

# Contents

<i>List of illustrations</i>	vii
<i>General editor's preface</i>	ix
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xi
<i>Chronology</i>	xii
<i>A map of China</i>	xiv
Introduction	1
Part I Pre-modern Chinese identity	
1 A common culture	9
Structures of the Chinese state	10
The interaction of elite and popular culture	20
2 The Manchu empire	33
The Qing as a non-Han dynasty	33
The Han and the universal empire	44
Part II Constructing a modern nation	
3 The world of nation states	55
Changing models of foreign affairs	55
The new modernisers and the origins of nationalism	70
The Boxer Uprising	77
4 The creation of modern nationalism	88
Education	89
Nationalism and revolutionary thought	101
Newspapers and the growth of public opinion	111
The army	118
5 Ethnicity and modernity in the 1911 Revolution	132
The Han nation	132
National identity and the non-Han peoples	139
The five-nation republic	144

6	Nation, modernity and class	150
	Clothing and etiquette	153
	Time	158
	Women as citizens	161
Part III Nationalism and imperialism		
7	The growth of nationalism as an ideology	169
	Student nationalism: the May 4th Movement of 1919	170
	Working-class nationalism: the May 30th Movement of 1925	176
	The growth of the Nationalist Party	184
8	Nationalism and the party state	190
	The rise of the party state	190
	Spreading a modern national culture	200
	The limits of Nationalist Party rule	203
9	War, nationalism and identity	207
	Responses to Japanese aggression	207
	The outbreak of war and the rhetoric of national unity	215
	The convergence of popular and modern nationalism	219
10	State-building and nation-building	226
	Depicting a Communist China	226
	Defining the nation	237
Part IV Chinese national identity today		
11	The emergence of alternative nationalisms	251
	Politicised nationalism	252
	Redefinitions	257
	The end of empire?	264
	<i>Bibliography</i>	269
	<i>Index</i>	277



# Index

Note: Page numbers in **bold** refer to illustrations

- 19th Route Army 209–10
- 1911 Revolution 132–49, 229
  - causes of 128, 129–30
  - and ethnicity 132–4, 139–49
  - and the five-nation republic 144–9
  - and the Han nation 132–9, 141–7, 148, 149
  - and modernity 134–7, 147
  - national identity and the non-Han peoples 139–44
- aborigines 27–9, 27, 28
- academies 13
- acculturation 25–30, 42–4
  - see also* assimilation
- administration
  - in the Manchu empire 37–42
  - in pre-modern China 10–16, 17, 20, 34–5, 37–42
  - unification of in the People's Republic 231, 234, 246
- agriculture 251
- allies (World War I) 170
- Altan Khan 39
- American traders 58, 59
- Anderson, Benedict 1, 2, 16
- anniversaries 199–200
- anti-Japanese feeling 209, 211–12, 213–14, 216–17, 220–21, 254
- anti-Manchu feeling 46–51
- Anti-rightist Campaigns 243
- Arab states 261
- assimilation 6, 25–30
  - in the Manchu empire 42–4
  - in the People's Republic of China 244, 245, 258–9, 260
  - in pre-modern China 25–30, 42–4
  - rejection of 258–9
- Association for National Military Education 105–6
- Ba Jin 139, 215–16
- Ba Ren 222
- Bai Jianwu 159
- 'barbarians' 57, 57, 58–9
  - see also* 'savages'
- Beijing 63, 253, 256
  - 1911 Revolution 138, 140, 147, 148
  - Boxer Uprising 82–3, 85
  - and the Chinese Communist Party 226–7, 228–30
  - dialect 235–6
  - foreign diplomats in 65
  - and the Nationalist Party 191, 194, 205
  - reunification of Hong Kong 265, 267
  - student demonstrations in 170–71, 172, 212, 256
  - Sun Yatsen's death 187, 197
  - and Tibetan Buddhism 40
  - and Western trade 59, 60
- Beijing government
  - May 4th Movement 170, 172
  - and the Nationalist government 194
  - promotion of a national language 175
  - weakness of 150, 172
- Beijing University 171, 172, 254
- bodhisattvas 40, 42
- bowing 155–6
- Boxer Uprising 5, 77–86, 84, 88
- Britain
  - and the Opium Wars 59–61, 62, 63
  - and the reunification of Hong Kong 267
  - threat to the tribute system 56–62
  - and Tibet 143, 144, 148–9
- British Colonial Office, Guangzhou 185



