FEATURES

Quentin Pan 潘光旦 in The China Critic

Leon Antonio Rocha
Emmanuel College
University of Cambridge*

We are to-day, like Hercules, facing a crossroad. The newer points of view beckon us from one direction, while the older ones are yet powerful enough to attract us from another; and many of us are unable to reach a decision.

—Quentin Pan[1]

The American-trained evolutionary biologist, sociologist and eugenicist Quentin Pan (Pan Guangdan 潘光旦, 1899-1967) was a founding editor of and regular contributor to The China Critic. A prolific scholar whose collected works number some fourteen volumes, Pan was a pioneer in the fields of sociology, ethnology and anthropology, and his name is familiar to many scholars of modern China. Pan repeatedly appears in histories of social and human sciences in China, though a full English-language study of him has yet to be written.[2] This study introduces Pan's life and work, in tandem with a close reading of a selection of articles that he wrote for The China Critic in the late 1920s and early 1930s. These articles offer an excellent point of entry into Pan's ideas on population and eugenics, his polemics on family and marriage, and his intellectual positioning and self-fashioning.

From Tsinghua to Cold Spring

Pan Guangdan 潘光旦 (originally known as Pan Guangdan 潘光亶, honorific name Zhong'ang 仲昂) was born on 13 Au 1899 in Baoshan 當山, Jiangsu province. The Pan family was influential in the Baoshan region and was involved in both scholarly and mercantile worlds. Pan's father, Pan Hongding (潘鴻鼎, 1863-1915), was awarded the status of 'Presented Scholar' 進士 in the 1898 Palace Examination, and was appointed a Junior Compiler of the Hanlin Academy 翰林院編修. Pan's father was particularly interested in new-style pedagogy; he was sent to Japan to inspect modern educational institutions and later set up a number of schools in the Baoshan area. Pan Guangdan himself attended an old-style private school 私塾 only briefly and was enrolled in a modern academy 學堂, graduating in 1912. In 1913, at the age of fourteen and in accord with the wishes of his father, Pan Guangdan entered Beijing's Tsinghua School 清華學校. Tsinghua, the precursor of the national university (established in 1929), had been founded using the Boxer Indemnity funds that America received from the Qing government. Tsinghua's eight-year curriculum prepared Chinese students for study in the United States. Upon graduation, the best were awarded scholarships to study at an American university, usually entering into the second or third year of an undergraduate programme.

At Tsinghua, Pan studied English and some German, and enjoyed an American-style liberal education. He pursued a wide range of subjects: natural and agricultural sciences, politics and diplomacy, mathematics and economics, history and social thought, literature and philosophy, business and commerce. During these formative years at Tsinghua he met the poet Wen Yiduo (聞一多, 1899-1946)—with whom he developed a lifelong friendship—and the ethnologist Wu Zelin (吳澤霖, 1898-1990) through a discussion group called the 'Shang Society' 丄社.[3] Pan would later record that his interest in human sexuality was sparked when he discovered English sexologist Havelock Ellis' (1859-1939) magnum opus Studies in the Psychology of Sex (then six volumes, 1897-1920) in the Tsinghua library. He said that he read each volume from cover to cover and became a "minor expert" 小權威 among his peers in matters related to sex and reproduction. This encounter with Ellis' work also fuelled a lifelong passion for sexology. In fact, Pan identified himself as a sishu 私淑 or sishu dizi 私淑弟子— a disciple who had not studied directly under the master itself.[6] In a 1933 essay, Pan described Ellis as his personal hero:

Mr Ellis is no philosopher, yet he is a profound thinker, one of the profoundest whom the passing generation has yet witnessed. He is no scientist, yet the method and the spirit with which he approaches the forbidden precincts of sex will put to shame the efforts of many who styled themselves scientists. He is no physician; he has never practised in spite of his strenuous medical training and his certificate; yet he has been a curer of many souls of the maladies which an ordinary physician does not even have courage to talk about. He is no moralist, yet by his sane attitude toward sex, his wholesome conception of purity, his disconceunence both of 'vulgar prudence' and 'categorical imperatives', he [...] rightly, becomes one of the most important moral
Quentin Pan in The China Critic | China Heritage Quarterly

Pan also participated in what Leo Ou-fan Lee has administrator at various universities, many newly established by friends and associates. He taught classes on eugenics, In 1926, upon graduating from Columbia, Pan returned to China and lived in Shanghai until 1934, working as a teacher and northerners. Pan directly inherited this conservative outlook, Sakamoto argues, from Charles Davenport. This psychoanalytic study was submitted as a research assignment for a class at Tsinghua called 'A Bird's Eye View of Five Thousand Year Chinese History' 中國五千年歷史鳥瞰，taught by none other than the famous intellectual Liang Qichao (梁漱溟, 1873-1943). Liang is said to have praised Pan's work highly:

*If you apply the same kind of close and meticulous observation here to all your other studies, you will never go astray. Your crystal-clear reasoning could make you a scientist; your deep sensibilities could make you a literary scholar. I hope you can focus your efforts on one of your interests, and do not allow yourself to become as superficial as I am.*

Pan graduated from Tsinghua and was selected for a scholarship to support his studies in the United States. In 1922, he enrolled in the third year of the biology program at Dartmouth College and skipped to senior year after one semester. He obtained a bachelor's degree and was elected Phi Beta Kappa in 1924. He then enrolled at Columbia University, where studied zoology, palaeontology and heredity, earning a master's degree in 1926. During summer vacations, and in between Dartmouth and Columbia, Pan attended a number of training courses—classes on endocrinology and cellular biology at Carnegie Institute Department of Genetics at Cold Spring Harbor, and on eugenics, anthropology and the sciences of measurement at the Centre for the Study of Eugenics and Eugenics Record Office, directed by Charles Davenport (1866-1944). While in the United States, Pan also dabbled in psychology and forensics, and listened to lectures delivered the New School of Social Research by sociologist W.I. Thomas (1853-1947) and on behaviourism by John B. Watson (1878-1958).

