

# The Transfer of German Pedagogy in Taiwan (1940–1970)

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## ABSTRACT

Wissenstransfer spielte eine zentrale Rolle im Prozess der Herausbildung akademischer Disziplinen bzw. der Reform der traditionellen Wissenskulturen in einer Vielzahl nichtwestlicher Länder im 20. Jahrhundert. Ein Beispiel für solch einen Modernisierungsprozess bildet der Einfluss der deutschen Bildung und Pädagogik auf Taiwan. Der Aufsatz beginnt mit einer Analyse der neun einzigen chinesischen Pädagogikstudenten, die ihre akademischen Grade in Deutschland zwischen 1920 und 1949 erwarben, danach nach China zurückkehrten und nach 1949 in Taiwan als „Wissensmediatoren“ fungierten. Es wird gezeigt, wie diese Pädagogen versuchten, nach dem Vorbild der geisteswissenschaftlichen Tradition der deutschen Erziehungswissenschaft die taiwanische Pädagogik und das Bildungssystem, das bis dahin vom amerikanischen Wissenschaftsparadigma dominiert war, zu reformieren. Dies war mit dem Anspruch verbunden, anhand der kulturellen und philosophischen Annahmen der „Kulturpädagogik“ westliche und chinesische Kultur in Taiwan miteinander harmonisch zu verbinden und angesichts der politischen Ereignisse in China 1949 neue Lösungen für den Bildungsbereich zu suchen. Der Analyse liegen die theoretischen Annahmen des Wissenstransfers von Steiner-Khamsi und Schriewer zugrunde.

Knowledge transfer played a crucial role in the process of modernizing academic disciplines in many non-Western countries during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Many of them began either to modify the old or to establish an entirely new tradition of academic disciplines; this essay will address the specific case of pedagogy in China and Taiwan.<sup>1</sup> Its analysis

1 Due to the specific historical context in China and Taiwan, the transfer of Germany pedagogy in this article was researched geographically in China before 1949, and after 1949 in Taiwan.

of knowledge transfer will be based on Jürgen Schriewer's theory of externalization<sup>2</sup> and Gita Steiner-Khamsi's three-tiered model. While Schriewer's analysis focuses on describing the first phase of reception (externalization), his explanatory approach and theory of self-referential systems is extended to a three-tiered model by Steiner-Khamsi. Steiner-Khamsi develops the theory of externalization by organizing the receptive process along a temporal axis with three different phases: the active reception phase (externalization), the implementation phase (re-contextualization), and the indigenization phase (internalization).<sup>3</sup>

The following study on the reception of German pedagogy in Taiwan will primarily examine the transfer factors of "impulses" (which impulse factors, as related to external demands and inner requirements, incite a country to introduce education reform in accordance with a foreign example?) and "transnational attractiveness" (what renders a particular foreign theory and practice of education especially attractive – is it the context of the self or the superiority of the foreign education theory?). Particular weight is given to the mediators of the transfer process and the results of the transfer: externalization, re-contextualization or internalization.

## 1. Historical Background

### 1.1. The Reception of German Pedagogy in the 1904 School System

The emergence of a modern education system in China prior to 1919 took place subsequent to several defeats in wars against the West. The cultural and political systems in China, which had been running steadily for thousands of years, came under the pressure of modernization, envisaged, for instance, in the development of a modern school system in accordance with the foreign model.<sup>4</sup> At the beginning of the modernization process in the education system, and during the school system reform of 1904, the Chinese wished to adopt foreign models to a limited extent only. According to the cultural and political reform idea of the "Ti-Yong Theory" (as a leading ideology or "solid Chinese

2 J. Schriewer, 'Vergleich als Methode und Externalisierung auf Welt: Vom Umgang mit Alterität in Reflexionsdisziplinen', in *Theorie als Passion*, hrsg. von D. Bäcker, Frankfurt a. M. 1987, 629-668; J. Schriewer, *Konstruktion von Internationalität: Referenzhorizonte Pädagogischen Wissens im Wandel Gesellschaftlicher Systeme (Spanien, Sowjetunion/Russland, China)*, in: *Gesellschaften im Vergleich: Forschungen aus Sozial- und Geschichtswissenschaften*, ed. Hartmut Kaelble/J. Schriewer, Frankfurt a. M. 1999, 151-258; J. Schriewer, *Multiple Internationalities: The Emergence of a World-Level Ideology and the Persistence of Idiosyncratic World-Views*, in: *Transnational Intellectual Networks: Forms of Academic Knowledge and the Search for Cultural Identities*, ed. Ch. Charle/J. Schriewer/P. Wagner, Frankfurt a. M. 2004, 473-533.

3 G. Steiner-Khamsi, *Vergleich und Subtraktion: das Residuum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Globalem und Lokalem*, in: *Vergleich und Transfer. Komparatistik in den Geschichts-, Sozial- und Kulturwissenschaften*, ed. H. Kaelble/J. Schriewer, Frankfurt a. M. 2002, 380-397.

4 R. Reinbothe, *Kulturexport und Wirtschaftsmacht: Deutsche Schulen in China vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, Frankfurt a. M. 1992; Huayuan Xue, *Ti-Yong-These in the late Qing-Dynastie 1861–1900* (in Chinese), Taipei 1991; Refan Zhang/Changshu Wang (ed.), *Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education* (in Chinese), Jinan 1997.

substance”),<sup>5</sup> Chinese teaching was intended to serve as intellectual substance whereas western knowledge was merely for practical use. The modernization of education, that is, “externalization” in line with the foreign model, only occurred – so claimed the Ti-Yong theory – on the level of institutionalization; in other words, with reference to foreign ways of structuring education. The school system of 1904 can therefore be characterized as a combination of the cultural and political ideas of the Ti-Yong theory, of the Japanese education model (in terms of modernization and organization) and Hebartian education concepts (as a useful “Western practice”).<sup>6</sup> This leads us to conclude that the superiority of the foreign education model (Japan) and foreign theories and methods of education (from Germany, but conveyed through Japan) were “perfectly” interwoven in the school system of 1904 with the Chinese concept and the autochthon leading ideology of the time. The reception of Japanese Herbartianism in China, which to a great extent occurred at the institutional or methodological level, was an excellent example of “Western use” as well as being useful and significant for the first step towards modernizing education in China.

This early externalization of the Chinese education system can be considered a special variant of externalization that occurred between the poles of Western modernization and the preservation of tradition as a result of its emphasis on “Chinese substance” and “Western use”, as Schriewer put it.<sup>7</sup> Here, Chinese tradition played a more important part than the ideas from abroad. In this specific external and internal context, the Chinese decided to adopt the Japanese education model, which they took to be successful and attractive, and thus the example of Herbartian education in order to maintain the functionality of the Chinese system of rule and, at the same time, to take steps towards modernization.

The Japanese model was implemented selectively and adapted to the leading ideology of the time and the local milieu. The focal points of implementation were – alongside organizational aspects – the western subjects that would be taught or the teaching methods, for example. Herbart’s theory, on the other hand, did not appear to be important.<sup>8</sup> Re-contextualization was carried out entirely in accordance with the Chinese view of the various difficulties.

5 The Chinese adopted an official political-reform, as well as fundamentally cultural-philosophical, response in 1898: “China’s teachings are the intellectual substance (ti), Western knowledge serves only for practical purposes (yong).” This was also termed the “Ti-Yong Thesis” (zhongti xiyong).

6 Guping Zhou, *The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China* (in Chinese), Guangzhou 1996, 14-26, 36-39, 88-101; Hiroshi Abe, *Borrowing from Japan: China’s First Modern Educational Systems*, in: *China’s Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*, ed. R. Hayhoe/M. Bastid, Armonk 1987, 57-80; Daozhi Wei (ed.), *A Chinese-Foreign Exchange History of Education* (in Chinese), Changsha 1998, 102-107; Jinchou Zheng and Baoque Qu, *The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century* (in Chinese), Beijing 2002, 12.