- British consul, Sichuan 136–7  
 British East India Company 58  
 British empire 264  
 British police 179, 180  
 Buddhism 38–42, 81  
   Mongolian 39  
   Tibetan 38–40  
   Yellow Sect 38–9, 40  
 bureaucracy 10–16, 17, 20, 34–5, 42  
   *see also* administration
- Cai E 121–2  
 Cai Tingkai 210  
 Cai Yuanpei 171  
 calendars  
   lunar 151–3, 158, 159–60, 200–201  
   national 200–201  
   reform of 138, 151–3, 158, 159–60, 199, 200–201  
   solar 138, 151–3, 158, 159, 160, 200, 201
- Cantonese 30, 31  
 capitalism 186  
 Catholicism 69–70, 77–8, 79–80, 81, 82, 86  
 Central Asia 3, 4, 36, 37, 42, 44  
   *see also individual countries*  
 central government  
   *see also* Nanjing Nationalist government  
   Beijing republican 150, 170, 172, 175, 194  
   Communist 226, 231–6, 254–7, 259, 261  
   constitutional 88–9  
   Qing reforms of 88–9  
   weakness of 150, 172  
 Central Television 255  
 ceremonies 133, 264–7  
 Changsha 191  
 Chen Duxiu 171–2, 173  
 Chen Jiongming 185  
 Chen Qimei 102  
 Chen Tianhua 108–9, 108  
 Chen Yung-fa 218  
 Chengde 140  
 Chengdu 92, 115, 212, 231  
 Chiang Kaishek 184  
   and Japanese aggression 207–8, 210, 211, 213, 215  
   attains leadership of the Nationalist Party 191  
   legitimacy of 197  
   and the limitations of Nationalist power 204, 205  
   modern image of 157, 158, 182  
   establishes Nanjing Nationalist government 193, 195  
   chooses Nanjing as the new capital 194  
   and the New Life Movement 200, 202, 203, 204  
   retreats to Taiwan 231
- China 1–6  
   *see also* People's Republic of China;  
   Republic of China  
   1911 Revolution 132–49, 229  
   Boxer Uprising 77–86, 84  
   common culture of 9–32  
   foreign affairs of 55–70  
   loss of the tributary states 74–5  
   and the Manchu empire 3, 4–5, 6, 33–52  
   creation of modern nationalism 88–130  
   modernisers of 70–76, 83–5, 86  
   origins of nationalism 1–2, 70–76  
   pre-modern 2, 5, 9–32, 33–52  
   and the world of nation states 55–86
- China Bookstore 176  
 China Rise society 110  
 Chinese army  
   and militarism 119–22  
   and modern education 119, 120, 121, 122–5, 128–30  
   modern Qing 88, 100, 118–30  
   and physical training 122–8
- Chinese Communist Party 5, 202, 226–33, 235  
   and the civil war 223–4  
   criticisms of 255, 258  
   and ethnicity 242–5  
   exclusion from 238–9  
   and Japanese aggression 211, 213, 215, 216–17, 218, 219, 223–4  
   legitimacy threatened 251, 252, 257, 258  
   and the nation 237–45  
   and nationalism 252–3, 255, 257, 263  
   origins of power 217, 224  
   symbolism of 228
- Chinese embassy, Yugoslavia 1–2, 254  
 Chinese League 110–11, 129, 185  
 Chinese National identity 103–4  
   culturalist view of 3  
   development outside political forms of state 160, 165  
   during the Nationalist regime in Taiwan 240, 241, 246  
   influence of the West on 71–4, 77–8, 86  
   local 262–4  
   and modern nationalism 71, 72–4



- and modernity 4–5, 6, 260–62
- on the national frontiers 25–31
- and the newspaper 116
- and the non-Han peoples 139–44
- for overseas Chinese 110
- in the People's Republic 240, 242, 244, 245, 246
- and politicised nationalism 252–7, 258
- popular 219, 222–3
- and power 29–31, 32
- pre-modern 9–32, 33–52
- and race 242
- and ritual 23–5
- today 251–67
- transnational Chinese 261–2, 264
- and war with Japan 219, 222–3
- Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) 227–8
- Chinese Telegraph Administration 115
- Chongqing 137, 219
- Christianity
  - see also* Catholicism; Protestantism
  - conversions 72
  - and the Taiping Rebellion 49–50
  - as threat to Chinese social order 78–80
  - unpopularity of 69–70, 82, 85–6
- Cian, Regent 66
- citizens, modern 200–203
- civic responsibility 94–5
- civil war 223–4, 226
- Cixi, Empress Dowager 66, 76, 161
- class
  - and Japanese aggression in China 216–17, 222
  - and language 235–6
  - and the nation 5, 150–66, 237–8
  - and the spread of modern nationalism 174–84
- clothing
  - aborigines 27–8, 27, 28
  - British 56–7, 57
  - Chinese elites 124
  - Mao suits 155, 156
  - Qing 97, 97, 122
  - republican 151, 152–4, 153–5, 156, 162–4, 163–4
  - Western influence on 151, 152–4, 153–5, 163–4, 164
  - women 27–8, 27, 28, 56–7, 57, 162–4, 163, 164
- Coble, Parks M. 215
- Cohong monopoly 58, 61
- collaborators 216, 217, 218, 219
- collective memory 245–6
- colonialism 71, 74, 150
- Comintern 186
- commentaries 11–12
- commercial boycotts 169–70, 211–12
- Commercial Press 127, 176, 181
- commercial reforms 88
- Communist party *see* Chinese Communist Party
- concessions 64, 169–70, 176–7
- Confucianism
  - criticisms of 173–4
  - destabilisation of 75
  - and education 11, 12, 96–100
  - lineages 17
  - and Qing legitimacy 44–6, 47
  - values of 21, 62–3, 68, 96–100, 203, 222
  - Western threat to 57–8
- Confucius 21, 24, 51, 203
- Constitution Day 158
- consumer culture 182–4
- contract workers 178–9
- coolie trade 70
- court politics 82–6
- Cultural Revolution 238–9, 244, 245, 251, 258
- culturalism 3, 20–21, 32, 44–6, 51–2, 55, 102
  - failing influence of 71, 72, 73, 74, 75
  - local elite support of 68–70
  - return to 242
- culture
  - and change 172–6
  - common 9–32
  - consumer 182–4
  - elite 16–31
  - Han Chinese 20–23
  - preservation of Manchu 34, 35–6, 38
  - modern national 2–3, 4–5, 200–203
  - popular 20–31, 77–86, 253
  - regional 257–8
- customs revenues 186
- Dalai Lama 39–40, 143, 144, 244, 245
- Dalian 207
- Dan people 30, 31
- decentralisation 66
- deities 23, 78, 202
- Democratic Progressive Party 263
- Deng Xiaoping 252, 265
- Deng Zhongxia 180
- dialects 10, 174–6, 234–7, 241, 257
- Ding Ling 165
- drama 219–22
- drought 81–2
- Dutch East India Company 26



