries.

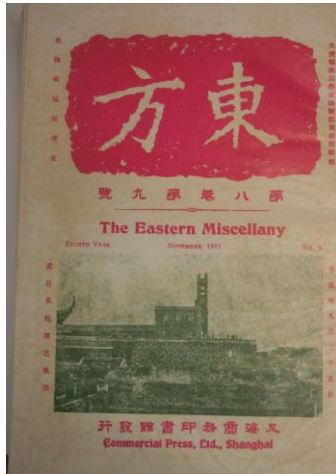


Figure 8 *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*)

Table 6 Examples of Articles on Foreign Visual Arts Published in *Dongfang zazhi* 《東方雜誌》 (*The Eastern Miscellany*)

	Author	Publication Date	Article Title	Journal Issue Number
1.	Yao Baoming 姚寶銘	1912	“Zhong de huaxue zhi yitong” 《中德畫學之異同》 (Similarities and Differences Between Chinese and German Visual Arts)	vol. 8, no. 10.
2.	Lü Qinzong 呂琴仲	1917	“Xin huapai lüeshuo” 《新畫派略說》 (Brief Study of New Paintings)	vol. 14, no. 7.
3.	Ma Lu 馬鹿	1921	“Yi wei xinjin de falanxi yishujia” 《一位新進的法蘭西藝術家》 (A Fresh French Artist)	vol. 18, no. 6.
4.	Teng Ruoqu 滕若渠	1921	“Keluosi meixue shang de xin xueshuo” 《柯洛斯美學上的新學說》 (Croce’s New Aesthetic Theory)	vol. 18, no. 8.
5.	You Xiong 幼雄	1921	“Biaoxian zhuyi de yishu” 《表現主義的藝術》 (The Art of Expressionism)	vol. 18, no. 8.
6.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1921	“Deguo jindai de huihua” 《德國近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary German Painting)	vol. 18, no. 10-11.
7.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1921	“Yingguo jindai de huihua” 《英國近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary English Painting)	vol. 18, no. 21.
8.	Song Shan 松山	1921	“Suweiai eguo xia de yishu” 《蘇維埃俄國下的藝術》 (The Art of Soviet Russia)	vol. 18, no. 21.
9.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1921	“Eguo jindai de huihua” 《俄國近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Russian Painting)	vol. 18, no. 22.
10.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Yidali jindai de huihua” 《意大利近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Italian Painting)	vol. 19, no. 3.
11.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1922	“Jin wushi nian lai xiyanghua di qushi” 《近五十年來西洋畫底趨勢》 (The Trend of Western Painting in 50 Years)	vol. 19, no. 3.
12.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Sigandinaweiya jindai de huihua” 《斯幹狄那維亞近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Scandinavian Painting)	vol. 19, no. 4.

13.	Ai Dai 龔隸	1922	“Zhanhou faguo xin yishu ji qi piping” 《戰後法國新藝術及其批評》 (Postwar French Art and the Criticism)	vol. 19, no. 5.
14.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Xibanya jindai de huihua” 《西班牙近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Spanish Painting)	vol. 19, no. 6.
15.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Xiongyali jindai de huihua” 《匈牙利近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Hungarian Painting)	vol. 19, no. 8.
16.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Helan jindai de huihua” 《荷蘭近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Dutch Painting)	vol. 19, no. 10.
17.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1922	“Danmai jindai de huihua” 《丹麥近代的繪畫》 (Contemporary Danish Painting)	vol. 19, no. 11.
18.	Chen Zhido 陳之佛	1930	“Zhongguo fojiao yishu yu yindu yishu zhi guanxi” 《中國佛教藝術與印度藝術之關係》 (The Relation Between Chinese Buddhist Art and Indian Art)	vol. 27, no. 1.
19.	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	1931	“Luoma xishiting de bihua” 《羅馬西施庭的壁畫》 (The Frescos in Sistine Chapel)	vol. 28, no. 14.
20.	Chen Zhifo 陳之佛	1931	“Gudai moxige ji bilu yishu” 《古代墨西哥及秘魯藝術》 (Ancient Mexican and Peruvian Art)	vol. 28, no. 12.
21.	Du Ruo 杜若	1931	“Bosi yishu zhanlanhui” 《波斯藝術展覽會》 (Persian Art Exhibition)	vol. 28, no. 13.

The information provided by Xu Zhihao 許志浩 and the art journals that this researcher discovered and accessed<sup>586</sup> indicate that many art journals under Xu’s category *Zonghe* 綜合 (generalist) tried to introduce Western theories on visual arts. (Figure 9) And some of these art journals devoted most of their writings to Western visual arts. *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L’Art*) was one of the distinct examples of this kind of art journal. It was first issued in September 1932 with plans to publish three issues per month. After the publication of 12 issues, the French title remained but its Chinese title was changed to *Yishu* 《藝術》 and it became a monthly journal in January 1933. It had a total of 14

<sup>586</sup> It included: *Zhenxiang huabao* 《真相畫報》 (*The Truth Journal*) (1912), *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) (1918) published by *Shanghai tuhua meishu xuexiao* 上海圖畫美術學校 ((Shanghai Drawing and Fine Art School), *Zhonghua meishu bao* 《中華美術報》 (*Chinese Art Weekly*) (1918), *Yinyue yu meishu* 《音樂與美術》 (*Music and Art*) (1940), *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) (1920), *Meishu* 《美術》 (*The Art*) (1923) published by *Chengdu gaoshi meishu xuehui* 成都高師美術學會 (Chengdu Teacher College Art Society), *Zaoxing meishu* 《造形美術》 (*Formative Arts*) (1924), *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) (1928), *Yaboluo* 《亞波羅》 (*Apollo*) (1928), *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*) (1930), *Meishu congkan* 《美術叢刊》 (*Series on Art*) (1931), *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L’Art*) (1932) and *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L’Art*) (1933), *Yishu yu jiaoyu* 《藝術與教育》 (*Art and Education*) (1932 first issue), *Guohua yuekan* 《國畫月刊》 (*Chinese Painting Monthly*) (1934), *Meishu zazhi* 《美術雜誌》 (*Art Journal*) (1934), *Meishu shenghuo* 《美術生活》 (*Arts & Life*) (1934), *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) (1935) published by *Guangzhou (shili) meishu xuexiao* 廣州(市立)美術學校 (Guangzhou City Art School) and *Zhongguo meishuhui jikan* 《中國美術會季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*) (1936).



issues. In its 14 issues, it introduced Western artists such as Van Gogh,<sup>587</sup> Michelangelo,<sup>588</sup> Robusti Tintoretto<sup>589</sup> and Paul Gauguin;<sup>590</sup> Western artistic techniques like the composition of modern painting;<sup>591</sup> the modern Western art streams like fauvism<sup>592</sup> and cubism;<sup>593</sup> as well as the latest art news from the West.<sup>594</sup>

---

<sup>587</sup> Liu Haisu 劉海粟 (1932), “Fan Gao de reqing” 《梵高的熱情》 (The Passion of Van Gogh). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 1 (page number unknown, the article was missed in the copy of the journal found).

<sup>588</sup> Fu Lei 傅雷 (1932), “Mi Gai Lang Qi Luo” 《彌蓋朗琪羅》 (Michelangelo). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 12-17; no. 11, pp. 9-11; no. 12, pp. 8-10.

<sup>589</sup> Xie Haiyan 謝海燕 (1932), “Yijing yihua – Ding Tuo Le Tuo de xixiaonuma” 《藝境逸話 – 丁托勒托的嘻笑怒罵》 (Jacopo Robusti Tintoretto). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 17-19.

<sup>590</sup> Liu Sixun 劉思訓 (1933), “Gao Geng zhuan” 《高更傳》 (The Story of Gauguin). In: *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L' Art*), no. 1, pp. 1-11; no. 2, pp. 1-8 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>591</sup> Toyama Usaburō 外山卯山郎; Ying Mei 影梅 (trans.) (1932), “Xiandai huihua de goutu gailun” 《現代繪畫的構圖概論》 (Introduction to the Composition of Modern Painting). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 9, pp. 6-8.

<sup>592</sup> Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1932), “Yeshou zhuyi yanjiu” 《野獸主義研究》 (Study of Fauvism). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 10, pp. 5-7.

<sup>593</sup> Ni Te 尼特 (1933), “Liti zhuyi jiqi zuojia” 《立體主義及其作家》 (Cubism and Its Artists). In: *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L' Art*), no. 2, pp. 1-9 (numbering restarted each article). According to Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜, Ni Yide 倪貽德 and Ni Te 尼特 was the same person. Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), p. 52.

<sup>594</sup> Example of the current art news in the West could be found in the column “Shijie yitan qingbao” 《世界藝壇情報》 (Information on World Art Circle) of *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 11, 1932. There were two pieces of news about art exhibition in Europe reported by E 萼. These two pieces of news were “Faguo qiujishi shalong” 《法國秋季沙龍》 (France Autumn Salon) and “Fo Ni Shi xiandai guoji yishu zhanlanhui” 《佛尼士現代國際藝術展覽會》 (Venice International Modern Art Exhibition). E 萼 or E Zi 萼子 were the pen names of Fu Lei 傅雷. See Fu Lei 傅雷 (2002), *Fu Lei tan meishu* 《傅雷談美術》 (*Fu Lei's Talk on Art*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan wenyi 湖南文藝, p. 34.



Figure 9 Examples of the Art Journals Published in the Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century

*Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) (Figure 10) also put stress on the introduction of Western arts. There were 4 issues of the journal. It was called *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) for the first two issues and published in January and December 1928 respectively. The third issue, was published in October 1929, has changed the title to *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Mi-Yo*), and the fourth issue, published in January 1937, continued using the title *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Mi-Yo*). Li Jinfa 李金髮, the chief-editor and founder of the journal declared in the first issue that they admired the Greek civilization. He explained that the journal put stress on European and American arts because Chinese art was uninteresting and possessed much ugliness.<sup>595</sup> In these four issues of the journal, the articles that touched on Western art included Ye Fawu 葉法無 “Yishu wenhua de pingjia” 《藝術文化的評價》 (The evaluation of the culture of art)

<sup>595</sup> Li Jinfa 李金髮 (1928), “Bianji hou de hua” 《編輯後的話》 (Postscript to the Edition). In: *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*), 1<sup>st</sup> issue, 1928, p. 146. The original Chinese version is: 我們所崇拜是希臘文明，或即稱之為 Neo Heldenisme…本刊的材料，自知是太側重於歐美，但實係中國藝術太無精彩，醜的事物居多…

(No.2, 1928), You ma san lang 有馬三郎 “Shui pei tiaohedongxi yishu” 《誰配調和東西藝術》 (Who is qualified to reconcile the Eastern and Western art) (No.2, 1928), Jinfa 金髮 “Fengjing hualun” 《風景畫論》 (The study of landscape painting) (No.3, 1929), Jinfa 金髮 “Yishu zai daode shang zhi gongneng” 《藝術在道德上之功用》 (The moral function of art) (No.3, 1929), Guan Liang 關良 “Meishu yu shidai” 《美術與時代》 (Fine arts and the epoch) (No.4, 1937), Li Chengzhi 李澄之 “Xiandai meishu de quxiang” 《現代美術的趨向》 (The trend of Modern fine arts) (No.4, 1937).<sup>596</sup>



Figure 10 *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*)

Besides *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) and *Yishu xun kan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), *Yaboluo* 《亞波羅》 (*Apollo*) and the *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) published by *Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 上海美術專門學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School) also favoured Western art and published many discussions on Western art.

<sup>596</sup> According to Xu Zhihao 許志浩, more than half of the articles published in this journal were written by Li Jinfa 李金髮. Li used his real name in some of the articles, while using pen names such as Lan Di 藍帝, Jian Kuo 肩闊 and Dan Wan 彈丸 in the others. See Xu Zhihao 許志浩 (1992), p. 43.

### 1.3. Contributing Factors in the Importation of Western Visual Arts to China

This brief review discusses why publication of writings on visual arts flourished and why a large number of Western theories on visual arts were imported to China during the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are a number of factors contributing to this phenomenon.

#### 1.3.1. Rapid Development of the Printing and Publication Industry

As Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 points out, there was a rapid development in the printing and publication industries in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China.<sup>597</sup> Famous and large publishing companies in China appeared, like *Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press) was founded in 1897,<sup>598</sup> *Zhonghua shuju* 中華書局 (Zhonghua Book Store) founded in 1912<sup>599</sup>, *Shijie shuju* 世界書局 (Shijie Book Store) was founded in 1921<sup>600</sup> and *Kaiming shudian* 開明書店 (Kaiming Book Store) was founded in 1926<sup>601</sup>. The fast development of the printing and publishing industry had undoubtedly made a great contribution to the prolific growth of publications of the art journals and books on visual arts. In this way, they provoked a rapid promulgation of the study of visual arts in China and promoted the importation of Western ideas, theories and discourse on visual arts. This development, plus a previously untapped mass audience who were becoming more literate and eager to learn new ideas and concepts, helped propel this rapid proliferation of materials.

---

<sup>597</sup> Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), p. 44.

<sup>598</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>599</sup> Yu Xiaoyao 俞筱堯 and Liu Yanjie 劉彥捷 (eds.) (2002), *Lufei Kui yu zhonghua shuju* 《陸費達與中華書局》 (*Lufei Kui and Zhonghua Book Store*). Beijing 北京: Zhonghua 中華. Preface.

<sup>600</sup> Retrieved 26/05/2010, from <http://www.worldbook.com.tw>.

<sup>601</sup> Lin Su-Hsing (2003), *Feng Zikai's Art and The Kaiming Book Company: Art For the People in Early Twentieth Century China*. Doctoral Dissertation. The Ohio State University.

### 1.3.2. The Emergence of Art Professionals

The high number of publications of writings on visual arts in China in 1930s was not solely an outcome of the fast development of the printing and publication industry, it was also a consequence of the emergence of more professionals in the field and their zeal for writing on visual arts. Apart from the commencement of training art professionals within China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, there also were more and more Chinese students travelling abroad to study visual arts.

In the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 and Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子 graduated from *Liangjiang youji shifan xuetao* 兩江優級師範學堂 (Liangjiang Normal College).<sup>602</sup> They belonged to the first generation of artists or art educators who were trained at tertiary education institutions in China. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 graduated from *Beijing gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 北京高等師範學校 (Beijing Higher Normal School) in 1918<sup>603</sup> and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 graduated from *Shanghai yishu daxue* 上海藝術大學 (Shanghai University of Fine Art) in 1930.<sup>604</sup> While Jiang Danshu 姜丹書, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 were all trained at Chinese tertiary education institutes in the first three decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Li Jinfa 李金髮, Fu Lei 傅雷, Lin Fengmian 林風眠 were trained in Japan or the West during the same period. Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 furthered his studies at *Dongjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao tuhua shougong xuebu* 東京高等師範學校圖畫手工學部 (Drawing and Handcraft Department of Tokyo Higher Normal School) in Japan from 1917 to 1921 after graduating from the *Nanjing liangjiang youji shifan xuetao* 南京兩江優級師範學堂 (Nanjing Liangjiang Normal College).<sup>605</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 graduated from *Dongjing meishu xuexiao* 東京美術學校 (Tokyo School of Fine

---

<sup>602</sup> Xu Changming 徐昌酩 (ed.) (2004), pp. 412-413.

<sup>603</sup> Ibid., p. 432.

<sup>604</sup> Ibid., p. 483.

<sup>605</sup> Ibid., p. 420.

Arts) in 1917 and went to Europe to study Western art in 1928.<sup>606</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 graduated from *Hangzhou zhejiang shengli diyi shifan xuexiao men* 杭州浙江省立第一師範學校門 (Hangzhou Zhejiang Province First Normal School) in 1915 and furthered his studies in Japan for ten months in 1921.<sup>607</sup> Li Jinfa 李金髮 studied in Paris from 1919 to 1925,<sup>608</sup> Fu Lei 傅雷 studied in Paris from 1927 to 1931<sup>609</sup> and Lin Fengmian 林風眠 studied in Paris from 1919 to 1925.<sup>610</sup> Many of these professionals were active in writing books or articles on visual arts and highly enthusiastic about importing Western knowledge of visual arts.

### 1.3.3. Channels Used for Importing Western Discourse on Visual Arts to China

There were two main channels of importing Western ideas and concepts of visual arts into China. The first channel was through studies by Chinese scholars, the second was by translation. Under the category of translation, there was translation of original writings and retranslation of the translations from a second country, e.g., Japan.

#### i. Scholarship of the Chinese art Professionals

Many Chinese scholars such as Lü Cheng 呂澂, Hua Lin 華林, Huang Chanhua 黃懺華, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Zhang Zehou 張澤厚, Liu Haisu 劉海粟, Hong Yiran 洪毅然, Zhang Muye 張牧野 and Cai Yi 蔡儀 had been engaged in the investigation of Western thoughts on visual arts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Huang Chanhua's 黃懺華 *Meishu gailun* 《美術概論》 (*Introduction to Fine Arts*) (1927) was regarded as the first book devoted to a theoretical discussion on fine arts in

---

<sup>606</sup> Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>607</sup> Ibid., p. 440.

<sup>608</sup> Ibid., p. 447.

<sup>609</sup> Ibid., p. 481.

<sup>610</sup> Ibid., p. 450.

China.<sup>611</sup> The main content of Huang's book addressed Western discourse on art. While discussing the meaning of art in the first chapter, Huang quoted many arguments from Western philosophers like Plato, Lessing, Schiller, Schelling, Hegel, Schopenhauer and Tolstoy. The second chapter concerned the elements of art and, more accurately, the Western perspective on the elements for creating art. While introducing the theme and materials for painting in chapter 6, Huang again discussed those employed in Western painting. The sources of information for Huang's book were not provided but it is known that Huang graduated from the law department of Nihon University and the philosophy department of Imperial University.<sup>612</sup> Obviously Huang could make reference to Japanese studies. In addition, Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 also suggests that Huang's book was influenced by the Japanese scholar Kuroda Hōshin's 黑由鵬信 *Yishu gailun* 《藝術概論》 (*Introduction to Art*).<sup>613</sup>

It is clearly revealed in the title that Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Xiyang meishu shi* 《西洋美術史》 (*History of Western Art*) (1928) was devoted to the history of Western art. In this book, Feng provided a brief introduction about the development of Western arts from the Paleolithic Age to the Modern time in the late 1910s. According to Feng Yiyin 豐一吟, daughter of Feng Zikai 豐子愷, *Xiyang meishu shi* 《西洋美術史》 (*History of Western Art*) (1928) was one of the earliest works on the art of Feng Zikai 豐子愷.<sup>614</sup> Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 stated that Feng Zikai 豐子愷 was fluent in Japanese and English. When Feng studied in Japan for 10 months in 1921, he brought back many Japanese and English books. Later these books became the main references for Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 study of Western visual arts.

---

<sup>611</sup> Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), p. 17.

<sup>612</sup> Retrieved 19/07/2010, from

[http://buddhisticinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Huang\\_Chanhua\\_%E9%BB%83%E6%87%BA%E8%8F%A](http://buddhisticinformatics.ddbc.edu.tw/dmcb/Huang_Chanhua_%E9%BB%83%E6%87%BA%E8%8F%A)

<sup>613</sup> Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), p. 17.

<sup>614</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1928/1999), *Xiyang meishu shi* 《西洋美術史》 (*History of Western Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji 上海古籍. Preface to the republication of the book.



Liu Haisu 劉海粟 made a study tour in Europe from 1929 - 1935<sup>615</sup>. He published his report on the tour *Ouyou sumiao* 《歐游素描》 (Sketches of Europe) in the second, third and fourth issues of *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*) (1932). He also published books such as *Ouyou suibi* 《歐游隨筆》 (*Literary Notes on Europe Tour*) (1935) and *Ouzhou minghua daguan* 《歐洲名畫大觀》 (*A Magnificent Spectacle of European Master Pieces*) (1936) (Figure 11).

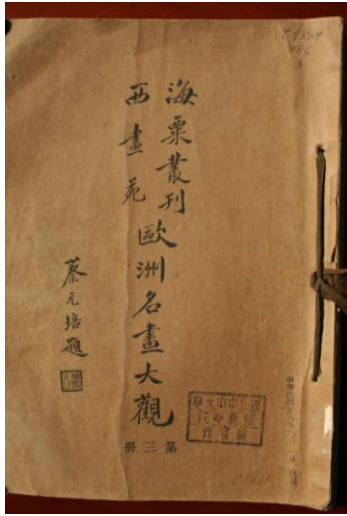


Figure 11 Liu Haisu's 劉海粟 *Ouzhou minghua daguan* 《歐洲名畫大觀》 (*A Magnificent Spectacle of European Master Pieces*) (1936)

According to Pang Xunqin 龐薰棻, Fu Lei 傅雷 taught art history and French in *Shanghai meishu zhuanke xuexiao* 上海美術專科學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School) after finishing his studies in France in 1931. He published part of his lectures on the history of Western art in *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*) and *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L' Art*) under the series title “Meishushi jiangzuo” 《美術史講座》 (Lectures on Art History). These articles included “Qiaoduo yu Shengfalangsuoadaxishi” 《喬多與聖法朗梭阿大西士》 (Bondone Giotto and St. François d'Assise)<sup>616</sup>, “Laiwoduo Dawenxi” 《萊渥多達文西》 (Leonardo da Vinci)<sup>617</sup> and “La Fei Er” 《拉斐爾》 (Sanzio Raphaelin).<sup>618</sup>

<sup>615</sup> Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), p. 118.

<sup>616</sup> In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 5, 1932, pp. 12-14.

<sup>617</sup> In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*), vol. 1, no. 8, 1932, pp. 11-14; no. 9, 1932, pp. 13-17.



Besides conducting studies on Western visual arts, the Chinese also devoted themselves to translate such studies from Japan and various Western cultures.

## ii. Translation

Translation had been a very popular way to import Western knowledge to China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>619</sup> In both Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 and Chen Chiyu's 陳池瑜 records, many books on art from countries like Russia, Germany, France, Italy, England and America and so on were rendered into Chinese in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Examples included Geng Jizhi's 耿濟之 translation of Tolstoy's *Yishu lun* 《藝術論》 (*The Discussion about Art*) (1921), Xu Xiacun's 徐霞村 translation of Lionel R. McColvin's *Yishu de jianglai* 《藝術的將來》 (*The Future of Art*) (1928), Zeng Juezhi's 曾覺之 translation of A. Rodin's *Luodan meishu lun* 《羅丹美術論》 (*Rodin's Ideas on Art*) (1930), Lu Xun's 魯迅 translation of Plekhanov's *Yishu lun* 《藝術論》 (*On Art*) (1930), Shen Qiyu's 沈起予 translation of M. Lokowicz's *Yishu kexue lun* 《藝術科學論》 (*On the Science of Art*) (1931), Liu Sixun's 劉思訓 translation of J. Ruskin's *Luosijin de yishu lun* 《羅斯金的藝術論》 (*Ruskin's Ideas on Art*) (publication date unknown) and Shi Zhecun's 施蟄存 translation of Herbert Read's, *Jinri zhi yishu* 《今日之藝術》 (*Art Now*) (1935).

As well, many brief writings were translated into Chinese and published in art journals such as *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L' Art*) [or *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L' Art*)], *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*) and *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) [the one published by *Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 上海美術專門學校 (Shanghai Fine Art School)]. Of these translations included J.G. Lemoine's "Ershi shiji faguo diaosu" 《二十世紀法國雕塑》 (French

---

<sup>618</sup> In: *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L' Art*), no. 1, 1933, pp. 1-7 (numbering restarted each article); no. 2, 1933, pp. 1-6 (numbering restarted each article).

<sup>619</sup> Tsuen-Hsuei Tsien (1954), "Western Impact on China through Translation". In: *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 305-327.

Sculptur in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century),<sup>620</sup> Yan Wenliang’s 顏文樑 translation of Morean-Vanthier’s “Leihongna da wenxi” 《雷紅那達文西》 (Leonardo da Vinci),<sup>621</sup> Ji Chu’s 季楚 translation of Ge Lai Fei’s 格萊斐<sup>622</sup> “Saishangnu pingzhuan” 《塞尚奴評傳》 (Critical Biography of Cezanne)<sup>623</sup> and Jing Yongchong’s 景永重 translation of 瑪提斯 Matisi’s (Matisse)<sup>624</sup> “Lun hua” 《論畫》 (On Painting),<sup>625</sup> and so on.

Besides translating their Western counterparts’ writings on visual arts, Chinese scholars also translated Japanese studies of Western visual arts. Examples included Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 translated Kuroda Hōshin’s 黑田鵬信 *Yishuxue gangyao* 《藝術學綱要》 (*Outline of the Science of Art*) (1922), Feng Zikai 豐子愷 translated Kuroda Hōshin’s 黑田鵬信 *Yishu gailun* 《藝術概論》 (*Introduction to Art*) (1928) and Wang Jicong 王集叢 translated Aono Suekichi’s 青野季吉 *Xinxing yishu gailun* 《新興藝術概論》 (*Introduction to New Art*) (1930), etc.. As indicated in the previous chapter, Japan had been regarded as a convenient channel for Chinese to acquire Western knowledge during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. It was, according to Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 and Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌, from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that Chinese students began to study the visual arts in Japan.<sup>626</sup> Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 went to study visual arts in Japan in 1903 and Li Shutong 李叔同 in 1905. They were prominent models for Chinese students who studied visual arts in Japan in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Besides Chen and Li, the other Chinese students who studied visual arts in Japan in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century included Chen Baoyi 陳抱一 (1916-1921)<sup>627</sup>,

---

<sup>620</sup> *Yishu* 《藝術》 (*L’Art*), no. 2, 1933, pp. 1-4 (numbering restarted each article). Name of translator was unknown.

<sup>621</sup> *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*), no. 7, 1932.

<sup>622</sup> No original spelling of the author’s name was provided.

<sup>623</sup> *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) (published by *Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 上海美術專門學校), vol. 3, no. 1, 1921, pp. 31-38.

<sup>624</sup> No original spelling of the author’s name was provided. It is from the pronunciation of the Chinese translation that this researcher suspects that it should be Matisse.

<sup>625</sup> *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*) (published by *Shanghai meishu zhuanmen xuexiao* 上海美術專門學校), vol. 3, no. 1, 1921, pp. 71-81.

<sup>626</sup> Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), p. 10; Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), p. 15.

<sup>627</sup> Xu Changming 徐昌酪 (ed.) (2004), p. 424.

Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1917-1918)<sup>628</sup>, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1916-1921)<sup>629</sup>, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1917-1921)<sup>630</sup>, Ni Yide 倪貽德 (1927-1928)<sup>631</sup> and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1921)<sup>632</sup>. These Chinese students played a very active role in introducing Western visual arts to China. Besides writing about Western visual arts and teaching Western visual arts at art schools or teacher colleges, many of these Chinese students had also translated their Japanese counterparts' studies on Western visual arts into Chinese. In his preface to *Yishu gailun* 《藝術概論》 (*Introduction to Art*), Feng Zikai 豐子愷 stated that the main reason for his translation of the Japanese study on Western art was the lack of related studies in China.<sup>633</sup> In his preface to his other translation of Japanese writing, *Shenghuo yu yinyue* 《生活與音樂》 (*Life and Music*) (1929), Feng Zikai 豐子愷 stated that his purpose to make the translation was to borrow Japanese ideas to guide his fellow Chinese as well as to provide the knowledge of which China was lacking.<sup>634</sup>

In addition to the direct translation of Western or Japanese studies, there were also retranlations of Japanese or English translations of Western writings on art. It is easy to identify this type of importation of Western knowledge because information is provided in the preface or postscript of the books. Examples include: Qian Daosun's 錢稻孫 *Zaoxing meishu* 《造形美術》 (*Formative Arts*) (1924), which was a retranslation of German study<sup>635</sup>, Chen Yi 陳易 (1933) *Yishu zhi qiyuan* 《藝術之起源》 (*The Origin of Art*), again a retranslation of German writing,<sup>636</sup> and Wang Renshu's 王任叔 *Cong*

---

<sup>628</sup> Ibid., p. 434.

<sup>629</sup> Ibid., p. 420.

<sup>630</sup> Ibid., p. 430.

<sup>631</sup> Ibid., p. 455.

<sup>632</sup> Ibid., p. 440.

<sup>633</sup> Kuroda Hōshin 黒田鵬信; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1928), "Yishu gailun" 《藝術概論》 (*Introduction to Art*), preface. In: Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶, Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 and Feng Yuancao 豐元草 (eds.) (1992), p. 110.

<sup>634</sup> Tanabe Hisao 田邊尙雄; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.) (1929), "Shenghuo yu yinyue" 《生活與音樂》 (*Life and Music*), preface. In: Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶, Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 and Feng Yuancao 豐元草 (eds.) (1992), p. 297.

<sup>635</sup> In the preface to his book, Qian Daosun 錢稻孫 stated that the original title of his retranslation was *Bau und Leben der bildenden Kunst* and the author was Theodor Volkehr, a German scholar.

<sup>636</sup> Chen Yi 陳易 said in the preface that this book was written by the German scholar Ernest Grosse. Chen had retranslated American D. Appleton and Company's English translation of the book.

*shehuixue de jiandi lai kan yishu* 《從社會學的見地來看藝術》 (*Looking at Art in the Sociological Perspective*) (1933), which was a French study<sup>637</sup>.

#### 1.3.4. Compilation of Articles into Books

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the keenness of the Chinese scholars to introduce Western ideas and concepts about visual arts to China was also reflected in the compilation of articles published in art journals or newspapers into books. Examples included Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Xiyang huapai shier jiang* 《西洋畫派十二講》 (*12 Lectures on Western Painting Schools*) (1930),<sup>638</sup> Lin Fengmian's 林風眠 *Yishu conglun* 《藝術叢論》 (*Collected Essays on Art*) (1935)<sup>639</sup> and Liu Haisu 劉海粟 *Ouyou suibi* 《歐游隨筆》 (*Literary Notes on European Tour*) (1935)<sup>640</sup>.

Needless to say, the high incidence of writings devoted to the introduction of Western visual arts as revealed above gave the impression that many Chinese scholars were eager to borrow and learn about Western ideas to develop Chinese visual arts, which, as indicated in the previous chapter, was a hot topic for discussion in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

To sum up this part of study, the publication of books and journals on visual arts began in the 1910s and reached its height in the 1930s. This was due to the fast development of printing and publication industry and the emergence of art professionals who were trained locally and abroad, especially in Japan and Europe.

---

<sup>637</sup> At the end of the book, Wang Renshu 王任叔 stated that the original author of the book was a French scholar called Gayzu and Wang had retranslated the Japanese translation of the book.

<sup>638</sup> In the re-publication of Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Xiyang huapai shier jiang* 《西洋畫派十二講》 (*12 Lectures on Western Painting Schools*), Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶 states that the articles in this book were published in the *Yiban* 《一般》 journal from February to November 1928 and June 1929. See Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (2002), *Xiyang huapai shier jiang* 《西洋畫派十二講》 (*12 Lectures on Western Painting Schools*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan wenyi 湖南文藝, p. 161.

<sup>639</sup> Lin stated in his preface to the book that many articles had been published in other journals like *Yaboluo zazhi* 《亞波羅雜誌》 (*Apollo Journal*).

<sup>640</sup> According to the author's statement at the beginning of the book, the articles in this book had been published in the newspapers and journals.

‘*Meishu*’ 美術 (fine arts), ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art), ‘*meixue*’ 美學 (aesthetics), ‘*toushixue*’ 透視學 (perspective), ‘*secaixue*’ 色彩學 (colour theory), ‘*wenyi xinlixue*’ 文藝心理學 (psychology of literature and art), ‘*youhua*’ 油畫 (oil paintings) and so on were the new terms, concepts, art theories and means of artistic expression being poured into China through the Chinese writings in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. The Chinese authors always delivered a clear message that their writings were about Western visual culture by using the names of the continent or the country, such as ‘*Xiyang*’ 西洋 (Western) or ‘*Ouzhou*’ 歐洲 (Europe), as well as the new terms mentioned above in the titles of their writings. Needless to say, it was the goal of these Chinese scholars to introduce the visual culture of the West to their fellow Chinese readers. Westernization was in trend in China and learning Western visual arts became very popular at that time, through using these terms, they could promote their writings to their targeted readers. As Western terminologies could present an accurate picture of Western visual culture, the Chinese writers may have found it necessary to use Western terminologies to introduce Western visual culture. In fact, the Western terminologies were so different to those of traditional Chinese visual culture that they would not confuse the readers. Consequently, through introducing Western visual arts and the related terminologies, the Chinese authors had made a great contribution to the Westernization of Chinese visual arts.

Two channels were used for importing Western visual arts to China. The first was through the studies made by Chinese scholars or artists and the second was translation, including retranslation. Many Chinese scholars, especially the returned students from Japan and Europe were active in importing Western visual arts to China. Huang Chanhua 黃懺華, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had studied in Japan and they had, naturally, used Japanese materials in their writings on Western visual culture. Lin Fengmian 林風眠, Li Jinfa 李金髮 and Fu Lei 傅雷 had returned from Europe and, needless to say, their studies were based on their direct experience and reference to Western scholarship. In addition, there were also Chinese artists such as Liu Haisu 劉海粟 who made study tours in Europe and reported on Western visual culture. Going to

Europe to get a direct encounter with the genuine Western visual arts was an ultimate target of the Chinese artists in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, however, for artists such as Feng Zikai 豐子愷, due to the financial problems they chose Japan as a destination for studying Western visual arts.<sup>641</sup>

Not only Western but Japanese studies on Western visual arts as well were translated into Chinese. This provided further evidence that Japanese studies of Western visual culture were recognised by the Chinese. Furthermore, some English or Japanese translations of the subject were also retranslated into Chinese. This suggests that the Chinese scholars valued the original works they retranslated. However, it is also probable that retranslation meant a further deviation of the original meaning of the text and thus made it more difficult for the Chinese readers to grasp the meaning.

## 2. Art Education Publication

As a central aspect of this investigation, this researcher has collected 351 pieces of Chinese writings on art education and related areas such as the study of children's drawings published from 1900 to 1949. Seventy-eight of these writings are books and the other 273 pieces are articles published in journals or newspapers. (See table 7 and 8 in appendix 1) A separate in-depth investigation into the importation of Western ideas in these two different groups of publications is undertaken in the following sections.

### 2.1. Books on Art Education

Among the 78 books collected, 56 were solely dedicated to art education and the other 22 were actually devoted to the study of teaching methods of general school subjects including art and craft. This study uncovered no evidence of books on art education or

---

<sup>641</sup> Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (1998), *Xiaosa fengshen: wo de fuqin Feng Zikai* 《瀟灑風神：我的父親豐子愷》 (My Father Feng Zikai). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學, p. 71.

related subjects published before 1910. However, two books were published in the 1910s, 15 books were published in the 1920s, 43 were published in the 1930s and 18 were published in the 1940s. (See table 8 in appendix 1 and table 9) In the 78 books collected, there were variations on the theme of art education and a large number of Western ideas were introduced.

Table 9 Books on Teaching Method for Art & Craft and Other Common School Subjects

	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Publisher
1.	Fan Shoukang 范壽康	1923	<i>Geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Different Subjects</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shangwu 商務
2.	Cao Chu 曹芻	1927(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1932(11 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	<i>Xin shifan geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《新師範各科教學法》 ( <i>New Teaching Method for Different Subjects in Teachers' Schools</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Zhonghua 中華
3.	William A. Millis & Harriett H. Millis, Cheng Qibao 程其保 (trans.)	1928(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1933(1 <sup>st</sup> published)	<i>Zhongxue jiaoxuefa zhi yanjiu</i> 《中學教學法之研究》 ( <i>The Teaching of High School Subjects</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shangwu 商務
4.	Xu Songshi 徐松石	1930(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1931(3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.)	<i>Shiyong xiaoxue jiaoxuefa</i> 《實用小學教學法》 ( <i>Practical Primary School Teaching Method</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Zhonghua 中華
5.	Fu Binran 傅彬然	1931	<i>Xiaoxue jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學教學法》 ( <i>Primary School Teaching Method</i> )	Kaiming shudian 開明書店
6.	Wang Junsheng 王駿聲	1931	<i>Xiaoxue geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shijie shudian 世界書店 (Shijie Book Store)
7.	Wu Yanyin 吳研因 and Wu Zengjie 吳增芥	1932	<i>Xin zhonghua xiaoxue jiaoxuefa</i> 《新中華小學教學法》 ( <i>New Chinese Primary School Teaching Method</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Zhonghua 中華
8.	Wu Yanyin 吳研因 and Wu Zengjie 吳增芥	1933(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1935(7 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	<i>Xiaoxue jiaocai yanjiu</i> 《小學教材研究》 ( <i>Study of Primary School Materials</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shangwu 商務
9.	Fu Binran 傅彬然	1933(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.)	<i>Xiaoxue geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Dahua shuju 大華書局 (Dahua Book Store)
10.	Zhong Luzhai 鍾魯齋	1934	<i>Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa zhi yanjiu</i> 《小學各科新教學法之研究》 ( <i>Study of New Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shangwu 商務
11.	Jiangsusheng jiaoyuting 江蘇省教育廳	1934	<i>Youzhiyuan xiaoxue jiaocai yaomu ji jiaoxue shili</i> 《幼稚園小學教材要目及教學實例》 ( <i>The Principle Points for Kindergarten and Primary School and Teaching Examples</i> )	Jiangsusheng jiaoyuting 江蘇省教育廳
12.	Zhong Luzhai 鍾魯齋	1934	<i>Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa zhi yanjiu</i> 《小學各科新教學法之研究》 ( <i>Study of New Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shangwu 商務

13.	Fujiansheng jiaoyuting 福建省教育廳	1935	<i>Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa jiangyan ji</i> 《小學各科新教學法講演集》 ( <i>Collection of Speeches on New Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Fujiansheng zhengfu mishuchu gongbanshi 福建省政府秘書處公報室
14.	Li Qingsong 李清悚	1935(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1946(47 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	<i>Xiaoxue jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學教材及教學法》 ( <i>Primary School Teaching Material and Method</i> )	Zhengzhong shuju 正中書局
15.	Wu Yanyin 吳研因 and Wu Zengjie 吳增芥	1935	<i>Xiaoxue jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學教材及教學法》 ( <i>Primary School Teaching Material and Method</i> )	Zhonghua 中華
16.	Zhao Tingwei 趙廷為	1935(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.), 1947(15 <sup>th</sup> ed.)	<i>Xiaoxue jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學教材及教學法》 ( <i>Primary School Teaching Material and Method</i> )	Shangwu 商務
17.	Yu Ziyi 俞子夷 and Zhu Zhengyang 朱晷暘	1935(1 <sup>st</sup> ed.) 1936(3 <sup>rd</sup> ed.)	<i>Xin xiaoxue jiaocai he jiaoxuefa</i> 《新小學教材和教學法》 ( <i>New Primary School Teaching Material and Method</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Ertong shuju 兒童書局
18.	Wang Honglin 王鴻霖	1937	<i>Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學各科新教學法》 ( <i>New Teaching Method for Primary School Subjects</i> )	Publisher unknown
19.	Zhao Tingwei 趙廷為	1948	<i>Jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa</i> 《教材及教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Material and Method</i> )	Publisher unknown
20.	Sun Mujian 孫慕堅	1948	<i>Xiaoxue di nianji geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學低年級各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Junior Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shangwu 商務
21.	Jiang Jingshuang 江景雙	1948	<i>Xiaoxue zhong nianji geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學中年級各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Middle Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shangwu 商務
22.	Wang Yisan 王軼三 and Yin Jingshu 陰景曙	1948	<i>Xiaoxue gao nianji geke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學高年級各科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Senior Primary School Subjects</i> )	Shangwu 商務

### 2.1.1. Themes of Discussion

The themes discussed in the 56 books<sup>642</sup> solely on art education included theories of art education, the knowledge of art for school art teachers, handbooks for art teachers, study of children's drawings, art and craft teaching methods and art appreciation and so on. Examples include Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925) (Figure 12) and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa* 《小學美術科教材和教法》 (*Teaching Material and Method for Primary School Art*) (1939). (See table 10)

<sup>642</sup> Among these 56 books collected, 2 books were published in the 1910s, 12 books in the 1920s, 28 books in the 1930s and 14 in the 1940s.



師範叢書

# 藝術教育學

雷家駿編



Figure 12 Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (A Study on Art Education) (1925)

Table 10 Themes of the Books on Art Education

	Discussion Theme	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Remarks
1.	Rationale and significance	Zhu Yuanshan 朱元善 (ed.)	1915	<i>Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli</i> 《藝術教育之原理》 ( <i>Principles of Art Education</i> )	
2.	Examples	Tang Kaibin 唐開斌 (trans.)	1925	<i>Yishu jiaoyu lun</i> 《藝術教育論》 ( <i>On the Teaching of Art</i> )	
3.		Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1925	<i>Yishu jiaoyuxue</i> 《藝術教育學》 ( <i>A Study on Art Education</i> )	
4.		Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1928	<i>Yishu jiaoyu ABC</i> 《藝術教育 ABC》 ( <i>Art Education ABC</i> )	
5.	Knowledge of visual arts for school art teacher	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1933	<i>Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu</i> 《小學教師應用美術》 ( <i>Art for Primary School Teacher</i> )	There were only two examples in this category
6.		Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948	<i>Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi</i> 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 ( <i>Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers</i> )	
7.	Teacher Handbook on Art and Craft	Pan Danming 潘淡明	1948	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoshi shouce</i> 《小學美術教師手冊》 ( <i>Handbook for Primary School Art Teacher</i> )	There were only two examples in this category
8.		Yu Lihai 余禮海	1948	<i>Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoshi shouce</i> 《小學勞作教師手冊》 ( <i>Handbook for Primary School Handcraft Teacher</i> )	
9.	Children's drawing	Huang Yi 黃翼	1938	<i>Ertong huihua zhi xinli</i> 《兒童繪畫之心理》 ( <i>Psychology of Children's Drawing</i> )	
10.	Examples	Gong Qichang 龔啟昌 (trans.)	1939	<i>Ertong huihua xinli zhi yanjiu</i> 《兒童繪畫心理之研究》 ( <i>Study of Psychology of Children's Drawing</i> )	
11.	Teaching of drawing	Wang Benwei 王本偉	1919	<i>Tuhua lilun ji jiaoshoufa</i> 《圖畫理論及教授法》 ( <i>Theories on Painting and Teaching Method</i> )	
12.	Examples	Feng Hao 馮皓 etc.	1923	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學美術教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for</i>	

				<i>Primary School Fine Art</i> )	
13.		Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1939	<i>Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa</i> 《小學美術科教材和教法》 ( <i>Teaching Material and Method for Primary School Art</i> )	
14.	Teaching of Craft	He Mingzhai 何明齋	1934	<i>Xiaoxue gongyong yishuke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學工用藝術科教學法》 ( <i>The Teaching of Practical Arts in Primary School</i> )	There were only two books found in this category
15.		Yao Jiadong 姚家棟	1948	<i>Di nianji gongzuo jiaoxuefa</i> 《低年級工作教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Work in Junior Primary Schools</i> )	
16.	The integration of art and craft	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1949	<i>Xiaoxue laomei heyi jiaoxue de yanjiu</i> 《小學勞美合一教學的研究》 ( <i>Study of Teaching Art and Craft in Primary School</i> )	The only example in this category
17.	Art appreciation education	Wu Chengjun 吳成均	1933	<i>Ertong meishu jianshang zhidaofa</i> 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children</i> )	
18.	Examples	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1941	<i>Yanghua xinshang ji meishu changshi</i> 《洋畫欣賞及美術常識》 ( <i>Appreciation of Western Painting and Knowledge of Art</i> )	
19.		Shen zicheng 沈子丞	1948	<i>Tuhua de jianshang</i> 《圖畫的鑒賞》 ( <i>Appreciation of Picture</i> )	

As the book titles suggest, the main themes of the other 22 books collected<sup>643</sup> concerned teaching materials and methods for general school subjects including fine art and handicraft (Figure 13). Examples of these books include Fan Shoukang's 范壽康 *Geke jiaoxuefa* 《各科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for General Subjects*) (1923), Yu Ziyi's 俞子夷 and Zhu Zhengyang's 朱晷暘 *Xin xiaoxue jiaocai he jiaoxuefa* 《新小學教材和教學法》 (*New Primary School Teaching Material and Method*) (1936 3<sup>rd</sup> ed), Sun Mujian's 孫慕堅 *Xiaoxue di nianji geke jiaoxuefa* 《小學低年級各科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Junior Primary School Subjects*) (1948) and Jiang Jingshuang's 江景雙 *Xiaoxue zhongnianji geke jiaoxuefa* 《小學中年級各科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Middle Primary School Subjects*) (1948), and so on. (See table 9)

<sup>643</sup> Among these 22 books collected, 3 books were published in 1920s, 15 books in 1930s and 4 books in 1940s.

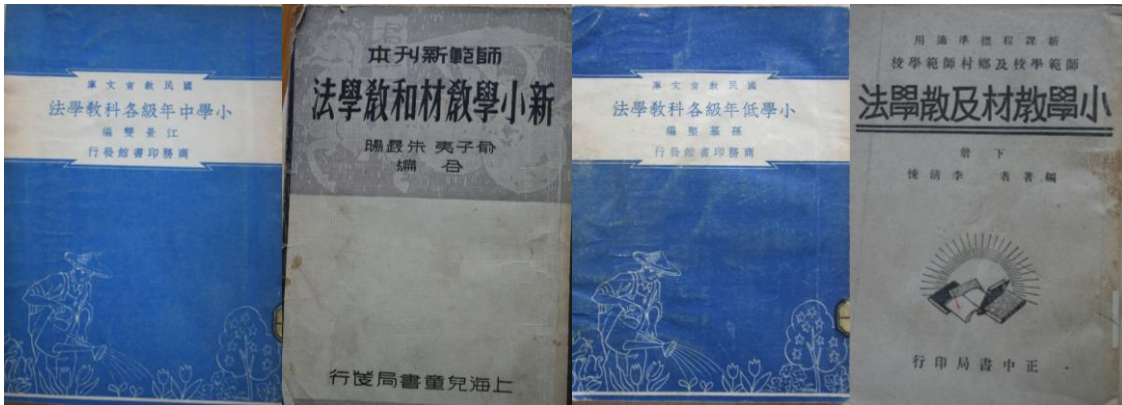


Figure 13 Examples of Books on Teaching Method for General School Subjects including Art and Craft

### 2.1.2. Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education

As indicated in the chapter “Development of art education in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China”, art education was first introduced into the Chinese public school education in 1902, when the educational reforms were in progress. As with the development of general education, art education in China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century also adopted Western models. Not only terms and concepts on art like ‘*yishu*’ 藝術 (art) and ‘*meishu*’ 美術 (fine art) but also those on art education like ‘*meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) and ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) were imported from the West. More precisely, theories for the rationale of art education, curriculum design and the children’s artistic expression and so on were imported from the West. Japan played a role in this importation of Western knowledge to China. One piece of corroborative evidence for this statement is that sources of Western knowledge introduced in many Chinese written texts in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century were from Japan. Examples for this were the translations of the Japanese studies of Western visual arts. Similar examples of the translations of the Japanese studies of Western art education also were found. As one focus of this research has been to carry out an in-depth investigation into how Western, especially the lesser acknowledged German knowledge, was introduced in Chinese written texts on art education, the issue of Japan’s role in the importation of Western ideas to China will only be briefly considered.

In the discussion on the significance of art education, many Western scholars', especially the German scholars', notions can easily be found in the Chinese written texts. Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 made a comprehensive study of art education in his book *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925) and the topics he touched on included the meaning and significance of art education, and the relation of art education to other disciplines and so on. As Lei pointed out in the preface, he had borrowed many ideas from English and German scholars for his book. In the fourth part of the book, for example, he introduced ideas from many German philosophers and art educators such as Schiller, Friedrich Nietzsche, August Schmarsow, Johannes Volkelt, Ernst Weber, Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, Albert Dresdner and Johannes Richter.

Similarly, Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 employed notions from among the same German scholars such as Schiller, Lange, Dresdner and Schmarsow to argue the importance of aesthetic education and the rationale of art education in his *Xiaoxuexiao xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學校形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930) (Figure 14).



Figure 14 (Right) Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*) (1934); (Left) Zong Lianghuan's 宗亮寰 *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu ke jiaoxue fa* 《小學校形象藝術科教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930)

Western ideas can be found in many books which were aimed at improving Chinese art teachers' subject knowledge in schools, so Western theories on visual arts were always being referred to. For example, in Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 three hundred pages of his *Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu* 《小學教師應用美術》 (*Art for Primary School Teacher*)

(1933), only 6 pages were devoted to the history of Chinese painting and 35 pages on how to do Chinese painting. The rest was about the Western visual arts. Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*) (1948) (Figure 15) was comprised of five chapters. In the first and third chapters, he used many Western art theories and visual languages of art creation. For example, he pointed out the Western philosophers', such as Plato's, Aristotle's, Tolstoy's, and including the two German philosophers Schiller's and Hegel's, definitions of art. It was in the other three chapters, that he discussed art history, art appreciation and art education, and here Wen made use of both Chinese and Western notions. In the last chapter, Wen discussed the definition of art education, and made use of many German scholars and art educators' notions to explain the meaning of art education. These German scholars were Richtwark [Alfred Lichtwark], Ernst Linde, Konrad Lange and Aolkelt [Johannes Volkelt].

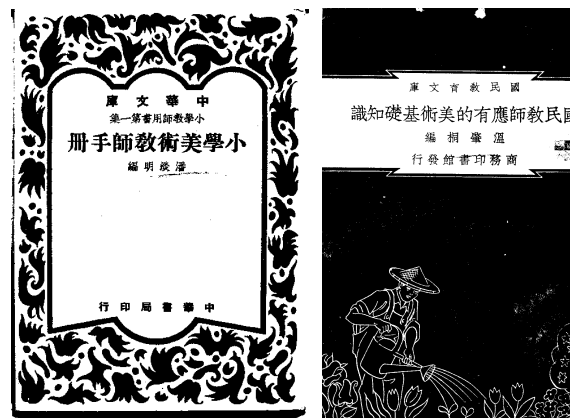


Figure 15 (Right) Pan Danming's 潘淡明 *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoshi shouce* 《小學美術教師手冊》 (*Handbook for Primary School Art Teacher*) (1948), (Left) Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*) (1948)

The teaching of Western visual arts was promoted in books devoted to teaching methods and materials. In Wang Benwei's 王本偉 *Tuhua lilun ji jiaoshoufa* 《圖畫理論及教授法》 (*Theories on Painting and Teaching Method*) (1919) (Figure 16), the painting theories being discussed were composition, perspective, shadowing, colour theory and so on. These are the Western concepts and ideas of visual elements of art creation. *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa* 《小學美術教學法》 (*Methods of Teaching Fine Arts in Primary*

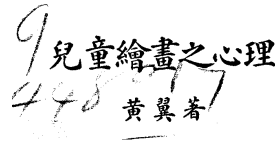
*Schools*) (1923) was written by Feng Hao 馮皓, Feng Gan 馮幹 and Feng Yan 馮彥. Topics for art teaching suggested by the authors included two-dimensional geometrical drawing, projection drawing, perspective, colour theory, shadowing and pattern design. Obviously, the teaching of Western visual arts was also promoted in this book.



Figure 16 Wang Benwei's 王本偉 *Tuhua lilun ji jiaoshoufa* 《圖畫理論及教授法》 (*Theories on Painting and Teaching Method*) (1919)

Studying children's drawings was another new scholarly topic in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Western studies of children's drawing were introduced in a number of Chinese scholars' books in this period. For example, English scholar Ebenezer Cooke's and American scholar Earl Barnes' studies of children's drawings were introduced in the appendix of Feng Hao's 馮皓, et. al., *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa* 《小學美術教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Primary School Fine Art*) as the authors found that there was a lack of study of children's drawings as well as art teaching in China. Huang Yi's 黃翼 *Ertong huihua zhi xinli* 《兒童繪畫之心理》 (*Psychology of Children's Drawing*) (1938) (Figure 17) is the only book found written by a Chinese scholar in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century devoted to the study of children's drawing. In this book Huang demonstrated how he applied the theories of the Western scholars such as the American F. L. Goodenough and Norwegian Helga Eng to his study of Chinese children's drawings. In Zong Lianghuan's 宗亮寰 *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930), information about the Western scholars' study of children's artistic expression and judgement of beauty were also looked at. In this study,

Zong introduced the German scholar Georg Kerschensteiner's, as well other English speaking scholars like H. T. Lukens's and Cooke's, study of children's drawing. He also introduced the study of children's aesthetic judgement made by the German scholars Albien and Neumann.<sup>644</sup>



商務印書館發行

Figure 17 Huang Yi's 黃翼 *Ertong huihua zhi xinli* 《兒童繪畫之心理》 (*Psychology of Children's Drawing*) (1938)

In the practical aspect of art education, like setting up workshops or art studios, the Western models were also referred to. He Mingzhai 何明齋, for example, introduced the suggestions of “Gary school system”<sup>645</sup> in his book *Xiaoxue gongyong yishu ke jiaoxuefa* 《小學工用藝術科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Primary School Industrial Art*) (1934) when he suggested a workshop for “Practical arts”. According to He Mingzhai 何明齋, the term and concept of ‘gongyong yishu’ 工用藝術 (practical arts) originated from the term “Practical arts” used in the American Frederick Gordon Bonser’s book *The Elementary School Curriculum*.<sup>646</sup>

In the discussions about art appreciation education, Western notions were also borrowed. Wu Chengjun’s 吳成均 *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidao fa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*) (1933) (Figure 18) was the only

<sup>644</sup> Zong did not provide the full name of the two German scholars. It is therefore difficult to identify to whom Zong was referring.

<sup>645</sup> He Mingzhai 何明齋 (1934), *Xiaoxue gongyong yishu ke jiaoxuefa* 《小學工用藝術科教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Primary School Industrial Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 31-32.

<sup>646</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 2.

book known to this author that was devoted to a discussion about this topic. In the first sentence of his book, Wu Chengjun 吳成均 mentioned that art appreciation education was being valued in Europe and America. The book consists of eight chapters, and Western ideas were introduced in most of them, such as “thoughts on art education and picture appreciation”, “meaning of art”, “theories of art” and “the ability of art appreciation”. He also devoted a chapter of more than ten pages to a history of Western Art. In the second section of his book’s first chapter, “thoughts on art education and picture appreciation”, Wu talked mainly about the thinking concerning aesthetic education in Europe, especially in Germany. He stated in the first sentence that thoughts on aesthetic education originated in ancient Greece from 400 B.C. and then he gave a brief introduction to the social and cultural context for the emergence of the advocacy of aesthetic education. Furthermore, he quoted ideas of the German scholars Schalz and Lange to support his argument about the importance of art appreciation for people.

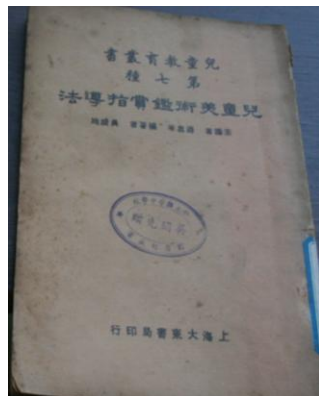


Figure 18 Wu Chengjun’s 吳成均 *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidaofa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》  
(*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*) (1933)

In some 22 books on teaching materials and teaching methods in general school subjects including art and craft there was, first, an introduction of Western pedagogical theories and concepts. For example, Herbartian “*Wuduan jiaoxuefa*” 五段教授法 (five steps of teaching), Helen Parkburst’s “Dalton Plan” and the development of the contemporary teaching methods in the West could be found in Fu Binran’s 傅彬然 *Xiaoxue jiaoxuefa* 《小學教學法》 (*Primary School Teaching Method*) (1931). Similarly, information about J. F. Herbart’s “Formal steps of instruction”, the “project method”, the “Montessori



Method” and the history of teaching methods in the West was provided in Zhong Luzhai’s 鐘魯齋 *Xiaoxue geke xin jiaoxuefa zhi yanjiu* 《小學各科新教學法之研究》 (*The Study of New Teaching Method for General Primary School Subjects*) (1934).