7 Schriewer, *Konstruktion von Internationalität*, 162-165.

8 Zhou, *The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China*, 71-101. Abe, *Borrowing from Japan: China’s First Modern Educational Systems*, 66. Zhang/Wang, *Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education*, 98-99.

## 1.2. The Reception of American Pedagogy in the 1922 School System

The reception of American pedagogy in China had its heyday during the development of the 1922 school system. The societal situation within the country as a whole was primarily influenced by the epochal May Fourth Movement,<sup>9</sup> in which Chinese tradition was overthrown and the new Chinese intellectuals were striving for democracy and (faith in) science.<sup>10</sup> Further, John Dewey's lecture tour in China (1919–1921)<sup>11</sup> and the influences of other American education experts in the areas of school evaluation, assessment and educational psychology<sup>12</sup> contributed significantly to China's decision to set up a completely new school system in which "traditional" education – including the traditional Chinese and even the Japanese Herbartian concepts – was to have no place.

In the 1922 school system, the aims (in fact, education does not have aims; rather, it merely follows "general principles"), the organizational design (the 6-3-3 Plan), the school administration, which was regulated by the pupils themselves (democratically), the child-oriented curricula (regarded as anti-traditional and not adult-oriented) and the teaching methods (the project method and the Dalton Plan) followed the political ideas of the May Fourth Movement with a tendency towards Dewey's Progressive Education.<sup>13</sup> During this phase, American pedagogy was first received – as was the case in the 1904 school system – via the Chinese context-specific "problem awareness and particular value preferences"<sup>14</sup> as per the May-Fourth era. This meant that the American education model and the Dewey Theory appeared particularly attractive due to such values as "rational scientific thinking" and "democracy", values that were equally striven for in China. The Chinese regarded and perceived them as a "modern" *Weltströmung* "in accordance with the truth", or as "scientific method in its purest form".<sup>15</sup> The reception of American pedagogy in China thus found a form of externalization that occurred simultaneously and in great detail with reference to organization (the 6-3-3 school system), values (science

9 The May Fourth Movement, initiated in 1919, was a movement of patriotic students and young intellectuals against the imperialism of the victorious powers from World War I and thereby was also directed against the warlord feudalism in Peking. Their primary concern was to provide China with justice and the respect of the international community. The problem for the followers of this movement was that due to the political unrest, economic underdevelopment and diplomatic humiliation, the old Chinese culture was no longer in a place to produce a completely new and, at the same time, strong nation.

10 Zeho Li, *Modern History of Ideas in China* (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 359, 403-409; Hao Zhang, *Essays on Our Time* (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 140-160; Yingshi Yu, *Hu Shi in the modern History in China* (in Chinese), Taipei 1984, 16-18; Guorong Yang, *Positivism and Philosophie in modern China* (in Chinese), Taipei 1995, 130, 221.

11 Junsheng Wu, *Essays on Education and Culture* (in Chinese), Taipei 1972; R. D. Findeisen, *Vier westliche Philosophen in China: Dewey und Russell, Bergson und Nietzsche*, in: *Minima Sinica* 1 (1992), 1-36; J. Chen, *China and the West: Society and Culture 1815–1937*, Bloomington 1979, 182-183; Yu, *Hu Shi in the modern History in China*, 43-50; Li, *Modern History of Ideas in China*, 115.

12 For example, P. Monroe, G. R. Twiss, W. A. McCall were invited to China between 1921–1922.

13 Zheng/Qu, *The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, 264. Wu, *Essays on Education and Culture*, 535-566. Zhang/Wang (ed.), *Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education*, 263. Zhou, *The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China*, 228-244.

14 Schriewer, *Konstruktion von Internationalität*, 162.

15 Zhang, *Essays on Our Time*, 140; Guorong Yang, *Development and Transcendence of Scientism in modern China* (in Chinese), Taipei 2000, 130.

and democracy) and scholarliness (“in accordance with the truth”, “scientific method in its purest form”), as the context and societal milieu in China turned out to be highly suitable for this reception. Under these circumstances, American pedagogy was re-contextualized along the lines of Chinese political ideas and value preferences. The consequences include, for instance, the emphasis on teaching methods that emerged with the new scientific nature of pedagogy in China and its orientation towards this positivistic paradigm.<sup>16</sup>

Secondly, the reception of American pedagogy in China is a good example of knowledge transfer that occurred without any careful consideration of the fundamentally different contexts of both countries. As a result, it was teaching methods or external organizational structures that were primarily adopted. The specifics of Chinese culture were intentionally dismissed and the large cultural differences between China and the USA were neglected.

Although the 1922 school system was – for the first time in Chinese history – primarily initiated by educationists, and although significant specialist journals and associations, guest lecturers and numerous scholars who had been trained in the USA all contributed to introducing this system as mediators in the transfer process,<sup>17</sup> the sociocultural differences between the two countries were not taken into account during the externalization phase. It was merely a matter of implementing modern ideas and movements that were regarded “academic”. This is an extreme example of knowledge transfer in which the foreign education model and theory were adopted and the future of the local culture and tradition was ignored. There was evidently hardly any scholarly or cultural reflection on this process of transfer. China’s education system, which was lacking a consistent philosophy and thus solid objectives, was not in a position to criticize foreign methods and systems in accordance with consistent criteria. Indeed, the cultural crisis suffered by China at the time was a reflection of this problem in Chinese education.

### 1.3. The Reception of German Pedagogy in PhD Theses by Chinese Doctoral Students in Germany (1928–1943)

Between 1924 and 1936, nine Chinese educationists were studying in Germany (see Table 1).<sup>18</sup> Six of them were writing their theses at the University of Berlin, supervised by Spranger, Bäumlér and Wichmann; the other three at the University of Jena supervised by Petersen, in Munich by Fischer, and in Cologne by Schneider. Under the supervision of the leading German educationists of the time, they were aspiring to doctorates in

16 Zhou, *The Defusion of the Western Pedagogy in China*, 204-09, 212-18; Wei (ed.), *A Chinese-Foreign Exchange History of Education*, 228. Wu, *Essays on Education and Culture*, 559. Zheng/Qu, *The Evolution of Chinese Pedagogy in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, 24; Zhang/Wang, *Short History of Comparative Studies of Chinese and Foreign Education*, 270.

17 Wu, *Essays on Education and Culture*, 549-550.

18 On the beneficial educational policy conditions see Hong Meng, *Das Auslandsstudium von Chinesen in Deutschland (1861–2001): Ein Beispiel internationaler Studentenmobilität im Rahmen der chinesischen Modernisierung*, Frankfurt a. M. 2005, 94-117.

the areas of education reform, empirical pedagogy, comparative education, cultural philosophy and cultural education, and Germany's National-Socialist education and school education practice. This first and only group of Chinese educationists who took their doctoral degrees in the first half of the 20th century in Germany constituted the first direct reception of German education in the history of China.

The knowledge transfer that was achieved via these nine Chinese students doing their doctoral degrees in Germany showed that they also fulfilled other functions external to scholarly knowledge including, as Schriewer put it, as 'a resource for international reflection on reform',<sup>19</sup> either with regards to topics, procedures, or interpretation. The strong influence of Nationalism, which emerged in China in the 1930s and 1940s, thus cannot be ignored in the theses of Zeng (1937), Tien (1939) and Xiao (1943); nor can the objectives of Chinese education in the theses of Xü (1928) and Wang (1937). The thesis by Wu (1938), which addressed the farmer formation education in National-Socialist Germany, seemed to have nothing to do with China, and yet it complied fully with the political needs of the Chinese national government.<sup>20</sup>

These scholarly resources demonstrate that almost each Chinese doctoral student made reference to an awareness of the problems in China that had developed before the work on their theses. On the one hand they organized their theses in such a way as to glean new insights in the field of education in the arts and humanities, comparative education or educational psychology. On the other, the specific structure of their dissertations served to reinforce old convictions. For example: The apparently purely philosophical subject-matter of the two Spranger disciples Ma (1940) and Zhang (1941) on the cultural cycles theory or Spengler's philosophy of history was in fact connected to a concern for the fate of China, theoretically, insofar as the assessment of China's historical level of development – which was perceived as false – was rejected and hope in the country's future was inspired on a psychic and subjective level. Their general societal view of the problem was reflected, for instance, by Xü's method of constantly referring back to the educational facts and circumstances within China; or by Tien, who initially spent two-thirds of his thesis depicting the historical context of the German school system and ultimately attached a comparative chapter on China and Germany. The predominant objectives that they had pursued prior to their PhD studies in Germany, such as developing a synthesis of Western and Chinese pedagogy, demonstrating the problems inherent in modern Chinese education via a comparison of the German historical experience, and ascertaining the nationalistic tendency within China, were thus reinforced.

