

# “New Citizen”

## : The Formation and Evolution of the Concept of Citizenship in Modern China

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### Abstract

The concept of “citizenship” (國民) is ancient, appearing early in the pre-Qing period, but it has undergone many and substantial changes over the course of its history. Numerous scholars have contributed their insights to the study of this concept, thus furnishing a better understanding of the emergence, formation and evolution of “citizenship” in China. Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873-1929)’s “New Citizen Theory” (新民論), which sought to transform the Chinese people from being “subjects of the emperor” into modern “citizens” has received particular attention, but many other early modern Chinese intellectuals also employed the term “new citizen” (新國民) in discussing the concept of “citizenship.” Why then, did these writers deploy the concept of “new citizen” in their discourses, in parallel with the already-established concept of “citizen” from the “New Citizen Theory?” This paper investigates the concept of “new citizen” in early modern China by exploring the rhetorical devices employed in the associated discourses, the actions and events thus evoked, and the contexts in which it was produced. The research materials of this paper are mainly drawn from the Database for the Study of Modern Chinese Thought and Literature (1830-1930) (中國近代思想及文學史專業數據庫) which collects over 120 million words from the newspapers, magazines and monographs of early modern China. Among the most important sources are publications from the

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late Qing period with a variety of different political and social stances, such as *China Discussion* (清議報), *Xin Min Cong Bao* (新民叢報), *Zhejiang Chao* (浙江潮), *Hubei Student Community* (湖北學生界) and *Jiangsu* (江蘇), as well as those of the early republic period, such as *Great Chung Hwa Magazine* (大中華), *New Youth* (新青年) and *Young China* (少年中國). Through multiple readings, and by applying the perspective of conceptual history to the implications of the concept of “new citizenship,” this paper seeks to provide a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of the concept and discourse of “new citizenship” in early modern China.

### Keywords

citizenship, new citizen, late Qing, Republican China, constitutional reformists, republican revolutionaries, New Culture Movement, worship of the new, conceptual history

## Introduction

Although the term “citizen” (國民) existed in ancient China, its signification was very different from the modern definition as it presupposed a different notion of “state” (國家). While the term “citizen” in modern times refers to a constituent of a nation-state who has the right to participate in government and civil affairs, in ancient China “citizen” was used to designate a subject of the emperor. This is clear from the *Commentary of Zuo* (左傳昭公): “He is the ruler of Chen and Cai, and all outside the barrier wall belongs to him. He has perpetrated no oppression; the bandits [in his jurisdiction] are quiet; he has not, to gratify himself, gone against the people. They have no feeling of animosity against him, and the Spirits formerly gave the appointment to him. The people of the State believe in him, and it has been the regular custom of Chu, that, when there is trouble in the House of Mi, the youngest scion of it should get the State” (君陳, 蔡, 城外屬焉。苛慝不作, 盜賊伏隱, 私欲不違, 民無怨心。先神命之, 國民信之。平姓有亂, 必季實立, 楚之常也).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Also see *Zuo Qiuming Chuan* (左丘明傳), *Commentary of Du Yu* (杜預注), *Explanatory Note on Kong Yinda* (孔穎達正義), *Explanatory Note on Chunqiu Zou Zhuan* (春秋左傳正), in Li Xueqin (1999), p.1319.

Moreover, it is not only the concept of "citizenship" which has evolved, the characteristics and qualities of "citizenship" have also varied in different times and contexts. For example, Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873-1929) once remarked that it was the responsibility and the capacity of a newspaper to provide modified and correct knowledge to illuminate the "citizens," and thus to transform them into "new citizens."<sup>2</sup> In 1917, Wu Yu (吳虞, 1871-1939) also referred to "new citizens," urging them to discard the outdated conceptual framework set by Confucianism and accept new, *i.e.* Western, ways of thinking.<sup>3</sup> Although Liang and Wu do not quite agree about how to reform Chinese political culture to accommodate Western ideas, they both stress that "new citizens" need to be equipped with new modes of thinking. Thus, the concept of "new citizenship" was understood and interpreted by various intellectuals who held different viewpoints and therefore imbued it with diverse implications. The following sections will explore the rhetorical devices employed in this discourse, the actions and events thus evoked and the underlying conceptual system, in order to present the various images of citizenship as pictured by early modern Chinese intellectuals.

The modern concept of citizenship was introduced to China from the West together with the concept of nation-state. The interaction between these concepts facilitated the transformation and evolution of Chinese society from an imperial state into a modern nation-state conforming to Western definitions. The concept of citizenship, one of the most important in Chinese political modernization, has been widely studied by scholars. Among the various related issues and topics which have attracted attention should be mentioned "female citizen" (女國民),<sup>4</sup> "national

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<sup>2</sup> Liang Qichao explicated the responsibility and function of newspaper: to deliver the latest foreign knowledge and to help to shape public opinion, and thus to create a type of "new citizen." See Liang Qichao (1978), p.45.

<sup>3</sup> "In the field of religion, the Western world had Martin Luther to lead the reformation of Christianity, hundreds of years ago; in the field of philosophy, there were also Bacon and Descartes who created new theories that influenced many generations. Unless Confucianism is reformed, it is impossible for our country to have the new ideas and theories necessary to cultivate new citizens. This is the first priority in all things" (太西有馬丁路德創新教, 而數百年來宗教界遂辟一新國土。有培根狄卡兒創新學說, 而數百年學術界遂開一新天地。儒教不革命, 儒學不轉輪, 吾國遂無新思想, 新學說, 何以造新國民。悠悠萬事, 惟此惟大已吁)。See Wu Yu (1917).

<sup>4</sup> Cheng and Lu (2011), pp.276-286.

right” (國權),<sup>5</sup> “citizen” (公民),<sup>6</sup> “remolding citizenship theory” (改造國民論),<sup>7</sup> “national character” (國民性),<sup>8</sup> “national consciousness of political participation” (國民參政意識)<sup>9</sup> and “citizen’s assembly” (國民公會),<sup>10</sup> as well as the imaginative interpretation of “citizenship” in Chinese literature.<sup>11</sup> Important concepts associated with the formation and development of the concept of “citizenship” are also relevant here, including “democracy” (民主), “republic” (共和), “assembly” (議會), “rights” (權利), “freedom” (自由) and “state” (國家).<sup>12</sup> Scholars have also examined the indigenious