- Dutch embassies 56
- economic growth, pre-modern 16–17, 20
- economic reform, in the People's Republic  
251, 253, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260,  
262, 264
- education 10–20, 44–5  
and Confucian values 11, 12, 96–100  
and cultural change 172–3  
foreign study 101–3  
military 119, 120, 121, 122–5, 128–30  
and nationalism 88, 89–100, 130, 169,  
171–2  
Nationalist policies on 198–9, 203  
in the People's Republic of China 233,  
236, 237, 242  
physical training 122–5  
Qing reforms of 88, 89–100  
and state patriotism 90–92  
Western-style 72, 89, 90, 92–3  
women's 92, 127
- elites  
and the 1911 Revolution 132  
Communist 251  
and the Communist party 233  
and Japanese aggression towards  
China 207, 209, 211, 218, 219,  
222, 224  
and land reform 233  
and nationalism 5, 169  
and the Nationalist Party 206, 207,  
209, 224  
opposition to the Qing dynasty 75–6  
and physical training 124  
pre-modern culture of 16–31  
and republican modernity 153, 157,  
159, 160–61, 165–6
- emigration *see* migration
- emperors  
*see also individual emperors*  
loyalty to 3, 90–91, 93, 99, 222  
Manchu 3, 33, 34–6, 37–8, 39–42, 41,  
45, 46–7, 50  
and the tribute system 55
- empires  
*see also imperialism; individual empires*  
and nations 6
- equality 172–3
- ethnic minorities 5–6, 139–49, 242–5,  
258–61, 267
- etiquette 155–8
- Europe  
*see also individual countries*  
and the tribute system 56–8  
and the Wuchang Uprising 138
- examination system 10–17, 19–20, 44–5,  
62, 76  
abolished 91, 128–9  
modernised 67  
reformed 89–90
- Fairbank, John K. 55
- familial relationships 21–2, 99, 172–3,  
182  
*see also filial piety*
- famine 81–2, 85, 116, 116
- Fang Lizhi 256, 257
- fascism 203
- father-son relationship 99  
*see also filial piety*
- Feng Yuxiang 155, 204–5, 208, 211, 233
- festivals 158, 159–61
- filial piety 21, 22, 24, 203  
criticisms of 173  
return to 222
- Five Classics 11, 12, 14, 19, 21, 24, 34,  
44, 89–90
- five-nation republic 144–9, 150–51
- flags  
Nationalist Party 193  
People's Republic of China 227, 264–5  
Republic of China 1912 144–6, 145  
symbolism of 264–5
- foot binding 23, 127–8, 134, 161–2,  
201–2
- foreign affairs  
changing models of 55–70  
and culturalism 68–70  
and the Han Chinese 65–8  
international empire system 55, 56, 65  
trade treaties 61, 62–5, 65, 68, 69  
tribute system 55–62, 65, 68
- foreign diplomats, Beijing's resistance to  
63, 65
- Four Books 11, 12
- Four Treasuries project 46–7
- France 63, 69–70, 74
- freedom 172–3
- French Concession 179
- Fujian 26, 48, 135, 237
- funeral rites 24–5, 68
- Fuzhou Naval Dockyard 67, 74, 76
- Galdan (Jungar leader) 37
- Gao Gang 243
- gazettes, governmental 112
- Gellner, Ernest 1
- genealogies 30–31, 36
- generational difference 99, 172–3
- Genghis Khan 45



- gentlemanly instructions 18, 18  
 Germany 119  
 Gong, Prince 65  
 government  
   *see also* central government  
   provincial 66–7, 78, 150, 159–60, 175–6, 195, 204  
   revolutionary 133  
 Governors General (regional) 66–8  
 Great Leap Forward 245  
 Great Wall 267  
 Gu Hongming 171  
 Gu Zhenghong 178  
 Guangdong 9, 16, 23, 25, 26, 29–31, 47, 49, 59, 60, 70, 135, 162, 234, 236, 257, 264  
 Guangxi 25, 48, 50, 60, 129, 137  
 Guangxu emperor 76, 83, 136  
 Guangzhou 58–63, 91, 185–7, 230, 257  
 Guilin 137, 220  
 Guiyang 139  
 Guo Moruo 91–2, 99, 122  
  
 Hainan Island 135  
 hairstyles  
   and the 1911 Revolution 134–6, 137, 139–40  
   Manchu 34  
   queues 4–5, 124–5, 134–6, 137, 139–40, 201  
   republican 164–5  
 Hakka people 26, 30, 31  
 Han Chinese 20–31, 32  
   and the 1911 Revolution 132–9, 141–7, 148, 149  
   and the five-nation republic 144–7, 148  
   and foreign affairs 55, 59, 61–2, 63, 65–8  
   growing political power of 65–8  
   identity 103, 104, 106, 107, 137–44, 149, 153  
   immigration to Manchuria 208  
   association with modernity 137–9, 149, 151–3, 260, 261  
   nationalism of 144, 149  
   and non-Han peoples 139–44  
   and the People's Republic of China 242, 243, 244–5  
   post-Cultural Revolution 259, 260, 261, 264  
   and the Qing dynasty 33–6, 37, 42–3, 44–51, 141–4  
   and the Republic of China 150–53  
   revolutionary/anti-Manchu thought of 103, 104, 106, 107, 110  
   and the Taiping Rebellion 51  
   and Western trade 70  
 handshakes 156–7  
 Hangzhou 35, 191–2  
 Hankou 50  
   *see also* Wuhan; Wuchang  
 Hanlin Academy 13  
 Henan 201–2, 204  
 heroism 216–17, 219  
 He Xiangning 101  
 Hobsbawm, E.J. 1, 86  
 holidays, national 199–201, 264–5  
 Hong Kong 61, 150, 257, 262  
   reunification 264–7  
 Hong Xiuquan 49–50, 51  
 Hu Shi 171, 174–5  
 Huang Gongdu 205  
 Huang Shujing 26–7  
 Huang Xing 110, 138  
 Hubei 128, 129–30, 134  
 Hui people 147, 245  
 Hunan 191  
 Hundred Flowers 243  
 Hundred Days' Reforms 76  
 Hung Chang-tai 220  
 Huxley, Thomas 103  
  
 ideology  
   growth of modern nationalism as 169–88  
   Nationalist Party 198–200  
   of race and nation in revolutionary thought 102–9, 107, 111  
 immigration *see* emigration  
 imperialism 258  
   American 234, 239  
   Japanese 198  
   and military citizenship 121  
   Nationalist Party depicted as tool of 229  
   overthrown 186–8, 230, 264–6  
   Western 3, 4, 6, 230, 234, 239, 264, 264–6  
 Imperial Maritime Customs 64–5  
 indemnity payments 85, 86  
 India 143, 148  
 infrastructure 231–3, 232  
 Inner Mongolia 4, 78, 143, 148, 212, 243, 244  
 international empire, as model of foreign affairs 55, 56, 65  
 international sport 253–4  
 internationalism 242  
 international trade 16–17, 55, 56–65, 70, 86