19 Schriewer, *Konstruktion von Internationalität*, 160–162.

20 For an extensive analysis of these dissertations see Liou, Wei-chih, "Aus Deutschem Geistesleben. . . Zur Rezeption der deutschen Pädagogik in China und Taiwan zwischen 1900 und 1960, Leipzig 2006, 163–241.

## 2. The Transfer of German Pedagogy in China and Taiwan via the PhD Students' Research in Germany (1940–1970)

### 2.1. Presenting and Interpreting German Pedagogy in China

In order to ascertain how German pedagogy contributed to the development of Chinese pedagogy and to education itself in China and Taiwan via the Chinese educationists in question here, we will examine the contribution of four educationists who settled in Taiwan subsequent to 1949 – Xü, Wang, Wu, und Tien.<sup>21</sup> Before discussing their occupation and their effects on educational practice in Taiwan, their presentations and interpretations of German pedagogy will be explained by means of four categories.

#### *Philosophy of Education and the History of Pedagogy*

As Chinese pedagogy had been focusing on teaching methods and the pragmatic paradigm ever since the 1920s, the emphasis placed on the philosophy of education and the history of pedagogy is highly significant. Let us base the explanation on the example of Tien. The history of pedagogy was a focal point of Tien's work. His book, *A History of Pedagogy*, 1956, takes this idea as its starting point and seeks to contradict the one-sided views of Chinese education since the May Fourth Movement. Tien addressed the history of pedagogy in such a manner as to emphasize the historical context and to constantly relate Chinese with Western history. As the question of a fixed educational ideal gained central importance for the Chinese during the first half of the 20th century, the method of this book was of huge significance as far as the historical development of modern Chinese education was concerned. Tien attempted to explain the history of education following the ideas of cultural education. In doing so, he highlighted the inevitable connections between education, culture and society. Further, the societal, cultural and political contexts of the education system were emphasized in order to reach a comprehensive and standardized understanding of the subject matter.<sup>22</sup> In the last two chapters, the education system and China's educational concepts were compared with those of Western countries. In doing so, Tien attempted to explain the characters of both cultures. He placed the emphasis on the Chinese history of pedagogy. It is only when he explains the Chinese theories of education that he takes the example of the West as a further extension of the topic from a comparative point of view. This suggests that, for Tien, the Chinese history of pedagogy was more significant than its Western counterpart.

21 After completing their degrees, eight of the nine educationists who received their doctorates in Germany went back to China. The only one who did not return to China and stayed in Germany was Xiao, who received his doctorate under Bäumlér in 1943 on „Jugendformationerziehung“. Due to the political upheaval of 1949 and the dominating political ideology thereafter, there was almost no technical pedagogical research on the Chinese mainland until the 1970s. The educationists in this article, who remained in China after 1949, thus most likely had no place for a continuation of their academic work.

22 Peilin Tien, *History of Pedagogy* (in Chinese), Taipei 1956, foreword.

The historical comparison proved to be of an optimistic nature in Tien's work, as the path of Chinese, humanism-based culture towards science and technology had been easier than that of western, materialist cultures in their return to the humanist direction.<sup>23</sup> Chinese educational theories had been assessing the new western elements for half a century. They attempted to integrate the new, and – whenever they continued it – they would have an ideal future, according to Tien, who envisaged the subject of educational philosophy as a central area of teaching at the Institute of Education – which he founded in 1955 – at the National Taiwan Normal University (NTNU). Tien pointed out that the Herbartian philosophy of education was the only scholarly form of pedagogy, agreeing that the theoretical foundations of educational science could not be regarded in isolation from philosophy. The focus of the Institute of Pedagogy at the NTNU was thus laid on either Chinese or Western philosophy.<sup>24</sup>

Tien's article of 1961, 'Western Trends in Pedagogy of the Modern Era' was highly significant. Tien began by depicting the opposing trends of the time, particularly the dichotomies between individualism and society, realism, technocracy and humanism, and between material achievements and spiritual needs. The various trends in pedagogy reflected the spirit of the time and therefore also contained various insights on raising children. Tien subsequently explained important movements such as the workers', the women's and youth movements, which were clearly in favour of the education theories. He then began to explain the trends in pedagogy by dividing them into two principal directions of thought, the first constituting a rather passionate and emotional striving for the highest ideal and including free school communities, child-oriented learning, home schooling (Berthod Otto School) and art education. The other trend, continued Tien, that of vocational colleges, the pragmatic education movement and cultural education, gives rise to rather more rational and gradual improvements.<sup>25</sup> This article was well-respected later on account of Tien's systematic and well-organized explanation of the background, the historical context and the various trends: "This article is one of the most thorough and important articles on western trends in pedagogy. Cultural education in particular is depicted in great detail from its philosophical foundations up to the theory of education. It is only since the appearance of this article that Chinese and Taiwanese educationists have been able to completely and correctly understand these trends. Later, an increasing number of articles appeared on cultural pedagogy that seized growing attention in Taiwan and became more widespread."<sup>26</sup> We may infer from this that the concepts offered by western trends in pedagogy made an important contribution at a time that was not at all conducive to academic research and where Chinese and Taiwanese educationists were striving to learn about western education theories.

23 *Ibid.*, 232.

24 Peilin Tien, *Education and Culture* (in Chinese), Taipei 1976, 352.

25 *Ibid.*, 415-473.

26 Liangung Yang/Zhengzhuo Wu, *Educational Thoughts in the Last 70 years*, in: *Chinese Education in the Last 70 years* (in Chinese), ed. Weifan Guo, Taipei 1981, 1-49.

Tien claimed that, in the first half of the 20th century, Chinese education and pedagogy oscillated between education trends from abroad with the emphasis on science and technology on the one hand, and – on the other hand – national education, which focused more on Chinese national issues and culture. He maintained that several education reforms were not successful on account of the fact that this divide and contradiction had still not been overcome. He concluded that both trends, national culture and western knowledge, must be harmoniously integrated and synthesized.<sup>27</sup>

### *Cultural Education*

After 1949, the meaning of education within the arts and humanities was especially popularized in Taiwan by Wang and Tien, especially in relation to the cultural education theory of Eduard Spranger. Spranger's opinion of the significance of education was often cited in this regard:

*Education is the uniform, consistent and culturally influenced shaping of an individual that renders him open to further development, capable of objectively valuable cultural participation and able to experience (and understand) objective cultural values.*<sup>28</sup>

And further:

*Education is the dynamic absorption of all objective values that may be correlated to the disposition and the life-cycle of a developing mind, to the experience, attitude and the creative ability of a person, aiming towards a complete, objectively capable and internally satisfied personality.*<sup>29</sup>

The normative dimensions of pedagogy were thus emphasized in reference to cultural education; a direction that had been overshadowed by the positivistic paradigm in China for decades.