5 Shen (2002), pp.685-734; Chen Yongsen (2004), pp.152-161; Chen and Zhou (2008), pp.191-250.

6 The term “citizen” first appeared in the *Five Vermin* (五蠹) of Han Feizi (韓非子), which refers to people dedicated to the public interest (為公之民) as well as to those subject to the government. For the evolution of the concept of “citizenship” in modern China, see Chen Yongsen (2004). Some scholars have argued that there was an equivalent to the modern notion of citizen in the late Qing, but Peter Zarrow asserts that whereas Western discourses of citizenship focused on protecting the individual’s civil rights from being violated by national authority, Chinese citizenship theory emphasized the obligations of the individual to the communal morality and to the state, and therefore that the notion of “citizenship” as held by Liang Qichao should be considered as transitional between “people of the state” and “citizen.” Chang Hao has also stated that the term “new citizenship” proposed by Liang Qichao was distinct from the Western definition of “citizenship.” Chang recognizes four categories: (a) The “new citizen” (新公民) proposed by Liang, (b) the *Junzi* of Confucianism (儒家君子), (c) the Chinese national (中國國民) and (d) the Western citizen (西方公民). In Chang’s view, the difference between new citizens and *junzi* is that the former refers to all the people of the state whereas the latter implies a smaller elite group which is responsible for setting a moral example. *Junzi* could participate in civil and government affairs directly, but there was little opportunity for new citizens to be involved in politics and government affairs. Chang also argues that the Western notion of “citizenship” is based on both social and personal identity, whereas in Liang’s “new citizen” theory social identity overshadows personal identity. Therefore, from the perspective of conceptual history, the concept of “citizenship” was not established until the term “公民” was coined, and the notion of “citizen” (國民) as understood in the late Qing is not identical with the modern concept of “citizenship.” For further discussion, see Hu (1988); Liu Zehua (1991); Zhang Xiqin (1994); Chang Hao (1995), pp.144-145; Ma (1997); Fogel and Peter (1997), p.18; Gao (1999); Chen Yongsen (2004).

7 Pan (2003), pp.30-37.

8 Ren (1992), Ch. 2; Wakeman (1998), pp.159-189; Sun Lung-kee (2002); Liu He (1999), pp.67-104; Murata (2000), pp.172-198; Guan (2003).

9 Liang Jinghe (1999).

10 Yan and Xu (2001).

11 Guan (2005), pp.325-358.

12 The formation of the concept of “citizenship” (國民) was closely associated with the concept of “state” (國家) for which there are numerous studies. For more detailed discussion, see Chang Fo-Chuan (1971); Bastid-Bruguiere (1997), pp.221-232; Li Huaxing (1998); Chang

meanings of citizenship and have contextualized its evolution as the Western concept was transplanted via Japan, as well as the associated social events and movements.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, the concept of "state" must also be taken into account, as it is crucial in shaping the concept of citizenship.<sup>14</sup> Besides all the concepts mentioned above, scholars have also studied the concept of "slavery," which was developed along with the discourse of "citizenship" as its counterpart.<sup>15</sup>

In a previous paper, one of the present authors has reviewed the development of the concept of "citizenship" in modern China by applying digital technologies.<sup>16</sup> This research suggests that the term "new citizen"

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Yanqian (1995); Sun Lung-Kee (1998), pp.33-40; Fang Weigui (2002), pp.33-43. As to the concepts related to the formation of "citizenship," such as democracy (民主), republic (共和), parliament (議會), right (權利), freedom (自由), etc., please see Jin, and Liu (1999), pp.213-260; Fang Weigui (2000), pp.49-61; Pan (2002), pp.131-164; Chiu (2002), pp.219-249; Pan (2001), pp.66-70; Yang (2004), pp.26-39; Huang Ko-wu (2007), pp.353-382; Zang (2007), pp.9-29; Jin and Liu (2004), pp.52-67; Chiu (2009), pp.37-78; Huang Ko-wu (2013). There are many other research monographs and articles.

- 13 For example, Shen Sung-Chiao has pointed out that the concept of "citizenship" proposed by Kang Youwei (康有為, 1858-1929) and Liang Qichao during the constitutional reform movement was not distinct from the traditional notion of "people" (人民) or "commoners" (庶民), and had not yet been given a clear, modern definition until Liang Qichao became acquainted with Western political ideas during his stay in Japan. Through Liang's interpretation, "citizenship" was taken out of its original context and thus obtained a entirely new connotation which referred to the "subjects of the state," *i.e.* to modern citizens with political and civil rights. Shen suggests that Liang's usage was noticed and taken up by his contemporaries, such as Zhang Shizhao and Yu Shimei, with the concept of "citizenship" subsequently being employed by various intellectual groups to support their political stances, in particular to reinforce the national spirit and consciousness. See Shen (2010), pp.307-308.
- 14 Shen Sung-Chiao comments that since the concept of "state" was crucial to the formation and development of the concept of "citizenship," it became the priority for progressive intellectuals to advocate patriotism and national consciousness; and that during this process, the mass media played an important role in promoting ideas and ideologies. See Shen (2010), p.317.
- 15 Shen Sung-Chiao has argued that the concept of "slavery" was the natural counterpart to the notion of "citizenship" when this started to emerge. He also suggests that the concept of "slavery" was embodied and represented not only in politics, but also in the culture and national psychology of China. Thus, as demonstrated by Liang Qichao's theory of patriotism, in order to save China from its effective situation as a slave in international politics, there was a pressing need to change the attitudes and behavior of the people so as to eliminate the elements of slavery within the culture. See Shen (2010), pp.309-312.
- 16 See Chiu We-yun, Leong Yin-ye, Jin Guan-tao and Liu Chaolin, "A Digital Humanities Research Project on the Formation of Citizenship in Modern China: Using Examples from *Xin Min Cong Bao* and *New Youth*" (中國近代「國民」觀念形成之數位人文研究：以《新民叢報》與

(新國民) played an important role in modern Chinese society's "worship of the new" (新的崇拜). The following table lists the hundred most common phrases beginning with the character "new" (新), selected from the Database for the Study of Modern Chinese Thought and Literature (1830-1930) (中國近代思想及文學史數據庫)<sup>17</sup>:

序號 Rank	關鍵詞 Phrase	詞頻 Frequency	序號 Rank	關鍵詞 Phrase	詞頻 Frequency	序號 Rank	關鍵詞 Phrase	詞頻 Frequency	序號 Rank	關鍵詞 Phrase	詞頻 Frequency	序號 Rank	關鍵詞 Phrase	詞頻 Frequency
1	新聞 News	5036	21	新器 New device	672	41	新中國 New China	322	61	新史 New history	184	81	新人物 New figures	113
2	新政 New deal	4645	22	新青年 New Youth	671	42	新律 New law	302	62	新名詞 New terms	178	82	新文明 New civilization	113
3	新法 New law	4450	23	新思想 New Thought	561	43	新村 New village	282	63	新制度 New institution	169	83	新福建 New Fukin	110
4	新報 Newspaper	2360	24	新人 New talent	484	44	新經濟 New economy	281	64	新思潮 New	168	84	新種 New type	110
5	新舊 The old and the new	2338	25	新世界 New world	477	45	新道德 New morality	278	65	新組織 New organization	158	85	新聞雜誌 News magazine	109
6	新學 New learning	2127	26	新兵 New recruit	441	46	新國家 New country	267	66	新勢力 New power	154	86	新政治 New politics	108
7	新約 New provisional constitution	1840	27	新文學 New Chinese literature	415	47	新文化 New culture	254	67	新憲法 New Constitution	147	87	新理想 New ideal	108
8	新章 New constitution	1580	28	新婦 New bride	399	48	新教育 New education	254	68	新條約 New treaty	141	88	新報館 New newspaper office	108
9	新民 New people	1568	29	新詩 New Poetry	395	49	新義 New meaning	252	69	新宗教 New religion	132	89	新政策 New policy	107
10	新黨 New Party	1415	30	新內閣 New cabinet	388	50	新經濟政策 New economic policy	240	70	新界 New boundary	130	90	新國會 New parliament	105
11	新聞紙 Newsprint	1412	31	新名 New term	381	51	新君 New monarch	238	71	新銀行團 New bank consortium	128	91	新戲 New Chinese opera	105
12	新國 New country	1071	32	新社會 New society	379	52	新生活 New life	230	72	新智識 New expertise	125	92	新國家主義 New nationalism	104

《新青年》為例). Conference Paper for International Workshop of CSAC 2014 "A Corpus for Research and Digital Humanities: The Formation and Transformation of East Asian Modern Concepts" (研究用コーパスとデジタル人文研究東アジア近現代観念の変遷と形成). Organized by National Chengchi University, Taiwan; Kansai University, Japan and Hallym University, Korea, November 21-22, 2014.

- <sup>17</sup> The sources from which this database is collected can be divided into six categories: newspapers and journals, archives, collected essays about statecraft during the Qing Dynasty, monographs, Chinese translations and the writings of foreign expatriates, and textbooks about Western ideas from the late Qing. For the complete bibliography please see Jin and Liu (2008), pp.461-477.

13	新理 New axiom	1021	33	新王 New king	364	53	新物 New things	226	73	新新 New newness	124	93	新公司 New company	98
14	新教 Protestant	976	34	新語 New language	363	54	新時代 New age	225	74	新體 New form	122	94	新文化運動 New Culture Movement	97
15	新地 New territory	961	35	新稅 New tax	362	55	新發明 New innovations	223	75	新知識 New knowledge	121	95	新市府 New prefecture	96
16	新政府 New government	961	36	新知 New knowledge	359	56	新劇 New dramas	220	76	新債 New debt	119	96	新總統 New president	95
17	新制 New system	942	37	新派 Reform party	359	57	新字 New word	214	77	新天地 New world	117	97	新國民 New citizen	94
18	新例 New precedent	748	38	新說 New doctrine	344	58	新事業 New cause	212	78	新法律 New law	117	98	新關稅 New tariffs	91
19	新書 New book	747	39	新潮 New trend (fashion)	344	59	新藝 New arts	196	79	新學說 New theories	117	99	新方法 New method	90
20	新軍 New army	698	40	新紀元 New age	343	60	新大陸 New continent	185	80	新世紀 New century	114	100	新定章程 New articles of association	90

In this table, the keyword “new citizen” occurs in 97<sup>th</sup> place, suggesting its importance in the public discursive domain in modern China, and indeed, there have been numerous research projects investigating this concept from various points of view. Some have focused on the thoughts of Liang Qichao about new citizenship (新國民思想),<sup>18</sup> others have explored the relationship between the queue-cutting movement of 1911 and the shaping of a new citizenry,<sup>19</sup> or discussed the development of new citizen theory during the late Qing and early republic period.<sup>20</sup> Related issues which have attracted scholarly attention include the imagining of new citizenship in Taiwan during the Japanese colonial period,<sup>21</sup> the shaping of new citizenship and children’s education in the Nanjing National Government in 1931,<sup>22</sup> the “New Citizen Movement” launched by the Reorganized National Government led by Wang Jingwei,<sup>23</sup> and even writings to mark the Lunar New Year, and the image of the rebel in family fiction.<sup>24</sup> Other research, meanwhile, has concentrated on the concept of

18 Meng (2001), pp.13-16.

19 Zhang Xi (2013), pp.75-80.

20 Che (2005), pp.126-129; Yi and Zheng (2007), pp.39-42.

21 Huang Mei-e (2006), pp.81-119.

22 Sun Xia (2014), pp.19-22.

23 Xie (2007), pp.51-53; Zeng (2008), pp.96-98.

24 Tien and Xu (2011), pp.197-202; Jiang (2010), pp.38-45.

new citizenship in the context of the relationship between China and Korea, since the modern concept of new citizenship as received by Korea was influenced by Liang Qichao's theory, even though in practice the theory of "new citizenship" was adopted in Korea as a subversive tool aiming to change the status quo.<sup>25</sup>

As can be seen from this literature review, although the previous studies pertaining to the concept of new citizenship have provided diverse readings and perspectives, they have failed to point out the discrepancies and fractures between the different discourses of new citizenship and to explore the implications of this. The objective of this paper is therefore to incorporate the findings of the previous research into an investigation of how the concept of "citizenship" interacted with the "worship of the new"<sup>26</sup> in early modern China. The motivation, intentions and objectives of intellectuals involved with seeking a discourse of "new citizenship" will also be examined. By focusing on the development of the concept of new citizenship in the late Qing and early republic periods, this paper will attempt to broaden and deepen our understanding of the concept of citizenship in early modern China.

## The Concept of New Citizen in the Late Qing (1900-1910)

During the late Qing period, intellectuals used the notion of "citizenship" as a discursive strategy: their political intent was to transform the identity of the Chinese people from being subjects of the imperial state into citizens of a modern nation-state.<sup>27</sup> They also employed the idea of "new citizenship," however, which served as a parallel to the concept of "citizenship" in their theories. This section inquires about their motivation, and tries to understand the significance of this phenomenon.

Almost all the discourses of the late Qing can be divided into two different political alliances: one in support of constitutional reform, and

<sup>25</sup> Moon (2012), pp.9-15; Cui (2005), pp.40-43.

<sup>26</sup> Luo (1999), pp.18-81.

<sup>27</sup> For the transformation of Chinese people from subjects to modern citizens, see Chen Yongsun (2004).



the other in favor of a revolution to replace Qing rule with a republican government. This paper will contextualize the new citizenship discourses of both camps, highlighting the discrepancies between these two movements.

### 1) The Constitutional Reformists

Sang Bin's research has suggested that "the purposes of the reformists were to increase the social support for constitutional reformation, to shape a new citizenship and to transform the cultural environment to lay the foundations for the reformation."<sup>28</sup> Clearly then, the objective of the new citizen theory proposed by the constitutional reformists was to stabilize and secure the monarchic regime of the Qing dynasty by accelerating the transformation of China into a constitutional monarchy. From related writings, we can see that the constitutionalists were advocating a new kind of "citizenship" formed by the unification and intermingling of various ethnic peoples.