- Japan 170, 254  
   aggression towards China 4, 207–24, 229  
   anniversaries of the defeat of 253  
   imperialism 198  
   influence on Chinese revolutionary thought 101–3  
   influence on Qing reforms 89  
   and Korea 74–5, 101, 198, 207  
   language 10, 94  
   military strength 119, 121–2  
   and Mongolia 143, 231  
   and Russia 101, 104–5, 207  
   surrender of 224  
   and Taiwan 75, 198  
   Western influence on 101  
 Japanese military police 212  
 Jebtsundamba Khutuktu 39, 40, 142, 147–8  
 Jesuit missionaries 57–8  
 Jiang Zemin 265  
 Jiangnan Arsenal 67  
 Jiangsu 159–60, 193, 199, 204, 217, 218, 219  
 Jiangsu provincial government 159–60  
 Jiangxi 69, 202, 203, 204  
 Johnson, Chalmers 217, 219  
 Jungars 37  
 Jurchens 45  
  
 Kang Youwei 75, 76, 83, 103, 109–10, 127  
 Kangxi emperor 35, 39, 40, 45, 47, 50  
   Sacred Edict of 12  
 Khitan people 45  
 Kong Shangren 16, 19  
 Korea  
   *see also* North Korea; South Korea  
   China's loss of 74–5, 76, 198  
   and Japan 74–5, 101, 198, 207  
   and the tribute system 55–6  
   written language 10  
 Korean minorities 243–5  
 Korean War 233–4, 239  
 kowtowing 155–6  
  
 labourers, unskilled 178–80  
 Land Reform 233  
 language  
   Chinese  
     national 3, 94, 174–6, 234–7, 241, 253  
     spoken 10, 174, 175–6, 234–7, 241, 257  
     written 5, 10, 174–5, 235  
   Japanese 10, 94  
   Korean 10  
   Lao She 159  
   Lao Xiang 221  
   laws, Nationalist 198  
   legal systems  
     in the Manchu empire 42  
     for Sino-Western trade 64  
   Legge, James 112  
   Lenin, Vladimir Ilyich 186  
   Levenson, Joseph 3, 20, 75  
   Lhasa 37, 143, 144, 148, 231, 261, 267  
   Li Boyuan 97–8, 99, 105, 122  
   Li Dazhao 171  
   Li Denghui 263  
   Li Hongzhang 67, 68, 71, 74, 75, 83, 115  
   Li Lisan 184  
   Li Xiangtai 79  
   Li Yuanhong 133–5, 146  
   Li Ziliu 257  
   Liang Qichao 76, 103–4, 117, 118, 120–21, 127–8, 169  
   Liang Shuming 83  
   Liao dynasty 45  
   libraries 46–7  
   Lifanyuan 38  
   *Life Magazine* 210, 211  
   *Life Weekly* (magazine) 182  
   Lin Zexu 59, 60, 61, 62–3, 66, 230, 267  
   lineage organisation 17, 30–31, 103  
   literacy 14–15  
   literary revolution 174–6  
   literati lifestyle 16–20, 24  
   literature  
     anti-Manchu 46–7  
     Mandarin Duck and Butterfly 174–5, 181  
     for skilled workers 181–2  
   lithography 114  
   Liu Dapeng 91, 98, 201  
   Liu Guangquan 180–81  
   Liu Zhilun 14  
   local government *see* provincial government  
   lower classes  
     and Japanese aggression in China 216–17, 222  
     and republican modernity 153, 159, 161, 165–6  
     and the spread of modern nationalism 174–84  
   loyalty 3, 222  
     to the emperor 90–91, 93, 99  
   Lu Feikui 93  
   Lu Haodong 193



- Lu Xun 102, 154, 171  
 Luke Kwong 66  
 lunar calendar 151–3, 158, 159–60, 200–201  
  
 Ma Zhanshan 209, 210  
 Macartney, Lord 56  
 magic 80–81, 82  
 magistrates 11, 15–16, 78, 79–80  
   *see also* bureaucracy  
 Major, Ernest 113  
 Major, Frederick 113  
 Manchu emperors 3, 33, 34–6, 37–8, 39–42, 41, 45, 46–7, 50  
 Manchu empire *see* Qing dynasty  
 Manchu people  
   *see also* Qing dynasty (Manchu empire)  
   assimilation of 260  
   Han revolutionary thought against 103, 104, 106, 107–10  
   national identity of 103, 104, 106  
   as part of the five-nation republic 144, 145, 146, 147  
 Manchukuo 208–9  
 Manchuria 3, 36, 101, 104–5, 141, 143, 207–9, 211  
 Mandarin 175, 176, 236–7, 241, 253, 257  
 Mandarin Duck and Butterfly literature 174–5, 181  
 Manjusri 40  
 Mao suits 155, 156  
 Mao Zedong 171, 246, 255, 265  
   on class distinctions 237–8  
   death of 230, 251  
   and the inauguration of Communist rule 226–7, 228, 229, 230  
   erects martyr's memorial 229  
   mausoleum of 230  
   moral system of 242  
   as symbol of Chinese Communism 226–7, 228, 237, 238  
 marriage 22, 31  
 martial arts 126–7  
 Martyrs' Memorial, Tiananmen Square 228–30, 237  
 mass movement/mass support  
   *see also* rural populations; working classes  
   in resistance against Japanese aggression 216–17, 222  
 May 4th Movement 1919 170–76, 184, 188, 229  
 May 30th Movement 1925 176–84, 188, 229  
  