The Western models or concepts of curriculum design were also applied to the Chinese authors’ examination of teaching visual arts and craft subjects in these 22 books. Yu Ziyi 俞子夷 and Zhu Zhengyang 朱詒暘, for example, made a systematic study of teaching art and craft in their book *Xin xiaoxue jiaocai he jiaoxuefa* 《新小學教材和教學法》 (*New Primary School Teaching Material and Method*) (1936 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). They divided their study on the teaching of these two subjects into nine parts: objectives of teaching, scope of teaching, selection of teaching materials, organisation of teaching materials, teaching procedures, teaching method, principles of teaching, evaluation, teaching aids and equipment. While discussing the evaluation of children’s art work, Zhao Tingwei 趙廷為 introduced the “Kline-Carey Measuring Scale for Freehand Drawing” in his *Xiaoxue jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa* 《小學教材及教學法》 (*Primary School Teaching Material and Method*) (1935). Li Qingsong 李清悚 stated that ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour) schools were established in every country and that this was badly needed in China in his *Xiaoxue jiaocai ji jiaoxuefa* 《小學教材及教學法》 (*Primary School Teaching Material and Method*) (1935). While debating about teaching method on home affairs, one of the components of ‘*laozuo*’ 勞作 (labour), he then introduced the three models, “Home Credits”, “Home Projects” and “Spokane” of the teaching of home affairs as found then in the U.S.A..

## 2.2. Articles on Art Education

Compared with the number of books on art education, the number of articles on art education was much larger. There were 273 articles on art education published from 1900 to 1949 as currently recorded. Among them, 4 were published in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, 38 were published in the 1910s, 82 were published in the 1920s, 129 were

published in the 1930s and 20 were published in the 1940s. These publications of articles on art education preceded the publications of books on the same subjects. However, similar to the publication of books on visual arts and art education, the number of publication of articles on art education also reached its height in the 1930s. These articles were published in different journals and offered a wide variety of themes for discussion, and are treated below.

### 2.2.1. Articles Published in Different Journals.

As indicated in table 7, appendix 1, most articles on art education were published mainly in education journals. Some were published in art education journals or art journals. There were also some published in newspapers.

#### i. Articles published in art education journals

The titles of two journals indicated that their publications were devoted to the study of aesthetic education. They were *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) and *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*). *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) was published by *Zhonghua meiyuhui* 中華美育會 (Society of Zhonghua Aesthetic Education) (Figure 19), which was founded about 1919 and its members were art educators from all over China. There were altogether 7 issues of this journal,<sup>647</sup> which were published from 1920 to 1922. According to the manifesto of the journal, its aim was to support the current trend of the New Culture Movement and to try to launch an art education movement. They believed that art education could build up a “*Xin renshengguan*” 新人生觀 (New Vision of Life) to help frustrated youth, reform the education system which stressed intelligence training, and replace the mystery of religion with beauty.<sup>648</sup> An examination of this study’s own copy of the third issue of *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) and

---

<sup>647</sup> Xu Zhihao 許志浩 (1992), pp. 12-13.

<sup>648</sup> Editor (1920), “Benzhi xuanyan” 《本誌宣言》 (Manifesto of this Journal). In: *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*), vol. 1, 4/1920. See Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), pp. 48-49.

some articles from the other issues shows that the range of topics for these articles touched on almost every aspect of art education, such as the definition of art education, its relation to aesthetics and other aspects, the role of the mother in aesthetic education at home, the integration of drawing and Craft, and teaching methods and reports of aesthetic education in other countries. Examples of these discussions include Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 “Meiyu shi shenme” 《美育是什麼？》 (What is Aesthetic Education?) (1920), Lü Cheng 呂澂 “Shuo mei yishi de xingzhi” 《說美意識的性質》 (Nature of Aesthetic Consciousness) (1920), Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀 “Xin wenhua yundong he meiyu” 《新文化運動和美育》 (New Cultural Movement and Aesthetic Education) (1920), Cai Yaohuang 蔡耀煌 “Tuhua shougong lianluo de wenti” 《圖畫手工聯絡的問題》 (The Problem of the integration of drawing and *Sloyd*) (1920) and Jiang Jinglu 姜敬廬 “Rihan kaocha zhong guanyu meiyu cailiao zhi jishi” 《日韓考察中關於美育材料之紀實》 (Report of the material for aesthetic education collected in the study tour to Japan and Korea) (1920).



Figure 19 *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) published by *Zhonghua meiyuhui* 中華美育會 (Society of Zhonghua Aesthetic Education)

A second journal *Meiyu zazhi* 《美育雜誌》 (*Mi-Yo Journal*) also used aesthetic education as a title. It was a generalist journal and most of the articles were about the visual arts and literature. The only article devoted to a discussion about art education was Li Jinfa 李金髮 “Wuguo yishu jiaoyu” 《吾國藝術教育》 (Our Country’s Art

Education) (1928). This article was first published in *Shen Bao* 《申報》 (*Shen Post*) on 1 January 1928.

As Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 point out, *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) was the first art education journal in China.<sup>649</sup> It was also known to the author as the only art education journal issued in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. As *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) lasted for two years only, it was not able to publish a large number of articles on art education. In fact, most of the articles on art education were published in other general educational journals.

ii. Articles published in general educational journals

Educational journals reviewed were *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) (Figure 20), *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*) (Figure 21), *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*) (Figure 22) and *Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan* 《國民教育指導月刊》 (*The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education*) (Figure 23). A closer examination of all subjects contained within *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 and *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*), that is, from the very first issue until the very last issue, has been made. For *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), issues from the 1910s till the 1930s have been accessed. For *Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan* 《國民教育指導月刊》 (*The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education*), only one issue was available. A brief examination of the articles on art education published in the educational journals follows:

---

<sup>649</sup> Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Hu Guanghua 胡光華 (1997), pp. 24-26.

Jiaoyu zazhi 《教育雜誌》 (The Chinese Educational Review)

The *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) was first published in 1909 and lasted until 1948. During its 39 years' history, the publication of *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 only stopped twice. The first suspension happened during the period between early 1932 and late 1934, when the main building and factory of the journal's publisher, *Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press) was destroyed in the Japanese invasion. The second was in 1940, when the Pacific War broke out and China was under aggressive Japanese invasion and the publication of the journal was discontinued. It was restarted in 1947.<sup>650</sup> According to Shu Xincheng 舒新城, *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 had the longest history in the Chinese education field and had the highest sales.<sup>651</sup> The aim of this journal was stated in its very first issue, "to study and to improve education".<sup>652</sup> In 1922, Li Shicen 李石岑 became the chief editor of the journal and stated that one of the aims of the journal was to promote aesthetic education:

Aesthetic and physical education are being promoted by every country in the world. However, they are still not popular in our country. In order to reform the environment and improve the physical health, this journal is eagerly willing to advocate aesthetic and physical education. Once aesthetic and physical education are implemented, ethical and intellectual education are to be deferred.<sup>653</sup>

Throughout its nearly 40 years' history, there were 91 articles on art education published. Twenty-two articles were issued in the 1910s, and 42 of these were issued in the 1920s, 24 in the 1930s and 3 in the 1940s. There were four different themes for

---

<sup>650</sup> Wang Yunwu 王雲五 (1975), "Jing yin jiaoyu zazhi jiukan quanbu xu" 《景印教育雜誌舊刊全部序》 (Preface to the Photocopy of the Entire Old Issues of *The Chinese Educational Review*). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), first issue (reprint). This researcher believes that it would make sense to change the Chinese character *jing* 景 to *ying* 影. By doing so, the combination of the two characters *jing* 影 and *yin* 印 would mean photo copying. Then, the meaning of the title of the preface would be "Preface to the Photocopy of the Entire Old Issues of *The Chinese Educational Review*".

<sup>651</sup> Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1929), "Meigan jiaoyu sixiang" 《美感教育思想》 (Thought on Aesthetic Education). Quoted in: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 195.

<sup>652</sup> *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), 1<sup>st</sup> issue, 1909, p. 5. The original Chinese version is: 本雜誌以研究教育改良學務為宗旨。

<sup>653</sup> *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 14, no. 1, 1922, p. 19164. The original Chinese version of the declaration was: 美育與體育，世界各國競相提倡，而我國仍覺寂然，本誌就改造環境與增進體質之點。願極力宣揚美育與體育，美體二育既備，斯德智二育伏其中矣。

these articles. One concentrated on the discussions about the rationale of art education, the second group concerned the practical aspects, the third was about art education in other countries and the fourth dealt with the issue of education in art appreciation.

Writings on the rationale of art education included Yu Zhen's 余箴 "Meiyu lun" 《美育論》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education) (1913), Yu Shangtong 余尚同 "Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli" 《藝術教育的原理》 (Principles of Art Education) (1921) and Li Shicen 李石岑 "Meiyu zhi yuanli" 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education) (1922).

Discussions on the implementation of art education included Zhao Chuanbi's 趙傳璧 "Shougong jiaoshou jingli tan" 《手工教授經歷談》 (Talk about the Experience of Teaching *Sloyd*) (1914), Gui Shaolie's 桂紹烈 "Tuhua yu shougong zhi lianluo" 《圖畫與手工之聯絡》 (The Integration of Drawing and *Sloyd*) (1918), Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 "Meishu ke jiaoxuefa" 《美術科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Fine Art) (1924), Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 "Ertong ziyouhua de jiaoxue wenti" 《兒童自由畫的教學問題》 (Problems Concerning Teaching Free Drawing to Children) (1948).

Other articles devoted to the introduction of art education from other countries were Yun Chen 芸塵 "Yingfamei sanguo shougong jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang" 《英法美三國手工教授之狀況》 (Teaching of *Sloyd* in England, France and America) (1913) and Ma Ketan 馬客談 "Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwenji" 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》 (The Visit to a Children's Art Class in Vienna) (1936).

The articles devoted to the discussion on art appreciation education or related topics were written by two authors, Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷. Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 wrote "Ertong duiyu minghua xinshang xingqu de diaocha yanjiu" 《兒童對於名畫欣賞興趣的調查研究》 (The Study of Children's Interest in Appreciating Master Pieces) (1937) and "Ertong meishu xinshang yu chuangzao de

jiaoxue” 《兒童美術欣賞與創造的教學》 (Teaching of Art Appreciation and Creation to Children) (1948). Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had written 12 articles on art appreciation. These were a series of articles on Western paintings and grouped in the column “Ertong yishu jianghua” 《兒童藝術講話》 (Talks on Arts for Children) of the journal published between 1930 and 1931. Examples included “Pinfa de yishujia” 《貧乏的藝術家》 (The Poor Artist) (vol. 22, no. 1, 1930), “Fugui de yishujia” 《富貴的藝術家》 (The Rich Artist) (vol. 22, no. 4), “Wunian huacheng xiaoyan” 《五年畫成的笑顏》 (A Smiling Face Composed in Five Years) (vol. 22, no. 7) and “Kejing de jiyili” 《可驚的記憶力》 (Astonishing Memory) (vol. 23, no. 3, 1931) (See table 7 and 11 in appendix 1)



Figure 20 *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*)

*Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*)

*Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*) was a bi-monthly journal published by the Education Department of Jiangsu province. The first issue of the journal was published in 1933 and the final one in 1937. Within these four years, two special issues were devoted to craft education and art education. There were altogether 64 articles published. Most of them were devoted to discussions on the practical aspects of art and craft education such as teaching materials and methods. Examples included Wang Xipan’s 王希礪 “Zenyang

fazhan yiban xiaoxue de laozuo jiaoyu” 《怎樣發展一般小學的勞作教育》 (How to Develop Labour Education in General Primary School) (1933), Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 “Ertong hua” 《兒童畫》 (Children’s drawing) (1934), Liu Mingde’s 劉明德 “Zenyang jiao tousihua” 《怎樣教透視畫》 (How to Teach Perspective Drawing) (1936). (See table 7 and 12 in appendix 1)



Figure 21 *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*)

*Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*)

The *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*) was first published in 1912, stopped in 1937, and restarted in 1947 and ceased again in 1950. There were 19 articles all together on art education published in *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*) from 1913 to 1929. Similar to those published in *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*), most of these articles on art education published in *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*) concerned the practical aspects of art and craft education. Examples included Fu An’s 復盦 “Zuijin zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《最近之圖畫教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing) (1913), Zhou Yixiu’s 周逸休 “Xiaoxue gongyi sheji jiaoxuefa” 《小學工藝設計教學法》 (Teaching Method for Primary Craft Design) (1925) and Wang Guoyuan’s 王國元 “Xiangcun xuexiao yishu xin jiaocai” 《鄉村學校藝術新教



材》(New Teaching Material for Rural School Art) (1928). (See table 7 in appendix 1 and table 13)

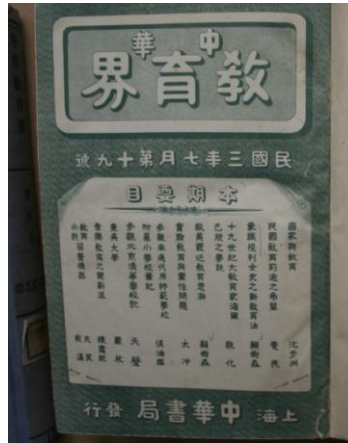


Figure 22 *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*)

Table 13 Articles Published in *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*)

	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Journal Issue Number
1.	Fo Chu 佛初	1913	“Shougong gongyi gongzuo laozuo” 《手工教授之研究》 (The Study of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	7/1913.
2.	Fu An 復盦	1913	“Zuijin tuhua zhi jiaoshoufa” 《最近圖畫之教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing)	8/1913.
3.	(American) Masi 瑪司; Yan Zhen 嚴楨 (trans.)	1913	“Lun jiaoyu ertong dang zhuyi chudeng gongyi” 《論教育兒童當注重初等工藝》 (The Stress on Practical Arts in Child Education)	11/1913.
4.	Wu Dingchang 吳鼎昌	1915	“De mei shougong jiaoshou zuijin zhi qushi” 《德美手工教授最近之趨勢》 (New Trends of <i>Sloyd</i> Teaching in Germany and America)	vol. 4, no. 1.
5.	Zhao Chuanbi 趙傳璧	1915	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi kunnan ji xinde” 《手工教授之困難及心得》 (Difficulties and Ideas of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 4, no. 6.
6.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1915	“Xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong lianluo jiaoshou zhi shangque” 《小學校圖畫手工聯絡教授之商榷》 (Discussion about the Integrated Teaching of Primary School Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 4, no. 11.
7.	Xiao Peng 效彭	1916	“Mei jiaoyujia ansude zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《美教育家安蘇德之圖畫教授法》 (American Educator Ansude’s Teaching Method for Drawing)	vol. 5, no. 2.
8.	Yao Dazhong 姚大中	1916	“Ying mei fa guozhong xuexiao shougongke jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang” 《英美法國中學校手工科教授之狀況》 (The State of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> in British, American and French Middle School)	vol. 5, no. 9.
9.	Wu Junsheng 吳俊升	1922	“Yishu kecheng gailun” 《藝術課程概論》 (Introduction to Art Education)	vol. 12, no. 1.
10.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923a	“Ertong de yishu shenghuo” 《兒童的藝術生活》 (Artistic Life of Children)	vol. 12, no. 9.
11.	(Japanese) Yoshida,	1923	“Yishu jiaoyu sichao ji qi piping” 《藝術教育思潮及其批評》 (Criticism about the Trends of Art	vol.12, no. 9.

	Kumaji 吉田熊次; Yi Lao 亦勞 (trans.)		Educational Thinking)	
12.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923b	“Ertong xuexi huihua de xinli” 《兒童學習繪畫的心理》 (Psychology of Children’s Learning to Draw)	vol. 12, no. 11.
13.	Gu Kebin 顧克彬	1925	“Xiangcun xiaoxue ertong de huihua” 《鄉村小學兒童的繪畫》 (Children’s Drawing in Countryside Primary Schools)	vol. 14, no.10.
14.	Zhou Yixiu 周逸休	1925	“Xiaoxue gongyi sheji jiaoxuefa” 《小學工藝設計教學法》 (Teaching Method for Primary School Practical Arts)	vol. 14, no.12.
15.	He Jingyuan 何景元	1927	“Xiaoxue meishu yu guohua” 《小學美術與國畫》 (Primary Fine Art and Chinese Painting)	vol. 16, no.7.
16.	Zhang Yi’an 張亦菴	1928	“Yi ke tuhua shishi de baogao” 《一課圖畫實施的報告》 (Report of Implementing Drawing in A Class)	vol. 17, no.7.
17.	Wang Guoyuan 王國元	1928	“Xiangcun xuexiao yishu xin jiaocai” 《鄉村學校藝術新教材》 (New Art Materials in Countryside Schools)	vol. 17, no.3.
18.	Zhu Yunzong 朱允宗	1929	“Xiaoxuexiao meiyu xunlianfa” 《小學校美育訓練法》 (Teaching Method for Aesthetic Education in Primary School)	vol. 17, no.9.
19.	Liu Sixun 劉思訓	1929	“Yishu yu jiaoyu zai jinri de guanxi” 《藝術與教育在今日的關係》 (Current Relationship between Fine Arts and Education)	vol 17, no.10.

Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan 《國民教育指導月刊》 (The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education)

The only available issue of *Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan* 《國民教育指導月刊》 (*The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education*) (vol. 1, no. 20, 1942) was called a special issue on art and craft. There were three articles published in this issue and they were Hu Shuyi’s 胡叔異 “Tan xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu” 《談小學美術教育》 (Primary School Art Education), Xiong Zhugao’s 熊翥高 “Xiaoxue laozuo kecheng biao zhun shishi chengji buliang de yuanyin” 《小學勞作科課程標準實施成績不良的原因》 (Reasons for the Bad Result of the Implementation of the Syllabus for Primary Labour) and Tang Yifan’s 唐一帆 “Huo de laozuo jiaoxuefa” 《活的勞作教學法》 (A Lively Teaching Method for Labour). (See table 7 in appendix 1)



Figure 23 *Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan* 《國民教育指導月刊》 (*The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education*)

Comparing these four general educational journals, it was noticeable that *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) had undertaken the most active role in publishing articles on art education and hence promoting art education in China. While most of the articles on art education published in the other three general education journals concerned the practical aspects of art and craft education, those published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) discussed different aspects of art education.

### iii. Articles published in other journals and newspapers

Apart from the general education journals, articles on art education can also be found in many other journals and newspapers such as *Jiaoyu shijie* 《教育世界》 (*Education World*), *Meishu* 《美術》 (*Fine Arts*), *Guohua yuekan* 《國畫月刊》 (*Chinese Painting Monthly*), *Yilang* 《藝浪》 (*I-Liang*), *Yinyue yu jiaoyu* 《音樂與教育》 (*Music and Education*), *Zhongguo meishuhui jikan* 《中國美術會季刊》 (*Chinese Art Society Quarterly*) and *Shen bao* 《申報》 (*Shen Post*).

### 2.2.2. Discussion Themes in the Articles

The contents of the articles on art education covered almost every aspect of the field. They included the history of Chinese art education, rationale of art education, curriculum design, teaching materials and methods, art appreciation education, children’s drawing, teaching of Chinese painting and art education in foreign countries. Under the category of teaching materials and methods, there were three categories of discussion: teaching of drawing, teaching handcraft and the integration of these two subjects. Examples of these discussions are shown in table 14.

Table 14 Theme of Discussions of the Articles

	Theme of discussions	Author	Publication date	Title of the article	Remarks
1.	History of Chinese art education	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1931	“Sanshiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu” 《三十五年來中國之藝術教育》 (Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years)	
2.	Examples:	Sheng Langxi 盛朗西	1933	“Shougong – gongyi – gongzuo – laozuo” 《手工 – 工藝 – 工作 – 勞作》 (Sloyd – Craft – Work – Labour)	
3.		Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1941	“Sanshi nian lai yishu jiaoyu zhi huigu” 《三十年來藝術教育之回顧》 (A Retrospect of Art Education in the Last 30 Years)	
4.	Rationale of art education	Wang Guowei 王國維	1903	“Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi” 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education)	
5.	Examples:	Li Shicen 李石岑	1922	“Meiyu zhi yuanli” 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education)	
6.		Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1938	“Meiyu yu rensheng” 《美育與人生》 (Aesthetic Education and Life)	
7.	Curriculum design	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923	“Xinzhixiaoxue meishu kecheng jiaoxue de lilun he shiji” 《新制小學美術課程教學的理論和實際》 (The Theories and Reality of Implementing the New Curriculum of Primary School Fine Art)	
8.	Examples:	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1946	“Ping xiaoxue tuhua kecheng biao zhun” 《評小學圖畫課程標準》 (Opinions on Syllabus for Primary School Drawing)	
9.		Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1947	“Xiaoxue laozuoke kecheng” 《小學勞作科課程》 (Syllabus for Primary School Labour) (1947)	
10.	Teaching of drawing or fine arts	Shi Cheng 時成	1913	“Zuijin zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《最近之圖畫教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing)	
11.	Examples:	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1924	“Meishuke jiaoxuefa” 《美術科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Fine Art)	
12.		Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1934	“Meishuke xiangtu jiaocai yaomu ji qita” 《美術科鄉土教材要目及其他》 (The Principle Points for the Local Teaching Materials for Fine Art and Others)	
13.		Qian	1937	“Xiaoxue tuhua jiaoxuefa” 《小學圖畫教學法》	

		Yunqing 錢雲清		(Teaching Method for Primary School Drawing)	
14.	Teaching of handcraft or industrial arts	Zhao Chuanbi 趙傳璧	1915	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi kunnan ji xinde” 《手工教授之困難及心得》 (Difficulties and Ideas of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	
15.	Examples:	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高/Wang Xinqu 王欣渠	1923	“Putong xuexiao de gongyike jiaoxuefa” 《普通學校的工藝科教學法》 (Method of Teaching Industrial Art in Common School)	
16.		Tang Yifan 唐一帆	1942	“Huo de laozuo jiaoxuefa” 《活的勞作教學法》 (Lively Method for Teaching Labour)	
17.	Integration of drawing and Craft	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1915	“Xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong lianluo jiaoshou zhi shangque” 《小學校圖畫手工聯絡教授之商榷》 (Discussion about the Integrated Teaching of Primary Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	
18.	Examples:	Sun Jie 孫捷	1917	“Shougong tuhua lianluo jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《手工圖畫連絡教授之研究》 (Study of the Integrated Teaching of <i>Sloyd</i> and Drawing)	
19.		Gui Shaolie 桂紹烈	1918	“Tuhua yu shougong zhi lianluo” 《圖畫與手工之聯絡》 (The Integration of Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	
20.		Cai Yaohuang 蔡耀煌	1920	“Tuhua shougong lianluo de wenti” 《圖畫手工聯絡的問題》 (Problems of Integration of Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	
21.	Art appreciation	Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰	1935	“Xinshang jiaoyu de yanjiu” 《欣賞教育的研究》 (The Study of Appreciation Education)	
22.	Examples:	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Ji Guoping 季國屏	1936	“Yi nian lai de meizhou minghua xinshang jiaoxue” 《一年來的每週名畫欣賞教學》 (Weekly Appreciation of Master Pieces in a Year)	
23.		Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948	“Ertong meishu xinshang yu chuangzao de jiaoxue” 《兒童美術欣賞與創造的教學》 (Teaching Children Art Appreciation and Creation)	
24.	Children’s drawing	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923	“Ertong xuexi huihua de xinli” 《兒童學習繪畫的心理》 (Psychology of Children’s Drawing Learning)	
25.	Examples:	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1924	“Xiaoxuesheng dimiaohua nengli ji qi kaifa zhidao” 《小學生底描畫能力及其開發指導》 (Drawing Ability of Primary School Children and the Enhancement of their Development)	
26.		Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934	“Ertong hua” 《兒童畫》 (Children’s Drawing)	
27.	Teaching of Chinese painting	He Jingyuan 何景元	1927	“Xiaoxue meishu yu guohua” 《小學美術與國畫》 (Primary Fine Art and Chinese Painting)	Only two examples
28.		Yu Jianhua 俞劍華	1935	“Zhongxiaoxue tuhuake yi shou guohua yi” 《中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議》 (Discussion about Chinese Painting Should be Taught in Primary and Middle School)	
29.	Art education in foreign countries	Yao Dazhong 姚大中	1916	“Ying mei fa guozhong xuexiao shougongke jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang” 《英美法國中學校手工科教授之狀況》 (The State of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> in British, American and French Middle School)	
30.		Ma Ketan 馬客談	1936	“Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwen ji” 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》 (The Visit to a Children’s Art Class in Vienna)	

### 2.2.3. Importation of Western Ideas on Art Education

Table 14 indicates that there were only two articles currently available among this large number of publications devoted to the discussion about the teaching of Chinese painting in school education. These were He Jingyuan's 何景元 "Xiaoxue meishu yu guohua" 《小學美術與國畫》 (Primary Fine Art and Chinese Painting) (1927) and Yu Jianhua's 俞劍華 "Zhongxiaoxue tuhuake yishou guohua yi" 《中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議》 (Chinese Painting Should be Taught in Primary and Middle School) (1935). As mentioned in the last chapter, He Jingyuan 何景元 noted that there was a strange phenomena in the teaching of Chinese painting in that it was not included in discussions on school art education in his time.<sup>654</sup> Similarly, Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 found it absurd that Chinese painting was not included in school art education.<sup>655</sup> Both He's and Yu's criticisms had been introduced in the last chapter and their criticism corroborated the observation here that an overwhelming number of Chinese writings and discussions were devoted to, and influenced by, the importation of Western ideas in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century China.

Reporting on art education from Western countries like America, England, Germany, Austria and France was one of the means used to bring in the current Western ideas on art education into Chinese writings. There were a total of six articles that reported on art or craft education from Western countries. Ma Ketan's 馬客談 "Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwenji" 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》 (The Visit to a Children's Art Class in Vienna) (1936) was based on the visit to the art educator Cizek in Austria. "Oumei zhi yishu jiaoyu" 《歐美之藝術教育》 (Art Education in Europe and America) (1925) was Ren Baitao's 任白濤 translation of the Japanese scholar Osada Arata's 長田新 report. The other four articles concerned the teaching of Craft in Western countries and were all

---

<sup>654</sup> He Jingyuan 何景元 (1927), in: *Zhonghua jiaoyujie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 16, no. 7, p. 1 (numbering restarted each article). The original Chinese version is: 夫國畫亦美術之一，而今之言小學美術者少論及之，殊可怪也！

<sup>655</sup> Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 (1935), in: *Guohua yuekan* 《國畫月刊》 (*Chinese Painting Monthly*), no. 5, pp. 110-111.

published in the 1910s. It was not clear whether these articles were the result of the Chinese scholars' investigations or translations of the foreign counterparts' studies as these writings failed to provide the sources of their information.

Another factor in the spread of Western ideas on art education in China was the use of the Western concepts and ideas to elaborate the Chinese scholars' opinions or arguments in their writings. Wang Guowei 王國維, for example, used the opinions of the two German philosophers Schiller and Kant as well as Plato and Rousseau, the Greek and French philosophers, to explain the values of aesthetic education in his three articles "Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi" 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Objectives of Education) (1903), "Kongzi zhi meiyu zhuyi" 《孔子之美育主義》 (Confucius's Ideas on Aesthetic Education) (1904) and "Huo'en shi zhi meiyu shuo" 《霍恩氏之美育說》 (Horne's Discussion about Aesthetic Education) (1907).

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 borrowed Kant's notion on aesthetic perception to support his arguments about the significance of aesthetic education in his essays "Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian" 《對於教育方針之意見》 (Opinion about the Guiding Principles for Education) (1912) and "Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo – zai Beijing shenzhou xuehui yanshuoci" 《以美育代宗教說》 (Substituting Religion with Aesthetic Education) (1917).

In order to elucidate the meaning of aesthetic education in his essay "Meiyu shi shenme" 《美育是什麼？》 (What is Aesthetic Education) (1920), Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 used many Western scholars' ideas, particularly those from German scholars such as Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, Julius Langbehn, Friedrich Wilhelm Foester and Johannes Volkelt. Li Shicen 李石岑 also borrowed the views of the German scholars Schiller and Konrad Lange to explain the meaning of aesthetic education in his "Meiyu zhi yuanli" 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education) (1922).

In Tian Min 天民 “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Thinking of Science of Art Education) (1921), the different ideas on art education given by German scholars like Ernst Weber, Ernst Linde, Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark and Ernst von Sallwürk were introduced.

By quoting ideas from Western scholars such as J.Comeuius, J.Rousseau, J. Pestalozzi and G. Basedow, Wu Zengjie 吳增芥 argued the significance and value of Craft in primary school in his “Laozuo jiaoyu de yiyi he jiazhi” 《勞作教育的意義和價值》 (The Significance and Value of Labour Education) (1933).

Western concepts and ideas can be found not only in the Chinese articles which discussed the rationale but also in those about the practical aspects of art education. In his “Chuxuenian zhi tuhua jiaoyu” 《初學年之圖畫教育》 (Drawing Education in the Junior School Years) (1915), Xun Wu 巽吾 quoted Huoermisi’s 霍爾密斯<sup>656</sup> statement “What is and what might be” to support his belief that the training of observation was essential in teaching drawing. According to Xun Wu 巽吾, Huoermisi’s statement meant that training in observation was the first step towards enhancing children’s drawing.<sup>657</sup>

### 2.3. Contributing Factors in the Importation of Western Art Education to China

This review of available data indicates that the publication of writings on art education was prolific in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, with a main characteristic being that many Western ideas were then introduced into most of the Chinese writings. This clearly evidences the adoption of the idea of “Learning from the West” held by many Chinese intellectuals in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and that the influence of the West was gradually penetrating into many aspects of Chinese culture. There were, according to the survey for

---

<sup>656</sup> Xun Wu 巽吾 did not provide any original spelling of this Western scholar and it is difficult to identify which Western scholar Xun referred to, therefore the Chinese translation of this scholar’s name is used here.

<sup>657</sup> Xun Wu 巽吾 (1915), “Chu xuenian zhi tuhua jiaoyu” 《初學年之圖畫教育》 (The Drawing Education in the Junior School Years). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 7, no. 3, p. 8355.



this study, over 160 Chinese scholars or art educators engaged in writings on art education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century, many of whom were active in importing Western ideas to China.

### 2.3.1. Chinese Art Educators' Engagement in Importing Western Art Education

When the reform of Chinese education began in 1902 and art education was first included in school curricula, there were some Chinese scholars writing on art education and the number of these scholars began to grow in the second decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

Wang Guowei 王國維, as stated previously, was known as the first person who introduced the term “*Meiyu*” 美育 (aesthetic education) to China and employed Western ideas to make a systematic, though very brief, study on the significance of aesthetic education.

Gu Shusen 顧樹森 made it clear in his article “Tuhua jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu” 《圖畫教授革新之研究》 (Study of the Reform of Teaching of Drawing) (1918) that due to the lack of both the theoretical study of, and practical experience in, the Chinese school art education, he devoted his article to the introduction of new trends of art teaching in the West. Gu mentioned that under the influence of research into child psychology and experimental pedagogy, the main objective of teaching had changed. In the teaching of drawing, the main objective was to foster the children's ability of visual expression and to develop the foundations for production skills.

Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925b) was the first available systematic, theoretic and comprehensive study on art education made by a Chinese scholar. Lei himself pointed out in the preface that his reason for writing this book was due to the lack of such studies in China. In fact, as indicated in table 8, appendix 1, the books devoted to theoretical study on art education, published earlier or in the same period, were translations. In his book, Lei had imported

many ideas from English and German scholars. He stated that the purpose for importing these notions was to provide a reference for Chinese art educators.<sup>658</sup>

Among the many Chinese writers who involved themselves in importing Western concepts and ideas about art education from the 1910s onwards, some were especially active. They included Tian Min 天民, Tai Xuan 太玄, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐. These Chinese scholars were active in different periods. While both Tian Min 天民 and Tai Xuan 太玄 had published six or seven articles to introduce Western ideas on art and craft education in the later half of 1910, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 published at least two books and four articles on art education in the 1920s. Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 were active in the 1920s and 1930s. Yu published at least two articles and five books on art education, while Feng published approximately three books and twenty four articles. Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 was very active in the 1930s and 1940s publishing about seventeen articles and eight books on the subject.

This study suggests that there were two means by which Chinese scholars or art educators introduced Western ideas on art education. One was through their own research on the subject and the other was by means of translating their Japanese or Western counterparts' studies.

### 2.3.2. Channels of Importing Western Discourse on Art Education to China

According to the information provided by the hundreds of writings on art education, there were 28 translations and the rest were the result of studies by the Chinese writers.

---

<sup>658</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), p. 143.

i. Scholarship of the Chinese art educators

Generally speaking, the Chinese scholars and art educators had employed two ways for doing research on Western art education, one was through first hand information and the other was second or third hand information.

In around 1935, Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 and Ma Ketan 馬客談 visited the Austrian art educator Franz Cizek.<sup>659</sup> With this first hand information collected, Chen and Ma composed their writings and introduced Cizek's ideas and experiences in art teaching to their fellow Chinese art educators.

However, it is significant that among these hundreds of Chinese writings on Western art education, especially the articles, there were only a few that provided the source references. Most of these referred to Chinese literature and were published after the 1920s. Examples were Zong Lianghuan's 宗亮寰 "Xinshang jiaoyu de yanjiu" 《欣賞教育的研究》 (The study of appreciation education) (1935), Chu Shaoxi's 儲紹熙 "Huihua xuexi xinli de yanjiu" 《繪畫學習心理的研究》 (Study of psychology of painting learning) (1935) and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*) (1948). For the rest of these only a few had made reference to English literature. Of these were Wu Junsheng's 吳俊升 "Yishu kecheng gailun" 《藝術課程概論》 (Introduction to Art Education) (1922), Ou Yangxiang's 歐陽湘 "Ertong yu tuhua" 《兒童與圖畫》 (Children and drawing) (1936) and Huang Yi's 黃翼 *Ertong huihua zhi xinli* 《兒童繪畫之心理》 (*Psychology of Children's Drawing*) (1938).

Due to the lack of sources acknowledged in these early 20<sup>th</sup> century Chinese studies it is difficult to identify many of the derivations of the Western art education theories

---

<sup>659</sup> Ma Ketan 馬客談 (1936), "Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwen ji" 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》 (The Visit to a Children's Art Class in Vienna). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 26, no. 9, pp. 42893-42898. Ma did not provide a definite date of his visit to this art class in his article.

introduced by the Chinese authors. Consequently, a mystery remains as to whether the sources about the Western ideas on art education were first, second or even third hand.

Also, there is a further lack of information about the educational background of many Chinese authors, especially their knowledge of foreign languages, except for those famous and active art education advocators like Wang Guowei 王國維, Tai Xuan 太玄, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐. For example, it is known that Wang Guowei 王國維 had learned Japanese and English in his early twenties.<sup>660</sup> The command of these two languages became his tool to acquire the knowledge of Western aesthetics and to get ideas for his arguments for aesthetic education.<sup>661</sup> Both Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had furthered their study in Japan. This explains their knowledge of Japanese and their contribution to importing Western art education as well as visual arts through translating Japanese studies. Furthermore, this also suggests that they may have referenced or used Japanese studies when they wrote about Western art education. Besides Japanese, it is known that Feng was also fluent in English and Russian,<sup>662</sup> so it is possible that sources of reference in Feng's writings on art education could include English and Russian literature. Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 was trained locally. However, whether he learned any foreign languages is unknown. Wen provided source reference in his writings and most of them were Chinese and a few were Japanese.

According to *Jiaoyu zazhi suoyin* 《教育雜誌索引》 (*Index of The Chinese Educational Review*), Tai Xuan 太玄 was Zhou Taixuan 周太玄.<sup>663</sup> It is known that Zhou had

---

<sup>660</sup> Liu Xuan 劉烜 (1996), *Wang Guowei pingzhuan* 《王國維評傳》 (*A Critical Biography of Wang Guowei*). Nanchang 南昌: Baihuazhou wenyi 百花洲文藝, p. 15.

<sup>661</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 15-24.

<sup>662</sup> Notes from editors, in: Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶, Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 and Feng Yuancao 豐元草 (eds.) (1992), p. 2.

<sup>663</sup> Yao Zisu 姚子素 et al. (1936), 'Zhuzhe suoyin' 《著者索引》 (Index of Authors). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi suoyin - yi juan zhi ershisan juan* 《教育雜誌索引 - 一卷至二十三卷》 (Index of The Chinese Educational Review: vol. 1 - vol. 23). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務. p. 13.

furthered his study in France from 1920 to 1930.<sup>664</sup> As Zhou's articles were published before he went to study in France it is still unknown which foreign languages he had mastered at the time he introduced Western ideas in his writings. However, as he had translated the Japanese Sasaki Yoshisaburo's 佐佐木吉三郎 article "Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu" 《教育之美學的基礎》 (Aesthetic Bases of Teaching) (1921), it is doubtless that he mastered Japanese.

In the case of Tian Min 天民 and Lei Jiajun 雷家駿,<sup>665</sup> there is a lack of information concerning their educational background and most importantly their knowledge of Western languages. It is suggested that Tian Min 天民 could be a pen-name or, similar to Tai Xuan 太玄, the first name of the author. It is because Tian 天 does not resemble a Chinese family name and as shown in the previous section, it was quite common for the Chinese to publish their writings by using a pen-name. Thus the background of this author is difficult to discover.

For the rest, a majority of Chinese writers, there is also a lack of background information. There was a lack of reference books or studies on Chinese art educators in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. This deficit of information impacts on the ability of this study to trace and critically review the sources of the Western ideas being introduced into these many Chinese writings. Tian Min 天民, Tai Xuan 太玄 and Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 imported Western art education to China at the very early stages and it is no doubt that their writings, as well as those from the other Chinese authors, could become references for the writings on similar subjects in the later years. However, their lack of sources hindered later readers from conducting scientific and qualitative research based on the Western knowledge they provided.

---

<sup>664</sup> Retrieved 19/5/2010, from <http://www.huaxia.com/lasd/hxrwk/ddrw/dl/2003/12/503001.html>; and <http://baike.baidu.com/view/330886.htm>.

<sup>665</sup> The only information about Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 is that he was an art teacher at a primary school in 1916. See Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925a), p. 56.

In fact, the failure to provide source references signifies that these Chinese scholars or art educators had not adopted a scientific approach in their studies. Such unscientific attitudes were also reflected in the wording used to introduce Western art education in some writings. For instance, although Tian Min 天民 introduced Western art education, especially the German art education movement, in his article “Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education) (1916), he did not make clear which continent or country he was referring to in many parts of the text. This made people feel that he was talking about art education in China. For example, in the very first sentence of the essay, he wrote:

By art education it does not mean the training of different kind of artistic professionals but art in cultivating personality and general education. This definition has become the aim of art education and it is being promoted. It should not be wrong to say that this is a phenomenon in the field of education nowadays.<sup>666</sup>

However, it is found that Tian Min was actually referring to German art education when the rest of the article was analysed. The most obvious evidence is his introduction of the notions of many important figures of the German Art Education Movement such as Konrad Lange, Ernst Weber and Julius Langbehn.<sup>667</sup> Furthermore, Tian Min also quoted and paraphrased Johannes Richter’s analysis of social circumstances of the art education movement in Germany.

Tian Min 天民 claimed that art education “did not mean the training of different kind of artistic professionals but art in cultivating personality and general education” and then pointed out that “this is a phenomenon in the field of education nowadays”.<sup>668</sup> As he did not clearly indicate which country’s education was being referred to, one could assume that he meant Chinese education. However, as indicates in Chapter III, Chinese art

---

<sup>666</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), “Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 8, no. 11, p. 11163. The original Chinese version is: 茲所謂藝術教育者，非養成諸種藝術專門家之義，第指人格修養上及普通教育上所謂藝術言之。今多有本此意義以藝術教育之發展為目的而力事提倡者，雖謂此為最近教育界之一大現象，亦無不可。

<sup>667</sup> More accurately speaking, Tian Min mentioned a number of Western scholars’ ideas about art education in his text. He did not provide any alphabetical spelling of the original name of these Western scholars but only their Chinese translation. It is mainly through the titles of these scholars’ books and their arguments about art education that this researcher surmised that many of them were German scholars.

<sup>668</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), p. 11163.

education for general education was still at its embryonic stage and this kind of aim for art education could not be found in the Chinese curriculum guides for general education at that time. Furthermore, there were not many Chinese studies on this topic by 1916. In brief, the way Tian Min introduced Western art education lacked precision. Besides Tian Min's writing, similar examples of a lack of clarity can also be found in other Chinese writings. Examples include Zong Lianghuan's 宗亮寰 *Xiaoxuexiao xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學校形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*) (1930),<sup>669</sup> Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*)(1934)<sup>670</sup> and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*) (1948).<sup>671</sup>

Hu Shi 胡適 had written a very famous satirical essay titled “Chabuduo xiansheng zhuan” 差不多先生傳 (Biography of Mr Chabuduo)<sup>672</sup> to criticise a phenomenon in China – that people were generally not conscientious with whatever they do or do not adopt a scientific attitude to do things. This kind of criticism may explain the approaches of Tian Min 天民 and some other Chinese authors.

On the other hand, the failure to provide source references and the employment of vague writing styles also suggests an eagerness, or even a blindness, in learning from the West. It seems that these Chinese scholars and art educators focused very much on their tasks – employing whatever means to import Western knowledge to China and using Western knowledge to support their arguments. In other words, they might not have thought about making scientific studies or to help fellow Chinese scholars to conduct further studies on

---

<sup>669</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), *Xiaoxuexiao xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學校形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 3.

<sup>670</sup> Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1934a), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 4.

<sup>671</sup> Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948), *Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi* 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 (*Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 111-114.

<sup>672</sup> *Chabuduo* 差不多 is literally translated almost, just about right, nearly, similar. The publication date of this essay is unknown.

Western art education by providing source references or sufficient information on the subject.

Similar to the importation of Western visual arts, the importation of Western art education had also benefited from translations. The next section, presents a discussion that considers the kind of writings on Western art education that were rendered in Chinese.

## ii. Translations

As shown in table 7, this study has uncovered 21 pieces of translation published in the journals between the 1910s and the 1930s, half of which were published in the 1920s. No translation of art education published in the journals in the 1940s has been found to date.

Xun Wu's 巽吾 "Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli" 《藝術教育之原理》 (Principles of Art Education) (1912) was the earliest translation of Western art education available. It stated that it was written by Poluoxie 潑洛歇, a professor of psychology at Habodeng 哈勃登 University in American.<sup>673</sup> It was divided into three parts and published in three different issues of *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*). Other translations published in the journals in the same period included Yan Zhen's 嚴楨 translation of American Masi's 瑪司<sup>674</sup> "Lun jiaoyu ertong dang zhuzhong chudeng gongyi" 《論教育兒童當注重初等工藝》 (The Emphasis of Elementary Industrial Art in Child Education) (1913), Tian Min's 天民 translation of German Babushi's 巴布士<sup>675</sup> "Shougong jiaoyu lun" 《手工教育論》 (Discussion of *Sloyd* Education) (1914), and Wu Dingchang's 吳鼎昌 translation of Japanese Sadayama Eigi's 楨山榮次 "Demei shougong jiaoshou zuijin zhi qushi" 《德美手工教授最近之趨勢》 (New Trends of *Sloyd* Teaching in Germany and America) (1915).

---

<sup>673</sup> No original spellings of the names of the American professor and the university were provided.

<sup>674</sup> No original spelling of this American author's name was provided.

<sup>675</sup> No original spelling of this German author's name was provided.



The translations published in the 1920s included Yu Shangtong's 余尚同 translation of German Adolf Rude's "Luote shi tuhua jiaoshoufa" 羅特氏圖畫教授法 (Rude's Methods of Teaching of Drawing) (1921), Yang Ying's 楊英 translation of American James Parton Haney "Yingyong de yishu" 《應用的藝術》 (The Applied Fine Arts) (1921), Ren Baitao's 任白濤 translation of Japanese Osada Arata's 長田新 "Oumei zhi yishu jiaoyu" 《歐美之藝術教育》 (The European and American Art Education) (1925), Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 translation of the German H. Muensterberg's "Yishu jiaoyu zhi meixue de lunjiu" 《藝術教育之美學的論究》 (Discussion about the Aesthetic of Art Education) (1928).<sup>676</sup>

The translations which were published in the 1930s included Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 translation of Japanese Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重考 "Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fazhan" 《藝術教育思想之發展》 (The Development of Art Education Thinking) (1930), Wu Chengjun's 吳承均 translation of Japanese Obara Kuniyoshi's 小原國芳 "Yishu he jiaoyu de benzhi de guanxi" 《藝術和教育的本質的關係》 (1932) and Dai Yushi's 戴聿師 translation of American Garrison & Garrison's "Huihua de xinli yanjiu" 《繪畫的心理研究》 (The Study of the Psychology of Painting) (1936).

There were 4 translations and 3 retranlations of books on art education available. *Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli* 《藝術教育之原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) was published in 1915 and was the first book available on art education published in China. Though it was not indicated in the book, it was actually found to be a compilation of Xun Wu's 巽吾 translation of the American Poluoxie's 潑洛歇 "Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli" 《藝術教育之

---

<sup>676</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 did not provide any information about the origin of H. Muensterberg in this translation. However, in his *Yishu jiaoyu ABC* 《藝術教育 ABC》 (*Art Education ABC*) (1928), Feng stated that H. Muensterberg was a psychology professor at Harvard University. In Yu Shangtong's 余尚同 "Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli" 《藝術教育的原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) (1921), which was also a translation of the same writing by H. Muensterberg, Yu stated that Münsterberg [Muensterberg] was a famous German psychologist. According to wikipedia, H. Muensterberg was actually Hugo Münsterberg. He was German and worked at Harvard University from 1892 to 1895 and then 1897 to 1916. Retrieved 19/05/2010, from [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo\\_M%C3%BCnsterberg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hugo_M%C3%BCnsterberg); and <http://psychology.about.com/od/profilesal/p/hugo-munsterberg.htm>.

原理》 (Principles of Art Education) published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) in 1912. This conclusion comes from a detailed cross examination of the two texts during this research project.

The other translations of books on art education were Tang Kaibin's 唐開斌 translation of Kobayashi Sumimi's 小林澄見 and Otawa Akira's 大多和顯 *Yishu jiaoyu lun* 《藝術教育論》 (*On the Teaching of Art*) (1925) and Dong Renjian's 董任堅 translation of American Tuode's 託德 and Gaier's 蓋爾<sup>677</sup> *Ertong de meishu xiangle yu yingyong* 《兒童的美術享樂與應用》 (*The Amusement and Application of Art of Children*) (1941). *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) (1932) was actually a compilation of Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 different translations on art education.

The three retranslations were: Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 retranslation of the Japanese counterpart Shimoda Seishi's 霜田靜志 translation of Henry Turner Barley's *Yishu jiaoyu sheshifa* 《藝術教育設施法》 (*Art Education*) (1925); Guan Rongde's 管容德 retranslation of the Japanese Takimura Ayao's 瀧村斐男 translation of Freienfeis's *Yishu jianshang de xinli yice* 《藝術鑑賞的心理一冊》 (*Psychology of Art Appreciation*) (1926) and Gong Qichang's 龔啟昌 retranslation of the English translation of the Norwegian Helga Eng's *Ertong huihua xinli zhi yanjiu* 《兒童繪畫心理之研究》 (*The Psychology of Children's Drawing*) (1939).

Throughout this section, it was not difficult to identify which translations were from Japanese as the Japanese authors' names were easy to recognize. However, it was not the same for the Western authors. As indicated above, many Chinese translations failed to provide original spelling of the authors' names or information about their countries of origin. This makes it difficult to discover the countries of origin of the translations. For example, in Dong Renjian's 董任堅 translation *Ertong de meishu xiangle yu yingyong*

---

<sup>677</sup> No original spellings of the two Western authors' names were provided. Information on the origin of these two writers was also missed. As the preface was written by William G. Whitford, a professor of Department of Education at Chicago University, this researcher suggests the authors were American.

《兒童的美術享樂與應用》 (*The Amusement and Application of Art of Children*), it was through checking the preface that this study suggests that the original authors Tuode 託德 and Gaier 蓋爾 were American. Guan Rongde 管容德 had indicated that *Yishu jianshang de xinli yice* 《藝術鑑賞的心理一冊》 (*Psychology of Art Appreciation*) was retranslated from the Japanese Takimura Ayao's 瀧村斐男 translation. For the original author, he simply provided the name Freienfels. This could refer to the German philosopher and psychologist Richard Müller-Freienfels because he had written books on the psychology of art and one of them was called *Psychologie des Kunstgeniessens* (*Psychology of Art Enjoyment*) (1922). Similarly, Gong Qichang 龔啟昌 did not provide sufficient information about the translator and original author of his retranslation *Ertong huihua xinli zhi yanjiu* 《兒童繪畫心理之研究》 (*The Psychology of Children's Drawings*) (1939). He simply stated that the book was retranslated from an English translation of Helga Eng's study. He failed to provide the name of the English translator and Helga Eng's country of origin. Using a Google search, this study found that Helga Eng was a Norwegian psychologist and educator.<sup>678</sup> Again, these examples indicate the Chinese art educators' lack of scientific method in importing Western ideas through translation.

This research also shows that many Japanese studies or translations of Western art education were rendered into Chinese, providing further evidence of Japan's role in the importation of Western ideas to China. Both Feng Zikai 豐子愷 and Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 had been very active in translating Japanese writings or retranslating Japanese translations on Western art and art education. As indicated in the previous section, Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had made it clear that the main reason for his devotion to translating Japanese studies on art was due to the lack of related studies in China. Needless to say, this also explains Feng's intention in translating Japanese writings on Western art education. Similarly, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 pointed out in the preface to the book that his purpose in retranslating the

---

<sup>678</sup> Retrieved 20/05/2010, from [http://www.uio.no/om\\_uio/navn/eng.html](http://www.uio.no/om_uio/navn/eng.html).

Japanese translation of *Yishu jiaoyu sheshifa* 《藝術教育設施法》 (*Art Education*) was to provide references for the development of Chinese art education.<sup>679</sup>

Besides the Chinese art educators' own research or translation, the other channel used to promote Western ideas in China was to compile the articles on Western art education into books and republish them.

### 2.3.3. Compiling Articles into Books

In early 20<sup>th</sup> century China, it was a common practice to compile the articles published in journals or newspaper into a book and then republish it. This practice was also commonly used in the field of art education. There were publishing companies like *Shangwu yinshuguan* 商務印書館 (The Commercial Press) compiling them into books and again republishing the articles which had been published in its journals *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*). Examples include books with the title *Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli* 《藝術教育之原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) (1912), *Meiyu zhi yuanli* 《美育之原理》 (*Principle of Aesthetic Education*) (1925), *Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu* 《教育之美學的基礎》 (*Aesthetic Bases of Teaching*) (1925) (Figure 24) and *Meiyu shishi de fangfa* 《美育實施的方法》 (Method for Implementing Aesthetic Education)(1925). While *Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli* 《藝術教育之原理》 (*Principles of Art Education*) was a compilation of a series of articles under the same title, the other three books were compilations of different authors' articles published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) from 1916 until 1923. (See table 15)

There were also authors, such as Feng Zikai 豐子愷, who compiled their own journal articles into a book to be republished. For example, Feng Zikai's *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教

---

<sup>679</sup> Barley, Henry Turner; Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (trans.) (1925), *Yishu jiaoyu sheshifa* 《藝術教育設施法》 (*Art Education*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, preface.

育》 (*Art Education*) (Figure 25) was a compilation of ten articles; 5 of these articles were on art education, including 4 translations which had been published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 from 1928 to 1930. (See table 15)

Table 15 Examples of Articles Being Compiled into Books

	Book Title	Articles being compiled	Remarks
1.	<i>Meiyu zhi yuanli</i> 《美育之原理》 ( <i>Principle of Aesthetic Education</i> ) (1925)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Li Shicen 李石岑 (1922), “Meiyu zhi yuanli” 《美育之原理》 (<i>Principle of Aesthetic Education</i>)</li> <li>2. Lü Cheng 呂澂 (1922), “Yishu he meiyu” 《藝術和美育》 (<i>Fine Art and Aesthetic Education</i>)</li> <li>3. Huang Gongjue 黃公覺 (1922), “Jiamu shi zhi meiyu lun” 《嘉木氏 (Garmo) 之美育論》 (<i>Garmo’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education</i>)</li> <li>4. Tai Xuan 太玄 (1921), “Yishu jiaoyu shang de ge wenti” 《藝術教育上的各問題》 (<i>Serval Problems Concerning Art Education</i>)</li> </ol>	
2.	<i>Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu</i> 《教育之美學的基礎》 ( <i>Aesthetic Bases of Teaching</i> ) (1925)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Sasaki, Yoshisaburo 佐佐木吉三郎; Tai Xuan 太玄 (trans.) (1921), “Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu” 《教育之美學的基礎》 (<i>Aesthetic Bases of Teaching</i>)</li> <li>2. Yu Shangtong 余尚同 (1921), “Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli” 《藝術教育的原理》 (<i>Principles of Art Education</i>)</li> </ol>	
3.	<i>Meiyu shishi de fangfa</i> 《美育實施的方法》 ( <i>Method for Implementing Aesthetic Education</i> ) (1925)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1922), “Meiyu shishi de fangfa” 《美育實施的方法》 (<i>Method for Implementing Aesthetic Education</i>)</li> <li>2. Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子 (1923), “Zhongxuexiao de meiyu shishi” 《中學校的美育實施》 (<i>Implementation of Aesthetic Education in Secondary School</i>)</li> <li>3. He Zhongying 何仲英 (1921), “Xuexiao li meiyu de xunlian” 《學校裏美育的訓練》 (<i>Teaching Aesthetic Education in Schools</i>)</li> <li>4. Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1923c), “Xinzhi xiaoxue meishu kecheng jiaoxue de lilun he shiji” 《新制小學美術課程教學的理論和實際》 (<i>The Thoeries and Reality of Implementing the New Curriculum in Primary School Fine Art</i>)</li> </ol>	
4.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1932), <i>Yishu jiaoyu</i> 《藝術教育》 ( <i>Art Education</i> )	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. “Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa” 《圖畫教育的方法》 (<i>Methods of Drawing Education</i>) (1928)</li> <li>2. “Jiaoyu yishu lun” 《教育藝術論》 (<i>Education on Fine Arts</i>) (1928)</li> <li>3. “Jindai yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近代藝術教育運動》 (<i>Modern Art Education Movement</i>) (1929)</li> <li>4. “Jindai yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近代藝術教育運動》 (<i>Modern Art Education Movement</i>) (1929)</li> <li>5. “Guanyu xuexiao zhong de yishuke” 《關於學校中的藝術科》 (<i>On Art subjects at School</i>) (n. d.)</li> </ol>	

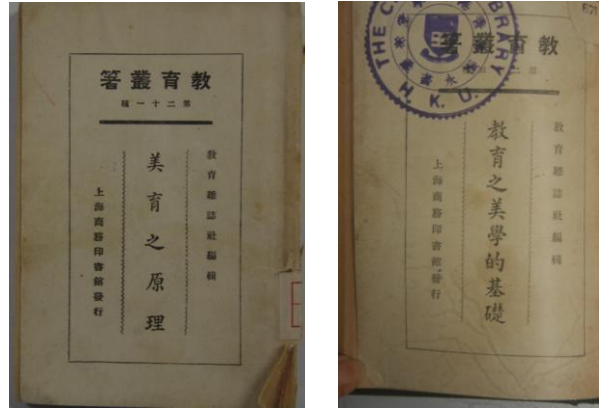


Figure 24 (Right) *Meiyu zhi yuanli* 《美育之原理》 (*Principle of Aesthetic Education*) (1925); (Left) *Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu* 《教育之美學的基礎》 (*Aesthetic Bases of Teaching*) (1925)

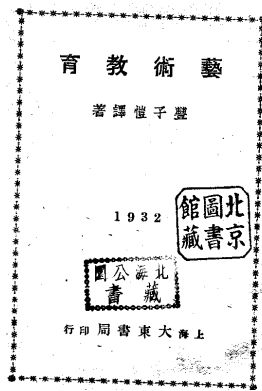


Figure 25 Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) (1932)

This practice suggests that it may have been the intention of publishing companies or authors to promote the knowledge which they thought was valuable to society. In his preface to *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*), Feng Zikai 豐子愷 clearly stated that the purpose for compiling his articles into a book was to promote the study of art education. The practice of compiling articles into books indisputably made a contribution to the introduction and promotion of Western concepts and ideas on art education to China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In summary, the review above indicates the overwhelming amount of Western ideas about art education that were imported to China through publications. The terminologies such as ‘*Meiyu*’ 美育 (aesthetic education), ‘*yishu jiaoyu*’ 藝術教育 (art education) and ‘*meishu jiaoyu*’ 美術教育 (fine art education) and the theories for the rationale of art

education, children's drawing and curriculum design were all from the West and new to China.

As indicated in the research, there was adoption of vague writing styles in the Chinese writings on art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is therefore easy for the readers to confuse Western art education with Chinese art education and get the impression that the problems concerning art education were universal. This researcher suggests that the Chinese art educators might actually consciously or unconsciously have found that the problems of art education were universal. It is also probable that the Chinese writers might find that the readers would have no problem to understand that their writings were about Western art education simply because art education for general education was a new discipline in China and it originated from the West. In addition to these two assumptions, the third possibility is that Chinese scholars actually did not aim at a plain introduction of the art education in the West but borrowing Western examples or ideas to support their discussions or construction of theoretical and practical frameworks for the new discipline in Chinese education. Therefore, any other matters beyond their target would be ignored.