Tien explained that education must establish values, whether pertaining to personal development, the progress of a community, achieving an ideal or reaching a goal. Even if education were regarded purely as technology, it would still have a goal to aim for via the technology. Strictly speaking, pedagogy was therefore not a descriptive undertaking, but a normative form of scholarship. While this may indeed have been considered a weak point in pedagogy, at the same time it also represented one of its specialities.<sup>30</sup> Tien elaborates on Spranger's concept of the individual being filled with cultural values during the education process, in turn enriching these cultural values with his own creative input. Spranger had thus, Tien continued, linked individual performance brought about by education with cultural values and national virtues.<sup>31</sup> Tien was an enthusiastic supporter

27 Tien, *Education and Culture*, 348-349.

28 Spranger (1923/1973), *GS II*, 276-277.

29 *Ibid.*

30 Tien, *Education and Culture*, 9.

31 *Ibid.*, 46.

of cultural education, which, he claimed, simultaneously acknowledged both the status of the (subjective) individual and that of the (objective) culture. Culture cannot, he continued, exist without individuals. Both are intimately interwoven; they are tangible and in flux. Cultural education is therefore, he concluded, an important trend.<sup>32</sup>

### *Humanism as an Educative Ideal*

When Eduard Spranger, the mentor of both Tien and Wang, died in 1963, four Chinese students who had completed their doctoral degrees in Germany had long since relocated to Taiwan. Not only was the entire world politically divided; so were the home countries of both German cultural education and of the Chinese educationists. Now older, they were unable to return to their true homeland of China; the cultural ideals of the nation had been destroyed by the Chinese communists. Humanism and its connections with education and an ideal future world were deeply ingrained in the minds of these four educationists. The last publications of Xü and Wang therefore explicitly addressed humanism, which both considered a future ideal.

At the same time, for them, the cultural crisis and the crisis of religion and meaning also constituted a crisis for education. Spranger's thoughts from the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century still rang true half a century later: the ambiguity surrounding the aims of culture resulted in a lack of educational aims. Practitioners in the education system often had to be content with the most prominent issues of practical work and organization. Spranger considered education the only possible solution to the crisis; he claimed that it was a matter of inner revolution, not of economical and social revolution. A deeper idea of culture needed to be developed: education in Spranger's view – as the process of developing a 'disposition' – was impossible in the absence of a world-view (*Weltanschauung*).

For our Chinese educationists, the process of developing a disposition and a world-view had to be derived from humanism. A newspaper article in 1963 entitled "Letter to a German Friend" was the last published work by Xü. Here, he depicted how in his youth he had been a disciple of Dewey and – like other young people of the time – an enthusiastic follower of Marxism and other conceptual trends that had reached China. It was, however, this blind passion for the new and for change that later ultimately brought about China's downfall. This personal and at the same time national tragedy derived – Xü continued – from the failure of China's youth to recognize and thus to solve the problems inherent to their country. The failure of Chinese modernization was not a consequence of some theory or other; rather, the Chinese had lost direction.<sup>33</sup> In his later years, Xü would often reflect on how people might succeed in choosing the right path in the future. He emphasized that combining education with charity, religious brotherhood, the spirit of Chinese culture and the western natural sciences would be the best way out for the Chinese – and indeed for all people.

32 Ibid., 90.

33 Xü (1963). Letter to a German Friend, in: Chungyang Ribau, 10.25.1963, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition.

Wang's final work, *Humanism and Education*, 1983, equally addressed humanism. In view of the dominance of materialism and communism across the world, he claimed, one should refer back to humanism in order to rebuild human subjectivity and overcome cultural crisis. Chinese culture is based not on religion but on an ethos, which renders it a typical humanist culture. Wang emphasized that the fall of a culture is not a result of its aging but rather – as Spranger put it – the greatest cultural crisis arises from the cultural subject no longer being content with the culture surrounding him; he no longer believes in it; he dismisses its values as ascertained by historical research. Wang regretted the incapability of the Chinese to uphold the good old assets, the core features of culture and the spirit of humanism, and – unlike the Japanese – to adopt extracts of Western culture. Future solutions were not to be found in western materialism or power politics, nor would they arise from an anti-humanitarian communism; Chinese humanistic culture, he claimed, is the only way out. “China”, however, was not to be understood as communist China, but – according to Wang's conviction – rather as a China built on Sun Yatsen's *Three Principles of the People*: ethos, democracy and scholarship.<sup>34</sup>

Wang maintained, however, that humanism should be defined by sources of Chinese culture. Wang discussed the characteristics of the Chinese people, something that had already been a major topic of debate in the 1930s and 1940s. He summarized various opinions on the Chinese and on foreigners by means of this issue. According to Wang, there were more advantages to the Chinese people than disadvantages. He emphasized that the Chinese had to believe in their traditional system of values, otherwise they would lose their will to revive their culture. The most important and pressing task in the area of culture and education was therefore to reinforce the confidence of the Chinese in their own traditional system of values and to strengthen the will for cultural revival.<sup>35</sup> Wang assigned priority, however, to finding a way out of the crisis that had arisen via institutionalization, the positivistic trends in academia, the problem of religion versus science, and the dilemma surrounding education.<sup>36</sup> Wang attempted to integrate Spranger's ideas with those of Confucius. He claimed that Spranger's views on the conscience that could be aroused in individuals by education, and which could put an end to the contemporary cultural crisis, were based on the same approaches as Chinese Confucianism. The Chinese, he continued, should make efforts towards synthesizing these two humanistic directions.

Much like his supervisor, Spranger, before him, in his old age Wang too considered humanism the solution for people and the world at large. In the last years of Wang's life, China was controlled by a communism that strictly rejected traditional Chinese culture. For numerous Chinese intellectuals this situation meant the fall of the Chinese people

34 Wenjun Wang, *Humanism and Education* (in Chinese), Taipei 1983, foreword. The “Three Principles of People” (sanmin zhu-i) are public welfare, public rights and citizenship. They were developed by Sun Yat-sen.

35 Wang, *Humanism and Education*, 247-264.

36 *Ibid.*, 298-302.

and their culture. For an educationist, the only solution appeared to lie in instructing young people in the spirit of humanism and *pedagogical love*.

### *The Concept of Pedagogical Love*

*Pedagogical love* (*pädagogische Liebe*) according to Spranger is an important characteristic of a teacher and a significant moment in the process of education and instruction. It is a lever between teachers and young people that awakens the latter's longing for the higher values of the objective world. Tien and Wang always emphasized and explained this concept of Spranger's in great detail.

The idea of *pedagogical love* should be of central importance to the teacher. Wang explained Spranger's writings on the subject:<sup>37</sup>

*Education is, therefore, the will carried by love given from one soul to another to unfold from within the former's complete sense of values and the ability to shape them.*

*The love that receives, that dedicates itself to the true wealth of values inherent in the beloved; love that gives, that wishes to enrich the other's soul with its cornucopia of merit; and the unfolding community of values in which giving and receiving remain balanced between two personal worlds of worth.*

*The teacher, on the other hand, is filled with love for the objective intellectual values already shaped, even if he is no creator himself, and he strives to convert these objective values back into subjective life and experience. Above all, he wishes to activate them in the attitudes and abilities of developing souls. For him it is therefore a matter of progression from the object to the subject. He would like values to be borne of souls; he would like them to be experienced appropriately by developing persons.<sup>38</sup>*

Tien made *pedagogical love* the aim of studying education. He demonstrated that the aim of such a course constituted three aspects: building a basis for further educational theories, composing directions for developments in educational practice, and, thirdly, drawing on pedagogical love. Over the course of history, claimed Tien, there had been so many educationists and significant personalities that we could be moved and inspired by their work and *pedagogical love* to equally commit ourselves to such an undertaking, following their examples.<sup>39</sup>

In 1965 Wang published the book *Theory and Practice of Class Leadership at High Schools*. In this book, Wang was able to combine his own practical experience, his understanding of the psychology of youth (*Psychologie des Jugendalters*) and Spranger's theory of the *Types of Men* (*Lebensformen*) as well as the ideals of Chinese culture and the concern for the social situation and world conditions. Unlike Wang's other works, this book is written in a lively style. Wang emphasized, in accordance with Spranger, how young people could be suitably brought up with the right mindset to harbour their own, correct, views

37 Wang, *Theory and Praxis of the Class Leadership at High Schools* (in Chinese), Taipei 1965, 220-221.

38 Ibid.

39 Tien, *History of Pedagogy*, 10-14.

of life and the world. In doing so, he expressly underlined the fact that pedagogical love should not be forgotten in class leadership. A teacher without pedagogical love, he claimed, would render education impossible. For Wang, pedagogical love even meant love of the young people themselves as well as love of the nation and culture. The teacher was the link between both, and was therefore in a position to encourage a close connection between them. Young people, he claimed, are infiltrated by national culture to such an extent that it even inspires their will to create. A new generation was thus raised, and the nation and its culture were thus reinforced. Could there be a greater love?<sup>40</sup> As a result of their efforts, the Sprangerian concept of *pedagogical love* became widespread amongst the students of Wang and Tien, and had a lasting impact.