'The Character of Races'

June 1928) Pan discusses the distinction between the people of Northern and Southern China. He quotes approvingly from The World in the Last Twenty Years'留美學生季報, 二十年來世界之優生運動 (1925), both of which appeared in Eastern Miscellany 東方雜誌. All were subsequently republished in Pan's 1928 volume An Overview of Eugenics 優生概論. According to the historian Sakamoto Hiroko 坂本ひろ子, Pan was inspired by the ideas of Francis Galton and particular Charles Davenport.[12] While studying at the Eugenics Record Office he composed a number of state-of-the-field repor eugenics in the United States, including: 'An Overview of Eugenics' 優生概論 (1924) published in The Chinese Student Quarterly 留美學生季報; and 'The Eugenics Problem in China' 中國之優生問題 (1924) and 'The Eugenics Movement Around the World in the Last Twenty Years' 二十年來世界之優生運動 (1925), both of which appeared in Eastern Miscellany 東方雜誌. All were subsequently republished in Pan's 1928 volume An Overview of Eugenics 優生概論.[13]

Broadly speaking, Pan regarded eugenics as a science founded on the genetic and hereditary theories of Gregor Mendel and Francis Galton. It held promise as a 'specialist knowledge aimed at investigating the inheritance of human traits, ar strengths and weaknesses of cultural selection, in order to seek improvements to methods of propagation that would contribute to the progress of humanity'.[14] The goal of eugenics was to increase the population of the middle and uppe middle classes by ensuring that they married suitable partners and produced an adequate number of strong and intellig offspring. As Sakamoto points out, Pan advocated regulating marriage and childbirth to improve the 'racial stock'. He was sceptical about the possibility of advancing the race through social reform or the transformation of the physical environment. The environment mattered insofar as it was an agent of natural selection; famines and diseases helped to eliminate the with inferior genes while the strongest ones survived. Pan believed that traits such as physical strength and intelligence strictly inherent and inherited.[15] For instance, in 'An Anthropological [sic] View of China's Troubles' (The China Critic, 1 June 1928) Pan discusses the distinction between the people of Northern and Southern China. He quotes approvingly from The Character of Races (1928) by Yale geography professor Ellsworth Huntington (1876-1947): 'An investigation durin recent famine made it seem probable that the people of these villages [in the northern Chinese regions] are as a whole subnormal mentally. They are little more than morons apparently'.[16] Pan comments that 'judging from my own observatio this is by no means an 'overdrawn' statement.[17] Even if one were to improve the conditions of life in the northern countryside, to eliminate 'underfeeding and malnutrition', Pan believed it would not improve the mental character of those northerners.[18] Pan directly inherited this conservative outlook, Sakamoto argues, from Charles Davenport.[19]

In 1926, upon graduating from Columbia, Pan returned to China and lived in Shanghai until 1934, working as a teacher administrator at various universities, many newly established by friends and associates.[20] He taught classes on eugevolution, sociology, and subjects such as the 'family problem', 'women problem' and 'racial problem'. Like most Chines intellectuals operating in Shanghai in the late-1920s and early-1930s, Pan also participated in what Leo Ou-fan Lee has...
called the 'business of enlightenment'.[21] In addition to becoming a founding editor of The China Critic, for which he commissioned and wrote book reviews, he served as editor of Light of Learning, the literary supplement of the major newspaper China Times. Pan also joined the editorial board of New Crescent, the mouthpiece of New Crescent Society—a collective of intellectuals that included Xu Zhimo (徐志摩, 1897-1931), Hu Shi (胡适, 1891-1962), Liang Shiqiu (梁實秋, 1903-1987), Wen Yiduo and others. Through their New Crescent Bookstore, Pan published works such as: An extended version of the Feng Xiaoqing study; The Family Problem in China; An Overview of Eugenics; A Comparative Study on the National Characteristics of the Japa. and the Germans; 日本德意志之比較的研究; and Research on the Pedigrees of Chinese Actors. In the early 1930s, he started his own journals Eugenics; 優生; and Huanian, 華年, the latter title an abbreviation of the phrase 'helping the [Chinese] race to reach maturity' (cu [Zhonghua] minzu da chengnian 促[中華]民族達成年).[22] In the early 1930s, he started his own journals Eugenics; 優生; and Huanian, 華年, the latter title an abbreviation of the phrase 'helping the [Chinese] race to reach maturity' (cu [Zhonghua] minzu da chengnian 促[中華]民族達成年).[23] As the historian of medicine Howard Chiang argues, Pan emulated Anglo-American eugenicists in prioritising 'the making of an "eugenic-minded" public' through his publishing and popularisation projects.[24]

After eight years in Shanghai, Pan was invited in 1934 by the chancellor of Tsinghua University, Mei Yiqi (梅贻琦, 1889-1962), to teach at his alma mater. He was appointed Professor of Sociology and later a Dean of Faculty. He wrote works on eugenics and race such as The Characteristics and Hygiene of Nationalities (1937) and produced dizzyingly elaborate genealogical studies, such as: Eminent Lineages of Jiaxing during the Ming and Qing Dynasties 明清兩代嘉興的望族 (completed 1937 and published 1947); Curren Bookhouse's Family Trees of Historical Figures 存人書屋歷人物世系表稿 (1937-1938); and Research on the Pedigrees of Chinese Actors 中國伶人血緣之研究 (1941). In the midst of the Sino-Japanese War, Pan followed the Kuomintang retreat to south-western China and taught the National Southwest United University 西南聯合大學 in Kunming, returning to Tsinghua in 1946 and resuming his professorship as well as serving as University Librarian. During this stint at Tsinghua, he published The Principles of Eugenics 優生原理 (1949), translated foreign works including Friedrich Engels The Origin of the Family, Private Proper and the State (originally published in German in 1884) and parts of Aldous Huxley's Ends and Means (originally publish English in 1937).[25]

From 1952 until his death, Pan was professor at the newly-established Central Institute for Nationalities 中央民族學院 (formerly known as the Minzu University of China 中央民族大學), and researched, among many other subjects, the Chinese Jew, Kaileng, the Tuja, 土家 minority in Hunan, and the ancient Ba 巴 people in the Sichuan region.[26] During the Anti-Right Campaign and the Cultural Revolution, Pan was persecuted, branded a 'Rightist' and an authority of 'bourgeois and reactionary science'. He died of illness in 1967. In the late 1970s and under Deng Xiaoping's regime, Pan was one of the many intellectuals victimised during the preceding decades to 'have their case re-opened' and to be rehabilitated. Hu Yaobang (胡耀邦, 1915-1989), in his capacity as Communist Party General Secretary (1981-1987) and earlier as he the Party Organisation Department (1977-1978)—the body of the Secretariat of the Communist Party's Central Commit responsible for personnel—oversaw the rehabilitation of thousands of intellectuals and scientific experts. One result was proliferation of eulogies of previously condemned thinkers and that paid tribute to their achievements. Conferences and meetings commemorating their birth or death were organised, often by their descendants, and collected or complete we were printed or reprinted by prestigious publishers.[27]