For example, "The Chronicle of Great Global Events" (地球大事紀) states that: "The Boer people of South Africa (南阿之布鴉) [is] a new kind of citizenship which is formed by the unification of more than two ethnic peoples."<sup>29</sup> This synthetic principle of creating new citizens through the unification of diverse ethnic peoples was developed from the theory of "reconciliation" (調適)<sup>30</sup> and the "narrative of mixing" (混生敘事) in the late Qing era.<sup>31</sup> It was applied by the constitutional reformists in an attempt to resolve the conflict between the Manchu and Han peoples. As a result, the new citizenship discourse of the pro-constitution alliance was greatly shaped and influenced by their emphasis upon the necessity of mixing and unifying.

In his "Congratulations on the Publication of the 100th Issue of *China Discussion*, together with an Essay on the Responsibility of the Press and the History of the Journal" (本館第一百冊祝辭並論報館之責任及本館之經歷), Liang Qichao used natural phenomena, such as ocean currents and

<sup>28</sup> Sang (1991), p.44

<sup>29</sup> "Chronicle of Great Global Events" (地球大事紀), *China Discussion* (清議報) 35 (December 2, 1900).

<sup>30</sup> For further discussion on the theory of "reconciliation" in modern China, see Han (2013).

<sup>31</sup> For the practices of early modern Chinese intellectuals on "narratives of unification," see Chiu, *et al.* (2015).

air flows, as analogies to support his argument for the introduction and application of new theories and knowledge from other societies to “amend the false paradigms of our country” and to enlighten the citizens so as to transform them into “new citizens.”<sup>32</sup> Liang argued that a new citizen must be equipped with the ability to discern disparate and even opposing ideas, as well as the capacity to reconcile and synthesize diverse elements in order to absorb new knowledge. The theory of mixing diverse elements in order to synthesize a unified and coherent new entity (混生趨新) was developed from and supported by the political views of the constitutional reformists.<sup>33</sup>

The pro-constitution camp also used the foreign concept of “new citizenship” to justify their advocacy of a unified national entity. For instance, “The New Educational Program of China” (中國新教育案), took the United States as an example, arguing that, rather than ethnicity, territorial identity and the shared vision of people living on the land were more important factors in forming the “new citizenship” of the “Americans” (美利堅人).<sup>34</sup> A similar idea can also be found in “The Manifesto of Young Italy by Mazzini” (瑪志尼少年意大利會約) which reported the prevailing opinion among Italian intellectuals that “new citizenship” was formed by identity rather than by ethnicity or national strength.<sup>35</sup> This kind of new citizen theory was described by Liang Qichao as “Grand Nationalism” (大民族主義), which he distinguished from “Petty Nationalism” (小民族主義) which supported a different kind of citizenship, and since the established concept of “citizenship” was closely

32 “It is essential to introduce new theories and knowledge from other societies, and to reconcile these new elements with the native ones in order to amend the false paradigms of the country, to enlighten the citizens and transform them into ‘new citizens.’ Therefore, intellectual and ideological exchanges (between individuals and cultures) are as natural and important as the formation of new ocean currents or air flows from the conflux of the warm and the cold” (凡欲造成一種新國民者, 不可不將其國古來誤謬之理想, 摧陷廓清, 以變其腦質。而欲達此目的, 恆須借他社會之事物理論, 輸入之而調和之, 如南北極之寒流與赤道之熱流, 相劑而成新海潮, 如常雪界之冷氣與地平之熱氣, 相摩而成新空氣。故交換智識, 實惟人生第一要件)。See Liang Qichao (1978).

33 It should be noted, however, that Liang Qichao opted for reconciliation and synthesis in preference to the opposition of a binary dichotomy. Thus he supported the theory of mixing and unification, whereas the intellectuals of May Fourth Movement held to the proposition of replacing the old with the new.

34 See the discussion in Xin (1902) on the origins and formation of Americans.

35 “The Manifesto of Young Italy by Mazzini” (瑪志尼少年意大利會約), *Xin Min Cong Bao* (新民叢報) 40-41 (1903).

associated with this Petty Nationalism, constitutional reformists who supported a single unified national entity needed to appropriate the concept of "new citizenship," as derived from Grand Nationalism, to promote the unification of the Manchu and Han peoples.

This principle of synthesizing diverse elements to create a coherent new entity was also applied to various social practices. For example, "Political Theory" (According to the History of Politics and Logic) [政治學說 (參據政治學史及理學沿革史)], incorporated Plato's ideas to suggest that only public ownership can offer feasible solutions to the human vices that cause social problems, such as partiality, envy, greed, vanity etc.<sup>36</sup> The same article argued that "reconciliation and unification between masculinity and femininity" is the key to creating great "new citizens" for posterity, which was doubtless influenced by the principle of synthesis.

The process of synthesis was expected to require a long time to develop and complete, so the constitutional reformists suggested an incremental educational process to facilitate the creation of new citizenship. "On the Psychology of Citizens and Education (cont.)" (國民心理學與教育之關係, 續第廿五號), proposed two ways to develop "new citizenship": by immediate external stimulus and by long-term educational cultivation, with the latter offering more permanent and fundamental change.<sup>37</sup>

The constitutional reformists, besides their vision of establishing a nation-state by unifying various ethnic peoples, also suggested a kind of "new military citizenship" (軍國民之新國民觀) which sought to remold the national character to create a military nation. In some of their articles which discuss the relationship between the people and the state, a sense of collectivism and military nationalism can be seen. In "The Education of a Military Country" (軍國民之教育), we read that: "Society is like a con-

<sup>36</sup> This article admirably depicts Plato's idealism as a kind of socialism. It describes the ideal society which Plato pictured, where all property, including one's spouse and children belong to the state. Since there is no personal property, crime resulting human vices is absent; and since the state makes marriages based on the principle of reconciling masculinity and femininity, perfect marriages and descendants can be expected. See "Political Theory (According to the History of Politics and Logic)" [政治學說 (參據政治學史及理學沿革史)], *Youxue Journal of Translation* (遊學譯編) 4 (1903).

<sup>37</sup> The article indicates that both domestic and foreign educators regarded the transformation of attitudes as fundamental to education. Both external stimulus and long-term cultivation are essential, but only the latter can make the permanent changes in attitude required for shaping new citizens. See Liang Qixun (1903).

tainer, and the citizens are shaped by the society, just as water is shaped by its container.”<sup>38</sup> The “citizens” mentioned here are dominated by a military country and without independent powers of judgment, so they are easily controlled by the authorities. The implied collectivism in this version of “new citizenship” presupposes the existence and indeed the prevalence of military nationalism in the society under consideration. Ideologies such as collectivism and nationalism validate authoritarian government, and are especially relevant to the political and educational implementation of “new citizenship” and “new national character.” Thus, the ideology of “military nationalism” (軍國主義) attracted many constitutional reformists as a means to realize their vision of establishing a constitutional monarchy ruled by the Qing government.

