

**Yang Yinyu 1884-1938:  
China's First Female University President  
and the Educational Reforms in Her Era**

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## Abstract

This thesis recreates the life and world of a misinterpreted female educator, Yang Yinyu, who is portrayed as a counter-revolutionary villain in contemporary Chinese middle-school textbooks. Little is known about this individual except that she was the target of a radical student movement that aimed to expel her from her position as the president of Beijing Teachers University for Women in 1925. Despite being the first female university president in Chinese history, Yang was accused by the student protesters of being ‘feudal’ and ‘conservative’. The influential left-wing writer Lu Xun, then a professor at the university, criticised Yang as a ‘ruthless mother-in-law’ and supported the students’ violent protest. As Lu was promoted by the Chinese Communist Party as a ‘spiritual leader’ after 1949, his critiques shaped historians’ understanding of the anti-Yang movement and its role in the history of the Republic, in both Chinese and Western academia.

This thesis deconstructs this historical myth-making. By exploring the scattered materials left by Yang in the cities in which she lived, across China, Japan, and the US, it puts the pieces of her world together. It argues that Yang was a dedicated educator, who emphasised both modern pedagogies and moral education. Her goal in creating a national university for teacher training was overshadowed by student radicalism and political struggles in the anti-Yang movement. Furthermore, this journey to reappraise Yang’s life on her own terms provides us with a microscopic perspective to understand the less-explored areas in early-twentieth-century educational reforms: the roles of the earliest professional educators whose efforts lay the foundation for the meaning of modern education we perceive today. The degree of educators’ involvement or opposition to radical politics should not be the sole standard used in assessing their lives and contributions.

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## **Declaration**

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

## Introduction

In March 1924, Yang Yinyu (楊蔭榆, 1884-1938), aged forty, was nominated by the Ministry of Education of the Republic of China as the president of Beijing Teachers College for Women (*Beijing nüzi gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 北京女子師範學校). Originally built by the Qing court in 1908 as the first training school for female teachers, the school had been upgraded several times during the 1910s by the Ministry into a college-level academy. After Yang took the role, she spent half a year working to promote the college into a university, which finally came into being as Beijing Teachers University for Women (*Beijing nüzi shifan daxue* 國立北京女子師範大學) in September 1924.<sup>1</sup> It was now the highest, and the only, national university for women in Republican China. As the first female president of this important university, and as the person who successfully turned it into a national university, Yang's contribution was undoubtedly epoch-making.

Merely two months after the establishment of the new university, however, some students began to protest against Yang because she dismissed three students who were absent for an extended period due to participation in political demonstrations. The protest soon evolved into a large-scale anti-Yang movement called Movement to Expel Yang (*qu Yang yundong* 驅楊運動) in the university. In mid-1925, the Student Self-governing Society (*xuesheng zizhi hui* 學生自治會), which was led by Xu Guangping (許廣平, 1898-1968) and other five students, called for all students and staff to expel

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<sup>1</sup> “Jiaobu pinren Yang Yinyu wei benxiao xiaozhang ling [Educational Decree of Nominating Yang Yinyu as the University President],” *Peking National Teachers College for Women Weekly*, no. 74, (September 7, 1924): 1. In the altogether 112 issues of the university bulletins, the first 73 issues were under the name *Peking Teachers College for Women Weekly* (hereafter PTCWW), and the latter 39 issues after the upgrade were renamed as *Peking National Teachers College for Women Weekly* (hereafter PNTCWW).

Teachers schools were called ‘normal schools’ during late nineteenth and early twentieth century in the US and China, and the word ‘normal’ was derived from Latin word ‘Norma’, which meant ‘exemplary role’. The term ‘normal schools’, though is not often used in the Western world nowadays, is still common in China, so Beijing Teachers University for Women is often translated as Beijing Women’s Normal University in China today.

Yang, accusing her of being ‘feudal’ and ‘arbitrary’. Yang and the university board finally decided to dismiss these student leaders. Among them was a student named Liu Hezhen (劉和珍, 1904-1926), who was shot dead during the police suppression in an anti-government demonstration in March 1926.

After the police suppression, which was called March Eighteenth Tragedy (*sanyiba can'an*), Lu Xun (魯迅, 1881-1936), then a staff member of the university and a supporter of Xu Guangping and the radical students in the anti-Yang movement, wrote an essay *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* (*Ji'nian Liu Hezhen Jun* 紀念劉和珍君), in order to lament and eulogise his student. In the essay, Lu Xun called the day of suppression ‘the darkest day in Republican history’. He praised Liu Hezhen as a ‘true fighter’ and condemned Yang Yinyu’s decision to dismiss her in the previous year.<sup>2</sup> As Lu Xun was promoted by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as a national ‘spiritual leader’ (*jingshen lingxiu* 精神領袖) in the People’s Republic of China after 1949, many of his essays and novels have been included in middle school textbooks, among which *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* has featured prominently. Since the late 1950s, it has been a compulsory article in the Standard Textbook of Chinese Literature (*yuwen* 語文) in middle schools across China till today.

Thus, for decades, Yang Yinyu, despite being the first female university president, has been known to Chinese people simply as a negative example. Generations of Chinese students have learned about this person in middle school classrooms as an ‘arbitrary conservative who clung to the corrupted Republican warlords.’<sup>3</sup> Similar to many negative characters created by Lu Xun in his novels such as Ah Q (阿Q) and Kong Yiji (孔乙己) that are taught in schools, Yang Yinyu became more of a

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<sup>2</sup> Lu Xun, “Jinian Liu Hezhen jun [In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen],” *Yu si* [*Literary Threads*], no. 74 (1926): 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> “Jinian Liu Hezhen Jun [In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen],” *Putong gaozhong kechen biao zhun shiyan jiaokeshu, Yuwen, Bixiu 1* [*The Standard Textbook of High School, Chinese Literature, Compulsory 1*] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe [Peoples’ Education Press], 2007).

stereotype than a historical figure for most Chinese people, a character tainted with the ‘darkness of Republican warlords’ and is portrayed as being a representative of ‘feudalism and imperialism’.<sup>4</sup> In both Chinese and Western academia, Lu Xun’s attitude towards Yang and the words of the student leader Xu Guangping, who later became Lu Xun’s second wife, have been accepted and adopted by historians, and the anti-Yang student movement is used as a typical case study when discussing the development of social revolution and feminist movements of the era. Chinese historian Chen Shuyu, for example, writes in his book *Lu Xun and the Student Movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women* that the anti-Yang movement was ‘a battle between the revolutionary intellectuals and students against the Beiyang warlord government and its agent in academia’. Lu Xun’s attack on Yang Yinyu during the student movement as well as March Eighteenth Tragedy was ‘an epitome between brightness and darkness, right and wrong, anti-Confucian and pro-Confucian.’<sup>5</sup> In historian Xinyu Ma’s recent book on Chinese feminism published in the US, which draws on the works of Lu Xun, Ma praised the anti-Yang movement as a ‘glorious victory’, writing that ‘the progressive students protected women’s education by fighting against the conservative president’.<sup>6</sup>

Yang Yinyu is also known because of her relationship to other prominent family members: Yang Yinhang (楊蔭杭, 1878-1945), one of the earliest anti-Qing activists and a modern lawyer in the Republican era; and his daughter Yang Jiang (楊絳, 1911-2016), who later became China’s most renowned female writer and translator because of her translations of the Spanish literature work *Don Quixote de la Mancha* and her memoirs about the Cultural Revolution (*wenhua dageming* 文化大革命). In 1979, Yang Jiang was invited by Modern History Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social

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<sup>4</sup> Ah Q is the main character in Lu Xun’s vernacular novel *The True Story of Ah Q*, who always regards every defeat as a victory. Kong Yijing, as a character in *The Call to Arms*, is a frustrated gentry scholar but unwilling to earn a living by labour. Lu Xun used these two figures to symbolise the national character of Chinese people at the time. Lu Xun, ed. by Gladys Yang, *Silent China: Selected Works of Lu Xun* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973).

<sup>5</sup> Chen Shuyu, *Lu Xun yu nüshida xuesheng yundong [Lu Xun and the Student Movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women]* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe [Beijing People’s Press], 1978), 1.

<sup>6</sup> Yuxin Ma, *Women Journalists and Feminism in China, 1898-1937* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2010), 207.



Science to write some materials about her father, as part of a project compiling archival collections on early Chinese revolutionaries. Besides, the researchers of the Institute also asked Yang Jiang to provide some details of her aunt Yang Yinyu, writing ‘we want to know the life of Yang Yinyu as well. Many people only know her in the student movement of 1925, but not many know her heroic death in 1938.’<sup>7</sup> In the essay, Yang Jiang confirmed that Yang Yinyu had been divorced at a young age, and she was finally killed by Japanese soldiers on the first day of 1938 while protecting local people when the Second Sino-Japanese War raged in Suzhou. Yang Jiang provided some details of Yang Yinyu’s life after 1926, after she had failed in Beijing and returned to Suzhou to stay with her brother’s family. According to her, Yang Yinyu was ‘lonely, eccentric’, and especially after 1926 she had ‘just a broken heart’. In responding to the researchers’ focus on the anti-Yang movement, Yang Jiang commented that, ‘she stayed abroad and studied for many years, thus she did not see the revolutionary tide in China at that time, she could not understand the political trend, nor did she understand her own position at the time.’<sup>8</sup> However, Yang Jiang herself did not know that her aunt Yang Yinyu made the college into a national university before the student movement started, as she admitted in the memoir essay that ‘I am not clear about my aunt’s previous activities and experiences in Beijing Teachers University for Women.’<sup>9</sup>

After Yang Jiang’s essay was published, Chinese historians begin to mourn Yang Yinyu’s heroic death, and start to re-examine this historical figure, but the research on her relied heavily on works of Lu Xun and Yang Jiang’s narrative because of very limited sources. The two issues of the student movement and her death dominate historical writing about Yang Yinyu, and historians such as Gao Yungui and Yang Xuegong have largely reached the consensus position that although Yang Yinyu

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<sup>7</sup> Yang Jiang, *Huiyi liangpian [Two Pieces of Memoir Articles]* (Hunan: Hunan renmin chubanshe [Hunan People’s Press], 1986), 70.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 95.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 70.

‘made the mistake’ of being anti-revolutionary in the 1920s, her patriotism in death was a virtue.<sup>10</sup> From 2014, due to the sustained dominance of Lu Xun’s discourse, Lu Jiande, a scholar of Chinese Academy of Social Science advocated to ‘restore Yang Yinyu’s reputation’, and historian Lou Aofei also argues that historians should ‘listen to Yang Yinyu’s own voice’.<sup>11</sup> Their research articles contribute to reexaminations of the political entanglements in the anti-Yang student movement, but Yang Yinyu’s voice remains limited to one announcement that she made in 1925.<sup>12</sup> Chen Shuyu soon criticised Lu Jiande for having ‘defamed Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, and distorted the historical truth’.<sup>13</sup> By using Lu and Xu’s words, Chen insists that these students were the ‘cadres of the feminist movement because Lu Xun urged them to fight with the revolutionary spirit and pursue women’s independence’ while Yang Yinyu was opposed by them because of her ‘own problems’ of being a ‘feudal patriarchal educator.’<sup>14</sup>

Therefore, this thesis responds to this current debate on Yang Yinyu and the anti-Yang student movement, and provides the first and only in-depth biographical research on this figure. The contribution of this biographical study of Yang Yinyu is twofold. First, it reappraises the dominant historical interpretation on this historical figure, puts her back to her own era, and recreates the environment that Yang was living in to understand and rehabilitate her educational ideas and personal

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<sup>10</sup> Gao Yungui, “Zhongguo lishishang diyiwei nüxing daxue xiaozhang Yang Yinyu [The First Female University President in Chinese History Yang Yinyu],” *Dang’an shikong (Archives Space)*, no.3, (2004): 10-12; Yang Xuegong, “Shishi feifei Yang Yinyu [Right and Wrong about Yang Yinyu],” *Wenshi Jinghua [Essence of Literature and History]* 3, (2006): 45; Wang Feng’e and Liu Yuan, “Zhongguo shouwei daxue nü xiaozhang Yang Yinyu [China’s First Female University President Yang Yinyu],” *Shenyang shifan daxue xuebao [Journal of Shenyang Teacherss University]* 11, no.2, (2017): 125-128.

<sup>11</sup> Lu Jiande, “Muqin, nü xiaozhang, wenzui xue—guanyu Yang Yinyu shijian de zaisikao [Mother, Female University President, and the Skills of Condemning—Rethinking the Anti-Yang Student Movement],” *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan [Modern Chinese Literature Studies]*, no.8, (2014): 23-45; Lou Aofei, “Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nüshida fengchao [A Revisit to Yang Yinyu and the Student Movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women],” *Jiaoyu xuebao (Journal of Educational Studies)* 11, no.2, (April, 2015): 104-115.

<sup>12</sup> Yang Yinyu, “Dui benxiao baolie xuesheng zhi ganyan [Words to the Violent Students],” *PNTCWW*, no.108. (May 24, 1925): 1.

<sup>13</sup> Chen Shuyu, “Yipian shashang jianta de wenzhang [An Unreliable Article],” *Zhonghua dushu bao [Chinese Reading]*, (April 15, 2015): 3.

<sup>14</sup> Chen Shuyu, “Nüshida shisheng yuanhe fandui Yang Yinyu [Why the students in Beijing Teachers University for Women Protested Against Yang],” *Zhonghua dushubao [Chinese Reading]*, (July 8, 2015): 31-34.

struggles. Second, the life and ideas of Yang Yinyu in turn brings us to a less explored area in current literature of China's modern educational reforms—the formation of the first generation of professional educators (*jiaoyujia* 教育家/*jiaoyu gongzuozhe* 教育工作者) in the early twentieth century and their emphasis in both modern pedagogies and moral education (*daode jiaoyu* 道德教育). In 1924, at an assembly meeting when Yang and her students were discussing 'how to become a good person', they reached a consensus that 'a good person should be good in character, knowledge, and morality'.<sup>15</sup> How can we understand Yang Yinyu's emphasis on 'character, knowledge and morality'?

From the perspective of Xu Guangping and student activists, Yang's claims represented her 'feudalism' and 'conservativeness'. This interpretation has been adopted by most historians to defend the legitimacy of this student movement and as ultimate evidence to prove Yang as a 'anti-revolutionary'.<sup>16</sup> However, through reexamining Yang Yinyu's claims on her own terms, this thesis argues that Yang Yinyu's ideas were not simply 'feudal' claims but subjected to the nature of the university as a crucial national school for teacher training and the professionalisation of modern teachers and educators at the turn of the twentieth century. As a professional educator, Yang Yinyu possessed progressive ideas relative to mainstream society, including a child-centred teaching pedagogy, women's physical education, gender equality and mass education. At the same time, she emphasised moral education and believed that schools and teachers should take social responsibilities in society. Compared with the historical framework that views Yang through a teleological lens of revolution, this thesis restores Yang Yinyu as a modern educator, whose ideas were deeply embedded in the educational reforms in her era. This thesis also argues that the anti-Yang movement was generated out of a rise of individualism rather than republicanism or feminism as most current

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<sup>15</sup> 'Renge hao, xuwen hao, daode hao 人格好, 學問好, 道德好.' Yang Yinyu, "What is A Good Person [Zuo haoren yingdang zenyang]," *Picai zazhi [Talent Journal]*, no. 3, (1924): 8-10.

<sup>16</sup> Chen, "Nüshida shisheng yuanhe fandui Yang Yinyu", 33. Chen uses Xu Guangping's accusation to prove Yang's 'conservativeness' and argues that it was Yang's own fault that led to the anti-Yang movement.

scholarship interprets. It was by nature a political conflict and Lu Xun's unilateral criticism of Yang Yinyu during the student movement was intertwined with the political struggles at the era as well as his own personal relationship with Xu Guangping. Thus, Yang Yinyu should not be understood merely from her opponents' perspective.

Yang Yinyu's own path towards becoming the first female university president in Chinese modern history provides us with valuable ingredients to examine an educator's vicissitude in early-twentieth-century educational reforms when the meaning of 'modern education' was still under exploration. During the five decades from the 1880s to 1930s when Yang Yinyu lived, China witnessed an unprecedented period of educational modernisation, which was accompanied by political turmoil due to the fall of the Qing dynasty and the establishment of the new Republic of China. From the late 1890s, Qing reformers began to conduct educational reforms, which led to a new national school system *Renyin-Guimao* (1902/1903 *renyin guimao zhidu* 壬寅癸卯制度) in 1903 and the abolishment of the *Keju* System (*keju zhidu* 科舉制度), also named Civil Service Examinations, in 1905. After the end of this ancient educational system, which had dominated China for more than thirteen centuries, the new school system was reformed by the Qing court and the successive Republican government in the following years. In 1912, the Republican government built up a more comprehensive educational system *Renzi-Guichou* (1912/1913 *renzi guichou zhidu* 壬子癸丑制度), and in 1922, it was rescheduled by republican educators into an Americanised one named *Renxu* system (1922 *renxu zhidu* 壬戌制度).

During the process, Yang was among the earliest generation of students who were taught in new schools in the late Qing era, and also among the first generation of modern educators in the Republican era. In the existing scholarship of this period of significant educational reforms, historians

often use new schools and key educational reformers including Zhang Zhidong (張之洞, 1837-1909) and Cai Yuanpei (蔡元培, 1868-1940) as case studies to demonstrate China's educational modernisation.<sup>17</sup> Little has been done to understand the earliest group of modern educators who had less political power but contributed their lives in studying and exploring the cause of modern education. Indeed, the educational policies made by leading reformers such as Zhang Zhidong and Cai Yuanpei were vital. However, in an era when the 'modern' education system was still under invention, the exploration of these early educators were crucial in defining what was 'modern education'. As this thesis will show, it was the living experiences and struggles of these thousands of earliest educators, including Yang Yinyu, that lay the foundation of the 'modern education' that we now perceive. By their own efforts, the meaning of 'education' and the roles of 'teachers and 'educators' were significantly transformed from their traditional meanings under the Civil Service Examinations.

This thesis adopts the approach of *microhistory*, which will, in Giovanni Levi's words, 'reveal factors previously unobserved, and phenomena previously considered to be sufficiently described and understood.'<sup>18</sup> This approach examines relatively unimportant people whose biographical materials were scarce but whose life were important for us to reexamine the wider social events that they were living in. Alain Corbin's monograph *The Life of An Unknown* is a pioneering work of this method. It creates a rediscovered world of a clog maker in the nineteenth century France, in which Corbin successfully draws a picture of an ordinary existence in an eventful period in French history.<sup>19</sup> In the recent two decades, this approach has been also successfully used in the studies of Chinese modern history, such as Henrietta Harrison's *The Man Awakened from Dreams* and Eugenia Lean's recent

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<sup>17</sup> William Ayer, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); William Duiker, *Tsai Yuan-pei, Educator of Modern China* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977).

<sup>18</sup> Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory," Chapter in Peter Burke, ed. *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 93-98.

<sup>19</sup> Alain Corbin, trans. by Arthur Goldhammer, *The Life of An Unknown: The Rediscovered World of A Clog Maker in Nineteenth-century France* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

awarded work *Public Passion*. Harrison picks a little-known late Qing gentry scholar Liu Dapeng to explain the fall of northern rural area during China's modernisation in the early-twentieth century. Lean analyses the trial of a woman in Republican era named Shi Jianqiao, in order to demonstrate how public sympathy was playing an important role in the law system and generating a social sphere, echoing Habermas's sociological theory of 'public sphere'.<sup>20</sup>

These monographs all contribute to not only demonstrate the vicissitude of the individuals in the era, but also use them to provide new explanations in the broad social transformation. Yang Yinyu, though not a nobody, did not possess political significance as leading educational reformers as Zhang Zhidong and Cai Yuanpei. However, as among the first generation of modern educators and the very few female ones, her personal struggles in self-identification and daily activities in studying and pursuing modern education provided us a way to probe into the life of ordinary educators and a precious case of women's experiences in early-twentieth century.

In the following paragraphs, this chapter will first demonstrate the historiography of Yang Yinyu, and suggests how this thesis contributes to deconstruct the contemporary collective memory on her through the dominant legacies of Lu Xun. Second, it demonstrates why Yang Yinyu is a valuable case for us to understand the roles of modern educators, whose activities and contributions have not been acknowledged in the existing literature of the educational modernisation in early-twentieth-century China. After that, the chapter will demonstrate how this thesis meets the methodological challenge that has been faced by many historians when they attempt to reshape this figure or use the approach of microhistory. Finally, it provides a general structure of this thesis and explains the main sources this thesis discovers and depends on.

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<sup>20</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in A North China Village 1857-1942* (California: Stanford University Press, 2005); Eugenia Lean, *Public Passion: The Trial of Shi Jianqiao and the Rise of Popular Sympathy in Republican China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007).

## Yang Yinyu as A Villain: Studies of Lu Xun and Studies of Chinese Women

This section explains how the symbolic meaning of Yang Yinyu as a national villain in the contemporary era falls in two interrelated areas of study: studies of Lu Xun (*Lu Xun yanjiu* 魯迅研究), and studies of Chinese women and feminism. Besides, although historians begin to reexamine the political use of Lu Xun by the CCP during the 1950s to 1970s, little attention has been paid to examine Lu Xun's construction on Yang Yinyu and the remaining dominance of his works in contemporary textbooks, which continuously influences people's collective memory on Yang.

### Studies of Lu Xun and Contemporary Textbooks

In his foundational article *On the New Democracy*, Mao Zedong (毛澤東, 1893-1976), the founding father of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and paramount leader of the Communist Party, highly praised Lu Xun that:

'The chief commander of China's cultural revolution, he [Lu Xun] was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and revolutionary. Lu Hsun [Lu Xun] was a man of unyielding integrity, free from all sycophancy or obsequiousness; this quality is most invaluable among colonial and semi-colonial peoples. Representing the great majority of the nation, Lu Hsun breached and stormed the enemy citadel; on the cultural front he was the bravest and most correct, the firmest, the most loyal and the most ardent national hero, a hero without parallel in our history. The road he took was the very road of China's new national culture.'<sup>21</sup>

Mao constructed the 'national spirit' and 'revolutionary spirit' through the prism of Lu Xun's works, and enthroned him as 'the most correct direction of China's new national culture'. Studies of Lu Xun, firstly, is an interdisciplinary research field in contemporary China, which takes a central place across studies of modern Chinese literature, culture, and politics. Generated on the order of Mao Zedong, it

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<sup>21</sup> Mao Zedong, "On the New Democracy," *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Beijing: Foreign Language Press, 1965), 372. Mao's original text in Chinese: "魯迅是中國文化革命的主將，他不但是偉大的文學家，而且是偉大的思想家和偉大的革命家。魯迅的骨頭是最硬的，他沒有絲毫的奴顏和媚骨，這是殖民地半殖民地人民最可寶貴的性格。魯迅是在文化戰線上，代表全民族的大多數，向著敵人衝鋒陷陣的最正確、最勇敢、最堅決、最忠實、最熱忱的空前的民族英雄。魯迅的方向，就是中華民族新文化的方向。" The English translation is from *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

had strong links with Maoist propaganda since the 1950s. In 1951 and 1956, the CCP built two museums in Lu Xun's name, one in Beijing and the other in Shanghai, to promote this national hero and his spirit. During the process, Lu Xun's wife Xu Guangping played a significant role. In 1960, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai (周恩來 1898-1976), the Prime Minister, gave orders to make a biographic film about Lu Xun. Xu Guangping accepted the 'highest order' and openly declared that 'Lu Xun finally found his path to progress. It is to sincerely accept the Party's leadership, and use his own letters to serve China's cause of revolution wholeheartedly.'<sup>22</sup> Recalled by Shen Pengnian, a main screenwriter of the film, all the written works of Lu Xun, including his essays, novels, personal letters and diaries were provided by Xu Guangping, and researched by communist historians at the time, which was the start of Lu Xun Studies.<sup>23</sup>

As a film that was produced to celebrate the forty year anniversary of the founding of the Communist Party, Xia Yan (夏衍, 1900-1995), the Deputy Minister of the Department of Culture at the time, pointed out that 'the portrayal of Lu Xun should be entirely based on Chairman Mao's comments, and represents how an intellectual... evolved into the Communist path.'<sup>24</sup> Xu Guangping also separated herself and the family from the 'sacred' image of Lu Xun. As historian Cheng Zhenxing argues, Xu realised the era did not allow her to display personal affection or feelings.<sup>25</sup> In the end, production of the film was suspended due to conflicting interpretations on Lu Xun. According to Chen Hong, the daughter of another main screenwriter Chen Baichen (陳白塵, 1908-1994),

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<sup>22</sup> Xu Guangping, "Wenyi—geming douzheng de wuqi [Literature—A Weapon of Revolutionary Fight]," *Xu Guangping wenji [Collections of Xu Guangping]*, vol.1, (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe [Literature and Arts Press of Jiangsu], 1998), 563.

<sup>23</sup> Shen Pengnian, *Dianyng Lu Xun zhuan choupai qingli ji [My Personal Experience in the Filmmaking of the Biography of Lu Xun]*, vol.2 (Taiwan: Xiuwei chubanshe [Xiuwei Press], 2013).

<sup>24</sup> Ge Tao, "Suzao Lu Xun yinmu xingxiang beihou de quanli zhengzhi [Creating Lu Xun in the Film and the Politics Behind]," *Xin wenxue shiliao [Archival Materials of New Literature]*, no.1, (2010): 118-129.

<sup>25</sup> Cheng Zhenxing, "Lun Xu Guangping de Lu Xun ji'nian [Xu Guangping's Making of Lu Xun]," *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue [Contemporary Chinese Literature]*, no.25, (2014): 148.



‘My father’s hands were dragged by all sides [from the government of Shanghai and also the Central Department of propaganda], he dared not to write Lu Xun’s personal life according to the usual way when editing a screenplay... After periods of examination and revision, my father was confused as to whether Lu Xun was a human or a god.’<sup>26</sup>

Although the film was suspended, the political use of Lu Xun reached its climax during the Cultural Revolution (*wenhua dageming* 文化大革命, 1966-1976) when Mao and his supporters, including his wife Jiang Qing (江青, 1914-1991), used Lu Xun’s words to purge Mao’s political enemies. At the time, Zhou Enlai ordered, ‘we have collections of quotes of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, now we need the quotes of Lu Xun.’<sup>27</sup> Thus, Lu Xun’s works were further edited into pocket handbooks (*Lu Xun yulu* 魯迅語錄), for people to learn and use anywhere and anytime.

In the meantime, the editing of national textbooks in PRC was in accord with the central political agenda of the CCP. From 1950, the central government edited a series of textbooks for middle schools on Chinese Literature (*chuji zhongxue yuwen keben* 初級中學語文課本) and high schools (*gaoji zhongxue yuwen keben* 高級中學語文課本), in order to provide standard textbooks for national use in the promotion of Maoist orthodoxy.<sup>28</sup> Apart from the instrumental function of raising literacy, the teaching of Chinese Literature in schools had a vital mission: to enhance the Communist discourse by building up a Communist morality in school textbooks. Accordingly, textbooks on modern Chinese history were also rewritten by Communist historians who focused on ‘humiliations and indignities to which China had been subjected during the past hundred years, and indignation and hatred against

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<sup>26</sup> Chen Hong, *Fuqin de gushi* [*My Father’s Story*] (Shanghai: sanlian shudian [Three Joint Book Company], 1997), 11.

<sup>27</sup> *Lu Xun yanlun jilu* [*Lu Xun Quotes*] (Nanjing huagong xueyuan gelian [Revolution Association of Nanjing Chemistry College], 1968).

<sup>28</sup> Peng Ronghua, “Lu Xun zuoping zai zhongxue yuwen jiaocai zhong de lishi huigu [A Historical Review of Lu Xun’s Works in Middle-school Textbooks],” *Xiamen jiaoyu xueyuan xuebao* [*Journal of Xiamen Education College*] 5, no.4, (2003): 62.

both foreign imperialist powers and those Chinese who served foreign interests.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, in this set of textbooks, 16 extracts of Lu Xun's works including *Medicine* (Yao 藥), *Blessing* (Zhufu 祝福) were selected as compulsory stories, in which Lu Xun fiercely attacked Confucian morality as an 'ethical teaching of cannibalism' (*chiren de lijiao* 吃人的禮教), and the ruling of warlord government as a 'darkness' (*hei'an* 黑暗).

Among all the selected works of Lu Xun in his quotes and standard textbooks, the article *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* was taken as the most important one and remains in today's textbooks. In this essay, Lu Xun lamented the death of Liu Hezhen, and conveyed his indignation towards the warlord government that 'If [we do] not burst out of the silence, [we would] perish in the silence'. This sentence was selected in his collections of quotes, and was regarded by historians as the turning point of 'Lu Xun's ideological turn towards socialism and communism'.<sup>30</sup> Lu Xun then condemned Yang Yinyu's decision to dismiss Liu in the previous year. He called Yang a 'powerful' president which implied that Yang had a relationship of collusion with the warlord government. In his other essays written between 1925 and early 1926 during the anti-Yang movement, Lu Xun summarised Yang's desire for discipline in the university and her educational ideology as 'widow-ism' (*guafu zhuyi* 寡婦主義).<sup>31</sup> Based on Lu Xun's opinions, therefore, in the reference books for teachers (*jiaoxue cankao* 教學參考), which were used by school teachers as a standard when teaching and preparing examinations, editors footnoted Yang Yinyu as 'a feudal conservative who clung to the Beiyang warlords and served the interests of imperialist powers'.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> C. T. Hu, *Aspects of Chinese Education* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1969), 7.

<sup>30</sup> 'Buzai chenmo zhong baofa, jiuzai chenmo zhong siwang 不再沈默中爆發，就在沈默中滅亡。' *Lu Xun yanlun jilu*, 77.

<sup>31</sup> Lu Xun, "Guafu zhuyi [Widow-ism]," *Jingbao fukan, funü zhoukan* [*Supplementary of Beijing News, Women's Weekly*], (December 20, 1925): 25-27.

<sup>32</sup> Mei Xin'nan et al. ed. *Lu Xun zuopin jiaoyu* [*Teaching Lu Xun's Works*] (Anhui sheng Wuhu shi jiaoyu ju [Educational Bureau of Wuhu, Anhui Province], 1973), 12.

The end of the Cultural Revolution in the 1970s and the following Opening-up Policy after the Mao era saw a revision of the orthodox narrative. From the 1980s and 1990s, more historians and scholars aimed to save Lu Xun from the ‘Party’s Lu Xun’ and ‘nationalised Lu Xun’, and as historian Xue Yi argues, ‘to restore the true Lu Xun’.<sup>33</sup> As Merle Goldman boldly remarked in 1982, five years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, ‘Lu Xun was barely aware of Mao [when he was alive], let alone obedient to his policies. He had not studied the thought of Mao, nor was he well versed in Marxism-Leninism.’<sup>34</sup> Qian Liqun, a professor of Chinese Literature in Peking University first investigated the inner world of Lu Xun in 1980, and presented the ‘pain, anxiety, hesitation’ of Lu Xun, rather than his constructed image of being ‘courageous, brave, and fearless’.<sup>35</sup> Chinese studies scholar Bonnie McDougall translated the letters exchanged between Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, written during the anti-Yang movement, in order to demonstrate the personal affection of Lu Xun, which had been concealed in the orthodox narrative.<sup>36</sup> Historians including Lung-kee Sun, Feng Jikai and Zhang Quanzhi deliver articles during late 1980s and 2000s, emphasising to understand Lu Xun himself, independent from the Party’s narrative.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> ‘*Dang de Lu Xun, minzu de Lu Xun* 黨的魯迅，民族的魯迅’，‘*Huidao Lu Xun nali qu* 回到魯迅那裏去’。Xue Yi, “Lu Xun yu 1980 niandai sichao lungang [Lu Xun and the Ideological Trend of the 1980s],” *Shanghai shifan daxue xuebao (zhexue shehui kexue ban)* [Journal of Shanghai Normal University (Philosophy and Social Science)] 40, no.3, (2011): 76.

<sup>34</sup> Merle Goldman, “The Political Use of Lu Xun,” *The China Quarterly* no. 91, (1982): 451. Goldman’s work delineates the process how Lu Xun’s words were used for political purge during both the Mao and post-Mao era before 1980.

<sup>35</sup> Qian Liqun, *Xinling de tanxun* [An Exploration of Lu Xun’s Heart] (Shanghai: Shanghai wenyi chubanshe [Shanghai Literature and Arts Press], 1988).

<sup>36</sup> Bonnie S. McDougall, ed. *Love-letters and Privacy in Modern China: the Intimate Lives of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

<sup>37</sup> Lung-Kee Sun, “To Be or Not to Be Eaten: Lu Xun’s Dilemma of Political Engagement,” *Modern China* 12, no. 4, (1986): 459-485; Zhang Quanzhi, “Lu Xun and Orientalism” and Feng Jikai, “Lu Xun’s Achievements and Weakness”, chapters in Tong Q.S., Wang Shouren and Douglas Kerr, ed. *A Forum of Chinese and Western Knowledge* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006). Sun and Feng both explore Lu Xun’s psychological world and argues that his critique on the Confucian tradition as a ‘rite of cannibalism’ was probably from his exposure to Japanese literature when he was studying in Japan, while his many ironic satires used in the essays during 1925 were to some extent influenced by European literature of the time. Zhang Quanzhi, on the other hand, disagrees with these opinions on Lu Xun’s ‘Orientalism’, and argues that although Lu Xun started from this ‘Orientalism’, he developed it ‘into a force that will help China’s modernisation.’