Generally speaking, the Chinese scholars or art educators employed first, second or third hand information for their studies of Western art education. It was common for the Chinese writings on art education, especially those published before the 1920s, to fail to provide source references or reference lists. Such indistinct and unscientific studies on the Western ideas being imported thus became another piece of evidence for the assumption that the Chinese scholars or art educators simply focused on their task, i.e. to import or borrow Western ideas for their discussions.

Among the large quantity of imported Western ideas, especially those on the rationale of art education, many were from Germany. This supports the findings about German influences on Chinese art education suggested in the previous chapter. Generally speaking, German notions were borrowed by the Chinese intelligentsia and art educators to discuss the new theoretical framework of Chinese art education. There were two types

of German notions being borrowed. The first kind was the aesthetic thinking of the German philosophers, including Immanuel Kant, Friedrich Schiller, Arthur Schopenhauer and Johannes Volkelt. The second was the art educational ideas of the German art education advocates at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. These German art education advocates included Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, Ernst Weber, Julius Langbehn, Ernst Linde, Albert Dresdner, Richard Seyfert and Ernst von Sallwürk. How these two different types of German notions were being imported to China and came to influence the Chinese intelligentsias' and art educators' discourses on art education requires further research that is outside the scope of this study.

Importantly, the German notions on art education were rooted in local context. It is therefore worthwhile to further investigate the awareness of Chinese art educators about this socio-cultural frame and their consideration of this in introducing these German notions to their fellow Chinese art educators. Thus, the introduction of German knowledge on art education, especially the study of the contextual factors surrounding the formulation of German art education notions at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in these Chinese writings, is selected as a case study for this dissertation and is presented in the next chapter.

### 3. Conclusions

This research has indicated that a large number of Western concepts and ideas about visual arts and visual arts education were being imported to China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. This was evidenced by the prolific publication of writings in these fields at that time and the dedication of many Chinese authors to introducing or borrowing Western knowledge in their writings.

The importation of a mass of Western concepts and ideas on visual elements, aesthetic judgement, rationale and significance of art education, curriculum design, teaching methods, children's artistic expression, and so on undoubtedly signifies a strong Western



influence on the development of art education as well as the visual arts in early 20<sup>th</sup> century China. Furthermore, the Chinese authors' active role in importing the Western knowledge of visual arts and art education embodied the Zeitgeist "Learning from the West".

This research found that the publication of writings on art education as well as visual arts began in the 1910s and reached its highest peak in the 1930s. This proliferation was a result of the development of the printing and publication industry in China and the training of professionals in the field, from abroad or locally.

There were two channels of importing Western ideas to China. One was through the scholarship of the Chinese authors and the other through translations or retranslations. Japanese studies or translations of Western visual arts and visual art education had often been used by the Chinese scholars. It was an indirect means to import Western knowledge through Japanese writings, however, it stood for a quick and convenient way for China to import Western knowledge in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. And, Zhang Zhidong's statement 張之洞 introduced previously, "Western knowledge is complex and complicated, but the Japanese had abridged or made alterations to the unnecessary materials" clearly revealed the mentality of the Chinese scholars at that time.

The failure to provide clear indication about the origin of the ideas introduced and source references in the Chinese writings on art education signifies the eagerness of the Chinese art educators to import Western knowledge. Moreover, it also suggests that the adoption of modern academic conventions in these Chinese studies was at an embryonic stage.

This research also has indicated that among the many Western ideas on art education, those from Germany were quite popular in the Chinese writings about the rationale of art education of the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Two types of German notions on art education were being borrowed by the Chinese scholars and art educators. The first kind was the aesthetic thinking of German philosophers and the second was the ideas of the German art education advocates during the German Art Education Movement. As

mentioned, the next chapter presents “Chinese studies on the German Art Education Movement” as a case study on the quality of Chinese writings on Western art education.

## CHAPTER V

### STUDY OF GERMAN ART EDUCATION MOVEMENT IN CHINESE WRITINGS

The previous chapters have shown that the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was under strong Western influence and a large quantity of Western ideas on art education was imported to China through the Chinese writings published during the period. Ideas from the German intelligentsia, such as Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, Ernst Weber, Julius Langbehn, Ernst Linde, Albert Dresdner, Richard Seyfert, Ernst von Sallwürk, August Schmarsow, Heinrich Scharrelmann, Hugo Münsterberg and Georg Hirth, can be found in many Chinese writings on the rationale of art education. Most of these German intellectuals were active in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, that is, the period when the German Art Education Movement was launched. As the German scholars Johannes Richter, A. Herget and O. Götze pointed out, the German Art Education Movement (*Kunsterziehungsbewegung*), was framed by the political socio-cultural environment of the time.<sup>680</sup> In other words, the ideas of the above German intellectuals were formulated in response to these circumstances in Germany. The question therefore becomes whether the Chinese art educators or scholars were well informed about this when they imported German ideas to China. More precisely, were Chinese art educators culturally aware when they considered importing ideas which could be compatible with Chinese socio-cultural contexts?

The art education movement in Germany reached its climax with the organisation of the Dresden conference on art education in 1901. Assembled were representatives from different German states and associations who were provided with a prime opportunity to exchange ideas on many aspects of art education. This researcher has found that the

---

<sup>680</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)*. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer, p. 26; Herget, A. (1922), *Die wichtigsten Strömungen im pädagogischen Leben der Gegenwart (The most Important Trends in Contemporary Pedagogy Life)*. Leipzig: Schulwissenschaftlicher Verlag A. Haase, p. 11; Götze, Otto (1914), *Ein kritischer Gang durch die Kunsterziehungsbewegung (A Critical Examination of the Art Education Movement)*. Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne, p. 6. Full name of A. Herget could not be found in his writing. In the next section of this study, there will be an introduction of these three German scholar's notions on this argument.

Dresden conference also provided a source of many valuable references for the Chinese art educators who were eager to learn from the West, especially Germany. For example, the topics of papers presented provided complete references on the theoretical and practical framework of art education. The aim of the conference was neither about training artists nor art experts but to evoke a passion for art among young people. This theme was borrowed by a number of Chinese art educators in their writings. Following from this, this part of study investigates whether the Dresden conference attracted the attention of the Chinese art educators and was thoroughly investigated by them.

While the last chapter focused on the quantity of Western ideas on art education being imported to China in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this part of the research will concentrate on the quality of the Chinese studies about Western ideas. Consequently, the contextual factors of the German Art Education Movement and the Dresden conference are now selected as two examples for this inquiry.

This chapter consists of three sections. The first section investigates the political socio-cultural context in late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century Germany and its contribution to the German Art Education Movement. The second section inquires into the Chinese scholars' study and knowledge of the contextual factors of the art education movement in Germany. In the third section, the introduction of the Dresden conference in Chinese texts will be examined. In section two and three, the study is carried out by means of comparing the original German and Chinese texts published at similar times.

1. The Political Socio-cultural Context of Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century Germany

The second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought a new period of German political, economic and social development. The German Empire, or the Second *Reich*, was established in 1871. During the 1890s, Germany began its *Weltpolitik* (world politics) which aimed at becoming a world power. The industrialisation of Germany was completed in the first

decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the economic status of Germany in the world began to rise. Besides the economic impacts, the industrial revolution also caused a demographic revolution in Germany and created new social systems and tensions. This section of study firstly considers the German political and socio-economical background in the period concerned and then discusses its contribution to the German Art Education Movement during the same period.

### 1.1. The German Political Scene of the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The union of German states, or the German unification, was completed by 1871 and Prussia played a dominant role in the formation of the modern German nation-state. As Edgar Feuchtwanger has pointed out, the creation of the German Empire is “first of all a political phenomenon.”<sup>681</sup> Feuchtwanger explains that the establishment of the German Empire was “the result of political events and not the consequence of inescapable geographical, ethnic or economic facts.”<sup>682</sup> Bismarck, the Prussian prime minister from 1862 to 1890, carried out his “iron and blood” policy, and used foreign policy and wars as instruments for the unification of Germany.

During the process of creating the German Empire, were the German-Danish War in 1864, the Austro-Prussian War in 1866, and the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. Bismarck decided to go to war against Denmark because he regarded this as an opportunity to arouse German nationalism and build up Prussia’s popularity in the German states.<sup>683</sup> Bismarck used the Austro-Prussian War to eliminate obstruction from Austria, the big rival of Prussia, to unify and unite the Northern parts of Germany.<sup>684</sup> In order to reactivate the tide of German unification, Bismarck then went to war against France.<sup>685</sup> Prussia’s victory in the Franco-Prussian War in September 1870 completed the process of

---

<sup>681</sup> Feuchtwanger, Edgar (2001), *Imperial Germany, 1850-1918*. London: Routledge, p. xvi.

<sup>682</sup> *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

<sup>683</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>684</sup> Taylor, A.J.P. (1961), *The Course of German History*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., pp. 117-120. Full spelling of the author’s first names is not provided.

<sup>685</sup> Feuchtwanger, Edgar (2001), p. 51.

unification and the German Empire was proclaimed at Versailles in January 1871. Besides receiving a huge amount of war compensation indemnities from France, the Prussian-French War also made Germany the dominant state on the European continent.

Until he stepped down in 1890, Bismarck concentrated on a policy to consolidate the position of Germany in Europe. During the period from 1890 to 1914, the *Kaiser* (the Emperor) Wilhelm II was in power and his *Weltpolitik* (world politics) was to make Germany a world power and to join the colonial race. Wilhelm II's motto was "*Weltpolitik* as a task, to become a world power as an aim and the fleet as an instrument."<sup>686</sup> Bernhard von Bülow, the secretary of state for foreign affairs in 1897, also proclaimed in the *Reichstag*<sup>687</sup> that:

the days when the Germans left the land to one of their neighbours and the sea to the other, keeping only the sky for themselves and when pure theory reigned are now over... We do not wish to put anyone in the shade, but we also demand our place in the sun.<sup>688</sup>

Exploiting overseas markets and expanding colonies were the targets of Wilhelm II and this legitimized the build-up of armaments, especially the navy. The implementation of Wilhelmine *Weltpolitik* and naval building was so successful that it threatened Britain and caused her to "re-evaluate her international position and to revamp her system of alliance commitments."<sup>689</sup>

Within the German Empire, national unity and state formation was still a great problem. At the commencement of the unification, it was difficult for the new state to find national symbols and ceremonies to legitimise itself. Besides, there was also a problem about the relationship between the King of Prussia, who was adopted as head of the Imperial state, and the princes of the other individual states. In the *Reichstag* elections, it was difficult for the monarchy to obtain a pro-governmental majority as there was opposition from

---

<sup>686</sup> Quoted in: *Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present: Historical Exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag: Catalogue* (1984). Bohn: German Bundestag, p. 238.

<sup>687</sup> According to the exhibition catalogue *Questions on German History, Reichstag* was the second most important institution, just next to the German emperor. It was convened by universal, equal, direct and secret elections. See p. 209.

<sup>688</sup> Quoted in: Kitchen, Martin (1996), *A History of Modern Germany 1800-2000*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing, p. 218.

<sup>689</sup> Berghahn, V. R. (1982), *Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 33. Full spelling of the author's first name is not provided.

Catholics, democrats, labour activists and state loyalists<sup>690</sup>. At the same time, there were also contests or tensions among different political parties which represented different interest groups:

the National Conservatives served the interests of the Prussian landowners, the National Liberals the interests of the great industrialists. The Centre, on the other hand, united German Roman Catholics without consideration of class, the Social Democrats united German workers without consideration of state or province.<sup>691</sup>

Furthermore, Germany also became more and more unmanageable as the progress of industrialization was astounding and the political consciousness of the people was expanding.<sup>692</sup> Bismarck's strategy for dealing with this situation was to impose a dictatorship on the conflicting forces and, as Taylor noted, "they were manipulated by Bismarck – pushed down when they threatened to become strong, helped up when they appeared weak."<sup>693</sup> During the Wilhelmine period, the monarchical government used nationalism and armaments policy to create viable centre-right partnerships and to get parliamentary majorities for its main pieces of legislation.

It is clear that Bismarck used nationalism during the process of unification as did Wilhelm II to tackle the internal political problems and to support his *Weltpolitik* during his government. Germany after the 1890s, according to Martin Kitchen, "was seized by the deadly hurrah-patriotism" and "many influential figures put forward the preposterous argument ... that the country would either become a world power or face extinction".<sup>694</sup> Throughout the period of Wilhelmine Germany (1900-1914) demands for acquiring overseas markets were raised by nationalist Germans,<sup>695</sup> and as V. R. Berghahn points out, it was "the common conviction among all middle-class groups, whether Catholic or Protestant, that the dynamic of the industrialisation process pushed Germany beyond the European continent towards overseas markets. They also shared a Social Darwinist

---

<sup>690</sup> Breuilly, John (1998), "German National Identity". In: Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 51-55.

<sup>691</sup> Taylor, A.J.P. (1961), pp. 135-136.

<sup>692</sup> Ibid., p. 127, 153-155.

<sup>693</sup> Ibid., p. 127.

<sup>694</sup> Kitchen, Martin (2006), p. 128.

<sup>695</sup> Kolinsky, Eva and van der Will, Wilfried (1998), "In Search of German Culture: an Introduction". In: Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (eds.), p. 54.

notion of international politics which made it seem logical that the *Reich* needed a fleet to protect its interests and to gain further colonies.”<sup>696</sup>

## 1.2. German Socio-economic Conditions in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> and Early 20<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The main characteristic of German industrialization was its late start and rapid progress. V. R. Berghahn observes that “nowhere else in Europe did the transition from an economy based on agriculture to one dominated by industry occur with the same rapidity as in Germany”.<sup>697</sup> There were two phases of the German industrial revolution, from the early 1840s until 1870 and from 1895 to 1913.<sup>698</sup>

The industries which dominated the first phase of industrialisation in Germany included railways, iron production, mining and textiles. In this phase, industry, handcraft production and mining grew by nearly 4 per cent every year.<sup>699</sup> This was the fruit of the stable and favourable environment created by the new German Empire. Besides unifying the customs administration, post office and consular service, the German Empire also reformed education and encouraged research in applied science. In the 1870s, the policy of compulsory education was implemented. The connection between fundamental research in universities and its industrial application was fruitful. Apart from the close cooperation with universities, industry also developed its own research facilities.<sup>700</sup> According to Taylor, German industrial expansion in the early years of the Second Reich was unparalleled in history and factors for this included “the spiritual exhilaration of unification; the diversion of middle-class talent from politics; and the more material

---

<sup>696</sup> Berghahn, V. R. (1982), pp. 30-31.

<sup>697</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>698</sup> See Betz, Hans-Georg (1998), “Elites and Class Structure”. In: Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (eds.), pp. 68-69; also see *Questions on German History* (1984), pp. 166-246.

<sup>699</sup> Betz, Hans-Georg (1998), “Elites and Class Structure”. In: Eva Kolinsky and Wilfried van der Will (eds.), p. 68.

<sup>700</sup> Feuchtwanger, Edgar (2001), p. 100; Sun Binghui 孫炳輝 and Zheng Yinda 鄭寅達 (2001), *Deguo shi gang* 《德國史綱》 (*The Survey of German History*). Taipei 臺北: Zhaoming 昭明, pp. 183-184.



stimulation of the French indemnity”.<sup>701</sup> However, the boom of the ‘early years’ “was soon followed by the great crisis of 1873 and a long period of economic uncertainty”.<sup>702</sup>

In the second phase of industrialization, chemicals, machine building and electrical engineering were the new industries and the focus of the scientific and industrial development in Germany. The economy was prosperous and the technical development of German industry was rapid. Hans-Georg Betz points out that the German GDP had risen by 43 per cent between 1895 and 1913. The growth of overall production in industries and handicraft was more than doubled and the growth in new industries like chemicals was more than tripled.<sup>703</sup> During the second phase of economic development, Germany had become a leading exporting and importing nation. The imported goods were mainly foodstuffs and raw materials, while the exported goods were manufactured products of great variety.<sup>704</sup>

The rapid industrial revolution not only made Germany the main industrial and military power in Europe but also brought to Germany a rapid change of social structures, peoples’ life-styles and political behaviour.<sup>705</sup> Germany experienced a demographic revolution. Before the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, over seventy percent of the German population was engaged in agriculture. In the middle of the 1890s, nearly seventy percent of the population were workers. The difficulties in finding security of work or surviving from escalating competition forced the artisans, craftsmen and journeymen to seek jobs in factories.<sup>706</sup> As well, the systematic use of the applied sciences created the need for new skills and hence new opportunities in this Second Industrial Revolution. More specifically, the expanding industrial economy which relied on technical-scientific and managerial skills and qualifications provided room for the status advancement of the

---

<sup>701</sup> Taylor, A.J.P. (1961), p. 139.

<sup>702</sup> *Questions on German History* (1984), p. 166. “The great crisis of 1873” refers to the ‘great depression’ in central Europe in the period from 1873 to 1896. See Rosenberg, Hans (1943), “Political and Social Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in Central Europe”. In: *The Economic History Review*, vol. 13, no. 1/2, pp. 58-73.

<sup>703</sup> Betz, Hans-Georg (1998), p. 68.

<sup>704</sup> Passant, E. J. (1959), p. 112.

<sup>705</sup> Berghahn, V. R. (1982), p. 1.

<sup>706</sup> *Questions on German History* (1984), p. 175.

skilled worker and the specialist. The new *Mittelstand* (middle class) became the people who possessed technical-scientific and managerial skills and qualifications. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the society of the German Empire was divided into four groups. The traditional old pre-industrial aristocracy and the newly emerged upper bourgeoisie belonged to the upper class. The next social class was the propertied bourgeoisie, a group of smaller entrepreneurs in industry, trade and commerce. The middle class consisted of small craftsmen, merchants and peasants. Lastly, the factory workers, servants and journeymen belonged to the lower classes.<sup>707</sup>

The hasty pace of German industrialization and urbanization in the early 1870s heightened class awareness and created conflict between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. This brought on the worker-class movement in Germany. Lives of the workers were wretched, living conditions were appalling, the working hours were long and the wages were breadline. In order to struggle for their social and political rights the working-class founded trade unions and gave their support to the social democrats. In the bourgeoisie culture, the workers were deemed as social enemies determined to damage the authority of the German state. The bourgeoisie increasingly relied on the traditional military and bureaucratic elites to check the demands of the organised workers. Indeed, anti-Socialist legislation was used to obstruct working-class organisations and criminalise their protagonists from 1878 to 1890.

Among the elite groups, the academic and professional *Bildungsbürgertum* (an élite based on education),<sup>708</sup> such as senior administrative civil servants, university professors and secondary school teachers, was in full crisis. The *Bildungsbürgertum* felt threatened by industrialisation as their social prestige and status hinged on *Bildung*, a combination of formal education in the classics and an enduring course of intellectual, aesthetic and moral cultivation. According to Hans-Georg Betz, industrialisation led to “the rise of a competing bourgeois elite which commanded both economic and educational capital” on the one hand, and “a progressive devaluation of the ideals of a universalist humanistic

---

<sup>707</sup> Betz, Hans-Georg (1998), p. 70.

<sup>708</sup> Feuchtwanger, Edgar (2001), p. 5.

education in favour of more narrowly defined scientific and technical formation” on the other.<sup>709</sup> The increasing popularity of ‘reality-oriented’ secondary schools, like *Realschule*, *Oberrealschule*, *Realgymnasium*, and technical universities reflected this phenomenon. For Betz, a big majority of the *Bildungsbürgertum* interpreted “the erosion of their status in terms of a cultural crisis, caused by the assault of *Zivilisation* (Civilisation) and *Gesellschaft* (society) on *Kultur* (culture) and *Gemeinschaft* (community).”<sup>710</sup>

Under these circumstances, the German Art Education Movement was brewing. Its advocates believed that art education could make a great contribution to German culture and economy.

### 1.3. German Art Education Movement in the Late 19<sup>th</sup> Century

The Art Education Movement in German, called *Kunsterziehungsbewegung*, was launched in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. According to Peter Joerissen, the German Art Education Movement began in around 1885 and ended in 1905.<sup>711</sup> As noted above, there were discontents among the intellectuals. Besides the cultural crisis or dissatisfaction with the German culture, there was also worry about the economic competitiveness of German products. This section of study briefly investigates the main reasons which underpinned the movement.

#### 1.3.1. General Artistic and Cultural Distress

In the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was great dissatisfaction with the development of German visual arts among the German intelligentsia. This became one of the causes of the art education movement in Germany.

---

<sup>709</sup> Betz, Hans-Georg (1998), p. 74.

<sup>710</sup> Ibid.

<sup>711</sup> Joerissen, Peter (1979), *Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland: 1871-1918 (Art Education and Science of Art in Wilhelmine Germany 1871-1918)*. Köln, Wien: Böhlau, p. 63.

Hartwig Brandt describes “allgemeine künstlerische und kulturelle Not” (literally translated, general artistic and cultural distress) in Germany in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>712</sup> Many German intellectuals argued for a new art for Germany. As Brandt states, this was noticeable mostly in the titles of the writings published at that time. Examples included Siegmund Schultze’s *Von der Wiedergeburt Deutscher Kunst (From the Rebirth of German Art)* (1898), Theodor Volbehr’s *Das Verlangen nach einer neuen deutschen Kunst (The Demand of a New German Art)* (1901), Henry Thode’s *Kunst, Religion und Kultur (Art, Religion and Culture)* (1901), Paul Förster’s *Deutsche Bildung, Deutscher Glaube, Deutsche Erziehung (German Culture, German Beliefs, German Education)* (1906), Rudolf Pannwitz’s *Kultur, Kraft, Kunst (Culture, Energy, Art)* (1906) and Lothar Kunowski’s *Durch Kunst zum Leben (Life Through Art)* (1901).<sup>713</sup> Brandt suggests that one of the main causes of this general artistic and cultural distress was Historicism.<sup>714</sup>

According to Winfried Nerdinger, there was a “Geschichtsbewußtseins” (Historic consciousness) in Germany since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and many historic events were painted in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Examples included Karl Theodor von Piloty’s “Thusnelda im Triumphzug des Germanicus” (Thusnelda in the Victory Parade of Germanicus; oil painting, painted in 1869-73) and Anton von Werner’s “Kaiserproklamation zu Versailles am 18. 1. 1871” (The Emperor’s Proclamation to Versailles in 18. 1. 1871; oil painting, painted in 1885).<sup>715</sup> Carl Neumann, according to Hartwig Brandt, criticized this phenomenon and stated that the German visual arts at that time did not possess “höchster und monumentaler Ausdruck lebendiger Zeitgedanken” (literally translated, the highest and monumental expression of the lively thinking of the time).<sup>716</sup>

For Eid, Langer and Ruprecht, the domination of Historicism in the visual arts was especially obvious in architecture. More precisely, there was an eclectic revival of

---

<sup>712</sup> Brandt, Hartwig (1981), *Motiv der Kunsterziehung - und Kunstgewerbebewegung (Motives of Art Education and Applied Arts Movement)*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, pp. 42-43.

<sup>713</sup> See *ibid.*, p. 41. Brandt has not provided the full names of these German writers in this part of study.

<sup>714</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 42.

<sup>715</sup> Nerdinger, Winfried (ed.) (1994), *Perspektiven der Kunst (Perspectives of Art)*. München: Verlag Martin Lurz GmbH, pp. 262-265.

<sup>716</sup> Quoted in: Brandt, Hartwig (1981), p. 43.

historic styles in the magnificent public and private buildings.<sup>717</sup> Examples included the Schloss Drachenburg in Drachenfels on the Rhein River built in 1882-1884; Villenkolonie Lichterfelde-West in Berlin-Lichterfelde built in 1860, the Alte Oper in Frankfurt built around 1877 and the Feldherrnhalle in Munich built in 1841-1844.<sup>718</sup>

Hartwig Brandt points out that the price of this “Zunahme historischen Verständnisses und die durchaus konzedierte Erfolge historischer Wissenschaften” (literally translated, increasing historical understandings and the absolutely admitted success of historical science) was the “Niedergang des künstlerischen Geschmacks” (literally translated, decline in artistic taste).<sup>719</sup>

The negative impact of Historicism was realized not only in the visual arts but the arts and crafts industry as well. In addition, the Industrial Revolution brought disaster to the arts and crafts industry. Ernst H. Gombrich explains that the Industrial Revolution had destroyed “the very traditions of solid craftsmanship; handiwork gave way to machine production, the workshop to the factory.”<sup>720</sup> Gombrich states further that the consequence of this change was visible in architecture and “the lack of solid craftsmanship, combined with a strange insistence on ‘style’ and ‘beauty’, nearly killed it [architecture]”.<sup>721</sup> Under such circumstances, the art and craft products of countries such as England, Germany and France shown in the numerous World Expositions in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century fared badly.<sup>722</sup> This worried many Europeans, including the Germans.

---

<sup>717</sup> Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H (1980), *Grundlagen des Kunstunterrichts (Foundation of Art Education)*. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, p. 90.

<sup>718</sup> Retrieved 20/4/2010, from <http://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Historismus#Deutschland>.

<sup>719</sup> Brandt, Hartwig (1981), p. 43.

<sup>720</sup> Gombrich, Ernst H. (1995 15<sup>th</sup> ed.), *The Story of Art*. London: Phaidon Press Ltd., p. 499.

<sup>721</sup> Ibid.

<sup>722</sup> Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H. (1980), p. 90.

### 1.3.2. Discontent with the Competitiveness of the German Arts and Crafts Products

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Germany participated in numerous world expositions and the results were negative. Needless to say, the German intellectuals were concerned about this.

In his dissertation *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)* (1909) (Figure 26), Johannes Richter pointed out that England launched the Arts and Crafts Movement right after the 1851 World Exposition in London. Richter stated that John Ruskin had made a great contribution to this movement and also had a strong influence on Germany and other countries. While English arts and crafts were improving and France was backed up by her hundred years of tradition, according to Richter, the German art and craft products were worsening in the World Expositions after 1851, that is, in 1855 (Paris), 1862 (London), 1867 (Paris), 1873 (Vienna), 1876 (Philadelphia), 1878 (Paris) and 1893 (Chicago).<sup>723</sup> As Richter pointed out, Franz Reuleaux, the then German Commissioner, criticized severely the bad quality of German art and craft products in the World Exposition in Philadelphia in his *Briefe aus Philadelphia (Letters from Philadelphia)* (1877).<sup>724</sup> Reuleaux claimed that it had to be stated loudly that Germany suffered a backlash in the World Expo in Philadelphia. The German product, according to Reuleaux, was nasty and this signified a lack of taste in the German arts and crafts industry.<sup>725</sup> Besides the discontent with the development of German visual arts and the competitiveness of German arts and crafts products, there was also criticism against German education, finding that it was another cause of the cultural misery in Germany.

---

<sup>723</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), pp. 16-17.

<sup>724</sup> Ibid., p. 18.

<sup>725</sup> Reuleaux, Franz (1877), *Briefe aus Philadelphia (Letters from Philadelphia)*. Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, pp. 3-6. Retrieved 22/4/2010, from [http://dls2.library.cornell.edu/k/kmoddl/toc\\_reuleaux3.html](http://dls2.library.cornell.edu/k/kmoddl/toc_reuleaux3.html)

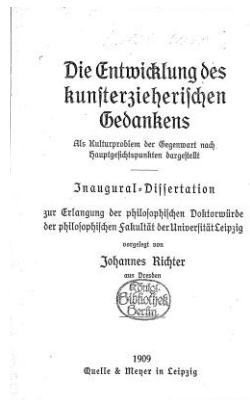


Figure 26 Johannes Richter's *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens* (*The Development of Art Educational Thinking*) (1909)

### 1.3.3. Discontent with the German Education System

There was a big leap in the development of science and technology in Germany after the unification. It was the emphasis on science and technology that enabled Germany to become a world power. However, such inclination toward science and technology also frustrated many German intellectuals.

In 1890, Julius Langbehn published *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutsche* (*Rembrandt as Educator: from a German*) (Figure 27) and criticized the Germans severely. In the opening sentence of his introduction he said that it was almost an open secret that the spiritual life of the Germans was deteriorating and the main reason was the domination of *Wissenschaft* (science).<sup>726</sup> Langbehn charged that the modern education in Germany “is scientific and wants to be scientific: but the more scientific she is, the less creative she is.”<sup>727</sup> In 1909, the 49<sup>th</sup> edition of this book was published,<sup>728</sup> indicating that the book caused a sensation at that time.

---

<sup>726</sup> Langbehn, Julius (1890), *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutsche* (*Rembrandt as Educator: from a German*). Leipzig: Hirschfeld, p. 1.

<sup>727</sup> Ibid. The original German version is: *ist wissenschaftlich und will wissenschaftlich sein: aber je wissenschaftlicher sie wird, desto unschöpferischer wird sie.*

<sup>728</sup> This researcher possesses a photo copy of this edition and this information was provided in the information page of this book.



Figure 27. Julius Langbehn's *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutschen* (*Rembrandt as Educator: from a German*) (1890)

Besides Langbehn, other German intellectuals maintained that the German education “einseitig auf die wissenschaftlich-intellektuelle Zivilisation ausgerichtet war” (one-sidedly concentrated on scientific and intellectual civilization).<sup>729</sup> Alfred Lichtwark, for example, pointed out that the problem of German education was its emphasis on “Wissen” (knowledge of facts),<sup>730</sup> “überwiegende Verstandeskultur” (literally translated: outweighing reasoning culture) and “wesentlich mechanische Behandlung des Gedächtnisses” (literally translated: basically treating the mind or memory mechanically).<sup>731</sup> In Hartwig Brandt's words, German school education in the 19<sup>th</sup> century created “relativ mehr ‘Techniker als Menschen und Künstler’” (relatively more ‘technicians than humans and artists’) and it was not able to educate new mankind. In addition, the German school system which emphasized “fehlerlosen Lesen und Schreiben” (correct reading and writing) failed to cultivate children's personality and aesthetic soul.<sup>732</sup>

To counter this problem, Langbehn “pleaded for a culture with stress on feeling and based on the German nationality and national characteristic, and celebrated Rembrandt as

<sup>729</sup> Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H. (1980), p. 90

<sup>730</sup> Lichtwark, Alfred (1962), “Die Kunst in der Schule” (Art in School). In: *Das Bild des Deutschen* (*The Picture of the German*). Weinheim: Verlag Julius Beltz, p. 5.

<sup>731</sup> Lichtwark, Alfred (1901a), “Einleitung” (Forward). In: *Versuche und Ergebnisse der Lehrervereinigung für die Pflege der künstlerischen Bildung in Hamburg* (*Attempts and Results of the Teacher Association of Artistic Education in Hamburg*). Hamburg: Alfred Jansfen, p. 1.

<sup>732</sup> Brandt, Hartwig (1981), pp. 42-43.



the prototype of the German artists” with excessive national consciousness.<sup>733</sup> Alfred Lichtwark advocated the “Ausbildung der Empfindung” (literally translated: training or education of sentiment, perception or feeling).<sup>734</sup> To put this into practice, Lichtwark organised a number of art appreciation education programs.<sup>735</sup> Lichtwark demonstrated his national and period awareness in selecting art works for his art appreciation programs. For example, he stated clearly in his *Übungen in der Betrachtung von Kunstwerken (Exercises of Art Appreciation)* (1897)<sup>736</sup> that his criteria for selecting artworks was the master pieces from the contemporary to the past and then from local to national and international, that is, from Hamburg to Germany and then to foreign countries.<sup>737</sup> Through these art appreciation programs, Lichtwark advanced the notion of “dilettantism” and hoped that through the dilettantes who were appreciative of excellence and self-assured in artistic judgements, the German cultural life would be elevated.<sup>738</sup> Lichtwark argued further that the quality of German manufactured goods would be improved as a result of a general improvement in taste. Thence, more importantly, the competitive position of Germany in world markets would be enhanced greatly and the German sales and profits would be increased.<sup>739</sup> In short, Lichtwark formulated his arguments for art appreciation education from an economic perspective.

Obviously, as Otto Götze pointed out, it was the economic problems which caused the advocacy for art education and these economic standpoints made the arguments for art

---

<sup>733</sup> Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H. (1980), p. 92. The original German text is: *Mit überzogenem Nationalbewußtsein plädiert er für eine gefühlsbetonende Kultur auf der Basis des deutschen Volkstums und feiert Rembrandt als den Prototyp des deutschen Künstlers.*

<sup>734</sup> Lichtwark, Alfred (1901a), p. 1.

<sup>735</sup> Lichtwark, Alfred (1901b), “Die Übungen in der Betrachtung von Kunstwerken” (The Exercises of Art Appreciation). In: *Versuche und Ergebnisse der Lehrervereinigung für die Pflege der künstlerischen Bildung in Hamburg (Attempts and Results of the Teacher Association of Artistic Education in Hamburg)*. Hamburg: Alfred Jansfen, pp. 21-24; also see Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H. (1980), p. 92.

<sup>736</sup> This book was about his art appreciation program for a group of school girl. It was held in Hamburger Kunsthalle and lasted for a whole winter in the end of 1880’s.

<sup>737</sup> Lichtwark, Alfred (1897/1986), *Übungen in der Betrachtung von Kunstwerken (Exercises of Art Appreciation)*. Hamburg: Costard, pp. 36-39.

<sup>738</sup> Fishman, Sterling (1966), “Alfred Lichtwark and the Founding of the German Art Education Movement”. In: *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3, p. 11.

<sup>739</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

education persuasive in Germany.<sup>740</sup> Lois Petrovich-Mwaniki also concludes that the German Art Education Movement was created

to increase economic growth by improving the aesthetic quality of consumer objects. Art education proponents sought to educate all of society to appreciate and value good craftsmanship as well as to distinguish mediocre from fine art.<sup>741</sup>

In summary, the unification of Germany, a result of the Prussian Prime Minister Bismarck's "iron and blood" policy, laid a foundation for Germany to become a world power. While Bismarck concentrated on consolidating Germany's position in Europe, *Kaiser* Wilhelm II decided to join the colonial race and expand overseas markets. In tackling the internal political problems, both Bismarck and Wilhelm II had successfully made use of nationalism to unite the Germans. There was hurrah-patriotism in Germany after the 1890s and the ideas of Social Darwinism were shared among the nationalist Germans.

Though industrialisation started late in Germany, it progressed at a high speed. Within seventy to eighty years, Germany had successfully become a major military and industrial power in the world. On the other hand, industrialisation also created conflicts between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. Science and technology enjoyed a high status in the industrializing Germany, and this made the academic and professional *Bildungsbürgertum* feel threatened.

For many German members of the intelligentsia, the inclination to science and technology as well as Historicism and Industrial Revolution had a negative impact on the spiritual life and the ability for aesthetic judgement by Germans. And, in turn, the German arts and crafts products deteriorated. The competitiveness of German arts and crafts products in the world market had worried the German intellectuals most. This provoked the advocates of art education and thence became the crucial factor of the German Art Education Movement in the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>740</sup> Götze, Otto (1914), p. 9.

<sup>741</sup> Petrovich-Mwaniki, Lois (1995), "Present Trends in German Art Education". In: Heta Kauppinen and Read Diket (ed.), *Trends in Art Education from Diverse Cultures*. The National Art Education Association.

## 2. Study of Contextual Factors of Germany's Art Education Movement in Chinese Writings

In his dissertation *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)* (1909), Johannes Richter emphasised that an examination of the socio-cultural background in Germany in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century should be a prerequisite of the study of the German Art Education Movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.<sup>742</sup> The focus of this part of study is the extent of the Chinese scholars' investigation of the political socio-cultural context of the German Art Education Movement and their cultural awareness underpinning the importation of German ideas on art education.

A review of the Chinese writings available indicates that Tian Min 天民, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Wu Chengjun 吳成均, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 had studied the contextual factors of the art education movement in Germany. Among these Chinese authors, Tian Min 天民 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 provided a relatively detailed study on the issue, the following section will consider the quality of these Chinese authors' studies.

### 2.1. Tian Min's 天民 Study

In 1916, Tian Min 天民 investigated the art education movement in Europe, more precisely in Germany, in his article "Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti" 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education). This was the first article found to be devoted to the study of the German Art Education Movement. As previously indicated, Tian Min did not mention clearly which country or continent he referred to at the beginning of his study. However, the information provided in the latter part of his text

---

<sup>742</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 26.

prompts the conclusion that he was actually talking about the art education movement in Germany.

In his introduction of the art education thinking promoted in Germany, Tian Min conducted a very concise study of the social, economic and cultural contexts of the German Art Education Movement. He claimed that the motivation of the art education movement in Germany was to dispute the domination of science and traditional academic education. He also stated that the decline of people's taste and the lack of sincerity and artistic thinking in arts and crafts were other causes of this movement. To elaborate this argument, Tian Min introduced Johannes Richter's dissertation *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)* (1909) and quoted part of Richter's analysis of this problem in Germany. (A comparison of Tian Min's text and Richter's original writing is provided in table 16.1 & 16.2) As Tian Min noted, Richter argued that the deterioration of taste and handcrafts in Germany was affected by circumstances like the frequency of moving houses and blind imitation of "historische Stilarten" (historic styles). Besides, the lifestyles of parvenu and industrialization also contributed to the problem.<sup>743</sup> Richter maintained that manual production which allowed people to feel the "Hand und Herz seines Schöpfers" (hand and heart of its creator)<sup>744</sup> in every detail, were replaced by the "billige Massenerzeugung der Fabriken" (cheap mass production of the factory),<sup>745</sup> which were made "ohne eigne innere Teilnahme und Regung schöpferischer Kräfte" (without personal inner participation and activation of creative power).<sup>746</sup> As the status of handcrafters began to sink from their respectable position, the *Bürgertum* (middle class) gradually gave up this trade and became involved with scholarly work. In this way, Richter argued the development and enhancement of artistic aptitude was neglected<sup>747</sup> (see table 16.1).

Table 16.1 Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Unter ihnen seien als die für die „Kunst im Volke“ unheilvollsten hervorgehoben: das überhandnehmende Wohnen in Mietsräumen, der häufige Wohnungswechsel, die neue Freizügigkeit,
---

<sup>743</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), p. 11166; Richter, Johannes (1909), pp. 3-4.

<sup>744</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 4.

<sup>745</sup> Ibid.

<sup>746</sup> Ibid.

<sup>747</sup> Ibid.

die Abnahme einer gleichmäßigen bürgerlichen Wohlhabenheit, das Aufkommen einer spezifischen arbeiterwohnung, die Fortschritte der Imitationstechnik und der Vervielfältigungen und zuletzt das Parvenütum, das besonders im letzten Drittel des Jahrhunderts aufkommt. (p.3)

Im Maschinenzeitalter drängt ein neuer Stand, die Arbeiterklasse, ans Licht und bedroht die herrschende bourgeoisie. Ebenso wie die Maschine, gleichförmig und freudlos, ohne eigne innere Teilnahme und Regung schöpferischer Kräfte, also mechanisch, verrichtet der Arbeiter sein Tagewerk. ...Zwar lebt im Bürgerstande noch zu Beginn des eisernen Zeitalters die alte handwerkliche Tradition, die einen ganzen Mann, volle persönliche Vertiefung und hingabe und ein ganzes Werk, das in jedem Teil Hand und Herz seines Schöpfers spüren läßt, zur Voraussetzung hat; doch die billige Massenerzeugung der Fabriken gräbt ihr allmählich den Lebensgrund ab. Der Handwerker beginnt schwer um seine Existenz zu ringen, und die altehrwürdige handwerkliche Meisterschaft wird eine fromme sage. Der Handwerkerstand, ehemals der hochgeachtete Kern des Bürgertums, büßt stetig an Ansehen ein, er vermag nicht mehr die tüchtigsten Elemente der Bürgerschaft anzuziehen, die alte künstlerische Tradition erlischt. Das Bürgertum wendet sich je mehr und mehr den produzierenden Berufen ab und den gelehrten zu und versäumt so die Pflege der künstlerischen Anlagen.(p. 4)

Among [the causes] most damaging for the “art in the people” are: the increasing number of people living in rented housing, frequent changes of address, the new permissiveness, the growing inequality of wealth within the middle class, the emergence of special residential quarters for the working class, the technical progress in replication and multiplication, and, finally, the emergence of the nouveau-riche especially in the last quarter of the century.

In the Machine Age, a new class, the working class, emerges and threatens the ruling bourgeoisie. Similar to the machine, monotonous and joyless, the labourer is carrying out his daily work mechanically without personal inner participation and activation of creative power. [...] It is true, at the beginning of the Iron Age the old tradition of handiwork requiring full personal absorption and devotion and a complete work piece, in every part of which the hand and the heart of its creator can be felt, still persists in the middle class. However, this is gradually undermined by the cheap mass production of the factories. [...] More and more members of the middle class turn away from productive occupation and devote themselves to scholarly work, thus neglecting the cultivation of artistic talents.

十九世紀，由社會的、經濟的關係而成種種弊風。逐使當時之藝術界乾燥無味。如(社會的)賃房生活，增加轉居之頻繁…模仿之激進、濫造及鄙民暴富之生活，其影響所及，皆最有害於國民的美術。實利主義(Industrialism)之發達，正藝術之勁敵也。當機械的時期之出現，乃發生勞動者一階級。此輩日營單調之生活，無愉快之情，無創造之欲。日從事於機械的作業而已，而其勢駸駸日盛轉壓倒市民製作家…為市民者益厭工藝的業務，而傾心於學術的業務。甘舍其藝術的天性而不知愛護之。要之，即此不良之社會關係大足屏藝術家於工藝界以外。間有製造優秀之作品，亦不能為其時代其國民所領解也。(pp. 11166-11167)

In the text shown in table 16.1, Richter analyzed how “art in the people” was damaged under the new socio-economic circumstances in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and this was quoted by Tian Min 天民. Like Richter, Tian Min also talked about John Ruskin’s notions on art, but Tian Min limited his introduction to Ruskin’s discussion about rescuing society or counteracting the decadence of society with artistic work. For Ruskin, artistic work, as opposed to factory work, was the best way to foster the noble spirit and dignity of human

beings.<sup>748</sup> Tian Min did not provide any source reference for his study of Ruskin. However, the ideas he quoted from Ruskin were quite similar to those cited by Richter. The only distinctions are that Tian Min used a more concise language to introduce Ruskin's arguments and his construction of these ideas was also slightly different from Richter's<sup>749</sup> (see table 16.2).

Table 16.2 Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Wir brauchen Arbeit und Beschäftigung nicht nur im Sinne des Broterwerbs, sondern auch im Sinne eines Erziehungsmittels für alle Stände, auch für diejenigen, die sie nicht nötig zu haben glauben. Eine ungeheure Menge ungenützter Lebenskraft ruht überall in den europäischen Völkern, die handwerklich ausgenützt werden könnte. ... Zweierlei Arbeit läßt sich unterscheiden, solche, die adelt und der menschlichen Würde entspricht, und solche, die menschenunwürdig ist, die schändet und vertiert. Das Element, das der Arbeit Würde und Kraft verleiht, und die menschliche Seele erheben kann, ist das künstlerische. Das Element, das alle Arbeit und den Arbeiter schändet und erniedrigt, ist das mechanische. Industrialismus und Arbeitsteilung haben die echte, wahre Arbeit vernichtet und damit das Glück des Arbeiters zerstört. Hier ruht die Wurzel des sozialen Elends nicht nur der unteren Schichten, sondern auch der oberen Klassen. Die alte handwerkliche Redlichkeit und Meisterschaft ist ausgestorben und mit ihr die Treue, Einfachheit, Zufriedenheit und das Glück der Menschen. Die Millionen, die freudlos und liebeleer das Leben durchhasten, haben dieses der mechanischen Arbeit zu danken. Wir bauten, bilden und schaffen im weitesten Sinne für die flüchtige Gegenwart; denn unsere Arbeit quillt nicht aus einem übervollen, starken Herzen, nicht aus einem frommen, heiligen Willen, nicht aus der Sehnsucht, unsern Glauben, unser innerstes Wesen in Holz und Eisen auszudrücken. Alle Werke unserer Hände entbehren des persönlichen Stempels, der das Kennzeichen der Menschenarbeit ist. Zur Maschine sind unsere Hände erniedrigt. So grinst uns aus allen Erscheinungen unsere Kultur das trostloseste Elend an. ... „...Denken Sie daran, und Sie werden einsehen, daß anstatt unsittlich zu sein, es nur Weniges gibt, was so sittlich ist wie die Kunst: daß Leben ohne Arbeit Verbrechen, Arbeit ohne Kunst vertierung ist.“ – so erklärt Ruskin der gesamten materialistischen Volkswirtschaftslehre des 19. Jahrhunderts den Krieg. (pp. 90-92)

We need work and occupation, not only for making a living, but also as a means of education for all classes, including those who do not yearn for it. A tremendous amount of unused vigour rests in the European nations that could be used for handiwork. [...] Two kinds of work can be differentiated: one that ennobles a person and matches human dignity and another that is inhuman, disgraceful and brutish. The element which awards dignity and power to the work and is able to raise the soul of human beings is the artistic element. The element which disgraces and shames all work and the worker is the mechanical element. Industrialism and division of labour have ruined the real and genuine work and thus destroyed the happiness of the worker. From here stems the social misery not only of the lower classes but of the upper classes as well. The integrity and mastery of old craftsmanship is extinct, and with it has gone the loyalty, simplicity, contentment and happiness of the people. The millions of people who hasten through their lives devoid of joy and love owe this to the mechanical work. We build, shape and create in the broadest sense for the fleeting present, because our work does not emanate from an overflowing, strong heart, not from a pious, holy will, not from the desire to express our faith and innermost nature in wood and iron. All our works lack the personal stamp which is the hallmark of human labour. Our hands are degraded to machines. Thus from all manifestations of our culture the most desolate misery sneers at us. [...] "...Remember this,

<sup>748</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), p. 11167; Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 91.

<sup>749</sup> According to the source reference provided by Richter, two of Ruskin's books were referred to. German title of these books provided by Richter are: *Werke in vollständiger Übersetzung* and *Wege zur Kunst*. This researcher therefore believes that it may not be a coincident that Tian Min also read these two books and quoted the same ideas.

and you will see that instead of being immoral, there exists only very little which is as ethical as art: life without work is an outrage, work without art is brutish.” – so, Ruskin declared war on the materialistic economics in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

英人拉斯經唱言曰：「無作業之生活，罪惡也；無美術之作業，野鄙也。」氏以為拯救現代社會墮落之法，不可不求之於作業。作業者，不僅生計上之必要，又一切社會之教育方便也。然作業之中，不可不辨。有足與人類以威嚴及勢力而高尚其精神者，亦有使人類失其價值而陷於粗野劣惡之狀態者。前者藝術之作業，後者機械之作業也。實利主義也，分業也，皆足以破壞真正之作業，且滅卻工藝者之幸福。蓋既使人失其真實心及熟練，故其於作業亦既不能表其充實之心情與純潔敬虔之意志及信仰。觀近人一切作品能表出其人格而可認為人類作業之特徵者，殊不易見。社會頹敗之原因，正在於茲大可慨也。(p. 11167)

The main point of Richter’s text quoted in table 16.2 was the importance of art in human life. Both Richter and Tian Min had quoted Ruskin’s statement “life without work is an outrage, work without art is brutish” to highlight its status.

As shown in the two tables above, Tian Min had paraphrased Richter’s analysis of the socio-economic context in 19<sup>th</sup> century Germany and Ruskin’s arguments about the importance of art to human beings with two short paragraphs. Though Tian Min indicated Richter’s name and book title in his text, it was not clear if he had read Richter’s original work or knew Richter’s study through a secondary source since he did not provide any source reference at the end of his writing.

## 2.2. Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 Translations

In comparison with Tian Min’s text in 1916, Feng Zikai’s 豐子愷 two translations provided a relatively detailed investigation into the social and cultural context of the German Art Education Movement. In each of his translations, Feng provided little information about the original text, using the name of its author only. It was discovered at the latest stage of this research that Feng’s two translations were actually from the two chapters of a Japanese author Abe Shigetaka’s 阿部重孝 study *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (Art Education) (1922) and the title of these two chapters were “Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fada” 《藝術教育思想的發達》 (The Development of Art Education Thinking) and “Yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《藝術教育運動》 (The Art Education

Movement).<sup>750</sup> These translations, as Feng stated, were first published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*Education Magazine*) in the late 1920s and republished in his book *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) in 1932.<sup>751</sup> In Feng's Chinese translation of "The Development of Art Education Thinking", ten pages had been devoted to the study of the social, cultural, economic and political circumstances of the art education movement in Germany. It stated that the social circumstances contributed to the new art education thinking, including the disconnection of art and life, the impact of industrialization, the decline of German people's taste and morals, and last but not least, the inclination toward scientific study and intellectual education. In Feng's translation of "The Art Education Movement", there was a 12-page study on the immediate and direct cause of the art education movement in Germany, that was in response to the failure of German products in the world trade fairs in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

After a comparison of Feng's two translations with Johannes Richter's dissertation *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens*, it can be concluded that many ideas in Feng's translations were excerpts from Richter's book; more accurately, as either a summary of or an actual translation from Richter's text. Not only the content but ways of expressing the many ideas in Feng's translations was similar to Richter's writing. Examples include the discussions about the problems of art creation, industrialization, the German people's ethics and taste, and their relation to the art education movement. A comparison of part of Abe Shigetaka's quotations and the original texts from Richter is provided in table 17.1 & 17.2

As with Richter, Abe Shigetaka also put the problem of the alienation of art from life at the very beginning of his writing on the cultural context of the German Art Education Movement. Here Abe Shigetaka partly translated and partly summarized Richter's ideas. In his original text, Richter maintained that due to the separation of art from life, which

---

<sup>750</sup> Abe Shigetaka 阿部重孝 (1922/1983), 《藝術と教育》 (*Art Education*). Tokyo 東京: 日本圖書センター (Japanese Books Centre), pp. 11-70.

<sup>751</sup> As indicates in table 7, appendix 1, the Chinese titles of the two articles in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*) were slightly different to those republished in the book *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*).



had already happened before the French Revolution, the development of art faced great difficulties during the period of enormous social changes. The “*Kunst*” (fine arts) thus lost its ground and its status as *Volkskunst* (folk arts)<sup>752</sup> (see table 17.1).

Table 17.1 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka’s 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter’s Texts

Der eigentliche Boden, in dem der kunsterzieherische Gedanke des 19. Jahrhunderts seine Wurzeln hat, sind die Kulturverhältnisse, die am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zu der großen französischen Revolution führen und die Zeit unmittelbar nach ihr gestalten. Hatte auch die Kunst schon längst vor der Revolution von 1789 den Zusammenhang mit dem ganzen Volksleben verloren, so war ihr doch durch die Gunst der herrschenden Klassen, des absoluten Fürstentums und des begüterten Adels, eine lückenlose, organische Entwicklung zuteil geworden. Mit der gewaltigen sozialen Neugestaltung reißt die Entwicklung jäh ab, und die Kunst hat keinen Boden mehr. Die Kunst hört zwar nicht auf zu schaffen, aber sie hat auch den geringsten Anspruch darauf verloren, eine *Volkskunst* zu heißen. (p. 2)

The art educational thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century originates in the cultural circumstances leading to the great French Revolution at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> century and shaping the era thereafter. Although art had lost its link with the life of the common people long before the Revolution of 1789 a complete and organic development was bestowed on it by the favor of the ruling classes, the absolute principality and the wealthy nobility. As a result of the tremendous social change this development is suddenly stopped and art lacks its foundation. Though art still does not cease to create it has lost even the slightest claim to be called an art of and for the people.

藝術教育思想的根源，乃在於十八世紀末惹起法蘭西大革命的文明狀態，和革命所直接形成的時代。在革命以前，藝術與全國民生活的結合早已失卻，受了上流社會的保護而作相當的發達。遇到了這急激而有力的社會改造，藝術的發達大受挫折，而藝術就失卻了其立腳地。雖然藝術的製作未嘗停止，但其製作與國民生活已全無關係，而與國民的意識已相隔甚遠了。(pp. 6-7)

It is demonstrated in table 17.1 that both the German and Chinese texts mainly dealt with the relation between the art educational thinking of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the socio-cultural circumstances at that time. As mentioned previously, Richter had emphasized this point at the beginning of his study.

While talking about the negative impacts of industrialization, Abe Shigetaka again partly summarized and partly translated Richter’s analysis. Richter stated in his book that industrialization was also a cause of people’s unrest and bad taste. A new social class, the working class, was vastly expanded in the industrial age. The workers were working like a machine in the factories that were “*gleichförmig und freudlos, ohne eigne innere*

---

<sup>752</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 2.

*Teilnahme und Regung schöpferischer Kräfte*” (uniform, gloomy, without personal inner participation and activation of creative energies)<sup>753</sup> (see table 17.2).

Table 17.2 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka’s 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter’s Texts

Im Maschinenzeitalter drängt ein neuer Stand, die Arbeiterklasse, ans Licht und bedroht die herrschende Bourgeoisie. Ebenso wie die Maschine, gleichförmig und freudlos, ohne eigne innere Teilnahme und Regung schöpferische Kräfte, also mechanisch, verrichtet der Arbeiter sein Tagewerk. (p. 4)

In the Machine Age, a new class, the working class, emerges and threatens the ruling bourgeoisie. Similar to the machine, monotonous and joyless, the labourer is carrying out his daily work mechanically without personal inner participation and activation of creative power.

又在這機械工業時代，社會上發生了所謂勞動者階級的可哀的階級。這階級的人猶如機械一般，全無何種固有的內在的創造力的活動，而從事於單調無味的日常的作業。(p. 7)

In the short text quoted above, Richter declared the negative impact of the machine on human beings. He pointed out that people’s lives were controlled by machinery. He said,

steam and electricity become our masters: not only do they weaken our nerve through their noisy nature but also stamp on us their monotonous and restless work. In this way, we have thus adopted a lot from the character of the machine.<sup>754</sup>

As a result, Richter maintained,

the nervous, over stimulated, hastening people were incapable of exalting enjoyment. These restless people have lower hedonism and condescending attitude; and they are materialistic and deeply pessimistic about life<sup>755</sup> (see table 17.3).

Table 17.3 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka’s 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter’s Texts

Noch vor hundert Jahren ermöglichte der Zustand der Kultur eine gefaßte, ruhige Lebensführung. Das Maschinenzeitalter hat diese Möglichkeit fast vollkommen illusorisch gemacht. Die Großstädte sind mit unheimlicher Geschwindigkeit emporgewachsen und haben die Menschen zu Hunderttausenden in den geräuschvollen Zentren unsrer industriellen Zeit zusammengedrängt. Die starke Seelenruhe des einzelnen Menschen ist vor dem Lärm und der Hast der modernen Kultur verfliegen. Dampf und Elektrizität sind unsere Gebieter geworden: nicht nur, daß sie durch ihr geräuschvolles Wesen unsere Nerven geschwächt haben, sie haben uns auch den Stempel ihrer eintönigen und rastlosen Arbeit aufgedrückt, so daß wir selbst viel vom Charakter der Maschine angenommen haben. ... Und wie in der Arbeit, finden wir ihn beim Genuß; denn ohne rechte, edle Arbeit ist echter Genuß nicht denkbar. Der nervöse, überreizte und abgehetzte Mensch ist zu frohem,

<sup>753</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>754</sup> Ibid., p. 31. The original German version is: *Dampf und Elektrizität sind unsere Gebieter geworden: nicht nur, daß sie durch ihr geräuschvolles Wesen unsere Nerven geschwächt haben, sie haben uns auch den Stempel ihrer eintönigen und rastlosen Arbeit aufgedrückt, so daß wir selbst viel vom Charakter der Maschine angenommen haben.*

<sup>755</sup> Ibid. The original German version is: *der nervöse, überreizte und abgehetzte Menschen ist zu frohem, erhebendem Genießen unfähig. Niedere Genußsucht und Blasiertheit, materialistische Streben und tiefer Lebens pessimismus bemächtigen sich des Ruhelosen.*

erhebendem Genießen unfähig. Niedere Genußsucht und Blasiertheit, materialistisches Streben und tiefer Lebenspessimismus bemächtigen sich des Ruhelosen. (p. 31)

Still a hundred years ago, the state of the culture permitted a tranquil and calm life. The Machine Age has turned this chance almost completely illusive. The big cities have grown in a disquieting speed and crowded together the people by the hundreds of thousands in the noisy centres of our industrial times. Faced with the noise and haste of modern culture the strong peace of mind of the individual person has faded away. Steam and electricity have become our masters: not only have they weakened our nerves through their noisy nature, they also impressed on us the stamp of their monotonous and restless work in such a way that we have adopted a lot from the character of the machine. [...] And as we find this character in our work, we also find it in our enjoyment, because without good, noble work real enjoyment is unthinkable. The nervous, over-stimulated, exhausted human being is incapable of cheerful exalting enjoyment. Vulgar hedonism and arrogance, striving for materialistic goods and a deeply pessimistic attitude towards life has taken hold of the restless.