In this context, the constitutional reformists also appealed to popular national sentiment in the hope of inspiring a new collective image of the nation to facilitate the formation of new citizenship. “On the Friendship between Japan and France” (論日法有可親之誼), which was translated from Japanese, discussed the reinforcement of national emotion and the common vision shared by the peoples of Japan, France, Germany and the United States, arguing that this enabled their political reforms and consequently enhanced their overall national strength.<sup>39</sup> Since evoking such public sentiments requires sharing the same national identity, the constitutional reformists also advocated a movement to reform and reshape the attitude of citizens, specifically to establish a common Chinese national identity among the Manchu and Han peoples. Thus, “On Riot and Foreign Intervention” (暴動與外國干涉) noted that the formation of “new citizenship” required education to shape a common outlook and psychological state among the people.<sup>40</sup> Such theories

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38 See Bai (1902).

39 The article describes the new civilization of Japan as only having existed for four or five decades, and therefore immature, yet vibrant. In the author’s view, Japan, like the Western modern states discussed, successfully achieved political, social and cultural reform through its strong and unifying national spirit. See “On the Friendship between Japan and France” (論日法有可親之誼), *The Diplomatic Review* (外交報) 132 (1905). Translated from a Japanese article published in the Japanese Newspaper *The Sun* in November, 1905.

40 “We must renew the national outlook in order to make social improvements; and the only way to achieve this is to promote advanced ideas by using journalism and mass communication” (所謂改良進化者, 不可不取國民心理洗滌而更新之, 然欲洗滌更新國民之心理, 必非口舌煽動筆墨鼓吹所能為力). See Liang Qichao (1978).

developed under the influence of the theory of national psychology (國民心理學說)<sup>41</sup> and the principle of synthesis (混生趨新).

This point of view continued to be expressed until 1907, for example, "On the Ideology of Chinese Education" (論中國教育之主義) emphasized the importance of a national education which cultivated the national spirit, since this was a necessary condition for forming "new citizenship."<sup>42</sup> Thus far, this investigation has explored the implications and characteristics of the concept of "new citizenship" as promulgated by the constitutional reformists of the late Qing period. Politically, they supported the rule of the Qing Monarchy, and the resolution of the conflict between the Manchu and Han peoples, so it is obvious that the principle of synthesis, the mixing and unifying of diverse elements to form a new entity, was at the core of their concept of "new citizenship," because it aligned with their political goals.

## 2) The Republican Revolutionaries

There was a major divergence between the constitutional reformists and the republican revolutionaries, in that the latter appealed to a kind of nationalism which differentiated the Manchu people from the Han people. "On the General Definition of History" (史學廣義內篇) states that: "In the 'Manifesto of the Berlin History Conference' (柏林史學大會宣言), it was declared that the primary mission of historians is to encourage nationalism in order to create a new kind of citizenship, as nations which fail to do so will certainly perish."<sup>43</sup> This new kind of citizenship was shaped by the ideology of nationalism, and is perceived as different from the kind of "citizenship" without nationalist connotations, and thus, from this standpoint it is nationalism which defines the nature of "new citizenship." Among numerous reasons why the revolutionaries appealed to a theory of "new citizenship" shaped by nationalism, the most significant are the following: to unite the strength of the people to defend

<sup>41</sup> For the development and practice of national psychology in the late Qing era, see Sun Lung-kee (2004), p.36.

<sup>42</sup> This article points out that since China was facing a great crisis and competition from other countries around the world at the time, education was the only and the ultimate solution to cultivate a new national spirit and citizenship for the future of China. See Liu Xinzhi (1978). It was originally published in *China New News* 6 (July, 1907), which was edited by Yang Du (楊度), who advocated constitutional monarchy. See Chen Jie Shian (2008), p.66.

<sup>43</sup> Liu Chengyu (1903).

against foreign incursions, and to reinforce the Han identity to encourage a domestic revolution against the Qing monarchy, which was of Manchu origin. In 1903, the revolutionary newspaper *Zhe-Jiang Chao* quoted from “Global Policy” (世界政策) by the Japanese politician Watanabe Kunitake (渡邊國武), interpreting this text as an invasive strategy to control territory and trade, and to promote industrial expansion and colonization. The article concluded that the only way to defend the country was to renew the national character by appealing to nationalism,<sup>44</sup> and makes clear the importance of nationalism to the revolutionary alliance as a direct reaction to a series of foreign incursions.<sup>45</sup> Also, the “History of the Descendants of Emperor Huang” (黃史) reported that the revolutionary *Journal of National Essence* (國粹學報) had urged historians to use nationalism to develop “new citizenship.” It was also suggested that the formation of nationalism required the documentation and dissemination of the social history of the country.<sup>46</sup> Thus, for the revolutionary movement, nationalism was central to transforming the citizens into “new citizens,”<sup>47</sup> and the revolutionary view on the “new citizen” was formed by nationalist domestic and foreign policies.

The concept of “new citizenship” deployed by the revolutionaries was also characteristic of the theory of “replacing the old with new” (取代開新). In 1903, the author of “The Spirit of the Nation (cont.)” [國魂(續第一期)] discussed the revolutionaries attitude to “morality” in the light of the threat from Japan. He argued that the Japanese had set the new morality against the old morality in an attempt to preserve their martial spirit after the samurai ethical code of bushido (武士道) was abolished. He

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44 Watanabe states that his global policy applies to nation-states, and points out the necessity of forming and renovating Japanese nationalism in the global context to revitalize the country. Watanabe (1903).

45 A similar perspective on “new citizenship” can be found in “Ming Shuo” (名說) (1909) which describes a causal relation between the formation of new citizenship and acquiring the ability to compete internationally in the new world, see Tie (1978). It was originally published in *Yue Bao* (越報) in November, 1909, a journal which aimed to enlighten the people and save the country; it was edited by Zhao Hansheng (趙漢聲), but closed after its first issue. See Fang Hanji (1981), p.493.

46 This article also referred to the “Manifesto of the Berlin History Conference,” stating that the primary mission of historians was to encourage nationalism, in order to shape new citizens and avoid foreign invasion. It also cited several examples from Chinese history to illustrate and justify this statement. See Huang Jie (1905).

47 Wang (2009), p.290.

illustrated his perspective on the relationship between the old and the new morality by quoting from Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉): "The air contained in the cup is exhausted only if the cup is filled with water."<sup>48</sup> This position was fundamentally different from that of the reformists. The revolutionaries argued that Chinese traditionalism was deeply rooted and strong at assimilating other viewpoints, especially from those who were less self-assertive, and it was therefore necessary to destroy the old paradigms and replace them with the new ones. The divergent opinions of the revolutionaries and the reformists on how to reform and renew Chinese culture and society were thus motivated by their differing observations about Chinese society and their differing visions for the future of China.