 Meadows, Thomas 58–9  
 media 210, 221, 262  
   *see also* newspapers; radio; television  
 medicine 80  
 migration 253  
   emigration 25–31, 70  
   immigration 43, 48, 141, 169, 177, 178, 208  
 militarism 119–22, 130, 203, 227  
 military citizenship 120–22  
 military drills 122–3, 123, 126  
 military modernisation 67  
 military police, Japanese 212  
 Ming dynasty 33, 37, 47, 137, 138  
*Minlibao* (newspaper) 117–18  
 minority nationalities 243–5  
   *see also* ethnic minorities  
 missionaries 78, 127  
 missionary press 112, 113–14  
 missionary schools 72, 83, 89, 127  
 modern national culture 200–203  
 modern nationalism 4, 5, 70–76, 83–5, 86  
   and Confucian values 96–100  
   creation 88–130  
     through the army 88, 100, 118–30  
     through education 88, 89–100, 130  
     through newspapers and the growth of public opinion 111–18  
   and cultural change 172–3  
   and foreign imperialism 186–8  
   growth as an ideology 169–88  
   and the Nationalist Party 169, 184–8  
   and politicised nationalism 192  
   convergence with popular nationalism 219–24  
   and students 170–76  
   undermining of 210  
   and the working classes 174–84, 207, 215  
 modernisation 4–5, 226  
 modernisers 70–76, 83–5, 86, 88  
 modernity  
   and the 1911 Revolution 134–7, 147  
   and clothing 151, 153–5, 162–4  
   and etiquette 155–8  
   Han identity linked with 137–9, 149, 151–3  
   and national identity 4–5, 260–62  
   and race 5–6  
   and the Republic of China 150–66  
   and time 158–61  
   and women 161–5  
 Mongol empire 45  
 Mongol princes 38, 39, 43



- Mongolia 3, 194  
*see also* Inner Mongolia; Outer Mongolia  
 and the 1911 Revolution 139, 141, 147, 148  
 and the Han Chinese 42–3  
 independence 4, 142–3, 144  
 and Japan 143, 231  
 and the Manchu empire 36, 38, 39, 42–3, 44  
 and the People's Republic of China 231  
 and Qing reforms 142  
 and Russia 143, 148, 231
- Mongols  
*see also* Jungars  
 during the 1911 Revolution 5, 139–40, 141, 142, 144, 145, 146, 147–8  
 and the Manchu empire 37  
 as part of the five-nation republic 144, 145, 146, 147–8
- moral systems 11, 14, 20  
 changing 172–4  
 Confucian 44–6, 62–3, 68, 97–9  
 modern Qing 97–9, 104  
 in the People's Republic of China 242
- Muslims  
 during the 1911 Revolution 139, 140, 144, 146  
 and the Great Leap Forward 245  
 influence of the Arab states on 261  
 as part of the five-nation republic 144, 146
- Nanchang 69
- Nanjing 50, 51, 61, 138, 188, 197
- Nanjing Nationalist government 261  
 established 193–5, 202, 204, 205  
 promotes a national language 235  
 in Taiwan 231, 262–3  
 undermined during Japanese aggression 209, 210, 211, 212–13, 216, 219
- Nanyang Tobacco 182, 183
- nation-building 226–46
- nation states 1, 4, 5  
 China as 2, 3  
 definition 2  
 world of 55–86
- national anthems 146
- national arts 127
- National Assembly 145, 147, 148, 150, 153, 185, 194
- National Day 158, 160–61
- national identity  
*see also* Chinese national identity  
 Taiwanese 263
- National Language Promotion society 176
- national languages 3, 94, 174–6, 234–7, 241, 253
- national memory 245–6
- National Revolutionary Army 191–2, 193
- National Salvation Movement 212, 213, 215
- national unity 215–19, 235, 266
- national wealth 88, 90
- nationalism 1–2, 3, 6  
*see also* modern nationalism  
 alternative forms of 251–67  
 and the Boxer Uprising 83–5, 86, 88  
 culturally defined 88  
 definition of 218  
 and the elites 75–6  
 ethnic 144, 264  
 and the Han Chinese 144, 149  
 and national languages 235  
 origins of 70–76  
 and the party state 190–206  
 in the People's Republic of China 226, 227, 228, 230, 234, 235, 237, 239, 240, 241, 242, 251–2  
 politicised 190–206, 210, 226–8, 234, 237, 239, 242, 252–7, 258, 262–4  
 popular 5, 77–86, 219–24, 253–4  
 in the Republic of China 150–51, 241, 242  
 and war 207–24
- Nationalist army 209–10
- Nationalist government 261  
 established 193–5, 202, 204, 205  
 promotes a national language 235  
 in Taiwan 231, 262–4  
 undermined during Japanese aggression 209, 210, 211, 212–13, 216, 219
- Nationalist Party  
 and the changing face of nationalism 190  
 and civil war 223–4  
 Communist representation of 239–40  
 growth of 169, 184–8  
 ideology of 198–200  
 legitimacy comes under threat 210, 211–15, 216, 217, 224, 226, 227, 229  
 limitations of 203–5  
 and the spread of modern national culture 200–203  
 and the nation 192–3, 200, 205–6  
 rise of 190–200  
 and Sun Yatsen 190, 191, 193, 194, 195–8, 196, 199  
 symbols of 192–200, 205