These works after 1980 have greatly increased our understanding of Lu Xun's ideas from his own perspective. However unfortunately, this process of pursuing a 'real' Lu Xun is still within the frame of a 'sacred' Lu Xun and the narrative of revolution, and Lu Xun's words are still taken as historical truth when historians examine historical events or figures. In Yang Yinyu's case, Lu Xun's criticism and the appeals by Xu Guangping during 1925 and 1926 were not objective, but remain as the most authoritative judgement on her life and the movement against her. In today's textbooks, editors maintain the explanation on Yang and the incident according to Lu Xun and Xu Guangping's perspective.<sup>38</sup> In 2009, when Ministry of Education of PRC reformed the textbooks to reduce Lu Xun's dominance, the backlash was strong, and disputes rose among the public on the withdrawal of Lu Xun's works. A Chinese contemporary writer, Yu Jie, argued that 'the article *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* provided the most important enlightenment for our generation. It was this essay that stimulated me to fight as a writer [warrior]!'<sup>39</sup> Thus, a reexamination on Yang Yinyu in this thesis is necessary for us to understand the historical myth-making.

### *Chinese Feminism and Women's Experiences in Modern China*

Lu Xun's dominant influence in the portrayal of Yang Yinyu as a villain is not restricted to contemporary textbooks and Chinese academia. Many scholars in Western academia share the opinions of Chen Shuyu, and the anti-Yang student movement is especially widely recognised as a classical case in the studies of Chinese women and Chinese feminism during the early twentieth century. As a student movement that happened in a women's university between female students and female president in 1925, the anti-Yang movement, understood from Xu Guangping's angle, has been largely used to present the peak of Chinese feminism in the modern era and represents a typical

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<sup>38</sup> "Jinian Liuhezhen Jun [In the Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen]," *Putong gaozhong kecheng biao zhun shiyan jiaokeshu, yuwen, bixiu 1* [The Textbook of General High School, Chinese Literature, Compulsory 1] (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe [Peoples' Education Press], 2007).

<sup>39</sup> Yu Jie, "Jinian Liu Hezhen Jun weihe bei zhuchu yuwen keben [Why the *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* will be deleted from textbooks]," *Independent Chinese Pen Centre*, (2013). [available online] [http://blog.boxun.com/hero/200801/yujie/104\\_1.shtml](http://blog.boxun.com/hero/200801/yujie/104_1.shtml).

reference to present the victory of the young feminists and their dawning self-conscious feminism. Christina Gilmartin's important work *Engendering the Chinese Revolution* (1995), for instance, uses the case as an example to present the rise of Chinese Communist Party and its feminist revolution in the 1920s.<sup>40</sup> Similarly, as mentioned before, Ma Yuxin's study on modern Chinese feminism agrees that the movement was a glorious victory for the students in protecting themselves from the 'oppression' by Yang Yinyu, which was a climax of Chinese women's decades of self-liberalisation.<sup>41</sup> However, these works, like those of many other historians, examine the incident and the history during this period of time through a one-sided perspective of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, which had been tainted with a teleological lens of revolution during the Mao era.<sup>42</sup> Yang Yinyu's own voice has long been buried and neglected to demonstrate a broader picture of the student movement. However, if we re-examine the student movement by stepping away from the perspectives of Lu Xun, Xu Guangping, and the radical students to Yang Yinyu and the wider environment, we will find that the anti-Yang movement presents more than the rise of feminist consciousness or a conflict between revolutionaries versus conservatives, but a more complicated incident that was intertwined with transcultural conflicts, party propaganda, and political struggles.

Apart from the period of 1920s when the Chinese feminist movement rose with the Communist and Nationalist revolutions, the other focus in the studies of Chinese women in the modern era emphasises the late Qing era, an era as Joan Judge argues, 'a rise of female subjectivities'.<sup>43</sup> In her study, Judge uses the case of Hu Bingxia (胡彬夏, 1888-1931) and the group of Japan-educated female students to

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<sup>40</sup> Christina Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution: Radical Women, Communist Politics, and Mass Movements in the 1920s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

<sup>41</sup> Ma Yuxin, *Women Journalists and Feminism in China, 1898-1937* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2010), 73.

<sup>42</sup> Another works that use Lu Xun-related cases to represent the republican history include Fang Qiang, *Chinese Complaint System: A Natural Resistance* (London: Reutledge, 2013). In the monograph, Fang uses Lu Xun's lawsuit in 1926 to demonstrate that the republican era was a golden time for Chinese law system.

<sup>43</sup> Joan Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation: Chinese Nationalisms and Female Subjectivities in the Early Twentieth Century," *The American Historical Review* 106, no. 3, (2001): 773.

present the interaction and paradox of early nationalism and feminism in the late Qing era. Xia Xiaohong's work on the Chinese women in the late Qing era, uses the cases of Lü Bicheng (吕碧城, 1883-1943), 'the pioneer of Chinese feminism', and also the famous female revolutionary Qiu Jin (秋瑾, 1875-1907), to narrate the progressive claims and the early formation of Chinese feminism.<sup>44</sup> Yang Yinyu, though criticised by the radical students in the 1920s, was actually among the networks of Hu Bingxia and Lü Bicheng. When Yang arrived the US in 1918, she brought a reference letter written by Hu; during her stay in New York, she also met Lü, who wrote Yang a poem as a present. Yang's case thus allows us to fill the gap between the two peaks of feminist movements from the late Qing era and the 1920s in the studies of Chinese Women, which demonstrates the generational differences and conflicts on the idea of 'feminism', and that 'feminism' itself could be a site of contention.

In the *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women* edited by Lily Lee and A. Stefanowska in 2003, Xu Guangping is listed as 'a faithful follower of Lu Xun', while Yang Yinyu does not have her own entry, but is only mentioned briefly as 'the conservative who supported the warlord government and had opposed the May Fourth Movement' in the entry for Xu Guangping.<sup>45</sup> Yang Yinyu's niece Yang Jiang is also included in the Dictionary, introduced based on her translation works, novels, and her relationship with her father Yang Yinhang.<sup>46</sup> According to the editors, the Dictionary aims to include 'all the prominent women in modern China' and the women listed are chosen 'according to the existing literature and research on them', which further reflects that the current studies on Chinese women remain largely focused on those first studied due to their 'revolutionary' credentials. As historian Gail Hershatter significantly pointed out in 2004, much scholarship on twentieth-century

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<sup>44</sup> Xia Xiaohong, *Wanqing wenren funü guan [The Attitude and Ideas of Late Qing Intellectuals towards Women]* (Beijing: Beijing daxue chubanshe [Peking University Press], 2015).

<sup>45</sup> Chiu-yee Cheung, "Xu Guangping," entry in Lily Lee and A.D. Stefanowska, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women, the Twentieth Century 1912-2000* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2003), 601-603.

<sup>46</sup> Mark Swislocki, "Yang Jiang," entry in *Ibid.*, 618-622.

Chinese women has been framed by major political events, and research questions have centred on issue such as what did women contribute to the Chinese revolution? Are the reforms good or bad for women? Indeed, these are worthy historical questions, but they tend not to focus on the issues of ‘temporality’ itself.<sup>47</sup> How can we avoid a triumphal progressive narrative such as the portrayal of Yang Yinyu through the constructed image of Lu Xun?

Therefore, this biographical study of Yang Yinyu, who has long been treated as a footnote and as a negative archetype in studies of Lu Xun and Chinese women, is a necessary intervention to challenge the existing historical frameworks in which the history of modern Chinese education and modern Chinese women are seen through the lens of the Communist revolution. By examining Yang Yinyu from her own perspective, this thesis will present Yang as a three-dimensional historical figure, and explores her own ‘temporality’, providing us a way to attend to her changing practices and beliefs, following Hershatter, that ‘perdure across political regimes or that change in ways not easily correlated with the tempo of political events.’<sup>48</sup> From 1913 when she returned from Japan until she was killed in 1938, she spent half of her life as an educator who persisted in promoting modern school education. Her ideas and experiences were continuously developing, not merely according to the major political events, but more closely with the educational reforms of the era, alongside which came waves of revolutions, wars, and political struggles.

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<sup>47</sup> Gail Hershatter, “State of the Field: Women in China’s Long Twentieth Century,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no.4, (2004): 993.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 993.

## **Yang Yinyu as An Educator: Professional Educators and the Educational Reforms**

The impact of the early twentieth-century educational reforms on China has been a topic of rising interest in scholarship in the West, China and Japan, but there are very few studies on the first generation of professional educators, and their struggles and efforts in exploring ‘modern education’ for China. This section explains how this thesis uses the case of Yang Yinyu to understand the rise of this new social group. By filling this gap, this thesis will contribute to two less-addressed issues in the current literature: the first is the changing meaning of ‘education’ brought about by the earliest generation of educators, and the other is female educators’ transnational experiences in early-twentieth-century educational reforms.

### *Existing Literature of Early-Twentieth-Century Educational Reforms*

After China’s humiliating defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895, Guangxu Emperor (光緒帝, 1871-1908) and Qing reformists accelerated the institutional reform of education, which already had been conducted since the 1860s, in the name of Self-Strengthening Movement (*zhiqiang yundong* 自強運動 or *yangwu yundong* 洋務運動, lit. Movement of Western Affairs). In the history of Imperial China, although the *Keju* system provided authoritative examinations for the whole nation, there was no centralised control at the national level over the various provinces on academies or schooling, and provincial education was largely maintained by the local gentry, who held more initiative and space for action. Since 1896, central reformers began to promote China’s urgent need for a centralised education system with a comprehensive structure of national schools. Guangxu’s reforming aide Liang Qichao (梁啟超, 1873-1929) wrote in 1896 that, ‘in order to preserve what is dying, to promote what is falling, to educate those who are unwise, to strengthen what is weak, to manage all these threads,



schools are the core.<sup>49</sup> In 1901, after the political coup launched by Empress Dowager Cixi (慈禧, 1835-1908) in 1898 and the following turmoil of the Boxer Uprising (*yihetuan yuandong* 義和團運動, 1899-1901), the Qing court restarted the reform agenda (*xinzheng* 新政), and began to create a new national education system and develop Western-style schools nationwide. A comprehensive tier of new national schools, from primary schools to university, was established in the first modern school system, *Renyin-Guimao* system of 1903.<sup>50</sup> In 1905, Guangxu Emperor formally announced the end of *Keju*, and emphasised the need for new schools based on the principle of ‘promoting science’ (*tichang kexue* 提倡科學). He further argued: ‘The wealth and strength of all the foreign powers in both East and West are all because of the schools. In this difficult time, our urgency is to prepare talents.’<sup>51</sup>

Between the 1900s and 1920s, the establishment of a centralised school system and promoting new schools nationwide had been key tasks for government authorities and the generation of modern educators in the era including Yang Yinyu. In the existing literature, historians have sufficiently addressed how new schools were introduced by both government reformers and local intellectuals. Debates focus on questions including whether traditional private academies (*sishu* 私塾) under Civil Service Examinations or new schools were suitable for Chinese society. The most debated question, is about the weight of ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ in educational reforms, and ultimately, whether the early-twentieth-century educational reforms were ‘successful’. For example, by studying the newly-

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<sup>49</sup> “*Wang er cun zhi, fei er ju zhi, yu er zhi zhi, ruo er qiang zhi, tiaoli wanduan, jie guiben yu xuexiao* 亡而存之，廢而舉之，愚而智之，弱而強之，條理萬端，皆歸本於學校。” Liang Qichao, “*Xuexiao zonglun* [On Schools],” *Yingbingshi heji* [Collection of Liang Qichao’s Works], vol.1 (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju [Chinese Book Company], 1941), 14-21.

<sup>50</sup> “*Zouding xuetang zhangcheng* [The Qing Court’s Decrees: Regulations on the Schools],” in Qu Xingui and Tang Liangyan. ed. *Xuezhi yanbian* [Evolution of the Modern Educational System], 233-514. Volume in Chen Yuanhui, ed. *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao huibian* [Archival Collections of the History of Chinese Modern Education] (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe [Shanghai Education Press], 1986). Hereafter XZYB.

<sup>51</sup> “*Dong xi yang geguo fuqiang zhi xiao, yi wu bu benyu xuexiao. Fang jin shiju duojian, chucai wei ji.* 東西洋各國富強之效，亦無不本於學校。方今時局多艱，儲才為急。” “*Qingdi yu liting keju yi guang xuexiao* [The Emperor’s Decree on Terminating the *Keju* in order to Promote New Schools],” Shu Xingcheng, ed. *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao* [Materials on the History of Chinese Modern Education] (Beijing: renmin jiaoyu chubanshe [People’s Education Press], 1961), 66. Hereafter JYSZL.

established missionary schools in late Qing China, John Cleverley evaluates the conflicts between ‘old’ and ‘new’. He argues that the new missionary schools were the beginning of China’s educational modernisation, but they were difficult to expand in the orthodox tradition.<sup>52</sup> However, Benjamin Schwartz points out the problem of the simple categorisation of ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’, in neglecting the inherent dynamism of the past.<sup>53</sup> Paul Cohen also criticises the polarised tradition-modernity discourse in the works of Joseph Levenson and Mary Wright, who argue that traditional Confucianism hindered China’s way towards modernisation.<sup>54</sup>

In terms of the new schools and traditional academies, Sally Borthwick's study suggests that traditional private academies were preferred by rural families, and the new schools were more suitable for people living in industrialised areas.<sup>55</sup> However, Elizabeth Vanderven uses the case of a northeast county, Haicheng, to counter-argue that during the Qing-Republican transition reformers in rural areas had successfully created a school system that accommodated both new Western-styled curriculum and Confucian classics.<sup>56</sup> Stig Thøgersen’s study of Zouping County in Shandong, similarly, tells a story about a fully engaged local society, and demonstrates the changes and continuities in local schools as seen through the eyes of local people.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> John Cleverley, *The Schooling of China: Tradition and Modernity in Chinese Education* (Sydney: George Allen & Unwin, 1985).

<sup>53</sup> Benjamin Schwartz, “The Limits of ‘Tradition Versus Modernity’ as Categories of Explanation: The Case of the Chinese Intellectuals,” *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*, (Spring, 1972): 71-88.

<sup>54</sup> Paul Cohen, *Discovering History in China: American Historical Writing on the Recent Chinese Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 79.

<sup>55</sup> Sally Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China: The Beginnings of the Modern Era* (California: Hoover Institution Press, 1983).

<sup>56</sup> Elizabeth R. VanderVen, *A School in Every Village: Educational Reform in a Northeast China County, 1904-31* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2012).

<sup>57</sup> Stig Thøgersen, *A County of Culture: Twentieth Century China Seen from the Village Schools of Zouping, Shandong* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2002).

Monographs discussed above have analysed the role of the new schools after the fall of the *Keju* system and how the reformers had participated in the educational reconstruction by the Qing-Republican transition. However, they have paid less attention to a set of fundamental questions: how did the earliest ‘educators’ come into being in the era? How did they define themselves? What conflicts and struggles did they have when they were exploring ‘modern education’? How did the meanings of ‘education’ and ‘teachers’ were transformed in China during the early twentieth century? Cong Xiaoping’s recent monograph is one exception which acknowledges the special role of teacher training schools (*shifan xuexiao* 師範學校), also called ‘normal school’, in the early-twentieth-century reforms. Cong argues that, teacher training school was a kind of new school that stood in the core place in the whole new education system ‘that localised the new [ideas], and globalised the local [ideas]’.<sup>58</sup> According to Cong, Western researchers usually omit the significant role of teacher training schools in their studies, and these schools are often merely taken as insignificant attachments to the national school system because they did not have a counterpart in the Western system. Cong also points out that the ‘traditional versus modernity’ model implies that ‘modern’ means ‘Western’, and overlooks the internal dynamics of Chinese society, which had produced continuous development on education long before the advent of Western-style schools.<sup>59</sup>

While Cong Xiaoping focuses on the social function of the teacher training schools in the transitional period, this thesis focuses on the other side of the coin— the professional teachers and educators produced by, and developed with these schools. As Cong also notes in the monograph, ‘a study of teachers as a professional corps’ is required.<sup>60</sup> This thesis argues that the first generation of professional educators, among whom Yang was one of the very few female ones, had redefined the

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid., 7-10.

<sup>59</sup> Cong Xiaoping, *Teachers Schools and the Making of the Modern Chinese Nation-State 1897-1937* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 5.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid., 14.

role of ‘educators’ and the meaning of ‘education’ by their own efforts. By analysing Yang’s personal struggles on the way becoming a professional educator, this thesis examines the formation of China’s earliest educators, and demonstrates how the meaning of ‘education’ was transformed in China during the early twentieth century. This thesis uses ‘traditional education’ or ‘traditional schools’ to refer to the *Keju* system and the private academies under *Keju*, and uses ‘new education’ or ‘new schools’ to refer to the national school system that came into being after 1896 and the schools built thereafter. However, it acknowledges with the arguments of Schwartz, Cohen, and Cong, and takes ‘tradition’ and ‘modernity’ in the Chinese society as dynamic and mutable ideas: as the case of Yang Yinyu shows, that they sometimes conflicted but more often interacted with each other. Besides, it also draws on the works by Vanderven and Thøgersen, and views the educational reforms from local perspective.

### *The Rise of Professional Educators and Changing Meaning of ‘Education’*

Modern educators were generated from the educational reforms in the late Qing era, and before this specific group of intellectuals began to study and explore ‘modern education’, the concept of ‘education’ was different to what we perceive today. In the long history of the Imperial China, the ideas of ‘education’ (*jiao* 教 or *jiaoyu* 教育) and the role of ‘teachers’ (*shi* 師) were closely related to the concept of ‘morality’ (*daode* 道德 or *de* 德)— the orthodoxy *dao* mainly meant the Confucian morals, education *jiao* was to study and develop the *dao*, and the teachers were the people who were capable of the *dao* and expected to be models of the *dao*. According to *Dictionary of Chinese Education* published in 1928, the idea of education *jiao* in Imperial China originated from *Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), one chapter of the most important Confucian classic *Records of Rites* (*Li Ji* 禮記), which was edited by Confucius’ students in the Warring State Period (400BC-221BC). In *Doctrines of the Mean*, *dao* was defined as ‘the three highest Confucian virtues Knowledge,

Benevolence, and Courage’, while education *jiao* meant to ‘study the *dao* (*xiudao* 修道)’.<sup>61</sup> In the *Shuowen Dictionary* (*shuowen jiezi* 說文解字, lit. *Explaining Graphs and Analysing Characters*), an ancient 2nd-century Chinese dictionary of the Han Dynasty (221-206BC), education *jiaoyu* was divided into two characters: *jiao* and *yu*. The first character *jiao* meant that ‘a person of elder age or higher class shows or give his disciplines, and the person of younger age or lower class learns or imitate his behaviour’. The other character *yu* meant to ‘cultivate a child to make him well behaved’.<sup>62</sup> Han Yu (韓愈, 768-824), a politician and an important propeller of Confucianism in the Tang dynasty (618-906), defined the role of teachers as ‘passing down the Confucian doctrines, transmitting the knowledge and elucidating peoples’ doubts’ (*chuandao* 傳道, *shouye* 授業, *jiehuo* 解惑). In this case, a teacher’s morality was crucial, because he was required to have a function of ‘role model’ (*weiren shibiao* 為人師表) to others.<sup>63</sup>

After the fourteenth century, *Doctrine of the Mean* was included by the great Neo-Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200) of Song Dynasty (960-1279), in the ‘Four Books’ (*Sishu* 四書), which served as standard materials for the *Keju* Examination system throughout the thirteenth to nineteenth century.<sup>64</sup> Thus, before the Qing court terminated the *Keju* system in 1905, the relationships between doctrines, education, and teaching, based on Confucian classics, had formed a systematic mechanism

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<sup>61</sup> “*Zhongyong yun: xiudao zhi wei jiao. Zhi suoyi xing qidao zhe ze wei wei zhi, ren, yong zhi san dade.* 中庸云：修道之謂教。至所以行其道者則謂為知，仁，勇之三達德。” Wang Tang, et al. ed. *Zhongguo jiaoyu cidian [Dictionary of Chinese Education]* (Shanghai: zhonghua shuju [Chinese Book Company], 1928), 642. Hereafter JYCD.

<sup>62</sup> “*Jiao, shang suo shi, xia suo xiao ye. Yu, yangzi shi zuo shan ye.* 教，上所施，下所效也。育，養子使作善也。” Ibid., 642.

<sup>63</sup> Han Yu, “Shi shuo [On Teachers],” Wu Chucai and Wu Diaohou, ed. *Gu wen guan zhi [A Primer of Classical Chinese Texts]* (Beijing: Zhouhua shuju [China Book Company], 1959). Cited from Cong, *Teachers Schools*, 4.

<sup>64</sup> Zhu Xi’s Four Books were consisted of the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lun Yu* 論語), the *Text of Mencius* (*Meng Zi* 孟子, 372BC-289BC), the *Great Learning* (*Da Xue* 大學), and the *Mean* (*Zhongyong* 中庸), among which the latter two texts were selected by Zhu Xi from a large compilation, the Confucian classic *Record of Rites* (*Li Ji* 禮記). Wm. Theodore de Bary, “Zhu Xi and the Four Books,” chapter in Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. *Finding Wisdom in East Asian Classics* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011), 187.

which provided, according to historian Theodore de Bary, ‘a spiritual-philosophical basis’ in what Kwang-ching Liu (劉廣京, 1921-2006) called, the ‘orthodoxy’ of the Imperial Chinese society.<sup>65</sup>

During the five decades from the 1880s to 1930s when Yang Yinyu lived, however, the role of teachers and their main mission of moral education in the context of *Keju* mechanism were significantly challenged, and the meaning and functions of ‘education’ were fundamentally altered because of the Qing court’s termination of the *Keju* Examinations and the successive educational reforms in the newly-established Republican regime. In the late nineteenth century that the ideas of ‘science’ and ‘citizens’ (*guomin* 國民) were still unfamiliar to the Chinese society, the teaching of the imported new subjects, which did not exist in traditional Chinese academies, were firstly fulfilled by foreign missionaries and Japanese teachers that abounded in China at the time.<sup>66</sup> In this circumstance, China needed more Chinese teachers. Education of teachers (*shifan jiaoyu* 師範教育), literally meaning ‘teachers model’ and also called ‘normal education’, was understood to be particularly crucial at the time.

In 1897, Sheng Xuanhuai (盛宣懷, 1844-1916), a chief aide of the prominent late Qing reformer Li Hongzhang (李鴻章, 1823-1901), opened China's first teacher training department in his Nanyang Public School (*Nanyang Gongxue* 南洋公學) in Shanghai, in order to train young Chinese teachers. Evidence showed that the Yang family had a close relationship with Sheng Xuanhuai, and Yang Yinyu’s brother Yang Yinhang was among the first generation of students in Sheng’s Nanyang Public

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<sup>65</sup> Wm. Theodore de Bary, ed. *The Unfolding of Neo-Confucianism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975); Wm. Theodore de Bary, *Neo-Confucian Orthodoxy and the Learning of the Mind-and-Heart* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981); Kwang-ching Liu, *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China* (California: University of California Press, 1990). De Bary focused especially on the Neo-Confucian teachings regarding ‘self-cultivation’, while Liu emphasised a broader and more mundane definition of ‘orthodoxy’ with Confucian, Taoist, Buddhist views.

<sup>66</sup> Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905* (California: Stanford University Press, 1992); Daniel H. Bays, *Christianity in China: From the 18th Century to the Present* (California: Stanford University Press, 1996).

School. In 1907, Yang Yinyu passed the provincial examination and was sent to Tokyo Teachers School For Women (Japanese: *Tōkyō joshi kōtō shihan gakkō* 東京女子高等師範學校) in Japan to receive training in modern education. Yang Yinhang, Yang Yinyu and the students who enrolled in these teacher training schools, were named ‘students of teacher training’ (*shifan sheng* 師範生). They were expected to be new teachers who could teach people with new subjects and new ideas.

Two missions were attached critical importance to these students of teacher training. The first was that, apart from the scientific subjects such as Physics (*gezhi* 格致), Biology (*bowu* 博物) and Maths (*shuxue* 數學), they had to learn an additional subject Education (*jiaoyu xue* 教育學), which was mostly inspired by Japanese models from the late nineteenth century. Different to students in other types of schools, they were required to practice their teaching in lower level schools for a certain time as apprentices. The other requirement was a heavier emphasis on the learning of the subject of Morals (*xiushen* 修身). Both the Qing court and the Republican government believed that the first generation of Chinese people that commanded the new scientific subjects must also maintain good morals and become teachers for the generations that followed. As urged in the sets of *Decrees of Teacher Training Education* issued by the Qing court in 1903, ‘students of teacher training bear the special responsibility of cultivating our future generations... thus the students should particularly cultivate their own morals, follow the Confucian rites, so that they can be qualified as moral models.’<sup>67</sup> In 1913 when the Republic of China was established, Cai Yuanpei, the first Minister of Education, issued

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<sup>67</sup> “*Shifansheng jianglai you jiaoyu guomin zhi zhongren. Yin shifan zhi ren zhe, bidang dunpin yangde, xunli fengfa, yandong weiyi zu wei mokai.* 師範生將來有教育國民之重任。膺師範之任者，必當敦品養德，循禮奉法，言動威儀足為模楷。”“Zouding chujī shifan xuetang zhangcheng [The Qing Court’s Decree: Regulations on the Lower-level Teacher Training Schools],” *JYSZL*, 675-676.

another educational decree: ‘Take moral education as the foundation, and supplement it with education of pragmatism, martialism, and also fulfil the morality with education of aesthetics.’<sup>68</sup>

In the 1910s, while many of these ‘students of teacher training’ served as teachers in the newly-established Republican China, some of them not only taught in schools but also continued to study the subject ‘Education’ and became ‘educators’. Yang Yinyu was a typical case who had developed herself from a student of teacher training to a teacher, and then, an educator. As this thesis will show, Yang was first trained as a teacher when she was studying in China and Japan. After she became a teacher in Beijing, she further studied Education in Teachers College of Columbia University in the US during 1918 to 1921. When she became the president of Beijing Teachers College for Women in 1924, she emphasised both modern pedagogies and moral education, which were shared by many of her alumni, including the renowned educators Hu Shi (胡適, 1891-1962), Yan Yangchu (晏陽初, 1893-1990) and Tao Xingzhi (陶行知, 1891-1946).<sup>69</sup>

In the current literature, historians take these renowned figures as the main body of ‘educators’ and often focus on their new imported ideas and pedagogies but omit their continuing contribution in transforming moral education. Moral education is sometimes simply treated as an outdated legacy left by the *Keju* system. For instance, Thomas Curran’s recent study focuses on the leading educators’ application of Western educational theories and argues that the modern educational reform was a ‘failure’ because of the weight of China’s educational tradition.<sup>70</sup> However, Barry Keenan, by focusing

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<sup>68</sup> The decree reads: “*Zhuzhong daode jiaoyu yi shili jiaoyu junguomin jiaoyu fuzhi gengyi meigan jiaoyu wancheng qi daode*. 注重道德教育以实利教育军国民教育辅之更以美感教育完成其道德。” “Jiaoyubu buling [Decree of Ministry of Education],” *Jiaoyubu bianzuanchu yuekan [Editing and Compiling Department of the Ministry of Education Monthly]*, no.2, (Sep 2, 1912): 1-3.

<sup>69</sup> Barry Keenan has examined how John Dewey, the dean of Teachers College of Columbia University and the mentor of Hu, Yan and Tao, influenced the second educational reform in Republican era during 1919 to 1922. Barry Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Centre, 1977).

<sup>70</sup> Thomas D. Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China: The Failure of Educators to Create a Modern Nation* (New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 14.



on the Neo-Confucian development in Imperial China as well, noticed that the ‘Chinese educational tradition’ in the period of late nineteenth century was merely ‘the tip of an iceberg’ of China’s long educational tradition, which extended to before 500 BCE.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, rather than judging this significant educational reform of the early twentieth century according to a Western-centred standard, it is more crucial to examine the reform according to its own linear evolution. As Judith Liu has questioned Curran, asking: ‘What of the traditional, Confucian system of moral education that was such a major component of the old *Keju* system? The technical expertise provided by a Western-style education could not be doubted, but was it applicable to China?’<sup>72</sup>

The life of Yang Yinyu and the anti-Yang movement which targeted at her is a suitable case to answer Judith Liu’s questions. This thesis argues that moral education stayed as a part of the main educational ideologies of modern educators in the early twentieth century, yet its meaning varied according to different people for various ends. For traditional Chinese elites who lived with the *Keju* system, studying and promoting Confucian classics and moral education were the orthodox way of their life. As Benjamin Elman has argued in his study on the *Keju* system: ‘imperial rulers recognised an education based on the [Confucian] classic as an essential task of government, and Chinese elites perceived a classical education as the correct measure of their moral and social worth.’<sup>73</sup> However, for the earliest generation of educators who were living in the Qing-Republican transition, moral education was an area which needed redefinition based on the educational ideologies at the time. Meanwhile, it was repeatedly reinterpreted by politicians in the era under the different regimes. Republican educator Wang Fengjie (王鳳喈, 1896-1965) remarked that: ‘Morality is an abstract

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<sup>71</sup> Barry Keenan, *Neo-Confucian Self-cultivation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011), 109.

<sup>72</sup> Judith Liu, "Educational Reform in Republican China: The Failure of Educators to Create a Modern Nation (review)," *China Review International* 13, no. 2 (2006): 398-402. Judith Liu’s own monograph uses the story of a Chinese girl and an American teacher in a missionary school in Republican China to demonstrate what the educational reform as well as the Western-style school meant to both of them. Judith Liu, *Foreign Exchange: Counterculture behind the Walls of St. Hilda's School for Girls, 1929-1937* (NJ: Lehigh University Press, 2011).

<sup>73</sup> Benjamin Elman, *Civil Service Examinations and Meritocracy in Late Imperial China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2013).

concept, its meaning is totally dependent on [political] interpretation.<sup>74</sup> As appeared in the two educational decrees issued in 1903 and 1912 mentioned above, Cai Yuanpei's version, which combined Chinese, American, Japanese and German elements, 'moral education' in the early Republican era meant 'infusing the knowledge of freedom, equality, and philanthropy to the people, holding them to a correct ideology'. It saw a departure from the Qing government's sole promotion of Confucianism.<sup>75</sup>

Thus, when the earliest Chinese educators were transforming the Chinese education towards a Western-style education, the process was painful due to the political uncertainty and transcultural conflicts. On one side, they were studying and promoting a 'new education' in a context when the idea itself was still vague, and most Chinese people were still believing in the classics-based *Keju* education. On the other, when they were promoting the idea of 'moral education' in the 1910s and 1920s in the tides of iconoclastic revolutions, their claims were regarded by the younger generations as outdated defence of Chinese tradition. In the current literature, Yang's focus on moral education is overemphasised and even twisted as a symbol of 'feudalism' according to Xu Guangping and Lu Xun's criticism. Nevertheless, this thesis finds that, same as Hu, Yan and Tao, Yang had progressive educational ideologies. Besides, her understanding of moral education was also not a simple blind guard of Chinese tradition, but had been transformed through her experiences in both Japan and the US when professional educators came into being. As it will show in Chapter IV, Yang and the student activists had disputes in interpreting 'morality' when political elements came in. This thesis thus uses the case of Yang Yinyu to explore the experiences of those earliest modern educators of China. It also demonstrates that Curran's study neglects the evolution of the 'tradition', and the initiative that the

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<sup>74</sup> Wang Fengjie, *Zhongguo jiaoyushi dagang [The History Chinese Education]* (Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan [Commercial Press], 1930), 322.

<sup>75</sup> "Suowei daode jiaoyu, nai lun ziyou pingdeng boai zhi zhishi yu renmin, er shizhi sheng zhengque zhi guannian zhe ye. 所謂道德教育，乃輸自由平等博愛之智識於人民，而使之生正確之觀念者也。" Wang, *Zhongguo jiaoyushi dagang*, 322.

educators exercised during the Qing-Republican social transition. Through an individual's angle, the waves of revolutions and the ceaseless political entanglements alongside the educational reconstruction in the early twentieth century were taken into account, which made it difficult to judge them based on any single standard.

### *Female Educators' Transnational Experience*

Apart from the role of earliest educators in the changing meaning of 'education', the other issue this thesis addresses is about women's experiences in the Qing-Republican transition, especially the experiences of the very few female educators. In Imperial China, women did not attend public schools because they were not allowed to attend *Keju* examinations. This situation only changed in 1907, two years after the abolishment of *Keju* system. Female students became a new social phenomenon around the time, when public schools for women increased dramatically in this period. According to Joan Judge's statistics, the number of Chinese-run women's schools grew from 6 schools in 1903 to 512 in 1908, while the number of female students increased from some 40 in 1903 to 20,557 in 1908 and 141,130 by 1912.<sup>76</sup> Despite the tremendous growth, however, the gender difference in modern education was huge due to the late start of women's public schools. In 1907 there were some 37,672 males' schools and 1,013,571 male students. By 1912, there were 2,790,000 male students attending new schools.<sup>77</sup> Thus, the influence of female educators were dwarfed by their male counterparts, yet their existence was crucial in the history of Chinese women as well as the history of women's education in modern China.