在不過一百年之前，一般文化的狀態還鞏固而又得安靜的生活；到了機械萬能的時代，這可能性就幾乎完全失亡了。人們的精神上的安靜，為急速而喧噪的近代文明所破壞，蒸氣與電氣就做了人們的支配者。即蒸氣與電氣課人們的單調而無體息的勞動，終於使人們都…但他們在享樂的世界也不能找到活路，與勞動的不能找到活路同樣。在疲於過度的刺激的神經過敏的現代人，健全的享樂是不可能的事，結果就使人們追求劣等的歡樂，但這不過是增高其不安的程度而已。(pp. 11-12)

Again, both Richter's and Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 writings quoted in table 17.3 were mainly about the problem created by industrialization, that is, the destruction of the "tranquil and calm life".

Abe Shigetaka had also drawn on Richter's analyse of the problems that arose in Germany after the German victory in the war with France. Richter stated that German economy was booming after receiving billions in reparations from France. At the same time, the evil "*Gründerzeit*" (period of entrepreneurial foundations or rapid industrial expansion in Germany)<sup>756</sup> also occurred overnight and "*schädigt nicht nur den deutschen Markt, sondern verwüsten auch die deutschen Seelen*" (damaged not only the German market but devastated the soul of the German as well).<sup>757</sup> According to Richter, the "*traditionsloser Reichtum*" (fortune without tradition) kindled the Germans to chase after wealth feverishly.<sup>758</sup> Furthermore, it also brought about a trend of copying "*alten aristokratischen Stile*" (old aristocratic styles) for interior decoration, furniture, the

---

<sup>756</sup> According to Wikipedia, *Gründerzeit* means "the massive economic upswing in the mid-19th century, when the founders of business (*Gründer*) could apparently become rich overnight". Retrieved 27/07/2010, from <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gr%C3%BCnderzeit>

<sup>757</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 27.

<sup>758</sup> Ibid.

magnificent facades of the big city and the over crowded residential area.<sup>759</sup> Lastly, the economic boom also wiped out the German spirit of truth and sincerity,<sup>760</sup> table 17.4 refers

Table 17.4. Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Ein schneller wirtschaftlicher Aufschwung ist nach dem Kriege unleugbar, die französischen Milliarden scheinen unerschöpflich, und der neubelebte Nationalstolz baut sich Triumphmale (Niederwald – Kyffhäuser). Das ungewohnte Geld blendet Tausenden die Augen, und der anfangs tatsächlich unerhörte Aufschwung im wirtschaftlichen Verkehr verheißt jedem goldene Berge, der nur mit Hand anlegen will. So kommt die böse Gründerzeit über Nacht herauf und schädigt nicht nur den deutschen Markt, sondern verwüstet auch die deutschen Seelen. Alles drängt fiebernd nach Reichtum, der auf allen Gassen zu liegen scheint. (p. 27)

It is undeniable that there is a quick economic upswing after the war. The French billions [in war indemnities] seem inexhaustible, and the newly revived nationalism is building itself triumphal monuments (Niederwald and Kyffhäuser Monuments). The unusual money deludes thousands of people, and, indeed, at the beginning the unprecedented economic growth promises everybody heaps of gold as long as he is willing to lend a helping hand. Thus from one day to another the evil period of rapid industrial expansion in Germany sets in and damages not only the German market but devastates the German souls as well. Everyone feverishly thrusts for wealth that seems to be found at every corner.

普法戰爭後德意志經濟界的大發展，是不能否定的事實；但從法蘭西得來的多額的償金，一方面使德意志經濟界起了從來未有的飛躍，他方面又起了一種弊害。這弊害不但流毒於德意志的市場，連德意志的精神界也蒙受多大的損害。即從此人們都發狂似地努力於致富，暴富者輩出；但他們都是不解生活為何物。(p. 10)

For Richter, as shown in the table above, the main problem which worried the German intellectuals was the devastation of German souls due to the quick economic upswing after the Prussian-French War. Even worse, Richter added, was that severance, discord, carelessness, misunderstanding and malevolence existed among the Germans and threatened the unity of Germany,<sup>761</sup> as table 17.5 indicates

Table 17.5 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Überall lebt Trennung, Zwietracht, Gleichgültigkeit, gegenseitiges Nichtverstehen und Übelwollen. Unser innerpolitisches Leben fällt in ein buntes Parteigetriebe auseinander: da stehen Liberale gegen Reaktionäre, Sozialdemokraten gegen Konservative, Ultramontane gegen Freisinnige, und durch das gegenseitige erbitterte Parteigezänk werden ganze Volksteile gegeneinander aufgeregt. ... Die wenigen, die hohen Kapitalbesitz in ihren Händen anhäufen, stehen schroff gegen die Massen, die

<sup>759</sup> Ibid.

<sup>760</sup> Ibid. The original German version is: *Ein über Nacht aufgehäufter traditionsloser Reichtum reißt die Führung an sich. Das Kopieren der alten aristokratischen Stile in Innendekoration und Mobilar, in prunkenden Großstadtfassaden und in überfüllten Wohnräumen steht auf der Tagesordnung. Der Sinn für Wahrheit und Echtheit ist wie ausgelöscht ausgelöscht: Glanz um jeden Preis ist die Lösung.*

<sup>761</sup> Ibid., p. 30.

nicht wissen, ob sie morgen noch essen werden können. Herren und Knechte, sorglos Genießende und mühselige Tagelöhner beobachten sich mit gegenseitigem Mißtrauen und Groll. ... Der allgemeine Schulzwang vereinigt zwar alle Volksglieder; doch die mannigfachen Abstufungen der Schulorganismen reißen sie wieder auseinander und befestigen eine tiefe Kluft zwischen Gebildeten und Ungebildeten.

In ähnlicher Weise aber wie das auseinanderstrebende Volksganze ist auch das Innenleben der Individuen gespalten. Noch vor hundert Jahren ermöglichte der Zustand der Kultur eine gefaßte, ruhige Lebensführung. Das Maschinenzeitalter hat diese Möglichkeit fast vollkommen illusorisch gemacht. Die Großstädte sind mit unheimlicher Geschwindigkeit emporgewachsen und haben die Menschen zu Hunderttausenden in den geräuschvollen Zentren unsrer industriellen Zeit zusammengedrängt. Die starke Seelenruhe des einzöelnen Menschen ist vor dem Lärm und der Hast der modernen Kultur verfliegen. Dampf und Elektrizität sind unsere Gebieter geworden: nicht nur, daß sie durch ihr geräuschvolles Wesen unsere Nerven geschwächt haben, sie haben uns auch den Stempel ihrer eintönigen und rastlosen Arbeit aufgedrückt, so daß wir selbst viel vom Charakter der Maschine angenommen haben. Der Kampf um den Lebenserwerb ist mit der ständig steigenden Volkszahl härter und aufreibender geworden. Die Möglichkeit innerer tiefer Sammlung ist breiten Volkskreisen überhaupt versagt. Die Zeit fragt nicht nach der Not des Herzens: kalt und skrupellos behandelt sie den einzelnen Menschen als Material, als Zahl. „Kampfs und drangvoll, ohne tiefe Rast“ sucht der Mensch der Gegenwart seinen mühseligen Weg. Und wie in der Arbeit, finden wir ihn beim Genuß; denn ohne rechte, edle Arbeit ist echter Genuß nicht denkbar. Der nervöse, überreizte und abgehetzte Mensch ist zu frohem, erhebendem Genießen unfähig. Niedere Genußsucht und Blasiertheit, materialistisches Streben und tiefer Lebenspessimismus bemächtigen sich des Ruhelosen. (pp. 30-31)

Everywhere is prevailing separation, discord, indifference, inability to understand each other, and malevolence. Our domestic political life is falling apart into multicoloured partisan hustle and bustle: there are liberals standing against reactionists, social democrats against conservatives, ultramontanists against “Freisinnige”. As a result of these furious party disputes large parts of the people are agitated against one another. [...] The few who amass big amounts of capital in their hands are in stark confrontation with the masses who do not know if tomorrow they will still have enough to eat. Masters and servants, carefree bon vivants and overburdened day labourers watch each other with mistrust and animosity. [...] Although compulsory schooling for all children unites all members of the people, the manifold grades of the educational institutions tear them apart again and deepen the gap between the educated and the uneducated even further.

The inner life of the individuals is split in a similar way as the people as a whole is drifting apart. Still a hundred years ago, the state of the culture permitted a tranquil and calm life. The Machine Age has turned this chance almost completely illusive. The big cities have grown in a disquieting speed and crowded together the people by the hundreds of thousands in the noisy centres of our industrial times. Faced with the noise and haste of modern culture the strong peace of mind of the individual person has faded away. Steam and electricity have become our masters: not only have they weakened our nerves through their noisy nature, they also impressed on us the stamp of their monotonous and restless work in such a way that we have adopted a lot from the character of the machine. [...] And as we find this character in our work, we also find it in our enjoyment, because without good, noble work real enjoyment is unthinkable. The nervous, over-stimulated, exhausted human being is incapable of cheerful exalting enjoyment. Vulgar hedonism and arrogance, striving for materialistic goods and a deeply pessimistic attitude towards life has taken hold of the restless.

於是發生分離，不和，不關，及相互的不理解，人人互懷惡意。政界又分了許多黨派而日事爭鬥；宗教上的爭鬥就把全國民分為兩群。加之資本家虐待貧民，傲慢的享樂者與疲勞的勞動者，互相嫉視而反目了。就學義務雖普遍地勵行，但因為學校組織是階級的，故受高等教育的人與一般的國民之間，依然隔著不可超越的深溝。

國民全體互相分離，嫉視，反目，同時個人的內的生活亦失卻了統一與調和。在不過一百年之前，一般文化的狀態還鞏固而又得安靜的生活；到了機械萬能的時代，這可能性就幾乎完

全乏亡了。人們的精神上的安靜，為急速而喧躁的近代文明所破壞，蒸氣與電氣就做了人們的支配者。即蒸氣與電氣課人們的單調而無體息的勞動，終於使人們都帶了機械的性質。一方面人口的增加，使生活的困難愈甚；內心的安定，在國民的大部是不可能的事了。因這原故，現代人不得充分的安息而徒事努力奮鬥，以求活路；因他們在享樂的世界也不能找到活路，與勞動的不能找到活路同樣。在疲於過度的刺激的神經過敏的現代人，健全的享樂是不可能的事。結果就使人們追求劣等的歡樂，但這不過是增高其不安的程度而已。(pp. 11-12)

Besides the analysis of the splitting of inner life of the individual as well as the [German] nation as a whole and its relation to the changing of socio-economic situation in the table above, Abe Shigetaka also quoted Richter's discussions about the dominance of science in Germany.<sup>762</sup> For Richter, it was characteristic of the Germans that they stressed speculative thinking to the detriment of sensory perception. A consequence of this inclination to scientific and theoretical thinking was, according to Richter, "*die Augen des Volkes warden auf den toten Buchstaben eingestellt, und das rein gelehrte Buchwissen findet zahlreiche Anhänger*" (the eyes of the folks are fixed to dead letters, and the knowledge gained purely from books gets numerous supporters)<sup>763</sup> (consult table 17.6).

Table 17.6 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Wissenschaft und Kunst haben oft im Laufe der Geschichte die hohe Mission der Menschenerhebung und Menschenbeglückung erfüllt. Sie haben ohne Zweifel auch im vergangenen Jahrhundert der Menschheit und dem deutschen Volke wertvolle Dienste geleistet, aber zu rechten Volksbeglückern konnten sie nicht werden; denn sie gingen weit abseits vom Leben der Gesamtheit ihre Wege. Das 19. Jahrhundert hat es mit besonderer Klarheit verkündet, daß die deutsche Eigenart größere Neigung zum spekulativen Denken als zum sinnlichen Anschauen besitzt. Man hat es oft genug das Jahrhundert der Wissenschaft und der Technik genannt. In der Tat kann es auf beispiellose wissenschaftliche und technische Erfolge zurückblicken. Von der klassischen Höhe der Kantischen Philosophie her ergießt sich, in immer breitere und tiefere Gefilde strömend, die wissenschaftliche Spekulation. Dazu tritt der rückwärts gewandte Charakter der Wissenschaft; der Historismus dringt in jedes Gebiet ein und übt seine ordnende, registrierende Tätigkeit. Das rein theoretische Denken verdrängt mehr und mehr das gegenständliche, das auf Erfahrung ruht. Die Augen des Volkes werden auf den toten Buchstaben eingestellt, und das rein gelehrte Buchwissen findet zahlreiche Anhänger. (pp. 32-33)

In the course of history, science and art have often fulfilled the high mission of elevating and blessing people. Doubtlessly, they have rendered valuable service to humankind and to the German people during the last century as well. However, they could not bring real happiness to the people as their paths were far apart from the life of the people as a whole. The 19<sup>th</sup> century has made it particularly clear that the German nature is more inclined to speculative thinking than to sensual perception. Often enough it has been called the century of science and technology. It can indeed look back on unprecedented scientific and technical achievements. From the classical height of the Kantian philosophy scientific speculation is discharging into ever wider and deeper realms. In addition, there is the backward-looking nature of science, historicism penetrates every sphere and practices its organizing and registering activity. The purely theoretical thinking is more and more replacing the

<sup>762</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1932), pp. 12-13.

<sup>763</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 33.

objective thinking based on experience. The eyes of the people are focused on dead letters, and the purely academic knowledge wins numerous supporters.

科學與藝術，在歷史上對於人類的向上與幸福，屢有很大的貢獻。科學與藝術，在過去中對於德意志國民曾為有益的效勞，是無可疑議的事實。但它們倘與國民全體的生活相離開，則科學與藝術皆不能給國民以真的幸福。這種傾向，到了十九世紀而明白地出現了。德意志人的特質，不傾向於感覺的直觀而頗傾向於思辨，十九世紀充分證明著這狀態。因這原故，十九世紀屢被稱為科學及技術的世紀。在事實上，自康德哲學以來，科學的思索次第普及，他方面科學上的歷史主義，又浸染於各方面，而支配了它。即純理論的思索，漸漸驅逐以經驗為基礎的對象的思索了。於是國民的眼，集中於死板的文字中，由書籍而得的知識，獲得了無數的信仰者。(pp. 12-13)

Here, according to Richter's discussion shown in table 17.6, the inclination of science in Germany became another factor for the new art education thinking in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. As Richter summarized, the “*stärksten Wurzeln*” (strongest roots) of the new art education thinking included:

the fracture of organic development of art since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the partiality of literal-philosophical interest since classical literature and philosophy, the occurrence of industrialisation and its connection with the lapse of peasants arts and handicrafts, the break of art with life, the awakening of political and social interest, and the predominance of the speculative side of the German character.<sup>764</sup>

Richter's studies of all these factors were extracted and paraphrased by Abe Shigetaka as shown in the tables above.

Actually, the most evoked and direct factor of the art education movement in Germany was the poor result of the German products in world trade fairs. In his other chapter, “*Yishu jiaoyu yundong*” 《藝術教育運動》 (The Art Education Movement), Abe Shigetaka again extracted most of the sources for his study from Richter's book. (A comparison of Abe Shigetaka's quotations and Richter's original text is provided in table 18.1 - 18.7) As shown in Abe's excerpt, Richter pointed out that in the first world expo, which was held in London in 1851, England, Germany and France had demonstrated the degeneration of their arts and crafts, and people began to realise the negative impact of

---

<sup>764</sup> Ibid., p. 7. The original German version is: *der Unterbrechung der organischen Kunstentwicklung am Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts, dem Vorwiegen des literarisch-philosophischen Interesses seit unserer klassischen Literatur und Philosophie, dem Aufkommen des Industrialismus und damit sich berührend dem Erlöschen der Bauernkunst und der handwerklichen Tradition, der Entfremdung der Kunst vom Leben, dem Erwachen politischer und sozialer Interessen und schließlich dem Überwiegen der spekulativen Seiten in der deutschen Eigenart.*

the machine on arts and crafts (table 18.1 refers). In response to this problem, England launched an art education reform. Its success had influenced the European continent, especially Germany. Richter therefore found it necessary to conduct a study on British art education reform<sup>765</sup> and especially on the contribution of John Ruskin. Richter called Ruskin's notions on art "*kunstsoziale Gedanken*" (art-socialist thoughts) and said that a main feature of his thinking was the belief that art is the "*große Erlöserin*" (great saviour) for modern society.<sup>766</sup> Richter found that Ruskin's *Kunstsozialismus* (Art-socialism) had "*ethische Wurzeln*" (ethical roots), because Ruskin believed arts would ennoble the people's mentality and contribute to a healthy and happy soul<sup>767</sup> (see table 18.2).

Table 18.1 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Im Jahre 1851 wird in London die erste Weltausstellung eröffnet. Ihr Ergebnis ist ebenso unvorhergesehen wie niederdrückend. Die Erzeugnisse der europäischen Kulturstaaten verkünden einstimmig, wenn auch unfreiwillig den Verfall von Handwerk und Kunstgewerbe. England zeigt einen niederschmetternden Tiefstand, Deutschland stellt sich dem Inselreich würdig zur Seite, und sogar Frankreich weist trotz seiner Jahrhunderte alten kunstgewerblichen Tradition einen Rückschritt auf. Aber nicht nur der künstlerische Sinn scheint erstorben zu sein, auch die einfache Handwerkliche Tradition ist wie ausgelöscht. Die meisterhafte Handgeschicklichkeit der vorindustriellen Perioden läßt sich kaum noch in unscheinbaren Spuren nachweisen. Die Maschine zeigt hier zuerst ihre unheilvollen Wirkungen. Doch die Erkenntnis dieser Tatsache muß sich langsam bahnbrechen. (p. 9)

In 1851, the first World Exhibition is held in London. The result is as unexpected as depressing. The products of the European cultural nations are heralding unanimously though involuntary the decline of craftsmanship and arts and crafts. England shows a devastating low, Germany is a worthy peer of the Island Kingdom, and even France, in spite of its centuries-old crafts tradition is in regression. But not only is the artistic sense like dead, even the simple tradition of craftsmanship seems to be extinct. The masterly craftsmanship of the pre-industrial eras left hardly any perceptible trail. Here, the machine shows first its disastrous effects. But the realization of this fact has to proceed slowly.

一八五一年，倫敦市開第一次世界博覽會，世人方喜得觀摩文明諸國的手工藝品、工藝品、美術品的機會；不料歐洲文明諸國的出品，手工與工藝美術均顯見衰退。衰退的程度，以英國為最，德國次之，連數百年以美術工藝佔優勝地位的法國也表示不少的退步。產業革命以前的傑出的手工藝，現在已經不能再有了。於是識者漸漸覺察機械對於美術工藝有不可救藥的惡影響！(p. 56)

According to Richter's discussion quoted in table 18.1, the main cause for the decline of arts and crafts products was that they were not made by hand but machines. In short, it was the consequence of industrialization.

<sup>765</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>766</sup> Ibid., p. 88.

<sup>767</sup> Ibid.



Table 18.2 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Der Grundzug seiner (John Ruskin) kunstsozialen Gedanken ist der hohe Glaube, der auch Richard Wagner erfüllte, der Glaube an die Kunst als die große Erlöserin der modernen Gesellschaft. Sein Kunstsozialismus hat durchaus ethische Wurzeln. In der Kunst der Zeit erkennt er den tiefen Verfall der Sittlichkeit seines Volkes, und er ist überzeugt, daß sich die Kunst aus ihrer tiefen Verkümmernng nicht erheben kann, es sei denn, daß die Gesinnung der Menschen veredelt werde. Nur fromme Gesinnung vermag echte Kunstwerke zu schaffen. (p. 88)

The main feature of his (John Ruskin's) art-socialist thoughts is the high belief that was also Richard Wagner's: the belief in art as the great saviour of modern society. His art-socialism has definitely ethical roots. In the art of his time he perceives the big decline of the morality of his nation and he is convinced that art could not ascend from its deep atrophy unless the mind of the people would be ennobled. Only a pious mind is capable of creating real works of art.

羅斯金對於藝術的社會的見解，根基於他的「藝術是現代社會的大救者」的信念。這見解與華葛耐爾(Wagner)的見解可謂相等。至於羅斯金的藝術社會主義，則有完全的論理的根據。他在當時的藝術上看出國民的道德的墮落，他確信：「倘不提高又醇化民眾之心，不能救濟藝術的衰退。只有用虔敬的心，方能產生純粹的藝術。」(p. 59)

Here, in his text shown in the table above, Richter pointed out John Ruskin's and Richard Wagner's belief in art as the "great saviour" of the problems of the modern, industrialized society.

Abe Shigetaka had also quoted Richter's analysis of Germany's failure to promote its arts and crafts. As Richter points out, Germany had actually realized the insufficiency of its aesthetic culture and made great effort to improve the arts and crafts during the same period as art education reform was launched in England. In 1823, the first German *Kunstverein* (Art Association) was founded in Munich. In 1825, the "*Verein der Kunstfreunde im preußischen Staat*" (Association of the Friends of Art in the Prussian States) was set up in Berlin. Since then, similar organisations were established in other Germany cities like Dresden, Leipzig, Düsseldorf, Köln, and so on<sup>768</sup> (see table 18.3). Following the example of South-Kensington-museum in England, which was established in 1851, museums of arts and crafts were also set up in Karlsruhe, Berlin and Köln etc. Furthermore, arts and crafts schools were founded by government and unions, and most of them had connections with museums<sup>769</sup> (refer to table 18.4).

<sup>768</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>769</sup> Ibid., p. 16.

Table 18.3 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Zur selben Zeit regt es sich auf deutschem Boden, doch ohne die zähe Energie und ohne das Zielbewußtsein der englischen Bestrebungen. Kunstvereine, diese spezifische Schöpfung des 19. Jahrhunderts, bilden sich zwar hier und da schon seit den zwanziger Jahren, ein Zeichen, daß das Bewußtsein eines Mangels an ästhetischer Kultur, wenn auch in noch so geringem Grade vorhanden ist; doch ihre Wirkung ist zum Teil überhaupt nicht nachweisbar und zum Teil vom Standpunkte des kunsterzieherischen Ideals nicht unbedenklich. Im Jahre 1823 wird in München der erste deutsche Kunstverein durch einige Maler, wie Stieler und Heß gegründet. 1825 entsteht in Berlin der „Verein der Kunstfreunde im preußischen Staat“. Dresden, Leipzig, Breslau, Halberstadt, Düsseldorf, Köln, Prag, Wien, Königsberg u. a. folgen mit Kunstvereinsgründungen. (p. 13-14)

At the same time – though without the dogged energy and without the resolve of the English – there is a similar movement on German soil. Arts associations, this specific creation of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, are founded here and there in Germany since the 1820s signifying that there is at least some awareness of the lack of aesthetic culture although on a very small scale. However, their effect is partly not traceable at all and partly not harmless from the point of view of the ideal art education. In 1823, the first German arts association is founded in Munich by some painters such as Stieler and Heß. In 1825 the „Verein der Kunstfreunde im preußischen Staat“ (Association of the Friends of Arts in the Prussian State) is founded in Berlin. Dresden, Leipzig, Breslau, Halberstadt, Düsseldorf, Köln, Prag, Wien (Vienna) and Königsberg follow with the founding of arts associations.

與英國差不多同時，德意志也起了同樣的運動。十九世紀的產物的「藝術團體」(Kunstverein)，已於一八二零年以來普遍於各處。這也可說是德意志國民覺悟其美的文化的缺陷的證據。但其效果幾乎全無可觀，從藝術教育的理想上說來也頗為可疑。總之，一八三二年有兩三個畫家在明亨(München)設立德意志最初的美術協會，其次一八二五年又設立於柏林，次第及於獨雷斯屯(Dresden)、萊普濟希(Leipzig)、勃雷斯洛(Breslau)等各處，各大都會均設立美術協會… (p. 63)

Table 18.4 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Nach dem Vorbilde des englischen South-Kensington-Museums und zum Teil der Union centrale des beaux arts appliqués à l'industrie in Paris werden auf deutschem Boden gegründet: 1864 in Wien das Österreichische Museum für Kunst und Industrie durch Eitelberger v. Edelberg, den Reformator des österreichischen Kunstgewerbes, 1865 die Gewerbehalle in Karlsruhe, 1867 das deutsche Gewerbemuseum in Berlin und 1868 das rheinisch-westfälische Museum für Kunstindustrie in Köln. Gewerbemuseen entstehen in allen bedeutenderen Plätzen, wie Nürnberg, Wien, Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Karlsruhe, Düsseldorf, Köln, Magdeburg, Hannover; Prag, Graz, Olmütz, Lemberg, Pest, Brünn u. a. Gewerbe- und Kunstgewerbeschulen werden von Regierungen und Vereinen in rascher Folge und oft in organischer Verbindung mit den Museen gegründet. (p. 16)

After the model of the South-Kensington Museum in England and partly after the Union centrale des beaux-arts appliqués à l'industrie in Paris museums are founded on German soil: 1864 the Österreichischen Museum für Kunst und Industrie in Vienna, 1865 the Gewerbehalle in Karlsruhe, 1867 the Deutsche Gewerbe-Museum in Berlin. and 1868 the rheinisch-westfälische Museum für Kunstindustrie in Köln. Handicraft museums are opened in all major places like Nürnberg, Wien (Vienna), Berlin, Hamburg, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Karlsruhe, Düsseldorf, Köln, Magdeburg, Hannover; Prag, Graz, Olmütz, Lemberg, Pest and Brünn. Moreover, industry and handicraft schools are founded in rapid succession by local governments and associations, often in organic connection with museums.

他們就模仿英國的根新登博物館，於一八六五年在卡爾斯羅哀(Karlsruhe)設立「工業館」(Gewerbehalle)，一八六七年在柏林設立「德意志工藝博物館」(Deutsche Gewerbemuseum)，一八六八年又在佩倫設立「美術工藝博物館」(Rheinisch-westfälische Museum für Kunstindustrie)，之由官廳或團體在德意志各地開辦「工業學校」(Gewerbeschulen)及「工藝學校」(Kunstgewerbeschulen)，以與各博物館結成有機的關係。(p. 65)

As demonstrated in Richter's texts quoted in tables 18.3 and 18.4, Germany had made great effort to improve its arts and crafts products through setting up different kinds of related organizations. The result was, despite its zealous endeavour, Germany did demonstrate poor results from one exhibition to another from year to year.<sup>770</sup> In the world expositions held in Philadelphia in 1876 and in Chicago in 1893, the results of German products worsened. Richter described the problem with the German commissioner F. Reuleaux's criticism. In his "Briefe aus Philadelphia" (letter from Philadelphia) (1877), Reuleaux argued harshly that the failure of the German products was apparently undeniable and "*als Quintessenz aller Angriffe tritt der Wahrspruch auf: Deutschlands Industrie hat das Grundprinzip billig und schlecht*" (the quintessence of all the attacks is the judgement: German goods are cheap and nasty)<sup>771</sup>. Furthermore, Reuleaux also argued that there was a "*Mangel an Geschmack im Kunstgewerblichen, Mangel an Fortschritt im rein Technischen*" (lack of taste in arts and crafts, lack of progress in pure technique)<sup>772</sup> (see table 18.5).

Table 18.5 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Bezeichnend ist der Mißerfolg noch im Jahre 1876 auf der Weltausstellung zu Philadelphia und selbst noch im Jahre 1893 in Chicago. Doch wie konsequent man die Augen davor verschließt, beweist die zum Teil entrüstete Aufnahme der „Briefe aus Philadelphia“, die der deutsche Kommissar Professor F. Reuleaux nach Deutschland richtete. Seine Kritik war scharf, doch vollkommen zutreffend; aber nur wenige vermochten sich zum Verständnis der Tatsachen und ihrer Ursachen zu erheben. „Unsere Niederlage ist unleugbar.“ „Als Quintessenz aller Angriffe tritt der Wahrspruch auf: Deutschlands Industrie hat das Grundprinzip billig und schlecht.“ „Mangel an Geschmack im Kunstgewerblichen, Mangel an Fortschritt im rein Technischen“: Das sind die gravierendsten Sätze aus dem Berichte des Reichskommissars. (p. 18)

Symptomatic is the fiasco [of Germany] at the World Exhibition in Philadelphia still in 1876 and even in Chicago in 1893. How consistently one was closing one's eyes to these failures demonstrates the partly angry reception of the "Letters from Philadelphia" which the German Commissioner Professor F. Reuleaux sent to Germany. His criticism was harsh but absolutely correct: "Our failure is undeniable." The quintessence of all the attacks is the judgment: "German goods are cheap and nasty." "Lack of taste in arts and crafts, lack of progress in pure technique": these are the most serious sentences from the report of the Imperial Commissioner.

在一八七六年的裴拉台爾斐亞(Philadelphia)的世界博覽會中，一八九三年的芝加哥的世界博覽會中，德意志的成績非常低劣。羅伊洛博士曾在其從裴拉台爾斐亞寄來的書翰中，鄭重地警告德意志國民。他說：「德意志工藝的衰退，無可諱言了。德意志的工業，以粗惡及廉價為根本原理。其美術工藝品顯然缺乏趣味，同時技術也全無進步。」他對於德意志的工業的批

<sup>770</sup> Ibid., the original German version is: "... stellt sich das Ergebnis für Deutschland trotz eifriger Bemühungen von Jahr zu Jahr, von Ausstellung zu Ausstellung ungünstiger dar."

<sup>771</sup> Quoted in: Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 18.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid.

評很是嚴厲，這原是符合於事業(實)的。(pp. 66-67)

Richter's quotation of the German commissioner's harsh criticism about the German products, that is "lack of taste in arts and crafts", as shown in the table above, clearly revealed the great worry of the German about the presentation of German products in the world expos. Richter stated that the establishment of schools, museums and art associations, and the organisation of art exhibitions had demonstrated Germany's effort to improve its arts and crafts. However, the result of all these efforts was reflected in its failure in world trade fairs<sup>773</sup> (see table 18.6).

Table 18.6 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

In Deutschland aber ist der Mißerfolg trotz Schulen, Museen, Kunstvereinen und Ausstellungen offenbar. Die Erziehung zum Kunstgewerbe ist zunächst gründlich mißglückt, die Bildung des Geschmacks und die Schöpfung eines neuen Stils durch Übung der historischen Stilarten hat sich als ein unheilvoller Irrtum erwiesen. Die Konsequenzen aus diesen Tatsachen aber wagt man erst in den achtziger und neunziger Jahren zu ziehen.(p.18)

However, in Germany the failure was obvious despite that there were schools, museums, arts associations and exhibitions. At first the handicraft education has completely failed, the training of taste and the creation of a new style by means of practicing and copying historic styles [of artworks] proved to be a fatal error though it was not until the 1880s and 1890s that one dared to draw the consequences from these facts.

故德國雖然十分努力於學校、博物館、展覽會及種種藝術團體的發展，然而顯然是全歸失敗。即其工藝教育先遭根本的失敗，其所謂趣味陶冶，及希望由歷史的式樣的模仿而作出新式樣，全屬謬見，已有事實證明了。鑒於此種事實之後，自十九世紀的第八十年至九十年之間，工藝教育的問題一轉而為一般的藝術教育的問題。(p. 67)

As shown in table 18.6, Richter claimed that the failure of German handicraft education, which focused on copying historic styles of artworks, was the first symbol of the failure of German arts and crafts products. Furthermore, Richter stated that the domination of scientific principals in curriculum design at art and craft institutions; one-sided predilection for historical and philosophical aspects in the development of *Kunstwissenschaft* (the science of art, such as aesthetics and art history), and lastly, blind copying of historical artworks (see table 18.7) were thus the causes of the failure of German competition in world trade fairs, despite all its exertions. And, these became the grounds which evoked the new art education thinking in Germany in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

---

<sup>773</sup> Ibid.

Table 18.7 Comparison of Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 and Johannes Richter's Texts

Mit welchen Mitteln aber wird durch alle diese Institute die Förderung des Kunstgewerbes angestrebt? Abgesehen von der Bildung der Handfertigkeit beherrscht den Unterricht aller gewerblichen Anstalten ein wissenschaftliches Prinzip. Die Kunstwissenschaft, die, wie wir schon bemerkt haben, keinen Zusammenhang mehr mit der Kunst hat und zum Selbstzweck geworden ist, hat sich zu einer rückwärts gewandten historisch-philosophischen Disziplin entwickelt. Sie überträgt ihren Geist auf die Akademien, Schulen und Museen. Die Museen sammeln, was sie als wertvoll bezeichnen, einmal Renaissance, ein andermal Rokoko, Barock oder Gotik je nach der zeitweilig wechselnden Wertschätzung. Den ausübenden Vertretern des Kunstgewerbes empfiehlt sie die alten aristokratischen Stile, deren allgemeine, zeitlose Gültigkeit sie voraussetzt, zur Nachahmung. Nur durch das Kopieren der alten Zierformen sei dem verrotteten deutschen Kunstgewerbe zu helfen. So wird denn fleißig kopiert, und der Erfolg muß ausbleiben... (p.17)

What kind of means do these institutions use to promote handicraft? Apart from the training of manual skills the teaching methods of all industrial schools are dominated by scientific principals. The science of art which, as we have already noticed, has no more connection with art and become an end in itself, has developed into a retrogressive historical-philosophical discipline. It transfers its spirit to the academies, schools and museums. The museums collect whatever they designate as valuable: now they collect Renaissance works of art, another time Rococo, Baroque or Gothic depending on the intermittently changing esteem. The science of art recommends – assuming their timeless validity – the imitation of the old aristocratic styles to the practicing representatives of handicraft. Only through copying the old ornamental forms the rotten German handicraft could be helped. So copying is laboriously practiced and the expected success must fail to come [...]

博物館及工藝學校用甚麼樣的手段來促進其工藝呢？在各工藝學校中，科學的原理支配其一切教授。藝術科學已失卻其與「藝術」的密接的交涉，都變成了歷史的、哲學的科學而發達，這樣的精神普遍於各學校及博物館中。博物館隨了時時轉變無定的評價，而有時蒐集文藝復興(Renaissance)的作品，有時蒐集「洛可可」(Rococo)或「哥雪克」(Gothic)的作品。還有工藝的代表者，信為唯獎勵古昔的貴族的樣式，模仿舊時代的工藝品，能救濟德意志的工藝美術的衰退。於是模仿之道盛行，而效果愈趨於無。(p. 66)

In this part of writing, as shown in table 18.7, Richter made an elaboration of the problems of Historicism in the German visual culture.

To sum up, Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 two translations had extracted Richter's analysis of the socio-economic and cultural context of the new art educational thinking in Germany in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, i.e., the problems of socio conflicts among different groups of people, industrialization, the inclination to science, domination of Historicism and so on, and how these problems became a direct bearing on the new thoughts on art education.

The comparisons provided in the tables above have illustrate how Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 translations and Tian Min's 天民 text quoted and paraphrased Johannes Richter's analysis of the contextual factors of the German Art Education Movement. In comparison with the length of Johannes Richter's original research, which was more than one

hundred pages, the investigation provided by Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 translations, and especially Tian Min's 天民 text, were apparently concise. However, in comparison with other Chinese art educators' studies, the studies in their texts were relatively detailed.

### 2.3. Other Chinese Art Educators' Studies

In the books written by Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Wu Chengjun 吳成均, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, there were brief studies of the contextual factors of the late development of art education in Germany. After an analysis of the studies of these four Chinese art educators, it is clear that the study presented by Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 was the same as that of Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐; and Wu Chengjun's 吳成均 study was identical with Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡. This raises implications of what is now called plagiarism in these texts.

In the introductory chapter of his *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925), Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 made a very brief study of the socio-cultural circumstances in Europe from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries and its relation to the development of art education. Similarly, Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 provided such a study in the first paragraph of the first chapter of his *Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa* 《小學美術科教材和教法》 (*Teaching Materials and Methods for Primary Art Education*) (1948). Both Lei and Wen did not point out which continent or country their discussions referred to at the beginning of the paragraph and stated that there was a change of thinking in Europe at the end of this paragraph. This kind of writing style thus easily gives the readers an impression that China also faced the same problems depicted by the two Chinese authors, or in other words, the problems depicted were universal, and Europe developed the ideas to solve the problem. They mentioned that there was a domination of intellectual education from the 18<sup>th</sup> century to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This facilitated the development of science and industry, and set the trend of

materialism. In turn, this also led to a division of ideas and destroyed the unity of the nation. Lei and Wen stated further that people's power of reason and intellect were well developed but not their sentiment. As a consequence, people were becoming affected by "antipathy", "mistrust", "jealousy" and "deception". Thence, this evoked the advocacy of "sentimental education", or precisely, art education in Europe. Comparing Lei's and Wen's texts, it is found they were actually the same except for a few words or phrases omitted in Wen's text. Lei's book was published two decades earlier than Wen's, therefore it would suggest that Wen had copied his content. (A comparison of Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 texts is provided in table 19.1).

Table 19.1 Comparison of Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 and Wen Zhaotong's 溫肇桐 Texts

十八世紀至十九世紀的前半期，教育思想，側重理智的方面，那種教育的結果，便是科學進步，產業發達，「機械的人類」增多；因此釀成物質主義，拜金主義的風潮。人類的全生活，受這種潮流的支配，自然使人心分裂，社會各階層之間，失去調和；就國家方面說：失去國民精神的統一；就個人方面說：理智發達，貴抽象力而減殺熱忱，想像力發達，養成殘賊冷靜的頭腦，失去生命的統一感；結果便變成現在的世態：「憎惡」「猜疑」「嫉妒」「欺瞞」等不道德的惡影響。所以現代歐洲思想界的哲學傾向，「主智主義唯理主義」已漸次衰弱，「主情意主義」漸有起而代代之勢了！[Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (ed.)(1925), *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*Art Pedagogy*), p. 4]

From the 18<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, there was an inclination to intellectual education. As a consequence, science was well developed and industry was prospering. This led to a trend of materialism and worship of money. People's life was affected by this trend and there was splitting of people's mind and loss of harmony in society. In the national perspective, unity of spirit in the nation was lost. For the individual, the power of reason and intellect were well developed but the sentiment was weakened. As a result, there were "antipathy", "mistrust", "jealousy" and "deceiving" among the people. Under these circumstances, there was an advocate of "sentimental education" in Europe.

十八世紀至十九世紀前半期，教育思想，側重理智的方面，所以那種教育的結果，便是科學進步，產業發達，釀成物質主義，拜金主義的風潮。人類的生活，受這種潮流的支配，自然人心分裂，社會失去調和；就民族方面說，失去精神的統一；就個人方面說，增多抽象力而減殺熱忱，想像力發達，養成殘賊冷靜的頭腦，無生命的統一感；結果便變成現在的世態：「憎惡」、「猜疑」、「嫉妒」、「欺騙」等不良的影響。所以最近歐洲方面，竭力倡導「主情意主義教育」以救其弊。[Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1948), *Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa* 《小學美術科教材和教法》 (*Teaching Materials and Methods for Primary Art Education*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu. 商務, p. 1]

As shown in table 19.1, just a few lines were used to introduce the whole socio-cultural context of the "European" art education thinking in Lei's and Wen's texts.

In his book, *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidao fa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*) (1933), Wu Chengjun 吳成均 devoted only two short paragraphs to introducing the social-economic context of art education thinking from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century to the 1930s. In his text, Wu stated that the socio-economic problem after industrialization existed in “*wulun heguo*” 無論何國 (whatever country), and there were “*xian juezhe*” 先覺者 (people with foresight) who suggested that the education of beauty and art could solve the problem. However, it is clear that the issues he addressed are similar to those in Richter’s text.<sup>774</sup> Besides, right after his brief introduction to the social circumstances, Wu also quoted Schulze’s criticism of the Germans’ lack of perceptive abilities and Lange’s arguments about the importance of art appreciation in education.<sup>775</sup> Within such a limited space, Wu simply pointed out that the social-economic circumstances of that period included the destruction of handicrafts, class struggle between entrepreneurs and the working class, moral decadence, the decline of people’s taste and creativity, and the domination of intellectual education in pedagogy.

In Yu Jifan’s 俞寄凡 book, *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*) (1934), the introduction of the social and cultural contexts of “the art education thinking in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century”<sup>776</sup> were also compressed into two short paragraphs. Comparing texts of Yu and Wu, it appears that although some wordings are different, the rest is the same. Similar to Wu, Yu also quoted Schulze’s criticism of the Germans and Lange’s arguments for art appreciation education after his brief introduction of the social circumstances in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>777</sup> As Wu’s studies were published a year earlier, it is possible that Yu copied from Wu. (A comparison of Wu Chengjun’s 吳成均 and Yu Jifan’s 俞寄凡 texts is provided in table 19.2)

---

<sup>774</sup> Wu Chengjun 吳成均 (1933), *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidao fa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*). Shanghai 上海: Dadong shuju 大東書局, p. 3.

<sup>775</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 3-5.

<sup>776</sup> Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1934), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華, p. 4.

<sup>777</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.



Table 19.2 Comparison of Wu Chengjun's 吳成均 and Yu Jifan's 俞寄凡 Texts

藝術教育思潮，從十九世紀後半期起，尤其是最近的八十年，因「社會相」的背景，唱導教育思潮。觀察當時的社會狀態，科學急速的進步了，無論何國，應用機械的大工業，漸漸繁盛，因多量的生產，致把從來手工業的趣味消滅了。結果，發生資本主義和勞動階級，貧富之差，更形懸殊，社會成為物質金錢的萬能時代，一般人都陷入於階級鬥爭道德頹廢等不安狀態中。

單是機械的作業，從業者易感疲勞，且易瀰漫惡趣味。世間一般人的趣味既低下，則創造能力，美的思想，也易衰落。教育也因社會的影響，而變成偏重智育的教育。能挽救這惡傾向的，便是美的教育與藝術的教育，當時的先覺者曾這般說過。[Wu Chengjun 吳成均 (1933), *Ertong meishu jianshang zhidao fa* 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (*Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children*), p.2]

Art education, from the latter half of the 19th century onwards, especially in the recent eighty years, thinking of education was advocated due to the "society" background. Viewing the social circumstances, there was a rapid development of science, whatever country, big industry which use machinery were blooming gradually and it destroyed the interest of handicraft with it excessive amount of production. As a result, there was emerge of capitalism and working class, and the gap between rich and poor became wider. The society came to an era when material and money became all powerful and people were bogged down in a disturbing state of class struggling and decadent moral. Practitioners of monotonous mechanical work would feel tired easily, and it was also easy to spread the bad taste. Once tastes of general people were decadent, it would also easy for creativity and thinking of beauty decline. Due to such social impact, education thus laid stress on intellectual training. According to the people with foresight at that time, aesthetic and arts education could save this evil tendencies.

藝術教育思潮，是在十九世紀的後半期，把社會現象為背景而唱導之教育思潮。觀察當時之社會狀態，因科學之急速進步，任何國家使用機械之大工業，皆非常的盛行，生產量大增，而從前手的趣味之工業，因此而遭驅逐。其結果便發生了資本家和勞動者之階級，貧富之差漸大，社會變成金錢萬能時代，道德觀念墮落，形成階級戰爭，一般都陷於不安的狀態。

人們皆為機械的作業疲勞，惡趣味瀰漫。人們一般的興趣低落，美的思想和創造力，均呈衰頹之象。教育方面，亦受此社會之影響，變成偏重知育之教育。於是一部分的覺悟者，為欲挽救此惡傾向，而盛唱藝術教育。[Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1934), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu* 《小學美術教育》 (*Art Education in Primary School*), p.4]

Similar to both Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, Wu Chengjun 吳成均 and Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 also used just a few lines to introduce the whole socio-cultural context of the art education thinking in “every country”.

The review above clearly indicates that the Chinese art educators' studies on the contextual factors of the art education movement in Germany were very brief. It was only the two translations of Feng Zikai 豐子愷 that provided a relatively detailed investigation. Besides, the practice of copying is indicated in the works of Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Wu Chengjun 吳成均, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐.

Furthermore, these Chinese writings did not provide any sources, footnotes or references. Similarly, no list of references could be found in Feng's two translations. Comparing the Japanese version with Feng's translation, it has been discovered that a reference list was actually provided in the original text. The list shows that the Japanese author Abe Shigetaka had referenced many German works of literature, including the writings of the famous German art education advocates. Besides, the Abe Shigetaka had also stated in the preface that his work was inspired by Johannes Richter's book.<sup>778</sup>

The possible explanation for the lack of a reference list in Feng's translations is that Feng did not translate the entire Japanese study. More exactly, the original text was translated selectively, divided into different sections and published separately by Feng. Anyhow, it appears that the Chinese scholars or art educators in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century did not provide sufficient information about the references used in their own writings or the original texts of their translations. The Chinese art educators might have found it adequate to provide the names of the authors or titles of the texts which they cited within their writings. However, it was still unclear if the ideas quoted were directly from original writings or in someone else's studies.

In the case study of this research, the titles of some German scholars' writings, such as Richter's and Langbehn's, were being mentioned within some of these Chinese texts. Based on this clue, a library research, as part of this study, was conducted in Germany and the relevant books were identified and surveyed. After comparing Richter's text with the above Chinese writings, it was found that information used in both Tian Min's 天民 study and Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 two translations were excerpted from Johannes Richter. In the case of the other four Chinese art educators, the content of their studies were similar to Tian Min's 天民 and Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 texts. More correctly, they appeared to be a summary of either Tian Min's 天民 or Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 texts, or even Johannes Richter's research. In any case, there is the possibility that Tian Min's 天民 and

---

<sup>778</sup> Though this researcher does not understand Japanese, it is through the German title of the book and some of the Chinese characters used within the preface that this researcher is able to determine its meaning.

Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 texts, which were published in an earlier period, became references for the later Chinese studies.

In fact, besides Johannes Richter, there were also other German scholars like A. Herget and O. Götze who presented studies on the contextual factors of the German Art Education Movement. In addition, Johannes Richter supplied a list of references used in his dissertation. For example, Theobald Ziegler's *Die geistigen und sozialen Strömungen des 19. Jahrhunderts* (The Spiritual and Social Trends in the 19<sup>th</sup> century) (1899), Hermann Muthesius's *Kulture und Kunst* (Culture and Art) (1904), Siegmund Schultze's *Von der Wiedergeburt deutscher Kunst* (From the Rebirth of German Art) (1898), Alfred Lichtwark's *Wege und Ziele des Dilettantismus* (Ways and Aims of Dilettantisms) (1894). These examples signify that there were lots of German references available at that time. Should the Chinese authors have had the opportunity to read these original German texts, they may have developed an awareness of the socio-cultural context of the German ideas they imported to China and thus of the role of contextual factors in the formulation of educational concepts for their own country. It might be possible that the Chinese art educators did not have the opportunity to know or read any original relevant German writings other than Johannes Richter's text. Even though the Chinese studies above were excerpted from Richter's research, it remains doubtful that the Chinese art educators accessed the original text. A further discussion on this assumption will be provided in the later section of this chapter.

#### 2.4. Characteristics of the Chinese Studies of the German Art Education Movement

This study's perusal of the early Chinese studies on art education indicates a lack of quantitative and qualitative study on the contextual factors of the German ideas being introduced. In addition, there was also a lack of comparative studies of the Chinese and German socio-cultural circumstances and how the German ideas introduced could contribute to the development of Chinese art education in a different socio-cultural context.

#### 2.4.1. A Lack of Chinese Studies on the Contextual Factors of the German Art Education Movement

Compared with the number of Chinese writings that introduced the ideas of the German art education advocates,<sup>779</sup> the proportion of those devoted to the study of the contextual factors of these German ideas was small. Moreover, most of those studies were brief.

However, should the Chinese scholars have read Richter's *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)*, which was the main reference for their studies, they would know that Richter emphasised the impossibility to make any analysis of the German Art Education Movement without an examination of its socio-cultural background. Richter said

We turn first of all to the observation of the general cultural circumstances of the new German Empire. Without such a study and explanation, analyse of the art education endeavour have to remain highly incomplete.<sup>780</sup>

The study of the cultural background of the German Art Education Movement is important, because, as Herget pointed out, the emergence of the art education movement in Germany was in correspondence to its cultural context.<sup>781</sup> To highlight this, Herget quoted Richter's idea that art education is

not a creation of the pedagogy advisors, not an experiment of the Methodist, not the witty ideas of these or others noted persons, but a cultural problem in an extensive senses. Such a problem arises from thousand of its roots inevitably and organically.<sup>782</sup>

---

<sup>779</sup> The Chinese scholars or art educators devoted their writings to introduce the notions of the advocates of German Art Education Movement included: Tian Min 天民, Yu Zhen 余箴, Wu Mengfei 吳夢非, Li Shicen 李石岑, Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, Tai Xuan 太玄, Yu Shangtong 余尚同, Hu Renzhuang 胡人椿, Lü Cheng 呂澂, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Shen Jianping 沈建平, Wu Chengjun 吳成均, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Tang Kaibin 唐開斌, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐, Li Songyao 李頌堯 and Yao Jiadong 姚家棟.

<sup>780</sup> Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 26. The original German version is: *Wir wenden uns zunächst der Betrachtung der allgemeinen Kulturverhältnisse des neuen deutschen Kaiserreichs zu, ohne deren Auseinanderlegung eine Analyse der Kunsterziehungsbestrebungen höchst unvollkommen bleiben mußte.*

<sup>781</sup> Herget, A. (1922), p. 11.

<sup>782</sup> *Ibid.*; also see Richter, Johannes (1909), p. 7. The original German version is: *Sie ist keine Erfindung der Kathederpädagogen, kein Experiment der Methodiker; sie ist nicht der geistreiche Einfall dieses oder jenes bedeutenden Menschen, sondern sie ist ein Kulturproblem im umfassendsten Sinne, das notwendig und organisch aus tausend seinen Würzelchen emporwächst.*

Besides Richter and Herget, the role of the cultural context in the German Art Education Movement was also important for Götze. At the very beginning of his book, Götze quoted Paulsen's and Barth's arguments to emphasise the relationship between “*Kulturlage*” (cultural situation) and “*Bildungsideal*” (education ideal). For Götze, the art education movement in Germany was a “*aus der Zeit und dem Gesamtbewußtsein des Volkes hervorquellenden Strömung*” (Trend which originated from the time and collective consciousness of the people).<sup>783</sup>

There are two possible reasons for such a small ratio of Chinese studies on the socio-cultural context of the imported German ideas. The first is the lack of cultural awareness, or more exactly failing to take an informed approach to the role of cultural contexts in formulating ideas or discussions about the development of art education in a country. Secondly, the lack of access to the original German text where a possible barrier could be language. These factors will be discussed in the next section of this study.

#### 2.4.2. A Lack of Cultural Awareness

Besides the lack of evidence of studies about the contextual factors framing the German ideas on art education, this investigation finds that there was also a lack of discussions about the Chinese socio-cultural circumstances in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and its relation to the development of Chinese art education. This provides further support for the suggestion that there was a lack of cultural awareness among the Chinese art educators.

Among the many Chinese writings on art education, especially those devoted to the study of rationales or theories about art education, only a few of them discussed how Chinese art education should respond to the socio-cultural phenomenon in China at that time. The few examples of studies in this field that were found were by Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀, He Zhongying 何仲英 and *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 (Zhonghua Art Education Association).

---

<sup>783</sup> Götze, Otto (1914), p. 6.

In his “Xin wenhua yundong he meiyu” 《新文化運動和美育》 (New Cultural Movement and Aesthetic Education) (1920), Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀 made an analysis of the current cultural phenomenon in China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and argued for the role of aesthetic education in improving the situation. Zhou identified different kinds of negative thinking and behaviour in China such as narrow mindedness, selfishness, chasing of fame and wealth, pessimism, world-weariness or suicidal tendencies. Zhou claimed that this was due to the neglect of aesthetic education or the lack of ‘*meishu sixiang*’ 美術思想 (literally translated, fine art thinking). Zhou did not provide any clear definition of this phrase in China. According to him, there were calls for the reform of family, society, politics, education and industry during the New Cultural or May Fourth Movement in China in the 1920s. In contrast, aesthetic education was generally neglected. Zhou therefore urged that aesthetic education should not be disregarded because it had a close link with, and could play a role in the reform of, these institutes in China. He made an analysis of the characteristics of these different sectors in China and then discussed their relation to aesthetic education. Based on this analysis and his reference to the practice in other countries, Zhou proposed a number of ways to promote Chinese art education.<sup>784</sup>

He Zhongying 何仲英 was critical that despite the tradition of aesthetic requirements and creations in many aspects in China, in reality there was a lack of aesthetic judgment among the Chinese. For example, good Chinese painting and calligraphy were rare and in contrast to the unpleasant home furnishings, simple and crude school buildings. Chinese products were unsaleable, according to He, due to the deficiency in product design. He also claimed that the spiritual life of the Chinese youth was declining, that is they were depressed and bored. Worst of all, the students were behaving improperly by being morally degenerate or committing suicide. According to He, aesthetic education could

---

<sup>784</sup> Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀 (1920), “Xin wenhua yundong he meiyu” 《新文化運動和美育》 (New Cultural Movement and Aesthetic Education), In: *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education* ), no. 3, pp. 1-16.

play a role in elevating the spirit of the Chinese, therefore there was an immediate necessity to advocate aesthetic education in China.<sup>785</sup>

In addition to the two discussions above, the *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 (Zhonghua Art Education Association) also made a brief analysis of the socio-cultural circumstances of China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>786</sup> It stated that the prosperity and decline of a culture had a major impact on the development of art. It claimed that Chinese culture changed dramatically in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to the *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 (Zhonghua Art Education Association), some Chinese were complacent about Chinese cultural traditions or had a conservative attitude to these, while some others were very eager to learn from the West and followed the examples of the West blindly. Under these circumstances, traditional Chinese studies could not be carried forward and the new knowledge from the West was incompatible with Chinese contexts. More seriously, this could lead to a gradual decay of Chinese culture. Apart from the above observations, *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 also presented a very brief discussion about the economic situation in China. It pointed out that the Industrial Revolutions in Europe and America occurred one after the other. Under the economic invasion of these industrial powers, all kinds of Chinese industries were on the brink of collapse. *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 did not elaborate on the problem of “economic invasion” in its text, however a supplementary explanation could be found in Zhou Lingsun’s 周玲蓀 article. Zhou stated in his article that China was full of Japanese products. In comparison with the Japanese goods, the design and decoration of Chinese

---

<sup>785</sup> He Zhongying 何仲英 (1921), “Xue Xiao li meiyu de xunlian” 《學校裏美育的訓練》 (Teaching Aesthetic Education in Schools). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 13, no. 1, pp. 17747-17754.

<sup>786</sup> *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe lishihui* 中華藝術教育社理事會 (Board of Directors, Zhonghua Art Education Association) (ed.) (1935), *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe gaikuang* 《中華藝術教育社概況》 (*General Features of Zhonghua Art Education Association*). *Zhonghua Yishu Jiaoyushe Lishihui* 中華藝術教育社理事會, p. 2.

products were crude and clumsy.<sup>787</sup> In this context, *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe* 中華藝術教育社 was founded to promote art and craft education in China.<sup>788</sup>

Zhou Lingsun's 周玲蓀, He Zhongying's 何仲英 and *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe*'s 中華藝術教育社 analyses of socio-cultural circumstances in China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and its link with Chinese aesthetic education were good but also rare examples of such kinds of discussion. This suggests that the Chinese art educators who studied German ideas were not conscious of the necessity to construct a frame of reference for the importation of Western ideas. This also implies that the Chinese scholars or art educators were not concerned about importing ideas which could be compatible with Chinese culture. In short, the Chinese authors were lacking in cultural awareness.

### 3. An Investigation into *Kunsterziehungstag* in Dresden in Chinese Writings

Three conferences under the same title "*Kunsterziehung*" (art education) were held in three German cities Dresden (1901), Weimar (1903) and Hamburg (1905). Each of these conferences had a specific theme. The first conference was devoted to visual arts, the second to German language and poems and the third to music and gymnastics. Proceedings were published after each conference. They were: 1.) *Kunsterziehung: Ergebnisse und Anregungen des Kunsterziehungstags in Dresden am 28. und 29. September 1901* (1902) (*Art Education: Results and Proposals of Art Education Day in Dresden on 28<sup>th</sup> and 29<sup>th</sup> September 1901*); 2.) *Kunsterziehung: Ergebnisse und Anregungen des zweiten Kunsterziehungstags in Weimar, am 9., 10., 11. Oktober 1903 – deutsche Sprache und Dichtung* (*Art Education: Results and Proposals of Art Education Day in Weimar on 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup> and 11<sup>th</sup> October 1903 – German Language and Poems*); and 3.) *Kunsterziehung: Ergebnisse und Anregungen des dritten Kunsterziehungstags in Hamburg am 13., 14., 15. Oktober 1905 – Musik und Gymnastik*. (*Art Education: Results*

---

<sup>787</sup> Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀 (1920).

<sup>788</sup> *Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe lishihui* 中華藝術教育社理事會 (Board of Directors, Zhonghua Art Education Association) (ed.) (1935), pp. 1-2.



and Proposals of the Third Art Education Day in Hamburg on 13<sup>th</sup>, 14<sup>th</sup>, 15<sup>th</sup> October 1905 – Music and Gymnastic).

The focus of this section is to investigate how the conferences above were introduced in Chinese writings in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. However, this study is limited to the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*<sup>789</sup> (Dresden Art Education Day) held in Dresden in 1901, which, as indicated in the first paragraph of the preface to the proceedings, was devoted to the area related to *bildenden Kunst* (pictorial arts or visual arts).<sup>790</sup>

### 3.1. The Dresden Conference

#### 3.1.1. Conference Presentations

A close reading of the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* proceedings (Figure 28), indicates that much valuable information was provided, including a full record of the speeches and discussions, information about the organisers and participants, and so on. All these constitute a valuable primary source for this study.



Figure 28 Proceedings of the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*

<sup>789</sup> In his book *Das Wesen der künstlerischen Erziehung (The Essence of Artistic Education)*(1902) Konrad Lange called the art education conference held in Dresden *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*.

<sup>790</sup> *Kunsterziehung: Ergebnisse und Anregungen des Kunsterziehungstages in Dresden am 28. und 29. September 1901 (Art Education: Results and Stimulations of the Art Education Day in Dresden on 28 and 29 September 1901)* (1902). Leipzig: R. Voigtlaender Verlag, p. 7.

In the preface to the proceedings of the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* was information about the active figures of the conference, purposes of the conference, number of delegates and their positions, and activities other than presentations and discussions.

Seven prominent figures in the German art and cultural field signed the preface. The status of these authors included chairman of the art teachers' union, director of the art academy, director of the art museum, government officials and professors. Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark, whose ideas were often quoted in the Chinese writings on art education in early 20<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>791</sup> were among these authors. There were altogether 250 participants including representatives from 34 state and city authorities, and 24 major teacher unions.

It stated clearly in the first sentence of the preface that the impetus for organizing this conference was the growing concerns about the art education for German youth at school and at home. At the end of the preface, the organizers' idea about the aim of art education was declared,

What we want is neither educating artists nor art experts, but opening the eyes and heart of our German youths to genuine and healthy German arts.<sup>792</sup>

The two day conference presented nine “*Verhandlungen*” (discussions, forums), five welcome speeches and two “*Vorträge*” (keynote speeches). The welcome speeches were given by four government officials and one representative of the German Teachers' Union. Speakers of the two “*Vorträge*” (keynote speeches) were Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark.

---

<sup>791</sup> Examples include: 1.) Yu Zhen 余箴 (1913), “Meiyu lun” 《美育論》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education); 2.) Wu Mengfei 吳夢非 (1920), “Meiyu shi shenme” 《美育是什麼？》 (What is Aesthetic Education); 3.) Tian Min 天民 (1921), “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking in Art Education); 4.) Li Shicen 李石岑 (1922), “Meiyu zhi yuanli” 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education); 5.) Shen Jianping 沈建平 (1925), “Jindai gepai yishu jiaoyushuo zhi pipan” 《近代各派藝術教育說之批判》 (Critic of the Contemporary Art Education Theories); 6.) Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1939), “Jinshi yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近世藝術教育運動》 (Contemporary Art Education Movement).

<sup>792</sup> *Kunsterziehung* (1902), pp. 8-9. The original German version is: *Wir wollen weder Kuenstler noch Kunstkenner erziehen, sondern unserer Jugend Auge und Herz fuer echte, gesunde, deutsche Kunst oeffnen.*

The following paragraphs briefly introduce the two “*Vorträge*” and the nine “*Verhandlungen*”.

i. The two “*Vorträge*”

The themes of the two “*Vorträge*” given by Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark were “*Das Wesen der kuenstlerischen Erziehung*” (*The Essence of Artistic Education*) and “*Der Deutsche der Zukunft*” (*The German of the Future*).

In his speech Konrad Lange stated clearly that his idea about art education was “*Erziehung des Kindes zur ästhetischen Genussfähigkeit*” (educating the children to the ability of aesthetic enjoyment). He also stressed that:

By that we do not mean to train all the children to be artists. It is impossible to do so because different children possess different talent, and it is also not the purpose of our general education. On the contrary, we are more interested in edifying the children’s perceptive and receptive ability only.<sup>793</sup>

On the problem of teaching art appreciation, Konrad Lange said that subjects like art history and aesthetics should be excluded in school curriculum because:

the duty of our schools is big enough and we think that in the matter of studying art history, it is now and then too much rather than too little. Our children should not learn to talk about art but to perceive and enjoy art.<sup>794</sup>

For Konrad Lange, „*Kunstanschauung ist in erster Linie Genuß, und deshalb sollte auch die Erziehung zur Kunstanschauung in erster Linie Genuß sein.*“ (Art perception is principally for pleasure, and therefore education about art perception should also be for pleasure primarily).<sup>795</sup>

---

<sup>793</sup> Ibid., p. 28. The original German version is: *Wir verstehen zunächst nicht darunter, dass alle Kinder zu Künstlern erzogen werden sollen. Das wäre ja schon durch die verschiedene Begabung ausgeschlossen, und dazu sind auch unsere allgemein bildenden Schulen nicht da. Wir wollen vielmehr die Kinder nur zur rezeptiven Genussfähigkeit erziehen wissen.*

<sup>794</sup> Ibid., p. 29. The original German version is: *Die Aufgaben unserer Schulen sind so schon groß genug, und wir meinen, daß in Bezug auf kunstgeschichtliche Belehrung schon jetzt hier und da des Guten eher zu viel als zu wenig geschieht. Unsere Kinder sollen nicht über Kunst schwatzen, sondern Kunst sehen und genießen lernen.*

<sup>795</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

Alfred Lichtwark voiced his concern about the “*Bildung*” (cultivation/education) of the Germans for the future in his speech “*Der Deutsche der Zukunft*” (The Germans of the Future). He stated that the Germans were uncultivated despite their vast riches: “*man kann in Deutschland sehr reich, sehr ungebildet, zu keinerlei Opfer für irgend einen Kulturzweck bereit sein, ohne der Verachtung anheimzufallen*” (people in Germany can be very rich, very uncultivated and, without falling into any contempt, not willing to sacrifice for any cultural aims at all).<sup>796</sup> Lichtwark also found that there was a lack of national content in the education of Germans. He was critical that the great German painters who expressed the “*deutsche Wesen*” (German Spirit) in their art works were not made known in schools.<sup>797</sup> For him, “*der deutsche Professor, der deutsche Lehrer und der deutsche Offizier*” (the German professor, the German teacher and the German military officer)<sup>798</sup> were the ideal models for the *Bildung* of the Germans of the future.

ii. The nine “*Verhandlungen*”

The topics of the presentations on the first day of the conference covered a large area that included preschool aesthetic education, the role of school decoration and picture books in school art education, teaching of art creation and appreciation, and teacher training.

The main content of the presentation “*Das Kinderzimmer*” (The Childrens’ Room) given by Rudolf Roß<sup>799</sup> concerned the fostering of the children’s “*Fähigkeit der ästhetischen Illusion*” (ability of aesthetic illusion)<sup>800</sup> through playing and enhancing their aesthetic taste through toys, picture books and the decoration of rooms.

In “*Das Schulgebäude*” (The School Building), Fischer focused on the “*kunsterziehenden Seiten des deutschen Schulgebäude*” (the art educational side of the German school

---

<sup>796</sup> Ibid., p. 44.

<sup>797</sup> Ibid., p. 47.

<sup>798</sup> Ibid., p. 57.

<sup>799</sup> Only the family name of the speaker was provided in the proceedings and it is from the book *Kunsterziehung* (1929) that the full name of the speaker is found.

<sup>800</sup> *Kunsterziehung* (1902), p. 67.

building);<sup>801</sup> that is, how the design of school buildings contributed to the art education. After the speech, there was a heated discussion about the school architecture in Germany.

The main theme of “Der Wandschmuck” (The Wall Decoration) considered how classrooms could be “*künstlerischen Anschauung entsprechend ausgeschmückt*” (decorated in accordance with artistic perception). The speaker Woldemar von Seidlitz concentrated on the problem of selecting pictures for the decoration of classrooms. He made an analysis of art works with different contents and different means of reproduction. After the presentation, there was a long and lively discussion about the practical problems of classroom decoration like selecting and displaying art works. There were discussions also about teaching methods of art appreciation.

In “Das Bilderbuch” (The Picture Book), Gustav Pauli talked about the criteria for a good children’s picture book. He argued that the picture books for children had to be made by “*echten Künstler*” (a real artist), especially those who loved children and liked playing with them. For Pauli,

the picture book is, in the first line, a toy and medium of entertainment; and only in such a form could the picture book be a medium for education.<sup>802</sup>

In the very beginning of his presentation, “Zeichnen und Formen” (Drawing and Modelling), Carl Götze articulated his main arguments as : 1.) the drawing lesson should be one of the core subjects in school curriculum; 2.) the children had to learn how to perceive independently the nature, and the form and colour of objects in their surroundings and in addition to this, they should also be able to describe their observation in a simple and clear way; 3.) every teacher had to be able to draw, possess educated eyes and strong artistic interest. Götze discussed the importance of drawing to the development of children. He argued that the learning of drawing should occur prior to the learning of writing and reading since drawing enables the children to have a concrete understanding of the world and it is also a means of expression.

---

<sup>801</sup> Ibid., p. 79.

<sup>802</sup> Ibid., p. 131. The original German version is: *Das Bilderbuch ist in erster Linie ein Spielzeug, ein Unterhaltungsmittel, und erst in der Form eines solchen kann es zum Bildungsmittel werden.*

As the title “Die Handfertigkeit” (The Craftsmanship) suggests, the focus of this presentation was the importance of craftsmanship in the creation of art. The speaker P. Jessen stressed the importance for the children to learn “*echte Materialien*” (real material), “*echte Technik*” (real technique), “*echte Gebrauchsformen/Formen*” (real forms). He stated that these were the opposite of the “*gedankenlosen Formalismus*” (mindless formalism) and “*abgerissene, abstrakte Ziermotiv*” (broken, abstract and decorative motives), which were the problems of the German art education during the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Alfred Lichtwark also made a presentation on the first day of the conference. In his presentation “Die Anleitung zum Genuß der Kunstwerke” (The Guidance to The Enjoyment of Art Works), Lichtwark mainly talked about the practical aspect of art appreciation education. This included the choosing of art works and the implementation of art appreciation activities in museums.

The main theme of the presentation “Die Ausbildung der Lehrer in den Seminaren” (The Training of Teachers in Seminars) was about the training of art teachers for *Volkschule* (folks school/common school). In this presentation, the speaker K. Muthesius argued that *Volkschule* was the most important place for enhancing the “*künstlerische Empfänglichkeit und Genußfähigkeit*” (ability of artistic reception and enjoyment) of the majority Germans. Muthesius suggested that the training programme for the *Volkschule* art teachers should include drawing, art appreciation and art teaching.

The main content of Konrad Lange’s other presentation “Die Vorbildung der Lehrer auf den Universitäten” (Teacher Development in Universities) on the first day of the conference addressed creating an artistic environment for the student teachers in university. Lange suggested that every university should have a professor of art history and this subject should be combined with aesthetics. Lange also advocated that each university should have “*kunsthistorische Sammlung*” (art historical collection) and organise art exhibitions for the student teachers.

The review above indicates that the discussions in the conference had touched on every aspect related to concerns about art education in Germany. While the two “*Vorträge*” discussed the significance and rationale of art education, especially art appreciation education, in German education, the nine “*Verhandlungen*” dealt with the practical problems concerning every aspect related to art education.

### 3.1.2. The Significance of *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*

As Herget pointed out, the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* as well as the other two conferences, “*waren für die ganze Kunsterziehungsbewegung von der größten Bedeutung*” (were very important to the whole [German] art education movement).<sup>803</sup> They were significant because they had made a number of contributions to the promotion of art education in Germany.

The *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* was a success because it aroused attention of the German public to art education in Germany. Konrad Lange declared that art education was still a hot topic of discussions in the German society in his speech for “*Kunstgewerbevereinen*” (Union of Applied Arts) in Frankfurt a. M. and Pforzheim at the end of November 1901, two months after the Dresden art education conference.<sup>804</sup> Lange said that many newspapers had reported and commented on the conference. There was evidence to confirm Lange’s statement. In the *Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft (International Bibliography of the Science of Arts)* (1902), there was a record of the discussions about the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* in books, newspapers and journals.<sup>805</sup> This implied that the *Kunsterziehungstag* in Dresden had attracted the

---

<sup>803</sup> Herget, A. (1922), p. 18.

<sup>804</sup> Lange, Konrad (1902), *Das Wesen der künstlerischer Erziehung (The Essence of Artistic Education)*. Ravensburg: Verlag von Otto Maier, p. 5.

<sup>805</sup> Jellinek, Arthus L. (ed.) (1903), *Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft (International Bibliography of the Science of Arts)*. Berlin: B. Behr’s Verlag. Examples of these writings include: 1.) Kämmerer (1902), “Jenseits des Kunsterziehungstages”. In: *Der Tag*, no. 115; 2.) “Die Kunsterziehung mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Verhandlungen auf dem Kunsterziehungstag in Dresden 1901”. In: *Neue Bahnen*. (Wiesbaden) XIII, pp. 167-175, 221-227; 3.) Menge, Rud. (1902), “Der Dresdener ‘Kunsterziehungstag’ und die höheren Schulen”. In: *Lehrproben und Lehrgänge aus der Praxis der Gymnasien und Realschulen*. Heft LXXI, pp. 1-16.

attention of German society and thence made an important contribution to the promotion of art education in Germany.

Ludwig Prachauer stated in his book *Kunst und Unerfüllte Pädagogik (Art and Unrealized Pedagogy)* (1925) that “diese Veranstaltungen charakterisierenden Wert für die Zeit und für die deutsche Schulerziehung hatten” (these events had characteristic values for the time and for the German school education).<sup>806</sup> In the 1920’s, the ideas presented in the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* as well as the other two *Kunsterziehungstag* were still valued by the German education circle. In 1929, the *Zentralinstitut für Erziehung und Unterricht in Berlin* (Central Institute for Education and Lesson in Berlin) republished some of the papers presented in the three *Kunsterziehungstag*.<sup>807</sup> The status of the three *Kunsterziehungstag* in the German Art Education Movement is also recognised today. In his book *Kunst und Analyse der Betrachtung (Art and Analysis of Perception)* (2002), Helmut G. Schütz maintained that the three *Kunsterziehungstag* were the “Höhepunkt” (climax) of the art education movement in Germany.<sup>808</sup>

Obviously, the noteworthy contribution of the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* to the German Art Education Movement was creating an opportunity for the German art educators, artists, school authorities and government officials to exchange their thoughts on German art education. As revealed in the sub-title of the proceedings, “*Ergebnisse und Anregungen*” (Result and Proposals), it was the focus of the conference to share the results of the experiments on art education as well as the ideas on the proposals for art education. Beutler, the “*Oberbürgermeister*” (Lord Mayor) of Dresden, also pointed out in his welcome speech that the sharing of the result of art educational experiments was one of the two important components of the conference. Beutler said that in the conference, “people are able to talk not only about hopes and wishes in their suggestions,

---

<sup>806</sup> Prachauer, Ludwig (1925), *Kunst und Unerfüllte Pädagogik (Art and Unrealized Paedagogy)*. Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst, pp. 31-32.

<sup>807</sup> *Kunsterziehung – Ergebnisse und Anregungen der Kunsterziehungstage in Dresden, Weimar und Hamburg; in Auswahl (Art Education: Results and Stimulations of the Art Education Day in Dresden, Weimar and Hamburg; selected papers)* (1929). Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag.

<sup>808</sup> Schütz, Helmut G. (2002), *Kunst und Analyse der Betrachtung (Art and Analysis of Appreciation)*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren, p. 29.



but the results [of their experiments] as well.”<sup>809</sup> In his speech, the representative of *Königlich Preußischen Kultusministerium* (Royal Prussia Culture Minister) stated that the large number of participants from the whole of Germany were “mit der Erwartung, etwas sehr Beachtenswertes zu erfahren” (had the expectation to learn something very valuable).<sup>810</sup> In short, *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* allowed participants to have more insights into the problems concerning theoretical and practical aspects of German art education.

As stated previously, participants at the conference came from all over Germany and included government representatives, school administrators, officials of education authorities, front line teachers, large teacher unions, artists, friends of art, museum leaders and advocates of folk education.<sup>811</sup> This indicates that it was an important event in the German art education circle at the very beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. More precisely, the support from these influential people in related areas declared their recognition of the importance of art education in Germany. To put it briefly, this evidenced the importance of *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* in the German Art Education Movement.

It was, according to the preface to the proceedings, the organisers’ strategy to restrict the participants to a certain group of people. Their reason was very simple: these participants could help them promote art education in Germany.<sup>812</sup> This strategy was smart because the promotion of art education in a country would not be successful if it depended on only one sector of society. In other words, not only front line teachers but school administrators, government officials and leaders in related fields played an influential role in the promotion of art education.

---

<sup>809</sup> *Kunsterziehung* (1902), p. 13. The original German version is: *...dass man nicht bloss von Hoffnungen und Wuenschen in Bezug auf die Beratungen, sondern schon von ihren Ergebnissen sprechen kann.*

<sup>810</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>811</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

<sup>812</sup> *Ibid.*

From these perspectives, it would have been useful for the Chinese art educators to study these conferences, especially the Dresden Conference in 1901, to achieve a complete picture of the German Art Education Movement at that time.

To look at the conference from the Chinese art educators' perspective, especially from those who were eager to borrow Western ideas on art education, the Dresden art education conference provided two significant points of reference. The first was that the conference had touched on almost every aspect concerning the implementation of art education. Second, the notion borrowed by the Chinese art educators, "not to aim at educating artists but evoking a heart for art among the people", was raised in the preface to the proceedings of the conference and the speech of Konrad Lange. In the next section, this researcher will focus on the quantity and quality of the Chinese study of the conference and the problems that affected their study.

### 3.2. The Study of *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* in Chinese Writings

This section focuses on two points, first, the quantity and quality of the Chinese study of the conference; and second, the analysis of the factors that affected their studies.

#### 3.2.1. The Study of *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*

In the Chinese writings which introduced the many discussions about art education during the German Art Education Movement, a relative small number made mention of the Dresden art education conference and the information provided in most of these writings was very brief. These texts were written or translated by Tian Min 天民, Feng Zikai 豐子愷, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Tang Kaibin 唐開斌, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Yu Shangtong 余尚同 and Li Shungyi 李頌堯. Tian Min 天民 and Feng Zikai 豐子愷 had devoted more than one text to introduce the event. Among all of the Chinese writings, Feng's two translations provided relatively detailed information about the event.

Feng Zikai 豐子愷 introduced the German art education conferences in three of his writings. In his book *Yishu jiaoyu ABC* 《藝術教育 ABC》 (*Art Education ABC*) (1928), Feng made mention of the 1901 *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* when he was introducing the German art advocators' discussions about the teaching of seeing and the relation of art education to the other school subjects.<sup>813</sup> Feng pointed out in the preface that a large proportion of the book was composed of his translations of Muensterberg's *The Principles of Art Education* (1905), Abe Shigetaka's 阿部重孝 *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) (1922) and Seki Mamoru's 關衛 *Jiaoyu daguan* 《教育大觀》 (*Spectacle of Education*) (1924). However, it is not clear if the introduction of the conference was a translation because Feng did not clearly indicate which part of the book was translated.

There was relatively detailed information about the three German art education congresses provided in Feng's translation of "Yishu jiaoyu yundong" 《藝術教育運動》 (*The Art Education Movement*). In a 15 page report of the conferences, 10 pages were about *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*. Information about this conference included the participants, themes of the papers and the criticisms against the conference in the newspapers. Though Feng made mention of the art education conferences in Germany in the above two writings, he failed to provide precise information about these conferences in his own article "Jinshi yishu jiaoyu yundong" 《近世藝術教育運動》 (*Contemporary Art Education Movement*) (1939). Feng stated that there were art education conferences held in Europe in 1901, 1903 and 1905 and the participants were from many European countries.<sup>814</sup> From the dates of these conferences, the evidence suggests that they were actually the three art education conferences held in Germany.

In his article "Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti" 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (*Several Problems Concerning Art Education*) (1916), Tian Min 天民 mentioned the Dresden art

---

<sup>813</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1928), *Yishu jiaoyu ABC* 《藝術教育 ABC》 (*Art Education ABC*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai ABC congshushe 上海 ABC 叢書社, pp. 36, 59.

<sup>814</sup> Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1939), "Jinshi yishu jiaoyu yundong" 《近世藝術教育運動》 (*Contemporary Art Education Movement*). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), p. 238.

education conference when he introduced Konrad Lange's famous notion on the aim of German Art Education Movement, to evoke a heart for art from the majority of people rather than training artists.<sup>815</sup> Beside the date and venue of the conference, he did not give any further information about this event. Five years later, Tian Min 天民 published another article "Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan" 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking in Art Education) (1921). Compared to the first article, the second provided a bit more information about the event. Tian Min 天民 first said that it was a "National Art Education Congress" and was held in Dresden in "recent years". He then said that in this conference, the value of arts was recognised and there were lots of discussions about teaching methods.<sup>816</sup> In the second section of his article, Tian Min 天民 made mention of the conferences again. He said there were four conferences on art education held in Germany: the first was held in Dresden in 1901, the second was held in Weimar in 1903 and the third held in Hamburg in 1905. For the fourth conference, Tian Min stated that it was held in Delesida 德勒斯達 in 1912.<sup>817</sup> It is strange that Tian Min had provided the German spelling of the cities of the first three conferences but not that of the fourth conference. The fourth art education conference is in doubt because no information about it could be found in the literature on related subjects accessed for this study. Tian Min's 天民 writing is quite confusing in this section of his study and it is difficult for his readers to comprehend. The most appropriate interpretation of the main idea of this section of his study, three *shi* 事 (according to the context of the writing, it should mean themes or areas) had attracted the attention of German art education advocates and they were: formative art, literature, and music and gymnastics. And, thoughts on these themes were presented in the four conferences. As indicated above, the three conferences were devoted to visual arts, German language and poems, and music and gymnastic respectively. Therefore, Tian Min appears to present some confusing discussion regarding these conferences.

---

<sup>815</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), "Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti" 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education). In: *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), vol. 8, no. 11, pp. 11163- 11170; no. 12, pp. 11277-11284.

<sup>816</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1921), p. 17774.

<sup>817</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1921), p. 17780.

In Tang Kaibin's 唐開斌 translation of Kobayashi Sumimi's 小林澄見 and Otawa Akira's 大多和顯 *Yishu jiaoyu lun* 《藝術教育論》 (*On the Teaching of Art*) (1925), the information on the conferences was very brief. It simply stated that the three conferences were held in Dresden in 1901, in Weimar in 1903 and in Hamburg in 1905.

For the other Chinese art educators' reports on the conferences, the information was not only brief but unclear. Yu Jifan 俞寄凡, for example, simply devoted one sentence to introduce the conferences, saying that there were several art education conferences held in Germany since 1901.<sup>818</sup>

Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子 claimed that several conferences on aesthetic education were held in Europe in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in his “Zhongxuexiao de meiyu shishi” 《中學校的美育實施》 (Implementation of Aesthetic Education in Secondary School) (1923). Lü did not make it clear in which country these conferences were held. He might have been referring to Germany as he mentioned ideas from K. Lange, A. Lichtwark, J. Leisching and A. Dresdner.

In his book, *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (*A Study on Art Education*) (1925), Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 stated that the value of art in education was recognised in the *Quanguo jiaoyu meishu huiyi* 全國教育美術會議 (National Art Education Conference)<sup>819</sup> held in Germany during his time.<sup>820</sup> A comparison of this particular study of Lei with that of Tian Min 天民 in his “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking in Art Education) (1921), indicates similarity between the two (see table 20).

---

<sup>818</sup> Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (1934), *Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de yanjiu* 《小學美術教學的研究》 (*Study of Art Teaching in Primary School*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華, p. 42.

<sup>819</sup> There should be a typing error in this phrase “*Quanguo jiaoyu meishu huiyi* 全國教育美術會議” and it would make sense if it changed to “*Quanguo meishu jiaoyu huiyi* 全國美術教育會議” (National Art Education Conference).

<sup>820</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925a), p. 30.

Table 20 Comparison of Tian Min's 天民 and Lei Jiajun's 雷家駿 Texts

…確認藝術是有價值，所以頗有要把他做教育內容底考想。若哥(Goethe)、希爾列爾(Schiller)時代底美育萬能思想，尚作別論。像英國底路斯金 (John Ruskin)，…嘗說道：「培養趣味的事情，就是所以造成品性」。其他如近年德國德勒斯達 (Dresden) 市開的「全國美術教育會議」，亦確認藝術價值，對於教育方法，大有議論。從這許多地方看來，就可以曉得晚近藝術與教育是極其接近的了。[Tian Min 天民 (1921), “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking in Art Education), p. 17774]

...confirm the value of art and therefore art became content of education... in the era of Goethe and Schiller, aesthetic education was regarded as all-powerful... John Ruskin says: “it is the matter of cultivation of taste that moulding the moral character”. The value of art in education was recognized in the “National Conference on Art Education” held in Dresden Germany in recent year...through this we know that art and education are getting closer recently.

藝術教育承認藝術在人類的思想和生活上有特異的價值，所以將藝術作為教育的內容…哥(Goethe) 席勒 (Schiller) 時代的思想，以美育為萬能。英國路斯金 (John Ruskin) 說：「培養趣味的事情，就是所以造成品性」。德國近年「全國教育美術會」議確認藝術對於教育方法，有甚大之價值，由此可知，晚近藝術與教育，是十分接近了。[Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925), *Yishu jiaoyuxue* 《藝術教育學》 (A Study on Art Education), p.30]

It is shown in table 20 that both Tian Min 天民 and Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 had mentioned Goethe's, Schiller's and Ruskin's notions on aesthetic education and claimed that its value was recognized in the Dresden conference.

Obviously, the information about the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* 1901 provided in most of the Chinese writings, especially those written by the Chinese art educators, was insufficient. It is difficult to interpret this finding. It could be an indication that the Chinese art educators were not interested in this conference. In addition, they might not have recognised its significance in the development of German art education nor its reference value to the development of Chinese art education. However, these suggestions were contradicted by another finding of this research. That is, the notion being advocated in the Dresden conference was borrowed by a number of Chinese art educators: “art education for common school did not aim at training artists nor art experts but to evoke a heart for art from the children”. This signifies that the Chinese art educators were impressed by this notion.

### 3.2.2. The Introduction of the Aim of Art Education Advocated in *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*

There were a number of Chinese authors who borrowed the German notion “art education for common school do not aim at training artists nor art experts but to evoking a heart for art from the children”. This included Tian Min 天民, Li Shicen 李石岑, Hu Renzhuang 胡人樁, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Lei Jiajun’s 雷家駿, Shen Jianping 沈建平, Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, Ye Hua 葉華 (1930), Wang Yachen 汪亞塵, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 and Wu Chengjun 吳成均.

Among these Chinese scholars or art educators, Tian Min 天民, Li Shicen 李石岑, Hu Renzhuang 胡人樁, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Shen Jianping 沈建平 and Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 had clearly acknowledged that the notion was from Konrad Lange.

Tian Min 天民 mentioned this notion twice in his article “Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education) (1916). As pointed out previously, he introduced this idea in the first sentence of his article<sup>821</sup> and the way he articulated this could lead people assume that this was the aim of Chinese art education at this time. It was revealed in the middle of his article that Konrad Lange asserted at the Dresden conference that the aim of the art education movement in Germany was not to train artists but to evoke and cultivate a heart for art from the majority of people.<sup>822</sup> In his other article, “Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pinpan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Trends of Thinking in Art Education) (1921), Tian Min 天民 stated again that Konrad Lange had proclaimed such an aim for art education.<sup>823</sup>

---

<sup>821</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1916), p. 11163.

<sup>822</sup> Ibid., p. 11170.

<sup>823</sup> Tian Min 天民 (1921), p. 17779.

Wu Chengjun 吳成均 also borrowed Lange's notion about not training art experts but cultivating people's ability to enjoy beauty in general education in his argument about the importance of art appreciation education. Besides Tian Min 天民 and Wu Chengjun 吳成均, Li Shicen 李石岑, Hu Renzhuang 胡人樁, Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子, Shen Jianping 沈建平 and Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 had also introduced the same notion of art education and all of them attributed this notion to Konrad Lange.

Lei Jiajun 雷家駿, Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 and Ye Hua 葉華 introduced this notion on art education in a different way. They did not provide any reference for its source and the way they conveyed this notion in their writings suggests that they may have internalised this as their original idea.

In the first sentence of the section devoted to the discussion about the aim of art education in 1923 *Xinxuezhì kecheng biao zhun gangyao* 《新學制課程標準綱要》 (*Curriculum Outline for New School System*), Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 presented this notion.<sup>824</sup> He stated that aim of art education in primary school was not training artists but arousing the children's interest in and desire for beauty; and this was different from the one in art institutes. Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 in the beginning of his chapter on art appreciation also claimed that the essential aim of the *Xingxiang yishu* 形象藝術 (formative art) subject was not training artists but helping children to develop a habit to enjoy art.<sup>825</sup> Ye Hua 葉華 presented the same idea about art education in his discussion concerning the art education movement in China.<sup>826</sup>

The internalization of this notion of art education was very obvious in the writing of Wang Yachen 汪亞塵. In his article “Sanshiwu nian lei zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu” 《三

---

<sup>824</sup> Lei Jiajun 雷家駿 (1925b), *Meishu ji yinyue jiaoxuefa* 《美術及音樂教學法》 (*How to Teach Art and Music*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, pp. 4-5.

<sup>825</sup> Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰 (1930), *Xiaoxue xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa* 《小學形象藝術教學法》 (*The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務, p. 54.

<sup>826</sup> Ye Hua 葉華 (1930), “Suo wangyu yishu jiaoyu yundongzhe” 《所望於藝術教育運動者》 (Expectation of the Advocate of Art Education Movement). In: Shijie shuju 世界書局 (ed.) (1930), *Xiandai yishu pinglun ji* 《現代藝術評論集》 (A Collection of Modern Arts Criticism). Shanghai 上海: Author.



十五年來中國之藝術教育》 (Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years), Wang claimed that he did not expect people to become artists but to be interested in art appreciation.<sup>827</sup>

The discussion above indicates the influence of this particular German idea on Chinese art educators. Furthermore, it indicates that there were two levels of this German influence. The first was the initial stage of influence. That is, this German notion was simply being made known to the Chinese readers or borrowed by the Chinese art educators to support their arguments. The second level was the internalization of this German notion by the Chinese art educators. No matter which level of influence this German notion might have on the Chinese art educators, the question remains as to where and how the Chinese art educators found it. The answer is difficult to determine because the source reference was, as usual in other Chinese writings in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, omitted in these Chinese texts. As the notion could be found originally in the proceedings of the Dresden conference, it is possible that these Chinese art educators had learnt it from the proceedings. However, this suggestion leads to a further question concerning why these art educators did not study the conference more deeply, especially regarding Lange's and Lichtwark's discussions about the implementation of this idea in their speeches.

### 3.3. Limitation of the Chinese Studies on the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*

It is obvious that the Chinese studies on the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag* were limited and the reasons for this remain obscure, particularly as the organization and content of this conference might have been of great interest to the Chinese art educators, especially those who were eager to borrow German ideas. There were two possible difficulties that

---

<sup>827</sup> Wang Yachen 汪亞塵 (1931), "Sanshiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu" 《三十五年來中國之藝術教育》 (Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years). In: Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and He Shengnai 賀聖鼎 (eds.) (1931), *Zuijin sanshiwu nian zhi zhongguo jiaoyu* 《最近三十五年之中國教育》 (*Chinese Education in the last 35 Years*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

inhibited the Chinese art educators' devotion to this study. The first one was distance and the second was language.

It is undeniable that Germany is far away from China. As pointed out in the previous chapter, the Chinese had found it too far and too expensive to go to Europe to study even though they were desperate to learn from the West at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. And, as it repeatedly has been mentioned in this research, Japan was consequently regarded as a bridge for China to learn from the West. The fact is, in addition to getting Western knowledge through the systematic and comprehensive studies of many Japanese publications,<sup>828</sup> people could also find a lot of original Western publications in Japan. For example, Feng Zikai 豐子, as mentioned in Chapter IV, had gone to Japan instead of Europe to study Western visual arts due to financial constraints and collected a lot of English as well as Japanese books.<sup>829</sup> A recent library search through the internet also shows that there was a rich collection of the original German writings on art education published at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century at the University of Tokyo and some in the Tokyo Higher Normal School, the forerunner of University of Tsukuba. Included were the writings of Johannes Richter, Konrad Lange, Alfred Lichtwark, Ernst Weber, Julius Langbehn and Albert Dresdner. This finding suggests that should the Chinese art educators have seen the need to make extensive and in-depth study of the German Art Education Movement, there should have been ways for them to get sufficient original German texts on the theme.

Therefore, the language barrier could be a possible explanation for the Chinese art educators' failure to make further studies on the two significant themes of the German Art Education Movement. Two difficulties are apparent in investigating this supposition. The first problem is to trace the source of references in the Chinese scholars' writings. Whether they used primary materials, such as the original writings of the German art educators, or secondary materials, such as studies of their Japanese counterparts, for their

---

<sup>828</sup> Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (1998), p. 71.

<sup>829</sup> Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (1998), pp. 71-76; also see Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1928/1999), preface to the republication of the book *Xiyang meishu shi* 《西洋美術史》 (*History of Western Art*).

studies remains unclear. The second problem is the lack of information available about the educational background of some Chinese scholars, especially Tian Min 天民, who was, according to this research, the first Chinese author to write on the German Art Education Movement. Their command of the German language and ability to access the original German studies is unknown.

There is, despite these two problems, indirect information which supports the supposition that not many Chinese art educators mastered the German language. Part of this research involved a search in the *Politische Archiv* (Political Archive) of the *Auswärtiges Amt* (the Federal Foreign Office) in Berlin in 2006. There this researcher could barely find any records about Chinese students who studied art education, fine arts and related subjects in Germany during the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. The documents sourced indicated that only a few Chinese students studied philosophy in Germany. Similarly, according to the studies of Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌, Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Wu Guanghua 胡光華 and Li Chao 李超, the number of Chinese students who studied visual arts and related subjects in Germany in that period was few.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培, Teng Gu 滕固 and Zong Baihua 宗白華 were the few Chinese scholars listed who studied art history or philosophy in Germany. However, according to the present study, none of them had devoted any writing to the introduction of the German Art Education Movement.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 had studied in Germany several times, that is, in the period between 1907 and 1911, in 1912 and 1924. There he studied philosophy, psychology and art history.<sup>830</sup> As revealed above, Cai had written a number of articles to promote aesthetic education and most of them borrowed Kant's notions to argue the significance of aesthetic education. Yet none of his writings mentioned the German Art Education

---

<sup>830</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1999), *Jiemin zishu* 《子民自述》 (*Jiemin's Account*). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin 江蘇人民, pp. 50-59; also see Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1929), "Meigan jiaoyu sixiang" 《美感教育思想》 (Thought on Aesthetic Education). In: Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), pp. 183-200.

Movement and the *Dresdener Kunsterziehungstag*. Teng Gu 滕固 studied art history in Germany from 1929 to 1932. He was famous for using the Western methodology to investigate Chinese art history.<sup>831</sup> Zong Baihua 宗白華 studied philosophy in Germany from 1919 to 1925 and he was noted for writing on aesthetics.

For the Chinese art educators who wrote about German art education thinking, the lack of knowledge of German language means that they had to rely on indirect sources such as translations. In Tang Kaibin's 唐開斌 *Yishu jiaoyu lun* 《藝術教育論》 (*On the Teaching of Art*) (1925), and Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 *Yishu jiaoyu ABC* 《藝術教育 ABC》 (*Art Education ABC*) (1928) and *Yishu jiaoyu* 《藝術教育》 (*Art Education*) (1932), there was information about the German Art Education Movement that was translated from Japanese studies.

Importantly, the reliance on indirect sources about the German Art Education Movement implied that the Chinese scholars could be limited by the information and perspectives provided by these sources. More accurately, the information presented by these indirect channels might have inhibited the ability of the Chinese art educators to clearly see and study further the particular topics that interested them. Evidence uncovered by this research suggests that this is a possible explanation for the limited Chinese studies about the German Art Education Movement.

Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 proposed in his *Xuewu gangyao* 《學務綱要》 (*Outline of School Administration*) that China could get twice the result with half the effort by copying the Japanese version of Western knowledge, which meant an abridgment of the complex and complicated Western knowledge and alterations of the unnecessary materials.<sup>832</sup> It seems that Zhang's suggestion won the support of the Chinese art educators. Zhang also found that Chinese scholars who wanted to make extensive and in-depth study of Western knowledge could go to the West; but it appears that the Chinese

---

<sup>831</sup> Shen Ning 沈寧 (ed.) (2003), *Teng Gu yishu wenji* 《滕固藝術文集》 (*Teng Ku's Essays on Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin meishu 上海人民美術.

<sup>832</sup> Quoted in: Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1961), p. 975.

art educators might encounter some barriers such as language and financial needs to undertake a thorough study of the German art education, or simply did not yet see such a need to make such a study in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

#### 4. Conclusions

Germany became a world power after national unification and the industrial revolution. While the country became richer, there was a growing discontent with the German visual culture. Many German intellectuals found that the virtuous world of craft labour was destroyed by industrialization. They therefore devoted themselves to reform German art education. The Dresden conference held in the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the climax of the German Art Education Movement.

This investigation of Chinese studies about the German Art Education Movement discovered that there was not enough research into the two important elements of this movement, the contextual factors and the Dresden conference, by the Chinese art educators. It is not easy to interpret this finding and the most probable explanation could be the difficulties for the Chinese art educators to acquire enough information to make in-depth studies on the topics that interested them.

In addition to this, the cases of “copying”, or by today’s standard plagiarism, discovered in the Chinese studies on the contextual factors of the German Art Education Movement and the Dresden conference signifies the importance of information with which the Chinese art educators might regard. As well, it also suggested that they did not adopt a serious attitude towards their study, or had naturalised the information to the extent that the ideas appeared as their own without attribution. Needless to say, this also affected the quality of the Chinese studies about German art education.

The findings above thus provide evidence for concerns about the superficial nature of Chinese studies of the imported Western ideas on art education. This addresses the

central question treated in this chapter, that is, the quality of Chinese art educators' introduction of Western art education, in this case the study of the German Art Education Movement.

## Chapter VI.

### CONCLUDING DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Based on the original Chinese and German written texts published from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this dissertation has developed an insight into the silent site of the history of Chinese art education, i.e. the development of Chinese art education for general education and its relation to the Chinese art educators' attitudes towards learning from the West and endeavor to borrow Western, especially German ideas for their discussions about art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The research for this dissertation has demonstrated that a large quantity of Western terminologies, concepts and ideas on art education poured into China through Chinese writings in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and Chinese visual culture was neglected while the new theoretical and practical frameworks for Chinese art education were being constructed. This served as a clear sign that the Chinese art educators at that time had positive attitudes towards learning from the West and played a very active role in the Westernization of Chinese art education. The case study revealed the problem of quality in the Chinese studies on the imported German ideas on art education as a lack of thorough study and understanding about the contextual factors behind the German Art Education Movement and the Dresden Conference on art education. As well, cases of “copying” (or plagiarism by today's standard) were also discovered. These findings distinctly evidence concerns that the Chinese cultural generators were too keen on following the models of the West or importing ideas from the West and failed to provide thorough and in-depth study of the cultural relevance of the imported ideas.

An analysis of the Westernization of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century could not be carried out without an understanding of its political and socio-cultural context. Therefore, the first treated problem of this research has been to examine the political and socio-cultural history of early 20<sup>th</sup> century China and its connection to Chinese art educators' attitudes about learning from the West.

## 1. Westernization and Traditionalism

It was found that Western aggression triggered the trend of Westernization in China after the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The initial stage of Westernization took place in the late Qing period and can be further divided into two phases. The first phase began with Lin Zexu's 林則徐 and Wei Yuan's 魏源 promotion of learning from the West in the late 1830s while the second phase commenced when the Hundred Days of Reform was instigated by Kang Youwei 康有為 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 in 1898. The willingness of these reformers to learn from the West indicated that their world view had been changed. They realized that China was no more the centre of the world and the countries in the West were powerful in military terms and a challenge to China. However, as the famous slogan *Zhongxue weiti, xixue weiyong* 「中學為體，西學為用」 (Chinese learning for fundamentals, Western learning for practical application) suggested, the Chinese reformers in the late Qing were still proud of Chinese cultural traditions and were only willing to carry out a selective learning of Western science and technology. Consequently Westernization in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was slow.

After the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially after the *Wu si yundong* 五四運動 (May Fourth Movement) and the *Xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動 (New Cultural Movement), the pendulum swung towards more radical proposals for Westernization. Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 urged for a destruction of *Kong jia dian* 孔家店 (lit., Confucian doctrine) in the late 1910s, Hu Shi 胡適 called for “Wholesale Westernization” or “Wholehearted Modernization” in the late 1920s and Chen Jingxu 陳經序 advocated a “Total Westernization” in the 1930s. All these radical advocates looked at the Chinese cultural tradition with disgust. They had lost confidence in Chinese traditional culture and found that everything in China was inferior to those in the West. They believed a “Total Westernization” could strengthen, modernize and enable China to be catch up and be equivalent to the West.



At the same time, this extreme attitude towards Westernization and its destructive effects on Chinese cultural traditions worried many Chinese intellectuals who still had confidence in the Chinese cultural tradition. Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘 and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 argued that China's spiritual culture could benefit not only China but the West as well. For Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 and Zhang Junmai 張君勱, there were distinct cultural differences between China and the West and China should not destroy its own cultural heritage in order to copy the West. Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 disapproved of the radical advocates' attempts to replace Chinese culture with Western culture and called for a close re-examination of the Chinese culture, rebuilding a healthy mentality and a critical selection of valuable elements of Western culture for inclusion into Chinese culture.

Though there were disputes between Westernization and Traditionalism, this research has found that many Chinese cultural generators were actually well aware of the necessity to learn from the West and study Chinese cultural tradition. More correctly, many Chinese intellectuals actually belonged to Eclecticism and believed that a better Chinese culture could be created by fusing the essences of Chinese and Western culture together. The emergence of expressions such as “*Ronghe zhongxi*” 「融合中西」 (Merging Chinese and Western elements), or “*Yi xiren zhi chang, bu zhongguo zhi duan*” 「以西人之長，補中國之短」 (Replacing the weakness of China with the strong point of Westerner) had explicitly reflected such intention. The difference was their approach towards the issue and the degree of their support for borrowing Western ideas or consulting Chinese cultural heritage.

Within the larger framework of society, Chinese visual arts inevitably faced the problem of Westernization. When Western painting was introduced to China in the late Qing, it was belittled by the Chinese painters as simply a kind of craftsmanship [*jiang* 匠] even though they were amazed by the Western painting techniques. After the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Chinese artists' attitudes to Western visual art reversed. Many were enthusiastic about learning and importing Western visual art to China. During the *Wu si*

*yundong* 五四運動 (May Fourth Movement), Chinese painting was also under attack and there were arguments that only Western visual culture could help to revitalize Chinese painting. At this stage, Western standards or perspectives of visual art had been adopted as criteria for judging Chinese painting. There were two different camps concerning the Westernization of Chinese visual arts. The camp of Xu Beihong 徐悲鴻 favoured Western realism and the one represented by Lin Fengmian 林風眠 the modern European art schools. Despite the conflicts between the two camps, both made a great contribution to the Westernization of Chinese visual arts in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

The pace of Westernization of Chinese visual arts was so speedy that it made many Chinese artists, especially those who devoted themselves to traditional Chinese painting feel threatened and provoked them to defend traditional Chinese painting. They believed a rediscovery of traditional Chinese painting could rejuvenate Chinese painting. Chen Shiceng 陳師曾 demonstrated his confidence in traditional Chinese painting not only through continuously employing Chinese aesthetics and tools and materials to create Chinese painting but also an engagement in the study of Chinese visual culture.

As mentioned, many Chinese intellectuals actually had an eclectic view in the development of Chinese culture. A vivid portrayal of this viewpoint was also well displayed in the slogan of the painting department of *Guoli hangzhou yishu zhuanke xuexiao* 國立杭州藝術專科學校 (National Hangzhou Art School) (founded in 1928), “Introduce Western painting, sift Chinese painting, combine Chinese and Western painting and create a contemporary painting”.<sup>833</sup> In order to legitimise this campaign, scholars like Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 argued that China actually had a long history of learning from Persian, Greek, Romans, and especially Indian art; and, most importantly, China assimilated all these foreign cultures into its own uniqueness.<sup>834</sup> The Chinese

---

<sup>833</sup> Quoted in: Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1930), “Meiyu” 《美育》 (Aesthetic Education). In: *Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui* 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), p. 188. The original Chinese version is: 介紹西洋藝術，整理中國藝術，調和中西藝術，創造時代藝術

<sup>834</sup> Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1924), “Shitaiishi fu zhongguo meishu zanlanhui mulu” 《史太師埠中國美術展覽會目錄》 (Exhibition of Chinese Painting at *Shitaiishi* City). Catalogue, preface. In: *Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui* 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), p.

intellectuals at that time simply wished that China would be able to keep the pace with the West, to connect to and make contributions to the world.

Throughout the process of dealing with the second central question of this research, i.e. to reveal the developments of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century through examining the definitions of art education and official school curriculums, this research has found that a large quantity of Western ideas were borrowed while Chinese traditional visual culture was seriously neglected. In other words, the Chinese art education at the time was dominated by Westernization.

## 2. Westernization of Chinese Art Education

The reforms of Chinese education in 1902 saw an opening for Western culture and civilization to influence China. As the Chinese officials were anxious for a quick result, they meant to use Japan, which had a successful borrowing from the West, as a bridge to import Western knowledge. Therefore, Japanese models of education were adopted in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was through Japan that the German pedagogical thinking, especially that of Johann Friedrich Herbart's, was imported to China. As well, after direct contacts between China and America from 1910 onwards, American pedagogical thinking, notably that of John Dewey, was promoted in China. As a consequence, American pragmatic and child-centred approaches were adopted in the official curriculum. Though American influence was apparent in Chinese education after the 1920s, Herbartian's influence in China cannot be discounted either.

As art education was included in the Western education system, it was also introduced to China and became part of Chinese school education in 1902. Throughout the development of Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, different Chinese terminologies for visual art education, such as 'Meiyu' 美育 (aesthetic education), 'yishu

---

165. *Shitaishi* 史太師 was a Chinese translation of a French city. Cai did not provide any original spelling of this city.

*jiaoyu* 藝術教育 (art education) and *meishu jiaoyu* 美術教育 (fine art education) emerged and were translated from German or English. As revealed in this research, most of the discussions about the definition of these terms were brief though they were new to China. There were no unified definitions or precise differentiation of these terminologies, only indications that there was a hierarchal relationship among them.

The official curriculum in two art education subjects, especially those in primary school, was amended several times from 1912 to 1949. The one in 1923 is regarded as a foundation for the later curricula. It adopted the child-centred approach and took each child's nature, aesthetic instinct, sensibilities, creativity, and art and life into consideration. The content of teaching and learning in the 1923 curriculum was richer and more holistic. It consisted of art creation, art appreciation and art study. This demonstrated an increasing professionalization in the design of the curriculum. At the same time, this research discovered that it also reflected that China had kept pace with the current trends in Western art education, more specifically with American and German art education.

Throughout the short history of Chinese art education in general education, there was a changing of names for the two art subjects in the official school curriculum. *Tuhua* 圖畫 (drawing), *xingxiangs yishu* 形象藝術 (formative art), *meishu* 美術 (fine art), *shougong* 手工 (*sloyd*), *gongyi* 工藝 (practical arts), *gongzuo* 工作 (work) and *laozuo* 勞作 (labour) were the different terms used at various times. This represented the Chinese art educators' different understandings and expectations of art education in the different stages of development of Chinese art education. On the other hand, it also signified the importation of Western ideas as the Chinese art educators had looked at the recent Western practices while searching for a more appropriate name for the two subjects.

Though art education for general education was new to China and imported from the West, China did have a rich visual cultural tradition to provide ideas for the theoretical and practical frameworks of Chinese art education. However, Chinese visual culture was

excluded in the official curriculum. Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 had satirically claimed that it seemed that the curriculum was not designed for Chinese but Europeans in 1935. He also criticised Western model of art education for being copied with no regard for its suitability for China and the Chinese.

It was not only in the curriculum design, but, also in the Chinese writings that overwhelming stress was laid on Western ideas in art education. To deal with the third central question, i.e. to investigate the quantity of Chinese art educator's introduction of Western ideas on art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this research has found that a large quantity of Western concepts and ideas were consulted by the Chinese art educators yet only two pieces of Chinese writing devoted to discussion about the teaching of Chinese painting in school education could be found during the same period. Such a neglect of Chinese visual cultural traditions in the publications on Chinese art education as well as curriculum design thus became one of the strong grounds for concerns about the flattening and eventual erasing of Chinese cultural art traditions.

### 3. Quantity and Quality of Chinese Art Educators' Introduction of Western Ideas

Though only begun in the 1910s, the publication of writings on art education and visual arts reached its highest peak in 1930s as a consequence of the fast development of the printing and publication industries in China and the zeal of the professionals, who were trained within China or aboard, to import Western ideas.

There were 492 books and 354 art journals published during the period and many of them were devoted to the importation of Western visual languages, aesthetics, art theories and so on. Compared with the big figure of books and journals on visual arts, those on art education were small. This signifies that Chinese art education was at its embryonic stage of development. Despite the comparatively small quantity, these writings offer invaluable data for all kinds of study on the development of Chinese art education in school education at that time. And most crucially, these writings have formed the bedrock of this

research. There were 56 books found to be solely devoted to art education and another 22 books based on teaching methods of general school subjects including art and craft. *Meiyu* 《美育》 (*Aesthetic Education*) was the only magazine devoted to art education at the time and it had altogether seven issues. Most of the 273 articles on art education were published in the general educational journals especially *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*), a major Chinese educational journal in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In all kinds of discussions about art education such as rationale of art education, curriculum design, teaching materials and methods, art appreciation and children's drawing in the books or articles, an overwhelming amount of Western concepts, ideas and terminologies were borrowed. This finding strongly verified that the Chinese cultural generators were active in borrowing Western knowledge in their discussions about art education and thus embodied the Zeitgeist "Learning from the West".

There were two means for the Chinese cultural generators to import Western ideas on visual arts and visual art education to China. The first was by studying and research and the second was translation, including retranslation. This research has identified the problems of adopting vague writing styles in some Chinese writings on art education that caused the readers to confuse Western art education with Chinese art education or gave them the impression both China and the West were facing similar problems in art education and that there were universal solutions to these problems. Besides, many source references or reference lists were missing in some Chinese writings, especially those published in the first two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The most probable explanation for this kind of indistinct and unscientific study about Western ideas was that these Chinese cultural generators simply chose to appropriate the Western ideas for their discussions.

Translation had been a well accepted channel to import Western ideas to China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. These included the translation of original writings on Western art education as well as Western visual art. In addition there were retranslations of Japanese

or English translations. Beyond doubt, this also reflected the eagerness of Chinese cultural generators to import Western ideas.

To further scrutinize the quality presented by the Chinese studies on Western art education, this research selected as a case study the investigation of the German Art Education Movement in the Chinese writings. It is discovered that in the Chinese writings on the rationale of art education, the German influence was especially obvious. Thinking from German philosophers, especially Kant and Schiller, was often quoted. As well, ideas from the German art education advocates, such as Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark, were easily found in the Chinese discussions about the theoretical framework of art education at that time. Besides, the aim of art education being promoted during the German Art Education Movement, i.e., helping children to enjoy art rather than training artist or art experts, was also introduced in the writings of some Chinese art educators, including Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰, who was responsible for drafting and revising the curriculum guides in 1923 and afterwards.

As Yu Jianhua 俞劍華 claimed, every pedagogic idea is rooted in local conditions. This was the case for the German Art Education Movement at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Johannes Richter, who had devoted his dissertation to the investigation of the contextual factors of the German art educational thinking from the late 19<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries and provided the main source reference for his Japanese and Chinese counterparts' studies on this theme, had also stressed the role of the social cultural context in the generation of the ideas on German art education in that period. However, this research has found that only a small sector of Chinese art educators, especially those who imported German art education, dealt with this particular problem.

Germany became a world power after its national unification and the industrial revolution. Despite the country becoming richer, there was a growing discontent with the German visual culture. Many German intellectuals found that the virtuous world of craft labour was devastated by industrialization. They therefore defended and advocated the

importance of art education. The Dresden conference held at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century was the climax to this movement.

Among the few Chinese studies identified that considered the contextual factors of the German Art Education Movement, Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 two translations have provided the most detailed information about this issue. This research has revealed that Tian Min 天民 was the first Chinese to write about the German Art Education Movement. His study was not as detailed as Feng's two translations, but it was much more thorough than the other Chinese writers who devoted just a few sentences to how to handle the problem. However it remains a mystery as to how he accessed the original German writings since he failed to provide any source references.

The deficiencies in Chinese investigations into the contextual factors of the imported German ideas and the Chinese socio-cultural circumstances of early 20<sup>th</sup> century might signify that there was a lack of cultural awareness or scientific rigor among the Chinese art educators. Taking the strong trend of Westernization in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century China into consideration, it seems understandable that many Chinese art educators might not be positioned to have this kind of awareness. Being driven by the trend, they were also eager to borrow Western ideas to support their discussions about art education. Most importantly, art education for general education was newly imported from the West to China, therefore those in the Chinese art education field might have found it necessary to consult relevant counterparts for their Western experience, instead of borrowing Western ideas for the development of Chinese art education or the construction of theoretical and practical frameworks for Chinese art education.

Though the Dresden conference on art education was the climax of the German Art Education Movement and provided significant points of reference to the Chinese art educators, few Chinese studies on this topic were found. Again, it was Feng Zikai's 豐子愷 translation and Tian Min's 天民 study that provided relatively detailed information on the conference. In the other Chinese writings, only one or two sentences mentioned the conference. It is hard to interpret these findings as there was a lack of information, such



as lists of references, to indicate whether primary or secondary materials were used in the Chinese writings. Another problem was the lack of information about the educational background of the cultural generators such as Tian Min 天民 and Lei Jiajun 雷家駿. The most possible explanation for this lack of references could be the difficulties that the Chinese art educators faced in acquiring enough information to make in-depth studies on the topic. Never-the-less this constitutes further evidence that the Chinese studies were ill-informed about the context underpinning the German Art Education Movement.

As well as finding insufficient studies on the above two important elements of the German Art Education Movement, the quality of Chinese studies on German art education was also affected by cases of “copying”. This demonstrates that Chinese art educators who copied the writing from others, though perhaps only a short paragraph, did not put much effort into their scholarship or investigations. The findings from the case study thus strongly suggest that there were good reasons for concerns about the superficial nature of studies about the imported Western ideas on art education at the time.

#### 4. Characteristic of the Development of Chinese Art Education in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century

This research into the development of Chinese art education for general school education was hampered and quite misty at the very beginning due to the lack of studies in the field. After assembling all the data derived from the primary sources together, the veil over the picture began to be lifted. This research has found that the development of Chinese art education mirrors the pattern of the development of Chinese visual arts and Chinese education. That is, first of all, the Chinese art educators had adopted a very positive attitude to learning from the West and played a very active role in importing Western ideas; secondly, Japan had also been a bridge for the Chinese art educators to import Western knowledge, especially German ideas on art education.

Besides these two points, this research has also noticed other characteristics of the development of Chinese art education in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century: first, a high quantity of Western knowledge being imported was not ensured by a high quality of scholarship. In the case study, it was discovered that the Chinese art educators were ill-informed about the German Art Education Movement. In addition, cases of “copying” and adoption of vague writing styles were also revealed. Second, the contrast between the quantity of Western and Chinese visual culture being referred to in the Chinese writings on art education denotes a neglect of Chinese visual cultural tradition in the development of theoretical and practical frameworks for Chinese art education. In other words, as regard the current issue of Westernization, Traditionalism and Eclecticism, this contrast means an inclination to Westernization and little room for Traditionalism or Eclecticism in the development of Chinese art education for general school education. And, a further implication of this phenomenon was the lack of cultural awareness of the Chinese art educators. In fact, the case study has demonstrated such a lack of cultural awareness among the Chinese art educators who imported German ideas by their overlooking the role of socio-cultural context in the development of art educational ideas by their German counterparts.