- in Taiwan 231, 239–42, 245–6
- NATO troops 2
- Netherlands 56
- New Life Movement 200, 202–4, 213
- newspapers 95, 114, 116, 151, 210, 221
  - see also individual newspapers*
  - development 111–16
  - and the growth of public opinion 3, 117–18
  - and modern nationalism 94–5, 111–18
  - and national identity 116
  - Western influence on 111, 112, 113–14, 115
- North China Daily News* (newspaper) 230
- North China Herald* (newspaper) 112, 155, 191
- North Korea 233–4
- Northern Expedition 191–2, 193
- nuclear family 182
- Nurgaci 33
- officer-training system 119
- officialdom, and modern clothing 151, 153, 154–5
- opium 58, 59–60, 70
- Opium Wars 59–61, 63, 65, 229, 230
  - second Opium War, Arrow War (1857) 63
- Ou Zhenhua 192
- outer Mongolia 4, 148
- Overseas Chinese 110, 261–2
- painting 18–19
- party nation 192–3, 198
- party state
  - limitations of 203–5
  - and nationalism 190–206
  - rise of 190–200
  - spread of modern national culture 200–203
  - symbols of 192–200, 205
- patriotism 172
  - and Japanese aggression 210, 221
  - and the Nationalist Party 182–4, 198–9
  - in the People's Republic of China 234, 252, 255–6
  - and the Qing dynasty 90–92, 93–4
- People's Daily* (newspaper) 228
- People's Liberation Army 226–7, 228, 229, 234–5, 236
- People's Republic of China 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 148, 226–46, 251–67
  - and the Chinese Communist Party 237–42
  - collective memory of 245–6
  - definition of the nation 237–46
  - established in 1949 227
  - nation-building 226–46
  - national language development 234–7
  - race issues 242–5
  - state-building 230–34
- physical training 122–8
- plays 219–22
- poetry 19
- Polachek, James 60
- police, British 179, 180
- political parties 173
  - see also individual political parties*
  - and the spread of nationalism 169, 184–8
- political religions 23, 39–40
- politicised nationalism
  - criticisms of 254–7, 262, 263, 264
  - and the Nationalist Party 190–206, 210, 242
  - in the People's Republic of China 226, 227, 228, 234, 237, 239, 242, 252–7, 258, 264, 265, 266, 267
- politicised nations 192–3, 200, 205–6
- popular culture
  - and the development of Chinese nationalism 77–86
  - interaction with elite culture 20–31
  - nationwide 253
- popular nationalism 5, 77–86, 253–4
  - convergence with modern nationalism 219–24
- Portuguese traders 16
- Poshek Fu 218
- posture 97, 157–8, 157
- power
  - and Chinese cultural identity 29–31, 32
  - growth of Han Chinese 65–8
- pre-modern China 2, 5
  - common culture 9–32
  - Manchu empire 33–52
- printing industry 113–15
  - see also publishing industry*
- propaganda
  - anti-Japanese 209, 211–12, 213–14, 216–17, 220–21
  - Communist Party 216–17, 239–40, 239, 242, 266–7, 266
  - Nationalist Party 191–2, 201, 202, 209, 211–12, 213, 240–41
- Protect the Emperor Society 109–10
- Protestantism 69, 72, 81, 112
- proto-nationalism 86



- provincial government 66-7, 78, 150,  
159-60, 175-6, 195, 204
- provincial society, Communist control of  
233, 234
- Prussia 119
- public holidays 199-201, 264-5
- public opinion 117-18, 210, 255-6
- publishing industry 18  
*see also* printing industry
- Qianlong emperor 36, 40, 41, 45, 103
- Qin dynasty 9, 11
- Qing dynasty (Manchu empire) 3, 4-5, 6,  
20, 27, 33-52, 169, 264  
*see also* Manchu people
- 1911 rebellion against 132, 133, 134-5,  
136-7, 138-9, 140, 141-4, 146,  
149
- acculturation in 42-4
- administration of 37-42
- anti-Manchu feeling during 46-51
- and the Boxer Uprising 82-3, 84,  
85-6
- elite opposition to 75-6
- emperors of 3, 33, 34-6, 37-8, 39-42,  
41, 45, 46-7, 50
- etiquette 155
- foreign affairs of 55, 56, 59, 61-2, 63,  
64, 65, 67, 72
- and French colonialism in Vietnam 74
- and the Han 33-6, 37, 42-3, 44-51
- and Korea 74-5
- legitimacy of 44-5
- and Manchuria 208
- as non-Han dynasty 33-44, 51
- reforms of 88-130, 132, 136, 141-2,  
143-4
- relation to local communities 78
- as universal empire 36-44, 51-2
- and Western influence 73, 79-80
- and Western trade 59, 61-2, 64
- women of 161, 164
- Qingdao 170, 172
- Qiqihar 209
- Qiu Jin 111
- Qiyong 61
- queues 4-5, 124-5, 134-6, 137, 139-40,  
201
- race 5-6  
and the 1911 Revolution 132-4,  
139-49
- ethnic minorities 5-6, 139-49, 242-5,  
258-61, 267
- ideology of 102-9, 107, 111
- and the creation of modern nationalism  
102-9, 107, 111
- in the People's Republic of China  
242-5, 258-61, 267
- racism 71
- radicals 101-11, 129-30, 132, 170-76,  
178, 179, 180, 184
- radio 231-3, 235, 236
- railways 231, 232
- Red Lanterns 137
- regional culture 257-8
- regional difference 22-3, 30
- regional government 66-7, 78, 150,  
159-60, 175-6, 195, 204
- regional identity 258
- Rehe 40
- reincarnation 39-40
- religion  
*see also individual religions*
- Buddhism 38-42, 81
- Catholicism 69-70, 77-8, 79-80, 81,  
82, 86
- Christianity 49-50, 69-70, 72, 78-80,  
82, 85-6
- political 23, 39-40
- Protestantism 69, 72, 81, 112
- traditional Chinese 23, 78, 202
- Republic of China 4, 142  
and class 150-66
- clothing in 151, 152, 153-5, 153, 154,  
156, 162-4, 163, 164
- colonialism in 150
- establishment 138
- etiquette of 155-8
- growth of nationalism as an ideology  
169-88
- Japanese aggression towards 207-24
- and modernity 147, 150-66
- nationalism and the party state  
190-206
- time in 158-61
- Western influence in 151-6, 152, 153,  
154, 163-5
- women in 161-5, 163, 164
- resistance 207, 216-22, 224
- Restoration Society 111
- Revive China Society 109-10
- revolutionary groups 109-11, 129-30
- Revolutionary Party 185
- Revolutionary People's Party of Inner  
Mongolia 244
- revolutionary thought, and modern  
nationalism 100, 101-11
- ritual texts 24-5
- rituals 23-5