## 2.2. Work and its Effects in Practice

The four educationists in question here held many important political posts. For educationists, a university professorship, educational administration and a school headmaster post are all offices providing the opportunity to implement their specialist knowledge. In China/Taiwan it was usual for scholars returning from research periods abroad to be appointed to important positions. Once back in China/Taiwan, the four educationists took on the following occupations:

*University professorships:* All four became professors; three of them (Tien, Xü and Wu) were made deans or heads of research institutes at the universities. Tien also became the rector of the State University of Henan. After 1949, Tien, Wang and Wu worked and taught together at the NTNU and at the National Cheng-Chi University (NCCU).

*Educational Administration:* They also took on important responsibilities in the area of education. Wang, Xü and Wu became Heads of Education Offices at the provincial level. At the level of central government, Tien was Deputy Minister of Education from 1946 onwards, and Wu became Head of the Department for Middle Schools at the Ministry of Education in 1947.

*Headmaster posts:* Xü and Wang became school headmasters. Xü was also director of the 'Experimental School' affiliated with the University of Zhongyang. Wang founded a school immediately upon his return from Germany in 1937.

### *University Posts*

Tien's founding and leadership of the Institute of Education at the NTNU in 1955 is an important example of his work at the university level. This post was particularly significant because it was during this appointment that Tien contributed to the development of education and teacher training in Taiwan. In 1955, several years after the turbulent unrest in China and six years after the national government had settled in Taiwan, which had been a Japanese colony for 50 years (1895–1945), and while the fundamentals of modern Chinese education were, for the most part, being destroyed by communism in

mainland-China, the Institute of Education at the NTNU was established under Tien's leadership. There was not much funding available and only a little support in the way of equipment. Nevertheless, even under these circumstances, Tien had to make an effort to continue pedagogical research in Taiwan, which seemed to be the only place in which Chinese pedagogy could be further developed.

Tien initially underlined the importance of a detailed and correct understanding of Western educational theory and practices in order to improve the Chinese/Taiwanese education process, which indeed had almost entirely been adopted from the West. The Institute of Education at the NTNU therefore held lectures in which English, French, American and German educational theory and practices constituted an important component.

He explained that research in pedagogy could not be isolated from philosophy, and, as a result, the focus of the Institute of Education at the NTNU was initially placed on Chinese and Western philosophy. With these basics, students were able to gain an in-depth understanding of the theory and practice of education. Tien directed the Institute for 14 years and, following his retirement in 1971, continued to develop in the same direction. Tien's legacy is one of enduring influence, not least demonstrated in the fact that he drew countless young educationists, schoolteachers and school administrators to the institute in Taiwan.<sup>41</sup>

### *Headmaster Posts*

The school leadership conducted by Spranger's pupil, Wang, is another important example of the reception of German pedagogy in China. When war broke out between Japan and China in 1937, Wang began an explorative journey through the north-west provinces of China in order to examine their local education system on behalf of the Board of Trustees for the Administration of the Indemnity Funds remitted by the British Government, amongst other commissioners. Following this tour, the decision was made to establish a 'model school' under Wang's leadership in the province of Qinghai. At the time, the province was severely lacked infrastructure; before the year 1936, for instance, there were only three modern high schools on account of the fact that the population was small and spread over a wide area, and due to an underdeveloped economy. In 1938, Wang began to set up and direct a boarding school, Huangchuan High School, which incorporated nine school years, a primary school and a kindergarten. Wang set the

41 For example, the following students of Tien form the backbone of teaching in Taiwan: Jia Fuming, later received her doctorate in the USA in pedagogical psychology and acted as the head of the NTNU Institute; Huang Kuenhui, received his doctorate in the USA in educational administration and acted as the head of the Institute of Education at the NTNU and the Education Office in the province of Taiwan; Lin Qingjiang, received his doctorate in England in social pedagogy and was later the Minister of Education in Taiwan; Guo Weifan, received his doctorate in France in special education and later acted as Minister of Education; Zheng Zhongxin, wrote his Master's thesis on Spranger's educational theory under Wang Wenjun and received his doctorate in Germany in 1968. After Zheng's return, he became a professor at the Institute of Education. These students of Tien have had and continue to have a great influence on educational theory.

school's goal as consisting of raising a whole person, thus simultaneously educating the individual and society as a whole. Alongside Spranger, Pestalozzi, Kerschensteiner and the significant educationist Cai Yuanpei (1867–1940), Wang placed the focus on the 'Three-H Principle' (head, heart and hand), self-education (self-confidence, autonomy), work, community education, love of one's roots, academic education, aesthetic education (Cai, Kant and Plato), and the emergence of a life- and world-view. This school was to work along the principle of *pedagogical love*, not only conveying the knowledge contained in books but acting in accordance with the educative ideal that Wang knew and treasured from his studies and early experiences.<sup>42</sup>

As Wang had established this school on a solid foundation from the first, it continued, even after 1949, to enjoy a very good reputation, to develop further, and remains a renowned school in China today.<sup>43</sup> Even if Wang was to learn no more about it after 1949, during the war he had, in an isolated location, established a school that worked in accordance with the educative ideals he had procured from leading Chinese and German educationalists, and which he linked to his early experiences in teaching practice. He had thus been a significant player in the transformation of German pedagogy in China.

#### *Work with Political Parties and Youth Organisations*

Prior to 1949, Tien, Wang and Wu worked with young people and political matters in the national party KMT. The three educationists formed a small circle dedicated to youth work and the next generation of the KMT. Within a short period of time, for instance (1942–1946), they had occupied in alternation the post of director of the training office of the Department for Central Organization. Tien and Wu were both members of the Central Committee for the *Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People* in the KMT. After 1949, only Wu remained active in political party-related and youth work in Taiwan. The other two worked primarily as university professors.

Wu's commitment to working with youth and the next generation of the party was a continuation of his studies in Germany. His curriculum vitae shows that he became involved in party and youth work immediately upon his return to China. The organizations in which he was a member, such as the *Young People's Union for the Three Principles of the People*, the *General Association of the Scouts of China*, the *Young People's Union towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation*, and the *Academy for Conducting the Revolution (KMT)*, played an important part in cooperating closely with schools and universities in the youth work of the KMT and the national government in China and Taiwan.

42 Wenjun Wang, My Life in Qinghai (in Chinese), in: Bulletin of Graduate Institute of Education NTNU 23 (1981), 1-24; Wenjun Wang, Zhu Jiahua and the Education of Ethnic Minority (in Chinese), in: Zhu Jiahua Shiansheng Shishi Jiniance, Taipei 1963, 427-431; Ministry of Education R. O. C., The Second Yearbook of Chinese Education (in Chinese), Taipei 1991, 404, 444.

43 Mingyuan Gu, Lexicon of Pedagogy (in Chinese), Shanghai 1998, 594.

In accordance with guidelines set by Wu, training within the Scout Organization became an official component of the middle-school curriculum.<sup>44</sup> The “Young People’s Union Towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation” was also highly influential: Wu was vice-president of the organization from 1952 onwards and, during this time, Chiang Jingguo, son of Chiang Kaishek and former president of Taiwan was the director of the Union. The “Academy for Conducting the Revolution (KMT)”, the highest and most important elite training centre of the KMT, worked on selecting elites from all social classes such as school headmasters and teachers who participated in the training events and would be able to propagate the political ideas of the KMT at a later stage.