The revolutionaries also proposed that a new citizen should be capable of grasping and applying new knowledge. "Some Thoughts from Private Gleanings" (野獲一夕話) introduced various types of governing assembly found in the Western societies to the "new citizens," and, from the context, this refers to those who have general understanding of and interest in Western political systems.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, "The Iron Will of the Russians in Demanding Constitutionalism (cont.)" [俄人要求立憲之鐵血主義 (續第四期)] describes how the intellectuals of the revolutionary alliance had learned from Russia that newspapers and other publications were the keys to forming and influencing public opinion and to stimulating direct action: "Newspapers are the mothers that give birth to new citizens."<sup>50</sup> Newspapers thus played an important role in transforming citizens into new citizens, by delivering and disseminating new knowledge, especially regarding revolutionary matters. "On Zhejiang Customs (cont.)" [浙風篇 (續第四期)], explains that "Westernization" should not be confined to material issues, for example the importation of goods such as tobacco, wine, new foods and utensils, but should also be expanded to encompass the intellectual, social and cultural domains:

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<sup>48</sup> See Fei Sheng (1903).

<sup>49</sup> The author comments how Chinese students in Japan, being ignorant of Western political systems and parliamentary procedures, were easily mocked, but he also sees this as part of the process to cultivate "new citizenship." See Fei Shi (1903a).

<sup>50</sup> The article describes how the Russian monarch used censorship of publications to exert ideological control over the thinking of the Russian people and to suppress political dissent. See Du (1903).

lessons should be learned from the European countries about all kinds of modern political and social institutions and customs, such as the civil culture, autonomy and civic virtue of the United Kingdom, the characteristics of the new citizenship of France, and the martial character of Japanese nationalism. This suggests that the intellectuals of the revolutionist alliance considered the emulation of Western social, political and cultural institutions and customs as the key to the Westernization of China.<sup>51</sup>

The revolutionaries proposed that all new citizens should have an equal right to receive education. In “An Introduction to the General Theory of Education” (教育通論緒論), “new citizens” (新國民) receiving “new education” (新教育) were contrasted with “old citizens” (舊國民) receiving “old education” (舊教育).<sup>52</sup> Consistent with this point of view, the revolutionaries campaigned for both male and female students to have an equal right to receive an education and thus to become “new citizens,” as described in “A Song for Female Students Entering School” (女學生入學歌):

The female students of the twentieth century are the new citizens. The new semester starts in spring, and everyone gets ready to enter the school. Discarding all their cosmetics, they focus on study and follow the good example of their teachers in striving to improve themselves. They dedicate themselves to their country and to helping the world. They are considered the equals of men, just like the ancient Chinese heroines such as Ti Ying, Hua Mulan, and Ben Chao, or the foreign heroines such as Joan of Arc and Jeanne-Marie Roland. They study astronomy, physics and chemistry, as well as natural history and music. This is the new world and these are the women of China. The students also do physical exercises and play sports, following the spirit of Spartans to improve their physical constitution. In a school for female students, everything is done with enthusiasm and everyone is diligent in her own studies. The students encourage each other to aspire to be the heroines of the future; those who have no opportunity to go to school are to be pitied.<sup>53</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See Fei Shi (1903b).

<sup>52</sup> It was stated that only by abolishing old education could new education arise, and that education should be mandatory as this is the only way to make sure that all the people of the country could access it. See Yun (1903).

<sup>53</sup> See Song (1904).



From these lyrics, it is clear that the "new citizens" comprised people from different genders and ages: to become "new citizens" female students must avoid vanity by eschewing cosmetics; they should dedicate themselves to their country and to helping the world; they should take prominent female figures from China and the West as role models; and they should study all kinds of knowledge to broaden their vision. Although the young women for whom this song was written are urged to follow the Western model, the song's basic narrative was still traditional, with motherhood depicted as the primary role of women. Thus, female Chinese students needed to study in order to become the "mothers of the citizens" (國民之母), not to become "modern women" (摩登女性).

Another distinguishing feature of the revolutionaries' understanding of "new citizenship" was that they accentuated the "rights" (權利) of citizens rather than "morality" (道德), which they considered vague. Thus, "The Moral Issue of the People of Jiang Su" (江蘇人之道德問題) describes morality as a mask worn by hypocrites to disguise themselves, which should never trouble the new citizens.<sup>54</sup> This kind of argument was employed by the revolutionaries to dispute the high moral standing claimed by the reformists.<sup>55</sup>

## The Concept of New Citizen in the Early Republic China (1911-1920)

The confrontation between the revolutionaries and reformists came to a climax with the success of the revolution of 1911 and the establishment of a republican government. The disputes over the appropriate structure of

<sup>54</sup> See "The Moral Issue of the People of Jiang Su" (江蘇人之道德問題), *Jiangsu* (江蘇) 9-10 (1904).

<sup>55</sup> Even though *Jiang Su* (江蘇) was basically on the side of the revolutionaries, there were occasionally articles by constitutional reformists discussing "new citizenship." For example, "The History of the Russo-Japanese War" compares the performances of Japanese and Russian soldiers to claim the superiority of modern citizens under a constitutional government over peasants from an autocratic regime. This was the key for Japan, a country of small islands, to defeat Russia, a huge and strong country. Apart from the constitutional political system, the morality, spirit and patriotism demonstrated by Japanese people were also important in winning the war, and the author encourages the Chinese people to learn from Japan in implementing a constitutional system and social reforms. See "The History of the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905" (日俄戰記), *Jiangsu* (江蘇) 11-12 (1904).

political institutions were then replaced by arguments over cultural reform, particularly focusing on whether China should preserve or renounce traditional culture. The following discussion will take the New Culture Movement (新文化運動) as a watershed in examining the development of the concept of “new citizen” during the early republic period in China.

### 1) Before the New Culture Movement

Before the New Culture Movement, the theoretical notion of “new citizen” had already been accepted and legitimized to a certain degree. Supporters of women’s rights advocated that women should take responsibility for the education of new citizens and were thus entitled to receive a proper education. This proposition, of well-educated women educating “new citizens” was different from the late Qing perspective. In 1911, “The Inscription for the Journal of the Society of Overseas Chinese Students in Japan” (留日女學會雜誌題辭), it was argued that women held the primary power in the Chinese patriarchal family structure for two reasons. First, Chinese culture valued and venerated filial piety, which led to the obedience of children to their mothers, in particular. Second, although husband is naturally the head of the body (a metaphor for the family), his wife is the neck that decides which direction to turn. Thus, the author regarded women, especially well-educated and visionary women, as crucial to the success of social reforms, since political reforms could only be conducted by men: a proper education was vital to the formation and shaping of the “new citizens” of future generations, and the process should start even before birth.<sup>56</sup> With women playing this critical role in the education of “new citizens” and social reform. it was necessary for them to break away from the obsessive superstitions which dominated society. Accordingly, the author encouraged all women to pursue self-improvement. Clearly, what the intellectuals were proposing is the consciousness of motherhood in the service of the grand narrative of nationalism, rather than the creation of a female identity founded upon individualism. All related discussions about rights, education and study by women were structured within this framework of nationalism. Subsequently, however, the focus of these arguments shifted from the

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<sup>56</sup> See Liu Yu (1978).

implications of the concept of "new citizenship" to actual social movements working to promote women's education and the elimination of superstition.