##### 5. Enlightenment from Historicized Account of Westernization of Chinese Art Education

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, problems concerning Westernization in Chinese art education continue today, such as the vast quantity of Chinese writings devoted to the importation of American DBAE (Discipline-Based Art Education) from the late 1980s to the mid 1990s, that appear to constitute the measuring of expertise of a Chinese art educator by his/her mastery of Western knowledge of the subject and the Westernization of the Chinese aesthetics. After the historical enquiry into Western influences on Chinese visual arts pedagogy, this research began to formulate a concept about the present problematic and future choices; this then formed the fourth central question of this research.

The problem of Westernization of Chinese art education as well as other related areas of today is actually a continuum of the problem in the history of contemporary Chinese art education that can be traced back to the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The phenomenon mentioned in the introductory chapter indicates a striking similarity between the Chinese art educators of early and late 20<sup>th</sup> century. Similar to their predecessors, contemporary Chinese art educators are also enthusiastic about learning from the West and eager to keep pace with the West. Judging the expertise of the Chinese scholars by their mastering of Western knowledge indicates that after nearly a century's evolution of "learning from the West", Western ideas continue to be regarded as universal and fundamental by contemporary Chinese art educators. Doubtless, as many Chinese art educators continue to be driven to study Western theories on art education the number of professionals available to investigate the role of Chinese cultural, especially visual cultural, traditions in the formation of theoretical and practical frameworks for Chinese art education is diminished. Hence, this perpetuates the problem of overlooking the importance of local cultural traditions in the development of Chinese art education and the formation of the students' senses of personal, social and cultural identity. Furthermore, this also indicates a lack of consideration for the relations between socio-cultural context and the generation of the Western ideas as well as the appropriateness of Western ideas to local circumstances. Again, this is a lack of cultural awareness that has its roots in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

From today's perspective and terminology, the grand debate of Westernization and Traditionalism, as especially during the May Fourth period in China, could actually be equivalent to contemporary notions of globalization and localization. Westernization hinted at "world consciousness" and its advocates focused on connecting China with the other part of the world, or more exactly, the Western powers. Traditionalism pointed to "nation consciousness" and the traditionalists had seen the cultural diversity, the need to preserve cultural difference, and, the uniqueness of Chinese cultural tradition. For Eclecticism, it is similar to glocality. In current wording, the eclectics valued both global and local perspectives in the development and evolution of Chinese art and culture. With

the combination, interpenetration or interconnectedness of the “essence” of Chinese and Western culture and civilization, a new Chinese culture has been created.

However, applying the notion of glocality to the development of Chinese art education requires a balance of consideration of Western ideas and China’s own visual cultural tradition. Data for this research plainly indicates a lack of such balance and a blind inclination to Westernization of Chinese art education in the first half of 20<sup>th</sup> century. This, as suggested by the findings of this research, might be a consequence of the eagerness of the Chinese to catch up with the West, or in other words, enter the Western system. As a result, by doing so, Chinese cultural heritage was flattened. Ji Shuoming’s 紀碩鳴 report in *Yazhou zhoukan* 《亞洲周刊》 (*The International Chinese Newsweekly*) about the struggle for preservation of the Beijing *Siheyuan* 四合院 in 2005 reveals only the tip of the iceberg since a great deal of invaluable historic architecture in many old Chinese cities, especially Beijing, were dismantled. The city walls, gate towers and *Hutong* 胡同 (historic neighborhoods which once comprised the majority of the city) in old Beijing have been and continued to be demolished to give way to high rises which look the same as those in the other parts of the world, especially the modern Western cities. So, “at the end of the day”, this researcher would argue that it is timely for Chinese art educators to reflect on these problems and reconsider their attitudes about Chinese and Western learning should they value cultural heterogeneity, or, in other words, not want to make any contribution to cultural homogeneity.

## 6. Directions for Future Research

During the process of searching for answers for the initial research questions and discovering evidence for their supposition, new questions were created. For example, source references continue to be a mystery in the Chinese writings on Westernization, especially in regard to German art education. It is unclear if those earlier authors consulted primary, secondary, or even third hand sources. The discovery of the source references used in these writings would doubtlessly contribute to the further unveiling of

the processes of importing Western ideas on art education to China in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among these Chinese cultural generators, Tian Mian's 天民 use of references for his studies on German art education interested this researcher the most. This is because he was the first Chinese scholar (known to this researcher) who was devoted to the study of the German Art Education Movement.

In addition to the above question, a worthy future study might consider how the ideas of the German philosophers, especially Kant and Schiller, influenced Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Also, Konrad Lange and Alfred Lichtwark had written extensively on art appreciation and they were, as indicated in this research, well known in the Chinese writings which introduced German art education. Therefore, it is also worth a future study to consider how their notions influenced the Chinese art appreciation education during the same period. Thus the outcomes from this study have provoked research questions for the further study of Western influence on Chinese art education in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

In conclusion, it is hoped that the outcomes of this research project and the revelation of previously unknown information will contribute to enlighten and enrich contemporary knowledge of the development of the Chinese art education in the early 20th century China.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is common that the names of the publishers, especially the big and famous one, are shortened in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. For example, Shangwu Yinshuguan 商務印書館 becomes Shangwu 商務. The same practice will be reflected in this study.

### Chinese

Beijing daxue 北京大學 (Peking University) (ed.) (1983), *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan* 《蔡元培美學文選》 (*Collection of Cai Yuanpei's Writing on Aesthetic*). Beijing 北京: Author.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1967), *Cai Yuanpei zishu* 《蔡元培自述》 (*Cai Yuanpei's Account*). Taipei 臺北: Zhuanji wenxue 傳記文學.

Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培 (1999), *Jiemin zishu* 《孑民自述》 (*Jiemin's Account*). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu renmin 江蘇人民.

Cao Yiqiang 曹意強 and Fan Jingzhong 范景中 (eds.) (1997), *20 shiji zhongguohua-chuantong de yanxu yu yanbian* 《20 世紀中國畫 – 傳統的延續與演變》 (*Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century: Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition*) (Conference proceedings). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin meishu 浙江人民美術.

Chen Chiyu 陳池瑜 (2000), *Zhongguo xiandai meishuxue shi* 《中國現代美術學史》 (*History of Modern Chinese Science of Art*). Haerbin 哈爾濱: Heilongjiang meishu 黑龍江美術.

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1915), “Jinggao qingnian” 《敬告青年》 (Inform Young People). In: *Qingnian zazhi* 《青年雜誌》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-6 (numbering restarted each article).

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1917), “Wenxue geming lun” 《文學革命論》 (The Reform of Chinese Literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 2, no. 6, pp. 1-4 (numbering restarted each article).

Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1919), “Ben zhi zuian zhi dabian shu” 《本誌罪案之答辯書》 (Reply to the Case of this Magazine). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 10-11.

Chen Jingxu 陳經序 (1934), *Zhongguo wenhua de chulu* 《中國文化的出路》 (*The Outlet of Chinese Culture*), Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Chen Wenzhong 陳文忠 (2001), *Meixue lingyu zhong de zhongguo xueren* 《美學領域中的中國學人》 (*Chinese Scholars in the Aesthetic Field*). Hefei 合肥: Anhui jiaoyu 安徽教育.

Chen Xuexun 陳學恂 (1981), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu dashi ji* 《中國近代教育大事記》 (*Record of the main Educational Events in Contemporary China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育.

Chen Yuanhui 陳元暉 (2001), *Zhongguo jiaoyuxueshi yigao* 《中國教育學史遺稿》. Beijing 北京: Beijing shifan daxue 北京師範大學.

Chen Qitian 陳啟天 (1923), “Zhongguo xin jiaoyu sichao xiaoshi” 《中國新教育思潮小史》 (A Concise History of New Educational Thinking in China). In: *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie* 《中華教育界》 (*The Chung Hwa Educational Review*), vol. 13, no. 2, pp. 9-11 (numbering restarted each article).

Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶, Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 and Feng Yuancao 豐元草 (eds.) (1992), *Feng Zikai wenji* 《豐子愷文集》 (*Collected Works of Feng Zikai*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang wenyi 浙江文藝.

Feng Kaiwen 馮開文 (1994), *Zhongguo minguo jiaoyu shi* 《中國民國教育史》 (*History of Education in Republic China*). Beijing 北京: Renmin 人民.

Feng Yiyin 豐一吟 (1998), *Xiaosa fengshen: wo de fuqin Feng Zikai* 《瀟灑風神：我的父親豐子愷》 (*My Father Feng Zikai*). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學.

Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (1928/1999), *Xiyang meishu shi* 《西洋美術史》 (*History of Western Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai guji 上海古籍.

Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (2002), *Xiyang huapai shier jiang* 《西洋畫派十二講》 (*12 Lectures on Western Painting Schools*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan wenyi 湖南文藝.

Fu Lecheng 傅樂成 (1982), *Zhongguo tongshi* 《中國通史》 (*Chinese General History*). Taipei 臺北: Dazhongguo tushu 大中國圖書.

Fu Lei 傅雷 (1932), “Xiandai zhongguo yishu zhi konghuang” 《現代中國藝術之恐慌》 (*The Panic of Modern Chinese Art*). In: *Yishu xunkan* 《藝術旬刊》 (*L'Art*), vol. 1, no. 4, pp. 3-5.

Fu Lei 傅雷 (2002), *Fu Lei tan meishu* 《傅雷談美術》 (*Fu Lei's Talk on Art*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan wenyi 湖南文藝

Guo Tingyi 郭廷以 (1986, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), *Jindai zhongguo shigang* 《近代中國史綱》 (*Outline of Modern Chinese History*). Hong Kong 香港: Zhongwen daxue 中文大學.

Hu Shi 胡適 (1917), “Wenxue gailiang chuyi” 《文學改良芻議》 (Proposal for the Reform of Chinese literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 1-11 (numbering restarted each article).

Hu Shi 胡適 (1971), *Hu Shi wencun* 《胡適文存》 (*Collected Works of Hu Shi*), vol. 1-4. Taipei 臺北: Yuandong 遠東.

Hu Shi 胡適 (1918), “Jianshe de wenxue geminglun” 《建設的文學革命論》 (Discussion about the Reform of Chinese Literature). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 4, no. 4, pp. 289-306.

Hu Shi 胡適 (1998), *Hu Shi wenji* 《胡適文集》 (*Collected Works of Hu Shi*), vol. 1-7. Beijing 北京 Renmin wenxue 人民文學.

Huang Dongfu 黃冬富 (2003), *Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國美術教育史》 (*History of Chinese Art Education*). Taipei 臺北: Shida shuyuan 師大書苑.

Huang Xingtao 黃興濤 (1996), *Gu Hongming wen ji* 《辜鴻銘文集》 (*Collected Works of Gu Hongming*). Haikou 海口: Hainan 海南.

Ji Pingzi 季平子 (2001), *Cong yapian zhanzheng dao jiawu zhanzheng* 《從鴉片戰爭到甲午戰爭》 (*From Opium War to Sino-Japaness War of 1894-1895*). Taipei 臺北: Yunlong 雲龍.

Jiang Danshu 姜丹書 (1991), *Jiang Danshu yishu jiaoyu zazhu* 《姜丹書藝術教育雜著》 (*Jiang Danshu's Writings on Art Education*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育.

Jiang Sunsheng 蔣蓀生 (1987), *Zhongdeng xuexiao meishu jiaoxunfa* 《中等學校美術教學法》 (*Teaching Method for Middle School Art*). Nanjing 南京: Jiangsu jiaoyu 江蘇教育.

Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1929), *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng zanxing biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程暫行標準》 (*Temporary Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1932), *Zhongxue kecheng biao zhun* 《中學課程標準》 (*Secondary School Curriculum Guide*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華.



Jiaoyubu 教育部 (Ministry of Education) (1936), *Youzhiyuan / xiaoxue kecheng biao zhun* 《幼稚園/小學課程標準》 (Kindergarten / Primary School Curriculum Guide), Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Jin Yaoji 金耀基 (1974, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), *Zhongguo xiandaihua yu zhishi fenzi* 《中國現代化與知識份子》 (*The Modernization of China and Intellectuals*). Hong Kong 香港: Daxue shenghuo she 大學生活社.

Li Chao 李超 (1995), *Shanghai youhua shi* 《上海油畫史》 (*History of Oil Painting in Shanghai*). Shanghai 上海: Renmin Meishu 人民美術.

Li Chao 李超 (2004), *Zhongguo zaoqi youhua shi* 《中國早期油畫史》 (*A History of Early Period Oil Painting in China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫.

Li Hongwu 栗洪武 (2002), *Xixuedongjian yu zhongguo jindai jiaoyu sichao* 《西學東漸與中國近代教育思潮》 (*The Spread of Western Learning and Contemporary Chinese Educational Thinking*). Beijing 北京: Gaodeng jiaoyu 高等教育.

Li Huaxing 李華興 (1997), *Minguo jiaoyushi* 《民國教育史》 (*History of Education in Republic China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育.

Li Guilin 李桂林, Qi Minxiu 戚名琇 and Qian Manqian 錢曼倩 (eds.) (1995), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao huibian – putong jiaoyu* 《中國近代教育史資料匯編 – 普通教育》 (*Collection of Documents of Contemporary Chinese Education History - General Education*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育.

Li Renkai 黎仁凱 (2004), *Zhang Zhidong mufu* 《張之洞幕府》 (*Commanding Officer Zhang Zhidong's Office*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo guangbo dianshi 中國廣播電視.

Li Xinfeng 李心峰 (2005), *Ershi shiji zhongguo yishu lilun zhutishi* 《20世紀中國藝術理論主題史》 (*History of the Theme of Chinese Art Theories in 20<sup>th</sup> Century*). Shenyang 瀋陽: Liaohai 遼海.

Liang Shuming 梁漱溟 (1923), *Dongxi wenhua ji qi zhexue* 《東西文化及其哲學》 (*East and West: Their Civilizations and their Philosophies*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (2005), *Liang Qichao jiang wenhua* 《梁啟超講文化》 (*Liang Qichao on Culture*). Tianjin 天津: Tianjin guji 天津古籍.

Lin Fengmian 林風眠 (1999), *Lin Fengmian tan yi lu* 《林風眠談藝錄》 (*Record of Lin Fengmian's Talk on Art*). Zhengzhou 鄭州: Henan meishu 河南美術.

Lin Manli 林曼麗 (1990), *Taiwan shijue yishu jiaoyu yanjiu* 《台灣視覺藝術教育研究》 (*The Study of Visual Art Education in Taiwan*). Taipei 臺北: Xiongshi 雄獅.

Lin Mu 林木 (2000), *Ershi shiji zhongguohua yanjiu* 《二十世紀中國畫研究》 (*Study of Chinese Painting in 20th Century*). Nanning 南寧: Guangxi meishu 廣西美術.

Lin Xingyue 林星嶽 (2002), *Zhongguo youhua bainian shi* 《中國油畫百年史》 (*History of One-Hundred Year Chinese Oil Paintings*). Taipei 臺北: Yishujia 藝術家.

Lin Yusheng 林毓生 et al. (1989), *Wusi : duoyuan de fansi* 《五四：多元的反思》 (*May Fourth: Multiple Reflection*). Hong Kong 香港: Sanlian 三聯.

Liu Ruikuan 劉瑞寬 (2008), *Zhongguo meishu de xiandaihua* 《中國美術的現代化》 (*Modernization of Chinese Art*). Beijing 北京: Sanlian 三聯.

Liu Xuan 劉烜 (1996), *Wang Guowei pingzhuan* 《王國維評傳》 (*A Critical Biography of Wang Guowei*). Nanchang 南昌: Baihuazhou wenyi 百花洲文藝.

Liu Yingjie 劉英杰 (2001), *Zhongguo jiaoyu dashidian* 《中國教育大事典》 (*Book of Major Educational Events in China*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育.

Lü Cheng 呂澂 and Chen Duxiu 陳獨秀 (1919), “Meishu geming” 《美術革命》 (*The Reform of Fine Art*). In: *Xinqingnian* 《新青年》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 6, no. 1, pp. 84-86.

Lü Peng 呂澎 (2006), *20 shiji zhongguo yishu shi* 《20世紀中國藝術史》 (*A History of Art in Twentieth-Century China*). Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue 北京大學.

Lu Hongji 陸鴻基 (ed.) (1983), *Zhongguo jinshi de jiaoyu fazhan (1800-1949)* 《中國近世的教育發展 (1800-1949)》 (*The Development of Education in Contemporary China [1800-1949]*). Hong Kong 香港: Huafeng shuju 華風書局.

Mei Guangdi 梅光迪 (1968), *Mei Guangdi wenlu* 《梅光迪文錄》 (*Writings of Prof. K. T. Mei*). Taipei 臺北: Lianhe 聯合.

Mo Xiaoye 莫小也 (2002), *17-18 shiji chuanjiaoshi yu xihua dongjian* 《17-18世紀傳教士與西畫東漸》 (*Missionaries and Eastern Transition of Western Painting in 17-18<sup>th</sup> Century*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院.

Pan Yaochang 潘耀昌 (2002), *Zhongguo jindai meishu jiaoyu shi* 《中國近代美術教育史》 (*History of Contemporary Chinese Art Education*). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院.

Pan Zhichang 潘知常 (2000), *Zhongxi bijiao meixue lungao* 《中西比較美學論稿》 (*Draft of Comparative Discussions about Chinese and Western Aesthetics*). Nanchang 南昌: Baihuazhou wenyi 百花洲文藝.

Qian Chuxi 錢初熹 (2005), *Meishu jiaoxue lilun yu fangfa* 《美術教學理論與方法》 (*Theories and Methods of Teaching Art*). Beijing 北京: Gaodeng jiaoyu 高等教育.

Ruan Rongchun 阮榮春 and Wu Guanghua 胡光華 (eds.) (1997), *1911-1949 Zhongguo jindai meishu shi* 《1911-1949 中國近代美術史》 (1911-1949 *History of Chinese Modern Art*). Hong Kong 香港: Shangwu 商務.

Shan Shilian 單世聯 and Xu Linxiang 徐林祥 (eds.) (1992), *Zhongguo meiyu shi* 《中國美育史》 (*History of Chinese Aesthetic Education*). Nanning 南寧: Guangxi jiaoyu 廣西教育.

Shen Ning 沈寧 (ed.) (2003), *Teng Gu yishu wenji* 《滕固藝術文集》 (*Teng Ku's Essays on Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin meishu 上海人民美術

Shen Shanhong 沈善洪 (ed.) (1993), *Cai Yuanpei xuanji shangjuan* 《蔡元培選集》 (上卷) (*Selected Works of Cai Yuanpei*) (vol. 1). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育.

Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (ed.) (1929), *Jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiang shi* 《近代中國教育思想史》 (*History of Contemporary Thoughts on Chinese Education*). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華.

Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (1981, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao 1 – 2* 《中國近代教育史資料》 (上中冊) (*Documents of History of Contemporary Chinese Education*) (vol. 1-2). Beijing 北京: Renmin jiaoyu 人民教育.

Shu Xincheng 舒新城 (ed.) (1962), *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao 3* 《中國近代教育史資料》 (下冊) (*Documents of History of Contemporary Chinese Education*) (vol. 3). Beijing 北京: Renmin jiaoyu 人民教育.

Shui Tianzhong 水天中 (1997), “Zhongguohua lunzheng 50 nian (1900-1950)” 《中國畫論爭 50 年(1900-1950)》 (50 Years' Disputes on Chinese Painting). In: Cao Yiqiang 曹意強 and Fan Jingzhong 范景中 (eds.), *20 shiji zhongguohua – chuantong de yanxu yu yanbian* 《20 世紀中國畫 – 傳統的延續與演變》 (*Chinese Painting in the Twentieth Century - Creativity in the Aftermath of Tradition*), conference proceedings. Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang renmin meishu 浙江人民美術.

Sun Bangzheng 孫邦正 (1971), *Liushi nianlai de zhongguo jiaoyu* 《六十年來的中國教育》 (*Chinese Education in Sixty Years*). Taipei 臺北: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館.

Sun Binghui 孫炳輝 and Zheng Yinda 鄭寅達 (eds.) (2001), *Deguo shi gang* 《德國史綱》 (*The Survey of German History*). Taipei 臺北: Zhaoming 昭明.

Sun Guangde 孫廣德 (1982), *Wanqing chuantong yu xihua de zhenglun* 《晚清傳統與西化的爭論》 (*Late Qing Tradition and Disputes about Westernization*). Taipei 臺北: Taiwan Shangwu 臺灣商務.

Wang Lunxin 王倫信 (2002), *Qingmo minguo shiqi zhongxue jiaoyu yanjiu* 《清末民國時期中學教育研究》 (*A Study of Secondary Education in Late Qing and Republic China*). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學.

Wang Shuqian 汪叔潛 (1915), “Xinjiu wenti” 《新舊問題》 (The Problem of New and Old). In: *Qingnian zazhi* 《青年雜誌》 (*La Jeunesse*), vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 1-4 (numbering restarted each article).

Wang Zhen 王震 and Rong Junli 榮君立 (eds.) (1990), *Wang Yachen yishu wenji* 《汪亞塵藝術文集》 (*Wang Yachen's Collected Works on Art*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫.

Wenyi meixue congshu bianji weiyuanhui 文藝美學叢書編輯委員會 (Aesthetics Series Editorial Board) (ed.) (1983), *Cai Yuanpei meixue wenxuan* 《蔡元培美學文選》 (*Cai Yuanpei's Selected Work on Aesthetic*). Beijing 北京: Beijing daxue 北京大學.

Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1965), *1912-1949 nian meishu lilun shumu* 《1912-1949年美術理論書目》 (*Books of Theory on Fine Art from 1912-1949*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin meishu 上海人民美術.

Wu Zhiliang 吳志良 (1998), *Aomen – dongxi wenhua jiaohui diyimen* 《澳門 – 東西文化交匯第一門》 (*Macau – the Gate of Meeting of Eastern and Western Culture*). Beijing 北京: Zhongguo youyi 中國友誼.

Xiong Lümao 熊呂茂 (2000), *Liang Shuming de wenhua sixiang yu zhongguo xiandaihua* 《梁漱溟的文化思想與中國現代化》 (*Liang Shuming's Cultural Thoughts and China's Modernization*). Changsha 長沙: Hunan jiaoyu 湖南教育.

Xiong Mingan 熊明安 (1997), *Zhonghua minguo jiaoyu shi* 《中華民國教育史》 (*History of Education of Republic China*). Chongqing 重慶: Chongqing 重慶.

Xiong Mingan 熊明安 and Zhou Honyu 周洪宇 (eds.) (2001), *Zhongguo jinxindai jiaoyu shiyanshi* 《中國近現代教育實驗史》 (*History of Experimental Education in Contemporary China*). Jinan 濟南: Shandong jiaoyu 山東教育.

Xu Changming 徐昌酩 (ed.) (2004), *Shanghai meishu zhi* 《上海美術志》 (*History of Art in Shanghai*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫.

Xu Jianrong 徐建融, Qian Chuxi 錢初熹, Hu Zhifan 胡知凡 (2001), *Meishu jiaoyu zhanwang* 《美術教育展望》 (*Prospect of Art Education*). Shanghai 上海: Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學.

Xu Zhihao 許志浩 (1992), *1911-1949 Zhongguo meishu qikan guoyan lu* 《1911-1949 中國美術期刊過眼錄》 (*Records of the Looked Over Chinese Art Journals 1911-1949*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai shuhua 上海書畫.

Yao Zisu 姚子素 et al. (1936), *Jiaoyu zazhi suoyin – yi juan zhi ershisan juan* 《教育雜誌索引 – 一卷至二十三卷》 (*Index of The Chinese Educational Review: vol. 1 – vol. 23*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Yu Yingshi 余英時 et al. (1999), *Wusi xinlun* 《五四新論》 (*New Discussion about May Fourth*). Taipei 臺北: Lianjing 聯經.

Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (eds.) (1999), *Zhongguo jinxindai meiyu lunwenxuan (1840-1949)* 《中國近現代美育論文選 (1840-1949)》 (*Selected Papers on Aesthetic Education in Modern China [1840-1949]*), Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育.

Yuan Qing 元青 (2001), *Duwei yu zhongguo* 《杜威與中國》 (*Dewey and China*). Beijing 北京: Renming 人民.

Yuan Zhenzao 袁振藻 (2000), *Zhongguo shuicaihua shi* 《中國水彩畫史》 (*The History of Watercolour Painting in China*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai huabao 上海畫報.

Zhang Junmai 張君勱 (1936), *Mingri zhi zhongguo wenhua* 《明日之中國文化》 (*Chinese Culture in the Future*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Zhang Yuying 張玉英 (ed.) (2000), *Xu Beihong tan yi lu* 《徐悲鴻談藝錄》 (*Collection of Xu Beihong's Discussions on Art*). Zhengzhou 鄭州: Henan meishu 河南美術.

Zheng Pengnian 鄭彭年 (2005), *Xifeng dongjian – zhongguo gaige kaifang shi* 《西風東漸 – 中國改革開放史》 (*The West Wind Gradually Blows to the East – the History of Chinese Reform and Opening to the Outside World*). Beijing 北京: Renmin 人民.

Zheng Jinzhou 鄭金洲 and Qu Baokui 瞿葆奎 (eds.) (2002), *Zhongguo jiaoyuxue bainian* 《中國教育學百年》 (*The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20<sup>th</sup> century*). Beijing 北京: Jiaoyu kexue 教育科學.

Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe bianjibu 中國大百科全書出版社編輯部 (Editorial Department, Chinese Encyclopedia) (1992), *Zhongguo da baike quanshu – meishu* 《中國大百科全書 – 美術》 (*Chinese Encyclopedia – Fine Arts*). Beijing 北京: Author.

Zhongguo da baike quanshu chubanshe bianjibu 中國大百科全書出版社編輯部 (Editorial Department, Chinese Encyclopedia) (1992), *Zhongguo da baike quanshu – jiaoyu* 《中國大百科全書 – 教育》 (*Chinese Encyclopedia – Education*). Beijing 北京: Author.

Zhou Cezong 周策縱 et al. (1984), *Wusi yu zhongguo* 《五四與中國》 (*May Fourth Movement and China*). Taipei 臺北: Shibao wenhua 時報文化.

Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and He Shengnai 賀聖鼐 (eds.) (1931), *Zuijin sanshiwu nian zhi zhongguo jiaoyu* 《最近三十五年之中國教育》 (*Chinese Education in the last 35 Years*). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務.

Zong Baihua 宗白華 (1981), *Meixue sanbu* 《美學散步》 (*Ambling in Aesthetic*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin 上海人民.

### **English**

Addiss, Stephen and Erickson, Mary (1993), *Art History and Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Bell, Judith (1987), *Doing Your Research Project*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.

Berg, Bruce L. (1995), *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Science*. Boston: Allyn & Bacan.

Biggerstaff, Knight (1961), *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*. Port Washington: Kennikat Press.

Berghahn, V. R. (1982), *Modern Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Block, Jack (1971), *Understanding Historical Research*. Glen Rock: Research Publications.

Callinicos, Alex (1995), *Theories and Narratives*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Choi, Jung Min, Murphy, John W., and Caro, Manuel J. (eds.) (2004), *Globalization with a Human Face*. London: Praeger Publishers.

Cohen, Paul (2003), *China Unbound - Evolving Perspectives on the Chinese Past*. London and New York: RoutledgeCurzon.

Collingwood, R.G. (1994), *The Idea of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Department of Education and Training (n. d.), *The Arts Curriculum Framework*. Australian Capital Territory, Department of Education and Training.

Denzin, Norman K. and Lincoln, Yvonna S. (2000), *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE.

Duncum, Paul (2001), "Theoretical Foundations for an Art Education of Global Culture and Principles for Classroom Practice". In: *International Journal of Education & the Arts*, vol. 2, no. 3. Retrieved 18/3/2006, from <http://www.ijea.org/v2n3/index.html>

Efland, Arthur D. (1990), *A History of Art Education*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Fairbank, John King (1992), *China – A New History*. London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Fairbank, John K. and Reischauer, Edwin O. (eds.) (1986), *Tradition and Transformation*. Taipei: Caves Books.

Feuchtwanger, Edgar (2001), *Imperial Germany, 1850-1918*. London: Routledge.

Fishman, Sterling (1966), "Alfred Lichtwark and the Founding of the German Art Education Movement". In: *History of Education Quarterly*, vol. 6, no. 3, pp. 3-17.

Franke, Wolfgang; Wilson, R. A. (trans.) (1967), *China and the West*. New York : Harper & Row.

Gombrich, Ernst H. (1995, 15<sup>th</sup> ed.), *The Story of Art*. London: Phaidon Press Ltd.

Hayhoe, Ruth (1984), *Contemporary Chinese Education*. London: Croom Helm.

Hayhoe, Ruth and Bastid, Marianne (eds.) (1987), *China's Education and the Industrialized World*. Armonk: M.E. Sharpe.

Held, David (2004, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *A Globalizing World? Culture, Economic, Politics*. London and New York: Routledge.

Held, David and Koenig-Archibugi, (eds.) (2003), *Taming Globalization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hodson, Randy (1999), *Analysing Documentary Accounts*. London: SAGE.

Holton, Robert J. (1998), *Globalization and the Nation-State*. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Hsü, Immanuel Chungyueh (1990, 4<sup>th</sup> ed.), *The Rise of Modern China*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Jenks, Chris (ed.) (1995), *Visual Culture*. London: Routledge.

Kao Mayching 高美慶 (1972), *China's Response to the West in Art: 1898 – 1937*. Doctoral Dissertation. Stanford University.

Kitchen, Martin (1996), *A History of Modern Germany 1800-2000*. Malden: Blackwell Publishing.

Kolinsky, Eva and van der Will, Wilfried (eds.) (1998), *The Cambridge Companion to Modern German Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Leedy, Paul D. and Ormrod, Jeanne E. (2001), *Practical Research – Planning and Design*. Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall.

Lin Su-Hsing (2003), *Feng Zikai's Art and The Kaiming Book Company: Art for the People in Early Twentieth Century China*. Doctoral Dissertation. The Ohio State University.

McFee, June King and Degge, Rogena M. (1977), *Art, Culture, and Environment*. Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt.

McMillen, Donald H. (2009), "China, Xinjiang and Central Asia – 'glocality' in the year 2008". In: Colin Mackerras and Michael Clarke (eds.), *China, Xinjiang and Central Asia: History, Transition and Crossborder Interaction into the 21<sup>st</sup> century*. London and New York: Routledge.

Monaghan, E.J. and Hartman, Douglas K. (2001), "Historical Research in Literacy". In: *Reading Online*, 4 (11). Retrieved 8/07/2010 from [http://www.readingonline.org/articles/art\\_index.asp?HREF=/articles/handbook/monaghan/index.html](http://www.readingonline.org/articles/art_index.asp?HREF=/articles/handbook/monaghan/index.html)

Neuman, W. Lawrence (1997), *Social Research Methods – Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.



Parsons, Michael J. and Blocker, H. Gene. (eds.) (1993), *Aesthetic and Education*. Urbana: University of Illinois.

Prempeh, E. Osei Awadwo; Mensah, Joseph and Adjibolosoo, Senyo B. -S.K. (eds.) (2004), *Globalization and the Human Factor*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Ltd.

Petrovich-Mwaniki, Lois (1995), "Present Trends in German Art Education". In: Heta Kauppinen and Read Diket (ed.), *Trends in Art Education from Diverse Cultures*. The National Art Education Association.

*Questions on German History: Ideas, Forces, Decisions from 1800 to the Present: Historical Exhibition in the Berlin Reichstag: Catalogue* (1984). Bohn: German Bundestag.

Robertson, Roland (1992), *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage.

Rosenberg, Hans (1943), "Political and Social Consequences of the Great Depression of 1873-1896 in Central Europe". In: *The Economic History Review*, vol. 13, no. 1/2, pp. 58-73.

Said, Edward W. (1993), *Culture and Imperialism*. London: Vintage Books.

Scholte, Jan Aart (2005, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.), *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. Houndmills and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Schwartz, Benjamin (ed.)(1972), *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Sherman, Robert R. and Welb, Rodman B. (eds.) (1988), *Qualitative Research in Education: Focus and Methods*. London: Falmer Press.

Silverman, David (2000), *Doing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE.

Sizer, Nancy F. (1966), "John Dewey's Ideas in China 1919 to 1921". In: *Comparative Education Review*, vol. 10, no. 3, pp. 390-403.

Smith, Peter (1996), *The History of American Art Education*. Westport: Greenwood Press.

Smith, Ralph A. (1989), *The Sense of Art, A Study in Aesthetic Education*. New York: Routledge.

Southgate, Beverley (2001), *History: What and Why?* London: Routledge.

Strauss, Anselm L. (1987), *Qualitative Analysis for Social Scientists*. Cambridge University Press.

Sullivan, Michael (1973), *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art*. London: Thames & Hudson

Taylor, A.J.P. (1961), *The Course of German History*. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Teng, Ssu-yu and Fairbank, John K. (eds.) (1963), *China's Response to the West – a Documentary Survey 1839-1923*. New York: Atheneum.

Tsien, Tsuen-Hsui (1954), “Western Impact on China Through Translation”. In: *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, pp. 305-327.

Tucker, Vincent (1997), *Cultural Perspectives on Development*. London: Frank Cass.

Tulloch, Sara (compiled) (1991), *The Oxford Dictionary of New Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weinberg, Darin (2002), *Qualitative Research Methods*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

Zhu Liyuan and Blocker, Gene (eds.) (1995), *Contemporary Chinese Aesthetics*. New York: Peter Lang.

### **German**

Brandt, Hartwig (1981), *Motiv der Kunsterziehungs- und Kunstgewerbebewegung (Motives of Art Education and Applied Arts Movement)*. Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann.

Eid, K., Langer, M. and Ruprecht, H (1980), *Grundlagen des Kunstunterrichts (Foundation of Art Education)*. Paderborn: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh.

Götze, Otto (1914), *Ein kritischer Gang durch die Kunsterziehungsbewegung (A Critical Examination of the Art Education Movement)*. Langensalza: Hermann Beyer & Söhne.

Herget, A. (1922), *Die wichtigsten Strömungen im pädagogischen Leben der Gegenwart (The most Important Trends in Contemporary Pedagogy Life)*. Leipzig: Schulwissenschaftlicher Verlag A. Haase.

Jellinek, Arthus L. (ed.) (1903), *Internationale Bibliographie der Kunstwissenschaft (International Bibliography of the Science of Arts)*. Berlin: B. Behr's Verlag.

Joerissen, Peter (1979), *Kunsterziehung und Kunstwissenschaft im wilhelminischen Deutschland: 1871-1918 (Art Education and Science of Art in Wilhelmine Germany: 1871-1918)*. Köln, Wien: Böhlau.

Ku Hungming 辜鴻銘; Schmitz, Oscar A. H. (trans.) (1917), *Der Geist des chinesischen Volkes und der Ausweg aus dem Krieg. (The Spirit of the Chinese People, with an Essay on the War and the Way-out)*. Jena: Eugen Diederichs.

*Kunsterziehung: Ergebnisse und Anregungen des Kunsterziehungstages in Dresden am 28. und 29. September 1901 (Art Education: Results and Stimulations of the Art Education Day in Dresden on 28 and 29 September 1901)* (1902). Leipzig: R. Voigtlaender Verlag

*Kunsterziehung – Ergebnisse und Anregungen der Kunsterziehungstage in Dresden, Weimar und Hamburg; in Auswahl (Art Education: Results and Stimulations of the Art Education Day in Dresden, Weimar and Hamburg; Selected Papers)* (1929). Leipzig: R. Voigtländers Verlag.

Langbehn, Julius (1890), *Rembrandt als Erzieher. Von einem Deutsche (Rembrandt as Educator: from a German)*. Leipzig: Hirschfeld.

Lange, Konrad (1902), *Das Wesen der künstlerischer Erziehung (The Essence of Artistic Education)*. Ravensburg: Verlag von Otto Maier

Lichtwark, Alfred (1897/1986), *Übungen in der Betrachtung von Kunstwerken (Exercises of Art Appreciation)*, Hamburg: Costard.

Lichtwark, Alfred (1962), "Die Kunst in der Schule" (Art in School). In: *Das Bild des Deutschen (The Picture of the German)*. Weinheim: Verlag Julius Beltz

Nerdinger, Winfried (1994), *Perspektiven der Kunst (Perspectives of Art)*. Munich: Marin Lurz GmbH.

Prachauer, Ludwig (1925), *Kunst und Unerfüllte Pädagogik (Art and Unrealized Pedagogy)*, Wien: Österreichischer Bundesverlag Für Unterricht, Wissenschaft und Kunst.

Reuleaux, Franz (1877), *Briefe aus Philadelphia (Letters from Philadelphia)*. Braunschweig: Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn. Retrieved 22/4/2010, from [http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/k/kmoddl/toc\\_reuleaux3.html](http://dlxs2.library.cornell.edu/k/kmoddl/toc_reuleaux3.html).

Richter, Johannes (1909), *Die Entwicklung des kunsterzieherischen Gedankens (The Development of Art Educational Thinking)*. Leipzig: Quelle & Meyer

Schütz, Helmut G. (2002), *Kunst und Analyse der Betrachtung (Art and Analysis of Appreciation)*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren.

*Versuche und Ergebnisse der Lehrervereinigung für die Pflege der künstlerischen Bildung in Hamburg (Attempts and Results of the Teacher Association of Artistic Education in Hamburg)* (1901). Hamburg: Alfred Jansfen

## APPENDIXES

### Appendix 1: Books or Essays on Chinese Art Education Published in the First Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century China

This table demonstrates the surge of interest in art education among the Chinese art educators from the very beginning of 1900s till 1949. The written texts are chronologically organised, so as to illustrate the degree of interest in art education among the early Chinese art educators in different periods.

Table 7 Chinese Articles on Art Education Published from 1900-1949

	Author	Publication Date	Essay / book Title	Publisher / Journal
1.	Kang Youwei 康有為	1902	“Qu jiajie wei tianmin” 《去家界為天民》 (Destroying the Boundary of Family for the People)	In: Kang Youwei (1935), <i>Datong shu</i> 《大同書》 ( <i>The Book of the Great Commonwealth</i> ). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
2.	Wang Guowei 王國維	1903	“Lun jiaoyu zhi zongzhi” 《論教育之宗旨》 (Discussion on Aim of Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu shijie</i> 《教育世界》 ( <i>Education World</i> ), no. 56.
3.	Wang Guowei 王國維	1904	“Kongzi zhi meiyu zhuyi” 《孔子之美育主義》 (Confucius’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu shijie</i> 《教育世界》 ( <i>Education World</i> ), no. 69.
4.	Wang Guowei 王國維	1907	“Huoenshi zhi meiyu shuo” 《霍恩氏之美育說》 (Huoenshi’s Discussion about Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu shijie</i> 《教育世界》 ( <i>Education World</i> ), no. 151.
5.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1912	“Duiyu jiaoyu fangzhen zhi yijian” 《對於教育方針之意見》 (Opinion about the Guiding Principles for Education)	In: <i>Dongfang zazhi</i> 《東方雜誌》 ( <i>The Eastern Miscellany</i> ), vol. 8, no. 10.
6.	(American) Po Luoxie 潑洛歇 (no original spelling provided) ; Xun Wu 巽吾(trans.)	1912	“Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli” 《藝術教育之原理》 (Principles of Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 4, no. 1-2 & 6.
7.	Lu Xun 魯迅	n. d.	“Ni bobu meishu yijian shu” 《擬播布美術意見書》 (Suggestions for Promoting Arts)	In: Lu Xun (1973), <i>Ji wai ji shiwei</i> 《集外集拾遺》 ( <i>Collection of Essays Omitted</i> ). Renmin Wenxue 人民文學
8.	Xun Wu 巽吾	1913	“Meiguo xiaoxuexiao shougong jiaoshou zhi jinkuang” 《美國小學校手工教授之近況》 (Recent Development of Sloyd Teaching in American primary school)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5, no. 5 & 7.
9.	Yu Zhen 余箴	1913	“Meiyu lun” 《美育論》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5, no. 6, 1913
10.	Shi Cheng 時成	1913	“Zuijin zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《最近之圖畫教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5, no. 8.
11.	Yun Chen 芸塵	1913	“Ying fa mei sanguo shougong jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang” 《英法美三國手工教授之狀況》 (The State of Teaching Sloyd in	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5,

			England, France and America)	no. 12.
12.	Fo Chu 佛初	1913	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《手工教授之研究》 (The Study of Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), 7/1913.
13.	Fu An 復盦	1913	“Zuijin zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《最近之圖畫教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), 8/1913.
14.	(Am.) Masi 瑪司, Yan zhen 嚴楨 (trans.)	1913	“Lun jiaoyu ertong dang zhuyi chudeng gongyi” 《論教育兒童當注重初等工藝》 (The Stress on Practical Arts in Child Education)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), 11/1913.
15.	Chen Shuren 陳樹人	1913	“Tushu jiaoshoufa” 《圖畫教授法》 (Teaching Method for Drawing)	<i>Zhenxiang huabao</i> 《真相畫報》 ( <i>The True Record</i> ), vol. 1, no. 17.
16.	Zhao Chuanbi 趙傳璧	1914	“Shougong jiaoshou jingli tan” 《手工教授經歷談》 (Experience of Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 6, no. 7.
17.	(German) Ba Bushi 巴布士 (original spelling is not provided); Tian Min 天民 (trans.)	1914	“Shougong jiaoyu lun” 《手工教育論》 (Discussion of Sloyd Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 6, no. 7-8.
18.	Zhi Hou 志厚	1915	“Xiandai jiaoyu sichao” 《現代教育思潮》 (Modern Educational Thinking)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 7, no. 1-2.
19.	Xun Wu 巽吾	1915	“Chuxuenian zhi tuhua jiaoshou” 《初學年之圖畫教授》 (Teaching Drawing in the First Year)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 7, no. 3.
20.	(Japanese) Sadayama Eigi 楨山榮次; Wu Dingchang 吳鼎昌 (trans.)	1915	“De mei shougong jiaoshou zuijin zhi qushi” 《德美手工教授最近之趨勢》 (New Trends of Sloyd Teaching in Germany and America)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>Zhong Hua Educational Review</i> ), vol. 4, no. 1.
21.	Zhao Chuanbi 趙傳璧	1915	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi kunnan ji xinde” 《手工教授之困難及心得》 (Difficulties and Ideas of Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>Zhong Hua Educational Review</i> ), vol. 4, no. 6.
22.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1915	“Xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong lianluo jiaoshou zhi shangque” 《小學校圖畫手工聯絡教授之商榷》 (Discussion About Integration of Drawing and Sloyd in Primary School)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>Zhong Hua Educational Review</i> ), vol. 4, no. 11.
23.	Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子	1915	“Meiyu yu meishu zhizuo” 《美育與美術製作》 (Aesthetic Education and Aesthetic Making)	Lü Qubing 呂去病 (ed.) (2005), <i>Lü Fengzi wenji</i> 《呂鳳子文集》 ( <i>Collection of Lü Fengzi</i> ). Tianjing 天津: Tianjing renmin meishu 天津人民美術
24.	Tian Min 天民	1916	“Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Serval Problems Concerning Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 8,

				no. 11-12
25.	Xiao Peng 效彭	1916	“Mei jiaoyujia ansude zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《美教育家安蘇德之圖畫教授法》 (American Educator Ansude’s Teaching Method for Drawing)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5, no. 2.
26.	Yao Dazhong 姚大中	1916	“Ying mei fa guozhong xuexiao shougongke jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang” 《英美法國中學校手工科教授之狀況》 (The State of Teaching Sloyd in British, American and French Middle School)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 5, no. 9.
27.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1917	“Yi meiyu dai zongjiao shuo – zai Beijing shenzhou xuehui yanshuoci” 《以美育代宗教說 - 在北京神州學會演說詞》 (Substituting Religion with Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Xin qingnian</i> 《新青年》 ( <i>New Youth</i> ), vol. 3, no. 6.
28.	Tian Min 天民	1917a	“Shougongke jiaoshou zhi shebei” 《手工科教授之設備》 (Facilities in Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 9, no. 5.
29.	Tian Min 天民	1917b	“Shougongke jiaoshou zhi fanxing” 《手工科教授之反省》 (Reflection on Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 9, no. 5.
30.	Sun Jie 孫捷	1917	“Shougong tuhua lianluo jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《手工圖畫連絡教授之研究》 (Study of the Integrated Teaching of Craft and Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 9, no. 12.
31.	Gu Shusen 顧樹森	1918a	“Shougong jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu” 《手工教授革新之研究》 (Study of Innovation in Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 1.
32.	Gu Shusen 顧樹森	1918b	“Tuhua jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu” 《圖畫教授革新之研究》 (Study of Innovation in Teaching Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 1.
33.	Tian Min 天民	1918	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi xin yanjiu” 《手工教授之新研究》 (A New Study of Teaching Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 3.
34.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918a	“Xiaoxue shougong jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《小學手工教授之研究》 (Study of Teaching Sloyd in Primary Schools)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 7.
35.	Gui Shaolie 桂紹烈	1918	“Tuhua yu shougong zhi lianluo” 《圖畫與手工之聯絡》 (Integration of Drawing and Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 10.
36.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918b	“Kaoanhua jiaoshoufa” 《考案畫教授法》 (Teaching of Design)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 11.
37.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918c	“Shiwai tuhua jiaoshou zhi zhuzhang” 《室外圖畫教授之主張》 (Method for Teaching Outdoor Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 10, no. 11.
38.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1918	“Beijing daxue huafa yanjiuhui zhiqushu” 《北京大學畫法研究會旨趣書》 (Objectives of Painting Committee of	In: <i>Beijing daxue rikan</i> 《北京大學日刊》 ( <i>Peking University Daily</i> ), 15/4/1918

			Peking University)	
39.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1919	“Wenhua yundong buyao wangle meiyu” 《文化運動不要忘了美育》 (Aesthetic Education should not be Ignored in Cultural Movement)	In: <i>Beijing chenbao fukan</i> 《北京晨報副刊》 ( <i>Supplement, Beijing Morning Post</i> ), 1/12/1919
40.	Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子	1919	“Tuhua jiaofa” 《圖畫教法》 (Teaching Method for Drawing)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), no. 2, 1919. Lü Qubing 呂去病 (ed.) (2005), <i>Lü fengzi wenji</i> 《呂鳳子文集》 (Lü Fengzi). Tianjing 天津: Tianjing renmin meishu 天津人民美術
41.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1919a	“Chuangzao de shougong jiaoyu” 《創造的手工教育》 (Creative Sloyd Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 11, no. 7.
42.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1919b	“Mugong jiaoshou zhi biyao” 《木工教授之必要》 (Necessity of Teaching Woodwork)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 11, no. 8.
43.	Editor 編者	1920	“Benzhi xuanyan” 《本誌宣言》 (Manifesto of this Journal)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 1.
44.	Wu Mengfei 吳夢非	1920a	“Meiyu shi shenme?” 《美育是什麼?》 (What is Aesthetic Education?)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol.1-2.
45.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1920	“Shuo mei yishi de xingzhi” 《說美意識的性質》 (Nature of Aesthetic Consciousness)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 1.
46.	Zhou Lingsun 周玲蓀	1920	“Xin wenhua yundong he meiyu” 《新文化運動和美育》 (New Cultural Movement and Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 3.
47.	Wu Mengfei 吳夢非	1920b	“Nüzi duiyu jiating meiyu de zeren” 《女子對於家庭美育的責任》 (Women’s Responsibility of Family Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 3.
48.	Cai Yaohuang 蔡耀煌	1920	“Tuhua shougong lianluo de wenti” 《圖畫手工聯絡的問題》 (Questions about Integration of Drawing and Sloyd)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 3.
49.	Jiang Jinglu 姜敬廬	1920	“Ri han kaocha zhong guanyu meiyu cailiao zhi jishi” 《日韓考察中關於美育材料之紀實》 (On-the-spot Report of the Materials for Aesthetic Educaiton in Japan and Korea)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 3.
50.	Yu Qi 余琦	1920	“Tu’an jiaoshoufa yinggai zenmeyang ne?” 《圖案教授法應該怎麼樣呢?》 (What is the Teaching Method for Pattern Design?)	In: <i>Meiyu</i> 《美育》 ( <i>Aesthetic Education</i> ), vol. 3.
51.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1920a	“Tuhua jiaoyu di fangzhen yinggai zenmeyang?” 《圖畫教育底方針應該怎麼樣?》 (What Should Guiding Principles for Drawing Education Be?)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 1.
52.	Tang Jun 唐雋	1920	“Wo duiyu feng zikai jun tuhua jiaoshou tan di yige yiwen” 《我對於豐子愷君“圖畫教授談”底一個疑問》 (My Question about Feng Zikai’s article, “On Drawing Teaching”)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 2.
53.	Wang Yachen 汪	1920b	“Tu’an jiaoyu yu gongyi de guanxi” 《圖案	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>Fine</i>



	亞塵		教育與工藝的關係》(The Relation Between Pattern Design Education and Craftwork)	<i>Arts</i> , vol. 2, no. 2.
54.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1920	“Yishu jiaoyujia de xiuyang”《藝術教育家的修養》(Cultivation of Art Educators)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 3.
55.	Wang Yigang 王以剛	1920	“Shenme shi shaonian zhongguo suo xuyao de? Meiyu”《什麼是少年中國所需要的? 美育》(What does Young China Need? Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 3.
56.	Hong Ye 洪野	1920	“Jiangsu quansheng xiaoxue tugong chengji zhanlanhui wo guan”《江蘇全省小學圖工成績展覽會我觀》(My Observation on Exhibition of Primary School Drawing and Craft Result in Jiangsu)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 3.
57.	Lü Cheng 呂澈	1921	“Yishu piping de genju”《藝術批評的根據》(Foundation of Art Criticism)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 4.
58.	Yu Zongjie 俞宗杰	1921	“Pinghua de wojian”《評畫的我見》(My Opinion on Art Criticism)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 4.
59.	(Japanese) Teng gang gui san lang 藤岡龜三郎 (cannot find the English translation of this Japanese name); Sun Zhongta 孫重沓 (trans.)	1921	“Huihua zhi ziyou zhuyi jiaoshoufa”《繪畫之自由主義教授法》(Teaching of Free Drawing)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 4.
60.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1921	“Duiyu Jiangsusheng jiaoyuhui xiaoxuexiao tuhua shougong chengji zhanlanhui de yijian ji gaiké jinxing shang de shangque”《對於江蘇省教育會小學校圖畫手工成績展覽會的意見及該科進行上的商榷》(Opinion about Exhibition of Primary School Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> Result Held by Jiangsu Association of Education and Discussion about Teaching Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 4.
61.	Xiao Shuxun 蕭樹勛	1921	“Zhili de meishu jiaoyu”《直隸的美術教育》(Immediate Fine Art Education)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》( <i>Fine Arts</i> ), vol. 2, no. 4.
62.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1921	“Putong jiaoyu he zhiye jiaoyu”《普通教育和職業教育》(General Education and Career Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
63.	Yu Shangtong 余尚同	1921	“Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli”《藝術教育的原理》(Principles of Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
64.	He Zhongying 何仲英	1921	“Xuexiao li meiyu de xunlian”《學校裏美育的訓練》(Teaching Aesthetic Education in Schools)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
65.	(Japanese) Sasaki, Yoshisaburo 佐佐木吉三郎; Tai Xuan 太玄 (trans.)	1921	“Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu”《教育之美學的基礎》(Aesthetic Bases of Teaching)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
66.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1921a	“Yishu jiaoyu shang de ge wenti”《藝術教育上的各問題》(Serval Problems)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》( <i>The Chinese</i>

			Concerning Art Education)	<i>Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
67.	(American) Haney, James Parton; Yang Ying 楊英 (trans.)	1921	“Yingyong de yishu” 《應用的藝術》 (The Applied Art)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1.
68.	Tian Min 天民	1921	“Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Thinking of Science of Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 1-2.
69.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1921b	“Cong Xiandai jiaoyu sixiang shang zhi tuhua jiaoyuguan” 《從現代教育思想上之圖畫教育觀》 (Spectacle of Teaching Drawing from Modern Education Philosophy)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 3.
70.	(German) Rude, Adolf; Yu Shangtong 余尚同 (trans.)	1921	“Luo Te shi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《羅特氏圖畫教授法》 (Rude’s Teaching Method for Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 3 & 5.
71.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1921	“Jiaoyu shang xin jiazhi zhi guding” 《教育上新價值之估定》 (The Evaluation of the New Value of Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 13, no. 7.
72.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1921	“Meishu yu kexue de guanxi” 《美術與科學的關係》 (Relationship between Art and Science)	In: <i>Beijing daxue rikan</i> 《北京大學日刊》, no. 814, 23/2/1921
73.	Song Huanda 宋煥達	1921	“Meixue yu xunyu” 《美學與訓育》 (Aesthetics and Moral Teaching)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 11, no. 3.
74.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1922a	“Meiyu zhi yuanli” 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 1.
75.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922a	“Lun meiyu shu” 《論美育書》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 1.
76.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922b	“Wanjin de meixueshuo he mei de yuanli” 《晚近的美學說和「美的原理」》 (Latest Study of Aesthetics and Principle of Aesthetic)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 2-3.
77.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1922	“Meiyu shishi de fangfa” 《美育實施的方法》 (Method for Implementing Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 6.
78.	Ji Cheng 既澄	1922	“Xiaoxuexiao zhong zhi meiyu” 《小學校中之美育》 (Aesthetic Education in Primary School)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 6.
79.	Wu Junsheng 吳俊升	1922	“Yishu kecheng gailun” 《藝術課程概論》 (Introduction to Art Education)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 12, no. 1.
80.	Huang Gongjue 黃公覺	1922	“Jiamu shi zhi meiyu lun” 《嘉木氏(Garmo)之美育論》 (Garmo’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol.

				14, no. 9.
81.	Hu Renzhuang 胡人椿	1922	“Yishu jiaoyu gailun” 《藝術教育概論》 (Introduction to Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 9.
82.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922c	“Yishu he meiyu” 《藝術和美育》 (Fine Art and Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 10.
83.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1922b	“Xiandai jiaoyu sichao pipan” 《現代教育思潮批判》 (Criticism of the Trends of Modern Educational Thinking)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 14, no. 10 & 12.
84.	Liang Qichao 梁啟超	n. d.	“Meishu yu shenghuo” 《美術與生活》 (Art and Living)	In: <i>Yinbingshi heji</i> 《飲冰室合集》 (Collection Works of Yinbingshi), vol. 14. Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華.
85.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923a	“Ertong de yishu shenghuo” 《兒童的藝術生活》 (Artistic Life of Children)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 12, no. 9.
86.	(Japanese) Kumaji, Yoshida 吉田熊次; Yi Lao 亦勞 (trans.)	1923	“Yishu jiaoyu sichao ji qi piping” 《藝術教育思潮及其批評》 (Criticism about the Trends of Art Educational Thinking)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 12, no. 9.
87.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923b	“Ertong xuexi huihua de xinli” 《兒童學習繪畫的心理》 (Psychology of Children’s Learning to Draw )	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 12, no. 11.
88.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923c	“Xinzhì xiaoxue meishu kecheng jiaoxue de lilun he shiji” 《新制小學美術課程教學的理論和實際》 (The Theories and Reality of Implementing the New Curriculum in Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 15, no. 1.
89.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 and Wang Xinqu 王欣渠	1923	“Putong xuexiao de gongyike jiaoxuefa” 《普通學校的工藝科教學法》 (Method of Teaching Practical Arts in Common School)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 15, no. 1.
90.	Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子	1923	“Zhongxuéxiào de meiyu shishi” 《中學校的美育實施》 (Implementation of Aesthetic Education in Secondary School)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 15, no. 5.
91.	Zeng Fanjue 曾凡覺	1923	“Meiyu shishi zhi yanjiu” 《美育實施之研究》 (Study of Implementation of Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>The Art</i> ), vol. 1, no. 1, 1923
92.	Zhang Shaoqian 張紹騫	1923	“Wei qingshi meiyu de renmen jin yi jie” 《為輕視美育的人們進一解》 (Opinion for People Who Despise Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Meishu</i> 《美術》 ( <i>The Art</i> ), vol. 1, no. 1.
93.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1924	“Xiaoxuéshe ng di miaohua nengli ji qi kaifa zhidao” 《小學生底描畫能力及其開發指導》 (Drawing Ability of Primary School Children and the Enhancement of their Development)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 16, no. 2.
94.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1924	“Meishuke jiaoxuefa” 《美術科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》

				誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 16, no. 2.
95.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1924	“Gongyi jiaoxuefa”《工藝教學法》(Teaching Method for Practical Arts)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 16, no. 2.
96.	Zhang Jiuru 張九如	1924	“Canguan su zhe wan shifan fuxiao lianhe yanjiuhui zhong de meishu chengji zhanlanhui hou”《參觀蘇浙皖師範附小聯合研究會中的美術成績展覽會後》(After Visiting the Art Exhibition of United Research Society of the Affiliated Primary School of Su Zhe Wan Normal Schools)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 16, no. 7.
97.	Li Bangdong 李邦棟	1925	“Gaijin woguo meishu jiaoyu de chuyi”《改進我國美術教育的芻議》(A Modest Proposal for the Improvement of Fine Art Education in our Country)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 2.
98.	(Japanese) Arata, Osada 長田新; Ren Baitao 任白濤 (trans.)	1925	“Ou mei zhi yishu jiaoyu”《歐美之藝術教育》(Art Education in Europe and America)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 4.
99.	Shen Jianping 沈建平	1925	“Jindai ge pai yishu jiaoyushuo zhi pipan”《近代各派藝術教育說之批判》(Critic of the Contemporary Art Education Theories)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 4.
100.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1925	“Duiyu chuji zhongxue tuhua shougongke de yizhong jihua”《對於初級中學圖畫手工科的一種計劃》(A Plan of Teaching Junior Secondary School Drawing and Sloyd)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 4.
101.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1925	“Zhongdeng xuexiao de tuhua jiaoyu”《中等學校的圖畫教育》(Teaching Drawing in Middle School)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 9.
102.	(American) Horne, (no first name of the auther was provided); Qu Shiyong 瞿世英 (trans.)	1925	“Jiaoyuan yu yishujia”《教員與藝術家》(Educator and Artist)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 17, no. 11.
103.	Gu Kebin 顧克彬	1925	“Xiangcun xiaoxue ertong de huihua”《鄉村小學兒童的繪畫》(Children’s Drawing in Countryside Primary Schools)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》(The Chung Hwa Educational Review), vol. 14, no. 10.
104.	Zhou Yixiu 周逸休	1925	“Xiaoxue gongyi sheji jiaoxuefa”《小學工藝設計教學法》(Teaching Method for Primary School Practical Arts)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》(The Chung Hwa Educational Review), vol. 14, no. 12.
105.	He Yuan 何元	1926	“Xiaoxue tuhuake yingyou de aiguo jiaocai”《小學圖畫科應有的愛國教材》(Deserved Patriotic Materials of Painting in Primary Schools)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》(The Chung Hwa Educational Review), vol. 16, no. 1.
106.	Zheng Jin 鄭錦	1927	“Pingmin jiaoyu yundong yu pingmin meishu zhi tichang”《平民教育運動與平民美術之提倡》(Movement of Common People Education and Promotion of Art for	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 19, no. 9.