Pan Guangdan's daughters Pan Naigu 潘乃谷, Pan Naimu 潘乃穆 and Pan Naihe 潘乃和—all scholars of anthropology and sociology—began editing their father's published works and surviving manuscripts around 1978. On 10 June 1980, with the blessing of the Communist Party, the Central Institute for Nationalities and the China Democratic League—one of the legal minor political parties in China—co-organised a memorial service on the thirteenth anniversary of Pan's death. In his and Hu Shouwen's 胡壽文 translation of Charles Darwin's The Descent of Man, which was completed in 1966 but not published in Pan's lifetime, was printed by Shanghai's Commercial Press.[28] As Frank Dikötter points out, in the 1980s came to be 'hailed as China's father of eugenics', and his works from the Republican period 'uncritically recommended for reading'.[29] In 1979, Pan's rehabilitation was complete with the release of the fourteen volumes of Collected Works of Pan Guangdan 潘光旦全集, published by Peking University Press. Around 1999 and 2000, a number of edited volumes were published, including Collected Essays Commemorating the Hundred-Year Anniversary of Mister Pan Guangdan's Birth 潘光旦先生百年誕辰紀念文集; Equilibrium and Harmony, Order and Cultivation: Commemorating the Hundred-Year Anniversary of Pan Guangdan's B 中和位育: 潘光旦百年誕辰紀念; and These works contain articles discussing Pan's contribution to eugenics, to research on genealogies and ethnic minorities, and his general significance to the development of the social sciences in China. Anecdotes from contemporaries, reminiscences from famous students such as Fei Xiaotong, and stories from family members praised Pan's personality, scholarly integrity and his body of work.[30] Pan was lauded as a hero, patriot, pion of anthropology and sociology. He should one navigate through the thick
foreign ideas? Is it desirable, or indeed possible, to retain some kind of 'Chinese' identity or 'essence' in the process of becoming modern?

By 'cultural hybrid' Pan means the 'returned student'—a young Chinese person who has returned to China after studying in Europe, America or Japan—much like Pan himself. He writes:

In public life, [the returned student] had always been an important factor—an *a priori* indispensable factor; but it has been asserted that unless he served in the capacity of some strictly technical expert and was thus able to stay on his job for longer periods and with fewer distractions, he has not infrequently heaped confusion upon the state of affairs already advanced in confusion. This has been true in politics, in public finance, in education and in any other field of activity where, according to old Chinese usage, technicality is not such a necessary condition for tolerable success.

While the 'more sedentary' type of returned student might be less likely to take part in public life, for Pan they nevertheless cannot be ignored as they represent a threat. They introduce and disseminate theories of social reform 'often of doubtful value and soundness' and amass a Chinese following to their dubious notions 'ranging from nationalism at one end to anarchism at the other, with all brands of socialism dispersed in between, each championed by its introducer as the nostrum for China's evils'. Pan fiercely criticises this situation as 'appalling', 'immature' and 'reckless'. The problem, as Pan diagnoses it, is that the return student is 'neither sufficiently Chinese nor sufficiently foreign or non-Chinese to stand by himself as harmonious, integrated, self-confident cultural entity. He is a non-descript, like the bat in the old fable. In short, he is a hybrid'. For Pan, hybrids in 1920s China 'violate the principle of continuity and established harmony' because they do not adhere to 'rational discrimination and selection'. What the returned students do is 'to plunge headlong into the process known as Westernisation', and the result is nothing but chaos and confusion. Pan most likely has his associate Hu Shi (1891-1949) in mind—May Fourth intellectuals who have called for 'out-and-out Westernisation'—when he attacks the 'wholesale substitution of cultural modes and patterns' which comes 'at the cost of sacrificing our original individuality altogether'.

To Pan, this is dangerous for two reasons. First, from an anthropological and evolutionary perspective, once a culture achieves some kind of 'individuality', it should be 'left alone to maintain and develop, to the ultimate enrichment of the cultural stuck of the whole of mankind'. More pressingly, Western social and ethical standards and institutions are not necessarily any better than China's. A better model is Japan, which began the process of 'Westernisation' and sent students abroad earlier than China, but nevertheless managed to '[hold] dear certain guiding principles'. Despite Japan's rapid industrial development and its advancement in science and technology, 'the social life of Japan has in its mor fundamental aspects remained what it was before 1868'. Gesturing towards the writings of Nitobe Inazō (新渡戸稲造, 1862-1933) and Dai Jitao (戴季陶, Tai Chi-tao, 1891-1949)—the former's *Bushido: The Soul of Japan* (originally published in English in 1900) and the latter's *On Japan 日本論* (1928)—Pan affirms that 'bushidō is still the national code of conduct Japanese family is as intact as ever; the same old ideals of womanhood hold today as they have held for centuries'.

Japanese women are 'still impermeable to the frivolities of modernity, for instance, voluntary childlessness and hair-bob and in Japanese society 'the social and moral order of the people [are left] practically unmolested'. Pan then draws a somewhat strained analogy between the intellectual climate in 1920s China and the transmission of Buddhism from India. Pan argues that ultimately 'a review of the incidents […] would show us that our ancestors knew better what social and cultural unity and continuity means to national solidarity'.

Pan's conservative position boils down to a variation of 'Chinese (ethical) knowledge as the foundation, Western knowledge (and technology) for practical application' 中學為體, 西學為用. There can be 'no compromise as regard the relative posi of the host and the guest'. Western science, medicine and technology (the guest) can be appropriated to build a more prosperous and efficient nation, but China (the host) must not 'let our land be the dumping ground for all kinds of unground social theories, and ourselves the raw material for false reformers to experiment with'. Pan mocks unnamed 'faddists' w have brought back from the West 'anything ranging from the acknowledgement of a fictitious heavenly father at the exp of the earthly parents who gave birth to him, to the eating of fish on Fridays'. For Pan, 'the movement for sending students abroad is no more than a humiliating concession', and in the 'fundamental matter of knowledge, of thought, of scientific discoveries', Pan chides that the Chinese 'rest satisfied in being second and third rate imitators, and there is absolutely prospect of when our obsequious mimicking is going to cease and a new era of cultural autonomy and independence ushered in'.