Before the New Culture Movement, there were also intellectuals arguing that the "new citizens" were in some way the property of republican China. "My Advice to the Authorities" (吾所告於當道者) criticized those who had no idea how to create wealth but were experts in spending it. The author saw taxation as a form of national insurance, so that raising taxes could only be justified if the government was taking good care of its people and since, in practice, the Chinese people had been deeply abused and exploited by the authorities to support their lavish expenditures, no one with a conscience could approve of raising taxes in this situation. He considered the republican revolution to be effectively a natural disaster, and argued that the wonderful vision of the future pictured by the newly-established republic government was a cynical deception designed to persuade people to accept their obligation to pay taxes. Here, the people of the republican China were the "new citizens,"<sup>57</sup> so that the republican government's legal imposition of tax upon its citizens casts a shadow over the concept of "new citizenship" insofar as it is associated with the corrupt republican government.

## 2) After the New Culture Movement

Following the success of the New Culture Movement, the intellectuals writing in *New Youth* developed a new perspective upon and understanding of the concept of "new citizenship." In "The German Empire from a Historical Perspective" (從歷史上觀察之德意志帝國), the term "new citizens" was applied to Germans living in the overseas German colonies. Indeed, the colonization policy of Bismarck was described in late 19<sup>th</sup> century as the new German citizen movement,<sup>58</sup> with "new" citizens

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57 According to this author, the revolution, though aiming at the establishment of a republic government, actually resulted in all kinds of social problems. Even so, the government imposed higher taxes on the new citizens and forced them to accept this as a legal obligation, causing considerable misery for the people and the country. See Chen Xian (1913).

58 The author describes the diplomatic policies and maneuvers of Bismarck, praising the courageous "new citizens" of Germany who migrated overseas of their own accord, independently of the government. This influenced the later migration policy of Bismarck and resulted in the new citizen movement in 19<sup>th</sup> century German. See Jie (1916).

being different from the original “citizens” of the colonized country.

Another concept of “new citizenship” at this time referred to students studying abroad, as in “The Statement of the Beijing Association for Work-for-Study Students in France” (北京留法儉學會簡章) which argued that, in order to create a new society and citizenship for the newly established republic of China, there should be more students studying in the developed countries.<sup>59</sup> Here, the “new citizens” are those who are well acquainted with the “new Western knowledge,” in contrast to the “citizens” who still valued and upheld traditional Chinese culture and thought. For example, in 1917, “A Letter to Chen Duxiu by Hu Jinjie, with a Reply by Chen” (胡晉接-致獨秀, 附陳獨秀復信) attributes the failure of the republican regime to the attitudes of the Chinese people resulting from the false principles underlying Chinese education, which had not been successfully reformed. Even though it had been twenty years since educational reformation had begun, the educational system was still flooded by antiquated and poisonous traditional ideas and was incapable of adopting innovative approaches. The main author therefore supports the scheme and mission of Chen Duxiu to reform the education of youth in order to cultivate authentic “new citizens” able to create a new China for the modern 20<sup>th</sup> century. The argument clearly shows the confrontation between the “new” and the “old” Chinese culture and values.<sup>60</sup> This had become a major narrative strategy for the discourse of “new citizenship,” for example, “The Harm Done by the Confucians’ Advocacy of the Social Caste System” (儒家主張階級制度之害) is a historical review of the Confucianism monopoly of power, which concludes that all Confucians were autocratic hypocrites. The author argued that society needed a revolt against Confucianism so that new thoughts and theories could arise, and hence the “new citizenship.” He drew a parallel with the

<sup>59</sup> See “The Statement of the Beijing Association for Work-for-Study Students in France” (北京留法儉學會簡章), *New Youth* (新青年) 3: 2 (1917).

<sup>60</sup> In his letter to Chen Duxiu, Hu Jingjie expressed his support for Chen’s ideas and blamed the unsuccessful reformation of Republican China upon a lack of reform in the attitudes of the Chinese people. He also criticized Chinese education as having only false principles and being deficient in the spirit, qualities and innovative outcomes of true education. He considered Chen’s mission to reform the mindset and intellectual orientation of Chinese youth as a demonstration of true education. He believed that a new kind of citizenship generated by such new and authentic education would be the future hope of the new China. See Hu and Chen (1917).

Western world, in which Martin Luther had laid the foundations of Protestantism, and Francis Bacon and René Descartes had introduced new philosophical theories. Here, "new citizens" refers to the opponents of the Confucians, who by comparison were "old citizens."<sup>61</sup>

Such perspectives rejecting old-fashioned traditions were also appropriated by various fields in discussing issues related to "new citizenship." For example, in "A Letter to Chen Duxiu by Qian Xuantong, with a Reply by Chen Duxiu" (錢玄同-致獨秀, 附陳獨秀答言): Qian supported Chen's "Modest Proposals for the Reform of Literature" (文學改良芻議) which suggested abandoning the literary form of the classical essay. Qian argued that the writings of the Six Dynasties, and of the Tang and Song Periods, should not be used as study materials for children as they were abstruse in form and mediocre in content. Important information and knowledge, such as great historical events, and scientific, political and legal concepts were either absent from or difficult to find in such essays. Qian argued that the "new citizens," instead of being damaged by all these antiquated Chinese classics, should acquire the new and modern knowledge of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Thus, during the New Culture Movement, the concept of "new citizen" was used by intellectuals opposed to traditional Chinese culture to refer to the younger generation receiving a modern education.<sup>62</sup>

The "newness" resulting from Westernization was implicated into the discussions on the concept of "new citizenship" following the success of the New Culture Movement. In "Protect and Restore the Eyes of the People: A Letter to Xuantong by Chen Daqi, with a Reply by Qian Xuantong" (保護眼珠與換回人眼: 陳大齊-致玄同, 附錢玄同復信), Chen invited Qian to co-edit a "Collection of Dung" (糞譜) which would include all things from the Chinese tradition which had a detestable influence upon young people. He used the metaphor of dysfunctional eyes and nose to

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61 In this article, Wu Yu described how the traditions of the Chinese literati sustained the social hierarchy, providing many historical examples to illustrate the damage caused and the evils generated by the intolerance of dissenting voices. See Wu Yu (1917).