Historian Paul Bailey points out in his monograph *Gender and Education in China* that: 'we still have little idea of what it meant for the girls themselves when modern education became more available to

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<sup>76</sup> Joan Judge, "Citizens or Mothers of Citizens? Gender and the Meaning of Modern Chinese Citizenship," chapter in Merle Goldman and Elizabeth J. Perry, ed. *Changing Meanings of Citizenship in Modern China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001), 29.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 30.

them in the early twentieth century.<sup>78</sup> Yang Yinyu was among the earliest female students, who had enrolled in new schools since 1903. She firstly attended a local school run by her brother Yang Yinhang and many Japan-returned young scholars, and then received missionary education in Suzhou in 1904. After that, she attended Shanghai Wuben Girls' School, one of the earliest Chinese-run public schools for women, in 1905. These advanced experiences allowed her to pass the examination in 1907, when women were officially sanctioned to participate in public education, and travelled to Japan for further education. In the 1910s, she was one of the few women sent by the Republican government to study educational pedagogy in the US. Her experiences were unique, but can fill the blank for us to understand how female students firstly contacted with modern education, and their way becoming professional educators.

Understanding transnational influences, especially from Japan and the US, on early twentieth-century educational reforms has been another common research perspective. The works by Keishū Sanetō and Huang Fu-chin published in the early 1980s provide important archival accounts for later studies of the earliest group of people who studied in Japan.<sup>79</sup> Huang Fu-chin also investigated the careers of Japan-educated Chinese people, but his focus was more on their influence once they returned to China.<sup>80</sup> Mary Rankin's monograph *Early Chinese Revolutionaries* especially probed into the anti-Qing rebellions led by these Japan-returned students.<sup>81</sup> The more recent monographs by Ye Weili and Stacey Bieler, on the other hand, focus on the group of Chinese students who were studying in the US during the early twentieth century, and demonstrated their importance in shaping China's education,

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<sup>78</sup> Paul Bailey, *Gender and Education in China: Gender Discourses and Women's Schooling in the Early Twentieth Century* (London: Routledge, 2007), 8.

<sup>79</sup> Keishū Sanetō, trans. by Tan Ruqian and Lin Qiyang, *Zhongguoren liuxe Riben shi [The History of Chinese Studying in Japan]* (Hong Kong: Chinese University of Hong Kong, 1982).

<sup>80</sup> Huang Fu-chin, trans. by Katherine Whitaker, *Chinese Students in Japan in the Late Ch'ing Period* (Tokyo: The Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1982).

<sup>81</sup> Mary Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries: Radical Intellectuals in Shanghai and Chekiang, 1902-1911* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972).

economics and industry.<sup>82</sup> Ye discusses more about the identity crisis of these intellectuals when they tried to adapt Western culture but at the same time maintain their identities as Chinese. Bieler uses 16 American-educated intellectuals in republican era, including Hu Shi, Tao Xingzhi, Yan Yangchu, to show how these people transferred their American influence in their later working experience in China, but at the same time were attacked as ‘traitors’ during the mid-1920s nationalism.

These works all greatly contribute to our understanding on the crucial role of the transnational experiences in China’s modern reforms. However, case studies on females remain rare, and female educators’ ideologies and experiences have not been addressed. This thesis will use Yang Yinyu’s life to fill the lacuna. She had a similar experience in identity crisis as those male educators as discussed by Weili Ye, and also shared the labelling of being a ‘traitor’ as discussed in Bieler’s work. Nevertheless, Yang’s case provides us a chance to evaluate the weight of gender in educational reforms and the mid-1920s revolutionary tide, which has not been researched.

## **Methodology**

A biographical approach is an ideal way to study the role of these emerging modern professional educators during China’s educational reforms in the early twentieth century. The reason is that, their activities, thoughts and decisions were not only directly affected by the educational policies, but also became an organic part of the further process of educational reforms. As discussed before, biographical studies on the early twentieth-century educators have been limited to leading reformers and political figures, who had caught historians’ attention during the 1970s. Historians Ayer William, Marianne Bastid, and William Duiker have successfully created biographical works for prominent

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<sup>82</sup> Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China’s Name: Chinese Students in the United States* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2001); Stacey Bieler, *Patriots or Traitors: A History of American Educated Chinese Students* (Florence: Routledge, 2003).

educational reformers Zhang Zhidong, Zhang Jian (張謇, 1853-1926), and Cai Yuanpei.<sup>83</sup> By using abundant autobiographical materials such as their diaries, memorials, essays, and letters, these biographical studies all provide detailed accounts to demonstrate how the late Qing gentry scholars propelled new changes in the educational systems.<sup>84</sup> However, apart from these key reformers in the top places, a large numbers of professional educators as Yang Yinyu remain understudied. When new educational policies were issued by top decision-makers such as Zhang Zhidong and Cai Yuanpei, their policies were mediated and conveyed by the late Qing gentry scholars and their successors—the new educators such as Yang Yinyu, to the wider population. In the early twentieth century, this group of professional educators was the main body who were studying and introducing new pedagogies, and they were more decisive in the local perception of ‘modern education’ than central elites. These people had experiences that were important for us to understand the educational modernisation in the era, but they were not necessarily as famous as those leading figures, nor did they leave as many personal materials as the leading figures.

The methodology used in this thesis fits into what historians Carlo Ginzburg and Giovanni Levi have termed, ‘the method of clues’ in microhistory, a special approach in biographical research that was introduced at the end of the 1970s.<sup>85</sup> As Matti Peltonen has summarised, it means starting ‘an investigation from something that does not quite fit, something odd that needs to be explained’, and an

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<sup>83</sup> William Ayer, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); William Duiker, *Tsai Yuan-pei, Educator of Modern China* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977). Marianne Bastid, trans. by Paul Bailey, *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth Century China* (Ann Arbor: Centre for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1988). The original copy was published by Bastid in France in 1971.

<sup>84</sup> Apart from these educational reformers, biographical works on other political figures include the biographies of the Taiping Rebellion leader Hong Xiuquan (洪秀全, 1814-1864) and the mid-Qing statesman Chen Hongmou (陳宏謀, 1696-1771). See Jonathan Spence, *God's Chinese Son: The Taiping Heavenly Kingdom of Hong Xiuquan* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1996); William Rowe, *Saving the World: Chen Hongmou and Elite Consciousness in Eighteenth-Century China* (California: Stanford University Press, 2001).

<sup>85</sup> In 1979, Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg published the first version of his translated essay “Morelli, Freud, and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method”, which is widely regarded as a founding text of new microhistory. The idea was also discussed in the early 1970s by English-speaking historians but without use of ‘macro’ and ‘micro’, such as Eric Hobsbawm’s ‘From Social History to the History of Society’. Matti Peltonen, “What is Micro in Microhistory,” Chapter in Hans Renders, and Binne De Haan, ed. *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing* (Netherlands: Brill, 2014), 105.

emphasis on the ‘fundamental importance of the micro level in social life’.<sup>86</sup> Barbara Caine puts it that ‘microhistory is the study of a small town or village, the study of little-known individuals.’<sup>87</sup> However, Peltonen points out that microhistory as a methodological approach is not limited in ‘little-known’ or ‘obscure’ individuals, but is for the most part ‘epistemological’, providing instructions on how to gain new information in order to create new interpretations or hypotheses.<sup>88</sup> At the same time, methodological challenges are crucial in this method. This section answers three methodological challenges in the approach of *microhistory*: a lack of autobiographical sources for the less-known people, especially female ones; the issue of ‘micro and macro’; and the issue of ‘representativeness and uniqueness’.

### *Creating Biography for Yang Yinyu as Female*

The first and most important problem of the approach of microhistory is a serious shortage of archival materials. On one side, these people of less political dominance left very restricted autobiographical sources, and they were often not as vivid as public intellectuals such as Liang Qichao and Hu Shi in the public arena. On the other, Yang as a female educator further makes the reevaluation more difficult because women seldom had a typical kind of archival sources—*nianpu*, literally meant a chronology of person according to year-by-year events. As historian Susan Mann acknowledges, biographical method is especially feasible in studies of Chinese history, particularly for male figures, because creating personal chronologies had been a long tradition among gentry scholars and statesmen. Their disciples, students, and family members or friends faithfully created chronologies for these males to record their virtues and achievements in *Keju* examinations, and these were sometimes used in

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., 106-109.

<sup>87</sup> Barbara Caine, *Biography and History* (Palsgrave Macmillan, 2010), 126.

<sup>88</sup> Peltonen, “What is Micro in Microhistory”, 116-118. Peltonen takes Ginzburg’s work on Piero della Francesca, Pietro Redondi’s monograph on Galileo Galilei, and Charles Nicholl’s work on Shakespeare as examples.

epitaphs.<sup>89</sup> In addition, keeping diaries was a habit of some gentry elites, which makes it possible for contemporary historians to reach the world of less prominent gentry scholars who were not in the central politics. For example, Henrietta Harrison's monograph *The Man Awakened from Dreams*, analyses the 200 volumes diaries of the late Qing scholar Liu Dapeng, in order to demonstrate the shifted identities and personal struggles of this traditional Confucian scholar in an era of tremendous social change.<sup>90</sup>

The majority of ordinary people, particularly women, however, seldom had chronologies or habits of keeping diaries for decades. Even if they did, their diaries or autobiographical materials rarely survived the years of war and revolution that followed. Yang Yinyu had not left any diaries, nor did she have a personal chronology or epitaphs. Due to a lack of these commonly-used materials, the author first focused on finding clues from local archives and libraries in the places where Yang Yinyu lived, studied, and taught: including eight cities in China, Japan and the United States. In Shanghai Library, the author discovered the important epitaph of Yang's father, which is kept in the archival volumes of the late Qing statesman Sheng Xuanhuai and allow us to understand the early environment of Yang Yinyu. In the Municipal Archives of Shanghai, Suzhou, Nanjing, and also the National Diet Library of Japan, archives of the schools that Yang had attended and taught at during the 1900s and 1930s are located, which provide valuable sources to understand how her intellectual world was shaped. In a research trip to the US, the author found crucial personal letters between Yang Yinyu and

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<sup>89</sup> Susan Mann, "Writing Biography in Chinese History," *The American Historical Review* 114, no. 3, (2009): 632-633. As Mann further points out, every educated person in Imperial China died with an expectation that a son or a friend of the family would edit an epitaph (*muzhimin*) for him. Epitaphs were usually attached along with the coffin, preserved in family genealogies, and also sometimes copied into dynastic and local histories.

<sup>90</sup> Henrietta Harrison, *The Man Awakened from Dreams: One Man's Life in A North China Village 1857-1942* (California: Stanford University Press, 2005).



her American teacher Florence Bigelow.<sup>91</sup> Although the number of letters is rather small, these letters provide us a chance to examine the ideas, expressions, and attitude of this educator and to understand her better as a three dimensional figure, away from the the cold, stereotyped portrayal in the contemporary literature.

At the same time, the author have undertaken extensive searches of the periodicals, journals, and associations that Yang might be linked with, and discovered many first-hand materials to rehabilitate her own activities and ideas. A main source is the 120 issues of university bulletin of Beijing Teachers College for Women, which provide us a window to examine Yang Yinyu's main activities and her educational ideologies as a president from 1924 to 1925. These issues also give rich sources to identify the financial and political problems in the university, which were the key causes of the anti-Yang movement. The author also collected all the related news reports on Yang Yinyu from volumes of major periodicals such as *Xinwen Bao* (新聞報), *Shenbao* (申報), *Shibao* (時報), *Da Gong Bao* (大公報), local newspapers and educational magazines in Suzhou and Wuxi, From these periodicals the author discovered an interview Yang had received in 1913, and a more comprehensive social debates towards the anti-Yang movement during 1925. From the advertisements on the periodicals, Yang had once published one or two books about women's education and modern educational pedagogies, but unfortunately these works have not been located yet. However, we can still deduce her ideologies from the newly- discovered letters, and university periodicals.

By these first-hand primary sources, this thesis meets the methodological challenge and constructs a full biographical study on Yang Yinyu. This thesis also creates a full chronology for Yang, in order to

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<sup>91</sup> The letters between Yang Yinyu and Florence Bigelow are kindly shared by Japanese scholar Dr. Yumiko Sakuraba to me in July 2016. Dr. Sakuraba achieved these materials from Walnut Hill Archives in 2009, however when I approached the Archives in 2015, it was unfortunately closed due to relocation and school construction. Dr. Sakuraba has used Yang Yinyu's English writing to demonstrate the literature liberalisation of Chinese women in the early twentieth century: Yumiko Sakuraba, "Kanojyo tachi no kindai— kanojyo tachi no kotoba: sono yichi nyūyōku no Yang Yinyu [The Time of the Women—Their Stories: Yang Yinyu in New York]," *Keio University Hiyoshi: Review of Chinese Studies*, no. 2, (2009): 193-232.

better situate her life with the educational reforms she had experienced. Yang Jiang once created a brief chronology for her father Yang Yinhang in 1982, thus, it makes a little easier for this thesis to trace important life events and match them with the life track of Yang Yinyu. However, as historical evidence shows, even Yang Jiang's memory on her family history was not always correct, which we need to be wary of when using her memoirs.

### 'Micro vs Macro' and 'Representativeness vs Uniqueness'

The other main questions in the approach of microhistory, as historian Hans Renders points out, are the links between 'micro versus macro' and 'representativeness versus uniqueness', and the two problems are often interrelated.<sup>92</sup> In the case of Yang Yinyu, to what extent does her case have to tell us at the macro level about education reforms? To what extent did Yang Yinyu represent the groups of people that she belonged to, for example, the first generation of new students in the new schools of the late Qing era, the first generations of modern educators in the Republican era, and the first generation of career women in modern China? In order to answer these questions, this thesis focuses to analyse her social networks in each period of time when she was a student and an educator and particularly pays attention to her role in the main educational organisations in China during the early twentieth century. This thesis discovers that Yang Yinyu was a lifelong educator. She had memberships in the two major educational associations in China— Chinese National Association for Advancement of Education (CNAAE, *Zhonghua jiaoyu gaijinshe* 中華教育改進社) in the 1920s and Chinese Science Society (*Zhongguo kexueshe* 中國科學社) in the 1930s. These two organisations were the largest and most significant educational societies in Republican era that directly participated into educational reforms and social movements, but have received little attention in the English literature.<sup>93</sup> As will be

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<sup>92</sup> Hans Renders, "Biography in Academia and the Critical Frontier in Life Writing," Chapter in Hans Renders, and Binne De Haan, ed. *Theoretical Discussions of Biography: Approaches from History, Microhistory, and Life Writing* (Netherland: Brill, 2014), 170-171.

<sup>93</sup> One exception is Barry Keenan's work *Dewey's Experiment*.

discussed later, these associations had strict regulations in developing members, thus, Yang Yinyu shared many qualities that were exclusive to the professional groups of modern educators.

At the same time, individual differences varied among the educators in the same societies. For example, Wu Yifang (吴贻芳, 1893-1985), who was in the same studying group with Yang in CNAAE in the 1920s, presented a huge difference from Yang Yinyu. As the president of Ginling College who took charge of the college for more than thirty years, Wu Yifang has long time been regarded as China's first female university president, and she was the only female educator that had full biographies.<sup>94</sup> Different from Yang, Wu played a more significant role in the political arena during the period after 1928, which was under a rather stable political environment than Yang Yinyu's situation. In the meantime, Wu served as the president of a missionary university which received financial support directly from its mother missionary associations in the US and was independent from Chinese government's education system.<sup>95</sup> Wu also remained active in the politics in the Communist China after 1949. These situations demonstrate that when historians examine modern educators as a new social group, individual differences existed depending on their institutions and political background.

Besides, the fact that Yang Yinyu did not leave many personal works, especially poems and essays, indicate that she was not a public intellectual or feminist activist as many her peers, including Wu Yifang, were. However, it does not mean Yang did not have similarly progressive ideas as those who had left many materials behind. Thus, this thesis uses Yang Yinyu's life to investigate the common interests shared by the professional educators in the era, but at the same time is aware of their internal differences. It is true that Yang Yinyu's experiences of coming from a gentry family, getting divorced,

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<sup>94</sup> Cheng Sihui and Sun Haiying, *Jiling nüzi daxue xiaozhang Wu Yifang [The President of Ginling College Wu Yifang]* (Shandong: shandong jiaoyu chubanshe [Shandong Education Press], 2004); Qian Huanqi, *Wu Yifang: Jiling nüzi daxue xiaozhang [Wu Yifang: The President of Ginling College]* (Beijing: Zhongguo chuanmei daxue chubanshe, 2014).

<sup>95</sup> Sun Haiying, "On the Archives of Ginling College in China", chapter in Wu Ziming, ed. *Zhongguo jiaohui daxue lishi wenxian yantaohui lunwenji [Archival Materials of Chinese Missionary Universities]* (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1995).

studying overseas in both Japan and the US, were so exceptional and unique for the women in the early twentieth century, not to say the millions of women who had not received education. However, the ways in which Yang was unique explain why this person became the first female university president in Chinese history. Yang was not representative and different women experienced the period differently, but understanding her life allows us to see how other educators' lives may also have been shaped by the educational reforms in her era.

## Chapter Structure

This thesis is divided into five chapters, written chronologically according to Yang's own identities during the educational reforms from 1884 to 1938. Yang Yinyu's own chronology has been provided following the Introduction, in order to provide the social context and provide an easy point of reference for the reader to chart the educational reforms in her era. The first chapter explores Yang's family background and demonstrates how this traditional gentry family, who were among the last generation of gentry families in late Qing era, embraced new changes brought about by the educational reforms in the late 1890s, and directly promoted the cause of new education in local Wuxi. It firstly analyses the role of Yang's family in the local society, and the traditional role of teachers in Imperial China. It then focuses on the Xijin Public School opened by Yang Yinyu's brother Yang Yinhang in 1903, a moral primer written by Yang Yinyu's uncle Yang Zhixun in 1906, and Yang Yinyu's own divorce. The chapter argues that the Yang family's innovative activities had undermined the traditional meaning of 'teachers and 'education' before the *Keju* system was abolished.

The second chapter explores Yang Yinyu's experiences as a female student between 1904 to 1913, and by her case it demonstrates the process how females became new teachers. In 1907, the Qing court issued decrees in women's schooling, and the female students were taught with the ideology of being 'virtuous mothers and good wives'. While the current literature largely presents this ideology as a

negative concept which restricted women's potential in feminism, this chapter examines the linear evolution of the roles of female teachers. It argues that as the first generation of female students who were trained as new teachers, Yang Yinyu and many of her peers regarded their new role as new-style female teachers as valuable opportunities in promoting women's status in general. Besides, by analysing the school archives of the modern schools which Yang attended in Suzhou, Shanghai and Tokyo, the chapter investigates how the various educational ideologies including Christian education and Japanese education further complicated the way these early female students perceived the meaning and duties of being new teachers.

The third chapter examines Yang Yinyu's experiences in the United States and her activities as an active member in Columbia University and the CNAAE, in order to rehabilitate her educational ideologies as an educator and demonstrate the professionalisation of modern educators in the late 1910s and early 1920s. It depends mainly on her personal letters, speeches, published articles and university journals. It also analyses Yang Yinyu's institutional reforms in Beijing Teachers College for Women and the dilemmas she met during the process. It argues that Yang Yinyu was not a feudal conservative as she was caricatured in the current literature, but an educator who was making contributions to the second educational reforms in the Republican era.

By analysing university journals, periodicals and newspapers, the fourth chapter investigates the causes, processes and outcomes of the anti-Yang student movement during 1924 and 1926, and reevaluates the movement in the development of modern educational reforms. It aims to particularly shed light on Yang Yinyu's own voice and the educators' attitude in the student movement,. The chapter argues that the anti-Yang movement was not a glorious victory for the 'progressive' students to expel a 'conservative' president, but an abrupt interruption to the school reform and the second educational reform. It was started from Xu Guangping's individualism and influenced by the political

campaign of feminism from the renowned feminist politician Xiang Jingyu. However, it was evolved into a political struggle, and by nature it was not for the development of feminism and academic independence as interpreted in most of the current literature.

While the first four chapters reappraise Yang Yinyu's life according to her own concerns as an educator, the last chapter explores the entangled myth-making of Yang Yinyu from 1926 till nowadays. It argues that although Yang Yinyu was promoted as a national villain after the 1950s through Lu Xun's works, her negative image was constructed by Lu Xun as early as in 1926. Despite of the fact that Yang Yinyu was not involved in the March Eighteenth Tragedy, Lu Xun's articles became the verdict in accusing Yang of being a 'running dog' of the Beiyang government. Lu Xun's attitude in 'attacking enemies relentlessly' was later praised as the ultimate spirit of revolutions during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). Although historians have reappraised the political use of Lu Xun in recent years, little has been done to understand Lu Xun's construction of other historical figures such as Yang Yinyu. This chapter also uses the archival materials of the missionary university and local schools to demonstrate Yang Yinyu's activities in her final years spent in Suzhou, from 1927 to 1938. In the decade, Yang Yinyu was no more active in the centre of educational reforms, and she did not attend politics either. She kept herself in academia: she taught in missionary university, middle schools, and even opened a girls' school by herself, until she was finally killed by the Japanese soldiers in 1938.

In conclusion, this thesis argues that Yang Yinyu should not be understood simply as an anti-revolutionary and feudal conservative as she has been portrayed in most of the existing literature. The anti-Yang movement was also not a 'battle between the brightness and darkness', nor the students' victory in protecting academic independence. Yang Yinyu's own life contained more than the revolutions and politics she was involved in 1925 and 1926. Her educational ideologies and the way

she became China's first female university president in fact provide various ingredients to examine educational modernisation, the rise of modern educators in the process, and women's experiences in the early twentieth century.

## The Chronology of Yang Yinyu

<u>Year</u>	<u>Yang Yinyu / Social Context and Educational Reforms in the Era</u>
1884	Yang Yinyu born in Wuxi/ Qing's failure in the Sino-French War
1894-1895	Yang Yinyu's father Yang Xuexin and uncle Yang Wending involved in Self-Strengthening Movement/ Qing's failure in the First Sino-Japanese War
1897-1898	Yang Yinyu's brother Yang Yinhang enrolled in the Beiyang Academy and the first teacher training department in Nanyang Public School/ Emperor Guangxu's Hundred Days' Reforms
1899-1901	Yang Yinhang studied in Japan/ The Boxer Rebellion and the New Policy of the Qing court
1902-1903	Yang Yinhang returned to China and opened Xijin Public School in Wuxi Yang Yinyu divorced and studied in Xijin Public School and Laura Haygood Girls' School in Suzhou/ Qing court invented the new educational system <i>Renyin-Guimao</i> system
1905	Yang Yinyu enrolled in Shanghai Wuben Girls' School/ Qing court abolished the <i>Keju</i> system
1907	Yang Yinyu achieved government scholarship to study abroad but her father Yang Xuexin passed away/ Qing court's decree on women's public education
1909	Yang Yinyu enrolled in Tokyo Teachers College for Women, Japan/ Emperor Pu I and Beginning of Xuantong period in Qing dynasty (Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi both died in 1908)
1911-1912	Chinese students in Japan quit school but Yang Yinyu stayed/ Qing Dynasty ended by the Xinhai Revolution and Establishment of the Republic of China
1913	Yang Yinyu graduated from Tokyo Teachers College for Women and returned to China/ Establishment of the educational system <i>Renzi-Guichou</i>
1914-1917	Yang Yinyu taught in the Beijing Teachers School for Women/ Japan's Twenty-One Demands and the US Boxer Indemnity Scholarship



1918	Yang Yinyu achieved the US Boxer Indemnity Scholarship and enrolled in the Walnut Hill School in Massachusetts, US/ Allies' Victory and the end of WWI
1919	Yang Yinyu enrolled in the Teachers College of Columbia University in New York, US/ May Fourth Movement in Beijing
1921-1923	Yang Yinyu graduated from the Columbia University and participated in the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education/ The second educational reform in the Republic of China and <i>Renxu</i> System
1924 March September November	Yang Yinyu became the president of the Beijing Teachers College for Women Yang Yinyu's mother passed away Yang Yinyu successfully promoted the college into university Yang Yinyu was protested by the Students' Self-governing Society/ The Jiangzhe Battle between Zhi Clique and Feng Clique Political struggles in the Beiyang cabinet and Ministry of Education
1925	The Anti-Yang movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women Yang Yinyu resigned in August and Student protester won in November/ Sun Yat-sen's death in March and the May Thirtieth Massacre in Shanghai The Nationalist Party's initiation of the Northern Expedition
1926	Yang Yinyu returned to Suzhou/ The March Eighteenth Tragedy in Beijing
1927-1928	Yang Yinyu taught in local schools in Suzhou/ The end of the Northern Expedition and establishment of the Nanjing government by Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek
1929-1933	Yang Yinyu taught in Soochow University, Suzhou/ Chinese educators' associations boycott Japan's cultural policies towards China Chiang Kai-shek's launch of the New Life Movement
1936-1937	Yang Yinyu opened her own study society for local girls in Suzhou and supported Yan Xishan's campaign in Suiyuan/ Outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War
1938	On New Year's Day Yang Yinyu was killed by Japanese soldiers in Suzhou/ China's War of Resistance against Japan till 1945

## **Chapter I: The Family**

### The Rise of New Teachers in the Lower Yangzi Area, 1884-1904

#### **Introduction**

In 1903 and 1904, the Qing court announced the first national school system in Chinese history, the Renyin-Guimao system, preparing to regulate schools nationwide and abolish the traditional *Keju* examinations.<sup>96</sup> Yang Yinyu and her family witnessed the fall of the *Keju* system and the introduction of the new education during the late nineteenth century. By 1903, many of her family members including her brother Yang Yinhang (楊蔭杭, 1878-1945) and her uncles Yang Fanfu (楊范甫, birth and death dates unknown) and Yang Zhixun (楊志洵, birth and death dates unknown) had participated in developing new schools and the new education system in local Wuxi. Together with some local gentry scholars and native students who had studied in Japan, they formed the earliest new teachers—a crucial group of people that was rising in the lower Yangzi area in the late nineteenth century. Through creating new schools and education associations, as well as editing new moral primers and textbooks, they contributed to change the meaning of ‘education’, ‘teachers’ and ‘knowledge’ through their own innovative activities.

This chapter will examine the early activities and ideas of Yang Yinyu’s family members, and explore the changes they brought about as new teachers, as well as the local reception towards them. Yang Yinyu at the time was still not a teacher, but she got divorced and became the first female student to attend public schools in the late Qing era. Thanks to her family members’ pioneering support in women’s education, Yang received school education before the Qing court issued the *Decree of Women’s Education* in 1907. This chapter contributes to our understanding on Yang Yinyu and the

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<sup>96</sup> The years 1903 and 1904 in the Chinese lunar calendar were *Renyin* 壬寅 and *Guimao* 癸卯.

emerging group of new teachers in two important ways: firstly, it explores the social network of Yang Yinyu's family, and the early intellectual context in which she was rooted, so that we can understand this figure from her own term. Secondly, it demonstrates how late Qing gentry scholars, who were stakeholders in the *Keju* system, turned into the first generation of new teachers. They introduced modern subjects such as Physics and Biology that were exotic to the traditional academies, but they still regarded moral re-education as their most essential task. Compared to the Qing court's explanation of the subject of Morals, based on the Neo-Confucian classics, the morality that these new teachers emphasised was a new set of human relations based on new concepts such as 'citizens', 'nation', and 'law'. This chapter argues that, before the *Keju* system was abolished, the Yang family and the network of new teachers in the lower Yangzi area had formed a pioneering force who changed the nature of knowledge, education, and a teacher's role in the late Qing era.

### *Historical Backdrop of the Nineteenth-century Educational Reforms*

For more than thirteen centuries, the classical education system *Keju*, or Civil Service Examinations, had cultivated and selected generations of political and cultural elites, who had formed a self-sustaining meritocratic class of Confucian gentry scholars (*rushi* 儒士) in Chinese society. Republican educator and historian Chen Dongyuan described the education in Imperial China as 'an education that cultivated Confucian scholars' (*yangshi jiaoyu* 養士教育).<sup>97</sup> As Chen summarised, 'the state just needed to set up a standard and an orthodoxy for national examinations, then education would be naturally conducted by society, which automatically functioned towards this orthodox standard.'<sup>98</sup> This orthodox standard, since the fourteenth-century Ming dynasty, had long been the Confucian scholar Zhu Xi (朱熹, 1130-1200)'s interpretations of the original Confucian classics in earlier

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<sup>97</sup> Chen Dongyuan, *Zhongguo jiaoyu shi [The History of Chinese Education]* (Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1936), 3. In this monograph, Chen discussed two thousand years of history of Chinese education since the Han dynasty (220 BC).

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

centuries. Throughout the next six hundred years until the end of the *Keju* system in 1905, the *Four Books* —*Da Xue*, *Lun Yu*, *Meng Zi*, *Zhong Yong*, and many interpretations of the Confucian classics edited by Zhu Xi such as *Xiao Xue* (*Primary Learning* 小學), had been the orthodox textbooks for *Keju* candidates. Zhu Xi's edited texts and ideas had a singular and dominant role, which laid the foundations for the school of Neo-Confucianism.<sup>99</sup>

However, since the mid-nineteenth century, the *Keju* education system and its orthodox core had been under criticism. Arguments were raised about whether it could produce qualified talents able to meet contemporary needs as the country was under a series of domestic and international upheavals. During the 1840s and 1860s, China was defeated by Great Britain in the Opium Wars (*yapian zhanzheng* 鴉片戰爭 1840-1842; 1856-1860), and the authority of the Qing court was seriously undermined by the Taiping Uprising (*taiping tianguo yundong* 太平天國運動, 1851-1864). The compilers of the *Draft History of the Qing* (*Qing Shigao* 清史稿) dated the beginning of China's modern educational reforms from the establishment of *Zongli Yamen* (總理衙門) and *Tongwen Guan* (同文館) in the 1860s.<sup>100</sup> In 1860, reformists in the Qing court including the Imperial Prince Yixin (Prince Gong 恭親王奕訢, 1833-1898), the Viceroy of Zhili Zeng Guofan (曾國藩, 1811-1872), and Zeng's successor Li Hongzhang (李鴻章, 1823-1901) launched the Self-Strengthening Movement. They contributed to the development of *yangwu*, literally meaning 'Western affairs', such as building national railways and making weapons and opening foreign language and military schools, for the sake of national salvation. In 1861, the *yangwu* reformers set up the first diplomatic institution *Zongli Yamen* in order to manage the expanding and more complicated international affairs. It was later reorganised into the Ministry of

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<sup>99</sup> De Bary and Chaffee, *Neo-Confucian Education*, 2.

<sup>100</sup> Mary C. Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism: The T'ung-Chih Restoration, 1862-1874* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957), 242.

Foreign Affairs (*waiwu bu* 外務部) after the Boxer Rebellion of 1900. During 1862 to 1865, the first three language institutions *Tongwen Guan* of Beijing, *Guang fang-yan Guan* (廣方言館) of Shanghai and *Tongwen Guan* in Guangzhou were founded. They were affiliated to *Zongli Yamen* and aimed to develop skills in foreign languages. In the following years, Li Hongzhang and Zuo Zongtang (左宗棠, 1812-1885), the Viceroy of Fujian, Formosa and Zhejiang, established China's first two shipyards, Jiangnan Arsenal in Shanghai and Fuzhou Shipyards in Fujian, in 1865 and 1866 respectively.<sup>101</sup>

The Self-Strengthening Movement, however, progressed slowly during the 1870s, a period of time regarded by historian Mary Wright as 'the last stand of Chinese conservatism', and as Barry Keenan has recognised, a period of Confucian revival in the lower Yangzi academies.<sup>102</sup> Along with *yangwu* reformers, a much larger group of officials made up the *qingliu* 'pure party' (*qingliu* 清流). They were led by Wen Tonghe (翁同龢, 1830-1904), the prestigious mentor of the Emperor Guangxu, and Zhang Zhidong, the Viceroy of Guangdong and Guangxi. They claimed to represent the Confucian orthodoxy and were opposed to Westernisation.<sup>103</sup> In 1870, Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang accepted Rong Gong (known as his Cantonese name Yung Wing 容闳, 1828-1912)'s plan of sending young students to the United States. In 1872, 120 young pupils were selected by Yung Wing and Li Hongzhang to form the Chinese Educational Mission, which planned to educate new Chinese talents in New England for fifteen years. However, the plan was terminated early, and all the students were recalled in 1881. Many Chinese officials believed these young students were not cultivated properly under Western

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<sup>101</sup> Yixin, et al. "Zunyi sheli tongwen guan zhe [Memorial of the Establishment of Tongwen Guan]" (1862); Li Hongzhang, "Qing she waiguo yuyan wenze xueguan zhe [Memorial of the Establishment of Foreign Languages School]" (1863); Zuo Zongtang, "Shi zao lunchuan xianchen dagai qingxing zhe [Memorial of Building Shipyards]" (1866), Gao, Shiliang. ed. *Yangwu yundong shiqi jiaoyu [Education in the Yangwu Movement]*, 37-40; 173-174; 279-282. Hereafter YWYDJY. Volume in Chen Yuanhui, ed. *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyu shi ziliao huibian [Archival Collections of the History of Chinese Modern Education]*, 10 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai jiaoyu chubanshe [Shanghai Education Press], 1992).