			Comment People)	
107.	Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴 and Yu Xuanqing 俞選清	1927	“Youzhisheng de tuhua” 《幼稚生的圖畫》 (The Drawings of Kindergarten Children)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 19, no. 2.
108.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1927	“Yishu jiaoyu de zhexue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育的哲學的論究》 (Study of the Philosophy of Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 19, no. 12.
109.	He Jingyuan 何景元	1927	“Xiaoxue meishu yu guohua” 《小學美術與國畫》 (Primary Fine Art and Chinese Painting)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 16, no. 7.
110.	Zhang Yi'an 張亦菴	1928	“Yi ke tuhua shishi de baogao” 《一課圖畫實施的報告》 (Report of Implementing Drawing in A Class)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 17, no. 7.
111.	Wang Guoyuan 王國元	1928	“Xiangcun xuexiao yishu xin jiaocai” 《鄉村學校藝術新教材》 (New Art Materials in Countryside Schools)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 17, no. 3.
112.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1928	“Feizhi yishuke” 《廢止藝術科》 (Abolishing the Art Subject)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 2.
113.	(Japanese) Ryūsei, Kishida 岸田劉生; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928a	“Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa” 《圖畫教育的方法》 (Methods of Drawing Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 2, 1928
114.	Yang Renpian 楊人楩	1928	“Yishuhua de jiaoyu lun” 《藝術化的教育論》 (The Art of Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 2.
115.	Li Yuyi 李寓一	1928	“Zhixigong zhi xin shengming” 《紙細工之新生命》 (New Life of Fine Paper Craft)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 2.
116.	(German) Weber, Ernst; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928b	“Jiaoyu yishu lun” 《教育藝術論》 (The Art of Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 6-7.
117.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928c	“Yishu jiaoyu zhi meixue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育之美學的論究》 (Study of Aesthetic in Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 10.
118.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928d	“Yishu jiaoyu de xinlixue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育的心理學的論究》 (Study of Psychology in Art Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 11.
119.	Li Jinfa 李金髮	1928	“Wu guo yishu jiaoyu” 《吾國藝術教育》 (Art Education of Our Country)	<i>Shen bao</i> 《申報》 (Shen Post), 1/1/1928; also in: <i>Meiyu zazhi</i> 《美育雜誌》 ( <i>Mi-Yo Journal</i> ), no. 2.
120.	Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴	1928	“Duiyu jiaoshou tuhua de yi dian xiao yijian” 《對於教授圖畫的一點小意見》 (Few Opinions on Teaching Painting)	In: <i>Ertong jiaoyu</i> 《兒童教育》 ( <i>Children Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 4.

121.	Zhu Yunzong 朱允宗	1929	“Xiaoxuexiao meiyu xunlianfa” 《小學校美育訓練法》 (Teaching Method for Aesthetic Education in Primary School)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 17, no. 9.
122.	Shu Xincheng 舒新城	1929	“Meigan jiaoyu sixiang” 《美感教育思想》 (Thought on Aesthetic Education)	In: Shu Xincheng (ed.) 舒新城 (1929), <i>Jindai zhongguo jiaoyu sixiangshi</i> 《近代中國教育思想史》 ( <i>History of Contemporary Thoughts on Chinese Education</i> ). Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
123.	Liu Sixun 劉思訓	1929	“Yishu yu jiaoyu zai jinri de guanxi” 《藝術與教育在今日的關係》 (Current Relationship between Fine Arts and Education)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 17, no. 10.
124.	(Japanese) Abe, Shigetaka 阿部重考; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1929	“Jindai yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近代藝術教育運動》 (Modern Art Education Movement)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 21, no. 1.
125.	Wang Muqing 王穆清	1930	“Xiangcun xiaoxue de gongyi jiaocai” 《鄉村小學的工藝教材》 (Materials for Teaching Practical Arts in Rural Primary School)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 18, no. 3.
126.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1930a	“Meiyu” 《美育》 (Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu dacishu</i> 《教育大辭書》 ( <i>Dictionary of Education</i> ), vol. 1. Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
127.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1930b	“Yi meiyu dai zongjiao” 《以美育代宗教》 (Substituting Religion with Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Xiandai xuesheng</i> 《現代學生》 ( <i>Contemporary Student</i> ), vol. 1, no. 3.
128.	Ye Hua 葉華	1930	“Suo wangyu yishu jiaoyu yundongzhe” 《所望於藝術教育運動者》 (Expectation of the Advocate of Art Education Movement)	In: <i>Xinwen bao</i> 《新聞報》 (News Post), in: Shijie shuju 世界書局 (Shijie Book Store) (ed.) (1930), <i>Xiandai yishu pinglun ji</i> 《現代藝術評論集》 ( <i>A Collection of Modern Arts Criticism</i> ). Shanghai 上海: Author.
129.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930a	“Pinfa de da huajia” 《貧乏的大畫家》 (The Poor Artist)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 22, no. 1.
130.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930b	“Shuokuang de hua yu zhenshi de hua” 《說謊的畫與真實的畫》 (Picture Telling Lies and The One Telling the Reality)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 22, no. 2.
131.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930c	“Yige tongban de huajia guansi” 《一個銅板的畫家官司》 (A Lawsuit Charged for One Penny)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 22, no. 3.
132.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930d	“Fugui de meishujia” 《富貴的美術家》 (The Rich Artist)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 22, no. 4.
133.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930e	“Shenbian dai jingzi de huajia” 《身邊帶鏡》	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》

	愷		子的畫家》(The Painter With Mirror)	誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 5.
134.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930f	“Faming youhua de xiongdi huajia”《發明油畫的兄弟畫家》(Brothers Who Invented Oil Painting)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 6.
135.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930g	“Wu nian huacheng de xiaoyan”《五年畫成的笑顏》(A Similing Face Composed in Five Years)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 7.
136.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930h	“Wenyifuxing san jie de zhengyi”《文藝復興三傑的爭議》(The Controversy of the Three Renaissance Masters)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 8.
137.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930i	“Mohu de minghua”《模糊的名畫》(A Blurred Masterpiece)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 10.
138.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930j	“Ziji ge le erduo de huajia”《自己割了耳朵的畫家》(A Painter Cutting His Ear)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 11.
139.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930k	“Xinxing yishu jianshang”《新興藝術鑑賞》(Appreciation of Modern Art)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 12.
140.	(Japanese) Abe, Shigetaka 阿部重考; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1930	“Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fazhan”《藝術教育思想之發展》(The Development of Art Education Thinking)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 22, no. 12.
141.	Huang Juesi 黃覺寺	1930	“Yishu jiaoyu de yanjiu”《藝術教育的研究》(The Study of Art Education)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》(I-Liang), no. 1-2.
142.	Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴	1930	“Chuangzao de yishu”《創造的藝術》(Creative Art)	In: <i>Ertong Jiaoyu</i> 《兒童教育》(Children Education), vol. 2, no. 6.
143.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1931	“Ke jing de jiyili”《可驚的記憶力》(Astonishing Memory)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 23, no. 3.
144.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1931	“Sanshiwu nian lai zhongguo zhi yishu jiaoyu”《三十五年來中國之藝術教育》(Art Education in China in the Last 35 Years)	In: Zhuang Yu 庄俞 and He Shengnai 賀聖鼐 (eds.)(1931), <i>Zuijin sanshiwu nian zhi zhongguo jiaoyu</i> 《最近三十五年之中國教育》(Chinese Education in the last 35 Years). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
145.	(Japanese) Xiao lin zuo yuan 小林佐源. (No English name found); Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1931	“Xuexiao shenghuo yu yishu”《學校生活與藝術》(School Life and Art)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》(The Chinese Educational Review), vol. 23, no. 2.
146.	Xi Tian 西恬	1931	“Gongzuo keben ke zuo duwu ma”《工作課本可作讀物嗎》(Can Textbook for	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》(The Chung

			Work be Reading Materials?)	<i>Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 19, no. 4.
147.	Pan Danming 潘澹明	1931	“Xiaoxue meishuke xuyao keben ma” 《小學美術科需要課本嗎》 (Do Primary School Need Textbook for Art?)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 19, no. 4.
148.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1932	“Tigao meishu jianshangli” 《提高美術鑑賞力》 (Improving Ability of Art Appreciation)	In: <i>Min Bao</i> 《民報》 ( <i>People Newspaper</i> ), 5/7/1932.
149.	(Japanese) Guan, Wei 關衛 (No English found); Cheng Jun 承均 (trans.)	1932	“Guanyu jiaoyu zhi yishu de taoye” 《關於教育之藝術的陶冶》 (On the Cultivation of Education Art)	In: <i>Yishu xunkan</i> 《藝術旬刊》 ( <i>L' Art</i> ), vol. 1, no. 5.
150.	Ni Te 尼特	1932	“Tantan yanghua de jianshang” 《談談洋畫的鑑賞》 (Western Art Appreciation)	In: <i>Yishu xunkan</i> 《藝術旬刊》 ( <i>L' Art</i> ), vol.1, no. 7-8.
151.	(Japanese) Obara, Kuniyoshi Yaku 小原國芳; Wu Chengjun 吳承均 (trans.)	1932	“Yishu he jiaoyu de benzhi de guanxi” 《藝術和教育的本質的關係》 (Intrinsic Relation between Art and Education)	In: <i>Yishu xunkan</i> 《藝術旬刊》 ( <i>L' Art</i> ), vol. 1, no. 12.
152.	Lan Bo 蘭波	1932	“Chumin meishu yu ertong meishu” 《初民美術與兒童美術》 (Primitive Art and Children Art)	In: <i>Yishu yu jiaoyu</i> 《藝術與教育》 ( <i>Fine Art and Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 2.
153.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1932	“Meiyu dai zongjiao” 《美育代宗教》 (Substitute Religion with Aesthetic Education)	In: <i>Jindai mingren yanlun ji</i> 《近代名人言論集》 ( <i>Collection of Ideas of Famous People in Modern Time</i> ). Publisher unknown
154.	Huang Juesi 黃覺寺	1932	“Zuijin sanshi nian nei wo guo zhi yishu jiaoyu yu weilai zhi zhanwang” 《最近三十年內我國之藝術教育與未來之展望》 (The Art Education in Our Country for the last Thirty Years and the Prospect of Its Future)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》 ( <i>I-Liang</i> ), no. 8.
155.	Yang Xiaochun 楊效春	1932	“Laozuo jiaoyu de lilun he shishi” 《勞作教育的理論和實施》 (Theories and Implementation of Labour Education)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 20, no. 3.
156.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1933	“Jindai yishu yundong yu yishu jiaoyu” 《近代藝術運動與藝術教育》 (Modern Art Movement and Art Education)	<i>Min Bao</i> 《民報》 ( <i>People Newspaper</i> ), 17 & 24/7/1932
157.	Cheng Jun 承均	1933	“Meishu jiaoyu mantan” 《美術教育漫談》 (On the Fine Art Education)	In: <i>藝術</i> ( <i>L' Art</i> ), 2, 1933
158.	Wu Zengjie 吳增芥	1933	“Laozuo jiaoyu de yiyi he jiazhi” 《勞作教育的意義和價值》 (Significance and Merits of Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
159.	Shen Zishan 沈子善	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu de xin qushi” 《小學勞作教育的新趨勢》 (New Trend of Primary School Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour</i>



				<i>Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
160.	Cao Fengnan 曹風南	1933	“Shishi xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu yingyou de renshi” 《實施小學勞作教育應有的認識》 (Knowledge of Implementing Primary School Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
161.	Li Daqian 李大千	1933	“Shengchan laozuo jiaoyu de lilun” 《生產勞作教育的理論》 (Theories of Production Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
162.	Sheng Langxi 盛朗西	1933	“Shougong – gongyi – gongzuo – laozuo” 《手工 – 工藝 – 工作 – 勞作》 ( <i>Sloyd – Practical Arts – Work – Labour</i> )	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
163.	Chen Qingquan 陳清泉	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu shi wen” 《小學勞作教育十問》 (Ten Questions about Primary School Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
164.	Gong Jiayin 龔家駟	1933	“Laozuo jiaoyu yu gongmin xunlian” 《勞作教育與公民訓練》 (Labour Education and Training of Citizens)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
165.	Wang Xipan 王希礪	1933	“Zenyang fazhan yiban xiaoxue de laozuo jiaoyu” 《怎樣發展一般小學的勞作教育》 (How to Develop Generic Primary School Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
166.	Wang Qizeng 汪期增	1933	“Laozuo jiaoxue sheji danyuan fennian gangyao juli” 《勞作教學設計單元分年綱要舉例》 (Examples of Yearly Outline of Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
167.	Xu Changlin 徐昌鱗	1933	“Xiangcun xiaoxue yi xuenian de laozuo jiaocai” 《鄉村小學一學年的勞作教材》 (One Academic Year Teaching Materials for Labour in Rural Primary Schools)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
168.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoxue xuyao de gongju”	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue</i>

	喬		《小學勞作教學需要的工具》(Tools Needed in Primary School Labour Teaching)	<i>jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號) ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
169.	Shao Jingrong 邵澗容	1933	“Laozuo ke ertong xuexi xingqu de diaocha yanjiu” 《勞作科兒童學習興趣的調查研究》 (Study of Children’s Interests in Learning Labour)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), vol. 21, no. 2.
170.	Zong Hanliang 宗漢梁	1934	“Laozuo ke zizhi jiaoju he cankao yongpin” 《勞作科自製教具和參考用品》 (Selfmade Teaching Aids and References for Labour Subject)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 8.
171.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934a	“Ertonghua” 《兒童畫》 (Children’s Drawing)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 14.
172.	Xu Shiqiao 徐石樵	1934	“Qixia xiangshi fushu xiaoxue laozuo shishi gaikuang” 《棲霞鄉師附屬小學勞作實施概況》 (General Situation of Implementing Labour Education in the Affiliated Primary School to Qixia Village Teaching Training Institute)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 17.
173.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1934a	“Meishuke xiangtu jiaocai yaomu ji qita” 《美術科鄉土教材要目及其他》 (Main Catalogue of Local Teaching Materials for Fine Art and Others)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 18.
174.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934b	“Tan tuhua de xingshi yu neirong” 《談圖畫的形式與內容》 (Form and Content of Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 24, no. 1.
175.	Jiang Lin 蔣霖	1934	“Yi nianji de meishu zenyang jiaoxue” 《一年級的美術怎樣教學》 (How to Teach Art in the First Grade)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 24.
176.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1934b	“Yi xueqi lai meishu jiaoxue de huiyi” 《一學期來美術教學的回憶》 (Memories of Art Teaching in a Semester)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 24.
177.	Lian Qixin 連啟新 and Zhang Yiwen 章以文	1934	“Wujiang xianli shengze xiaoxue meishu zhanlanhui sheji jiaoxue baogao” 《吳江縣立盛澤小學美術展覽會設計教學報告》 (Wujiang County’s Shengze Primary School Fine Arts Exhibition Designs Teaching Report)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 1, no. 24.
178.	Zhou Jishi 周吉士	1934	“Qiuye jiantie – shenqiu shiling de meishu xin jiaocai” 《秋葉剪貼 – 深秋時令的美術新教材》 (Cut and Paste Autumn Leaves – New Fine Art Teaching Materials in Late Autumn)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 6.
179.	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1934	“Guanyu ertong meiyu he tuhua kanwu” 《關於兒童美育和圖畫刊物》 (Children’s Aesthetic Education and Publications on	In: <i>Meishu shenghuo</i> 《美術生活》 ( <i>The Arts and Life</i> ), no. 6.

			Drawing)	
180.	Quan Yuxiu 全毓秀	1934	“Yishu jiaoyu de zuichu shishi shiqi” 《藝術教育的最初實施時期》 (Initial Impletenment Period of Art Education)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》 ( <i>I-Liang</i> ), vol. 2, no. 1.
181.	Huang Juesi 黃覺寺	1934	“Ertongqi de yishu jiaoyang wenti” 《兒童期的藝術教養問題》 (Problems of Art Education for Children)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》 ( <i>I-Liang</i> ), vol. 2, no. 1.
182.	Yu Jianhua 俞劍華	1935	“Zhongxiaoxue tuhuake yi shou guohua yi” 《中小學圖畫科宜授國畫議》 (Discussion about Chinese Painting Should be Taught in Primary and Middle School)	In: <i>Guohua yuekan</i> 《國畫月刊》 ( <i>Chinese Painting Monthly</i> ), no.5.
183.	Wu Yinghe 吳英鶴	1935	“Caiyong fuxing chuzhong tuhua jiaokeshu” 《採用復興初中圖畫教科書》 (Adopting the Fuxing Textbook of Junior Middle School Drawing)	In: <i>Guohua yuekan</i> 《國畫月刊》 ( <i>Chinese Painting Monthly</i> ), no.11-12.
184.	Gong Zhengtao 龔徵桃	1935	“Cong lao zhan shuo dao laozuo jiaoyu” 《從勞展說到勞作教育》 (From Handwork Exhibition to Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 25, no. 3.
185.	Gong Jitang 龔稽唐	1935a	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue yanjiu” 《小學美術教學研究》 (Study of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
186.	Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰	1935	“Xinshang jiaoyu de yanjiu” 《欣賞教育的研究》 (Study of Appreciation Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
187.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935a	“Xiaoxue meishuke de fabiao jiaoxue he yanjiu jiaoxue” 《小學美術科的發表教學和研究教學》 (Teaching of Artistic Expression and Study on Fine Art in Primary School)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
188.	Yao Yiyun 姚逸雲	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaocai de yanjiu” 《小學美術教材的研究》 (Study of Primary School Fine Art Teaching Materials)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
189.	Lu Shizhou 陸士洲	1935	“Gaoji meishu zuoye fenliang de yanjiu” 《高級美術作業分量的研究》 (Study on the Components of Fine Art Practice of Advance Level)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.

190.	Li Botang 李伯棠	1935	“Xiangcun danji xiaoxue de meishu” jiaoxue 《鄉村單級小學的美術教學》 (Teaching Fine Art in Countryside Single Grade Primary Schools)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
191.	Chu Shaoxi 儲紹 熙	1935	“Huihua xuexi xinli de yanjiu” 《繪畫學習 心理的研究》 (The Study of the Psychology of Learning Painting)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
192.	Jiang Lin 蔣霖	1935	“Ertong ziyou hua” 《兒童自由畫》 (Children’s Drawing)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
193.	Zhang Jie 張潔	1935	“Di nianji tuchia jiaoxue de ji ge shiji wenti” 《低年級圖畫教學的幾個實際問題》 (Several Practical Problems in Teaching Junior Classes Drawing)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
194.	Zong Yihuang 宗 以黃	1935	“Ertonghua de putong cuowu” 《兒童畫的 普通錯誤》 (Common Mistakes in Children’s Drawing)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
195.	Wu Zhaoji 吳肇 基	1935	“Zenyang zhidao ertong zhizuo tu’an” 《怎 樣指導兒童製作圖案》 (How to Teach Children Making Patterns)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
196.	Chen Zhansan 陳 展三	1935	“Xiaoxue meishuke jiantie jiaofa de yanjiu” 《小學美術科剪貼教法的研究》 (The Study of Teaching Cut and Paste in Primary School Fine Art Subject)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美 術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
197.	Shen Jushen 沈菊 神	1935	“Liang zhong meishu buchong jiaocai” 《兩種美術補充教材》 (Two Kinds of Complementary Teaching Materials for	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary</i>

			Fine Art)	<i>School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
198.	Rui Heqian 芮和謙	1935	“Zhong di ji meishu zhuhuaqi” 《中低級美術助畫器》 (Tools for Drawing in Intermediate and Junior Grade)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
199.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935b	“Ji zhong meishu jiaoju de jieshao” 《幾種美術教具的介紹》 (Introduction to Several Teaching Aids)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
200.	Lin 霖	1935	“Xin chuban de meishu jiaocai ji jiaoshi cankao shumu” 《新出版的美術教材及教師參考書目》 (New Published Art Materials and References for Teachers)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
201.	Gong Jitang 龔稽唐	1935b	“Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu” 《小學教師應用美術》 (Art for Primary School Teacher)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
202.	Cheng Ximing 程曦明	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue zhi yanjiu” 《小學美術教學之研究》 (Study of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
203.	Jiangsusheng xiaoxue jiaoshi 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) (ed.)	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de ji ge wenti” 《小學美術教學的幾個問題》 (Several Problems in Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> ) (小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
204.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935c	“Meishu jiaoxue yu liuxing xin yishu” 《美術教學與流行新藝術》 (Teaching of Fine Art and Current Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 16.
205.	Zhou Jishi 周吉	1935	“Tu'an zi de jiaoxue” 《圖案字的教學》	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue</i>

	士		(Teaching of Pattern Letters)	<i>jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 16.
206.	[Jiangsu] shengli zhengjiang shiyan xiaoxue 省立鎮江實驗小學 (Jiangsu Province Zhengjiang Experimental Primary School)	1935	“Laozuo jiaoyu shishi gaikuang ji gaijin fangzhen” 《勞作教育實施概況及改進方針》 (General Situation of Implementing Labour Education and Principals for Improvement)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 16 & 18.
207.	Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 and Lu Xiongsheng 陸雄升	1935	“Laozuo jiaoyu gaishuo” 《勞作教育概說》 (Brief Introduction to Labour Education)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 20 & 22.
208.	Lu Tian 陸天	1935a	“Ji zhong diji meishu youxi jiaocai” 《幾種低級美術遊戲教材》 (Several Fine Art Games for Junior Grade)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 22.
209.	Shen Boying 沈伯英	1935	“Meishu jiaoxue de zhixu wenti” 《美術教學的秩序問題》 (Discipline Problems of Teaching Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 24.
210.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬喬	1935	“Gaoji laozuo gebie zuoye de shishi” 《高級勞作個別作業的實施》 (Implementation of Individual Exercise for Senior Labour)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 2, no. 24.
211.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1935	“Ji zhong liyong feiwu de gongyi jiaocai” 《幾種利用廢物的工藝教材》 (Several Teaching Materials for Practical Arts with Trash)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 1.
212.	Lu Tian 陸天	1935b	“Xiaoxue meishuke xin yishu jiaocai yanjiu” 《小學美術科新藝術教材研究》 (Study of New Art Teaching Materials of Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 2.
213.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬喬	1936	“Laozuoke de chengji kaocha” 《勞作科的成績考查》 (Assessment in Labour)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 11.
214.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936a	“Meishuke de chengji kaocha” 《美術科的成績考查》 (Assessment in Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 11.
215.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936b	“Yi ge xiaoxue meishuguan de shebei buzhi” 《一個小學美術館的設備佈置》 (The Layout Design of Primary School Art Gallery)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 17.
216.	(American) Garrison & Garrison; Dai	1936	“Huihua de xinli yanjiu” 《繪畫的心理研究》 (The Study of the Psychology of Painting)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary</i>

	Yushi 戴聿師 (trans.)			<i>School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 12.
217.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936c	“Guan quanguo ertong huihua zhanlanhui” hou 《觀全國兒童繪畫展覽會後》 (After Visiting the National Exhibition of Children’s Paintings)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 21.
218.	Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰	1936	“Gaijin xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de guanjian” 《改進小學美術教學的管見》 (Opinions about Improvement of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 21.
219.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1936	“Meishu keye yongpin wenti de yanjiu” 《美術課業用品問題的研究》 (Study of Tools for Fine Art Lessons)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 3, no. 24.
220.	Liu Mingde 劉明德	1936	“Zenyang jiao toushijia” 《怎樣教透視畫》 (How to Teach Perspective Drawing)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 2.
221.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Ji Guoping 季國屏	1936	“Yi nian lai de mei zhou minghua xinshangjiaoxue” 《一年來的每週名畫欣賞教學》 (A Year’s Teaching of Art Appreciation)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 4.
222.	Lu Tian 陸天	1936	“Di nianji meishu youxi jiaocai” 《低年級美術遊戲教材》 (Teaching Materials for Junior Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 4.
223.	Wang Xiang 王驥 and Gao Heng 高衡	1936	“Xiangtu fengjing jiantie jiaocai juli” 《鄉土風景剪貼教材舉例》 (Examples of Teaching Materials: Cut and Paste Countryside Landscape)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 4.
224.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936d	“Xiuzheng xiaoxue meishu kecheng biao zhun de jiantao” 《修正小學美術課程標準的檢討》 (Review of the Revised Syllabus of Primary School Fine Art)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 5.
225.	Ma Ketan 馬客談	1936	“Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwen ji ” 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》 (The Visit to a Children’s Art Class in Vienna)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 26, no. 9.
226.	Ouyang Xiang 歐陽湘	1936	“Ertong yu tuhua” 《兒童與圖畫》 (Children and Painting)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 26, no. 10.
227.	Wang Yifu 王一夫	1936	“Xiaoxue huihua changshi” 《小學繪畫常識》 (Common Knowledge of Primary School Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 26, no. 11.
228.	Zhang Anzhi 張安治	1936	“Guanyu wo guo zhongxiaoxue de meiyu” 《關於我國中小學的美育》 (Aesthetic Education in Our Middle and Primary Schools)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 3.
229.	Gong Qichang 龔	n. d.	“Jieshao weiyena qiji jiaoshou de ertong	In: <i>Shiyan jiaoyu</i> 《實驗教

	啟昌		yishuban ji qi lixiang” 《介紹維也納棄疾教授的兒童藝術班及其理想》 (Introduction to Viennese Professor Cizek’s Art Class for Children and His Ideals)	育》 ( <i>Experimental Education</i> ), vol. 3, no. 3.
230.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1936a	“Xiandai yishu jiaoyu zhi yiyi” 《現代藝術教育之意義》 (Significance of Modern Art Education)	In: <i>Min Bao</i> 《民報》 ( <i>People Newspaper</i> ), 20/7/1936
231.	Chen Zhifo 陳之佛	1936a	“Yanghua jianshang duiyu ticai shang de yixie xiao wenti” 《洋畫鑑賞對於題材上的一些小問題》 (Several Problems on Subjects of Western Art Appreciation)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 1.
232.	Chen Zhifo 陳之佛	1936b	“Yishupin jianshang de taidu” 《藝術品鑑賞的態度》 (Attitudes of Artwork Appreciation)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 2.
233.	Jiang Ren 蔣仁	1936	“Zhongguo meishuhui cheng xingzhengyuan ji zhongyang minxunbu wen – jianqing xuesheng fudan yu xuejian yishu xueke shishu” 《中國美術會呈行政院及中央民訓部文 – 減輕學生負擔與削減藝術學科時數》 (The Proposal of Chinese Art Association to Central Education Department - Reducing Burden on Student and Cutting the Hours of Art Classes)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 2.
234.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1936b	“Huihua jianshang yu piping” 《繪畫鑑賞與批評》 (Appreciation and Critics on Drawing)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 3.
235.	Zhang Anzhi 張安治	1936	“Guanyu wo guo zhongxiaoxue de meiyu” 《關於我國中小學的美育》 (Aesthetic Education in Our Middle and Primary Schools)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 3.
236.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1936	“Huihua de xinshang” 《繪畫的欣賞》 (Appreciation of Paintings)	In: Feng Huazhan 豐華瞻 and Qi Zhirong 戚志蓉 (1985), <i>Feng Zikai lun yishu</i> 《豐子愷論藝術》 ( <i>Feng Zikai Art Reveiw</i> ). Shanghai 上海: Fudan daxue 復旦大學
237.	Shang Qikui 尚其達	1937	“Yishu jiaoyujia de taidu” 《藝術教育家的態度》 (Attitudes of Art Educators)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 4.
238.	Xu Shaohui 徐紹會	1937	“Guanyu gu meishu jianshang de yi dian yijian” 《關於古美術鑑賞的一點意見》 (Some Opinions on Appreciation of Ancient Art)	In: <i>Zhongguo meishuhui jikan</i> 《中國美術會季刊》 ( <i>The Chinese Fine Arts Association Quarterly Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 4.
239.	He Tiehua 何鐵華	1937	“Tuhua jiaoyu de zhu wenti” 《圖畫教育的諸問題》 (The Problems about Drawing Education)	In: <i>Meishu zazhi</i> 《美術雜誌》 ( <i>The Fine Arts Journal</i> ), vol. 1, no. 3.
240.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Chen Ainong 陳愛穉	1937	“Youzhiyuan de tuhua” 《幼稚園的圖畫》 (Paintings From Kindergartens)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province</i> )



				<i>Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 8.
241.	E Junlan 鄂駿嵐	1937	“Guofang sheji houzhi laozuo jiaocai” 《國防設計厚紙勞作教材》 (Labour Teaching Materials: Pasteboard for National Defense Design)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 10, 12 & 16.
242.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1937	“Xiang xiao laozuo jiaocai shiyi zhong” 《鄉小勞作教材十一種》 (Eleven Labour Teaching Materials of Countryside Primary Schools)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 14.
243.	Lu Tian 陸天	1937	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue wenti zatan” 《小學美術教學問題雜談》 (Fragmentary Writings on the Problems of Primary School Fine Art Teaching)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 16.
244.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1937	“Xiaoxue laozuoke jiaoxue yaodian” 《小學勞作科教學要點》 (Main Points of Primary School Labour Teaching)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ), vol. 4, no. 18.
245.	Wang Yifu 王一夫	1937	“Jieshao ji zhong laozuo jiaocai” 《介紹幾種勞作教材》 (Introduction to Several Labour Teaching Materials)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 27, no. 4.
246.	Su Zhaoxin 蘇兆新	1937	“Diji ertong de laozuo shenghuo” 《低級兒童的勞作生活》 (Labour Life of Junior Grade Children)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 27, no. 5.
247.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1937	“Ertong duiyu minghua xinshang xingqu de diaocha yanjiu” 《兒童對於名畫欣賞興趣的調查研究》 (The Study of Children’s Interest in Appreciating Master Pieces )	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 27, no. 7.
248.	Qian Yunqing 錢雲清	1937	“Xiaoxue tuhua jiaoxuefa” 《小學圖畫教學法》 (Teaching Method for Primary School Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 27, no. 11-12.
249.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1937a	“Zhongxue tuhua jiaoxue shiji wenti” 《中學圖畫教學實際問題》 (Practical Problems in Teaching High School Drawing)	In: <i>Min Bao</i> 《民報》 ( <i>People Newspaper</i> ) 26/3/1937.
250.	Wang Yachen 汪亞塵	1937b	“Lao yin mei shuqi jiangxihui de ganxiang” 《勞音美暑期講習會的感受》 (Summer School Review: Music, Art & Craft)	In: <i>Min Bao</i> 《民報》 ( <i>People Newspaper</i> ), 30/7/1937.
251.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1938	“Zhanshi xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue wenti” 《戰時小學美術教學問題》 (Problems in Teaching Primary School Fine Art During Wartime)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 28, no. 3.
252.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1938	“Meiyu yu rensheng” 《美育與人生》 (Aesthetic Education and Life)	In: Sun Changwei 孫常煒 (ed.)(1938), <i>Cai Yuanpei xiansheng quanji</i> 《蔡元培先生全集》 ( <i>Collections of Cai Yuanpei’s Works</i> ). Publisher unknown
253.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1939	“Jinshi yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近世藝術教育運動》 (Contemporary Art Education Movement)	In: Feng Chenbao 豐陳寶 et al. (eds.) (1990), <i>Feng Zikai Wenji</i> 《豐子愷文集》

				(Collection of Feng Zikai's Works). Hangzhou 杭州: Zhejiang wenyi 浙江文藝
254.	Yan Wenliang 顏文樑	n. d.	“Yishu jiaoyu jinhou zhi qushi” 《藝術教育今後之趨勢》 (Art Education Trend)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》 ( <i>I-Liang</i> ), vol. 2, no. 2-3.
255.	Si Qin 思琴	1940	“Mantan yishu jiaoyu wenti” 《漫談藝術教育問題》 (Free Discussion: The Art Education Problem)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), no. 5.
256.	Lu Qiqing 陸其清	1940	“Yishu jiaoyu de xiaoneng” 《藝術教育的效能》 (Function in Art Education)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), no. 5.
257.	Ni Huanzhou 倪煥周	1940	“Minzu yishu fengge de zhuanxiang yu yishu jiaoyu” 《民族藝術風格的轉向與藝術教育》 (The Trend of Folk Art and Art Education)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), no. 5.
258.	Xu Dehua 徐德華	1940	“Shenlun yishu zai jiaoyu shang suo zhan zhi zhongyaoxing” 《申論藝術在教育上所佔之重要性》 (The importance of Art Education in School)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), no. 5.
259.	Tao Xingzhi 陶行知	1940	“Yucai xuexiao chuangan zhiqu” 《育才學校創辦旨趣》 (Objectives of the Foundation of Yucai School)	In: <i>Zhanshi jiaoyu</i> 《戰時教育》 ( <i>Education in Wartime</i> ), vol. 6, no. 1.
260.	Dehua 德華	1940	“Meishu chengji kaocha biaoazhun” 《美術成績考查標準》 (Art Assessment Standard)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), publication date unknown.
261.	Chen Hua 陳華	1941	“Yishu jiaoyu tongxun” 《藝術教育通訊》 (Communications of Art Education)	In: <i>Yinyue yu meishu</i> 《音樂與美術》 ( <i>Music and Art</i> ), vol. 2, no. 6.
262.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1941	“Sanshi nian lai yishu jiaoyu zhi huigu” 《三十年來藝術教育之回顧》 (A Retrospect of Art Education in the last 30 Years)	In: <i>Feng Zikai jinzuo sanwen ji</i> 《豐子愷近作散文集》 ( <i>Collection of Feng Zikai's Recent Essays</i> ) Chengdu 成都: Puyi tushuguan 普益圖書館
263.	Hu Shuyi 胡叔異	1942	“Tan xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu” 《談小學美術教育》 (Primary School Fine Art Education)	In: <i>Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan</i> 《國民教育指導月刊》 ( <i>The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 12.
264.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1942	“Xiaoxue laozuo kecheng biaoazhun shishi chengji buliang de yuanyin” 《小學勞作科課程標準實施成績不良的原因》 (Reasons for the Bad Result of the Implementation of the Syllabus for Primary Labour)	In: <i>Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan</i> 《國民教育指導月刊》 ( <i>The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 12.
265.	Tang Yifan 唐一帆	1942	“Huo de laozuo jiaoxuefa” 《活的勞作教學法》 (Flexible Labour Teaching Method)	In: <i>Guomin jiaoyu zhidao yuekan</i> 《國民教育指導月刊》 ( <i>The Monthly Journal of Guidance for National Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 12.
266.	Lin Zhongda 林仲達	1943	“Yishu jiaoyu yu geming” 《藝術教育與革命》 (Art Education and Revolution)	In: <i>Xin zhonghua</i> 《新中華》 ( <i>New China</i> ), vol. 1, no. 4.
267.	Chen Heqin 陳鶴琴	1943	“Aoguo ertong huajia” 《奧國兒童畫家》 (Children Painters from Australia)	In: <i>Huo jiaoyu</i> 《活教育》 ( <i>Useful Education</i> ), vol. 3, no. 2.
268.	Wen Zhaotong 溫	1946	“Ping xiaoxue tuhua kecheng biaoazhun”	In: <i>Shenbao</i> 《申報》 ( <i>Shen</i>

	肇桐		《評小學圖畫課程標準》 (Opinions on Syllabus for Primary School Drawing)	<i>Post</i> (20/3/1946)
269.	Chen Zhihua 陳志華	1946	“Zhong guo yishu jiaoyu lun” 《中國藝術教育論》 (Chinese Art Education Review)	In: <i>Yi lang</i> 《藝浪》 ( <i>I-Liang</i> ), vol. 4, no. 1.
270.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1947	“Xiaoxue laozuoke kecheng” 《小學勞作科課程》 (Syllabus for Primary School Labour)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 32, no. 4.
271.	Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典	1947	“Meishu kecheng zhong de tu he hua” 《美術課程中的圖和畫》 (Picture and Drawing in Fine Art Teaching)	In: <i>Zhonghua jiaoyujie</i> 《中華教育界》 ( <i>The Chung Hwa Educational Review</i> ), resume publicatoin, vol. 1, no. 12.
272.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948a	“Ertong ziyouhua de jiaoxue wenti” 《兒童自由畫的教學問題》 (Problems of Teaching Children Free-expression Drawing)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 33, no. 7.
273.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948b	“Ertong meishu xinshang yu chuangzao de jiaoxue” 《兒童美術欣賞與創造的教學》 (Teaching Children Art Appreciation and Creation)	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhi</i> 《教育雜誌》 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ), vol. 33, no. 10.

Table 8 Chinese Books on Art Education Published from 1900 to 1949

	Author	Publication Date	Book Title	Publisher
1.	Zhu Yuanshan 朱元善 (ed.)	1915	<i>Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli</i> 《藝術教育之原理》 ( <i>Principles of Art Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
2.	Wang Benwei 王本偉 (ed.)	1919	<i>Tuhua lilun ji jiaoshoufa</i> 《圖畫理論及教授法》 ( <i>Theories on Painting and Teaching Method</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
3.	Liu Haisu 劉海粟	1923 ?	<i>Shenhe xin xuezhì yishuke kecheng gangyao yihou</i> 《審核新學制藝術科課程綱要以後》 ( <i>After Reviewing the Art Syllabus in New School System</i> )	Publisher unknown
4.	Feng Hao 馮皓, Feng Gan 馮幹 and Feng Yan 馮彥	1923	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學美術教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Primary School Fine Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
5.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1924	<i>Tuhua jiaocai gailun</i> 《圖畫教材概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Teaching Material of Painting</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
6.	(American) Barley, Henry Turner, Yu Jifan 俞寄凡 (trans.)	1925	<i>Yishu jiaoyu sheshifa</i> 《藝術教育設施法》 ( <i>Art Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
7.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1925a	<i>Xiaoxue meishu ke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學美術科教學法》 ( <i>Methods for Teaching Art in Primary School</i> )	In: <i>Jiaoyu zazhishe</i> 教育雜誌社 ( <i>The Chinese Educational Review</i> ) (1925), <i>Meishu ji yinyue jiaoxuefa</i> 《美術及音樂教學法》 ( <i>How to Teach Art and Music</i> ). Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
8.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1925b	<i>Yishu jiaoyuxue</i> 《藝術教育學》 ( <i>A Study on Art Education</i> ).	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
9.	(Japanese) Kobayashi,	1925	<i>Yishu jiaoyu lun</i> 《藝術教育論》 ( <i>On the Teaching of Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務

	Sumimi 小林澄見 and Otawa, Akira 大多和顯 ; Tang Kaibin 唐開斌 (trans.)			
10.	Da Xuan 大玄 and Yu Shangtong 余尚同	1925	<i>Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu</i> 《教育之美學的基礎》 (Aesthetic Bases of Teaching)	Shangghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
11.	(German) Freienfeis (Richard Müller-Freienfels?); Guan Rongde 管容德(trans.)	1926	<i>Yishu jianshang de xinli</i> 《藝術鑑賞的心理》 (Psychology of Art Appreciation)	Shanghai 上海: liangxi tushuguan 梁溪圖書館
12.	Li Songyao 李頌堯	1927	<i>Ertong tuhua zhi yanjiu</i> 《兒童圖畫之研究》 (The Study of Children's Art)	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
13.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1928	<i>Yishu jiaoyu ABC</i> 《藝術教育 ABC》 (Art Education ABC)	Shanghai 上海: Shanghai ABC congshushe 上海 ABC 叢書社
14.	Zhao Woqing 趙我青	1929	<i>Ertong ziyouhua yanjiu</i> 《兒童自由畫研究》 (A Study of Children's Drawing)	Minzhi shushe 民智書社
15.	Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰	1930	<i>Xiaoxuexiao xingxiang yishu jiaoxue fa</i> 《小學校形象藝術教學法》 (The Teaching of Fine Arts in Elementary Schools)	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
16.	Song Yi 宋易	1931	<i>Zenyang jiao xiaohaizi xue hua</i> 《怎樣教小孩子學畫》 (How to Teach Children Drawing)	Ertong shudian 兒童書店
17.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1932	<i>Yishu jiaoyu</i> 《藝術教育》 (Art Education)	Shanghai 上海: Dadong shuju 大東書局
18.	Wu Chengjun 吳成均	1933	<i>Ertong meishu jianshang zhidaofa</i> 《兒童美術鑒賞指導法》 (Teaching Method for Art Appreciation with Children).	Shanghai 上海: Dadong shuju 大東書局
19.	Zhonghua pinmin jiaoyu cujinhui 中華平民教育促進會 (Zhonghua Society for Promoting Education for Common People)	1933	<i>Yishu jiaoyu</i> 《藝術教育》 (Art Education)	Author
20.	Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明	1933	<i>Xiaoxue meishu keben jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學美術課本教學法(第一,二,三,四冊)》 (Methods for teaching textbook for Primary School Art Education) (Vol. 1 - 4).	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
21.	Ma Guoliang 馬國亮	1933	<i>Huihua xinshang</i> 《繪畫欣賞》 (Appreciation of Painting)	Liangyou 良友
22.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1933	<i>Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu</i> 《小學教師應用美術》 (Art for Primary School Teacher)	Shanghai 上海: Shijie shuju 世界書局
23.	Zhejiang shengli Hangzhou shifan xuexiao 浙江省立杭州師範學校 (The Provincial Normal School of Hangzhou)	1933	<i>Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu</i> 《小學勞作教育》 (Labour Education in Primary School)	Author

	(ed.)			
24.	Yu Jifan 俞寄凡	1934a	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoyu</i> 《小學美術教育》 ( <i>Art Education in Primary School</i> )	Shanghai 上海 :Shangwu 商務
25.	Yu, Jifan 俞寄凡	1934b	<i>Meishuke kaishi jiaoxuefa</i> 《美術科開始教學法》 ( <i>Teaching of Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
26.	Yu, Jifan 俞寄凡	1934c	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de yanjiu</i> 《小學美術教學的研究》 ( <i>Study of Art Teaching in Primary School</i> ).	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
27.	Ni Yide 倪貽德	1934	<i>Meishu gaozhong jiaoben</i> 《美術高中教本》 ( <i>Art for Senior Secondary School Text Book</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Beixin shuju 北新書局
28.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1929/ 1979	<i>Yishu quwei</i> 《藝術趣味》 ( <i>Interest of Fine Arts</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Gangqing 港青
29.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934	<i>Kaiming tuhua jiangyi</i> 《開明圖畫講義》 ( <i>Kaiming's Notes on Drawing</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Kaiming shudian 開明書店
30.	Zhejiangsheng jiaoyuting 浙江省教育廳 (Zhejiang Education Department) (ed.)	1934	<i>Meishuke kaishi jiaoxuefa</i> 《美術科開始教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Method for Art</i> )	Author
31.	He Mingzhai 何明齋	1934	<i>Xiaoxue gongyong yishuke jiaoxuefa</i> 《小學工用藝術科教學法》 ( <i>The Teaching of Practical Arts in Primary School</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
32.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1935	<i>Yishu lunji</i> 《藝術論集》 ( <i>Collection Works on Fine Arts</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
33.	Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe lishihui 中華藝術教育社理事會(Board of Directors, Zhonghua Art Education Association) (ed.)	1935	<i>Zhonghua yishu jiaoyushe gaikuang</i> 《中華藝術教育社概況》 ( <i>General Features of Zhonghua Art Education Association</i> )	Author
34.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935	<i>Zenyang jiao Xiaoxue de meishu</i> 《怎樣教小學的美術》 ( <i>How to Teach Art in Primary School</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shijie shuju 世界書局
35.	Beipingshi shehuiju youzhiyuan xiaoxue juti kecheng bianji weiyuanhui 北平市社會局幼稚園小學具體課程編輯委員會 (Beiping County Social Bureau Preschool and Elementry School Curriculum Editorial Board)	1935	<i>Xiaoxue laozuo juti kecheng</i> 《小學勞作具體課程》 ( <i>Curriculum of Primary School Labour</i> )	Author
36.	Liu Zhiyan 劉趾延	1936	<i>Shiji de Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxuefa</i> 《實際的小學美術教學法》 ( <i>Practical Teaching Method for Primary School Art</i> )	Kaihua shudian 開華書店

37.	Wang Shilin 王士林	1936	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaocai jiaofa</i> 《小學美術教材教法》 ( <i>Teaching Material and Methods for Primary School Art</i> )	Xinya shudian 新亞書店
38.	Zhang Xu 張盱 etc.	1935-1936	<i>Xiaoxue meishu zixiu fuxi zhidao</i> 《小學美術自修複習指導》 ( <i>Guideline for Self Practicing Primary School Art</i> )	Jingwei shushe 經緯書社
39.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1936	<i>Xinbian tuhua jiaocan</i> 《新編圖畫教案》 ( <i>New Teaching Plan of Drawing</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
40.	Huang Yi 黃翼	1938	<i>Ertong huihua zhi xinli</i> 《兒童繪畫之心理》 ( <i>Psychology of Children's Drawing</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
41.	(Norwegian) Eng, Helga; Gong Qichang 龔啟昌 (trans.)	1939	<i>Ertong huihua xinli zhi yanjiu</i> 《兒童繪畫心理之研究》 ( <i>The Psychology of Children's Drawings</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
42.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1939	<i>Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa</i> 《小學美術科教材和教法》 ( <i>Teaching Material and Methods for Primary School Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
43.	Wang Yifu 王一夫	1940	<i>Xiaoxue meishuke baiwen</i> 《小學美術科百問》 ( <i>Hundred Questions about Primary School Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
44.	Chen Baoyi 陳抱一	1941	<i>Yanghua xinshang ji meishu changshi</i> 《洋畫欣賞及美術常識》 ( <i>Appreciation of Western Painting and Common Knowledge of Art</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shijie shuju 世界書局
45.	(American) Tue de 託德 and Gai Er 蓋爾 (original spellings missed); Dong Renjian 董任堅 (trans.)	1941	<i>Ertong de meishu xiangle yu yingyong</i> 《兒童的美術享樂與應用》 ( <i>The Amusement and Application of Art of Children</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shijie shuju 世界書局
46.	Zhu Sudian 朱蘇典 and Pan Danming 潘淡明	1948	<i>Xiaoxue jiaoshi de yishu zhishi</i> 《小學教師的藝術知識》 ( <i>Knowledge of Fine Art for Primary School Teacher</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
47.	Pan Danming 潘淡明	1948	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoshi shouce</i> 《小學美術教師手冊》 ( <i>Handbook for Primary School Art Teacher</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
48.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948c	<i>Guomin jiaoshi yingyou de meishu jichu zhishi</i> 《國民教師應有的美術基礎知識》 ( <i>Foundational Art Knowledge for National Teachers</i> ).	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
49.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948d	<i>Meishu yu meishu jiaoyu</i> 《美術與美術教育》 ( <i>Art and Art Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shijie shuju 世界書局
50.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948e	<i>Xiaoxue meishuke jiaocai he jiaofa yi ce</i> 《小學美術科教材和教法》 ( <i>Teaching Materials and Methods for Primary Art Education</i> ).	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu. 商務
51.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948f	<i>Chuangzao de ertong huihua zhidao yanjiu</i> 《創造的兒童繪畫指導研究》 ( <i>A Study of a Creative Painting Guidance for Children</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
52.	Yao Jiadong 姚家棟	1948	<i>Di nianji gongzuo jiaoxuefa</i> 《低年級工作教學法》 ( <i>Teaching Work in Junior Primary Schools</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Shangwu 商務
53.	Shen Zicheng 沈子丞	1948	<i>Tuhua de jianshang</i> 《圖畫的鑒賞》 ( <i>Appreciation of Picture</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華
54.	Yu Lihai 余禮海	1949	<i>Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoshi shouce</i> 《小學勞作教師手冊》 ( <i>Handbook for Primary School Handcraft Teacher</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華

55.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1949	<i>Xiaoxue laomei heyi jiaoxue de yanjiu</i> 《小學勞美合一教學的研究》 ( <i>Study of Teaching Art and Craft in Primary School</i> ).	Shanghai 上海: Shijie shuju 世界書局
56.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	n. d.	<i>Ertong de meishu xinshang zhidao yanjiu</i> 《兒童的美術欣賞指導研究》 ( <i>Study of Teaching Art Appreciation to Children</i> )	Shanghai 上海: Zhonghua 中華

Table 11 Articles Published in *Jiaoyu zazhi* 《教育雜誌》 (*The Chinese Educational Review*)

	Author	Publication Date	Article Title	No of Issue
1.	(American) Po Luoxie 潑洛歇; Xun Wu 巽吾 (trans.)	1912	“Yishu jiaoyu zhi yuanli” 《藝術教育之原理》 (Principles of Art Education)	vol. 4, no. 1-2 & 6.
2.	Xun Wu 巽吾	1913	“Meiguo xiaoxuexiao shougong jiaoshou zhi jinkuang” 《美國小學校手工教授之近況》 (Recent Situation of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> in American Primary Schools)	vol. 5, no. 5 & 7.
3.	Yu Zhen 余箴	1913	“Meiyu lun” 《美育論》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education)	vol. 5, no. 6.
4.	Shi Cheng 時成	1913	“Zuijin zhi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《最近之圖畫教授法》 (Latest Teaching Method for Drawing)	vol. 5, no. 8.
5.	Yun Chen 芸塵	1913	“Ying fa mei sango shougong jiaoshou zhi zhuangkuang” 《英法美三國手工教授之狀況》 (The State of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> in England, France and America)	vol. 5, no. 12.
6.	Zhao Chuanbi 趙傳璧	1914	“Shougong jiaoshou jingli tan” 《手工教授經歷談》 (Experience of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 6, no. 7.
7.	(German) Babushi 巴布士 (original spelling unknown); Tian Min 天民 (trans.)	1914	“Shougong jiaoyu lun” 《手工教育論》 (Discussion of <i>Sloyd</i> Education)	vol. 6, no. 7-8.
8.	Zhihou 志厚	1915	“Xiandai jiaoyu sichao” 《現代教育思潮》 (Modern Educational Thinking)	vol. 7, no. 1-2.
9.	Xun Wu 巽吾	1915	“Chuxue nian zhi tuhua jiaoyu” 《初學年之圖畫教育》 (Teaching Drawing In the First Year)	vol. 7, no. 3.
10.	Tian Min 天民	1916	“Yishu jiaoyu shang zhi zhu wenti” 《藝術教育上之諸問題》 (Serval Problems Concerning Art Education)	vol. 8, no. 11-12.
11.	Tian Min 天民	1917a	“Shougongke jiaoshou zhi shebei” 《手工科教授之設備》 (Facilities In Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 9, no. 5.
12.	Tian Min 天民	1917b	“Shougongke jiaoshou zhi fanxing” 《手工科教授之反省》 (Reflection On Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 9, no. 5.
13.	Sun Jie 孫捷	1917	“Shougong tuhua lianluo jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《手工圖畫連絡教授之研究》 (Study of the Integrated Teaching of <i>Sloyd</i> and Drawing)	vol. 9, no. 12.
14.	Gu Shusen 顧樹森	1918a	“Shougong jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu” 《手工教授革新之研究》 (Study of Innovation in Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 10, no. 1.
15.	Gu Shusen 顧樹森	1918b	“Tuhua jiaoshou gexin zhi yanjiu” 《圖畫教授革新之研究》 (Study of Innovation in Teaching Drawing)	vol. 10, no. 1.
16.	Tian Min 天民	1918	“Shougong jiaoshou zhi xin yanjiu” 《手工科	vol. 10, no. 3.

			教授之新研究》(A New Study of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> )	
17.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918a	“Xiaoxue shougong jiaoshou zhi yanjiu” 《小學手工教授之研究》 (Study of Teaching <i>Sloyd</i> In Primary Schools)	vol. 10, no. 7.
18.	Gui Shaolie 桂紹烈	1918	“Tuhua yu shougong zhi lianluo” 《圖畫與手工之聯絡》 (Integration of Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	vol. 10, no. 10.
19.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918b	“Kaoanhua jiaoshoufa” 《考案畫教授法》 (Teaching Method for <i>Kaoan</i> Drawing)	vol. 10, no. 11.
20.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1918c	“Shiwai tuhua jiaoshou zhi zhuzhang” 《室外圖畫教授之主張》 (Method for Teaching Outdoor Drawing)	vol. 10, no. 11.
21.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1919a	“Chuangzao de shougong jiaoyu” 《創造的手工教育》 (Creative <i>Sloyd</i> Education)	vol. 11, no. 7.
22.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1919b	“Mugong jiaoshou zhi biyao” 《木工教授之必要》 (Necessity of Teaching Woodwork)	vol. 11, no. 8.
23.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1921	“Putong jiaoyu he zhiye jiaoyu” 《普通教育和職業教育》 (General Education and Career Education)	vol. 13, no. 1.
24.	Yu Shangtong 余尚同	1921	“Yishu jiaoyu de yuanli” 《藝術教育的原理》 (Principles of Art Education)	vol. 13, no. 1.
25.	He Zhongying 何仲英	1921	“Xuexiao li meiyu de xunlian” 《學校裏美育的訓練》 (Teaching Aesthetic Education in Schools)	vol. 13, no. 1.
26.	(Japanese) Zuo zuo mu ji san lang 佐佐木吉三郎; Tai Xuan 太玄 (trans.)	1921	“Jiaoyu zhi meixue de jichu” 《教育之美學的基礎》 (Aesthetic Bases of Teaching)	vol. 13, no. 1.
27.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1921a	“Yishu jiaoyu shang de ge wenti” 《藝術教育上的各問題》 (Several Problems Concerning Art Education)	vol. 13, no. 1.
28.	(American) Haney, James Parton; Yang Ying 楊英 (trans.)	1921	“Yingyong de yishu” 《應用的藝術》 (Applied Art)	vol. 13, no. 1.
29.	Tian Min 天民	1921	“Yishu jiaoyuxue de sichao ji pipan” 《藝術教育學的思潮及批判》 (Criticism on Thinking of Science of Art Education)	vol. 13, no. 1-2.
30.	Tai Xuan 太玄	1921b	“Cong xiandai jiaoyu sixiang shang zhi tuhua jiaoyuguan” 《從現代教育思想上之圖畫教育觀》 (Spectacle of Teaching Drawing from Modern Education Philosophy)	vol. 13, no. 3.
31.	(German) Adolf Rude; Yu Shangtong 余尚同 (trans.)	1921	“Luote shi tuhua jiaoshoufa” 《羅特氏圖畫教授法》 (Rude’s Methods of Teaching of Drawing)	vol. 13, no. 3 & 5.
32.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1921	“Jiaoyu shang xin jiazhi zhi guding” 《教育上新價值之估定》 (The Evaluation of the New Value of Education)	vol. 13, no. 7.
33.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1922a	“Meiyu zhi yuanli” 《美育之原理》 (Principle of Aesthetic Education)	vol. 14, no. 1.
34.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922a	“Lun meiyu shu” 《論美育書》 (Discussion of Aesthetic Education)	vol. 14, no. 1.
35.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922b	“Wanjin de meixueshuo he mei de yuanli” 《晚近的美學說和「美的原理」》 (Latest	vol. 14, no. 2-3.