What is the solution to this problematic state of affairs then? Pan's answer is simple: studying abroad must cease to be 'cultural ideal of many well-to-do families and aspiring youths', and any student travelling abroad must have some degree of 'intellectual maturity'. Most importantly, all Chinese must adopt a 'more discriminating attitude' in order to guard against assimilation of anything frivolous, superficial, [or] promising to be disruptive of our own social and moral order[. This is particularly crucial in a nut-shell: a discriminating and deliberate thinker whose sensible and realistic proposals are supported by careful and scrupulous research, an immovable rock breaking wave after wave of faddish thinking coming from the West. Pan contrasts himself to radical and iconoclastic hotheads incapable of pinpointing the 'vertex' of social malaises, who
prone to making unsustainable generalisations based on limited evidence and narrower observations, and whose ideali
tional and utopian pronouncements turn out to be 'false intelligence', totally divorced from the political reality in China and utte
unsuited to the in-built traits of the Chinese.

The depth of Pan's own research in some major works is indeed impressive. His genealogical researches from the 1931
for instance, are astonishingly complex and time-consuming projects that demonstrate his mastery of both Chinese 'offi
sources and 'wild' or 'unofficial' histories. He painstakingly tracks the lineages of 'eminent families' 傳族 from the M
and Qing dynasties, constructs family trees of famous political figures from the Three Kingdoms period to the North-Sex
dynasties, and attempts to prove the inheritance of artistic talent by following the pedigrees of Peking Opera performers.
That said, a good deal of Pan's writings—including those in The China Critic—do not seem that different from the sloopp
superficial thinkers he dismisses. Essentially, Pan summons all sorts of 'authoritative sources' for polemical purposes. He
bolsters his opinion on how social life and the political world should be organised with intermittent episodes of 'scientific
argumentation constructed around highly selective citations of Anglo-American literature—Charles A. Ellwood's Sociolo
and Modern Social Problems (1910), Ferdinand Canning Scott Schiller's Eugenics and Politics (1926), and the work of sociologists Ernest Russell Mower and Charles Horton Cooley, to name a few.

Another example of Pan's self-fashioning comes from one of his earliest articles in The China Critic, 'An Anthropological
View on China's Troubles'.[33] It begins with a parody of the typical discussions involving 'professional men' in China:

A: Why is China such an invalid for years?

B: The cause is to be found in the absence of a stable government.

A: But how is it that such a government is not yet formed, we started on the task some two decades ago?

C: I believe it is only because the people are not prepared for it. We need to educate the people first. A
democracy without education is one built on sands.

[…]

B: As most of the gentlemen have spoken, may I come back at this point? Mr E has only thrown all the faults
on others, true to the spirit of our people! But has also mistaken cause for effect and effect for cause. The
absence of a stable government, I insist, is at the root of all evils including foreign aggrandizement, nay, it
invites it.

Pan suggests that these men may have pointed towards the urgent issues facing China—the lack of a unified central
government, poverty, illiteracy and poor educational structures, foreign imperialism and so forth—but their discussions
invariably generate a 'vicious circle'. These men are unable to identify the root of the problem, which is racial degenerat
For Pan, the civil examination 科舉 system, abolished in 1905, used to provide China with 'political and cultural leadersl
and 'insured the survival and advancement of the best bloodlines in the country'. The traditional Chinese family, however,
was 'not only responsible for the stability and order in our social life in the relative absence of legal and religious restrict
but also for the conservation and development of many great families, which represent some of the most valuable strain the race'. Through contact with the West, these 'social forces as institutions lost their hold' and so the 'social and culture agencies' that helped the Chinese to guard against 'adverse natural selection' were removed.

Pan reaches these stark conclusions by appealing to a variety of 'factors': the 'vitality' of the Chinese population; the Ch
race's lower metabolic rate and blood tension; the superiority of the intelligence of the Japanese; the Chinese 'pilegmati
[sic] make-up' and temperament. Throughout Pan gestures towards a hodgepodge of sources: Edward Murray East's
Mankind at the Crossroads (1924); Raymond Pearl's work on the 'vital index'; James Shirley Sweeney's The Natural
Increase of Mankind (1926); Alfred Friedlander on hypotension; William Bateson on the variability of the Chinese race vs
Europeans; Stanley Porteus' Porteus Maze Test; Ellsworth Huntington's The Character of Races (1928); John Morley'
Compromise' (1874); Roland B. Dixon's The Racial History of Man (1923); Griffith Taylor's work on environment and
inheritance, and so forth. This demonstrates Pan's familiarity with American scholarship on racial science. But it also
displays Pan's modus operandi—which is, again, similar to those faddish thinkers he attacks or dismisses: essentially F
driven by a culturally conservative agenda and cherry-picks examples to support his case, presenting complex social
research as entirely self-evident. To state the rather obvious, then, Pan's self-fashioning as a serious, 'calm', academically
minded intellectual is a 'strategy' that he uses to publicise himself in the highly competitive literary field and the market
of ideas in 1920s China.[34] Just as there is capital to be gained by adopting the position of a revolutionary and radical,
is equally capital to be gained by selling oneself as 'moderate' and 'steadfast'.

Confucius, the Socio-Biologist

Quentin Pan's promotion of 'traditional' values can be further seen in the fascinating two-part article 'Socio-biological
Implications of Confucianism', published in two April 1933 issues of The China Critic.[35] This fascinating piece essenti
reworks Confucius as a kind of 'forefather' of socio-biological and eugenic thinking. In this respect, Quentin Pan contra
sharply with other promoters of eugenics, such as Zhou Jianren (周建人, 1888-1984), who argues that ‘traditional value China are entirely incompatible with eugenics and must be superseded by a new ethics.[36] Pointing out that it will be far-fetched to ‘read into the teachings of Confucius and his school any plain and direct injunctions bearing on the proble racial welfare', Quentin Pan nevertheless suggests that Confucianism must be ‘accredited with a good deal of socio-biological common sense', because ‘primitive peoples [took] considerably more care of their racial health than those far advanced in civilisation'.[37] Some of these old mentalities and practices with ‘socio-biological implications' were ‘prese because of their efficacy which the race, in the course of its history, could not fail […] to feel'. Moreover, Pan endeavour show what Confucius did teach and did not teach, contrary to popular belief: ‘much has been unwittingly but wrongly ascribed to Confucius’—a swipe at the late-Qing reformers like Kang Youwei (康有為, 1858-1927) and Tan Sitong (譚嗣同, 1865-1898), who put forward a version of Confucius as a social reformer promoting democracy and equality. In part one ‘Socio-biological Implications of Confucianism', Pan reads *The Analects* for answers to three questions of socio-biologic importance: ‘the goodness or badness of human nature, equality among men, and the efficacious role of environment in progress'.[38]

On human nature, Pan cites two passages:

[Zi Gong] said: ‘The Master's personal displays of his principles and ordinary descriptions of them may be heard. His discourses about man's nature and the way of Heaven cannot be heard'.