<sup>102</sup> Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism*, 68-148. According to Wright, the strategies of the Qing government mainly lay in the rehabilitation of the Chinese economy, a restoration of civil government, the suppression of rebellions including the Taiping Kingdom and northwestern Muslim rebellions, and a re-establishment of local control through the revival of scholarship and Confucian learning.

<sup>103</sup> Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 63-100.

education, and that the Chinese education of Confucian classics should still be the orthodox way.<sup>104</sup> According to historian Marianne Bastid, the *qingliu* faction played an important role in the late 1870s to early 1880s, and was used by the Empress Dowager Cixi, the true ruler during Emperor Guangxu's reign, to counterbalance the rival faction of Prince Gong, Li Hongzhang, and their *yangwu* fellows.<sup>105</sup>

The Qing court's failure in the Sino-French War of 1885 (during which the Fuzhou Shipyard was destroyed) put an end to the prestigious *qingliu*, and provoked people to direct their disappointment and indignation towards the Manchu rulers who had maintained their dynasty on Chinese soil for nearly three hundred years.<sup>106</sup> Sun Yat-sen (Sun Zhongshan, 孫中山, 1866-1925), the Father of the Republic of China, began to prepare his revolutionary cause in Guangzhou after this war, inspired by the Taiping army's idea of overturning the Manchu reign.<sup>107</sup> Officials who preferred to enhance the inviolable Confucian orthodoxy now moved away from the *qingliu* conservatives towards a camp who believed that China needed a deeper institutional transformation. Zhang Zhidong, for example, began to participate in the Self-Strengthening Movement and emphasised building a new education system.

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<sup>104</sup> Edward Rhoads, *Stepping Forth Into the World: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-1881* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2011).

<sup>105</sup> Bastid, *Educational Reforms in Early Twentieth Century China*, 20-22. Research on the Empress Cixi has continued. Cixi had long been regarded by republican as well as contemporary historians as an incapable ruler who indulged in political struggles. Recent research in China after the 1980s, however, begin to reevaluate her political abilities and achievements in the late Qing reforms. See Zhu Ying, "Wanqingshi yanjiu de xin quxiang [The New Trend in the Research of Late Qing History]," *Jindaishi yanjiu [Modern Chinese History Studies]*, no.1, (1996): 105-119; Shen Weibin, *Wanqing nüzhū-xishuo Cixi [The Main Actress of Late Qing: A New Analysis on Cixi]* (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe [Shanghai Peoples' Press], 2007).

<sup>106</sup> The non-Han nationality Manchu (*manzu* 滿族) originally founded the Qing dynasty in China in 1636. Its population occupied only 3% of the whole Chinese population in the period of Qing. The Manchu imperial house kept its pure blood by setting restrictive rules for noble families and marriage ties. Herbert A. Giles, *China and Manchus* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1912); Immanuel Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 19-75.

<sup>107</sup> J. C. Wong, *Sun Zhongshan: cong yapian zhanzheng dao xinhai geming [Sun Yat-sen: From the Opium War to the Xinhai Revolution]* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gufen youxian gongsi [Lianjing Publishing Company], 2016), 475. Historian Immanuel Hsu also believed that Sun Yat-sen and his followers partly carried on 'the social revolution that the Taiping Rebellion failed to realise.' See Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 308.

Zhang Zhidong's follower Zhang Jian, a Jiangsu native who became an important educator and politician of the Republican era, also started his industrial causes from 1885.<sup>108</sup>

The reform agenda of adopting Western-style learning was further hastened after the Qing dynasty's humiliating defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895. The Emperor Guangxu, whose reign started in 1875 but who only achieved full power in 1888, desired to lead deeper institutional reforms. Astonished by the victory of Japan and its quick progress in industrialisation, the Emperor and many Chinese officials attributed Japan's success to its institutional reforms and quick adoption of Western-style learning in the Meiji Restoration. In April 1898, the Emperor Guangxu, backed up by his advisors Kang Youwei (康有為, 1868-1927) and Liang Qichao, launched a reform movement which aimed to get the general institutions, such as education and the military, reformed and modernised.<sup>109</sup> Inspired by the new theory of 'the survival of the fittest' (*shizhe jingcun* 适者競存), Guangxu and his camp believed that only a total reform of these traditional institutions could save China. Japan after the Meiji Reformation was the best example.<sup>110</sup> However, the Emperor's campaign lasted for only three months, which was the reason why it was later called 'The Hundred Days' Reform' (*bairi weixin* 百日維新). In September 1898, the Empress Dowager Cixi forced a coup, known as the Wuxu Coup (*wuxu zhengbian* 戊戌政變). She ordered Guangxu's reforms be terminated, and executed the leading reformers, fearful of her position in the court and even that her own life was in danger.<sup>111</sup> After the

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<sup>108</sup> Ayer, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 156; Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism*, 251-299; Bastid, *Educational Reforms in Early Twentieth Century China*, 16.

<sup>109</sup> Luke S. K. Kwong, "Chinese Politics at the Crossroads: Reflections on the Hundred Days Reform of 1898," *Modern Asian Studies* 34, no.3, (2000): 663-695.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., 664. The theory came from Yan Fu (嚴復, 1854-1921)'s *Theory of Evolution* (*Tiyan Lun* 天演論), which was translated from *Evolution and Ethics* by British biologist Thomas Huxley (1825-1895).

<sup>111</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 443-453; Wright, *The Last Stand of Chinese Conservatism*, 312. The 1898 Coup has long been considered merely as Cixi's political weakness that it occurred. However, by new access to the Qing court archives, recent studies of Guangxu and Cixi tend to recognise that Guangxu's reforming plan was stopped by Cixi partly because of his own failings, as Luke Kwong writes: 'in the end, Guangxu's initiative was short-circuited by the lack of a coherent vision, of a schedule of prioritised, realistic goals, and of meaningful supervision and control.' Kwong, "Chinese Politics at the Crossroads," 672.

coup, most of the reform plans in Guangxu's scheme were shelved, but the scheme in education was the only one to continue. The Viceroy Zhang Zhidong now took over the task, and published his profound work *Exhortation to Study* in 1898, in which he called the new education 'China's only hope'.<sup>112</sup> From here, the Qing court officially began its policy of sending students abroad. During 1898 to 1902, three court decrees on regulating students studying in Japan and Western countries were announced by *Zongli Yamen*.<sup>113</sup> Of all the foreign countries, Zhang specifically encouraged Chinese students to study in Japan, because of its recent accomplishments in industrialisation and its geographical and cultural advantages:

'Cannot China ... learn a lesson from Japan? Travelling to Japan can better be done than Europe because: first, Japan lies nearer to us than Europe and more men can be sent there for the same amount of cost. Second, the language, literature, and customs of the Japanese are more closely allied to ours than those of any European country. Third, a selection of important Western books has been made from the countless volumes of Europe, and these have been translated into Japanese.'<sup>114</sup>

The number of officially-sponsored or self-funded Chinese students going overseas increased rapidly year by year afterwards, with the majority going to Japan. These Chinese students were unprecedented in Chinese history, and the flow of people to Japan was the most dramatic development. According to Japanese historian Sanetō Keishu, from 1898 till the end of 1906 there were about eight thousand Chinese students in Japan.<sup>115</sup> As Keishu and Douglas Reynolds point out, historically it reversed a

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<sup>112</sup> Chang Chih-tung (Zhang Zhidong), trans. by Samuel I. Woodbridge, *China's Only Hope: An Appeal by Her Greatest Viceroy Chang Chih-tung, with the Sanction of the Present Emperor, Kwang Sü* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1900).

<sup>113</sup> 'Zongli geguo shiwu yamen: zou zunyi lingxuan shengtu youxue riben shiyi pian [Department of Foreign affairs: Regulations on Sending Students to Study in Japan]' (1899) and 'Zongli geguo shiwu yamen: zou zunyi chuyang xuesheng yiye shixue zhangcheng pian [Department of Foreign affairs: Regulations on Students Graduated from Industrial Schools]' (1899) and 'Waiwu bu: zouyi fu paifu chuyang youxue banfa zhangcheng zhe [Department of Foreign affairs: Regulations on Sending Students to Study Abroad]' (1902) in Shu, ed. *Jindai zhongguo jiaoyushi ziliao*, 173-182.

<sup>114</sup> Chang, *China's Only Hope, An Appeal*, 91.

<sup>115</sup> Keishu, *Zhongguo ren liuxue Riben shi*, 1.



pattern dating back to A.D. 607. For 1300 years, learning, culture, and technology had flowed essentially from China to Japan, but now the trend turned in the opposite direction.<sup>116</sup>

### Existing Literature

Historians have uncovered a great deal about these Chinese intellectuals returning from Japan, but mostly focus on their political activities and anti-Qing revolutions when they came back to China during the 1910s. An essay collection titled *Imagining the People*, edited by Peter Zarrow and Joshua Fogel is an important work, in which the authors date the emerging concepts of ‘citizenship’, and ‘people’s rights’ in early-twentieth-century China back to these intellectuals returning from abroad, most of whom were influenced by Japan.<sup>117</sup> Sanetō Keishu also delineates the political and revolutionary cause of these Japan-trained students in bringing back the ideas of ‘revolution’, ‘independence’, and many Japanese-Chinese terms (pinyin: *hanzi*, Japanese: *kanji* 漢字).<sup>118</sup> However, little attention has been paid to these intellectuals’ pioneering roles in developing modern Chinese education. This chapter argues that these intellectuals’ revolutionary activities and innovative ideas undermined the meaning of education and the role of a teacher per se.

The family of Yang Yinyu was a typical case. First, as a student returning from Japan, Yang Yinhang has long been understood as an early political revolutionary, because Yang Jiang’s memoir provides a

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<sup>116</sup> Douglas Reynolds, *China 1898-1912: The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan* (Massachusetts: Harvard University, 1993), 40. It had even formed a school of learning in Japan, the Chinese Learning (pinyin: *hanxue*, Japanese: *kangaku* 漢學).

<sup>117</sup> Peter Zarrow, “Citizenship in China and the West”; Anne Cheng, “Nationalism, Citizenship and the Old Text/New Text Controversy in Late Nineteenth Century China”; Ingo Schäfer, “The People, People’s Rights and Rebellion: The Development of Tan Sitong’s Political Thought”; Peter Zarrow, “Liang Qichao and the Notion of Civil Society in Republican China”, chapters in Joshua A. Fogel and Peter G. Zarrow, ed. *Imagining the People: Chinese Intellectuals and the Concept of Citizenship, 1890-1920* (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 1997).

<sup>118</sup> Keishu, *Zhongguo ren liuxue Riben shi*, 339-427. Japanese-Chinese terms were those newly-coined terms by Japanese scholars when they first translated Western monographs. These new terms were written in Japanese *kanji*, which were generated from traditional Chinese classics. They were then directly used by Chinese students when they translated Japanese versions of Western literature. The best example was the term ‘Economy 經濟’. According to Keishu, it was created by Japanese translators according to the Chinese sayings ‘*jingshi jiming* 經世濟民’, meaning ‘benefit the people’. ‘Economy 經濟’ was then introduced directly by Chinese students in the early twentieth century.

simple sketch of her father as an anti-Qing activist. However, after investigating the early periodicals on modern education and primary sources in the municipal archives and libraries of Wuxi and Shanghai, the chapter finds that many members of the Yang family were not only active participators in the late Qing reforms, but directly defined the first generation of local new teachers. In the existing literature little is known about Yang Yinhang's efforts in modern education and the whole family's role in the local network of new teachers, who were crucial for the state's educational reforms as well as for local perception of modern education by the end of *Keju*.

Second, the family of Yang and its role in the network of new teachers fills the blank left by many historians about the early educational development before the end of *Keju* in 1905. Little research has been done on those early new teachers and how they transformed the meaning of education through their own activities. For example, Sally Borthwick's monograph has drawn a broad picture of the rising numbers of the indigenous new schools, and the role of the state in the educational reforms, but her work focuses on the time period after 1904 and 1905.<sup>119</sup> Thomas Curran's work mostly examines the new system's function of social mobility and imported educational methods after the establishment of the Republic of China in 1911.<sup>120</sup> The studies of Elizabeth VanderVen and Stig Thøgersen are complementary to the works of Borthwick and Curran, which present how local scholars played leading roles in promoting new education, but also in the period after 1905.<sup>121</sup> However, in the case of the Yang family, attempts at introducing modern education preceded the state's authoritative policies after the end of *Keju* in 1905, or even the announcement of the new school system in 1903 and 1904. Their new schools and textbooks showed that they actually had already altered the meaning of education and the traditional role of imperial teachers before the state provided a standard direction of new education. Two monographs are crucial for this chapter. As shown in the Introduction, Cong

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<sup>119</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 65-103.

<sup>120</sup> Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 158-172; 219-288.

<sup>121</sup> VanderVen, *A School in Every Village*; Thøgersen, *A County of Culture*.

Xiaoping's study has pointed out the central role of teacher training schools in the whole new school system. Douglas Reynolds' monograph *China, 1898-1912* has provided significant research into the Japanese influence on China during the first decade of the twentieth century. His work focuses on Japanese teachers in China, and how Chinese students trained in Japan further developed legal and constitutional reforms. Reynolds also emphasises the importance of these early Japanese-styled teacher training schools in China, as does Cong Xiaoping.<sup>122</sup>

Third, in terms of the role that intellectuals had played according to their regional background, Barry Keenan's work has identified the pioneering role of the gentry scholars in the lower Yangzi area. His monograph specifically discussed the revival of classical academies during the *yangwu* era from the 1860s till the end of the Qing dynasty in lower Yangzi area. It has insightfully observed the transformed role of the local elites from 1896 to 1906, a key period that propelled the Qing court's decision to abolish the *Keju* mechanism.<sup>123</sup> Mary Rankin's monograph *Early Chinese Revolutionaries* also sheds light on the lower Yangzi area, which produced the largest number of political and intellectual revolutionaries who later successfully overturned the Qing dynasty and established the Republic of China.<sup>124</sup> These works demonstrate the role that the elites in the lower Yangzi area played in the nation's reforms during the late Qing era. They were culturally bound to Confucian tradition but were pioneers in embracing rapid social change, as represented by the Yang family. While the analysis of Keenan and Rankin is more Shanghai-based, this chapter contributes to the circumstances in Wuxi, an important literary county that was undergoing rapid urbanisation during the late Qing and early Republican eras.<sup>125</sup> This regional differences would lead to many factional struggles in Beijing during

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<sup>122</sup> Reynolds, *China 1898-1912*, 90-106.

<sup>123</sup> Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies*, 95-139.

<sup>124</sup> Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*.

<sup>125</sup> Toby Lincoln's recent monograph has brought this small but important county to front of stage. His work focuses on the industrialisation of Wuxi's agriculture, and on transportation and the building of cities throughout the early twentieth century. The area of modern education still awaits research. Toby Lincoln, *Urbanising China in War and Peace: the Case of Wuxi County* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

the 1910s and 1920s. When Yang became an educator after the establishment of Republican China, intellectuals of Jiangsu and Zhejiang origins occupied a large number of important positions in the Beiyang government, both in officialdom and academia. As it will show in the third and fourth chapters, factional struggles between professors from Jiangsu origin and Zhejiang origin were one of the dilemmas Yang faced.

### Structure and Sources

The chapter has four sections. The first section situates the Yang family in the *Keju* education system, and examines the Neo-Confucian meanings of ‘knowledge’, ‘education’ and ‘teachers’ in the traditional academies in Wuxi. It used both the primary sources on Yang’s family and the local gazetteers, located in Shanghai Library, to explain a gentry family’s traditional role under Imperial China. The second section demonstrates how the start of teacher training in the late nineteenth century influenced the Yang family, and how national trauma at the turn of the twentieth century influenced the family members’ decision to develop modern education. The third section discusses the activities of the new teachers returning from Japan in the Yang family and the changes they brought to local education. This includes Yang Yinyu’s unusual decision to divorce. It analyses the new schools and textbooks and finds that these new teachers resorted to both the modern curriculum and Confucian classics, through which they tried to create an ideal for modern education. Their formula was later integrated into the state’s design in the new school system, but differences existed based on their political standpoints. The final section explores the local reception towards these new teachers and the new education before 1905, and it categorises responses as being motivated by cultural and economic reasoning. In summary, this chapter explores the early environment that Yang Yinyu lived in, and demonstrates how her family, which was among the network of local new teachers, changed the meaning of ‘education’ and ‘teachers’ through their own activities.

## The Changing Role of the Yang Family under *Keju* Education

This first section finds that Yang Yinyu came from a typical gentry family in late Imperial China, who had political privilege as well as moral responsibility in local society. For generations of Chinese people in late Imperial China, the only route leading to power and prestige was taking Civil Services Examinations. The meanings of ‘education’ and ‘teachers’ were highly standardised under the *Keju* mechanism, which had Confucian morality as an orthodoxy. This context is essential to understand that promoting new education in late Qing era was a revolutionary, innovative, and even dangerous cause. It is also crucial to understand why Yang Yinhang’s new school and Yang Yinyu’s divorce, discussed later in this chapter, received furious resistance from the local community .

### The Social Class of Yang Family in Wuxi

In 1884, a critical year in which the Qing court lost its tributary area of Vietnam to France, Yang Yinyu was born in Wuxi (無錫). It was a county in Jiangsu Province in Southeast China, by the Jing-Hang Grand Canal (京杭大運河), close to the prosperous cities of Suzhou, Hangzhou, and the cosmopolitan Shanghai (Appendix A). These cities in southern Jiangsu Province (*jiangsu sheng* 江蘇省) and northern Zhejiang Province (*zhejiang sheng* 浙江省) formed the renowned area called Jiangnan (江南), literally meaning ‘the area south of the Yangzi River’. It had been the birthplace of the typical *wu* culture (*wu wenhua* 吳文化) since 1000 B.C and a literary centre in Southeast China.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> Under the Imperial administrative system before 1911, Wuxi, Suzhou and Shanghai were under three prefectures of Jiangsu Province: Wuxi in Changzhou prefecture (*Changzhou fu* 常州府), Suzhou in Suzhou prefecture (Suzhou fu 蘇州府), while Shanghai was in Songjiang prefecture (*Songjiang fu* 松江府). Hangzhou was under the Hangzhou prefecture (Hangzhou fu 杭州府) of Zhejiang Province. The *wu* cultural circle covers the places near the lower Yangzi River, including southern Jiangsu Province, northern Zhejiang Province, and eastern Anhui Province. These places have their exclusive dialects, folk arts and landscaping, namely *wu* dialects, Kun opera, and *wu* classical gardens and temples, which are distinguishable from those of other cultural areas of China. Zhang Yongchu, *Wuxi difangshi jiangtang* [*The Local History of Wuxi*] (Beijing: China Translation & Publishing Corporation, 2009), 37; Wang Gengtang and Feng Ju, ed. *Wuxi shihua* [*The History of Wuxi*] (Nanjing: Jiangsu guji chubanshe [Jiangsu Ancient Works Press], 1988), 12-26.

During the 1850s and 1870s, the lower Yangzi area was under severe turmoil and reconstruction due to the Taiping occupation of Jiangsu.<sup>127</sup>

The area had long been a base for the South Examination District of the *Keju* examinations, and was renowned for its natural scenery, which was regarded by the Chinese traditional literati as a sort of fairyland. As calculated by the Republican historian and politician Xie Baoqiao (謝保樵, 1890?-1960?) based on the *Records of the Great Qing* (*daqing huidian* 大清會典), the Jiangnan provinces Jiangsu and Zhejiang were among the top five provinces with the largest number of examination candidates.<sup>128</sup> As the missionary Hampden Coit DuBose (1845-1910) observed, ‘proud scholars have crowded in the examination halls, authors have filled the shelves of the book stores, and poets have sung of the old landmarks so celebrated in history’.<sup>129</sup> Thanks to its central location on the Yangzi Delta, Jiangnan provinces enjoyed convenient access to the water transportation on the Grand Canal and the East China Sea, thus it became an economic centre and saw quick urbanisation during the late nineteenth century.<sup>130</sup> After the 1890s, its unique location allowed it to become a major harbour connecting China and Japan, which made it a cradle for early revolutionaries returning from Japan, including Yang Yinhang.<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies*, 9.

<sup>128</sup> As cultural variations existed, the examination districts of the *Keju* examinations were divided into two parts—the north and the south. Wuxi belonged to the southern examination district. Pao-chao Hsieh, *The Government of China, 1644-1911* (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., 1966), 157-163. The monograph was first published in 1925 based on the author Xie Baoqiao (謝保樵, 1890-1960)'s PhD thesis written at Johns Hopkins University, USA in 1920. Xie later became an important aide of Sun Ke (孫科, 1891-1973), the son of Sun Yat-sen, and a politician in the Republican era.

<sup>129</sup> Hampden Coit DuBose, *Beautiful Soo: A Handbook to Soochow*, 2nd edition (Shanghai: Kelly&Walsh Ltd., 1911), 11. Rev. Hampden Coit DuBose was a Presbyterian missionary travelling in China and the founder of the Anti-Opium League of China. He arrived in China in 1872 and settled in Suzhou for over twenty years, with the Chinese name Du Buxi (杜步西).

<sup>130</sup> Lincoln, *Urbanising China in War and Peace*, 2.

<sup>131</sup> Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 3.

In Imperial China, attending the *Keju* examinations had been the only and ultimate way to enter officialdom and ascend to the class of gentry scholars, who were at the top of the social hierarchy in an order of scholar (*shi* 士), farmer (*nong* 農), artisan (*gong* 工) and merchant (*shang* 商).<sup>132</sup> As the German sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920) observed, for more than twelve centuries, ‘social rank in China has been determined more by qualification for office than by wealth. This qualification, in turn, has been determined by education.’<sup>133</sup> To be a scholar, one had to obtain, either by knowledge or payment, at least the lowest degree through the *Keju* examinations. This ‘golden ladder’ was extremely time-consuming and rigorous. Japanese historian Ichisada Miyazaki called it ‘China’s examination hell’.<sup>134</sup> Young boys enrolled in traditional academies or had personal tutors to be trained to complete the imperial examinations, which were divided into literary (*wenke* 文科) and military (*wuke* 武科) categories. These *tongsheng* (lit. young candidates 童生), then aged between twelve to sixteen years old, attended the first phase of the examinations— Youth Examinations (*tongshi* 童試), which were then further ranked upwards according to administrative regions into three tiers: the District Examination (*xianshi* 縣試), Prefectural Examination (*fushi* 府試), and Qualifying Examination (*yuanshi* 院試).

Taking the lowest rank—the Qualifying Examination as an example, it required the candidates to recite and write out the Neo-Confucian classics *Four Books*, and also command two or three of the

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<sup>132</sup> Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ching China* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1979), 24.

<sup>133</sup> Max Weber, “The Struggle of Monarch and Nobility: Origin of the Career Open to Talent,” essay in Johanna M. Menzel, ed. *The Chinese Civil Service, Career Open to Talent? Problems in Asian Civilisations* (Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company, 1963), 57.

<sup>134</sup> Ichisada Miyazaki, trans. by Conrad Schirokauer, *China’s Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981).

*Five Classics*.<sup>135</sup> Their knowledge would be examined through a form of Eight-Legged Essay (*baguwen* 八股文), which tested whether they were versed in applying the classics into practical use.<sup>136</sup> After passing it, the candidate would be granted a title of licentiate (*shengyuan* 生員). The licentiates would be qualified to receive allowances from the provincial governments to use to prepare themselves for the higher phases of examinations (Figure 1)—Provincial (*xiangshi* 鄉試) Metropolitan (*huishi* 會試), and Palace Examinations (*dianshi* 殿試). Each phase was connected with a certain level of degrees and official positions in higher offices or even the central court.<sup>137</sup> The epitaph of Yang Yinyu's father Yang Xuexin (楊學忻, 1854-1908) shows that the Yang family had been among the class of gentry scholars for a long time, and had obtained and successfully maintained their social class for generations through the *Keju* examinations. According to the epitaph (Figure 2), the father of the Yang Yinyu siblings was granted the second rank of official (*er'ping* 二品) by the Qing Court. This was an upper-high class of literary officials amongst the nine ranks and took charge of *yangwu* businesses in the Jiangxi and Anhui provinces.<sup>138</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> The Four Books (*sishu* 四書) consists of *daxue* 大學 *zhongyong* 中庸 *lunyu* 論語 *mengzi* 孟子, which were the teachings of Confucius 孔子 and Mengzi 孟子 and the explanations of Song scholar Zhu Xi 朱熹. The Five Classics is composed of *shijing* 詩經, *shangshu* 尚書, *lijì* 禮記, *zhouyi* 周易, and *chunqiu* 春秋, which were poems, history and philosophy of the ancient dynasties. Huang Junjie, *Dongya ruzhe de sishu quanshi* [Interpretations on the Four Books by the Confucian Intellectuals of East Asia: China, Japan and Korea] (Taipei: guoli taiwan daxue chuban zhongxin [National Taiwan University Press], 2005).

<sup>136</sup> The Eight-Legged Essay took its name from its fixed structure of eight paragraphs. The candidate had to make clear his opinions by combining the Confucian classics into: 1 a preliminary remark consisting of two sentences; 2 an introduction with three sentences; 3 a general discussion of a short paragraph; 4 a specific reference to the subject, a paragraph of one to three sentences; 5 the first rhyme paragraph, a short one; 6 the second rhyme paragraph, a long one; 7 a preliminary concluding paragraph; 8 a final concluding paragraph. Hsieh, *The Government of China*, 147-148.

<sup>137</sup> Degree titles granted by the *Keju* system are recorded in: Shang Yanliu, *Qingdai keju kaoshi shulu* [A Record of the Qing Civil Service Examinations] (Beijing: The Forbidden City Publishing House, 2012). Shang Yanliu (商衍鏗, 1875-1963) was one of the last examinees to take the Civil Service Examinations in 1904, and obtained the top title *tanhua* 探花 through the Palace Examination. The book was first published by *sanlian shudian* [Three Joint Book Company] in Shanghai in 1958.

<sup>138</sup> Yang Jiang did not provide any information about her grandfather's social background in her memoir, but simply mentioned 'my grandfather was a very small official in Zhejiang.' Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 5. She also did not mention her family's relationship with the late Qing reformer Sheng Xuanhuai. The reason might be that she did not know her family background, or she concealed it because of the intensified class struggle during the Cultural Revolution in the 1960s.



As shown in the epitaph, Yang Xuexin's qualification (*chushen* 出身) was that of recommended scholar (*fu jiansheng* 附監生), a title for those officials' children who had passed some lower tiers of the Phase I examinations but needed to pay additional financial donations to obtain a proper degree. This implies that the Yang family had been within the *Keju* mechanism for generations. Yang Xuexin's brother Yang Wending (楊文鼎, 1852-1911), on the other hand, was a military licentiate (*wu juren* 武舉人), who had passed at least all the three tiers in Phase I, and served in a higher position in the *yangwu* camp under Li Hongzhang, the General Viceroy. Yang Xuexin and Yang Wending had both participated directly in *yangwu* business, working closely with Sheng Xuanhuai, the Minister of Railways (*tielu dachen* 鐵路大臣) and a chief aide of Li Hongzhang, who was among the most important figures in promoting *yangwu*, including the railways, factories and new schools. According to the telegraphs between Sheng Xuanhuai and Yang Wending, as well as Yang Xuexin, Sheng and the Yang brothers regarded each other as close allies in dealing with the business of railways in the provinces of Hunan and Hubei.<sup>139</sup>

### *Neo-Confucianism and Changing Meanings of Teachers and Education*

In Qing China, as well as in previous dynasties, there was not an independent Ministry of Education, and the *Keju* system had been administered and conducted directly by the Li Bu, the Ministry of Rites (*Li Bu* 禮部), one of the six major imperial ministries. The first Ministry of Education (*Xue Bu* 學部) in Chinese history came into being as an independent ministry taking charge of national education only in 1906, after the abolishment of the *Keju* system in 1905.<sup>140</sup> Past scholarship on the early

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<sup>139</sup> Yang Wending, "Yang Wending zhi Sheng Xuanhuai dian [Telegraph from Yang Wending to Sheng Xuanhuai]"; Yang Xuexin, "Yang Xuexin zhi Sheng Xuanhuai han [Letter from Yang Xuexin to Sheng Xuanhuai]," *Sheng Xuanhuai dang'an [Archives of Sheng Xuanhuai]*. Accessed from *Shanghai Municipal Library*, archival no. 113441, 063468. The telegraphs were made during the 1909 to 1910 when Yang Wending was the provincial governor of Hunan, discussing issues such as the railways of Hunan, disasters and refugees in Jiangsu and Anhui.

<sup>140</sup> The six main administrative ministries of the Qing dynasty were: Ministry of Personnel (*li bu* 吏部), Ministry of Revenue (*hu bu* 戶部), Ministry of Rites (*li bu* 禮部), Ministry of Defence (*bing bu* 兵部), Ministry of Justice (*xing bu* 刑部) and Ministry of Works (*gong bu* 工部). Hsieh, *The Government of China*.

twentieth-century educational reforms, such as Borthwick and Curran, has pointed out this distinction between traditional and modern education in terms of the bureaucratic structure. Curran's work emphasises the appointment of the *Keju* candidates in the Ministry of Civil Office (*Li Bu* 吏部), which was another main ministry responsible for personnel administration.<sup>141</sup> Borthwick, on the other hand, recognised *Keju* education under the Ministry of Rites (also called *Li Bu* but in different characters 禮部) as 'centralised, operated on a national scale' and that it 'fulfilled a rational bureaucratic function implemented through a series of impersonal, universalistic regulations.'<sup>142</sup>

However, what they have not discussed is the significance of educational examinations being run by a ministry that had been in charge of imperial rites for centuries, and how Confucian and Neo-Confucian classics contributed to maintaining a strong moral order among the Chinese elites. It directly shaped the Chinese ideas of 'education', 'teachers' and 'knowledge' before the new education system was introduced in 1903. Renowned Chinese historian Ping-ti Ho recognised that the Qing rulers took a particular interest in Confucian and Neo-Confucian orthodoxy: 'In no earlier period of Chinese history do we find a deeper permeation and wider acceptance of the norms, mores, and values which modern students regard as Confucian.'<sup>143</sup> An analysis of the meaning of 'knowledge', 'teachers' and 'education' under *Keju* education, therefore, contributes to our understanding of the struggles and difficulties of new teachers such as the Yang family when they were promoting the new education system in the late Qing era.

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<sup>141</sup> Curran, *Educational Reforms in Republican China*, 23. Curran fails to mention the Ministry of Rites, and only mentions the Ministry of Civil Office, also called the Ministry of Personnel. Although the Ministry of Personnel was responsible for elite recruitment, evaluation, promotion etc., it was the Ministry of Rites that held the examinations.

<sup>142</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 5.

<sup>143</sup> Ping-ti Ho, "The Significance of Ch'ing Period in Chinese History," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 26, no.2, (1967), 193.

Firstly, the *Keju* examinations per se were held as a kind of imperial ritual, which aimed to select the people who were most capable of displaying Confucian morals. The Ministry of Rites was divided into five bureaus: the Bureau of Ceremonial Systems attending to court ceremonies, ceremonies for conferring titles, court uniforms, weddings of officials, education and examinations; the Bureau of Sacrificial Rites for state sacrifices, funerals, editing calendars etc.; the Diplomatic Bureau for maintaining business in the tribute system; the Bureau of Supply for the preparation of diplomatic banquets and general supplies; and the Engraving Bureau for the manufacture of official seals.<sup>144</sup> As we can see from the structure of the Ministry of Rites, the *Keju* examinations were running as an organic part of the wider social rituals. These rituals had an orthodox standard of right and wrong and a moral code based on the Confucian classics, and thus *Keju* examinations were in accordance with all the other parts of social ceremonies. Those who succeeded in the examinations were seen as authorities of knowledge and morality, and they were officially approved to lead other public ceremonies and assist the emperor in governing the nation.

Local communities and the wider public usually highly respected gentry scholars who had obtained degrees from the examinations because of the difficulty of passing them. Candidates often spent their lifetime studying the Confucian classics, and pursuing degrees through the *Keju* examinations. Though there were regulations on age limits, older candidates who did not pass the first phase would repeatedly take these examinations even in their fifties or sixties in order to gain a title.<sup>145</sup> Thus, they were respected by people as intellectuals (*dushuren/ shusheng* 讀書人/書生), and their ranking in officialdom (*gongming* 功名) would be recorded on their epitaphs as their most prominent glory for

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<sup>144</sup> Hsieh, *The Government of China*, 141-142.