			Study of Aesthetics and Principle of Aesthetic)	
36.	Cai Yuanpei 蔡元培	1922	“Meiyu shishi de fangfa” 《美育實施的方法》 (Method for Implementing Aesthetic Education)	vol. 14, no. 6.
37.	Ji Cheng 既澄	1922	“Xiaoxuexiao zhong zhi meiyu 《小學校中之美育》 (Aesthetic Education in Primary School)	vol. 14, no. 6.
38.	Hu Renzhuang 胡人椿	1922	“Yishu jiaoyu gailun” 《藝術教育概論》 (Introduction to Art Education)	vol. 14, no. 9.
39.	Huang Gongjue 黃公覺	1922	“Jiamu shi zhi meiyu lun” 《嘉木氏 (Garmo) 之美育論》 (Garmo’s Ideas on Aesthetic Education)	vol. 14, no. 9.
40.	Lü Cheng 呂澂	1922c	“Yishu he meiyu” 《藝術和美育》 (Fine Art and Aesthetic Education)	vol. 14, no. 10.
41.	Li Shicen 李石岑	1922b	“Xiandai jiaoyu sichao pipan” 《現代教育思潮批判》 (Criticism of the Trends of Modern Educational Thinking)	vol. 14, no. 10 & 12.
42.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1923c	“Xinzhì xiaoxue meishu kecheng jiaoxue de lilun he shiji” 《新制小學美術課程教學的理論和實際》 (The Theories and Reality of Implementing the New Curriculum in Primary School Fine Art)	vol. 15, no. 1.
43.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高 and Wang Xinqu 王欣渠	1923	“Putong xuexiao de gongyike jiaoxuefa” 《普通學校的工藝科教學法》 (Method of Teaching Practical Arts in Common School)	vol. 15, no. 1.
44.	Lü Fengzi 呂鳳子	1923	“Zhongxuexiao de meiyu shishi” 《中學校的美育實施》 (Implementation of Aesthetic Education in Secondary School)	vol. 15, no. 5.
45.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1924	“Xiaoxuesheng di miaohua nengli ji qi kaifa zhidao” 《小學生底描畫能力及其開發指導》 (Drawing Ability of Primary School Children and the Enhancement of their Development)	vol. 16, no. 2.
46.	Lei Jiajun 雷家駿	1924	“Meishuke jiaoxuefa” 《美術科教學法》 (Teaching Method for Fine Art)	vol. 16, no. 2.
47.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1924	“Gongyi jiaoxuefa” 《工藝教學法》 (Teaching Method for Practical Arts)	vol. 16, no. 2.
48.	Zhang Jiuru 張九如	1924	“Canguan su zhe wan shifan fuxiao lianhe yanjiuhui zhong de meishu chengji zhanlanhui hou” 《參觀蘇浙皖師範附小聯合研究會中的美術成績展覽會後》 (After Visiting the Art Exhibition of the Affiliated Primary School to Su Zhe Wan Teachers College)	vol. 16, no. 7.
49.	Li Bangdong 李邦棟	1925	“Gaijin wo guo meishu jiaoyu de chuyi” 《改進我國美術教育的芻議》 (A Modest Proposal for the Improvement of Fine Art Education in our Country)	vol. 17, no. 2.
50.	(Japanese) Osada Arata 長田新; Ren Baitao 任白濤 (trans.)	1925	“Ou mei zhi yishu jiaoyu” 《歐美之藝術教育》 (Art Education in Europe and America)	vol. 17, no. 4.
51.	Shen Jianping 沈建平	1925	“Jindai ge pai yishu jiaoyushuo zhi pipan” 《近代各派藝術教育說之批判》 (Critic of the Contemporary Art Education Theories)	vol. 17, no. 4.
52.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1925	“Duiyu chuji zhongxue tuhua shougongke de yizhong jihua” 《對於初級中學圖畫手工科	vol. 17, no. 4.

			的一種計劃》(A Plan of Teaching Junior Secondary School Drawing and <i>Sloyd</i> )	
53.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1925	“Zhongdeng xuexiao de tuhua jiaoyu” 《中等學校的圖畫教育》(Teaching Drawing In Middle School)	vol. 17, no. 9.
54.	(American) Horne, (no first name of the author was provided); Qu Shiyong 瞿世英 (trans.)	1925	“Jiaoyuan yu yishujia” 《教員與藝術家》(Educator and Artist)	vol. 17, no. 11.
55.	Zheng Jin 鄭錦	1927	“Pingmin jiaoyu yundong yu pingmin meishu zhi tichang” 《平民教育運動與平民美術之提倡》(Movement of Common People Education and Promotion of Art for Common People)	vol. 19, no. 9.
56.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1927	“Yishu jiaoyu de zhexue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育的哲學的論究》(Study of the Philosophy of Art Education)	vol. 19, no. 12.
57.	(Japanese) Ryūsei, Kishida 岸田劉生; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928a	“Tuhua jiaoyu de fangfa” 《圖畫教育的方法》(Methods of Drawing Education)	vol. 20, no. 2.
58.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1928	“Feizhi yishuke” 《廢止藝術科》(Abolishing the Art Subject)	vol. 20, no. 2.
59.	Yang Renpian 楊人楩	1928	“Yishuhua de jiaoyu lun” 《藝術化的教育論》(The Art of Education)	vol. 20, no. 2.
60.	Li Yuyi 李寓一	1928	“Zhixigong zhi xin shengming” 《紙細工之新生命》(New Life of Fine Paper Craft)	vol. 20, no. 2.
61.	(German) Weber, Ernst; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928b	“Jiaoyu yishu lun” 《教育藝術論》(The Art of Education)	vol. 20, no. 6-7.
62.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928c	“Yishu jiaoyu zhi meixue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育之美學的論究》(Study of the Aesthetic of Art Education)	vol. 20, no. 10.
63.	(German) Muensterberg, H.; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1928d	“Yishu jiaoyu de xinlixue de lunjiu” 《藝術教育的心理學的論究》(Study of the Psychology of Art Education)	vol. 20, no. 11.
64.	(Japanese) Abe, Shigetaka 阿部重考; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1929	“Jindai yishu jiaoyu yundong” 《近代藝術教育運動》(Modern Art Education Movement)	vol. 21, no. 1.
65.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930a	“Pinfa de da huajia” 《貧乏的大畫家》(The Poor Artist)	vol. 22, no. 1
66.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930b	“Shuokuang de hua yu zhenshi de hua” 《說謊的畫與真實的畫》(Picture Telling Lies and The One Telling the Reality)	vol. 22, no. 2.
67.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930c	“Yige tongban de huajia guansi” 《一個銅板的畫家官司》(A Lawsuit Charged for One Penny)	vol. 22, no. 3.
68.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930d	“Fugui de meishujia” 《富貴的美術家》(The Rich Artist)	vol. 22, no. 4.
69.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930e	“Shenbian dai jingzi de huajia” 《身邊帶鏡子的畫家》(The Artist with a Mirror by His Side)	vol. 22, no. 5.

			的畫家》(The Painter With Mirror)	
70.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930f	“Faming youhua de xiongdi huajia” 《發明油畫的兄弟畫家》(Brothers Who Invented Oil Painting)	vol. 22, no. 6.
71.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930g	“Wu nian huacheng de xiaoyan” 《五年畫成的笑顏》(A Smiling Face Composed in Five Years)	vol. 22, no. 7.
72.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930h	“Wenyifuxing san jie de zhengyi” 《文藝復興三傑的爭議》(The Controversy of the Three Masters of Renaissance)	vol. 22, no. 8.
73.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930i	“Mohu de minghua” 《模糊的名畫》(A Blurred Masterpiece)	vol. 22, no. 10.
74.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930j	“Ziji ge le erduo de huajia” 《自己割了耳朵的畫家》(A Painter Cutting His Ear)	vol. 22, no. 11.
75.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1930k	“Xinxing yishu jianshang” 《新興藝術鑑賞》(Appreciation of Modern Art)	vol. 22, no. 12.
76.	(Japanese) Abe, Shigetaka 阿部重考; Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1930	“Yishu jiaoyu sixiang zhi fazhan” 《藝術教育思想之發展》(The Development of Art Education Thinking)	vol. 22, no. 12.
77.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1931	“Ke jing de jiyili” 《可驚的記憶力》(Astonishing Memory)	vol. 23, no. 3.
78.	(Japanese) Xiao lin zuo yuan 小林佐源. (No English name found); Feng Zikai 豐子愷 (trans.)	1931	“Xuexiao shenghuo yu yishu” 《學校生活與藝術》(School Life and Art)	vol. 23, no. 2.
79.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934	“Tan tuhua de xingshi yu neirong” 《談圖畫的形式與內容》(Form and Content of Drawing)	vol. 24, no. 1.
80.	Gong Zhengtao 龔徵桃	1935	“Cong lao zhan shuo dao laozuo jiaoyu” 《從勞展說到勞作教育》(From Handwork Exhibition to Labour Education)	vol. 25, no. 3.
81.	Ma Ketan 馬客談	1936	“Weiyena ertong yishuban fangwen ji” 《維也納兒童藝術班訪問記》(The Visit to a Children’s Art Class in Vienna)	vol. 26, no. 9.
82.	Ouyang Xiang 歐陽湘	1936	“Ertong yu tuhua” 《兒童與圖畫》(Children and Painting)	vol. 26, no. 10.
83.	Wang Yifu 王一夫	1936	“Xiaoxue huihua changshi” 《小學繪畫常識》(Common Knowledge of Primary School Drawing)	vol. 26, no. 11.
84.	Wang Yifu 王一夫	1937	“Jieshao ji zhong laozuo jiaocai” 《介紹幾種勞作教材》(Introduction to Several Labour Teaching Materials)	vol. 27, no. 4.
85.	Su Zhaoxin 蘇兆新	1937	“Diji ertong de laozuo shenghuo” 《低級兒童的勞作生活》(Labour Life of Junior Grade Children)	vol. 27, no. 5.
86.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1937	“Ertong duiyu minghua xinshang xingqu de diaocha yanjiu” 《兒童對於名畫欣賞興趣的調查研究》(The Study of Children’s Interest in Appreciating Master Pieces)	vol. 27, no. 7.
87.	Qian Yunqing 錢雲清	1937	“Xiaoxue tuhua jiaoxuefa” 《小學圖畫教學法》(Teaching Method for Primary School Drawing)	vol. 27, no. 11 & 12.
88.	Wen Zhaotong 溫	1938	“Zhanshi xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue wenti” 《戰	vol. 28, no. 3.

	肇桐		時小學美術教學問題》(Problems about Teaching Primary School Fine Art During the Wartime)	
89.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1947	“Xiaoxue laozuoke kecheng” 《小學勞作科課程》(Syllabus for Primary School Labour)	vol. 32, no. 4.
90.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948a	“Ertong ziyouhua de jiaoxue wenti” 《兒童自由畫的教學問題》(Problems of Teaching Children Free-expression Drawing)	vol. 33, no. 7.
91.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1948b	“Ertong meishu xinshang yu chuangzao de jiaoxue” 《兒童美術欣賞與創造的教學》(Teaching Children Art Appreciation and Creation)	vol. 33, no. 10.

Table 12 Articles Published in *Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi* 《江蘇省小學教師》 (*Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher*)

	Author	Publication Date	Article Title	No. of Issue
1.	Wu Zengjie 吳增芥	1933	“Laozuo jiaoyu de yiyi he jiazhi” 《勞作教育的意義和價值》(Significance and Merits of Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> , vol. 1, no. 6.
2.	Shen Zishan 沈子善	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu de xin qushi” 《小學勞作教育的新趨勢》(The Recent Trend of Primary Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> , vol. 1, no. 6.
3.	Cao Fengnan 曹風南	1933	“Shishi xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu yingyou de renshi” 《實施小學勞作教育應有的認識》(Knowledge of Implementing Primary Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
4.	Li Daqian 李大千	1933	“Shengchan laozuo jiaoyu de lilun” 《生產勞作教育的理論》(Theories of Production Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
5.	Sheng Langxi 盛朗西	1933	“Shougong – gongyi – gongzuo – laozuo” 《手工 – 工藝 – 工作 – 勞作》( <i>Sloyd – Practical Arts – Work – Labour</i> )	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
6.	Chen Qingquan 陳清泉	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoyu shi wen” 《小學勞作教育十問》(Ten Questions about Primary Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
7.	Gong Jiayin 龔家駟	1933	“Laozuo jiaoyu yu gongmin xunlian” 《勞作教育與公民訓練》(Labour Education and the Training of Citizens)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
8.	Wang Xipan 王希礪	1933	“Zenyang fazhan yiban xiaoxue de laozuo jiaoyu” 《怎樣發展一般小學的勞作教育》(How to Develop Generic Primary Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
9.	Wang Qizeng 汪期增	1933	“Laozuo jiaoyu sheji danyuan fennian gangyao juli” 《勞作教育設計單元分年綱要舉例》(Examples of Yearly Outline of Labour Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
10.	Xu Changlin 徐昌鱗	1933	“Xiangcun xiaoxue yi xuenian de laozuo jiaocai” 《鄉村小學一學年的勞作教材》(One Academic Year Teaching Materials for Labour in Rural Primary School)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.

11.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬喬	1933	“Xiaoxue laozuo jiaoxue xuyao de gongju” 《小學勞作教學需要的工具》 (Tools Needed in Primary Handiwork Education)	<i>Laozuo jiaoyu hao</i> 勞作教育號 ( <i>Special Issue for Labour Education</i> ), vol. 1, no. 6.
12.	Zong Hanliang 宗漢梁	1934	“Laozuoke zizhi jiaoju he cankao yongpin” 《勞作科自製教具和參考用品》 (Selfmade Teaching Aids and References for Labour Subject)	vol. 1, no. 8.
13.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1934	“Ertonghua” 《兒童畫》 (Children’s Drawing)	vol. 1, no. 14.
14.	Xu Shiqiao 徐石樵	1934	“Qixia xiangshi fushu xiaoxue laozuo shishi gaikuang” 《棲霞鄉師附屬小學勞作實施概況》 (General Situation of Implementing Labour Education in the Affiliated Primary School to Qixia Village Teacher Training Institute)	vol. 1, no. 17.
15.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1934a	“Meishuke xiangtu jiaocai yaomu ji qita” 《美術科鄉土教材要目及其他》 (Main Catalogue of Local Teaching Materials for Fine Art and Others)	vol. 1, no. 18.
16.	Jiang Lin 蔣霖	1934	“Yi nianji de meishu zenyang jiaoxue” 《一年級的美術怎樣教學》 (How to Teach Art in the First Grade)	vol. 1, no. 24.
17.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1934b	“Yi xueqi lai meishu jiaoxue de huiyi” 《一學期來美術教學的回憶》 (Memories of Art Teaching in a Semester)	vol. 1, no. 24.
18.	Lian Qixin 連啟新 and Zhang Yiwen 章以文	1934	“Wujiang xianli shengze xiaoxue meishu zhanlanhui sheji jiaoxue baogao” 《吳江縣立盛澤小學美術展覽會設計教學報告》 (Wujiang County’s Shengze Primary School Fine Arts Exhibition Designs Teaching Report)	vol. 1, no. 24.
19.	Zhou Jishi 周吉士	1934	“Qiuye jiantie – shenqiu shiling de meishu xin jiaocai” 《秋葉剪貼– 深秋時令的美術新教材》 (Cut and Paste Autumn Leaves – New Fine Art Teaching Materials in Late Autumn)	vol. 2, no. 6.
20.	Gong Jitang 龔稽唐	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue yanjiu” 《小學美術教學研究》 (Study of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
21.	Zong Lianghuan 宗亮寰	1935	“Xinshang jiaoyu de yanjiu” 《欣賞教育的研究》 (Study of Appreciation Education)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> (小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
22.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935a	“Xiaoxue meishuke de fabiao jiaoxue he yanjiu jiaoxue” 《小學美術科的發表教學和研究教學》 (Teaching of Artistic Expression and Study on Fine Art in Primary School)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
23.	Yao Yiyun 姚逸雲	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaocai de yanjiu” 《小學美術教材的研究》 (Study of Primary School Fine Art Teaching Materials)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
24.	Lu Shizhou 陸士洲	1935	“Gaoji meishu zuoye fenliang de yanjiu” 《高級美術作業分量的研究》 (Study on the Components of Fine Art Practice of Advance Level)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
25.	Li Botang 李伯棠	1935	“Xiangcun danji xiaoxue de meishu jiaoxue” 《鄉村單級小學的美術教學》 (Teaching Fine Art in Countryside Single Grade Primary	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art</i>

			Schools)	<i>Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
26.	Chu Shaoxi 儲紹熙	1935	“Huihua xuexi xinli de yanjiu” 《繪畫學習心理的研究》 (The Study of the Psychology of Learning Painting)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13
27.	Jiang Lin 蔣霖	1935	“Ertong ziyou hua” 《兒童自由畫》 (Children’s Drawing)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
28.	Zhang Jie 張潔	1935	“Di nianji tuhua jiaoxue de ji ge shiji wenti” 《低年級圖畫教學的幾個實際問題》 (Several Practical Problems in Teaching Junior Class Drawing)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
29.	Zong Yihuang 宗以黃	1935	“Ertonghua de putong cuowu” 《兒童畫的普通錯誤》 (Common Mistakes in Children’s Drawing)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
30.	Wu Zhaoji 吳肇基	1935	“Zenyang zhidao ertong zhizuo tu’an” 《怎樣指導兒童製作圖案》 (How to Teach Children Making Patterns)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
31.	Chen Zhansan 陳展三	1935	“Xiaoxue meishuke jiantie jiaofa de yanjiu” 《小學美術科剪貼教法的研究》 (The Study of Teaching Cut and Paste in Primary School Fine Art Subject)	In: <i>Jiangsu sheng xiaoxue jiaoshi</i> 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> ) ( <i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號) ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
32.	Shen Jushen 沈菊神	1935	“Liang zhong meishu buchong jiaocai” 《兩種美術補充教材》 (Two Kinds of Complementary Teaching Materials for Fine Art)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
33.	Rui Heqian 芮和謙	1935	“Zhong di ji meishu zhuhuaqi” 《中低級美術助畫器》 (Tools for Drawing in Intermediate and Junior Grade)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
34.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935b	“Ji zhong meishu jiaoju de jieshao” 《幾種美術教具的介紹》 (Introduction to Several Teaching Aids)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
35.	Lin 霖	1935	“Xin chuban de meishu jiaocai ji jiaoshi cankao shumu” 《新出版的美術教材及教師參考書目》 (New Published Art Materials and References for Teachers)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
36.	Gong Jitang 龔稽唐	1935	“Xiaoxue jiaoshi yingyong meishu” 《小學教師應用美術》 (Art for Primary School Teacher)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
37.	Cheng Ximing 程曦明	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue zhi yanjiu” 《小學美術教學之研究》 (Study of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.
38.	Jiangsusheng xiaoxue jiaoshi 《江蘇省小學教師》 ( <i>Jiangsu Province Primary School Teacher</i> )	1935	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de ji ge wenti” 《小學美術教學的幾個問題》 (Several Problems in Teaching Primary Fine Art)	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue hao</i> 小學美術教學號 ( <i>Special Issue for Primary Art Teaching</i> ), vol. 2, no. 13.

	(ed.)			
39.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1935c	“Meishu jiaoxue yu liuxing xin yishu” 《美術教學與流行新藝術》 (Teaching of Fine Art and Current Art)	vol. 2, no. 16.
40.	Zhou Jishi 周吉士	1935	“Tu’an zi de jiaoxue” 《圖案字的教學》 (Teaching of Pattern Letters)	vol. 2, no. 16.
41.	[Jiangsu] shengli zhengjiang shiyan xiaoxue 省立鎮江實驗小學 (Jiangsu Province Zhengjiang Experimental Primary School)	1935	“Laozuo jiaoyu shishi gaikuang ji gaijin fangzhen” 《勞作教育實施概況及改進方針》 (General Situation of Implementing Labour Education and Principals for Improvement)	vol. 2, no. 16 & 18.
42.	Sheng Langxi 盛朗西 and Lu Xiongsheng 陸雄升	1935	“Laozuo jiaoyu gaishuo” 《勞作教育概說》 (Brief Introduction to Labour Education)	vol. 2, no. 20 & 22.
43.	Lu Tian 陸天	1935a	“Ji zhong diji meishu youxi jiaocai” 《幾種低級美術遊戲教材》 (Several Fine Art Games for Junior Grade)	vol. 2, no. 22.
44.	Shen Boying 沈伯英	1935	“Meishu jiaoxue de zhixu wenti” 《美術教學的秩序問題》 (Discipline Problems of Teaching Fine Art)	vol. 2, no. 24.
45.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬喬	1935	“Gaoji laozuo gebie zuoye de shishi” 《高級勞作個別作業的實施》 (Implementation of Individual Exercise for Senior Labour)	vol. 2, no. 24.
46.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1935	“Ji zhong liyong feiwu de gongyi jiaocai” 《幾種利用廢物的工藝教材》 (Several Teaching Materials for Practical Arts with Trash)	vol. 3, no. 1.
47.	Lu Tian 陸天	1935b	“Xiaoxue meishuke xin yishu jiaocai yanjiu” 《小學美術科新藝術教材研究》 (Study of New Teaching Materials of Primary School Fine Art)	vol. 3, no. 2.
48.	Wu Jingqiao 吳敬喬	1936	“Laozuoke de chengji kaocha” 《勞作科的成績考查》 (Assessment in Labour)	vol. 3, no. 11.
49.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936a	“Meishuke de chengji kaocha” 《美術科的成績考查》 (Assessment in Fine Art)	vol. 3, no. 11.
50.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936b	“Yi ge xiaoxue meishuguan de shebei buzhi” 《一個小學美術館的設備佈置》 (The Layout Design of Primary School Art Gallery)	vol. 3, no. 17.
51.	(American) Garrison & Garrison; Dai Yushi 戴聿師 (trans.)	1936	“Huihua de xinli yanjiu” 《繪畫的心理研究》 (The Study of the Psychology of Painting)	vol. 3, no. 12.
52.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936c	“Guan quanguo ertong huihua zhanlanhui hou” 《觀全國兒童繪畫展覽會後》 (After Visiting the National Exhibition of Children’s Paintings)	vol. 3, no. 21.
53.	Zong Huanliang 宗亮寰	1936	“Gaijin xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue de guanjian” 《改進小學美術教學的管見》 (Opinions about Improvement of Teaching Primary School Fine Art)	vol. 3, no. 21.
54.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1936	“Meishu keye yongpin wenti de yanjiu” 《美術課業用品問題的研究》 (Study of Tools	vol. 3, no. 24.

			for Fine Art Lessons)	
55.	Liu Mingde 劉明德	1936	“Zenyang jiao toushuhua” 《怎樣教透視畫》 (How to Teach Perspective Drawing)	vol. 4, no. 2.
56.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Ji Guoping 季國屏	1936	“Yi nian lai de mei zhou minghua xinshang jiaoxue” 《一年來的每週名畫欣賞教學》 (A Year’s Teaching of Art Appreciation)	vol. 4, no. 4.
57.	Lu Tian 陸天	1936	“Di nianji meishu youxi jiaocai” 《低年級美術遊戲教材》 (Teaching Materials for Junior Fine Art)	vol. 4, no. 4.
58.	Wang Xiang 王驥 and Gao Heng 高衡	1936	“Xiangtu fengjing jiantie jiaocai juli” 《鄉土風景剪貼教材舉例》 (Examples of Teaching Materials: Cut and Paste Countryside Landscape)	vol. 4, no. 4.
59.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐	1936	“Xiuzheng xiaoxue meishu kecheng biao zhun de jiantao” 《修正小學美術課程標準的檢討》 (Review of the Revised Syllabus of Primary School Fine Art)	vol. 4, no. 5.
60.	Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 and Chen Ainong 陳愛穠	1937	“Youzhiyuan de tuhua” 《幼稚園的圖畫》 (Drawings From Kindergartens)	vol. 4, no. 8.
61.	E Junlan 鄂駿嵐	1937	“Guofang sheji houzhi laozuo jiaocai” 《國防設計厚紙勞作教材》 (Labour Teaching Materials: Pasteboard for National Defense Design)	vol. 4, no. 10, 12 & 16.
62.	Li Shaobai 李紹白	1937	“Xiang xiao laozuo jiaocai shiyi zhong” 《鄉小勞作教材十一種》 (Eleven Labour Teaching Materials for Countryside Primary Schools)	vol. 4, no. 14.
63.	Lu Tian 陸天	1937	“Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue wenti zatan” 《小學美術教學問題雜談》 (Fragmentary Writings on the Problems of Primary School Fine Art Teaching)	vol. 4, no. 16.
64.	Xiong Zhugao 熊翥高	1937	“Xiaoxue laozuoke jiaoxue yaodian” 《小學勞作科教學要點》 (Main Points of Primary School Labour Teaching)	vol. 4, no. 18.

Sources of information:

1. Personal collection.
2. Yu Yuzi 俞玉滋 and Zhang Yuan 張援 (ed.) (1999), *Zhongguo jinxiandai meiyu lunwenji* 《中國近現代美育論文選 (1840-1949)》 (*Selected Papers on Aesthetic Education in Modern China [1840-1949]*), Shanghai 上海: Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育.
3. Wen Zhaotong 溫肇桐 (1965), *1912-1949 nian meishu lilun shumu* 《1912-1949 年美術理論書目》 (*Books of Theory on Fine Art from 1912-1949*). Shanghai 上海: Shanghai renmin meishu 上海人民美術.



## Appendix 2: Books or Essays on Chinese Art Education Published after 1949 China

This table provides information on the topics and quantity of publication on art education in Mainland China, Taiwan and Hong Kong from 1949 till the present. In order to show the trend of interest in art education among the contemporary Chinese art educators in different time, the written texts are organised in a chronological order.

	author	Date of published	Title of the books or essays	Publisher
<b>Literature published in Mainland China after 1949</b>				
1.	Zhong xiao xue meishu jiaoshi shouce 中小學美術教師手冊編委會 (Editorial Committee for Handbook for Primary and Secondary School Art Teacher) (ed.)	1987	<i>Zhong xiao xue meishu jiaoshi shouce</i> 《中小學美術教師手冊》 ( <i>Handbook for Primary and Secondary School Art Teacher</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shanghai jiaoyu 上海教育
2.	Hunansheng jiaoyu Kexue yanjiusuo 湖南省教育科學研究所 (Hunan Province Educational Science Research Institute) (ed.)	1991	<i>Zhong xiao xue meishu jiaoshi xuexi ziliao</i> 《中小學美術教師學習資料》 ( <i>Studying Materials for Primary and Secondary Schools Art Teachers</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan meishu 湖南美術
3.	Jiang Danshu 姜丹書	1991	<i>Jiang Danshu yishu jiaoyu za zhu</i> 《姜丹書藝術教育雜著》 ( <i>Jiang Danshu's Writings on Art Education</i> ).	Hangzhou 杭州 : Zhejiang jiaoyu 浙江教育
4.	Shan Shilian 單世聯 and Xu Linxiang 徐林祥	1992	<i>Zhongguo meiyu shi</i> 《中國美育史》 ( <i>History of Chinese Aesthetic Education</i> )	Nanning 南寧 : Guangxi jiaoyu 廣西教育
5.	Wong Tienyi 王天一	1992	<i>Zhongguo putong xuexiao meishu jiaoyu lilun yu shijian de lishi huigu yu xianzhuang fenxi</i> 《中國普通學校美術教育理論與實踐的歷史回顧與現狀分析》 ( <i>Theories and Practice of Art Education in Chinese Normal Schools – Historical Overview and Analyse of Present Situation</i> )	In: Chinese and Foreign Art Education Theory and Practice Congress.
6.	Guo Shaogang 郭紹綱 and Fan Kaixi 范凱熹	1993	<i>meishu jiaoyu fangfalun</i> 《美術教育方法論》 ( <i>Discussions on Art Education Teaching Method</i> )	Guangzhou 廣州 : Lingnan meishu 嶺南美術
7.	Fan Kaixi 范凱熹	1994	<i>Jicheng minzu meishu jiaoyu chuantong kaituo zhongguo meishu jiaoyu weilai</i> 《繼承民族美術教育傳統開拓中國美術教育未來》 ( <i>Inheriting and Developing Chinese Art Education</i> ).	In: 1994 Asian Art Education International Congress
8.	Qian Chuxi 錢初熹	1994	<i>Zhongguo xiaoxuexiao de meishu jiaoyu de xianzhuang</i> 《中國小學校的美術教育的現狀》 ( <i>The Present Situation of Chinese Primary School Art Education</i> )	In: Asian Art Education International Congress
9.	Man Tian Cheng 滿天澄, Han Cong Yao 韓叢耀 and Xia Jin Hui 夏金輝	1994	<i>Yishu jiaoyu yu jianshang</i> 《藝術教育與鑑賞》 ( <i>Art Education and Art Appreciation</i> )	Nanjing 南京 : Jiangsu jiaoyu 江蘇教育
10.	Wang Dagen 王大根	1994	<i>Xuexiao meishu jiaoyu mudilun</i> 《學校美術教育目的論》 ( <i>On the Purpose of Art Education in Schools</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Jiaoyu Kexue 教育科學

11.	Yin Shaochun 尹少淳)	1995	<i>Meishu ji qi jiaoyu</i> 《美術及其教育》 ( <i>Art and Art Education</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan meishu 湖南美術
12.	Lin Guigang 林貴剛	1996	Xianggang meishu jiaoyu : xianzhuang yu fansi 《香港美術教育：現狀與反思》 ( <i>Hong Kong Art Education: Present Situation and Reflection</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan meishu 湖南美術
13.	Deng Anqing 鄧安慶	1997	<i>Mei de xinshang yu chuangzao</i> 《美的欣賞與創造》 ( <i>Appreciation and Creation of Beauty</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan shifan daxue 湖南師範大學
14.	Du Wei 杜衛 (ed.)	1997	<i>Meiyuxue gailun</i> 《美育學概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Aesthetic Education</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Gaodeng jiaoyu 高等教育
15.	Zhongguo jiaoyu xuehui meishu jiaoyu yanjiuhui/ Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu zazhihe 中國教育學會美術教育研究會/ 中國美術教育雜誌社 Chinese Education Association Art Education Research Institute and Editorial Department, Art Education in China Magazine	1998	<i>Meishu jiaoyu lunwenji</i> 《美術教育論文集》 ( <i>Papers on Art Education</i> )	Nanning 南寧 : Guangxi meishu 廣西美術
16.	Jiang Liang 蔣良	1998	<i>Meishu de jiaoxue xuanze</i> 《美術的教學選擇》 ( <i>Choices of Teaching Art</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan meishu 湖南美術
17.	Addiss, Stephen; Song Xianchun 宋獻春, Wu Guihong 伍桂紅 (trans.)	1998	<i>Yishushi yu yishu jiaoyu</i> 《藝術史與藝術教育》 ( <i>Art history and education</i> )	Chengdu 成都 : Sichuan ren min 四川人民
18.	Du Hansheng 杜漢生	1999	<i>Shifan meiyu yinlun</i> 《師範美育引論》 ( <i>Introduction to Aesthetic Education for Teacher's College</i> )	Wuhan 武漢 : Hubei jiaoyu 湖北教育
19.	Li Fan 李范	1999	<i>Meiyu jichu</i> 《美育基礎》 ( <i>Foundation of Aesthetic Education</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Zhongguo renmin daxue 中國人民大學
20.	Guo Shengjian 郭聲健	1999	<i>Yishu jiaoyu lun</i> 《藝術教育論》 ( <i>Discussions on Art Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Shanghai Jiaoyu 上海教育
21.	Yang Jingzhi 楊景芝	1999	<i>Meishu jiaoyu yu ren de fazhan : ertong meishu jiaoxuefa yanjiu</i> 《美術教育與人的發展：兒童美術教學法研究》 ( <i>Visual Arts Education and Human Development: Study of Teaching Art to Children</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Renmin meishu 人民美術
22.	Cheng Mingtai 程明太	2000	<i>Meishu jiaoyuxue</i> 《美術教育學》 ( <i>Visual Arts Pedagogy</i> )	Haerbin 哈爾濱 : Heilongjiang meishu 黑龍江美術
23.	Efland, Arthur; Xing Li 邢莉, Chang Ningsheng 常寧生 (trans.)	2000	<i>Xifang yishu jiaoyu shi</i> 《西方藝術教育史》 ( <i>History of Art Education</i> )	Chengdu 成都 : Sichuan renmin 四川人民

24.	Shen Jinlong 沈金龍	2001	<i>Meishu jiaoyu de chuangxin yu shijian</i> 《美術教育的創新與實踐》 ( <i>Innovation and Implementation of Visual Arts Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Jiaoyu 教育
25.	Pan yaochang 潘耀昌	2002	<i>Zhongguo jindai meishu jiaoyu shi</i> 《中國近代美術教育史》 ( <i>History of Contemporary Chinese art education</i> )	Hangzhou 杭州 : Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院
26.	Li Yonglin 李永林	2002	<i>Zhongguo gu dai mei shu jiao yu shi gang</i> 《中國古代美術教育史綱》 ( <i>Outline of the History of Ancient Chinese Art Education</i> )	Nanning 南寧 Guangxi mei shu 廣西美術
27.	Li Mianlu 李綿璐	2002	<i>Tan gongyi meishu jiaoyu</i> 《談工藝美術教育》 ( <i>Practical Arts Education</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Renmin jiaoyu 人民教育
28.	Chen Ruilin 陳瑞林	2006	<i>20 shiji Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu lishi yanjiu</i> 《20世紀中國美術教育歷史研究》 ( <i>Chinese Art Education in 20<sup>th</sup> Century : a Historical Perspective</i> )	Beijing 北京 : Qinghua daxue 清華大學
29.	Gu Ping 顧平	2006	<i>Meishu jiaoyuxue daolun</i> 《美術教育學導論》 ( <i>Introduction to Art Pedagogy</i> )	Nanjing 南京 : Jiangsu meishu 江蘇美術
30.	Qian Chuxi 錢初熹	2006	<i>Yingjie shijue Wenhua tiaozhan de meishu jiaoyu</i> 《迎接視覺文化挑戰的美術教育》 ( <i>Meeting Challenges of Visual Culture</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學
31.	Gu Ping 顧平	2006	<i>Meishu jiaoyuxue daolun</i> 《美術教育學導論》 ( <i>Introduction to Art Education</i> )	Nanjing 南京 : Jiangsu mei shu 江蘇美術
32.	Ma Lin 馬琳	2007	<i>Zhou Xiang yu Shanghai zaoqi meishu jiaoyu</i> 《周湘與上海早期美術教育》 ( <i>Zhou Xinag and Early Shanghai Art Education</i> )	Tianjin 天津 : Renmin meishu 人民美術
33.	Feng Xiaoyang 馮曉陽	2008	<i>Meishu jiaoyu jiazhi quxiang de lishi yu chuantong</i> 《美術教育價值取向的歷史與傳統》 ( <i>History and Tradition of the Value Based Art Education</i> )	Changsha 長沙 : Hunan renmin 湖南人民
34.	Hua Mei 華梅, Wang He 王鶴	2008	<i>Gongyi meishu jiaoyu</i> 《工藝美術教育》 ( <i>Practical Arts Education</i> )	Beijing 北京: Ren min 人民
35.	Weng Zhenyu 翁震宇	2009	<i>Meishu jiaoyu gailun</i> 《美術教育概論》 ( <i>Introduction to Art Education</i> )	Hangzhou 杭州 : Zhongguo meishu xueyuan 中國美術學院
36.	Qian Chuxi 錢初熹	2009	<i>Meishu jiaoshi jiaoyu de yuanjing</i> 《美術教師教育的願景》 ( <i>Expectation of Art Teacher Education</i> )	Shanghai 上海 : Huadong shifan daxue 華東師範大學
<b>Chinese literature on art education published in Taiwan after 1949</b>				
37.	Li Mougei 李戊桂	1965	<i>meishu jiaoxue gaishuo</i> 《美術教學概說》 ( <i>Introduction to Art Teaching</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Zhengzhong 正中
38.	Li Zefa 李澤藩	1965	<i>Zenyang jiaoxue meishu</i> 《怎樣教學美術》 ( <i>How to Teach Art</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Fuxin 復興
39.	Wu Lifu 伍蠡甫	1966	<i>Tan yi lu</i> 《談藝錄》 ( <i>Talks on Fine Arts</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Taiwan Shangwu 臺灣商務
40.	Zheng Shanxi 鄭善禧	1967	<i>Zenyang bianxie meishu ke danyuan jiaoxue huodong sheji</i> 《怎樣編寫美術科單元教學活動設計》 ( <i>Planning Art Activities</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Taiwan shudian 臺灣書店

41.	Mo Dayuan 莫大元	1971	<i>Meishu ke jiaocai jiaofa</i> 《美術科教材教法》 ( <i>Art and Craft Teaching Materials and Methods</i> )	Teaching materials of training course for pre-service national secondary school teacher, Taiwan shifan daxue
42.	National Institute for Compilation and Translation 國立編譯館	1983	<i>Meilaoke jiaoxue yanjiu</i> 《美勞科教學研究》 ( <i>Study on Teaching Art and Craft</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Zhengzhong 正中
43.	He Huifen 何慧芬	1985	<i>Huihua jianshang jiaoxue lilun jichu zhi yanjiu</i> 《繪畫鑑賞教學理論基礎之研究》 ( <i>Study of Theoretical basis on Teaching of Art Appreciation</i> ) (Master thesis)	Taipei 臺北 : Taiwan shifan daxu 台灣師範大學
44.	Xia Xun 夏勳 (ed.)	1985	<i>Meishu jiaoyu xuanji</i> 《美術教育選集》 ( <i>Selective Works on Art Education</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Shijie Wenwu 世界文物
45.	Wang Wenchun 王文純	1986	<i>Meishu jianshang jiaoyu lilun yanyiu ji jin sanshinian lai woguo chuji (guomin) zhongxue meishu jianshang kecheng zhi pingxi</i> 《美術鑑賞教育理論研究及近三十年來我國初級(國民)中學美術鑑賞課程之評析》 ( <i>Study of Art Appreciation Educational Theories and Analyze of Junior National Secondary School Art Appreciation Programs in the last thirty years</i> ) (Master Thesis)	Taipei 臺北 : Taiwan shifan daxu 台灣師範大學
46.	Qi Tinggui 戚廷貴	1988	<i>Yishumei yu xinshang</i> 《藝術美與欣賞》 ( <i>The Beauty of Art and Appreciation</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Danqing 丹青
47.	Yang Shenkeng (楊深坑)	1988	<i>Palatu de meishu yan jiu</i> 《柏拉圖美育思想研究》 ( <i>Study of Plato's Thoughts on Aesthetic Education</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Shuiniu tushu 水牛圖書
48.	Zhang Quancheng 張全成	1989	Cong jianshang jiaoxue de jiachang tan meishu jiaoyu de duoyuan gongneng yu mubiao 《從鑑賞教學的加強談美術教育的多元功能與目標》 (From the Strengthening of Art Appreciation Instruction to the Multi-functions and Goals of Art Education)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 12/89, pp. 5-10
49.	Wang Hsiuhsiung 王秀雄	1989	Zenyang jiao meishu piping—meishu jianshang jiaoxue zhi yanjiu 《怎樣教「美術批評」 -- 美術鑑賞教學之研究》 (How to Teach Art Criticism – Research on Teaching Art Appreciation)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 10/89, pp. 7-13.
50.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1990a	Tan guozhong meishu jian-shang jiao-xue (1) —meishushi yu meishu piping tonghe jiaoxuefa 《談國中美術鑑賞教學(上) – 美術史與美術批評統合教學法》 (Teaching of Art Appreciation in National Secondary Schools – Teaching Method for Art History and Art Criticism, Part I)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 11/90, pp. 2-10.
51.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1990b	Tan meishushi jiaoyu lilun jichu—jian jie guozhong meishu kecheng zhong meishushi jiaoxue jianshang zhi xianuang (1) 《談美術史教育理論基礎 – 兼介國中美術課程中美術史教學鑑賞之現況(上)》 (Fundamental Theories on Teaching Art History – An Introduction of Present Situation of Teaching Art History in National Secondary School. Part 1)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 5/91, pp. 36-43.
52.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1990c	Tan meishushi jiaoyu lilun jichu—jian jie guozhong meishu kecheng zhong meishushi jiaoxue jianshang zhi xiankuang (2) 《談美術史教育理論基礎 – 兼介國中美術課程中美術史教學鑑賞之現況(下)》 (Fundamental Theories on Teaching Art History – An Introduction of Present Situation of Teaching Art History in National Secondary School. Part 2)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 7/91, pp. 50-56.
53.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭	1990	<i>Yishu shijue de jiaoyu</i> 《藝術視覺的教育》 ( <i>Educating</i>	Taipei 臺北 :

	禎祥 (Trans.)		<i>Artistic Vision</i> )	Wenjing 文景
54.	Lin Manli 林曼麗	1990	<i>Taiwan shijue yishu jiaoyu yanjiu</i> 《台灣視覺藝術教育研究》 ( <i>The Study of Visual Art Education in Taiwan</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Xiongshi 雄獅
55.	Wu Longrong 吳隆榮	1990	<i>Zaoxing Yu jiaoyu</i> 《造形與教育》 ( <i>Art and Education</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Qianhua tushu 千華圖書
56.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1991	Tan guozhong meishu jianshang jiaoxue (2)—meishushi yu meishu piping tonghe jiaoxuefa 《談國中美術鑑賞教學(下) – 美術史與美術批評統合教學法》 (Teaching of Art Appreciation in National Secondary Schools – Teaching Method for Art History and Art Criticism. Part 2)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 1/91, pp. 18–25.
57.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1992	Meishu piping jiaoxue zai guozhong jieduan shishi zhi zhongyaoxing. 《美術批評教學在國中階段實施之重要性》 (The Importance of Implementing Art Criticism in National Secondary School)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 4/92, pp. 9–14.
58.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1992	<i>Zhong Mei liang guo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shishi xiankuang zhi bijiao.</i> 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域實施現況之比較研究》 ( <i>Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Wenjien 文景
59.	Lin Renjie 林仁傑	1992	Pingjie Pasensi (Michael J. Parsons) de shenmei nengli fazhan jieduan lun. 《評介帕森斯(Michael J. Parsons)的審美能力發展階段論》 (Analysing Michael J. Parsons' "Discussions on Developmental Stages of Appreciation")	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 2/92, pp. 16–27.
60.	Su Zhenming 蘇振明	1992	Cong jianshang dao xiang chuanguo—ertong meishu jianshang jiaoxue yanjiu (I) 《從鑑賞導向創作 – 兒童美術鑑賞教學研究 (上)》 (From Art Appreciation to Art Production – the Study of Teaching Art Appreciation to Children. Part I)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 3/92, pp. 29–40.
61.	Su Zhenming 蘇振明	1992	Cong jianshang dao xiang chuanguo—ertong meishu jianshang jiaoxue yanjiu (II) 《從鑑賞導向創作 – 兒童美術鑑賞教學研究 (下)》 (From Art Appreciation to Art Production – the Study of Teaching Art Appreciation to Children. Part II)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 4/92, pp. 2–8.
62.	Zhou Qinghua 周慶華	1992	Lun huayi—yi ge yingxiang huihua chuanguo he xinshang de zhongyao bianshu 《論畫意 – 一個影響繪畫創作和欣賞的重要變數》 (Discussions on the Artistic Conception of Painting - an Important Factor for Art production and Appreciation)	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 9/92, pp. 12–27.
63.	Zhou Yudong 周于棟	1992	<i>Yishu xinshang yu zhishi</i> 《藝術欣賞與知識》 ( <i>Art Appreciation and knowledge</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Xi yi se yan 溪藝色研
64.	Hwang Renlai 黃壬來	1993	<i>Youer zaoxing yishu jiaoxue – tonghe lilun zhi yingyong</i> 《幼兒造形藝術教學 - 統合理論之應用》 ( <i>Teaching Plastic Art in Kindergarten</i> ).	Taipei: Wuna 五南
65.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993	Zhong mei liangguo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shishi xiankuang zhi bijiao (1). 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域實施現況之比較研究(之一)》 (Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study(1))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 2/1993, pp. 11–29.
66.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993a	Zhong mei liangguo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shishi xiankuang zhi bijiao (2) 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域實施現況之比較研究(之二)》 (Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study(2))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》 ( <i>Art Education</i> ), 3/1993, pp. 18–43.
67.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993b	Zhong mei liangguo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shi-shi xiankuang zhi bijiao (3) 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》

			實施現況之比較研究(之三)》(Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study(3))	( <i>Art Education</i> ), 4/1993, pp. 32–48.
68.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993c	Zhong mei liang guo yishu jiaoyu jianshang lingyu shi-shi xiankuang zhi bijiao (4) 《中美兩國藝術教育鑑賞領域實施現況之比較研究(之四)》(Theory and Practice in Art Education – Art Appreciation Domain Among Students in Taiwan and America: A Cross Cultural Study(4))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 5/1993, pp. 11–18.
69.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993d	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World).	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 10-11/1993, pp. 32-41
70.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1993e	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu (2) 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究(二)》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World (2))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 12/1993, pp. 7–11
71.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1994a	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu(3) 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究(三)》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World (3))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 1/1994, pp. 7-9
72.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1994b	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu(4) 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究(四)》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World (4))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 2/1994, pp. 41-44
73.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1994c	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu(5). 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究(五)》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World (5))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 3/1994, pp. 47-51
74.	Kuo Chenhsiang 郭禎祥	1994d	Shijie zhuyao guojia shehui meishu xinshang jiaoyu zhi bijiao yanjiu (6) 《世界主要國家社會美術欣賞教育之比較研究(六)》(A Comparative Study of Public Art Appreciation Education at Fine Art Museums in Major Countries around the World (6))	In: <i>Meiyu yuekan</i> 《美育月刊》( <i>Art Education</i> ), 5/1994, pp. 47-51
75.	Chen Siming 陳肆明	1994	Gaoji zhongxue meishu jianshang jiaoxue — jiaocai bianxie lilun yu jiaoxue danyuan zhi sheji juli 《高級中學美術鑑賞教學 – 教材編寫理論與教學單元之設計舉例》(Teaching Art appreciation in senior secondary school — samples of teaching material theories)	In: 1994 AISA Regional INSEA Congress – Proceedings. National Taiwan Art Education Bureau.
76.	Lin Manli 林曼麗	1994	Chutan ershiyi shiji Taiwan shijue yishu jiaoyu xin qushi — jian jie beixin guoxiao kecheng kaifai shili 《初探二十一世紀台灣視覺藝術教育新趨勢 – 兼介北新國小課程開發事例》(The trend of Visual Arts Education in 21 <sup>st</sup> century Taiwan)	In: 1994 AISA Regional INSEA Congress – Proceedings. National Taiwan Art Education Bureau
77.	Lu Yanqing 呂燕卿	1994	Taiwan qu guoxiao shenmei jiaoxue shidai de lailin yu celue 《台灣區國小審美教學時代的來臨與策略》(Strategies of Teaching Art Appreciation in Primary School in Taiwan)	In: 1994 AISA Regional INSEA Congress – Proceedings. National Taiwan Art Education

				Bureau
78.	Xie Youqing 謝攸青	1994	<i>Yishu jianshang jiaoxue neirong yingyou de fanchou yu fangxiang zhi yanjiu</i> 《藝術鑑賞教學內容應有的範疇與方向之研究》 ( <i>Research on Scope and Directions of Art Appreciation Education</i> ) (Master Thesis)	Taipei 臺北 : Taiwan shifan daxu 台灣師範大學
79.	Su Zhenming 蘇振明	1994	<i>Meishu xinshang zhi gainian yu celue</i> 《美術導賞的理念與策略研究》 ( <i>Concept and Strategy of Guiding Appreciation of Art</i> )	In: 1994 AISA Regional INSEA Congress
80.	Chen Zhaoping 陳朝平 and Hwang Renlai 黃壬來	1995	<i>Guoxiao meilaoke jiaocai jiaofa</i> 《國小美勞科教材教法》 ( <i>Teaching Art and Craft in Primary School – teaching materials and methods</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Wunan 五南
81.	Hwang Chengjie 黃政傑 (ed.)	1996	<i>Meilao ke jiaoxuefa</i> 《美勞科教學法》 ( <i>Teaching of Art and Craft</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Shida Shuyuan 師大書苑
82.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	1997	<i>Meishu jianshang</i> 《美術鑑賞》 ( <i>Art Appreciation</i> )	Taipei: Sanmi 三民
83.	Su Zhenming 蘇振明	1997	<i>Ertong meishu jianshang de hanyi yu jiaoyu gongneng</i> 《兒童美術鑑賞的涵義與教育功能》 ( <i>Significance and Educational Functions of Art Appreciation with Children</i> )	In: <i>Guojiao yuekan</i> 《國教月刊》 ( <i>National Education</i> ), 4/97, pp. 30–43
84.	Wang Hsiohung 王秀雄	1998	<i>Guanshang, renzhi, jieshi yu pingjia – meishu jianshang jiaoyu de xueli yu shiwu</i> 《觀賞、認知、解釋與評價 – 美術鑑賞教育的學理與實務》 ( <i>Appreciation, Cognition, Interpretation, and Judgment: Theories and Practice of Art Appreciation Instruction</i> )	Guoli shi bowuguan 國立史博物館 (Museum of National History)
85.	Chen Mutzu 陳木子	1998	<i>Taiwan yishu jiaoyu fazhanshi</i> 《台灣藝術教育發展史》 ( <i>A History of Taiwanese Art Education</i> ).	Taipei 臺北 : Huanyu 環宇
86.	Jiaoyu bu 教育部 (Education Ministry)	1999	<i>Gaoji zhongxue yi xia xuexiao yishu xinshang kecheng zhi yanjiu jihua</i> . 《高級中學以下學校藝術欣賞課程之研究計劃》 ( <i>Study of School Curriculum on Art Appreciation</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Jiaoyu bu 教育部
87.	Wu Yongrui 吳永瑞	1999	<i>Guoxiao xuefenban yileng ke – meilao 2156</i> 《國小學分班藝能科 – 美勞 2156》 ( <i>Fine Arts in National Primary School – Art and Craft 2156</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Kaoune 考用
88.	Yang Mengzhe 楊孟哲	1999	<i>Rizhi shidai Taiwan meishu jiaoyu</i> 《日治時代台灣美術教育 1895-1927》 ( <i>Taiwan Art Education during the Japanese Colonial Period</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Qianwei 前衛
89.	Chen Qionghua 陳瓊花	2000	<i>Ertong yu qingshaonian ruhe shuohua</i> 《兒童與青少年如何說畫》 ( <i>How Children and Adolescents Talk About Art: Children's and Adolescents' conceptions in Describing, Preferring, and Judging Works of Art.</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Sanmin 三民
90.	Huang Dongfu 黃冬富	2003	<i>Zhongguo meishu jiaoyu shi</i> 《中國美術教育史》 ( <i>History of Chinese Art Education</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Shida Shuyuan 師大書苑
91.	Lin Qianling 林千鈴	2003	<i>Yishu jiyin gaizao: ertong meishu jiaoyu xin qushi</i> 《藝術基因改造: 兒童美術教育新趨勢》 ( <i>Reconstructing the Gene of Art: the New Trend of Art Education for Children</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Qinglin guoji 青林國際
92.	Chao Hueilin 趙惠玲	2005	<i>Shijue Wenhua yu yishu jiaoyu</i> 《視覺文化與藝術教育》 ( <i>Visual Culture and Art Education</i> )	Taipei 臺北: Shida Shuyuan 師大書苑
93.	Wu Chia-ling 吳嘉陵	2006	<i>Qingmo minchu de huihua jiaoyu yu huajia</i> 《清末民初的繪畫教育與畫家》 ( <i>The Art Education and Painters of China in the Early Twentieth Century</i> )	Taipei 臺北 : Xiuwei zixun keji 秀威資訊科技
<b>Chinese literature published in Hong Kong</b>				
94.	Art Section, Hong Kong Education Department	1960	<i>Xiaoxue meishu jiaoxue ju</i> 《小學美術教學舉隅》 ( <i>Examples of Teaching Art in Primary School</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Printing Council

95.	Lam Honchui 林漢超	1966	<i>Meishu jiaoxue qiantan</i> 《美術教學淺談》 ( <i>An Introduction to the Teaching of Art</i> )	Hong Kong 香港: Yilin 藝林
96.	Feng Zikai 豐子愷	1979	<i>Yishu quwei</i> 《藝術趣味》 ( <i>Fascination of Fine Arts</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Gangqing 港清
97.	Young Hingon 楊興安	1981	<i>Meishu xuexi chujie</i> 《美術學習初階》 ( <i>The Beginning of Learning Art</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Litong tushu 利通圖書
98.	Ho, H.K.	1988	<i>Art Appreciation</i>	In: Art Section and Art and Craft Section (ed.), <i>Art Bulletin</i> . Hong Kong 香港 : The Cultural Crafts Centre, Advisory Inspectorate, Education Department, p. 5.
99.	Ng Lingkuen 吳伶娟	1992	<i>Zai Xianggang tuixing yi xueke wei jichu de meishu jiaoyu de kexing xing</i> 《在香港推行「以學科為基礎的美術教育 (Discipline-Based Art-Education)」的可行性》 ( <i>The Possibility of Implementing Discipline-Based Art-Education in Hong Kong</i> )	In: Art Section and Art and Craft Section (ed.), <i>Art Bulletin</i> . Hong Kong 香港 : The Cultural Crafts Centre, Advisory Inspectorate, Education Department, pp. 9-14.
100.	Lai Bing Chiu 黎炳昭	1992	<i>Ertong meishu jiaoyu</i> 《兒童美術教育》 ( <i>Children art education</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Zhongwen daxue 中文大學
101.	Art and Craft Section, The Curriculum Development Council	1993	<i>Meishu xinshang jiaoxue cankao ziliao 1 - shifu guohua</i> 《美術欣賞教學參考資料 (一) - 十幅國畫》 <i>References for Teaching Art Appreciation - Ten Chinese Paintings</i>	Hong Kong 香港: the Education Department
102.	Art and Craft Section, The Curriculum Development Council	1994	<i>Meishu xinshang jiaoxue cankao ziliao 2 - shifu xiyanghua</i> 《美術欣賞教學參考資料 (二) - 十幅西洋畫》 <i>References for Teaching Art Appreciation - Ten Western Paintings</i>	Hong Kong 香港: the Education Department
103.	Hong Kong Society for Education in Art and Art Education Research Centre of Guangzhou Art Academy (ed.)	1994	<i>Meiyu yu meishu jiaoyu wenji</i> 《美育與美術教育文集》 ( <i>Papers on Aesthetic Education and Art Education</i> )	Guangzhou 廣州 : Lingnan meishu 嶺南美術
104.	Chan Yingman	1999	<i>Art Education in Hong Kong - Formal, Nonformal, Informal Education System</i>	Hong Kong 香港 : Ying-man Chan
105.	Wong Solan 黃素蘭 (ed.)	1999	<i>Meishu jiaoyu: yanjiu yu shiye</i> 《美術教育: 研究與視野》 ( <i>Art Education : Research and Horizon</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Xianggang meishu jiaoyu xiehui 香港美術教育協會
106.	Ng Hongsheng 吳香生	2000	<i>Xianggang meishu jiaoyu fazhan liushi nian</i> 《香港美術教育發展六十年》 ( <i>The Development of Hong Kong Art Education in Sixty Years [1939-99]</i> ).	Hong Kong 香港: The Hong Kong Institute of Education
107.	Wong So Lan 黃素蘭	2001	<i>Xianggang meishu jiaoyu koushu lishi: cong tuhuatang kaishi</i> 香港美術教育口述歷史: 從圖畫堂開始 ( <i>Oral History of Hong Kong Art Education : Starting from the Drawing Lesson</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Xianggang meishu jiaoyu xiehui 香港美術教育協會
108.	Yu Shutak 余樹德	2001	<i>Meiyu de geming</i> 《美育的革命》 ( <i>The Revolution of Aesthetic Education</i> )	Hong Kong 香港 : Xianggang meishu jiaoyu xiehui 香港美術教育協會