Xü was an exception to the rule insofar as he verifiably did not hold any party office. He did, however, hold nationalistic lectures for soldiers and students with great commitment during the Sino-Japanese War. This demonstrates a dramatic change in attitude compared with his earlier liberal stance, as can be witnessed in his dissertation (1928 under Petersen at Jena), in which Xü addresses reform education and the separation of politics and upbringing. When Xü was studying in Germany he was deeply influenced by Johann Gottlieb Fichte and his appeals to the German nation. Xü too wished to shake up the Chinese nation in accordance with Fichte’s example. Soon after the Sino-Japanese War had broken out in 1937, he sank all trading vessels owned by his family business for several generations in order to place obstacles in the way of the Japanese warships that were steering down the river into the outback. He thus lost his personal wealth and subsequently lived a modest life. During the war (1937–1945) he initially directed the Experimental School of Zhongyang University, which was moved into the western provinces. He was later appointed Dean of the Faculty of Education at the same university. There, in Sichuang, he offered lectures and seminars on the history of pedagogy in China, the history of Western pedagogy, the history of ideas in Chinese pedagogy, the problems inherent in the Chinese education system, the philosophy of education, and modern thinking in pedagogy.

During this uneasy period, when the theory and practice of education were strongly influenced by Dewey, his pupils were nevertheless able to encounter Dilthey, Natorp, Spranger and Litt, gaining insights into cultural pedagogy. Influenced by Fichte, Xü held lectures for students at the Chongqing universities. He encouraged young students to redeem the Chinese nation using their academic skills, their personalities and other virtues. He often held lectures for soldiers and called for the rebuilding of Chinese culture and the removal of want and suffering. After 1941 he worked at the Ministry of Education at Chongqing.<sup>45</sup>

What did their participation in nationalist and party-political youth work mean to the four educationists who received their doctorates in Germany? This question points towards the characteristics of Chinese intellectuals, most of whom at the time considered political or party-based commitments to be inevitable and necessary tasks towards ‘re-

44 Huanchen Wang, Dr. Wu Zhautang (in Chinese), in: *Taiwan Jiaoyu Yuekan* 9 (1994), 11–14.

45 Shengde Chen, Biography Xü Keshi (in Chinese), in: *The Academia Historica Journal* 9 (1990), 220–221.

deeming the nation', almost certainly in view of the fate of China and their own ideological decision to reject Marxism. Because the Marxist Chinese communists took action against the traditional Chinese culture, propagating the class conflict, communism was in a position – in their view – to destroy the Chinese nation. The four educationists decided on the political ideology of the 'Three Principles of the People' by Dr. Sun Yatsen, which represented the possibility of eclectically harmonizing Chinese culture with the essence of Western ideas for them.

### *Restricted Time Available for the Work*

The four educationists held various offices, some of them only for a very short time, as can be ascertained despite the lack of comprehensive details regarding the time they spent committed to these activities. It is striking that the various places in which they worked were far apart. Xü, for example, directed the process of moving the Experimental School from Nanjing, in a coastal area, to Gueyang in the southwest outback, via Changsha, during the Sino-Japanese War. He subsequently worked in Chongqing in the province of Sichuan, the provisional capital of China during the war. Wang worked in Qinghai for seven years, one of the most difficult provinces to access and thus not influenced very much by the central government. At the end of the war in 1945, he was appointed Director of the Education Office in his home province of Hubei. After 1949 Wang relocated to Taiwan. Tien underwent a similar experience. He worked in Yunnan in the southwest, in Sichuan in the west, in Shanxi in the northwest, and in Henan in the north of China. After the war, Tien proceeded to Nanjing and later to Taiwan. The war conditions were the underlying reason for this mobility. The destruction of the locations in which they worked, the necessity of taking over posts in the short-term and the wartime conditions lead us to conclude that their situations were not conducive to academic work; in fact, quite the contrary must have been the case.

Wang, a pupil of Spranger, is a particularly good example of the unsuitable working conditions for scholarly research.

1. Once Wang had translated and sent to print Eduard Spranger's Book *The Problem of Cultural Morphology* (*Das Problem der Kulturmorphologie*) in 1942, the manuscript was burnt in an enemy attack. Even Wang himself did not have a single copy.<sup>46</sup>
2. In 1958 Spranger's *Psychology of Youth* (*Psychologie des Jugendalters*) was published in Taipei in the Wang translation. Why was it published so long after the German original and so long after Wang's PhD in Germany? In the foreword, Wang explains that as early as after his return in 1937, he had harboured the wish to translate his supervisor's work. He translated two chapters, but his wish was to remain unfulfilled for some time due to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War and his task of founding and directing a school in the province of Qinghai; as well as later, due to his post-war work as Director of the Education Office in the province of Hubei. After 1949 he no longer felt inclined to continue

the translation in view of the catastrophic collapse of the nation. It was not until Tien had invited him to give a lecture on Spranger's humanities-oriented psychology at the Institute of Education at the NTNU, in order to popularize the creativity and originality of Spranger's psychology in Taiwan, that he resumed translating – under difficult conditions (without a proper encyclopaedia, for instance) – using the 24th edition of the book that was published in 1955. He thus finally fulfilled the wish he had been harbouring for more than 20 years.<sup>47</sup>

### 3. The Levels and Significance of Reception

#### 3.1. Levels of Reception of German Pedagogy

In their academic work, the educationists examined in this study acted purely as mediators, educators and sources of inspiration based on their experiences during their doctoral research in Germany. They taught German pedagogy, broadened the horizons of the next generation of Chinese/Taiwanese educationists, and made proposals in the field of education. This is how German pedagogy was transferred and received in China/Taiwan. This transfer and reception were also evident in the significance they attributed to a harmonizing synthesis of Chinese and Western cultures and the resulting Chinese pedagogy.

In their texts, the Chinese education theories and practices were often merged with those of the west, although in doing so the emphasis was always especially placed on the traditional educational theory and practice of China. This could be a result of the fact that they had, under the nationalistic influence in China/Taiwan at the time, already decided on the special path of Chinese culture and education that constituted a mixed essence of their own and Western culture and education, even long before their doctoral research in Germany. Their experiences whilst researching in Germany corresponded – as Schriewer put it – with their method of processing experience and their value preferences,<sup>48</sup> for they underlined that education and instruction should and must be derived from one's own culture. Their experiences in Germany were therefore illuminating and encouraging for Chinese pedagogy, which found itself in a modernization process, for they reinforced the convictions of the Chinese educationists.

Their work, however, was not restricted to the field of German pedagogy. Its reception also led to new ideas for their own cultural debates and research questions, which were closely interwoven with their entire lives back in their home country. With the help of German education theories, especially cultural education, they were given the unique opportunity to reflect more deeply on the problems inherent in Chinese culture and education, and to explore new paths. Their scholarly penetration and teaching of German pedagogy was followed by the recontextualization of the latter in China/Taiwan accord-

47 Wang, *Psychology of Youth* (in Chinese), Taipei 1958, foreword.

48 Schriewer, *Konstruktion von Internationalität*, 162.

ing to the current conditions; once they had themselves processed and internalized the knowledge they had gleaned there, they put these insights into practice using a synthesis of their own and German education theory, thus attaining the three levels of knowledge transfer: externalization, recontextualization and internalization.

### 3.2. Internalization

When the educationists in question here had finished their research in Germany and returned to China, their country was in the throes of the Sino-Japanese War. At this point, many other Chinese scholars studying abroad also returned, including the nine mentioned here, with the exception of Xiao. They belonged to the third generation of modern Chinese intellectuals.<sup>49</sup> The first and second generations introduced new and revolutionary ideas from the West, participating in political uprisings and cultural movements. They were deeply influenced as pupils of both generations. Nevertheless, unlike their predecessors they contributed to the modernization of China in their professional areas of work: physics, chemistry, or law. The educationalists in our study too – at least the four who relocated to Taiwan – worked all their lives in the field of education and instruction. For the first time in Chinese history, professional academics were contributing, within their various specialist fields, to the country's development, unlike the traditional erudite civil servants over China's long history, selected on account of civil service examinations demanding no more than familiarity with the classics.