<sup>145</sup> Shang, *Qingdai keju kaoshi shulu*, 6-33.

the whole family.<sup>146</sup> As it shows in Yang Xuexin's epitaph (Figure 1.2), his official ranking and *Keju* title were listed at the top of the whole text.

Second, the nature of 'knowledge' in the context of *Keju* education had an orthodox interpretation of right and wrong as well, which was again defined by the dominant Confucian trend. In the *Mencius*, one of the *Four Books*, the essential knowledge was 'filial piety' (*xiao* 孝), the love for one's parents and respect for one's elders. Another example of the definition of knowledge is from another *Four Books* collection *Da Xue*, 'such extension of knowledge lay in the investigation of things'.<sup>147</sup> From an orthodox Confucian standpoint, as Richard Smith has pointed out, the knowledge associated with the Confucian classics was the only kind of knowledge worth having, and the knowledge of technical skills was regarded as the duty of *gong* artisans.<sup>148</sup> William Ayer has noticed the struggle of the late Qing statesman Zhang Zhidong when he turned from defending the Confucian orthodoxy towards the *yangwu* camp: 'Zhang betrayed distrust in the efficacy of righteousness (*yi* 義), by endeavouring to support righteousness with wealth and strength—factories, railroads, ships guns—the materials of profit (*li* 利) demeaned by Confucian orthodoxy.'<sup>149</sup>

The existing literature by Borthwick, Curran, Bastid and VanderVen has provided a detailed introduction to the two main types of schools under *Keju* system. The first one was the government schools (*guanxue* 官學), funded and run by central government, situated in the Imperial College (*guozijian* 國子監), a divine place that represented the sacred orthodoxy of Chinese learning based on

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<sup>146</sup> Henrietta Harrison's biographical monograph on the late Qing gentry scholar Liu Dapeng (1857-1942) records a detail that Liu Dapeng's degree title was engraved on the main gates of his house in order to display his glory in the neighbourhood. Harrison, *The Man Awakened from Dreams*, 1. The importance of passing the *Keju* examinations and being a gentry scholar to a whole family is also shown in: Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ching China*, 24; Shang, *Qingdai keju kaoshi shulu*, 30.

<sup>147</sup> R.F. Price, *Education in Modern China* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), 53.

<sup>148</sup> Richard J. Smith, *China's Cultural Heritage, the Qing Dynasty, 1644-1912*, 2nd edition (Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press, 1994), 145.

<sup>149</sup> Ayer, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 5. As it read in *Lu Yu*, the *Analects of Confucius*, "Good people know righteousness, bad people know profits." (*junzi yu yu li, xiaoren yu yu li* 君子喻於義，小人喻於利)

the Confucian classics. Generations of traditional gentry scholars took entering it as the highest and ultimate goal in life, and the most prestigious ones worked in it to maintain the Chinese orthodoxy. The other main type was the traditional private schools (*sishu* 私塾), which were usually small locally-funded schools, boys only, and led by one or two teachers.<sup>150</sup> However, they have not mentioned the most important type of educational institution—the study palace (*xuegong* 學宮), a kind of literary temple (*wenmiao* 文廟) originating from the Song Dynasty (*song chao* 宋朝, 960-1279) that served both educational and religious functions.<sup>151</sup> The reason why the imperial study palaces have been neglected by contemporary historians is that they belonged to a kind of temple at the time, and do not exist in China nowadays.

In Wuxi, there were private academies (*shuyuan* 書院), charity schools (*yixue* 義學) and clan schools (*jiashu* 家塾). In addition, the officially-promoted orthodoxy was the Wuxi Confucian School (*xuegong* 學宮 Figure 3).<sup>152</sup> According to the Wuxi Gazetteer, the Wuxi Study Palace was set up in the south of Wuxi by the Zaodai river, and was firstly built up during the Song dynasty in 1058 (*song jiyao sannian* 宋嘉祐三年). It defined that ‘from ancient times, schools were set up in order to promote human ethics.’<sup>153</sup> In the Study Palace, there was a main shrine, Dacheng Palace (*dacheng dian* 大成殿), with a scribed board displaying the imperial emperors’ words.<sup>154</sup> Beside Dacheng Palace was a Moral Shrine (*mingde tang* 明德堂), in which sacred teacher (*xianshi* 先師) Kong Zi

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<sup>150</sup> Curran, *Educational Reforms in Republican China*, 39-75; Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 17-30.

<sup>151</sup> There is not a study of early twentieth-century educational reforms in English that discusses *xuegong* or *wenmiao*. For research on another imperial study palace in Guangzhou, see: Deqing *xuegong* bianweihui [Editing Committee of Deqing Study Palace], *Deqing xuegong* [Deqing Study Palace] (Guangzhou: Guangzhou yinxiang chubanshe [Guangzhou Audiovision Press, 2004).

<sup>152</sup> “Xuexiao [Schools],” Pei Dazhong and Ni Xiansheng, ed. *Wuxi Jingui xianzhi, Guangxu* [Gazetteer of Wuxi and Jingui, Guangxu Period], Introductory volume, (Wuxi, 1881), 31. Hereafter WJXZ. Altogether there are 40 volumes and 1 introductory volume and 6 appendix volumes.

<sup>153</sup> WJXZ (1881), vol. 6, 7. *gu zhe xuexiao zhi she yi ming renlun* “古者學校之設以明人倫”

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

Confucius (孔子, 551 BC-479 BC) and his disciples including Yan Zi (顏子, 521 BC-481 BC), Zeng Zi (曾子, 505 BC-435 BC) and Meng Zi Mencius (孟子, 372 BC-289 BC) were consecrated with offerings such as fresh fruits, sheep and musical instruments.<sup>155</sup>

Marianne Bastid has pointed out that local teachers in Confucian academies largely consisted of those gentry scholars who held *Keju* degrees but had failed to enter officialdom, but her work has not further demonstrated how imperial teachers differed from general Confucian gentry scholars.<sup>156</sup> According to the Wuxi Gazetteer, imperial teachers had a heavier responsibility to impart morality than gentry scholars: ‘a teacher uses his morals to teach people, while Confucian scholars teach the people Six Skills.’<sup>157</sup> The Six Skills (*liu yi* 六藝) were the general requirements of being a qualified Confucian gentry scholar other than commanding the Four Books and Five Classics: Confucian rites (*li* 禮), ancient music (*yue* 樂), archery (*she* 射), horse and carriage-riding (*yu* 御), writing (*shu* 書), and yin-yang methods (*shu* 數). In this context, therefore, ‘education’ (*jiao* 教) meant teaching people about Confucian morals, rites and the other necessary skills in leading social ceremonies, while teachers (*shi* 師) were expected to pass on the essence of Confucian morals through their own behaviour.

As Xie Baoqiao explained, peoples’ attitude towards an individual at this time was determined by an appraisal of whether they embodied morality through following the Confucian rites: ‘By it [the Confucian rites] everyone should abide; violation of it would cause public disapproval or constitute a legal offence... by living up to it, public esteem is earned’.<sup>158</sup> Historians usually acknowledge that gentry scholars who passed in *Keju* examinations possessed more political power and privileges. For

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<sup>155</sup> Ibid., 8-10.

<sup>156</sup> Bastid, *Educational Reforms in Early Twentieth Century China*, 15.

<sup>157</sup> *WJXZ* (1881), 6: 7. *shi yi dexing jiaomin, ru yi liuyi jiaomin* “師以德行教民 儒以六藝教民”

<sup>158</sup> Hsieh, *The Government of China*, 140-141.

example, only they could attend official ceremonies in Confucian temples, and only they were qualified to lead ancestral rituals in the clans. However, gentry scholars were also expected to strictly follow these rites and act as models for other people.<sup>159</sup>

Yang Yinyu's many brothers, including Yang Yinhang, Yang Yinhuan (楊蔭桓, birth and death dates unknown), and Yang Yinyue (楊蔭樾, birth and death dates unknown), attended traditional academies since childhood, as most boys from literary families did.<sup>160</sup> In their childhood, the children listened to their father and grandfather chanting classic poems, among which was a poem by Tang dynasty politician Bai Juyi (白居易, 772-846) that symbolised this *Keju* culture that combined both politics and literature: 'If I cannot bring myself yet to put Hangzhou behind me, Half of what holds me here is on this lake.'<sup>161</sup> As the poem implied, the Jiangnan area had long been an attractive literary centre for Chinese scholars, and the young members in Yang family were supposed to take a usual route as their ancestors had done here. However, as the Qing court had to reform traditional education after the mid-19th century, the younger generation would no longer climb the 'golden ladder' and worked in their usual roles beside the beautiful lakes. Instead, out of a sense of responsibility that derived from their social class, they were eager to build up a new system of knowledge which they believed would be a remedy to save the nation from falling apart.

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<sup>159</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 89-99, 141-143.

<sup>160</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 4-5; According to the epitaph, Yang Xuexin had altogether seven children, among whom Yang Yinyu ranked the fifth: Yang Yinrong 楊蔭榕, Yinhuan 楊蔭桓, Yinyue 楊蔭樾, Yinchun 楊蔭椿, Yinyu 楊蔭榆, Yinhuai 楊蔭懷, Yin'nan 楊蔭楠. Yang Xuexin's brother Yang Wending had five children Yinkai 楊蔭楷, Yinfen 楊蔭棻, Yintong 楊蔭桐, Yinpan 楊蔭槃, Yinqi 楊蔭杞. In Yang Jiang's memoir, she recalled her aunts Yang Yinfen and Yang Yinyu, uncles Yang Yinhuan and Yang Yinyue, but not any other members of this big family. On the epitaph, however, the name of Yang Jiang's father Yang Yinhang 楊蔭杭 did not appear at all. In reference to Yang Jiang's memoir, the epitaph, and the student records of Yang Yinhang and Yang Yinyue in the 1920s, I think Yang Yinchun 楊蔭椿 was probably the original name of Yang Yinhang.

<sup>161</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 4. The poet Bai Juyi expressed his reluctance when he was moved from his official position from Hangzhou to Shaanxi. Bai Juyi, edited by Liu Yisheng, *Bai Juyi shixuan [Selected Poems of Bai Juyi]* (Hong Kong: Three Joint Book Company, 1985), 64. The translation is from A.C. Graham, *Poems of the West Lake: Translations from the Chinese* (London: Wellsweep, 1990), [available online]:[http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=028\\_graham.inc&issue=028](http://www.chinaheritagequarterly.org/features.php?searchterm=028_graham.inc&issue=028).

## The Yang Family in the Late Qing Educational Reforms

Based on a stepping stone in Sheng Xuanhuai's pilot program of teacher training school, Yang Yinhang went to study in Japan. This section analyses the role of education of teacher training in the educational reforms in the late Qing era, and examines why Yang Yinhang and many of his peers returned from Japan took new education as their main duty. In a social context of national extinction, these new teachers held a strong sense of humiliation based on their experiences in Japan. They saw new education as the ultimate way to promote the new ideas including constitutionalism and nationalism, which they believed as the 'secret' of a stronger nation.

### *The Beginning of Teacher Training Education, 1897*

Much has been studied about the changes to Chinese education caused by the establishment of *Tongwen Guan* from the 1860s until 1890s.<sup>162</sup> As Borthwick has argued, the Qing court's attempts to adopt Westernised institutions between the 1860s and 1895 were 'interested in content, not the forms'.<sup>163</sup> However, historians have not paid attention to the new teacher training education, or teacher training education, which was the starting point for these rising new teachers in the lower Yangzi area. During the era when the Qing reformers tried to convert the traditional academies into modern schools of education, the most urgent need was that of who would be qualified to teach in these new schools.

In 1897, Sheng Xuanhuai opened the first teacher training school—Shanghai Nanyang Public School, which marked the beginning of modern teachers' education in China.<sup>164</sup> As discussed before, Cong Xiaoping's study takes it as the starting point as well, and discusses the crucial role of the teacher training schools in the Chinese school system between 1897 and 1937. Sheng Xuanhuai's idea of

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<sup>162</sup> See "T'ung-wen Kuan and the Modernisation of Chinese Education," *Ibid.*, 241-248; Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 39.

<sup>163</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 39.

<sup>164</sup> "Shifan jiaoyu [Teacher training Education]," *JYCD*, 463.



training modern teachers began in 1895, when he opened the first modern university in Chinese history, Beiyang College (*Beiyang daxuetang* 北洋大學堂) in Tianjin.<sup>165</sup> Its structure had shaken the role that the Imperial College *Guozhi Jian* had played, and the Confucian classics had no longer been the sole main curriculum. Echoed by Zhang Zhidong and Li Hongzhang, Sheng Xuanhuai believed that building new schools that taught modern subjects was the first step in strengthening the nation, and that this education would benefit generations of Chinese people for the long term. Beiyang College at the time had two grades, and courses in both consisted of English language and modern subjects including Geometry, Pythagorean theory, Physics etc.<sup>166</sup> Sheng particularly emphasised learning lessons from the recent Japanese school system, whose ideology later inspired Zhang Zhidong to write in his *Exhortation to Study*:

‘To cultivate talents is like planting trees, if schools were opened a year later, then talents would come a year later. Japan has learned from the West and widely opened modern academies and schools since its Meiji Restoration; not only its army officials and navy officials are chosen from these modern schools, but even its diplomatic officials of foreign departments [the Ministry of Foreign Affairs] are chosen from the legal departments [of the modern schools]. Its artisans who are making weapons and building railways are also from the departments of machinery, geography or chemistry. Japan has achieved glory merely after a decade or more.’<sup>167</sup>

In his Beiyang College, inspired by the Japanese model, Sheng Xuanhuai aimed to develop specialists (*zhuancai* 專才) who were proficient in foreign languages or specific modern technologies, rather than traditional generalists (*tongcai* 通才), the polymath, which in the Chinese context meant those who had a thorough command of traditional Confucian learning. At the time when the *Keju* system was

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<sup>165</sup> “Beiyang xuetang [Beiyang College],” *JYCD*, 147.

<sup>166</sup> Shu, *JYSZL*, vol.1, (1963): 140-141. First Year students would learn: Geometry, Pythagorean theory, Physics, Hand-Sketching and World History; Second Year courses were: Geographic Measuring, Calculus, Physics, Chemistry, Hand-Sketching and Machine-Sketching; students of the Third Year learned: Astronomy, Chemistry, Botanic, Hand-Sketching and Machine-Sketching; and in the final year students learned: Epigraphy, Geography, Studies on Animals, International Law, and Law of Wealth. The course of ‘Studies on Animals’ is equivalent to Biology today, while the ‘Law of Wealth’ was similar to today’s Economics .

<sup>167</sup> Shu, *JYSZL*, vol.1, (1963), 38.

still the authoritative leviathan and Confucian classics represented the pinnacle of knowledge, Sheng guaranteed that the top students of Beiyang College would be ‘awarded special titles, or allowed chances to study abroad, and given official posts in promoting *yangwu*.’<sup>168</sup>

Yang Yinhang, aged 17, passed the entrance examination and enrolled at Beiyang College. In the First Grade, where Yang Yinhang was enrolled, English Writing and English Translation were the two compulsory courses throughout the four years. His elder brother Yang Yinhuan was admitted to Hubei Military Preparatory Academy (*Hubei wubei xuetao* 湖北武備學堂), which was also a new military school training modern soldiers, founded by Zhang Zhidong in 1897.<sup>169</sup> Yang Yinhang was proud of this experience, and regarded himself as a ‘Beiyang man’ (*lao beiyang* 老北洋).<sup>170</sup> In 1897, Sheng Xuanhuai further opened Shanghai Nanyang Public School, in order to turn the first generation of Chinese students into new teachers. For nearly half a century, foreign teachers (*yang jiaoxi*) were employed by the Qing court to teach in *Tongwen Guan* and the early new schools. There were ten major subjects in *Tongwen Guan*— Chinese, English, French, Russian, German, Chemistry, Astronomy, Physics, Medicine and Japanese. Except for the subject of Chinese, all the other subjects relied heavily on foreign teachers.<sup>171</sup> In Sheng’s Beiyang College, the chief tutor was Charles Daniel Tenney (1857-1930), an American consul based in Tianjin. The chief commander was Wu Tingfang

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<sup>168</sup> *Ibid.*, 1:139.

<sup>169</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 71; “Wubei xuetao [Military Academies],” *JYCD*, 347.

<sup>170</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 6.

<sup>171</sup> “Tongwen guan liren han yang jiaoxi jizai [The Chinese and Foreign Teachers in Tongwen Guan],” Gao, *YWYDJY* (1993), 65-69.

(伍廷芳, 1842-1922), China's first lawyer and a rare talent who obtained his PhD degree in London.<sup>172</sup>

Nanyang Public School had altogether four departments (Figure 4). The first one was Teacher Training Department (*shifan yuan* 師範院), a pilot program largely borrowed from Japanese teacher training schools. It enrolled thirty students by public examinations. They were all aged below thirty and were called students of teacher training.<sup>173</sup> Parallel to Teacher Training Department was a three-tiered system. At the bottom was the Foreign Languages Department (*wai yuan* 外院), which enrolled four classes with 120 younger boys aged between eight and fifteen, and taught them foreign languages and further prepared them as students for teacher training as well. Above Foreign Languages Department was Middle-level Department (*zhong yuan* 中院), which enrolled qualified students from the Foreign Languages Department. Above that was the Upper-level Department (*shang yuan* 上院), which admitted qualified students from Middle Department. Students in Teacher Training Department were trained to be teachers and took hours of apprenticeship in the three other departments, while students in the three departments continued to ascend to upper departments and finally trained in the Teacher Training Department.<sup>174</sup> In addition, Sheng Xuanhuai set up a curriculum comprised of 'both Chinese and Western learning', and taught the students 'teaching pedagogies'. The Chinese learning basically provided 'morals, politics, Confucian classics', while the Western learning was 'borrowed from Japanese schools which had Law, Literature, and Social Sciences'. Taking the Middle-level

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<sup>172</sup> Wu Tingfang was China's first diplomat, who participated in the negotiation of Shimonoseki Treaty in 1895. Charles Daniel Tenney, after graduated from the Oberlin University Postgraduate School in 1879, firstly went to Shanxi, China in 1882 as a priest. He then moved to Tianjin in 1886 and opened his own academy, the Sino-Western Academy (*zhongxi xuetang* 中西學堂). In the meantime, he served as the vice consul in the Consulate General of United States in Tianjin. Zhang Yunqiao, *Wu Tingfang yu qingmo zhengzhi gaige [Wu Tingfang and the Political Reforms of Late Qing Era]* (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi [Lianjing Press], 1987); Xiaoshi bianji shi [The Editing Committee of University History], *Beiyang daxue-Tianjin daxue xiaoshi [The History of Beiyang-Tianjin University]*, vol.1: December 1895-January 1949 (Tianjin: Tianjin University Press, 1990), 19.

<sup>173</sup> "Nanyang gongxue jianming zhangcheng [Regulations of Nanyang Public School]," *Cui bao*, no. 9, (1897): 4-7.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

Department as an example, it had seven main subjects: Morals, Languages, Maths, Geography, History, Physics and Law.<sup>175</sup> This curriculum would also be used in the Decree of Teacher Training issued by the Qing court in 1903 as well. This structure which had an adjacent system of both teacher training and apprenticeship was later adopted in teacher training schools in the Renyin-Guimao system in 1903 (Figure 5).

As shown in Figure 5, the introductory and higher-level teacher training schools were set aside the national school structure, and served the function of producing qualified teachers to teach in the new schools. In the years immediately after the abolition of *Keju*, the teacher training schools took in a large amount of *Keju* candidates, but later the student quota would be filled from the new elementary schools. After this, the structure and the curriculum in the Nanyang Public School fundamentally altered the meaning of being a teacher. On the one hand, the weight of knowledge was propelled from Confucian classics towards the modern subjects, which were regarded as necessary for the modernisation of China. On the other hand, the requirement of teachers to be moral exemplars in the Confucian context remained, and morals were still seen as the priority over all the other qualities of being a modern teacher. Of course, the standard of morality would be redefined in the following decades due to political changes and educational trends.

Yang Yinhang did not stay at Beiyang College for long. Around 1896, he was dismissed by the chief tutor because he participated in a student protest in school. According to Yang Jiang, the student protest started from a small issue about the food in the school canteen, but when the foreign tutor came to calm the disputes and dismissed a student from Guangdong. Yang Yinhang was angry that ‘no one stood up to fight’ and made a protest.<sup>176</sup> Fortunately, Yang Yinhang was soon enrolled at Shanghai

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 6.

<sup>176</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 5-6.

Nanyang Public School. This was a very early case of the xenophobic confrontation and student protest within these early new schools. In traditional Confucian academies where teachers were seen as inviolable authorities, penalties were often taken for granted as the proper measures to make students behave. However, the unprecedented existence of foreign tutors in China at the time had the potential to provoke students to non-compliance or to instill a sense of humiliation among the Chinese students. Mary Rankin in her studies of those early revolutionaries in the lower Yangzi area used a later case that happened at Nanyang Public School in 1902 to discuss the student dissatisfaction of the time. As she argues, similar incidents occurred widely in those early new schools. Although individually they were not often important, taken together they show widespread rebelliousness that hinted at, or perhaps even contributed to the development of later revolutions.<sup>177</sup>

### *The Anti-Qing Activist Yang Yinhang and the Chinese Students in Japan*

The new schools of Sheng Xuanhuai became the main experimental site for Zhang Zhidong's policies on sending Chinese students overseas. Yang Yinhang was sent to Japan in 1899, and was among the first generation of Chinese students studying there. Japan at that time was the headquarters of Chinese overseas revolutionaries. After the First Sino-Japanese War, Sun Yat-sen attempted his first armed uprising against the Manchu rulers in Guangzhou, but soon failed. Sun and his many followers found political shelter in Japan, and set up a branch of his China Revival Society (*xingzhong hui*) in Yokohama, which later became the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1912.<sup>178</sup> On the other hand, as mentioned before, in the coup of 1898, many allies in Emperor Guangxu's camp were executed, and Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao had to escape to Japan as well.<sup>179</sup> Both of the forces of Sun Yat-sen

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<sup>177</sup> Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 64.

<sup>178</sup> The Revival China Society was originally established by Sun Yat-sen in Honolulu in 1895. Feng Ziyou, *Geming yishi [The History of Revolution]* (Changsha: Shangwu yinshu guan [Commercial Press], 1939), 1. Feng Ziyou (馮自由, 1882-1958) was born in Japan and participated in Sun Yat-sen's China Revival Society in 1895. *Geming Yishi* was his memoir based on his experiences in Japan with Sun Yat-sen. In this memoir, Feng recorded the activities of Chinese students in Japan, including Yang Yinhang's translation group.

<sup>179</sup> Kang Youwei, *Kang Nanhai zibian nianpu [The Chronology of Kang Youwei]* (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [China Book Company], 1992), 28.

and Kang-Liang were advocating for radical reforms, and were enemies of the Empress Dowager. However, their opposing standpoints were incompatible. While Sun aimed to overturn the whole Qing court of Manchu nobles, the purpose of Kang-Liang's radical reforms was to maintain the Qing court, though they vowed their loyalty to the Emperor and not the Empress Dowager.<sup>180</sup>

When Yang Yinhang and another six students from Nanyang Public School first arrived in Japan, they were allocated by the Ministry of Education of Japan to a language institution, near to Waseda University in Tokyo (then called Tokyo College 東京專門學校), to learn the Japanese language.<sup>181</sup> The young students, as outsiders to the imperial court, at first were neutral towards either of the factions of Sun or Kang-Liang. In early 1900, these Chinese students, who were the earliest to go to study in Japan and consisted of altogether no more than a hundred people including Yang Yinhang, launched a Chinese student society named the Encouragement Association (*lizhi hui* 勵志會). Its original purpose was to keep the Chinese students in touch, and encourage each other to complete their study in Japan. However, after the Boxer Uprising broke out in 1900, these students soon divided themselves into two groups—the moderates (*wenjian pai* 穩健派), who still supported gradual institutional reforms, and the radicals (*jijin pai* 激進派), who advocated for radical revolutions to overturn the Manchu rulers.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> Sun's slogan during the revolutions was 'Expel Tatar barbarians, revive Zhonghua, and establish a unified China.' 'quzhu dala, hui fu Zhonghua, chuanglei hezhong zhengfu 驅逐韃虜，恢復中華，創立合眾政府'. The 'Tatar barbarians' meant the Manchu ethnicity. In Sun's belief, the Manchu who had ruled China for almost three centuries had ruined traditional Chinese culture and was the chief culprit behind China's decline. 'The four hundred million Chinese people are now like scattering sands. It is not formed naturally, but the despotism of the exotic nationality [Manchus] caused [this disastrous situation]... It has now been two hundred and sixty years...' Sun Zhongshan (Sun Yat-sen), *Minquan chubu [The Beginning of Peoples' Right]* (Changchun: Dalu shuju [Mainland Press], 1945), 2.

<sup>181</sup> Yang Yinhang, edited by Yang Jiang, *Laopu yiwen ji [Collections of Yang Yinhang]* (Wuhan: changjiang wenyi chubanshe 長江文藝出版社 [Changjiang Literature and Arts Press], 1992), 936.

<sup>182</sup> 'Lizhi hui yu yishu huibian [the Encouragement Association and the Translation Club],' Feng, *Geming yishi*, 146-147.

After 1898, the ‘Boxers’ (*yihé quán* 義和拳, lit. Righteous and Harmonious Fists), a secret society in the north of China gave rise to a widespread movement. Their slogan was ‘revive the Qing and destroy the foreigners’ (*fúqīng mièyáng* 扶清滅洋).<sup>183</sup> In the early 1890s, this secret society had taken an anti-foreign stance, pledging to kill all foreigners living in China and their Chinese collaborators. They vowed to eliminate ‘one dragon, two tigers, and three hundred lambs’— the ‘one dragon’ was the Emperor Guangxu who propelled the reform movement of 1898, the ‘two tigers’ Prince Gong and Li Hongzhang who led the *yangwu* movement, and the ‘three hundred lambs’ were the metropolitan officials who had anything to do with foreign affairs.<sup>184</sup> After half a century of foreign involvement in China, in war and in peace, the Boxer Uprising achieved support among many Chinese people, including high officials such as Li Pingheng, the governor of Shandong, and it eventually received the patronage of the Empress Dowager.<sup>185</sup> These accumulated factors led directly to a mortal decision by the court to declare another war in June 1900 against the Allies. The Allies consisted of eight nations who had settlements in Tianjin and were targeted by the Boxers. The revolt swept over more than half of the Chinese mainland, covering North China, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria.<sup>186</sup> Within one month after the court declared war, the Allies’ troops took Tianjin and threatened to seize Beijing.<sup>187</sup> The war and the Boxer catastrophe were finally terminated with the Empress and Emperor’s hasty flight in August and the General Viceroy Li Hongzhang was assigned to mend the situation. In September 1901, the Boxer Protocol (*xīnchóu tiāoyuē* 辛丑條約) was agreed by all sides, which cemented

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<sup>183</sup> Chan Lau Kit-ching, “Li Hung-chang and the Boxer Uprising,” *Monumenta Serica* vol. 32, (1976): 55-84.

<sup>184</sup> Victor Purcell, *The Boxer Rebellion* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1963), 168-234; Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 465-473; George Backmann, *The Modernisation of China and Japan* (New York: Joanna Cotler Books, 1962), 189-193.

<sup>185</sup> Li Pingheng suggested Cixi to take a policy of pacification rather suppression of the Boxers. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 467-468.

<sup>186</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 481. The payment was to be completed over 39 years at a rate of 4 per cent annual interest. The breakdown of the total indemnity to the nine countries was: Russia 29%, Germany 20%, France 15.75%, Britain 11.25%, Japan 7.7%, United States 7.3%, Italy 5.9%, Belgium 1.9%, Austria 0.9%, others (Spain and Netherlands) 0.3%.

<sup>187</sup> This international force consisted of 18,000 men, of whom 8,000 were Japanese, 4,800 Russians, 3,000 British, 2,100 Americans, 800 French, 58 Austrians and 53 Italians. *Ibid.*, 476.

Russia's occupation of Manchuria and stipulated many restrictions on China's self-defence such as limits on arms imports and the building of forts. Within the Protocol, the Qing government agreed to pay an indemnity of 450 million silver taels over 39 years to the eight nations involved in the war.

The Protocol was a turning point for China. The terms including the border lines in Manchuria and also the limits on China's self-defence would lead to many conflicts in the 1920s and 1930s when Japan was expanding its empire towards the Chinese mainland. The indemnity would later be inherited by the Republican government, which would also cause complicated issues especially in the areas of diplomacy and modern education, as Chapters Three and Four will discuss. At the time, a sense of defeat and humiliation as well as hatred of the Manchu court overwhelmed many Chinese people, and the trauma had an important effect especially on the gentry elites. Liang Qichao established a periodical *Pure Discussion* (*qing yi bao* 清議報), in which he published the famous essay *A Note of Warning on the Partition of China* (*guafen weiyen* 瓜分危言). In the essay, Liang argued that China would soon be carved up by Western imperialists, and he urged Chinese nationalism to his compatriots: 'Wake up! Act quickly to develop Chinese nationalism, because that would be the only means by which China could combat European imperialism.'<sup>188</sup>

Liang Qichao's advocacy was extremely influential, and his theories on 'renovating the people' were used over and over again in the periodicals of the time.<sup>189</sup> Many of Yang Yinhang's school friends or members of Encouragement Association responded to Liang Qichao's call and attributed the fall of the nation to the weak Qing Manchu rulers and threw themselves into the tide of anti-Qing nationalism.

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<sup>188</sup> Ai shi ke, "guafen weiyen [A Note of Warning on Dismemberment]," *Qing yi bao*, no. 15, (1899): 907-914; no. 16 (1899): 977-985; no.17 (1899): 1047-10524. Ai shi ke (哀時客) was one of Liang Qichao's pen-names, which meant 'a passenger of the time who was concerned about the era'. Translation is from Limin Bai, "Children as the Youthful Hope of An Old Empire: Race, Nationalism, and Elementary Education in China, 1895-1915," *Journal of Childhood and Youth* 1, (2008): 218.

<sup>189</sup> Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 36.



As recalled by Yang Jiang, Yang Yinhang once called the Empress Dowager ‘an old woman with no idea of politics’ (*budong zhengzhi de laotaiipo* 不懂政治的老太婆).<sup>190</sup> In July 1900, seven Chinese students in the Encouragement Society, many of whom were from Hubei Military Preparatory School, joined an armed uprising against the Qing court in Wuhan. In the end, four of them were arrested and executed by the Qing court.<sup>191</sup>

News published in Students of Hubei (*Hubei Xuesheng Jie* 湖北学生界) in 1903 showed that, these early students in Japan shared a stronger sense of national humiliation than their domestic compatriots. In 1903, the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was held in Osaka, Japan. Yang Yinhang’s friends Hou Hongjian (侯鴻鑑, 1872-1961), Cai Wensen (蔡文森, 1872-1948) and Qin Yuliu (秦毓鏗, 1880-1937), who were all Wuxi natives and at the time studying at Tokyo Hiromi College (東京弘文書院), went to the Exposition.<sup>192</sup> They found that the exhibits of Fujian Province were displayed in the Taiwan Hall, which indicated that Fujian was under Japanese rule. At the time, although Taiwan (Formosa) had been under Japanese rule after the First Sino-Japanese War, Fujian was still under Qing control. These students soon protested to the host of the exhibition, and eventually forced the Japanese side to move the Fujian exhibits to the Sichuan Hall.<sup>193</sup> The alumni of Hou Hongjian and Cai Hesen in Hiromi College also included many renowned activists and revolutionaries, including: Chen Tianhua (陳天華, 1875-1905), who committed suicide in 1905 in order to warn his compatriots to be patient and enduring under national humiliation; Sun Yat-sen’s ally Huang Xing (黃興, 1874-1916), and the famous left-wing writer Lu Xun.

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<sup>190</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 14.

<sup>191</sup> Feng, *Geming yishi*, 146.

<sup>192</sup> The Hiromi College was founded by Japanese educator Kanō Jigorō (嘉納治五郎 1860-1938) in 1902 especially for the Chinese students after Zhang Zhidong’s opening-up policy in education.

<sup>193</sup> ‘Ribei Daban bolanhui Zhongguo Fujian chupin yichu Taiwan guan shimo ji [The Fujian Items Were Moved Out of the Taiwan Hall in the Osaka Exhibition]’ in *Hubei xuesheng jie* [*Students of Hubei*], (1903): 113-116.