子貢曰 夫子之文章 可得而聞也 夫子之言性與天道 不可得而聞也 (公冶長13)

The Master said: ‘By nature, men are nearly alike; [by practice——omitted by Pan], they got to be wide apart’.

子曰 性相近也 習相遠也 (臨賀 2)

The first quotation shows that Confucius was notably silent on the problem of human nature—not a particularly contro interpretation. The second for Pan is ‘just a statement of a common fact—a fact […] of developmental biology based on common sense […] which in and by itself certainly does not imply any moral judgement as to goodness or badness of human nature’. Pan goes on to explain that the doctrine that human nature is essentially good really comes from *Mencius*子, citing the famous passage in which the philosopher Gaozi 告子 engages in a protracted argument with Mencius on nature of human nature. Gaozi flatly states that the appetite for food and sex is the core of human nature, while Mencius rejoins that human nature, which is endowed by heaven, consists of man's capacity to act morally and not of basic, animalistic needs for nourishment or procreation. Pan comments that, with the acceptance of this optimistic view of hum nature as essentially good and moral, ‘there soon came a corresponding growth in our emphasis upon the importance of human will [...] The belief, or make belief, that will power conquers everything is as indispensable a corollary to the doctrine of natural goodness of Mencius as that of absolute surrender to the doctrine of natural depravity, to this day preached by many Christians'.

Moving on to the question of equality, Pan points to the multiple instances when Confucius contrasts the 'superior man' (also translated as 'exemplary person', 'noble man', 'gentleman') and the 'inferior man' 小人 (also 'small and petty perso

[The Master said:] 'There are only the wise of the highest class, and the stupid of the lowest class, who cannot be changed'.

子曰 唯上知與下愚不移 (臨賀3)

[The Master said:] 'To those whose talents are above mediocrity, the highest subjects may be pronounced [Legge: 'announced']. To those who are below mediocrity, the highest subjects may not be pronounced [Legge: 'announced'].

子曰 中人以上 可以語上也 中人以下 不可以語上也 (雍也 21)

[The Master said:] 'The people may be made to follow a path of action, but they may not be made to understand it'.

子曰 民可使由之 不可使知之 (泰伯9)

[Zi Lu] said: 'Does the superior man esteem valour?' The Master answered: 'The superior man holds righteousness to be of the highest importance. A superior man having valour without righteousness will be guilty of insubordination; an inferior man having valour without righteousness will commit robbery'.

子臥曰 君子尚勇乎 子曰 君子義以為上 君子有勇而無義為亂 小人有勇而無義為盜(臨賀23)

The Master, having come to Wu Cheng, heard there the sound of stringed instruments and singing. Well pleased and smiling, he said: 'Why use an ox-knife to kill a fowl?' [Zi You] replied: 'Formerly, Master, I heard you say, "When the superior man is well, he loves men; when an inferior man is well educated, he is easily
Pan thus argues that, in the Confucian scheme, the difference between a junzi and a xiaoren was something 'more than want or possession of a moral and intellectual culture. Education at its best is not only to produce leaders, who will be mindful of the welfare of those under them, but to produce good followers, who will realise their own inferiority in intellect and ability and will be contented with their corresponding positions in the social scale'. Again, the notion of natural equality, I argue, was invented by Mencius.

Thirdly and finally, Pan analyses the role of environment in Confucius' teaching. For Pan, Confucius was a 'great educator' and 'entertained no illusions as to the moulding power of education'. Education, however necessary and powerful, could eradicate those distinctions that nature had made. Pan quotes from the Analects:

[Confucius said:] 'Those who are born with the possession of knowledge are the highest class of men. Those who learn and so readily get possession of knowledge are the next. Those who are dull and stupid, and yet try to learn [Legge: 'yet compass the learning'] are another class next to these. As to those who are dull and stupid and yet do not learn, they are the lowest of the people'.

孔子曰: 生而知之者 上也 學而知之者 次也 困而學之 又其次也 困而不學 民斯為下矣

(Pan's note 9)

Pan again argues that Mencius seemingly reversed Confucius' position, by suggesting that education—or 'proper nurture'—could indeed lead all men to do good. Pan attributes the differences between Confucius and Mencius to their different social backgrounds. Confucius lived in a time when 'the feudal system was still operative, and the social classes under system had not changed to such an extent as to confuse greatly the biological gradations obtaining in relatively primitive communities'. Thus Pan argues that, in Confucius' Spring and Autumn, 'aristocrats and common people were such over so much to shifts of social and economic circumstances as to qualities based on natural endowment'. By the Warring States period, during which Mencius was active, the feudal system was on the verge of collapse and thus class distinctions 'became much more blurred'. Political and economic changes resulted in the 'downward diffusion of much of the blood of higher classes, and the diffusion of that of the lower classes in the opposite direction'. The averaging out of physical and mental abilities in the Chinese population then led Mencius to promote equality—the inherent goodness of all people.

With this astonishing, socio-biological reinterpretation of pre-Qin history, Pan endorses Confucius over Mencius. In part of 'Socio-biological Implications of Confucianism', Pan further elaborates what he thinks is the underlying principle in Confucius' philosophy—'the principle of differentiationism'—from which develops 'the system of gradation and selection of able and intelligent men by the government—a system which had always proved a source of national strength'. He quotes from the Doctrine of the Mean:

Benevolence is the characteristic element of humanity, and the greatest exercise of it is in loving one's relatives. Righteousness is the accordance of actions with what is fitting and proper, and the greatest exercise of it is in honouring the worthy. The decreasing measures of love due to relatives, and the gradations in honour due to the worthy, are produced by the principle of propriety.