- River Elegy (TV series) 255–6, 257, 258  
roads 231, 232  
rural populations  
    and Japanese aggression 213–23  
    and nationalism 219–23, 253–4  
Russia 148  
    *see also* Soviet Union  
    and Japan 101, 104–5, 207  
    and the Manchu empire 56, 142  
    and Mongolia 143, 148, 231  
Russian empire 37, 44  
  
sacrifices 133  
Sanyuanli, battle of 61, 63  
'savages' 6, 27–9, 27, 28  
    *see also* 'barbarians'  
schools  
    for girls 127  
    military 119, 128–9, 203  
    missionary 72, 83, 89, 127  
    modern 91–5, 96–7, 99–100  
    Nationalist Party influence on 198, 203  
    and physical training 122–3  
Schwartz, Benjamin 73  
secret societies 47–9, 64  
self-sacrifice 217, 218, 242  
self-strengthening movement 67, 115, 119  
seven-day week 158–9  
Sewell, Miss 78  
Shaanxi 204  
Shandong 141  
Shanghai 48, 61, 64, 94, 107, 145, 150  
    dialect 257  
    Japanese aggression in 209–10, 211,  
        212, 215–16, 218, 220, 221  
    May 30th Movement 176–82  
    and the telegraph 115  
    under communist rule 230  
    Western influence on 258  
Shanghai government 160  
Shanxi 9, 40, 77, 78, 79–80, 81, 91, 92,  
    98–9, 100, 140, 162, 195, 201, 204,  
    231  
Shaolin monks 47  
Shaoxing 34  
She people 30, 31  
Shen Baozhen 69  
Shen Qiyuan 29  
*Shenbao* (newspaper) 113, 117, 148, 160,  
    181, 211  
*Shibao* (newspaper) 117  
Siberia 146  
Sichuan 43, 136–7, 139, 145, 231  
silk 58, 59  
Singapore 262  
  
sinicisation 35  
*Sino-Foreign News* (newspaper) 112  
Sino-Japanese war 215–24  
skilled workers 180–84  
Small Sword Society 48–9, 64  
Social Darwinism 73, 103  
social mobility 14, 17–18  
social order, Christianity as threat to  
    78–80  
socialist market economy 251  
Society of God Worshippers 50  
    *see also* Taiping  
solar calendar 138, 151–3, 158, 159, 160,  
    200, 201  
Song dynasty 45  
Song Jiaoren 121  
Song Meiling 182  
Song Qingling 182–4  
*South China Morning Post* (newspaper)  
    112, 267  
South Korea 233–4  
Southeast Asia 70, 71, 109–10, 261–2  
    *see also individual countries*  
Soviet Union 148, 186, 190, 231  
    *see also* Russia  
Spanish traders 16  
Spencer, Herbert 103, 119–20  
sport  
    international 253–4  
    Western-style 123–5, 124, 126  
Stalin, Josef 235, 243  
state 9  
    *see also* nation states  
    building 4, 5, 226, 230–37  
    following the 1911 Revolution 132  
    and moral order 20  
    patriotism 90–92  
    and religion 23  
    structures of 10–20, 32  
        bureaucracy 10–16, 17  
        elites and the literati lifestyle 16–20  
        examination system 10–16, 17,  
            19–20  
        language 10  
strikes 178, 179, 180  
students 101–3, 104–9, 110–11, 132, 254  
    and the Cultural Revolution 238–9  
    foreign study 101–3  
    turn against Nationalist Party 209  
    protests of the 1930s 209, 211–12,  
        213–14  
    and the spread of nationalism 170–76,  
        178, 179, 180, 184  
    Tiananmen Square protests (1989) 256  
Subao case 106



- suicide 180–81
- Sun Yatsen 102, 158, 182–6, 228, 265  
 body moved to Nanjing 197–8  
 and the Chinese League 110, 111, 129  
 death of 187, 188, 190, 197  
 early revolutionary behaviour 75,  
 109–10, 111, 118  
 family of 70–71  
 mausoleum of 197  
 and the Nationalist Party 184–6, 187,  
 188, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195–8,  
 196, 199, 200, 205  
 inauguration as president of the  
 republic 137–8, 144, 146, 260  
 resignation as president of the republic  
 138–9  
 and the Revive China Society 109–10  
 suit named after 155  
 survival of the fittest, principle of 103–4,  
 120  
 symbols  
 of the Communist Party 226–7, 228,  
 237, 238  
 of nationalism 255, 264–5, 267  
 of the Nationalist Party 192–200, 205
- Taiping Rebellion 49–51, 65, 66, 67, 76,  
 229
- Taiwan 158, 257  
 and Japan 75, 198  
 and the Manchu empire 48  
 national identity in 263  
 Nationalist rule in 231, 239–42, 245–6,  
 262–4  
 pre-modern Chinese emigration to  
 25–6  
 reunification 2, 263, 265
- Taiyuan 140
- Tang Jingxing 71, 72, 76
- tangkas 40, 41
- taxation 61, 62, 63–4
- tea 58, 59
- telegraph 115, 116
- television 255–6, 257, 258
- textbooks  
 filial piety 21, 22  
 physical training 122–4, 123, 124, 125  
 republican clothing 153, 153, 154, 154,  
 155, 156  
 and the spread of modern nationalism  
 in schools 91–4, 96, 96  
 and state patriotism 90–91
- Thailand 262
- Thought-Reform 233
- Three People's Principles 184
- Tiananmen Square, Beijing 227, 228–30,  
 254, 265, 267  
 Protests (1989) 256
- Tiandihui 47–8
- Tianjin 81, 83, 94, 150
- Tianjin riot 69–70
- Tibet 3, 4, 6, 194  
*see also* Lhasa  
 and the 1911 Revolution 139, 141,  
 143, 144, 147  
 and Britain 143, 144, 148–9  
 and the Han Chinese 43–4  
 independence 144  
 Lamaist temples 40  
 and the Manchu empire 36, 37, 38–40,  
 43  
 and the People's Republic of China 231,  
 243, 244, 245, 258, 259, 260–61,  
 266, 267  
 and the Qing reforms 143–4
- Tibet Daily* (newspaper) 260–61
- Tibetans, as part of the five-nation  
 republic 144, 146, 147, 148
- time 158–61
- Tokugawa shogunate 101
- Tokyo 121
- Tonghak uprising 75
- Tongzhi emperor 66
- trade  
 international 16–17, 42–3, 55, 56–65,  
 70, 86  
 treaties 61, 62–5, 68, 69, 79
- trams 170
- trauma, collective 245–6
- Treaty  
 of Nanjing 61, 62–3, 65  
 of Tianjin 63–4, 65, 69, 79  
 of Versailles 171, 172
- treaty ports 61, 62, 63, 86, 94  
*see also individual ports*
- treaty system 61, 62–5, 68, 69, 79
- tributary states  
*see also individual states*  
 in the 1911 Revolution 141–4  
 China's loss of 74–5, 76
- tribute system 55–62, 65, 68
- Ulanfu 252
- underworld gangs 179, 180
- United Nations 233
- United States 58, 59, 169–70, 233–4, 239
- United States navy 231
- unskilled labourers 178–80
- Urga 142–3
- Uyghur 6, 37, 258