Regarding himself as one of the activists, Yang Yinhang and his classmates from Nanyang Public School took education as the fundamental way to change society and save the nation. They wished to re-educate Chinese people and introduce more new ideas and new works on constitutionalism into China. At the time, constitutionalism was a kind of new political regime that caught the attention of many leading politicians and intellectuals including Liang Qichao, who insisted this claim and later created *yanjiu* faction (*yanjiu xi* 研究系) in Beijing after 1913.<sup>194</sup> Yang Yinhang and many of his peers in Japan at the time also believed that constitutionalism would help to secure the most ideal ‘future’ (*chulu* 出路) for China.<sup>195</sup> According to an essay in *Eastern Miscellany* (*Dongfang zazhi* 東方雜誌) in 1905, ‘Constitutionalism, is now becoming a common phrase among Chinese gentry scholars.’<sup>196</sup> In their eyes, Japan’s unexpected triumph in the Russo-Japanese War proved the advantage of constitutional politics, which was applied in Japan after its Meiji Restoration, over the authoritarian regimes ruling Imperial Russia and Qing China. Their call accelerated the Qing court’s progress in promoting ‘Western institutionalisation’. In 1905 and 1906, a delegation led by five prominent statesmen (*wudachen chuyang kaochatuan* 五大臣出洋考察團) was nominated by the Qing government to visit Japan, the US and countries in Europe, in order to investigate the institutions of the Western world, with special attention on constitutionalism, education and military defence.<sup>197</sup> After the investigation, the five statesmen, as well as most of the members of the delegation turned to support the Constitutionalists, and acknowledged the importance of learning from Western and

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<sup>194</sup> As it will show in Chapter IV, Yang Yinyu was criticised as one of the *yanjiu* faction.

<sup>195</sup> Yang, Huiyi liangpian, 12-14.

<sup>196</sup> “Lun lixian dangyi difang zizhi wei jichu [Constitutionalism should have local autonomy as its foundation],” *Dongfang zazhi* [*Eastern Miscellany*], no. 12, (1905): 216.

<sup>197</sup> Dai Hongci, ed. by Chen Siyi, *Chushi jiuguo riji* [*Dairy of the Delegation’s Visit to the Nine Countries*] (Hunan: Hunan renmin chubanshe [Hunan Peoples’ Press], 1982), 7-11. The Diary was written originally by Qing official Dai Hongci (戴鴻慈, 1853-1910), the vice-minister of the Treasury Department and one of the five statesmen in the delegation. The other four statesmen were: Duan Fang (端方, 1861-1911), the Governor of Jiangsu and then became the Governor of Hunan and Hubei, the Manchu noble Zai Ze (載澤, 1868-1929), the Qing Ambassador Li Shengduo (李盛鐸, 1859-1937), and Shang Qiheng (尚其亨, 1859-1920), a high official of Shandong province.

Japanese education.<sup>198</sup> Despite the threat of foreign invasions and under great pressure from the endless uprisings led by revolutionaries, the Qing court began to draw up a plan for constitutional transition, which, according to the original plan, would take nine years from 1908 to 1916.<sup>199</sup>

Yang Yinhang at the time thought that, ‘to translate some valuable foreign works is more important than writing my own.’<sup>200</sup> In late 1901, Yang Yinhang and his peers Yang Tingdong (楊廷棟, 1879-1950) from Suzhou, and Lei Fen (雷奮, 1871-1919) from Songjiang (淞江, the prefectural city of Shanghai), founded a literary periodical named *Collections of Translated Essays* (*yishu huibian* 譯書匯編). It was the first periodical issued by overseas students, which aimed to translate English and Japanese monographs into Chinese. Their emphasis was on the constitutional classics, for example, *The Social Contract* by Jean Jacques Rousseau, *The Spirit of Laws* by Baron de Montesquieu, and *On Liberty* by John Stuart Mill.<sup>201</sup> Many of the earliest foreign monographs introduced into China were translated by members in the *Collections of Translated Essays* during 1902 and 1903. The topics were mostly about national independence (*duli* 獨立) and human rights (*renquan* 人權); for example, *History of the Independence of the United States* (*Meiguo Duli shi* 美國獨立史), *Biographies of the Independent Revolutionaries in the Philippines* (*Feilübing Zhishi Duli Zhuan* 菲律賓志士獨立傳), and *Theories of Human Rights* (*Renquan Xinshuo* 人權新說). These works were all translated from original American or Japanese copies by Chinese students studying at Waseda University such as Cao

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<sup>198</sup> Guo Wei and Wang Xiaoding, “Wu dachen kaochatuan dui dongxiyang zhuguo xuexiao jiaoyu de kaocha [The Investigation of the Five Statesmen Delegation on the Education and Schools of the Eastern and Western Countries],” *Xiandai jiaoyu luncong* (*The Modern Education Journal*), no.4, (2016): 27-36.

<sup>199</sup> The educational issues in the original plan of the constitutional transition made by the Qing court were recorded in: “Jiaoyu faling: xuebu zoubao fennian choubai shiyi zhe [Educational Decree: the Reports of the Educational Department, Yearly Plan],” *Jiaoyu zazhi* [*Educational Review*] 1, no.4, (1909): 22-25.

<sup>200</sup> Yang, *Laopu yiwen ji*, 936.

<sup>201</sup> Li Xin ed., *Zhonghua minguo shi* [*History of Republican China*] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [China Book Company], 1981), vol 1: 131-132; Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, p.5-6; Feng, *Geming yishi*, 147.

Rulin (曹汝霖, 1877-1966) and Zhang Zongxiang (章宗祥, 1879-1962), who later became the first generation of diplomatic or law officials in the newly-established Republican China.<sup>202</sup> Yang Yinhang later became one of the first prosecutors and lawyers in Shanghai in the 1910s and 1920s.

### **The New Teachers and Their Activities in the Lower Yangzi Area**

As discussed before, little is known on the activities of early revolutionaries as new teachers in local areas before 1905. Mary Rankin and Barry Keenan have both discussed Shanghai Education Association, which was established by Cai Yuanpei in 1902, but do not mention the active response from the new teachers in Wuxi.<sup>203</sup> This section discovers that the advocates of Yang Yinhang and his revolutionary peers were echoed by many of his family members and elder local scholars, who established the earliest education association in Wuxi in 1903. They further contributed to moral re-education by creating new moral primers based on both Confucian morality and modern Western political theories. Influenced by the family, Yang Yinyu and her sister Yang Yinfen attended their brother's new school in 1903. After Yang Yinyu divorced, she continued to attend new schools of higher levels. These activities by the new teachers in new schools and textbooks fundamentally defined the meaning of 'new education' before the Qing court issued a standard direction for it. They also generated the first impression of how modern education would look for the local community as well as for the new local students, including Yang Yinyu.

#### *Yang Yinhang's Xijin Public School and Wuxi Education Association*

In 1901 and 1902, Yang Yinhang and his friends Gu Shupin (顧樹屏, birth and death dates unknown), Hua Hong (華鴻, birth and death dates unknown) and Cai Wensen returned to Wuxi and opened a new

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<sup>202</sup> "Waseda no chin koku ryugaku sei [The Qing Students in Waseda University]," *Waseda daigaku toshyokan kiyō [Materials of Waseda University Library]*, no.62 (March 2015): 78-79. Cao Rulin and Zhang Zongxiang would later be attacked as 'national traitors' in the May Fourth Movement in 1919 due to their compromises at the Paris Peace Conference.

<sup>203</sup> Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 50-61; Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies*, 105-124.

school named Xijin Public School (*Xijin gongxue* 錫金公學).<sup>204</sup> They also convened a study society named the Physics and Chemistry Association (*lihua hui* 理化會), which was based at the address of Shell Lane (*beixiang* 貝巷) in Wuxi. The founders invited Japanese tutors to teach Physics, Chemistry, Biology and even Chinese history.<sup>205</sup> The school attracted altogether twenty Wuxi people who were interested in the new knowledge. Among the students there were two female students, Yang Yinhang's two sisters— Yang Yinyu and Yang Yinfen, which was very rare at the time and was recorded by Hou Hongjian as 'epoch-making'.<sup>206</sup>

At the same time, Hou Hongjian returned to Wuxi and created Wuxi Education Association (*Wuxi jiaoyu hui* 無錫教育會), with the purpose of building up a network for the new teachers in the local community.<sup>207</sup> According to his report written in 1913, the efforts of the returning students were supported by some elderly local scholars, although the progress was painful. In 1899, a year after Zhang Zhidong's call to promote the new education system, Yang Fanfu (楊範甫, 1852-1915), a prestigious *juren* scholar in the Yang clan, had already opened the first new school in Wuxi, named Sishi School (*sishi xuetang* 蒞實學堂). It had thirty students in the first year, and by the next year after the Boxer Uprising, the number of students increased to about a hundred.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>204</sup> Hou Hongjian, "Wuxi jiaoyu yange dalüe [A Summary of Educational Reforms in Wuxi]," *Wuxi jiaoyu zazhi* [*Wuxi Educational Review*] 1, (1913): 308. The *Wuxi jiaoyu zazhi* [*Wuxi Educational Review*] was a journal of the Wuxi Educational Association from 1913 to 1917.

<sup>205</sup> Hou Hongjian mentioned that the Japanese teacher was named 'Fujida', who probably was Fujida Toyohachi (藤田豊八, 1869-1929), a Japanese scholar who was working in China in the 1900s. "Fujida Toyohachi" in *Toyo-bunko* [*Toyo Library*] (2016). [available online]: <http://www.toyo-bunko.or.jp/library3/shozou/fujitatomyo.html>; Zhou Yan, *Riben jiaoxi yu qingmo jiangsu shifan jiaoyu fazhan* [*Japanese Teachers and the Development of Teacher training Education in Late Qing Jiangsu*], Master dissertation of Nanjing Teachers University (2015): 38-42.

<sup>206</sup> Hou, "Wuxi jiaoyu mange dalüe", 308.

<sup>207</sup> Tao Shouheng, "Wuxi jiaoyu hui yange jilüe [A Brief History of Wuxi Education Association]," *Wuxi jiaoyu zazhi* [*Wuxi Educational Review*], no.1, (1913): 313. Oe Heiwa, *Hongwen xueyuan yu zhongguo liuxuesheng shenghuo* [*Hiromi College and the Life of Chinese Students in Japan*], Master's dissertation of the Graduate School of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (2002):27-36.

<sup>208</sup> Hou, "Wuxi jiaoyu mange dalüe", 306.

Gentry scholar Tao Duanyi (陶端翼, birth and death dates unknown) also converted the local traditional Donglin Academy (*donglin shuyuan* 東林書院) into Donglin School (*donglin xuetao* 東林學堂) to teach modern subjects, and had altogether sixty students enrolled. In 1902, Yang Fanfu went to Japan to study Japanese education, and he then went back to Wuxi and further incorporated Japanese structure into the Sishi and Donglin Schools. By the end of 1903, the three local schools, Sishi, Donglin and Xijin, were attended by about three hundred students. In response to an increasing number of enrolments, the school campuses were also expanding. The new teachers were planning to improve the structure according to the Japanese style— a primary level of four years, followed by a higher primary level of another four years. They also aimed to recruit more teachers for the schools, and Yang Fanfu even donated his own house as a school building.<sup>209</sup>

These new students, returning from Japan or attending the three new schools, further contributed to the promotion of the new education in the local society. In 1903 they formed a new student association named the Wuxi New Association (Xin Wuxi hui 新無錫會), which had Tao Duanyi as the Chair.<sup>210</sup> The Regulations of the Association made clear the responsibilities and rights of a member, and set the purpose of the association as ‘promoting education, doing surveys, and publishing’.<sup>211</sup> Every member was ‘equal’, and shared ‘the rights of voting and being voted as Chair, Vice Chair, Commenter or Inspectors’.<sup>212</sup> These activities provided us an early case of the role of ‘education associations’ and the implementation of ‘democratic’ procedures in China’s societies in the late Qing era.

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<sup>209</sup> Ibid., 307-308.

<sup>210</sup> “Xin Wuxi hui [New Wuxi Association],” *Tongzi shijie* [Children’s World], no.33, (1903): 37-42; “Xin Wuxi hui zhi yuanti [The Beginning of the New Wuxi Association],” *Dongwu yuebao* [*Suzhou Monthly*], no.11, (1907): 9-12.

<sup>211</sup> “Xin Wuxi hui”, 38.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid., 39.

### *New Moral Primers and Textbooks in Shanghai*

Now the numbers of new teachers were growing, but they lacked textbooks. Yang Zhixun, the uncle of Yang Yinyu and Yang Yinhang, contributed to write the earliest new moral primers. His works were published by Shanghai Culture Books (*Wenming Shuju* 文明書局), which was a key locally-funded factory of early textbooks and moral primers.<sup>213</sup> Between 1903 and 1906, it manufactured a series of the earliest school textbooks, written and edited by local gentry scholars and students returning from abroad. Liang Qichao published his profound essay *The New People* (*Xinmin Shuo* 新民說) in 1902. In the essay, Liang coined the expression ‘new people’, which later evolved into ‘citizens’ (*guomin* 國民), and emphasised that a nation’s survival and prosperous development depended on its people, who held moral autonomy.<sup>214</sup> Liang Qichao’s opinion has been widely researched by historians as the start of Chinese intellectuals’ exploration of the modern concept of citizenship.<sup>215</sup> However, Yang Xuexin’s moral primer, along with the other moral primers at the time, demonstrates how the local intellectuals and gentry scholars further responded to Liang’s notion, and how it was applied locally. Compared to Liang Qichao, or the renowned intellectuals such as Cai Yuanpei and Liu Shipei that current literature focuses on, these local gentry scholars were more influential in local business because of their social position in the community.

These early new moral primers and textbooks provided crucial windows for local new students, including Yang Yinyu at the time, in shaping a worldview that was different from the China-centred worldview in traditional textbooks and primers. For example, in the traditional private academies, primary-level primers were usually the *Three-Character Primer* (*Sanzi Jing* 三字经), *Hundred Family*

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<sup>213</sup> Rankin’s monograph recognised this problem. Her work has discussed Shanghai Commercial Press (*Shangwu Yinshu Guan* 商務印書館), which was the main press that produced many influential political primers. Rankin, *Early Chinese Revolutionaries*, 50.

<sup>214</sup> Zarrow, “Citizenship in China and the West”, 17.

<sup>215</sup> Apart from Fogel and Zarrow’s edited essay collection, other works discussing Liang Qichao’s ‘New People’ include: Xiaobing Tang, *Global Space and the Nationalist Discourse of Modernity: The Historical Thinking of Liang Qichao* (California: Stanford University, 1996); Timothy Cheek, *The Intellectual in Modern Chinese History* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2015).

*Names (Baijia Xing 百家姓)*, in which the concept of nation was ambiguous and China was presented as the centre of the world.<sup>216</sup> In the *Introductory Primer (Mengxue Keben 蒙學課本)* of Nanyang Public School in 1897 however, it firstly proposed the importance of re-examining *guo*, ‘nation’:

‘From ancient times, we call those areas without education and civilisation barbarians [*manyi rongdi 蠻夷戎狄*].

Now we still call all the other nations barbarians, and it seems that all the nations except from China are all barbarians, isn’t it wrong?’<sup>217</sup>

These new textbooks and primers generated by the earliest new teachers were also significant in shaping peoples’ ideas about the new concepts such as ‘nation’ (*guo* 國), ‘citizens’ (*gongmin* 公民), ‘rights’ (*quanli* 權利) or ‘obligations’ (*yiwu* 義務). For instance, *Textbook of Politics (Zhengzhixue Jiaokeshu 政治學教科書)* created by Yang Tingdong, one of the founders of Yang Yinhang’s Xijin Public School in 1903, firstly introduced modern political theory from the West, and claimed that ‘a nation was composed of people, land, governors, and those who are governed.’ His argument was later adopted by *Textbook of Chinese (Guowen Jiaokeshu 國文教科書)* issued by Ministry of Education in 1910 as ‘According to the West, the three necessities of a nation are people, land and sovereignty.’<sup>218</sup>

As a prestigious gentry scholar in Wuxi entitled *juren* in 1855, Yang Zhixun was regarded by Yang Yinhang as ‘the greatest teacher [of Yang’s] kin.’<sup>219</sup> In Yang Zhixun’s moral primer published in 1906, he chose the many qualities of the Confucian classics as the utmost morality— *sincerity (cheng 誠)*, *loyalty (zhong 忠)*, *zhi (knowledge 智)*, *ren (benevolence 仁)* and *yong (courage 勇)*. Apparently, these

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<sup>216</sup> ‘Sishu zhi jiaoxue yu xunyu [Education and Moral Training in Private Confucian Academies]’ in Chen, *Zhongguo jiaoyushi*, 428-435.

<sup>217</sup> Bi Yuan, “Minguo de gongmin jiaoyu [Education of Citizenship in Republican China],” *Yanhuang chunqiu [Chinese History]*, no.4, (2012): 83-86.

<sup>218</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

<sup>219</sup> Yang Jiang, ‘Yi haishi [Memories in My Childhood]’ in *Wenhui bao [Wenhui Daily]*. (October, 2013).



qualities selected by Yang Zhixun showed a significant deviation away from traditional Neo-Confucian education based on Zhu Xi's interpretation. As discussed before, in Zhu Xi's *Four Books* and *Five Classics*, he believed the Confucian orthodoxy lay in the Way of Heaven (*tiandao* 天道), which was the orthodoxy that defined basic human relations as the Five Cardinal Relationships (*wuchang* 五常)—parent-child, ruler-minister, husband-wife, elder-younger brother and friend-friend. In one of the *Four Books*, *Zhong Yong (Doctrine of the Mean)*: 'What Heaven imparts to man is called human nature. To follow our nature is called the Way. Cultivating the Way is called education.'<sup>220</sup> Historian M. Kelleher explains it as '[Neo-Confucian] education was a matter of learning and then carrying out the duties appropriate to each relationship.'<sup>221</sup>

However, the moralities that Yang Zhixun selected were mainly personal, which were more influenced by another Neo-Confucian scholar, Wang Yangming (王陽明, 1472-1529) of the Ming Dynasty. His interpretations of the Confucian classics formed a 'School of Mind' (*xinxue* 心學), which emphasised self-cultivation. Compared with Zhu Xi's emphasis on the inviolable Way of Heaven, Wang Yangming focused on the personal development on morality through mind. His school of philosophy strongly affected Japan during the Meiji Restoration, where a school of Yangming Learning was formed (陽明學, pinyin: *yangming xue*, Japanese: *yōmei gaku*).<sup>222</sup> Now in the early twentieth century, as more Chinese students and gentry scholars were turning towards learning from Japan, many of them were inclined to accept the Neo-Confucian learning opposite to the one in which they had been schooled.<sup>223</sup>

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<sup>220</sup> M. Theresa Kelleher, "Chu Hsi's Elementary Learning", chapter in De Bary and Chaffee, ed. *Neo-Confucian Education*, 226.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 226.

<sup>222</sup> Bary D. Steben, "Nakae Tōju and the Birth of Wang Yangming Learning in Japan," *Monumenta Serica* 46 (1998): 233-263.

<sup>223</sup> Chiang Kai-shek was the most famous follower of Yangming Learning, who dated its impact on himself back to the time when he lived in Japan. Jay Taylor, *The Generalissimo: Chiang Kai-shek and the Struggle for Modern China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2011).

As mentioned before, the structure of the Renyin-Guimao system of 1903 was largely inspired by Sheng Xuanhuai's Nanyang Public School. The setting of the curriculum was similar as well. Taking the curriculum in the *Decree of Introductory-level Primary School* (*Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng* 奏定初等小學堂章程) in 1904 as an example, the curriculum was 'Morals, Confucian classics, Chinese, Maths, History, Geography, Physics and Gymnastics' (Appendix B). As shown in Table 1, in the new school system, there was both Chinese and Western learning, but Morals and Confucian Classics took nearly half of the total study hours. Zhu Xi's *Xiao Xue* (*Primary-level Learning*, 小學) had long been taken as a primary textbook for moral education, in which 'establishing the Way of education' (*li jiao* 立教) was the utmost principle. The emperor, as the 'son of Heaven' (*tianzi* 天子), was always put in the top place.

However, in Yang Zhixun's moral primer, he did not put 'loyalty to emperor' (*zunjun* 尊君) as the first priority in a person's morality about human relations. Rather, he proposed the order as: first, the nation; second, the family; third, the other people; and fourth, society. (*duiguo diyi, duijia di'er, duiren disan, dui shehui disi* 對國第一，對家第二，對人第三，對社會第四).<sup>224</sup> At the same time, he put 'keep to the law' (*shoufa* 守法) above 'loyalty to emperor' under the category of 'first to nation'. In the primer, although Yang Zhixun still adopted Zhu Xi's frame of the Five Cardinal Relationships, he emphasised the need to introduce the relationship between a modern citizen to his nation, for example, the 'rights' (*quanli* 權利) and duties (*yiwu* 義務) to the nation as well as to the public. (Figure 7) Yang Zhixun's moral primer echoed the other Wuxi scholar Li Jiagu (李嘉穀)'s *Primary-level Moral Primer* (*Mengxue Xiushen Jiaokeshu* 蒙學修身教科書), which also proposed the idea of law and

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<sup>224</sup> Yang Zhixun, *Zhongdeng xiushen jiaokeshu* [*Middle-level Moral Primer*] (Shanghai: wenming shuju [Culture Books], 1906).

constitution in front of an emperor in a modern nation.<sup>225</sup> During 1905 and 1906 there were more new primers and textbooks published by Shanghai Culture Books, such as textbooks in Maths, Hygiene, Physics etc. As the first moral primers and textbooks written by local Chinese scholars, they marked a significant turning point that changed people's understanding of 'knowledge', which was hugely different to the traditional textbooks.

### Yang Yinyu's Divorce

In roughly 1903, at the age of about eighteen, Yang Yinyu's grandmother arranged for Yang Yinyu to marry the son of the Jiang (蒋) family in Wuxi. According to Yang Jiang, the marriage was made according to traditional rules, with the equal social position of the families considered the most important factor.<sup>226</sup> In the late Qing era, it was common for a girl to marry a man according to her parents' arrangements, and give birth to children before the age of twenty years old. Thus, the divorce created a big stir in her hometown, and after Yang Yinyu left the Jiang family, she was widely condemned by local people.<sup>227</sup>

This unusual case of marriage rebellion was recorded by *Women's World* (*Nüzi Shijie* 女子世界), an influential magazine of the late Qing era which advocated for women's education: 'Miss Yang Yinyu is from Wuxi...After she got married to her husband Jiang, she was told that she could not study in schools. Miss Yang knew their despotism and she promptly decided to divorce to her husband, so that she could go to school.' The reporters approvingly held Yang up as an example for other women saying that 'if women could live independently from men, then traditional marriage would naturally

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<sup>225</sup> Bi, "Minguo de gongmin jiaoyu", 84.

<sup>226</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 71-73.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

be improved, and male chauvinism would be reduced...'<sup>228</sup> Although this progressive periodical had praised Yang Yinyu's courage and promoted it as a positive case, the local attitude towards Yang's divorce, of course, was negative, because producing offspring was a natural duty (*tianzhi* 天職) of a woman. According to Yang Jiang, Yang Yinyu was condemned by local community as a 'woman of no children', and this experience was undoubtedly crucial for Yang Yinyu's personality as a 'sensitive' person who 'always felt inferior.'<sup>229</sup>

However, women's education was also under development, which began to change women's usual roles and violate traditional marriage concepts. Hu Binxia, one of the earliest girls who went to study in Japan in 1902, returned to Wuxi and opened a club called Common Love (*gongai hui* 共愛會), in order to propagate women's rights and education.<sup>230</sup> At the same time, Yang Yinfen, the elder sister of Yang Yinyu, left her husband Qiu Cenjian (裘劍岑, birth and death dates unknown), who was also a member of the Wuxi Educational Association.<sup>231</sup> Yang Yinyu after her divorce first went to Suzhou, attending a missionary school, Laura Haygood Girls' School, with the support of Yang Yinhang. She then went to Shanghai and attended Shanghai Wuben Girls' School, which was one of the earliest women's schools founded in 1902 by Wu Xin (吳馨, 1873-1919), a graduate of Nanyang Public School. In 1907, when women were officially sanctioned to attend public schools, Yang Yinyu would obtain a government scholarship and went to receive teacher training in Japan. The story of her experiences becoming a new teacher will be the theme of the next chapter.

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<sup>228</sup> Zhiqun and Chuwo, "Lihun chuanguju [A Pioneering Case of Divorce]," *Nüzi shijie [Women's World]* 2, no.3, (1905): 7-8.

<sup>229</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 90.

<sup>230</sup> Xia, *Wanqing wenren funü guan*, 87.

<sup>231</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 71; Tao, *Wuxi jiaoyu zazhi*, 1:313.

## Local Resistance in Wuxi

Finally, this chapter now turns to discussing the local reception of these new teachers and their new schools. In 1904, strong resistance rose from Wuxi Union of Rice Merchants, and their protests finally led extensive damage being caused to the school campuses of Sishi, Donglin and Xijin.<sup>232</sup> Thomas Curran's study has noticed that cultural difference was a main source of local resistance towards the modern schools in the early twentieth century. Curran analysed the curriculum and argued that the traditional schools were preferred by rural societies because they were 'simply better suited to rural conditions and customs than modern schools were.'<sup>233</sup> However, Curran does not make it clear what these 'conditions and customs' were. The case of these new schools by new teachers in Wuxi further deepens Curran's study of local resistance.

### Cultural Resistance Based on Teachers' Changing Roles and their Claims

When the new schools were first introduced in Wuxi, the cultural conflicts arose from the changing appearance of these new teachers and their claims that were incompatible with their traditional responsibilities. Based on the discussions in the previous sections, first, the new knowledge propagated by Yang Yinhang and Yang Zhixun based on Western political theory was violating the Way of Heaven, and was viewed as heterodoxy (*waimen xieshuo* 歪門邪說). When Yang Yinhang made speeches in his school and advocated for people to overturn the Qing court, he soon became wanted by the government.<sup>234</sup> The teachers in the new schools were young students who had achieved degrees from Japan but were not prestigious gentry scholars with *Keju* titles. They talked about outrageous revolutions and new ideas of constitutionalism and independence that were exotic to

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<sup>232</sup> Hou, "Wuxi jiaoyu yange daliu" , 308-309; Tan Hanren, "Wuxi xinxue yu huixue shijian [The Incident of New Education in Wuxi]," *Jiangsu difangzhi [Local Chronicles of Jiangsu]*, no.4, (1995): 55.

<sup>233</sup> Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 235.

<sup>234</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 12.

Chinese society at the time. This was probably why Yang Zhixun contributed to a moral primer for local people, and explained the new concepts by adopting the Confucian classics.

Second, Yang Yinhang and these new teachers refused to follow the traditional rites in the local temple, probably the Study Palace, which would have been the usual responsibility of gentry scholars. Many local people criticised them for ‘deviating away from the classics and violating the orthodox way (*lijing pandao* 離經叛道)’, and some of Yang Yinhang’s family even advocated expelling Yang Yinhang from the Yang kinship. Xu Jue (許珩, birth and death dates unknown), a local gentry scholar, who was at the time a Chinese envoy to Italy, cursed that ‘this man should be executed!’<sup>235</sup> Third, the pupils consisted of both men and women, while the latter were not encouraged to attend public schools or academies by traditional rules. Yang Yinyu and Yang Yinfen’s divorces reminded them that attending new schools would interrupt a woman fulfilling her traditional responsibility. Thus, the Yang family, as well as the new teachers and new students who were pursuing new education, brought about dramatic changes when understood in their particular local context.

### *Economic Resistance*

The other major conflict in the expansion of the new education came from economic restrictions, which would also be lasting problems for later educators including Yang Yinyu herself. Research by Marianne Bastid and Sally Borthwick has recognised that there were many cases of local resistance because of increases in tax, and the new schools in Wuxi were no exception. Wuxi’s case further demonstrates that, local resistance for economic reasons further ignited local discontent towards the new education and resulted in large-scale protests. At the beginning of 1904, Yang Fanfu and two scholars requested that the Xijin government (the county government which covered the areas of Wuxi and Jingui) increase allowances to promote the expansion of new schools. The higher provincial

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<sup>235</sup> Yang, *Laopu yiwén jì*, 939.

government had no spare funds to afford this request, because the national treasury was now being used to repay the huge debts of the Boxer Indemnity. Thus, the burden of raising funds to support the new education system was passed to local merchants. The magistrates of Wuxi and Jingui soon convened the heads of the Xijin rice market, Zhao Zixin (趙子新, birth and death dates unknown) and Zhang Shaohu (張少和, birth and death dates unknown), and asked them to raise taxation on rice in order to achieve the extra funds for the building of the new educational institutions. The merchants of the entire union strongly objected, and the two leaders sued the Xijin government, claiming that Yang Fanfu was ‘robbing money using an excuse of education’.<sup>236</sup> In these circumstances, Yang Fanfu submitted a appeal to Tang Jingchong (唐景崇, 1844-1914), the administrator of civil examinations in Jiangsu Province, to explain the situation of the new schools and further request the funds.<sup>237</sup> Soon, Tang Jingchong issued approval to the Xijin government, and Zhao Zixin and Zhang Shaohu were arrested because of their non-cooperation with the new education system.<sup>238</sup>

However, the arrests of Zhao and Zhang catalysed the peoples’ accumulated discontent towards the new education system. Members of the union of rice merchants distributed flyers on the streets and called for their leaders to be freed. On the first day of July, the rice market of Xijin went on strike, and all the rice shops in Xijin were closed.<sup>239</sup> On the second day, all the members as well as a number of commoners, altogether two thousand people, gathered to demonstrate and burnt down Yang Fanfu’s home. A day later, they moved to the campuses of Sishi, Donglin and Yang Yinhang’s Xijin, and the

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<sup>236</sup> Tan, “Wuxi xinxue yu huixue shijian”, 56.

<sup>237</sup> The administrator of civil examination (*xuetai* 學台 or *tixue* 提學) of prefectural or provincial level was in charge of the schooling and examination of the relative area under the Classic Examination System. “Xin guanzhi [The New System of Officials]” in Zhao Erxun, ed. *Qing shigao [Draft History of Qing]*, vol.94 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju [China Book Company], 1976), 74.

<sup>238</sup> Tan, “Wuxi xinxue yu huixue shijian”, 55.

<sup>239</sup> The date here was recorded by the Chinese lunar calendar (*nongli* 農曆).

Physics Association, and destroyed them completely.<sup>240</sup> After the demonstrations, the gentry scholars supporting the new education system such as Xue Nanmin (薛南冥, birth and death dates unknown), Qiu Tingliang (裘廷梁, 1857-1943), Yu Fu (俞復, 1856-1943) and Lian Quan (簾泉, birth and death dates unknown) jointly wrote an appeal to the governor of Jiangsu, while Yang Fanfu went directly to the provincial government office to file a lawsuit. The incident raised the attention of Duan Fang (端方, 1861-1911), the Viceroy of Jiangsu, Jiangxi and Anhui in 1904. He soon ordered the dismissal of the prefectural magistrates of Wuxi and Jingui, and assigned new magistrates. Zhao Zixin fled alone to Guangdong, while the members of the rice union were charged twenty thousand silver taels to compensate for the loss of Yang Fanfu's houses and all the destroyed school buildings. Furthermore, the members agreed to submit the rice taxation the following month (September of 1904) for the use of promoting new schools.<sup>241</sup>

## Summary

This chapter has explored the family background of Yang Yinyu, and demonstrated the innovative changes her family brought about in changing the meaning of 'education' and 'teachers' in Wuxi. In the current literature, while the early life of Yang Yinyu remains blank, her brother Yang Yinhang has been understood as an anti-Qing revolutionary. Historians often focus on the political influence of those early Japan-trained students, and largely study the new schools and the roles of state and social elites after 1905. However, this chapter has reshaped the family history of Yang Yinyu and used the the Yang family to demonstrate a pioneering force who had played a significant role in promoting the new education system before 1904.

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<sup>240</sup> Hou, "Wuxi jiaoyu yange dalüe", 308-309.

<sup>241</sup> Tan, "Wuxi xinxue yu huixue shijian", 56.



As shown in this chapter, Japan-trained students such as Yang Yinhang, Hou Hongjian, Cai Wensen and local gentry scholars including Yang Zhixun and Tao Duanyi composed of a pioneering force of new teachers in the lower Yangzi area as early as in 1903. By studying the experiences of Yang Yinhang and his network in Japan, this chapter finds that many of these early students abroad held a strong sense of national humiliation and regarded education as a foundational way to save the nation from falling apart. However, the 'education' Yang Yinhang and these early intellectuals aimed to promote was different to the traditional education in Imperial China. As it has discussed in the first section of the chapter, education under the *Keju* mechanism largely functioned according to the Confucian classics, especially Zhu Xi's Neo-Confucian interpretations, which emphasised an orthodox way of learning. Through this, education meant a cause of studying and practising Confucian rites, while teachers were the ones responsible for passing on this tradition.

However, in the schools and textbooks created by the Yang family, an educational ideal lay in a balance of Confucian moral education and modern subjects, and the meaning of being a teacher was being transformed. While the dual emphasis of modern subjects and moral education was later echoed in the new Renyin-Guimao system, the new teachers had demonstrated significant differences in their interpretations of morality. While the state still continued Zhu Xi's interpretations of natural orthodoxy, the new teachers intended to emphasise self-cultivation and prioritised the importance of law over emperor. Besides, as one of the new students, Yang Yinyu's divorce was unprecedented. On one side, the new schools established by her brother and local progressive teachers as well as the following educational reforms for women's education in the new education system provided her with a place to go, and a career to choose. On the other, she also had to face at the discontent and even detest brought about by her rare appearance as a single divorced woman.