Wang's practical training in schools in accordance with Pestalozzi and Spranger and his teaching and research in Taiwan, which he continued until he was well advanced in years, constitute a significant *internalized Reception* of German pedagogy. Tien's contribution towards disseminating German cultural education, his administrative work in training the next generation in the areas of education administration, educational research and school practices in Taiwan was all clearly even more influential than that of Wang. Tien put his convictions from his studies in Germany into practice with consistency and confidence. Xü's work as headmaster, university professor and dean during the war and the lectures he held in line with Fichte in front of soldiers and students are examples of an internalized reception.

All his life, Wu was committed to political youth work for the party alongside his scholarly work. Whether or not we may agree with his political ideology or his decisions, his work nevertheless remains a consistent, decisive and internalized continuation of his convictions regarding formation education that he had learnt and been inspired by while working for Bäumlér in Germany. This indicates that in the specific Chinese contexts, more scope was given to formation education. Wu's example is thus also one of internalized reception of German pedagogy.

49 On the generations of modern Chinese intellectuals see: Zeho Li/Vera Schwarcz, Six generations of modern Chinese intellectuals, in: *Chinese Studies in History* 17 (1983/84) 2, 42-56; Qisheng Wang, *Study Abroad and Nation Salvation* (in Chinese), Guelin 1995; Yusheng Lin, *The May Fourth Movement: Transcendence and Continuation*, in: *Reflexion on the May Fourth Movement* (in Chinese), ed. Yusheng Lin/Zeho Li, Taipei 1989, 28-45.

The level of work conducted by the four educationists reveals that they not only addressed German pedagogy from a theoretical or scholarly point of view; they also internalized and practiced it.

### 3.3. Historical Assessment

A historical assessment should initially consider the contemporary framework of their life conditions, which – generally speaking – were not ideal. They were born into a time of the first turbulent, spiritual, institutional and material upheaval; that is, into a cultural revolution. When they were young they experienced the divide between old and new, western and Chinese values and norms. Their mentors instructed and even demanded that they dismiss Chinese culture and become the motors of a complete westernization of the country. Their initially liberal tendencies soon changed due to the increasingly critical circumstances of the nationalistic orientation. When they were conducting doctoral research in Germany in the 1930s and 1940s, Germany was ruled by the National Socialist ideology that would soon lead to worldwide disaster. The Chinese educationists in training were learning in a Germany that was in a state of radical academic change. Following their studies, most of them returned to China, only to be greeted by the Sino-Japanese War, which was to last eight years and which hung like a black cloud over their early years in academia. Things became even worse when the end of the Anti-Japanese War was followed by the Civil War (1945–1949), and they were therefore forced to leave their home country, never to return. This time, Chinese tradition and culture were destroyed by the Chinese themselves.

From this point of view we must bear in mind that it was almost impossible for them to break through this historical framework on their own. It is therefore understandable that the German pedagogy presented and interpreted in their publications was still thematically more loosely organized, less creative and original, and that they did not develop an autonomously systematic structure of pedagogy. They strove towards building a pedagogy that was interwoven with the Chinese culture. At best, they were able to compare and combine the Chinese and Western – mostly German – education theories. Combining the inner connection with a creative and original *Verschmelzung der Horizonte* (melting of horizons) and developing one pedagogical theory, as their mentor Cai Yuanpei had already achieved at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, would have been an unrealistic tall order.

The reception of cultural pedagogy by Tien and Wang, however, opened up new elements for Chinese education, for it allowed a comprehensive elaboration of higher educative ideals and of the hidden internal driving forces behind education. Despite American pedagogy, which was still dominant in Taiwan in particular, things had changed: The emphasis was no longer placed on teaching methods and instruments. Now, the focus pointed towards unfolding both subjective and objective culture and the creation of new cognitive values.

This great challenge presents even greater difficulties for Chinese/Taiwanese educationists currently, as the horizons of an educationist given specialist training have become increasingly narrower. Nevertheless, the envisaged goals can only be achieved on the basis of a deep and wide understanding of both cultures, especially of both intellectual worlds. It is a long road and one that would overwhelm individual educationists, as the challenge lies not only in learning techniques or gaining certain skills, but also in the deeply rooted origins of both cultures.

For over 700 years, the Chinese have integrated and internalized Buddhism, a *foreign* religion / world view, into their culture. Nowadays, the Chinese and Western cultures and civilizations are even more heterogeneous than in the past. The challenges have therefore become greater and are more difficult to surmount. Nevertheless, we should remember the efforts of the Chinese educationists in this study and the contribution of German pedagogy, accepting the tasks and challenges they bring to its Chinese/Taiwanese counterparts.

Table 1: The Nine Chinese Pedagogues with German Doctoral Degrees

	Xü Keshi	Liu Jün	Zeng Jing
Year of birth	1896	1899	1912
Place of birth (province)	Hexian (Anhui)	Jiyuan (Henan)	Tsungien (Jiangxi)
Family origins (father's occupation)	Professor	Headmaster	Senior member of staff at a lyceum*
Education in China	Teacher Training College in Peking (1914–1919)	University of Peking (1918–1922)	High school completion qualification (1930)
Subjects of study in China	Pedagogy	Philosophy, German philology	None
German language skills prior to studying in Germany	No information available	Degree in German	Basic skills**
Previous work experience and studies abroad	University department tutor and director, Chair of the department for primary and middle schools (1919–1924)	Tutor of philosophy at the Xinmin University in Peking (1922–)	None
Year (age) upon leaving for Germany	1924 (28)	1924 (25)	1930 (18)
How studies were financed	Scholarship from the local council of the province Anhui	Scholarship from the local council of the province Henan	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included education science and philosophy	Included pedagogy and philosophy	Included pedagogy and philosophy

Year (age) when completed PhD	1928 (32)	1928 (29)	1937 (25)
University	Jena	Munich	Cologne
Supervisor	Peter Petersen	Aloys Fischer	Friedrich Schneider
Topic of doctoral thesis	“The Situation of Chinese Education with a View to European Reforms”	“The Pupil’s Image of the Teacher, with Particular Consideration of Contradictory Reactions on the Part of the Pupil”	“The Chinese Education System Since the 1911 Revolution”
PhD Assessment level	Good***	Good****	Sufficient*****
Work after PhD	Professional career in Taiwan	Tutor at Peking University	Tutor at a university in the Province of Jiangxi
Location after 1949	Taiwan	China	In China until 6.11.1949; no further information available*****

\* Jing Zeng, ‘Mein siebenjähriger Studienaufenthalt in Deutschland’, in: *Ostasien Rundschau* 20 (1939) 1, 13.

\*\* Ibid.

\*\*\* Universitätsarchiv Jena, Inventory M, No. 592.

\*\*\*\* Archiv der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, O-NP SS1928.

\*\*\*\*\* Archiv der Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, O-NP SS1928.

\*\*\*\*\* Universitätsarchiv Köln, Zug. 44, No. 567.

	Wang Wenjün	Ma Bingwen	Zhang Jian
Year of birth	1903	1907	1912
Place of birth (province)	Huangang (Hubei)	Trinidad, British West Indies, after 1919 he grew up in Guangdong	Nanpi (Hebei)
Family origins (father’s occupation)	Headmaster of a grammar school and local government council	Businessman	President of Finance
Education in China	University of Peking (1919–1925)	Yanqing University in Peking (1928–1932)	Zhongguo College in Peking (1931–1935)
Subjects of study in China	Included German Philology and German Studies	Philosophy	Philosophy, Pedagogy
German language skills prior to studying in Germany	University degree in German	No information available	No information available

Previous work experience and studies abroad	Teacher at a Gymnasium, a Realschule, and an Oberrealschule (1925–1932)	None	Waseda University in Tokyo, Japan (1935–1936)
Year (age) upon leaving for Germany	1932 (29)	1933 (26)	1936 (24)
How studies were financed	Scholarship from the local council of the Province of Hubei	Self-financed	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included philosophy and pedagogy	Philosophy	Philosophy, Heritage Studies
Year (age) when completed PhD	1937 (34)	1940 (33)	1941 (29)
University	Berlin	Berlin	Berlin
Supervisor	Eduard Spranger	Eduard Spranger	Eduard Spranger
Topic of doctoral thesis	“Rural Vocational Training Colleges in Germany up until 1933”	“Theories of Culture Cycles since 1890”	“Value Measurements in Spranger’s Philosophy of History”
PhD Assessment level	Good*	Sufficient**	Sufficient***
Work after PhD	Professional career in Taiwan	Tutor in China (before 1949)	No information available
Location after 1949	Taiwan, emigrated to USA after 1983	Trinidad, British West Indies****	No information available

\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 846.