仁者人也 親親為大 義者宜也 尊賢為大 親親之殺 尊賢之等 禮所生也 (中庸 20)

By means of the ceremonies in the ancestral temple, the [royal—omitted by Pan] people distinguished their kin according to their order of descent. By ordering the parties present according to their rank, they distinguished the more noble and the less. By the arrangement of the services, they made a distinction of talents and worth. In the ceremony of the general pledging, the inferiors presented the cup to their superiors, and thus something was given to the lowest to do. At the concluding feast, places were given according to the hair, and thus was made the distinction in age.

宗廟之禮 所以序昭穆也 序爵 所以辨貴賤也 序事 所以辨賢也 旅酬下為上 所以逮賤也 燕毛 所以序齒也 (中庸 19)

Pan argues that the various references in Confucian texts to differentiation—according to blood relation, seniority, office position, personal character and ability—point to an important injunction: 'it is the primary duty of the state, then repre-by the ruler and the chief minister, to pick up and properly place in office individuals of great ability and virtue, or to pay honour and respect to them without burdening them with any official duty'. This Pan suggests eventually evolved into th
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development: arrives at the conclusion that ‘speaking generally, the higher is a man's educational attainment, greater importance does he attach to the health of the nation, race, and ultimately all humankind.

From this rosy portrayal of the civil examination system and the historic domination of imperial courts by prominent families, Pan moves on to the Chinese family, describing it as the ‘very basis of social and national solidarity’. The 'racial significance of the family system is 'yet to be fully grasped by many enthusiastic aspirants to individualism and freedom among [the] younger generation'. For Pan, features of the Chinese family include: ‘educational influences embodying as they do the religious veneration of deceased forebears, filial piety to the living, the premium put upon age and experience, the ideal marriage perfectly unintelligible to an average Westerner, the almost duty-bound bearing and rearing of the young within ancestral health’. And it is precisely these features, which Pan argues stems directly from Confucius, that anticipate the prescriptions of Euro-American eugenics movements. So Confucianism (or the ‘orthodox’ Confucius from The Analects), associo-biology avant la lettre, is now properly vindicated by Western racial science (or at least shown to be absolutely compatible with it). Confucius is now the man whom the entire modern world needs. For Pan it is actually the destructive Chinese civil examination system and the disruption of family organisation, along with the propagation of (Western) sentimentalism—a form of diffused and undifferential affection' that the Confucian thinkers warned against—that intensifies social disintegration and thus national decline. Reversing the conventional wisdom of other May Fourth New Culture intellectuals—that the civil examination and the organisation of the traditional family in China hindered progress and modernisation—Pan argues that they were the mechanism for the selection of the 'fit' among the population and the means to propagate strength and talent.

'Reverse Sour-grapes' and 'Racial Deserters'

The third and final set of The China Critic articles that I discuss here sheds more light on Pan's disdain for Western 'sentimentalism', 'romanticism' and 'individualism', and his desire to promote a kind of 'socio-biological Confucianism' that resurrects and recasts traditional Chinese values in the service of eugenics.

The two essays concern marriage and birth control. In 'Notes on Modern Marriage', published in the 28 January 1929 issue of The China Critic, Pan expresses his wish to 're-install in place' an 'age-old institution' by cultivating a 'greater biological as well as sociological appreciation' of marriage.[40] For Pan, the object of marriage is straightforward. It provides a social acceptable outlet or suitable setting for one of the major instincts of human beings—sexual satisfaction. Moreover, the function of marriage is for him the production and protection of offspring. Pan argues that with the advancement of culture and the increase in importance in 'individuals', a 'new and secondary function' is attached to marriage, particularly in Western societies—romance and companionship. In Europe and America, this secondary function, Pan suggests, has to overshadow the primary aim of sex and reproduction. Two other Western developments are, first 'Platonic love'—whi according to Pan involves the dissociation of sexual satisfaction and romantic love, and second the separation of sexual satisfaction and reproduction which is enabled by contraception. Both of these are for Pan abnormal and entirely detrim ent to the health of the nation, race, and ultimately all humankind.

In 'Oriental societies' like China, Pan argues that there is an additional, unique function to marriage—marriage is 'contrary to the primary aim of sex and reproduction. Two other Western developments are, first 'Platonic love'—which according to Pan involves the dissociation of sexual satisfaction and romantic love, and second the separation of sexual satisfaction and reproduction which is enabled by contraception. Both of these are for Pan abnormal and entirely detrimental to the health of the nation, race, and ultimately all humankind.

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Pan cites a survey he carried out in 1927 through Light of Learning, the supplement of the Shanghai-based China Times, or 'filial piety'. The bearing of offspring is the most important tribute to a family's elders and deceased ancestors, as in Mencius' slogan: 'of the three unfilial acts, providing heir is the worst’. Until the early twentieth century, Pan argues, the Chinese were only really cognisant of three aspects of marriage—sexual gratification, reproduction, and service to parents and family—and not romantic love the influx of ideas from Europe and America, however, Pan claims that the situation has become one of utter confusion. Young generation of Chinese men and women, especially those who 'lend an ear to false social prophets', has become loss to pin properly' the functions and objectives of marriage.

Western ideas and standards including those relative to marriage have indeed come in like tides and people are simply wafted in them. Many progressive thinkers of the day have endeavoured to show that a whole-hearted acceptance of them will be profitable. Perhaps they are right. But upon closer examination, the position of these thinkers is really one of rationalisation, it is the reverse of the one presented by the
The Chinese youths, because they are ‘misled’ by the ‘false intelligence’ from those ‘false prophets’, have found themselves in a predicament: maintaining that love and individual happiness must be the basis of a true and enduring marriage, the ‘willing to sacrifice anything else for which the institution is also intended’. Pan thinks that romantic love really belongs to a category of unknowns and unknowables, and that it is ridiculous for love to be exalted. The Chinese youths have even forgotten that, ‘had their parents come under the influence of the same philosophy [of individualism and the pleasure principle], and had the means to indulge and live out this kind of selfish mentality, ‘the world would have waited in vain’ graced by their presence’. Pan thus states that ‘the primary functions of marriage are best left to keep their primary place and that it is ‘enlightened people’—presumably people like Pan himself—who have come to realise that the bearing and rearing of healthy and intelligent children will always remain the most important function of marriage. If only the ‘average man’ can understand this, and if only everyone ‘lives by mere instincts’ or ‘lives by intelligent guidance’, then there will be ‘really little need for the biologist and eugenicist to raise the alarm that the human racial heritage is at stake’!