The local resistance in Wuxi was one case among many local incidents against the new schools and new education system, which contributed to the Qing court's final determination to abolish the Keju system. In August 1905, the Emperor Guangxu issued an edict of the end of the classic examinations, as 'the classic examinations hindered the development of new schools, so that new talented men could not be cultivated... [The end of this traditional system] was the most significant strategy to generate more new talents'.<sup>242</sup> From now on, it entered into what Borthwick called 'time of cooperation between the state and local officials' in promoting the new education.<sup>243</sup> The next chapter will follow Yang Yinyu's footsteps to Suzhou, Shanghai, and Tokyo during 1903 to 1913. During this crucial decade, Yang Yinyu would become a teacher as well, against the backdrop of the fall of Qing dynasty and a new establishment of Republican China.

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<sup>242</sup> "Qingdiyu liting keju yiguang xuexiao [Emperor Guangxu's Edict: To Terminate the *Keju* and Promote New Schools]" in *JYSZL*, I: 62-66.

<sup>243</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change*, 98.

## **Chapter II: The Student**

### Women as New Teachers, 1904-1913

#### **Introduction**

The decade between 1904 to 1913 was a significant period of time both for Yang Yinyu as a female student and the development of women's schooling in China. After the establishment of the Renyin-Guimao system in 1903 and 1904, the Qing court officially began to promote women's public education in 1907. In 1913, its successor, the Republican government, announced a more systematic framework for school organisation that ensured female students had the same tiers of schooling as their male counterparts. Yang attended three different schools and become one of the first generation of modern female teachers in the newly-established Republic of China. Current scholarship on women's schooling in this period largely focuses on the negative side of the discourse of 'mothers of citizens' (*guomin zhimu* 國民之母) and 'virtuous mothers and good wives' (Chinese: *xianmu liangqi*/ Japanese: *kenbō ryōsai* 賢母良妻) in Chinese feminism. The concept of 'virtuous mothers and good wives' had long been a moral ideal for Chinese women but it was now applied in Japan's educational modernisation, and was linked to the idea of 'mothers of citizens'. As a part of Japan's educational reforms, these ideas in turn influenced the development of women's education in China.<sup>244</sup>

Little attention has been paid to the discourse on 'women as natural teachers' (*nüzi wei tianran shifan* 女子為天然師範), that was also prominent at the time, and the fact that the roles of these new female students, who were trained to be new teachers at the time, in fact were in great difference to the traditional roles of female teachers in Imperial China. While the existing literature often focuses on how this nationalist discourse on women restricted their imagining of the potential of feminism, this

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<sup>244</sup> Bailey, *Gender and Education*, 25-33; Xia Xiaohong, *Wanqing wenren funü guan [Discourses on Women in Late Qing China]* (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), 84-102.

chapter examines the linear evolution of the new female teachers' roles from the roles of traditional female teachers. It argues that Yang Yinyu and many of her peers were not just passive receivers of nationalism, but actively used these concepts in promoting gender equality. Compared with the limitations on traditional female teachers, new female students (including Yang) saw their new role as new-style female teachers as valuable opportunities in promoting women's status in general. Moreover, educational ideologies in the lower Yangzi area that came from Christian education and Japanese education further complicated the way these early female students perceived the meaning and duties of being new teachers.

### *Female Teachers in Imperial China and Late Qing's Reform on Women's Schooling*

Traditional teachers in Imperial China, as discussed in previous chapter, were generally male gentry scholars, but this did not mean that there were no female teachers. According to Republican historian Gu Zhenfu (顧震福, 1869-1937?), in Imperial China there was a tradition of female teachers called *nüshi* 女師, *mu* 母/姆, or *bao* 保. They had the responsibilities of childcare and at the same time, taught womanly virtues to females.<sup>245</sup> While qualities such as *xiao* (filial piety 孝), *yi* (righteousness 義), and *zhong* (loyalty 忠) were universal virtues that were shared by all people, the womanly virtues *zhen* (chastity 貞) and *jie* (fidelity or purity 節) were especially encouraged in Confucian culture for women during the Ming-Qing period. Virtues, in Chinese Confucian culture, were to be displayed in action.<sup>246</sup> Traditional female teachers thus had to be highly 'virtuous' in their behaviour and only by following this they could be qualified as teachers. As Gu Zhenfu noted, they were small in number and consisted of prestigious elder females from elite families who were proficient in womanly

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<sup>245</sup> Gu Zhenfu, "Nüshi kao [The History of Female Teachers]," *PTCWW*, no.63, (1924): 2. Gu Zhenfu was a Jiangsu native and served as a Chinese professor in the Beijing Teachers College for Women in the 1920s, working together with Yang Yinyu.

<sup>246</sup> Fangqin Du and Susan Mann, "Competing Claims on Womanly Virtue in Late Imperial China," chapter in Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim, Joan Piggott, ed. *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea and Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 219.

virtues.<sup>247</sup> In Imperial China, women's activities were largely conducted within the 'inner quarters' or household (*nei* 內), while the men's principal spheres of activities took place outside the household (*wai* 外).<sup>248</sup> Women's natural responsibilities (*tianzhi* 天職) within the household were to produce offspring, as well as helping their husbands and raising their children (*xiangfu jiaozi* 相夫教子). Women who demonstrated these Confucian virtues in the household were selected and recorded as exemplars in *Biographies of Virtuous Women* (*Lie Nü Zhuan* 列女傳) in local gazettes and dynastic histories. This mechanism of imperial testimonials was called the Jingbiao System (*jinbiao zhi* 旌表制), which had been part of Confucian culture, encouraging womanly virtues for centuries.<sup>249</sup> Therefore, the main duties of traditional female teachers (*nüshi*) were to teach young females these virtues, as well as how to better conduct their natural responsibilities.

During the educational reforms in the 1900s the situation of the first generation of female students who were trained as teachers was significantly transformed. Through Yang Yinyu's experiences and her networks in this decade, this chapter argues that when women's schooling started in the late Qing era, women's new roles were inextricably connected with not only to the ideas of cultivating 'mothers of citizens' or 'virtuous mothers and wives', but also more practically with the idea that women should be shaped into modern *teachers*. On the one hand, they worked outside of the home and undertook new responsibilities of teaching modern subjects. On the other hand, moral training was maintained as a crucial responsibility for them, but the qualities that moral education emphasised were also transforming, alongside the development of modern nationalism.

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<sup>247</sup> Gu, "Nüshi kao", 4.

<sup>248</sup> Bailey, *Education and Gender in China*, 4.

<sup>249</sup> For Jingbiao System, see Lu Weijing, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (California: Stanford University Press, 2008); Yi Ruolan, "Jingbiao zhidu, zhuanji tili, yu nüxing shizhuan—lun qingshigao lienü zhuan xianmu zhuanji zhi fuxing [The Official Reward System, Biographical Style, and Women's Biography—Wise Mothers in the Qing Dynastic History Draft]," *Taiwan daxue lishi xuebao [National Taiwan University History Journal]*, no.41, (2008): 165-202.

No statutes had explicitly barred women from *Keju* examinations; the two simply never came into association.<sup>250</sup> Although women in Imperial China did not attend schools, it was not uncommon for elite women to be literate. Women in gentry-class families had long been taught at home by their father or brothers, and sometimes by female teachers, until they reached age of puberty.<sup>251</sup> These young females in chambers before marriage were called *guixiu* (閨秀), and the usual textbooks for them were *Biographies of Virtuous Women* and female versions of the Confucian classics, including *The Four Books for Women* (*Nü Sishu* 女四書) and *The Classics of Filial Piety for Women* (*Nü Xiaojing* 女孝經). These textbooks were standardised and particularly encouraged women's virtues such as loyalty, filial piety, purity, and fidelity.<sup>252</sup> As appeared in the handwritten epitaph by Yang Yinyu shown in Chapter I, she was undoubtedly an elite, educated woman who was highly capable in calligraphic writing. The great sadness recorded in the epitaph was a display of her filial piety as a daughter, an important part of funeral rituals.

Historians of gender studies such as Susan Mann and Dorothy Ko believe that China in the late Ming dynasty and high Qing period in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries generated a large group of female elites. They were as proficient at making poems, songs and essays as males, and in turn they stimulated the urban culture in various areas of the country.<sup>253</sup> However, as Evelyn Rawski, Xiaoyi Liu point out, the number of literate women, like Yang Yinyu, was extremely small. According to

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<sup>250</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 114.

<sup>251</sup> Ibid., 114. For women's education in Imperial China, also see Susan Mann, "Education of Daughters in the Mid-Ching Period," chapter in Benjamin A. Elman and Alexander Woodside, ed. *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 19-49.

<sup>252</sup> Xiaoyi Liu, "The Rise of Women's Modern Schooling in Late Qing China 1840-1911," *Education Journal* 37, no.1-2, (2009): 92; Wu Xiao'ou and Li Xiang, "Fuquan nüxing: Zhongguo nüzi jiaokeshu de qimeng suqiu [Empowering Women: the Need of Enlightening in Women's Textbooks]," *Huadong shifan daxue xuebao (Journal of East China Teacher training University)*, no.1, (2014): 103.

<sup>253</sup> Dorothy Ko, *Teachers of the Inner Chambers: Women and Culture in Seventeenth-century China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); Susan Mann, *Precious Records: Women in China's Long Eighteenth Century* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997).

Evelyn Rawski's statistics, by 1904, no more than 2 to 10 percent of Chinese females were considered literate.<sup>254</sup> Undoubtedly traditional female teachers were even rarer.

In the half century after 1840, women's school education in China had largely been limited to a few missionary schools in treaty ports. Qing reformers began to consider women's public education, especially after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. From 1872, female students in Japan attended compulsory coeducational elementary schools, and by 1904, 90 per cent of Japanese females were enrolled in school.<sup>255</sup> Thus, more Chinese intellectuals linked Japan's victory to its educational reforms, particularly women's schooling. For example, Duan Fang, who was among the delegation of five statesmen who had supported the Yang family in the 1904 protest, advocated for producing female teachers.<sup>256</sup> As the missionary teacher Margaret Burton observed in 1911:

'For over fifty years... [China's] women's education was left entirely to the missionaries. But just before the close of the [nineteenth] century, it became evident that the Chinese themselves were aware of the value of educational work for women and were no longer willing that the foreigners should do everything for the uplifting of their daughters and they nothing'.<sup>257</sup>

In 1897, the year when Sheng Xuanhuai built up Shanghai Nanyang College, Liang Qichao issued the significant essay *On Women's Schooling* (*Lun Nüxue* 論女學). Liang argued that a lack of women's schooling was a crucial reason why China was defeated by Japan. Absorbing the idea of 'mothers of citizens' from Japan, Liang believed that women's schooling was the best way to nurture more women into being good mothers and wives, so that the whole nation would be strengthened:

'Now the two most significant urgencies are: re-educating people's minds, and nurturing more talents [*zheng renxin, guang rencai* 正人心, 廣人才]. The root of these two tasks is undoubtedly children's education. The

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<sup>254</sup> Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, 140.

<sup>255</sup> Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation," 770.

<sup>256</sup> Cong, *Teachers' Schools*, 55-56.

<sup>257</sup> Margaret E. Burton, *The Education of Women in China* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911), 100-112.

root of children's education is undoubtedly education of motherhood. The root of motherhood education is undoubtedly women's schooling. Therefore, women's schooling is the fundamental reason for a nation's strengths or extinction'<sup>258</sup>

For women's schooling, the reformists meant that *every* woman in China should be educated in schools, whichever class or family she came from. At the time, the Renyin-Guimao system (in 1903 and 1904) had just fulfilled compulsory education for Chinese males for the first time. It required that all boys nationwide who were aged above seven years old, despite their origins, to attend school from the introductory level.<sup>259</sup> For centuries, although school education was open to all, only those who were qualified for the *Keju* examinations would attend school. Before being enrolled in local examination halls, *Keju* candidates were required to submit their family backgrounds for official checks. They had to clarify their parents' occupations, and children who had parents as actors and actresses (*you* 優), prostitutes (*chang* 娼), criminals (*zao* 皂), and unskilled labourers (*li* 隸) were not allowed to take the *Keju* examinations. Thus they would not attend schools or academies from the start because it was pointless.<sup>260</sup> As for females, it was regarded as useless for women to take school education because they could not take the *Keju* examinations at all.

Despite the Qing court's hesitation, the growing number of private girls' schools built by foreign missionaries and local gentry scholars increased the pressure for the Qing court to reform women's education. In 1907, the Qing court officially promulgated regulations to open women's public schools

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<sup>258</sup> 'Gu fuxue shi tianxia cunwang qiangruo zhi dayuan ye 故婦學實天下存亡強弱之大原也.' Chen Yan, "Jindai Zhongguo nüxing jiaoyu shi ruhe fazhan qilai de [The Development of Women's Education in Modern China]," *Renmin luntan [People's Forum]*, no.7, (2018): 142.

<sup>259</sup> "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng [Decree on Introductory-level Primary School]" (1903), *XZYB* (1993): 291-292. According to the decree, 'all citizens aged above seven must enrol at introductory-level primary schools. The aims are to educate them with knowledge, morality, patriotism. At the same time schools should aim to strengthen their bodies, and create more people with literacy.'

<sup>260</sup> Shang, *Qingdai keju kaoshi shulu*, 8.



nationwide.<sup>261</sup> At first, there were only two tiers of schools for female students— women’s primary schools (*nüzi xiao xuetang* 女子小學堂), and women’s teacher training schools, or teacher training schools for women (*nüzi shifan xuetang* 女子師範學堂). The women’s teacher training school was the only kind of middle school that women could attend, and graduates were required to serve as teachers in primary schools and kindergartens.<sup>262</sup> That is, the only officially supported career choice for female graduates from middle-level schools at that time was to become teachers. By this the Qing reformers wished to channel the increasing numbers of female students to continue to perform their roles within the household.<sup>263</sup>

Career choices for women were further widened after 1913 when women’s middle schools were added alongside women’s teacher training schools. In addition, a higher tier of teacher training colleges for women (*nüzi gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 女子高等師範學校) was created above the original women’s teacher training schools, and their aim was to produce female teachers for women’s teacher training schools and the new women’s middle schools.<sup>264</sup> Therefore, from 1900 when local gentry scholars began to create private girls’ schools, until 1913, when women’s public schools were systematically organised by the Republican government, a group of female students such as Yang Yinyu had been created. They were trained and obligated to be teachers, but their existence and contributions have not been recognised in current literature.

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<sup>261</sup> Cong, *Teachers’ Schools*, 52. According to Cong’s statistics, there already had been over 400 girls’ schools across China by 1906, opened by reforming-minded local elites.

<sup>262</sup> ‘Xuebu zouding nü xuetang zhangcheng zhe [Ministry of Education: Decree on Women’s Schools]’ (1907), *XZYB* (1993), 574-594. It stated that ‘the aim of women’s teacher training schools is to train female teachers for women’s primary schools and kindergartens.’

<sup>263</sup> Cong, *Teachers’ Schools*, 57-58.

<sup>264</sup> ‘Jiaoyubu gongbu shifan jiaoyu ling [Ministry of Education: Decree on Teacher training Schools]’ (1912), *XZYB* (1993), 660-662. ‘The aim of the women’s teacher training college is to train teachers for women’s teacher training schools and women’s middle schools.’

### Existing Literature

Women's schooling in the early twentieth century has received increasing, but still surprisingly limited attention, from historians,, and the changing role of these early female teachers has not been studied. For example, in Sally Borthwick's monograph *Education and Social Change*, it mainly uses the case of the late Qing statesman Zhang Zhidong and provides a simple sketch on the Qing court's policies towards women's schooling.<sup>265</sup> Thomas Curran's study retains an emphasis on key male reformists as well, and does not consider women's schooling or contributions by female teachers at all when he discusses how modern educators 'searched a way out' for Chinese education in the 1910s.<sup>266</sup>

Research by historians such as Paul Bailey, Xia Xiaohong and Joan Judge is important for us to understand the impact of educational reforms on women's schooling in the early twentieth century. They have paid specific attention to the rising subjectivity of women and the discourse centred on the aims of women's education, but they largely treat females who received school education as students, not teachers (or future teachers). As Bailey argues, due to the rigid male-female segregation in Confucian culture, contradictory attitudes concerning the rationale and aims of women's public education characterised much of the discourse of the time.<sup>267</sup> Xia Xiaohong, similarly, focuses on these fierce disputes and demonstrates how the issues such as gender equality, marriage and the tradition of foot-binding were raised as debates in the late Qing era.<sup>268</sup> Both Bailey and Xia have demonstrated that the ultimate motivation of women's schooling at the time was inspired by the

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<sup>265</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 114-118.

<sup>266</sup> Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 83-218.

<sup>267</sup> Bailey, *Education and Gender in China*, 35.

<sup>268</sup> Xia, *Wanqing wenren funü guan*.

nationalist concept of ‘mothers of citizens’. In other words, the Qing court opened women’s schools in the willingness to create more ‘virtuous mothers and good wives’ for the nation.<sup>269</sup>

Joan Judge’s observation of the development of a culture of talented women (*cainü* 才女) delineates how the tide of nationalism in the late Qing era contributed to the beginning of women’s education and the rise of women’s subjectivity.<sup>270</sup> As Joan Judge argues, women’s school education had broken the long-term dichotomy of ‘virtue’ and ‘talent’ in women— i.e. that ‘women of virtue are women with no talent’ (*nüzi wucai bian shi de* 女子無才便是德). However, according to Judge, the nationalist discourse on women in fact limited what women could imagine as individuals and as feminists.<sup>271</sup> What Bailey, Xia, and Judge have not discussed is how this discourse of nationalism contributed to women’s career choices at the time, or their changing roles as new teachers compared with traditional female teachers.

Moreover, as Bailey has pointed out, the concept of ‘feminism’ itself was fluid, and its meaning changed for different generations. In the 1900s, women’s schooling was undoubtedly the most radical ‘feminist’ development for Chinese women. Some women, including Yang Yinyu, had to divorce husbands or go against their family’s wishes to be educated and they did so knowing that they would be attacked and criticised for living as single women.<sup>272</sup> From a contemporary feminist view, the state’s policy of limiting the aim of women’s schooling to training more teachers reflected the Qing reformers’ hesitant attitudes towards liberating women. However, as Paul Bailey has shown, even

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<sup>269</sup> Bailey, *Gender and Education*, 25-33; Xia, *Wanqing wenren funü guan*, 84-102.

<sup>270</sup> Judge, “Talent, Virtue, and the Nation,” 765-803.

<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 773.

<sup>272</sup> Paul Bailey also uses the example of Xie Bingying (1906-2000), who opposed to arranged marriage and attended new schools afterwards, to demonstrate the difficulties of those early female students. Bailey, *Gender and Education in China*, 10.

when the Qing reformers began to promote women's schooling and their new roles as teachers in public arena, many people worried about the potentially subversive effects of women's education and what might happen if women were given too much freedom.<sup>273</sup> Thus, although women's schooling started in the reformers' need to create more 'virtuous mothers and good wives' for the nation, the policy and the discourse per se significantly changed women's lives in their career choices and professional female teachers began to flourish thereafter.<sup>274</sup>

Drawing on these works on women's development in the early twentieth-century reforms, this chapter moves in a significant new direction by showing how the first generation of female students in late Qing China, obligatorily or voluntarily, became female teachers in the 1900s. As Bailey admits, 'we still have little idea of what it meant for girls themselves as public education became increasingly available to them.'<sup>275</sup> Yang Yinyu, as one of the early female students who became a teacher, is a suitable case to fill the gap. Yang Yinyu's determination to study was driven by a desire to promote modern education for women. Despite that there were not many choices for female students after they graduated in the late 1900s, Yang Yinyu was voluntarily devoted to this cause. According to Yang Jiang, 'once she [Yang Yinyu] left her husband, she was determined to do something for society...she believed she could make it.'<sup>276</sup> Yang Yinyu's student Su Xuelin wrote in 1930 that Yang Yinyu 'was

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<sup>273</sup> The worries came from the increasing cases of divorces, and the presence of female assassination squads appeared especially during the wake of the 1911 Xinhai Revolution. Paul Bailey, "Unharnessed Fillies: Discourse on the Modern Female Student in Early Twentieth-Century China", chapter in Lo Jiu-jung and Lu Miaw-fen, ed. *Voices and Silence (III): Women and the Culture in Modern China (1600-1950)* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2003), 346-347.

<sup>274</sup> Historians such as Qian Nanxiu, Doris Fung and Yang Bingbing have all contributed to show that women's schooling was a starting point for women's further development in various areas. Their studies have demonstrated the increasing 'talented women' in the areas of politics, arts, and literature in the twentieth century, but education is not fully discussed. Qian Nanxiu, *Politics, Poetics, and Gender in Late Qing China: Xue Shaohui and the Era of Reform* (California: Stanford University Press, 2015); Doris Sung, *Redefining Female Talents: Chinese Women Artists in the National and Global Art Worlds, 1900-1970s*. PhD dissertation in York University (Toronto), 2016; Yang Bingbing, "You Zeng Yi (1852-1927) de ge'an kan wanqing 'jibing de yingyu' yu cainü shenfen [The Case of Zeng Yi (1852-1927): 'Metaphor of Illness' and the Identity of Female Talents in the Late Qing Era]." *Jindai Zhongguo funüshi yanjiu (Research on Women in Chinese Modern History)*, Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, no.16, (2008): 1-28.

<sup>275</sup> Bailey, *Gender and Education in China*, 9.

<sup>276</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 95.

determined to contribute all her life to China's modern education immediately after her divorce.<sup>277</sup> Although Su Xuelin's words were written during the Nanjing decade when 'serving society' had become a popular slogan in Nationalist China, Yang Yinyu did insist on serving as a teacher and educator until she died in 1938.

### Structure and Sources

This chapter explores the environment and ideologies of the schools in which Yang studied, which were crucial in shaping her identity as a modern female teacher, allowing us to understand the claims and contributions of these early female teachers. Between 1904 and 1913, Yang Yinyu earned herself an impeccable record of credentials as a student in three schools, and the education she received prepared her to be a female teacher. The three schools, which were highly representative of the inflow of educational ideologies in China at the time, further complicated the way we understand her identity and the wider transformations that impacted of her generation. In the existing scholarship, research on these ideologies of Christian education, Confucian education, and Japanese education is often conducted separately and not much has been specifically discussed about how these ideologies interacted with women's schooling. However, by using Yang Yinyu's case, this chapter weaves these ideologies into women's early school experiences, and demonstrates how these various educational currents interrelated with female students' perceptions of their new roles as teachers.

The chapter is divided into three sections according to the schools that Yang attended. The first section explores the ideology and curriculum of the Laura Haygood Girls' School (*Suzhou Jinghai nüshu* 苏州景海女塾) in Suzhou, one of the few boarding American missionary schools in China. The second section examines rising Chinese nationalism as it was felt in Shanghai Wuben Girls' School (*Shanghai*

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<sup>277</sup> Su Xuelin, pseudonym *chunlei* (春雷), "Jige nü jiaoyu jia de suxiexiang, er, Yang Yinyu nüshi [A Sketch of Several Female Educators, No. 2, Miss Yang Yinyu]," *Shenghuo [Life]* 5, no.13, (1930): 195.

*Wuben nüshu* 上海務本女塾), where Yang Yinyu graduated as a middle-level student in 1906. The third section explores Yang Yinyu's experiences at Tokyo Teachers College for Women, which was at the time the highest national college for women in Japan. Having lived in Tokyo for five years, Yang Yinyu finally returned to China in 1913 and became one of the first generation of Republican teachers.

The primary sources this chapter depends on are mainly the autobiographies and memoirs of people around her, as well as archival materials from the schools found in municipal archives and libraries in Suzhou, Shanghai and Tokyo. In addition, an interview that Yang Yinyu gave in 1913 provides us a valuable chance to observe Yang's early ideologies as she prepared herself as a teacher, and to probe into the activities of those early female teachers.

### **Laura Haygood Girls' School in Suzhou**

In early 1904, Yang Yinyu enrolled at the Laura Haygood Girls' School in Suzhou, with support from her brother Yang Yinhang.<sup>278</sup> The school had just been built in 1902 by the Women's Board of Foreign Missions, Methodist Episcopal Church South (MECS), which had begun to expand its influence in the lower Yangzi area in the early 1880s.<sup>279</sup> This section explores the ideology and curriculum of this school, which was a key part of the network of missionary schools in the lower Yangzi area, but no research has been done on it.<sup>280</sup> It finds that the school had to reorient its goal in training Chinese girls according to the society's needs instead of pursuing its original aim of evangelism. Missionary schools

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<sup>278</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 73.

<sup>279</sup> Ma Guangxia, *Zhongxi bingzhong: Jianli hui zaihua shiye yanjiu*, English name: *Emphasising both the West and the East: the Study on the Enterprise of Methodist Episcopal Church, South in China, 1848-1939* (Taipei: Chinese Christian Literature Council, 2016), 109.

<sup>280</sup> Major works by Heidi Ross, Ryan Dunch, and Judith Liu on missionary education in China focus on the schools in main treaty ports such as Ningbo, Shanghai, Fuzhou, Hankou, etc., and the wider network of missionary schools in those non-treaty ports still awaits exploration. Heidi Ross, "Cradle of Female Talents: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892-1937," chapter in Daniel Bays, *Christianity in China: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (California: Stanford University, 1996), 209-227; Ryan Dunch, "Mission Schools and Modernity: The Anglo-Chinese College, Fuzhou," chapter in Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, and Lu Yongling, ed. *Education, Culture and Identity in Twentieth-Century China* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2001), 109-136; Judith Liu, *Foreign Exchange: Counterculture behind the Walls of St. Hilda's School for Girls, 1929-1937* (NJ: Lehigh University Press, 2011).

increased in number in China by the turn of twentieth century because of the Qing gentry scholars' willingness to promote women's education, but they also floundered at times due to the wider anti-Christian environment especially around 1900 when the Boxer Uprising outbreak. However, the education they received in the school did bring Chinese female students of the era, such as Yang Yinyu, some valuable qualities such as leadership, charisma and a sense of service to society, which were blended into their identity as modern female teachers. This section firstly provides a historical sketch of the missionary development in Suzhou and Shanghai in the late nineteenth century. Secondly, it demonstrates how the school adapted its programme to suit the local needs of female students. Finally, it analyses the curriculum and students' activities to help us understand the environment in which Yang was taught and the qualities she learnt.

### *Missionary Development in Suzhou and Shanghai in the 1870s to 1890s*

The city of Suzhou got its first glimpses of Western missionary activity in 1869 when Methodist missionary Rev. J.W. Lambuth (Chinese name Lan Bo 藍柏, ?-1893) reached Suzhou from Shanghai. Since the mid-nineteenth century, Christian missionaries had obtained permission to enter China through the treaty ports, and they began their missionary work.<sup>281</sup> In 1871, Cao Zishi (English name Charlie K. Marshall 曹子實, 1847-1902), one of the first Chinese Christians who later became the founder of Soochow University, built up the first boys' private boarding school in Suzhou with the assistance of Lambuth.<sup>282</sup> In 1884, Rev. Alvin Pierson Parker (Chinese name Pan Shenwen 潘慎文, 1850-1924), who came from the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, took over this

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<sup>281</sup> According to the Treaty of Wanghsia (1844) and Treaty of Tientsin (1858), missionary organisations could purchase land in China proper and had rights to use this land for building churches, hospitals, and schools. Wang Guoping, "Jidujiao zai Suzhou de kaijiao he chuchuan [The Early Activities of Christianity in Suzhou]," *Suzhou daxue xuebao [Journal of Suzhou University]*, no.4, (1996): 91; Yang Lixia, "Sili xuexiao de xingban yu Suzhou jiaoyu jindaihua [The Rise of Private Schools and Educational Modernisation in Suzhou]," *Jiangsu difangzhi (Local Chronicles of Jiangsu)*, no.4, (1997): 44.

<sup>282</sup> Hu Weiqing, "Boxi shuyuan shulun [An Overview on Boxi Academy]," *Suzhou daxue xuebao [Suzhou University Journal]*, no.1 (1994): 77.

school and rebuilt it as the Boxi Academy (Boxi Shuyuan 博习書院), also called Soochow Sino-Western Academy (Suzhou Zhongxi Shuyuan 苏州中西書院), which prospered in the early 1890s.<sup>283</sup>

From 1844 to the 1880s, missionary schools encountered great difficulties in enrolling children from well-to-do families because of people's beliefs in Confucianism and other main religions including Buddhism and Taoism. Missionaries at first provided free tuition and board, even paying children's families in order to attract more students.<sup>284</sup> Religious conflicts occurred in the cities that had missionary churches, which made the presence of missionary schools unacceptable for some local societies.<sup>285</sup> They required students to read the Bible and take part in church services every day, which were serious violations of indigenous Confucian customs. As discussed in the last chapter, Confucian classics were regarded as orthodoxy and people took local Confucian schools as shrines of education, while Confucius and the ancient Chinese teachers were their noble idols. Thus, entering missionary schools was not possible, especially for elite families of gentry background.

The situation changed a little during the 1880s. By then, a small number of female students had begun to attend missionary schools because of their religious convictions. Thus during the 1890s, missionary schools turned their attention to female students from upper-class families. One sign of the changing strategy of missionary schools was the introduction of a tuition system. For example, the earliest girls'

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<sup>283</sup> Pan Shenwen (A. P. Parker), "Boxi shuyuan baodan [Reports on Boxi Academy]," *Zhongxi jiaohuibao (The Chinese Christian Review)*, vol.2, No.16 (1892): 25-26.

<sup>284</sup> Cong, *Teachers' Schools*, 34.

<sup>285</sup> The most serious anti-missionary riot before 1880 was the Tianjin Church Incident (*Tianjin jiao'an* 天津教案) in 1870. Throughout the early 1870, rumours spread in Tianjin that the French Catholic Church was 'kidnapping children and using their organs to make medicines'. In June 1870, thousands of angry anti-Catholic protestors gathered in front of the church and killed 19 foreign missionaries and officers, 20 travellers, and about 30 Chinese Christians. The Qing court finally sent diplomat Wanyan Chonghou (完顏崇厚, 1824-1893) to France to make an apology. The First Historical Archives of China, ed. *Qingmo jiaoran [Church Incidents in Late Qing China]*, vol.2 (Beijing: Zhonhua shuju [China Book Company], 1998); Dong Conglin, "Miguai, zhege chuanwen yu Tianjin jiaoran [The Rumours of Abduct and Cutting and the Tianjin Church Incident]," *Jindai lishi yanjiu [Modern Chinese History Studies]*, no.2 (2003): 204-226.



school in Ningbo began charging for board and tuition at the end of the 1880s.<sup>286</sup> In 1884, Rev. Young J. Allen (Chinese name Lin Lezhi 林樂知, 1836-1907), ‘the great Mandarin of the Methodists’, created the Shanghai Anglo-Chinese College (*Shanghai Zhongxi Shuyuan* 上海中西書院), and in 1892, he also built up the famous McTyeire Home and School for Girls (*Shanghai Zhongxi Nüshu* 上海中西女塾) using this strategy. By 1900, together with the Sino-Western Academy in Suzhou, these three schools had become the most well-known and successful missionary schools in the lower Yangzi area.

### Laura Haygood Girls’ School During the 1900s

The Laura Haygood Girls’ School in Suzhou was established by MECS to become ‘the second McTyeire’ in 1900. It was built up in the name of Miss Laura Askew Haygood (Chinese name Hai Shude 海淑德, 1845-1900), one of the founders of the China Mission of MECS, who had spent sixteen years of her life in China. Miss Haygood was firstly recruited by Rev. Allen as the first president of the McTyeire Home and School for Girls in Shanghai from 1892 to 1899.<sup>287</sup> In 1896, Miss Haygood began her plan to build a new hospital in Suzhou, and a new boarding school for girls. She planned it to be larger in scale than the existing Guanying Girls’ School in Suzhou (*Guanying Nüshu* 冠英女塾), which was built in 1883 by Mrs. A.P. Parker (Chinese name Gu Yali 顧雅麗, 1852-1901), the wife of Rev. Parker.<sup>288</sup> However, Haygood passed away in 1900 and did not see her plan realised. The Board of the MECS soon decided to fulfil her ‘last utterance’ to ‘evangelise the people of Suzhou’: ‘[it is] the opportunity to show how fully we trusted Miss Haygood, how deeply

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<sup>286</sup> Cong, *Teachers’ Schools*, 34.

<sup>287</sup> Edward James, Janet James and Paul Boyer, *Notable American Women, 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary*, vol. 3. (Massachusetts: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 167-169.

<sup>288</sup> Oswald Eugene Brown and Ann Muse Brown, ed. *Life and Letters of Laura Askew Haygood* (Nashville: Publishing House of the M.E. Church, South, Smith & Lamar, Agents, 1904), 490; “Pan Shenwen taitai Mrs. A.P. Parker,” *Zhonghua jidujiao weiligonghui baizhou jiniance [One Hundred Weeks of the Methodist Church in China]* (1948): 84.

and sincerely we honoured and loved her. Let Soochow [Suzhou] have a home and a school similar to the McTyeire Home and School, and let it be known as the “Laura Haygood Home and School”.<sup>289</sup> It was given the Chinese name Jinghai Girls’ School (Jinghai Nüshu 景海女塾), which meant ‘in respect of Miss Hai Shude’ (Figure 8).