\*\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 915.

\*\*\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 926.

\*\*\*\* BArchiv, N 1182/245. In 1959 Ma sent his doctoral advisor Spranger a birthday card from Trinidad. As there was no university on the island at this time, he was most likely not active as an academic.

	Wu, Zhautang	Xiao, Yunlai	Tien, Pelin
Year of birth	1905	1913	1898*
Place of birth (Provinz)	Xiuning (Anhui)	Tienmen (Hubei)	Xiancheng (Henan)
Family background (father’s occupation)	School headmaster	Regional state member of parliament and professor at a commercial college	Landowner
Education in China	Tongji University at Shanghai (1923–1925)	Central University at Nanjing (1931–1934)**	University of Peking (1916–1920)
Subjects of study in China	German	Pedagogy, law and political science	Philosophy, Pedagogy

German language skills prior to study in Germany	Degree in German	No information available	Learnt German for 3 years at a preparation college***
Previous work experiences and studies abroad	Waseda University of Tokyo (1925–1928); civil servant, head of political training in the central military school (1931–1934)	Academic assistant and civil servant at the Ministry of Education (1934–1936)	Teacher at a grammar school, university department tutor and lecturer (1921–1935)
Year (age) when leaving for Germany	1934 (29)	1936 (23)	1935 (37)
How studies were financed	Self-financed	Self-financed	Self-financed
Subjects of study	Included pedagogy and philosophy	Included political pedagogy and history	Pedagogy and philosophy
Year (age) when completed PhD	1938 (33)	1943 (30)	1939 (41)
University	Berlin	Berlin	Berlin
Supervisor	Alfred Bäumler	Alfred Bäumler	Ottomar Wichmann
Topic of doctoral thesis	„Building up the Reich's Nutrition Status and its Pedagogical Influence Potential on Farming and Folklore”	„The Significance of Formation Education in Preparing for National Defence in Youth Organisations of Germany and China”	„The Problem of Standard Reforms in German Secondary Schools”
PhD assessment	Sufficient****	Sufficient****	Sufficient*****
Work following PhD	Professional career in Taiwan	Restaurant owner*****	Professional career in Taiwan
Location after 1949	Taiwan	Deutschland	Taiwan

\* Das Geburtsjahr von Tien Pelin wird in den einschlägigen Biographien in Taiwan als 11.21.1893 festgehalten. Vgl. Jia, 1989, p. 79. Hier wird dennoch die Angabe von Tien selbst, die er im Lebenslauf in seiner Dissertation geschrieben hat, aufgrund der Originalquelle angenommen.

\*\* Da zu dieser Zeit der 1928 in Jena promovierte Xü Keshi an dieser Universität Pädagogik lehrte, und Xiao in seiner eigenen Dissertation den Inhalt der von Xü im Jahr 1932 abgehaltenen Vorlesung „Allgemeine Geschichte der Pädagogik” zitierte, war er wahrscheinlich Schüler von dem auch in dieser vorliegenden Arbeit recherchierten Pädagogen Xü Keshi.

\*\*\* Tien (1960/1991), p. 40.

\*\*\*\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 871.

\*\*\*\*\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 933.

\*\*\*\*\* Humboldt Universität zu Berlin, Archiv Bestand Phil. Fak. 883.

\*\*\*\*\* Wang (1976), S. 24.

## Appendix: Curriculum Vitae and Professional Practice

Xü Keshi (after 1928)<sup>50</sup>

1. School Administration
  - 1928–: School headmaster in Anhui Province
  - 1947: Head of the experimental schools affiliated with the Zhongyang University in Nanjing
2. Professor at university in mainland China (1928–1949)
  - 1947: Professor of Education at the Zhongyang University in Nanjing
  - 1947: Dean of the Education Faculty at this university
3. Education Administration
  - 1947–1949: Head of the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1967)
  - 1949–1967: Professor of Philosophy at the National Taiwan University<sup>51</sup>
5. 1967 † Conferred emeritus status

Wang Wenjün (after 1937)<sup>52</sup>

1. School Administration
  - 1937–1945: Founder and leader of the Huangchuan High School (with an affiliated elementary school and kindergarden)
2. Official Party Participation in the Kuomintang (KMT)
  - 1945: Deputy Head of the education office of the central administration office (KMT)
3. Education Administration
  - 1945–1949: Head of the Education Office of the provincial government of Hubei
  - 1951: Head of the Publication Department in the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1983)
  - Professor of Education at the NTNU and the National Chengchi University (NCCU)
5. 1983: Emigrated to the USA

Wu Zhautang (after 1938)<sup>53</sup>

1. Professor at universities in mainland China (1938–1949)
  - Professor at the State University of Zhongyang, Delegate for the Dean of Zhongzheng University

50 Chen (1991), S. 220-221.

51 In dieser Zeit unterzog er sich wegen schwerer Krankheiten drei chirurgischen Operationen.

52 Wang (1981), 1-24.

53 Wang (1994), S. 11-14.

2. Official Party Participation in the (KMT) and further youth work
  - 1938: Secretary General of the “General Association of the Scouts of China”<sup>54</sup>
  - Member of the Central Committee for the Young People’s Union for the Three Principles of the People (KMT)<sup>55</sup>
  - 1945: Member, Group leader, later Assistant Head and Deputy for the of the Education Office of the Central Administration Department (KMT)<sup>56</sup>
  - 1947: Member of the People’s Congress
  - 1952: Deputy Head of the Youth Union for the “Young People’s Union towards Anti-Communism and Redeeming the Chinese Nation”
  - 1953: Member of the central committee for the “General Association of the Scouts of China”
  - 1958: Head of the branch office of the “Academy for Conducting the Revolution” (KMT)
3. Education Administration
  - 1947: Head of the Department for Middle Schools
  - 1951: Head of the Publication Department in the Education Office of the provincial government of Taiwan<sup>57</sup>
  - 1963–1964: Head of the Education Office in Taiwan Province
4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1964)
  - 1956–1964 (†): Professor and Chair of the Education Institute at the NCCU

### Tien Pelin (after 1939)<sup>58</sup>

1. Professor at universities in mainland China (1939–1949)
  - Professor at the Southwest United University (xinan lianda)
  - Professor at the Tongji University
  - Dean of the State Henan University
  - Dean of the Northwest Agricultural College (xibei nungxueyuan)
2. Official Party Participation in the Kuomintang (KMT)
  - 1942: Head of the Education Office of the Central Administration Department
  - Secretary General of the KMT in Henan province
  - Central Committee Member of the KMT
  - Member of the Central Committee for the *Young People’s Union for the Three Principles of the People* (KMT)
3. Education Administration
  - 1946–1949: Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Education<sup>59</sup>

54 Seine Hauptaufgabe war Rekrutierung und Personaltraining der Mitarbeiter der Scouts.

55 Er war für Rekrutierung und Personaltraining des Nachwuchses der KMT zuständig.

56 1945 übernahm Wang Wenjün von Wu den Posten des Leiters.

57 1951 übernahm Wang diesen Posten von ihm.

58 Zhongguo Jiaoyu Xuehui (Verband für pädagogische Forschung in China) und Institut für Pädagogik NTNU (Hrsg.) (1976), Vorwort. Wang (1976), S. 22-28. Fang (1976), S. 195.

59 Seine Zuständigkeiten in der Nachkriegszeit: Wiederaufbau der Universitäten, Reformierung des Schulsystems,

4. Academic Activity in Taiwan (1949–1971)

– Professor of Education, Dean of the Educational Faculty at NTNU

– 1955: Founder and leader of the Educational Institute at the NTNU

5. Conferred emeritus status 1971, † 1975



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