- Versailles Peace Conference 170  
 Vietnam 74, 76  
 violent campaigns 239, 243–4, 245, 246
- Wang Jingwei 104, 216, 217  
 Wang Tao 112  
 Wang Xihou 46–7
- war  
   civil 223–4, 226  
   Korean 233–4, 239  
   nationalism and identity 207–24  
   Opium 59–61, 63, 65, 229, 230  
   of resistance against Japan 207–13, 215–19  
   Sino-Japanese 215–24  
   World War I 170
- warlords 150, 186–7, 188, 204–5  
 Watson, James 24  
 wealth 16–18, 20, 88, 90  
 West 4, 5, 258  
   and the Boxers 82–3, 85  
   Chinese fear of 80–82  
   colonialism of 71, 74  
   imperialism of 3, 4, 6, 230, 234, 239, 264–6  
   influence on  
     the 1911 Revolution 132, 134–7  
     Chinese educational reform 72, 89, 90, 92–3  
     Chinese etiquette 156  
     Chinese fashion 151, 152, 153–5, 153, 154, 163–5  
     Chinese identity 71–4, 77–8, 86  
     Chinese military reforms 118–19, 120, 123  
     Chinese modernisation 88, 89, 90, 92–3, 111, 112, 113–14, 115, 118–19, 120, 123  
     Chinese nationalism 71  
     Chinese newspapers 111, 112, 113–14, 115  
     Chinese revolutionary thinking 107, 111  
     Chinese social order 79  
     Chinese time 158–9  
     Japan 101  
     Mandarin 253  
     the Republic of China 151–6, 152, 153, 154, 163–5  
   and the Nationalist Party 186  
   and the People's Republic of China 230  
   religion of 49–50, 69–70, 72, 77–80, 81, 82, 85–6, 112  
   traders 55, 56–65, 70, 86
- White Russian forces 148
- 'White skin, red heart' policy 218
- women  
   clothing 27–8, 27, 28, 56–7, 57, 162–4, 163, 164  
   education 92, 127  
   foot binding 23, 127–8, 134, 161–2, 201–2  
   hairstyles 164–5  
   Han 23  
   labourers 179–80  
   and modernity 161–5, 163, 164  
   physical training 127–8  
   in the Qing dynasty 161, 164  
   in the Republic of China 161–5, 163, 164
- working classes  
   and Japanese aggression in China 216–17, 222  
   and republican modernity 153, 159, 161, 165–6  
   and the spread of modern nationalism 174–84
- World War I 170  
 World War II *see* Sino-Japanese war  
 Wu Tingfang 71, 72, 73  
 Wu Yu 115–16, 173  
 Wu Yue 108  
 Wu Zhihui 174  
 Wuchang 50  
   *see also* Hankou; Wuhan  
 Wuchang Uprising 132, 133, 134, 135, 138, 139, 142, 145  
 Wuhan 119, 150, 187  
   *see also* Hankou; Wuchang  
 Wutai Mountains 40  
 Wuzhou 135
- xenophobia 86  
   *see also* Boxer Uprising
- Xiamen 198  
 Xian 198, 215, 245, 254  
 Xian incident 1936 215  
 Xiao Qian 140  
 Xinjiang 37, 42, 44, 141, 261, 266  
*Xinjiang Daily* (newspaper) 266  
 Xu Xilin 111
- Yan Fu 72, 73, 76, 103  
 Yan Ruoji 19  
 Yan Xishan 162, 195, 204, 208, 211, 231, 233  
 Yanbian Korean Autonomous County 243–4  
 Yang Zengxin 141  
 Yao people 30, 31



- Ye Qianyu 214  
Ye Shengdao 158  
Yellow Emperor 133–4, 260  
Yongzheng emperor 40  
Younghusband, Francis 143  
Yuan dynasty 45  
Yuan Shikai 148, 155, 158  
    conducts campaign against the Boxers 82  
    death of 150, 160  
    and the Japanese 170  
    sent to Korea 1885 75  
    creates modern army 88, 119  
    supports natural feet 128  
    inaugurated as President of China 138, 146–7  
Yugoslavia, American bombing of the Chinese embassy 1999 1–2, 254  
Yunnan 25, 139  
Zeng Guofan 51, 62, 65–6, 68, 120  
Zhang Binglin 106, 107  
Zhang Jian 100  
Zhang Xueliang 207–8, 209, 211, 215  
Zhang Zhidong 67, 68, 119, 128, 129  
Zhang Zongxiang 170, 171  
Zhang Zuolin 208  
Zhao Erfeng 143, 144  
Zhao Yuanren 175  
Zhejiang 193, 198, 204  
Zheng Chenggong 26  
Zhenjiang 61  
Zhongshan suits 155, 156  
Zhou Enlai 229  
Zhu De 227  
Zhu Xi 11–12, 24–5, 44–5  
Zongli Yamen 65  
Zou Rong 106, 107