In a 1935 *The China Critic* article, ‘Eugenics and Birth Regulation’, Pan’s tone is even more strident. He begins by attacking the use of the terms ‘birth control’ and ‘birth limitation’, terms that for Pan suggest that the ‘curtailment of births is almost necessary under all circumstances’.[43] Rather Pan proposes that, for the sake of racial welfare, the term ‘birth regulation’ should be adopted and put into circulation, for there are ‘situations and cases in which limitation is not only unnecessary, altogether uncalled for’. Pan criticises those involved in the birth control movement for not making clear that ‘control implies adjustment and entails limitation as well as augmentation, restraint as well as release’.

The problem is the ‘abuse’ of contraceptive methods widespread around the world. In the West the ‘unhappy’ results of the indiscriminate use of contraception can already be seen. This is due to two problematic philosophies: ‘individualism on the part of those who are personally using the methods’ and ‘the mania for social service on the part of others who have been beguiled into thinking that a real panacea has been found to purge mankind of all its social ills’. The combination of these two modes thinking has led to contraception becoming the ‘special prerogative of a relatively few who are in the position to acquire knowledge of their use and to realise the immediate conveniences that such use confers’. The result, for Pan, is nothing short of disastrous: the steady decline of the birth rate of the educated classes until the trend becomes ‘decidedly dysgenic’—a truly ‘undesirable’ state of affairs that Pan says has already been acknowledged by the progressive sociologist Edward Alsworth Ross (1866-1951) in the United States and by philosopher Bertrand Russell in Britain. The only way to solve this debacle in Europe and America is to make contraceptive knowledge as widely available as possible, and to make contraceptive technologies cheaper and more effective—to counterbalance the elimination of ‘superior elements’ in a given population by reducing more of the ‘inferior elements’.

Fortunately, the situation in China is not as hopeless as the West, as the birth control movement is still in its infancy. Nevertheless a ‘small class of people who, by virtue of their better social and economic position and greater educational advantages, are making free use of contraceptive knowledge and are unduly limiting the size of their families’. Although individually, these people might achieve ‘great fame and success’ by having a smaller family, and socially, they might be ‘doing a great deal of good’, in racial terms they are ‘nothing short of destroyers’. The answer is the implementation of, first and foremost, ‘selective ministration’—families in which mothers are of ill health will be ‘individually ministered to’—and the Chinese population has developed a greater level of education, a better public health system, then more general dissemination of birth control can follow.

**‘Like Hercules, Facing a Crossroad’**

To conclude, I want to return to the quotation at the beginning of this study: why did Pan believe that China’s young urban generation in the early twentieth century was ‘like Hercules, facing a crossroad’?[44] This is because the ‘newer points of view’ pulled these young men and women in one direction, while older ideas and ideals continued to assert powerful influences on the way that they saw the world, their meaning in life, their relationships with others. They were unable to ‘reach a decision’, to form a harmonious worldview, to balance these forces, to pick their path. Zhou Zuoren (周作人, 1885-1967), a literary critic and the younger brother of Lu Xun (鲁迅), Zhou Shuren (周树人, 1881-1936), and a contemporary of Pan’s, likened this situation, this ‘extreme fluctuation and confusion in thought’, to being like in ‘a village grocery store’: I could one reconcile everything from Tolstoy’s Christian anarchism, Nietzsche’s Übermensch, communism, eugenics, Buddhism, Confucianism, Daoism, Western science and medicine?[45] Or, to move from such big ideas to the more pragmatic concerns of young Chinese men and women: How would one know whether one ought to have more or fewer children, when to practise birth control, how to choose the right mate, determine the rules of engagement between men and women, or figure out the meaning of marriage? How to sort out this mess? What should be kept, discarded, or combine

Pan offered a fixed point: ‘this was what had to be done, this was what was good, follow me—in the uncertainty in which all find yourselves, here is the fixed point, here where I am’. He wrote with authority and conviction, his proposals fashioned to be modest and moderate, sensitive to Chinese sensibilities yet based on scientific evidence. Pan gave the simplest of all responses to the problem of confronting and negotiating with ‘modernity’—he argued that, essentially, the Chinese had been right all along. The Chinese had nothing to worry about, because they had always already done the right thing.
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Needham Research Institute. The author is also affiliated with the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, and the modern eugenic and racial theories.

trace out a longer genealogy of the uses of 'Confucius', the manufacturing of 'Chineseness', and the complex politics of development, and education policies for the 'Chinese race'. From Quentin Pan's articles from Confucius' as wisdom for modern men and women around the world, as well as legitimation of the political regime, economic remains an important point of reference for the continuous project of reviving and repackaging multiple versions of 'fundamentally Chinese' as Confucianism with 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics'. In other words, Quentin Pan's Confucianism with Communist Party policies favourable to Hu Jintao's Development Perspective'.

Quentin Pan's 'followed their instincts' and did the right things. Quentin Pan at the crossroads: What did he do? He chose a path to the urban, wealthy elite who identified with more traditional, 'Chinese', 'Confucian' values. But his boisterousness also betrays anxiety and nostalgia for an epoch that may have never really existed, a melancholy invention of a time when Chinese 'longed for the instincts' and did the right things. Quentin Pan at the crossroads: What did he do? He chose a path to the West, glancing backwards, all the while insisting that the East had been walking down that path all along. In that, Pan's agenda is similar to other editor-contributors of The China Critic, such as Lin Yutang (林語堂, 1895-1976), who were keen to reviving classical thought and in establishing foreign ideas as 'old news from afar', to prove that everything wise and useful to the modern world was most likely already said by a philosopher-sage in China centuries if not millennia ago.