62 Qian suggested, however, that children's textbooks might include a few classic essays which are clear in articulation and simple in style. Besides his criticism of the literary style of the Chinese classics, he also insists that new citizens should study relevant and important knowledge such as global history, science, politics and the law. As to the Chinese canonical works, they should be left to graduate students majoring in Chinese studies. See Qian and Chen (1917).

illustrate that the senses of some Chinese people had been impaired, so that they had lost their ability to discern, after being immersed in Chinese tradition for too long. He classified people into three kinds: young people who had not been tainted by tradition for very long; those who had been immersed in tradition for so long that they did not notice its problems; and those who were well aware of the problems yet still chose to follow tradition anyway. Chen argued that the only way to transform and renew the mindset of the Chinese people was to stimulate their sense of discernment, that is, to change the ways in which they perceive and think about the world. In another metaphor, Qian disputed whether Chinese tradition in fact provided suitable nutrition for people, but in any case, it should not stay inside the body once the digestion process had been completed: just as attempting to retain such residues inside the body was harmful to the health, so preserving an antiquated tradition was harmful to the country. Qian championed the role of *New Youth* in eliminating the unwanted and enlightening the people. The “new citizens” here implied are those who had adopted the new Western ways of thinking.<sup>63</sup> Again we see it demonstrated that, following the intellectual ascendancy of the New Culture Movement, the definition of “new citizenship” was based on innovation and Westernization, and was firmly against the old traditions and cultural values.<sup>64</sup>

Since the key to expediting the advent of the new citizen was to remove the age-old, now unwanted, traditional and cultural elements, and to take action to create new ones to replace them, the most vital issue facing the intellectuals was how to establish a new social ethics and morality suitable for the new citizens. Thus, “On the Fundamental Problems of Morality Today” (論吾國今日道德之根本問題), predicated the formation of “new citizenship” upon establishing a new social morality, which could only be achieved by reforming the attitudes of the Chinese

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<sup>63</sup> In his reply to Chen Daqi, Qian Xuantong stated that the purpose of *New Youth* was to protect and refresh the “eyes” of people, which had been polluted and blinded by traditional culture. He praised the various articles and theories of Chen Duxiu, Yuanqi, Hu Shi and Liu Banno on politics, morality and literature as remarkable efforts to restore and illuminate the eyes of people, that is, to enlighten their minds. See Chen Daqi, and Qian (1918).

<sup>64</sup> This kind of narrative continued to appear into the 1920s. Thus, “The Philosophy of Neo-Realism” contrasts new citizens with old citizens, arguing that the latter were trapped in the twisted traditional culture of a thousand years. See Zheng (1920).

people. Historically, the Chinese people had been constrained by a rigid traditional ethics, so it was necessary to replace their conformism and blind obedience with free personal choice: this would release the people from the repression of tradition. Thus, the free will of the individual was the fundamental element required to form the "new morality" essential for "new citizenship."<sup>65</sup> Besides this parameter of free will, it was argued that new psychological conditions were also indispensable to the emergence of a new citizenship. In "The Dawn of Japan before Sunrise" (黎明日本之曙光), Kimura Kyuichi (木村久一) proposed that, after World War I, the Europeans had awakened from their obsession with "power," leading to the incipient formation of a "new national psychology" (新國民心理), since the Europeans no longer believed that "power" truly represented justice, and so people were turning away from military force to pursue the real "justice."<sup>66</sup>

From above discussion, it is clear that the concept of "new citizenship" had been appropriated and discussed in a variety of different contexts: it was used to legitimize female education and to sweep away outdated superstitions; it was interpreted as a cynical tool by which the government oppressed the people with tax increases; and it was mobilized to support the establishment of new social morality to replace the traditional ethics and morality. Additionally, in the early republican period, with the rise of the working class, the term "new citizen" was also applied to mean "worker." Thus, we learn from "Working Conditions in Shanghai" (上海勞動狀況) that, after the May Fourth Movement, a newspaper called *New Citizen Daily News* (新國民日報) was founded and published by a trade union. Here, "new citizen" seems to denote the working class.<sup>67</sup> All in all, it has been demonstrated that the concept of

<sup>65</sup> See Wu Kang (1919).

<sup>66</sup> See Kimura (1919).

<sup>67</sup> "A group called 'Ten People' was organized after the May Fourth Movement last year. This group then turned into a 'trade union' which collected one dollar as membership fee from each member. They published a newspaper named *New Citizen Daily News*. The organization was rather active and vigorous initially, but after the membership funds were embezzled by one of the members, both the organization and the newspaper became defunct. What a shame!" (他們這班人, 去年『五四』運動以後, 組織一個團體, 叫做『十人團』, 後來改做『職工公會』; 每人拿出一塊錢, 作為會費; 會里出過一種報紙, 叫做《新國民日報》, 蓬蓬勃勃, 很有向上的氣象。後來因為會里管錢的人, 名字叫做司徒蔭的, 拿存貯的會費, 席捲偷逃, 會事就此停歇, 報也停刊, 實在可惜之至!)。See "Working Conditions in Shanghai" (上海勞動狀況), *New Youth* (新青年) 7: 6 (1920).

“new citizenship” was widely appropriated, and that its evolution was channeled by the multiple and diverse political, social and cultural currents of early republican China.

## Conclusion

We have seen that the concept of “new citizenship,” when it first appeared, was deployed as a counterpoint to the pre-existing concept of “citizenship.” In the late Qing period, the constitutional reformists understood the concept of new citizenship in terms of the synthetic theory of mixing and unifying diverse elements to create a new entity (混生趨新), which was consonant with their political stance of uniting the Han and Manchu peoples. The republican revolutionaries, meanwhile, proposed replacing the old with new (取代開新), and this theory of the new citizen likewise harmonized with their political position: to reinforce the Han identity to foment a revolt against the Manchu monarch. The political divergence between these two camps thus gave rise to their distinct understandings and interpretations of “new citizenship.” Subsequently, in the early republic period, the concept of “new citizenship” was diversified further, in particular it was central to the success of the New Culture Movement, in supporting the revolution against and reformation of the tenacious cultural and social influence of age-old Chinese traditions.

This paper has examined the evolution and development of the concept of “new citizenship” in the relevant discourses of Chinese intellectuals by situating it within a wide variety of different political, social and cultural contexts. It has thus been demonstrated that, in order to understand the perplexing, dynamic and sometimes even contradictory implications of this concept in different times and contexts, it is essential to understand who is deploying it and to what end. Whereas the previous studies considering the concept of “new citizenship” have treated it as a coherent and homogenous whole, this paper has applied the latest digital technology in an attempt to represent the concept dynamically, as an evolving organism repeatedly interacting with “the worship of the new” during the modernization process of China, and hoping thereby to provide a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of this topic.



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