Finally, I want to emphasise that Pan's significance was far more than just a symbol of curious or outmoded ideas. He is very much read in China; a cursory search reveals a plethora of recent academic work engaging seriously with his diverse ideas and their applications to contemporary Chinese society. Pan's putative conversion from 'bourgeois scientist' to 'socialist-capitalist prophet' is complete. These studies of point out his fusion of Confucian 'humanism' 文人主義 and population science, as well as his emphasis on the importance of the cultivation of the Chinese population's 'quality' 素質 and the 'harmonisation' 和諧 of man and nature.[47] The keyword that these authors use is weiyu 位育 (literally, 'order cultivation')—Quentin Pan's preferred translation of 'adaptation' and 'adjustment'.[48] Pan adopted weiyu 位育 from a pī in the Doctrine of the Mean 中庸:

Let the states of equilibrium and harmony exist in perfection, and a happy order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.

致中和，天地位焉，萬物育焉 (中庸 1, James Legge's translation)

For instance, Li Yangqiu 李艷秋, a sociologist from Anhui Normal University 安徽師範大學, argues for a combination of Quentin Pan's Confucianism with Communist Party policies favouring 'Harmonious Society' 和諧社會 and the 'Scientific Development Perspective' 科學發展觀. Pan's 'scientific' theories, Li argues, must be revisited as they provide the verific for and precedence to Hu Jintao's 胡錦濤 political ideology.[49] Similar, Li Guojuan 李國娟, an associate professor at the Shanghai Institute of Technology 上海應用技術學院, pinpoints Pan as the pioneer who successfully reconciled something 'fundamentally Chinese' as Confucianism with 'Socialism with Chinese Characteristics' [50] In other words, Quentin Pan remains an important point of reference for the continuous project of reviving and repackaging multiple versions of Confucius' as wisdom for modern men and women around the world, as well as legitimation of the political regime, ecor development, and education policies for the 'Chinese race'. From Quentin Pan's articles from The China Critic then, we trace out a longer genealogy of the uses of 'Confucius', the manufacturing of 'Chineseness', and the complex politics of modern eugenic and racial theories.

The author is also affiliated with the Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge, and the Needham Research Institute.
Notes:

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[5] Note that '卜' is an older character for '上'; the name of the Society is intended as a learned joke.


[17] Ibid., p.54.

[18] Ibid., p.55.


[20] Pan taught at the following institutions: Wusong National University of Political Science 吳淞國立政治大學; Jinan University 青島大學, which was based in Shanghai in the late-1920s; Dongwu University 東吳大學, the precursor of Sun Yat-sen University; Daxia University 大夏大學, dissolved in 1951; Guanghua University 光華大學; China Public College 中國公學; Pan also briefly lectured at Fudan University 復旦大學 and the University of Shanghai 漢江大學. See Pan Naimu 潘乃穆 *Chronology of the Life and Work of Pan Guangdan*, in *PGDWJ*, vol.11, pp.674-739 at pp.678-712.

[21] Lee's use of the term appears in the context of the involvement of Shanghai's Commercial Press in the making of modern Chinese nationalism, and more generally the Shanghai treatise-port print culture that was integral to the disemprise of self-consciously modern literary, philosophical, political and scientific discourses throughout the Republican period. S

[22] All of which were reprinted in *PGDWJ*, vol.1.


[25] *The Characteristics and Hygiene of Nationalities*, reprinted in *PGDWJ*, vol.3, pp.1-247; *Eminent Lineages of Jiaxing during the Ming and Qing Dynasties in PGDWJ*, vol.3, pp.249-408; *Corden Bookhouse’s Family Trees of Historical Figu PGDWJ*, vol.4 (entire volume); *Research on the Pedigrees of Chinese Actors in PGDWJ*, vol.2, pp.73-303; *The Principal Eugenics in PGDWJ*, vol.6, pp.217-461; Engels and Huxley translations in *PGDWJ*, vol.13, pp.1-81 and 83-470 respect


[33] For the source of subsequent direct quotations and paraphrases, see Quentin Pan, 'An Anthropological [sic] View or China's Troubles' in *The China Critic* 1 (June 14 1928): 53-56.


[35] Cheryl Barkey has discussed Pan Guangdan and Confucius in an unpublished paper entitled "Superior Birth": Pan Guangdan and Eugenics as Confucian Family Values', which was presented at the Association of Asian Studies (AAS) meeting at Honolulu in 1996, in a panel on 'Paradoxes of Modernity: Gender, Morality, and Health in Republican China'. Unfortunately at the time of writing of this article, I have not been able to consult Barkey's paper.


[38] Pan quotes from James Legge's translation of The Analects, with some minor modifications.

[39] James Legge's translation: 'The Master, having come to Wu Cheng, heard there the sound of stringed instruments singing. Well pleased and smiling, he said: "Why use an ox-knife to kill a fowl?" Zi You replied: "Formerly, Master, I hear say, 'When the man of high station is well instructed, he loves men; when a man of low station is well instructed, he is e ruled." The Master said: "My disciples, Zi You's words are right. What I said was only in sport".'

[40] For the source of subsequent direct quotations and paraphrases, see Quentin Pan, 'Notes on Modern Marriage' in China Critic 2 (28 February 1929), pp.169-172.

[41] Pan at that time served as the editor of 'Light of Learning'. For a detailed account of this survey, its results and Pan Guangdan's analysis, see Pan Guangdan, The Family Problem in China 中國之家庭問題, Shanghai: Xinyue Shudian, 1 reprinted in PGDWJ, vol.2, pp.67-241.

[42] Quotations here and below are from Pan, 'Notes on Modern Marriage', p.170.

[43] For the source of subsequent direct quotations and paraphrases, see Quentin Pan, 'Eugenics and Birth Regulation The China Critic (18 April 1935): 57-59.


[48] Pan rejected the more common translation for 'adaptation' (shiying 适应, a return graphic loan from Japanese), because he felt that it was too 'passive'. See the discussion of weiyyu "位育" in Pan Naigu 潘乃谷, 'Pan Guangdan on "weiyyu" 潘光旦先生百年誕辰紀念文集, Beijing: Zhongyang Minzu Daxue Chubanshe 2000, pp.233-256. On Fei Xiaotong's endorsement see, from the same volume, Fei Xiaotong 費孝通, 'Thinking About Teacher Pan's Theory of Weiyyu' 潘老師的位育論, pp.1-3.

[49] Li Yanqiu 李艷秋, 'Pan Guangdan's "Weiyyu" Theory and the Construction of a Harmonious Society' 潘光旦的 "位育"
構建和諧社會, Journal of Huangshan University, 黃山學院學報, 6 (2007): 61-64