As Young Allen remarked, the most urgent mission of the Laura Haygood Girls’ School was: ‘to provide a comfortable way station for female missionaries newly arrived in China’, and to become a ‘privileged community of educated women devoted to service’.<sup>290</sup> Like the McTyeire in Shanghai, the school aimed to enrol female students only from top-class families, and high admissions requirements were set up. It had a tuition and board fee set at 50 US dollars for every 20 weeks, plus music tuition for 15 dollars. In addition, an application fee of 2 dollars was compulsory for all candidates to gain admission. To enter the school, the applicant also had to submit ‘satisfactory references’, which further restricted the admission to girls from well-educated families, like the family of Yang Yinyu, that enjoyed a favourable social status.<sup>291</sup>

However, although Yang Yinyu received systematic training at the Laura Haygood Girls’ School for two years where the MECS board held a clear purpose in its evangelising mission, what she had received was a localised, perhaps watered-down, Christian education, which was largely moderated due to the contemporary anti-foreignism coming from the local people after the Boxer Uprising. In the *Amended School Regulations of Jinghai (Jinghai nüshu gailiang zhangchen 景海女塾改良章程)* published in 1909, the president Miss Martha E. Pyle (Chinese name Bei Houde 貝厚德, birth and

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<sup>289</sup> Oswald Brown and Ann Brown, ed. *Life and Letters of Laura Askew Haygood*, 490.

<sup>290</sup> Ross, “Cradle of Female Talents: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892-1937”, 213.

<sup>291</sup> “*Suzhou Jinghai nü xuetang gailiang zhangcheng [The Amended Regulations of Laura Haygood School for Girls]*, English version, (1909):1. Archival number: I05-001-0375-001, Wuxian jiaoyuju [Wuxian Educational Bureau], *Suzhoushi danganguan [Suzhou Municipal Archives]*.

death dates unknown) prepared two versions of information for different audiences: a Chinese version which promised the local community that the school would preserve Chinese learning and promote women's education, and an English version which maintained that the school's utmost priority was to broaden Christian influence and to evangelise in Suzhou. This distinction reflects the tensions the school encountered in the years between the Boxer movement of 1900 and the Revolution of 1911, which were regarded by Rev. Walter Lacy (Chinese name Li Weitao 力维韬, birth and death dates unknown) as 'earthquake shocks' that threatened to undermine 'the deepening of Methodist penetration into the life of China'.<sup>292</sup>

The English version of the *Regulations* began with a detailed explanation of the purpose, foundation and name of the school, and this was followed by brief descriptions of its buildings, equipment, a timetable of exams, and regulations for family visitors. The 'two-fold purpose' of the school was:

'First, furnishing to the young women of Suzhou and surrounding places such facilities for education as are enjoyed in institutions of high grade in other countries. Second, leading the young women who might become students in the institution to an experimental knowledge of Christ and to a consecration of their lives to His service.'<sup>293</sup>

It then listed the standards of admission and expenses that have been mentioned above. Christian routines were an important part of school life and were reflected in the following stipulations on uniform, school life and the activities of current societies:

'A school uniform, which consisted of white Madras cloth for summer and of navy blue cloth for winter, is worn by pupils in attendance upon church and upon all public occasions... the class starts at eight-fifteen o'clock in the morning, with chapel exercises... the building contains a large chapel, dining hall, reception room, library...'<sup>294</sup>

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<sup>292</sup> Walter Nind Lacy, *A Hundred Years of China Methodism* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948), 119-127.

<sup>293</sup> "Suzhou Jinghai nü xuetang gailiang zhangchen", English version, 2.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

In the Chinese version however, all references to Christian routines were reduced to a minimum. Although it had a similar layout, the sections on purpose and foundation that came before the school regulations and that emphasised the School's Christian mission in the English version were omitted and were replaced by a short Chinese letter written in the name of Miss Pyle.<sup>295</sup> In her letter, Miss Pyle wrote under her Chinese name Bei Houde, and reassured the intention of the school was to 'promote women's education' in Suzhou, but not to challenge the existing social conventions:

'We teach Chinese in order to preserve the essence of Chinese learning, and also English in order to prepare your children for studying overseas. The courses on the sciences come from the West, thus even if the child has not been abroad, she could learn courses the same as those in the West.

Moreover, we allow children's freedom in faith [of Christianity]. We love China deeply. The teachers have no other intentions, and those who are willing to study here please do not be concerned.

All the activities here are in accordance with the local customs, and all the regulations stem from Chinese law. Now that the full capacity of a hundred students has been reached, we are going to expand. We hope that all the fine ladies from high-end families come, for then the future of women's education will be bright.'<sup>296</sup>

Obviously, the principal had made these compromises to try to gain acceptance for the school among the local population. Her method of teaching 'Chinese in order to preserve the essence of Chinese learning' and 'English in order to prepare your children for studying overseas' well reflected the needs of the local gentry families, who hoped that their children might be developed into modern elites who could retain Chinese learning while being proficient in foreign languages. Their hope was in accordance with the most eloquent slogan of the time, proposed by the prominent statesman Zhang

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<sup>295</sup> Miss Martha E. Pyle was a senior member of the MECS Women's Missionary Society in China. She was recruited by the Board of MECS as the principal of the Laura Haygood School in 1902 until 1917 when the School was restructured into a teachers' school for women. After that the new Laura Haygood Teacher training School brought down its admission standards more towards girls from the middle classes, and Miss Martha Pyle took charge of the McTyeire Home from 1918 to 1923. Ross, "Cradle of Female Talents: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892-1937", 221.

<sup>296</sup> "Suzhou Jinghai nü xuetang gailiang zhangchen", Chinese version, 1.

Zhidong—‘Chinese learning for the foundation, Western learning for practical use (*zhongxue weiti xixue weiyong* 中學為體，西學為用)’.<sup>297</sup>

### *The School Life and Student Activities*

As mentioned before, daily chapel service was an important part of school life at the Laura Haygood Girls’ School. Referencing the statistics of the McTyeire Home of Shanghai, in 1903, nearly one third of the 99 pupils in the school converted to Christianity.<sup>298</sup> It is unclear whether Yang Yinyu became a Christian during her stay in Suzhou, but undoubtedly, the school experience had endowed her with many Christian values, and the regulations, daily routines, and equipment in the school had formed the first impression of Western-style schools for Yang Yinyu, as well as for other female students.

In terms of the curriculum, there were four major subjects— Chinese (*guowen* 國文), English (*yingwen* 英文), Bible Studies (*shengdao* 聖道), and Science (*kexue* 科學) that ran throughout the introductory-level, middle-level and higher-level classes. Students including Yang Yinyu learnt Chinese language and history taught by native gentry scholars, but all the other subjects were taught by American teachers. Over the years, they read and studied both the Old and New Testaments, and became familiar with missionary causes through courses such as *The History of the Bible* (*Shengjing Shiji* 聖經史記) and *Biographies of Missionaries and Their Causes* (*Shitu Chuanjiao Shilüe* 使徒傳教事略). Latin was introduced in the final two years in the higher-level class.

In 1929, Yang Yinyu became a teacher in Soochow University, a Christian college in Suzhou, and the university archives showed that she was familiar with Christian services including daily prayer.

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<sup>297</sup> Ayer, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, 215.

<sup>298</sup> Ross, “Cradle of Female Talents: The McTyeire Home and School for Girls, 1892-1937”, 214.

However, no documents show that she was a converted Christian. This thesis suggests that Yang Yinyu perhaps was a person who believed in Christian teachings but not a converted Christian.<sup>299</sup> Yang Yinyu's uncle Yang Zhixun's *Middle-level Moral Primer* also showed that being familiar with Christian rituals did not mean being faithful Christians. People accepted Christian teachings because they believed that these foreign teachings were sometimes not incompatible with Confucian learning. As Yang Zhixun wrote:

‘To do your best is called *loyalty* [*zhong 忠*]... to be considerate to others is called *tolerance* [*shu 恕*]. Confucius says: what you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others [*jisuo buyu wu shi yu ren 己所不欲勿施于人*]. Christianity says: love others as you love yourself [*ai ren ru ji 爱人如己*]. Thus, [if seeking] to mould a man with loyalty and tolerance, the ethics of the West and the East are not different.’<sup>300</sup>

The school had full laboratory equipment and a school library for students to study Science and Western literature (Figure 9). It encouraged students to run societies, including a music society, literature society, etc. A sense of leadership and charisma was developed by these student-led societies, where students were ‘afforded opportunity for reading, recitations, debates, solos, duets, choruses, and practice in parliamentary usages.’<sup>301</sup> Students were taught Western-style dances and sports, such as hooping and European folk celebration maypole dancing (Figure 10).

All of these activities introduced Yang Yinyu to American values and customs. Thus, when Yang arrived in the United States in 1918, she was able to adapt readily, and within one year she was able to

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<sup>299</sup> Yang Yinyu's another niece Yang Shoukang (楊壽康, who was Yang Jiang's elder sister) was a converted Catholic.

<sup>300</sup> Yang Zhixun, *Zhongdeng xiushen jiaokeshu*, 2-4. English translation of Confucius' words is from: James Legge, *Confucius: Confucian Analects, the Great Learning and the Doctrine of the Mean* (New York: Dover Publications, 1893), 297.

<sup>301</sup> “Suzhou Jinghai nü xuetang gailiang zhangchen”, English version, 6.

become the vice-president of the Chinese Students' Club at Columbia University.<sup>302</sup> The school also had strict regulations for female students in terms of their boarding lives. Pupils needed to be well-prepared before they moved to this boarding school, bringing: 'one blanket sized six *chi* long and five *chi* wide, a white bedding cloth, two white coversheets, three white pillow sheets...' <sup>303</sup> Stipulations on family visitors were clearly stated, 'all the visitors must see the president beforehand. The visit time is limited to after four o'clock in the afternoon.'<sup>304</sup> As the next chapter will show, these school regulations would be echoed by Yang Yinyu when she later became dean and then president of Beijing Teachers' College for Women in the 1910s.

Finally, Yang Yinyu had the chance to reflect on her role in regard to the traditional gender capacities as daughter, wife, and mother. In spite of there being two Chinese male gentry scholars at the school, the staff largely consisted of female missionaries, most of whom were single women. As Judith Liu points out, single independent women who served in important positions as the president and teachers in the girls' missionary school provided examples for young Chinese students who sought roles beyond their families for themselves.<sup>305</sup> In Yang Yinyu's case, the situation was probably similar. After she left her marital home, she remained single until her death, and according to Yang Jiang, 'she seemed to forget she was a woman, and just wanted to have a career.'<sup>306</sup>

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<sup>302</sup> "Chinese Students' Club of Columbia University," *Chinese Students' Monthly*, no. 15 (1920): 64. *The Chinese Students' Monthly* was the first magazine to be established by Chinese students in the United States in 1906, and later became the official magazine of the Chinese Students Alliance of America.

<sup>303</sup> 1 Chinese *chi* 尺 equals about 30 centimetres.

<sup>304</sup> "Suzhou Jinghai nü xuetang gailiang zhangchen", Chinese version, 8.

<sup>305</sup> Liu, *Foreign Exchange*, 15.

<sup>306</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 95.

## Shanghai Wuben Girls' School

Around 1905, Yang Yinyu moved to Shanghai and enrolled at Wuben Girls' School. Between 1901 and 1906, a number of new schools and girls' schools were established by mainly Jiangsu and Zhejiang gentry scholars in Shanghai, most of which had employed foreign-returned students and missionaries as teaching staff for Western-style subjects. Chinese nationalism and a shared sense of pain of 'national humiliation' during this time permeated these new schools. In the previous chapter, it has used the case of Yang Yinhang and Hou Hongjian in Japan to show how the 'national humiliation' they felt propelled their anti-Manchu nationalism and determinations in promoting new education. This section further draws the scene where this 'national humiliation' was shared by those early female teachers in Shanghai, and became a core source in shaping their identities and determinations as new teachers.

As discussed before, historians such as Bailey and Judge have demonstrated how the concepts of 'mothers of citizens' and 'virtuous mothers and good wives' restricted women's imaginations in terms of feminism. However, they have not examined how these new female teachers in the early twentieth century took the initiative to promote further development in women's education by using the discourse on nationalism. This section argues that nationalism, womanly virtues and the sense of national humiliation cooperated in Yang's identity and that of many of her peers' determination to promote modern education. It firstly examines the network of new schools in Shanghai and demonstrates the strong nationalism where Yang Yinyu lived between 1905 and 1907. It then discusses the discourse of 'women as natural teachers' and the educational ideology of Wuben to show how the roles of the new female students were inextricably linked to being new teachers. Finally, it examines students' activities and the memoirs of Yang Yinyu's peer Wu Ruo'an (吴若安, 1890-1990), a renowned female modern educator, to demonstrate how these female students viewed their new roles and why they were dedicated to modern education.



*New Education and Nationalism in Shanghai, 1905-1907*

In 1903 and 1904 when the Renyin-Guimao system was established, the Qing court issued a decree concerning women's education, which acknowledged that all Chinese women should be taught literacy, but their education should still be conducted within the home. As the *Decree of Family Education* read: 'Women can only be taught at home, or receive education in motherhood and nannying, but not receive too much Western learning.'<sup>307</sup> However, private girls' schools established by gentry scholars had begun to be prominent in local areas. Between 1902 and 1907, many girls' schools were established in the Jiangnan area and the Zhili region, as well as in many inland provinces such as Hunan, Sichuan, Guangxi, Jiangxi, Shandong and even Guizhou and Yunnan.<sup>308</sup> The following cases of Shanghai Public College and Shanghai Wuben Girls' School will show how new education was knitted with the nationalism at the time and how female students were influenced by the wider social context of national humiliation.

In 1898, Liang Qichao, together with Kang Youwei and the Shanghai merchant Jing Yuanshan (經元善, 1840-1903), opened China's first girls' school in Shanghai, named Jingzheng Girls' School (*jingzheng nüxue* 經正女學, also called the Girls' School of China, *Zhongguo nüxue* 中國女學). The school advocated training more female students to realise women's natural responsibilities, and directly linked women's schooling with the nation's destiny.<sup>309</sup> Although it only survived for less than a year due to the Wuxu Coup, it forced the Qing court to consider the necessity of women's education.

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<sup>307</sup> "Zouding mengyangyuan ji jiating jiaoyu fa zhangcheng [Decree on Kindergarten Education and Family Education]" (1904), from Chen, "Jindai Zhongguo nüxing jiaoyu shi ruhe fazhan qilai de", 142.

<sup>308</sup> Cong, *Teachers' Schools*, 53.

<sup>309</sup> Chen, "Jindai Zhongguo nüxing jiaoyu shi ruhe fazhan qilai de", 142. The aim of the school was to educate more female students so they could be good at 'helping their husbands, teaching their children' and moreover, they would 'improve future generations'.

Since the Qing court restarted its institutional reforms after the Boxer Uprising in 1901, new schools that had been established and sponsored by local gentry scholars were given a boost. In 1902, the Shanghai gentry scholar Wu Xin (吴馨, 1873-1919), a graduate from Nanyang Public School like Yang Yinhang, opened the Wuben Girls' School (Figure 11). The educational ideology of Wuben was to 'promote women's education and transform customs.'<sup>310</sup> It taught modern subjects to girls and encouraged girls to unbind their feet (*fangzu* 放足).<sup>311</sup> The staff mainly consisted of the peers of Wu Xin and Yang Yinhang from the Department of Teacher training Education in Nanyang, who believed that women's schooling was a significant part of China's educational reforms.

Apart from Wuben, there were other renowned new schools including Chengzhong School (*Chengzhong xuetaang* 澄衷學堂), built in 1901, and the famous Shanghai Public College (*Shanghai gongxue* 上海公學), built in 1906. These schools, together with schools in other nearby counties such as Wuxi, as discussed in the previous chapter, formed a highly nationalist environment for the new students. During these two years, Yang Yinhang was teaching in Chengzhong, Wuben, and the Shanghai Public College, and he encouraged his wife Tang Xu'an (唐須菱, ?-1937), Yang Jiang's mother, to study in Wuben together with Yang Yinyu.<sup>312</sup> It is likely that Yang Yinyu's determination to promote modern education was driven by nationalist concerns and that she was influenced to a significant degree by her experience at Wuben in Shanghai.

The establishment of Shanghai Public College, the first college-level school built by Chinese gentry scholars, was a typical case to reflect how the sense of national humiliation was knitted into the heated

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<sup>310</sup> Wu Xin, 'Wuben nüshu shilüe [A Brief History of Wuben Girls' School]' (1910) in Zhu Youhuan, ed. *Zhongguo jindai xuezhì shiliao [Archival Collections of Modern Chinese Educational System]*, Vol.2, No.2 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubenshe [Chinese East Teacher training University Press], 1989): 589.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 589-490.

<sup>312</sup> Yang, *huiyi liangpian*, 11.

nationalism in new education in Shanghai. In 1905, the Japanese government issued the *Regulations for Qing and Korean Students*, which provided a series of stipulations on the increasing number of foreign students who were coming to study in Japan. However, Chinese students took it as a humiliating discrimination against the Chinese and strongly protested against it.<sup>313</sup> About 3000 out of the 8000 Chinese students quit school and went back to China. In facing the chaos among the Chinese students, one of them, Chen Tianhua (陳天華, 1875-1905), committed suicide in Tokyo. Chen intended his suicide to be a warning to other students unreasonably against abandoning their studies, urging them to improve themselves and to continue to advance their studies in the national interest. However, contrary to his own intentions, Chen's suicide had the effect of further radicalising Chinese returned students from Japan, encouraging them to become more nationalistic. Recent studies by Chinese historians Li Xisuo and Li Lairong have reexamined that this was a misinterpretation of Chen Tianhua's suicide and the protest in 1905 was out of heated nationalism but the students were 'not rational and misunderstood Japan's policies.'<sup>314</sup>

This was a significant incident that directly altered the situation of new education in Shanghai, and in the rest of China. The Qing government's perceived weakness in the face of Japanese actions encouraged the students to link the humiliation they felt in Japan to an intensified desire to have new schools of their own, so they did not have to go to Japan. On their return, the students established the Association of Chinese Students in Japan (*liuri xuesheng zonghui* 留日學生總會), and wrote joint proposals to statesmen including Liang Qichao and Yan Fu, urging the need to 'build up China's own

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<sup>313</sup> The Japanese government stipulated that foreign students should live only in schools, but many of the protesting Chinese students believed that 'Japan only had restrictions towards prostitutes. Now Japan is taking us as prostitutes.' Zhang Huangxi, "1905 nian liuri xuesheng bake yundong shimo [The Protest of Chinese Students in Japan in 1905]" (1905) in *Wenshi ziliao xuanbian [Archival Materials of Literature and History]*, vol.33, (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe [Beijing Press], 1988): 87.

<sup>314</sup> Li Xisuo, Li Lairong, "Qingmo liuri xuesheng qudi guize shijian zai jiedu [A Reexamination on the Incident of Chinese Students in Japan]," *Jindaishi yanjiu (Modern Chinese History)*, no.6, (2009): 25.

Waseda University'.<sup>315</sup> In 1906, the newly-established Ministry of Education approved the proposal, and Shanghai Public College was opened with a similar structure as Waseda University.<sup>316</sup> Yang Yinhang at the time was teaching at Chenzhong School, and was now invited to teach at Shanghai Public College. According his student Hu Shi, the most renowned educator in the Republican era, the students at the time all regarded themselves as 'new people', whose ideas 'had been remoulded with nationalism'.<sup>317</sup> The school used new textbooks including Liang Qichao's *On New People*, and Yan Fu's *Theory of Evolution*. Hu Shi even changed his name to *shi*, deriving from the term 'the survival of the fittest' *shizhe jingcun*.<sup>318</sup>

Along with the ideas of 'new people', 'the survival of the fittest', contemporary patriotic Chinese intellectuals also likened the era with the Warring-States era (403-221 BC) when the ancient King Goujian lived. They used the Chinese phrase 'lie on brushwood and taste gall' (*woxin changdan* 臥薪嘗膽), which meant enduring hardship and waiting for revival. The term came from the story of Goujian, who was told to 'lie on brushwood and taste gall' every day to remind himself of national revenge. An instance was the article published by the *Eastern Miscellany* in 1904. The author encouraged his compatriots that 'it took [Goujian] twenty years to defeat [his enemy] Wu State...this is what it means by 'lie on brushwood and taste gall', and do not forget our humiliation!'<sup>319</sup> This phrase shaped Yang Yinyu's identity as a female teacher as well. According to the memoirs of Xu Zhimo (徐志摩, 1897-1931), the famous modern poet who was studying with Yang Yinyu in the US

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<sup>315</sup> Hu Shi, *Sishi zishu [A Memoir Written in My Forties]* (Shanghai: Yadong tushuguan (The Oriental Book Company), 1933), 53-54.

<sup>316</sup> "Zhongguo gongxue fengbu pizhun [The Shanghai Public College was Acknowledge by the Ministry of Education]," *Beiyang guanbao [Beiyang Gazette]*, no. 1151, (1906): 9.

<sup>317</sup> Hu, *Sishi zishu*, 51.

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>319</sup> Paul A. Cohen, *Speaking to History: The Story of King Goujian in Twentieth-century China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2009), 37-38.

at the same time in 1918, Yang Yinyu gave a speech urging Chinese students in the US ‘not to sing and dance, but to study hard’<sup>320</sup> This was what Paul Cohen termed ‘the burden of national humiliation’ that haunted most Chinese intellectuals during the early twentieth century. Yang Yinyu’s case demonstrated how it was shared by early female teachers.<sup>321</sup>

### *The Discourse of ‘Women as Natural Teachers’*

In 1907, the Qing court issued two formal decrees, *Regulations for Women’s Primary Schools* and *Regulations for Women’s Teacher Training Schools*, and announced official support for promoting public schools for women across the nation.<sup>322</sup> The article *Women’s Education should Emphasise Ethics* published in the *Beiyang Gazette* in 1906 represented the official attitude of the Qing court to women’s schooling. It endorsed Japanese female educator Shimoda Utako (下田歌子, 1854-1936)’s emphasis of *Domestic Science* (Chinese: *jiazheng xue*/ Japanese: *kasei gaku* 家政學), a new subject teaching female students how to manage housework in more systematic and efficient ways. Her ideology of Japan-centred Pan-Asianism and her definition of women’s roles in modern East Asia were well received by both contemporary Japanese politicians and Chinese Qing leaders, including Japan’s Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi (伊藤博文, 1841-1909) and the Empress Dowager.<sup>323</sup> The womanly virtues that Shimoda had emphasised, such as ‘gentleness’ (*he’ai* 和愛) and ‘benevolence’ (*cishan* 慈善), were adopted by the Qing authorities. The article further stipulated that women’s education depended on three points: intellectual, physical and moral education, of which

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<sup>320</sup> Xu Zhimo, *liumei riji [Diaries in the US]* (Beijing: Zhongyang bianyi she [Central Compilation and Translation Press], 2014), 94.

<sup>321</sup> Cohen, *Speaking to History*, 37-38.

<sup>322</sup> ‘Xuebu zouding nüzi xiaoxuetang zhangchen [Department of Education: Regulations on the Women’s Primary Schools]’ (1907); ‘xuebu zouding nüzi shifan xuetang zhangchen zhe [Department of Education: Regulations on the Women’s Teacher training Schools]’ (1907), in *JYSZL*, 3: 800-809; 810-818.

<sup>323</sup> Ono Kazuko, ed. by Joshua A. Fogel, *Chinese Women in A Century of Revolution, 1850-1950* (Stanford University, 1989), 54-55. The first edition was published in Japan in 1978 by Ono Kazuko.

moral education should be paid the greatest attention.<sup>324</sup> Apart from the traditional responsibility of ‘supporting one’s husband and teaching the children’, this article emphasised that women should be taught with ‘patriotism’ (*aiguo xin* 愛國心), which it argued was the key reason why Japan was one of the most successful empires of the time.<sup>325</sup>

The intention of using womanly virtues to remould the national characteristic was also echoed by many local gentry scholars. *The Moral Primer of Teacher Training for Women* (*Nüzi Shifan Xiushen Xue* 女子師範修身學) in 1907 (Figure 12), for example, encouraged society to take on feminine qualities and first proposed the idea of ‘women as natural teachers’ (*nüzi tianxing wei tianran shifan* 女子天性為天然師範).<sup>326</sup> It was edited by Wu Tao (吳濤, birth and death dates unknown), a Wuxi native like the Yang family, and was one of the new textbooks used by the new schools including Wuben. Based on this concept it encouraged more female students to embark on school education. It read: ‘Women have two kinds of beautiful qualities. The first kind is diligence, endurance, and prudence. The other is that they are concise in language and wise in mind.’<sup>327</sup>

Joan Judge shows that the nationalism that developed in late Qing China had advanced women’s schooling but also limited women’s imaginations of the potential of feminism.<sup>328</sup> However, if examined in the context of traditional female teachers, the discourse on ‘women as natural teachers’ in fact had transformed women’s rare appearances in education. In Wu Tao’s Moral Primer for female

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<sup>324</sup> ‘Lun nüxue yi zhuzhong deyu [*Women’s Education should Emphasise on Ethics*]’ in *Beiyang guanbao* [*Gazette of Beiyang*], No.19. (1906): 18-24.

<sup>325</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>326</sup> Wu Tao, *Nüzi shifan xiushen xue* [*Moral Primer for Female Teachers*] (Beijing: Beijing diyi shuju [Beijing No.1 Book Company], 1907).

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>328</sup> Judge, “Talent, Virtue, and the Nation,” 765-803.

teachers, it took Ban Zhao (班昭, 45-117), an ancient female teacher of Eastern Han dynasty and a moral exemplar for women, as an example. Wu wrote:

‘In ancient times we had Ban Zhao who worked in the imperial court, while most female teachers taught only within household. However, now both Eastern and Western countries have women’s education, and they do not limit female teachers to within households...In fact, women have many qualities that make them natural teachers.’<sup>329</sup>

Thus, it is arguable that the discourse of ‘women as natural teachers’ was actually a progressive concept in the context of it being an evolution away from the usual roles of female teachers in Imperial China. Newspapers published reports on the phenomenon of new female teachers and took it as a positive sign of development in women’s education. For example, in 1904, it was reported that female teachers were appearing in the new primary schools in Fujian. They were literate and each female teacher taught three children Chinese characters and also took care of these young students. In the periodical *Women’s World*, which recorded Yang Yinyu’s revolutionary case of divorce, appraised that it was better to have females as teachers in the lower-level schools, because ‘women are more kind and gentle, so it is more suitable for the children to take in knowledge.’<sup>330</sup> In the end, it wrote that ‘what if all female teachers could serve in this way instead of traditional family education!’<sup>331</sup> Therefore, when females were first sanctioned to attend schools and be trained as teachers, it was seen as massive progress to liberate women from the household to work in the outside world. Although at first it had limitations on women due to the moral expectations, it provided opportunities for women to develop a career outside of their usual affiliations. Moreover, female students themselves would further adopt nationalism as an important basis of gender equality.

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<sup>329</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>330</sup> “Nüshi ketong [Female Teachers Teaching Children],” *Nüzi shijie [Women’s World]*, no. 12, (1904): 6.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., 6.

### Teacher Training in Wuben

When Yang Yinyu enrolled at Wuben in 1905, the school had just redeveloped itself as a teacher training school for women under the suggestion of Shimoda Utako. It further specified that its educational goal was to produce ‘women who were qualified to educate children’.<sup>332</sup> In the wider context as discussed above, it was quite an advanced ideology at the time before women’s school education was formally permitted by the Qing state in 1907. Since 1902, it had attracted an increasing number of female students from the Yangzi area, and had expanded its school buildings and recruited female Japanese tutors and American teachers. Paul Bailey and Cong Xiaoping have both mentioned Wuben as a renowned school in demonstrating the growing number of private girls’ schools, but they have not shown how the environment of the school influenced the identity of the female students attending it. It shows that Yang Yinyu as well as the female students in the school largely cherished the opportunity of being trained as teachers. At the same time, influenced by the wider context of nationalism and national humiliation, they were convinced that their insist in new education would improve both China’s future and women’s place in it.

The structure of Wuben was similar to the structure of Shanghai Nanyang College. It had an Introductory-level Department, which aimed to produce professional nannies for kindergartens; and a Middle-level Department, which trained female teachers for primary schools. Besides, there was a Teacher Training Department, which trained professional female teachers for middle schools. Yang Yinyu was probably enrolled in the Middle-level or Teacher Training Department because of her age (around twenty years old at the time). Its curriculum largely imitated Shimoda Utako’s Practice School for Women in Tokyo, which focused on Morals and Chinese (*guoyu* 國語) as foundation

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<sup>332</sup> Yan Ni, “Kindai Shanghai ni okeru muhon jyoshu no setsuritsu [The Establishment of Shanghai Wuben Girls’ School],” *Ningen bonka kenkyuka nenpou (Nara jyoshi daigaku) [Journal of Cultural Studies (Nara Women’s University)]*. No. 28 (2013): 42. Wu, ‘Wuben nüshu shilüe’, 590-594.



subjects, combined with Science and English Language taught as modern skills.<sup>333</sup> In Wuben, since the school advocated against bound feet, these Chinese girls also had the chance to practice sports. It regularly held sports meetings, which included competitions in rope-jumping, dance and gymnastics, walking races and more.<sup>334</sup>

The female teachers in the school, especially the Japanese tutors, served as role models for the students when they were being trained as teachers. One case was the Japanese woman Kawahara Misoko (河原操子, 1875-1945), a graduate of Tokyo Teacher College for Women (which Yang Yinyu would attend in 1907). Shimoda Utako believed that Kawahara Misoko's 'readiness to sacrifice (*kakugo* 覺悟), endurance (*nintai ryoku* 忍耐力), and strong perseverance (*kyōko ishi* 強固意志)' well represented the personalities of Japanese women.<sup>335</sup> In 1900, Kawahara Misoko was introduced by Shimoda Utako to Liang Qichao's Datong School in Yokohama, then in 1902, she was invited by Wu Xin to visit Wuben and teach Chinese students in womanly virtues and patriotism.<sup>336</sup>

In 1906, Yang Yinyu graduated from Wuben. The graduates in this year were twenty-eight girls from the Introductory-level Department, seven from the Middle-level Department, and twenty-four from the Teacher Training Department.<sup>337</sup> At the graduation ceremony, the students performed presentations

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<sup>333</sup> Shimoda Utako set Chinese as one of the main subjects because this school was typically established for Chinese female students in Japan.

<sup>334</sup> "Wuben nüxuexiao dierci gailiang guize [The Amended Regulations of Wuben Girls' School]," *Zhili jiaoyu zazhi* [Educational Journal of Zhili Province], no.17 (1905): 35-49.

<sup>335</sup> Yan, "Kindai Shanghai ni okeru muhon joshu no setsuritsu", 43.

<sup>336</sup> Kawahara Misako was teaching in Wuben in 1902, and after 1903 she became a teacher in Mongolia and a spy for the Imperial Japanese Army. James Boyd, "A Forgotten 'Hero: Kawahara Misako and Japan's Informal Imperialism in Mongolia during the Meiji Period," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context*, no. 11, (August 2005); Katō Kyōko, "Joshi kyōin no Chūgoku haken ni kansuru hōdō no kōchiku setsu: Kawahara Misako wo yichi retsu toshite [The Construction of the Reports on Sending Women Tutors to China: the Example of Kawahara Misako ]," *Hikoku Nihongaku kyōin kenkyū sentā kenkyū nenpō* [Research Yearly of the Educational Research Centre of Comparative Japanese Studies], no.11, (2015): 128-130.

<sup>337</sup> 'Wuben nüshu juxing biyeshi [The Graduation Ceremony of Wuben Girls' School]' (1906) in Zhu Youhuan, ed. *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao* [Archival Collections of Modern Chinese Educational System], vol.2, no.2, 600-601.

on Chinese history, engaged in English dialogues, took part in a Maths quiz, performed on the piano and sang in front of an audience of five hundred people.<sup>338</sup> All of the students sang the school song, the lyrics of which contained the school's ethos of promoting women's education, gender equality, and patriotism: 'In this first girls' school of Shanghai, are born young national citizens. If you have boys do not be too glad, if you have girls do not be too sad, today we are all compatriots.'<sup>339</sup>

Through the curriculum, activities and staff arrangements of Wuben, the students had developed a strong sense of patriotism and were eager to establish themselves on an equal footing with men, intellectually and physically. They linked their responsibility of being female teachers as a crucial means of serving the country, which was seen as concrete progress towards gender equality. As Wu Ruo'an, a renowned female educator who graduated from Wuben with Yang Yinyu in the same year, later recalled:

'In Wuben we had developed a willingness to earn honour for Chinese women, and to fight for the rise of China... We all had a common wish that one day Chinese women could be liberated and have an equal role to men. We all wanted to serve the country and work for society.'<sup>340</sup>

One phenomenon among these early female teachers was that many of them remained single for their lifetime. Examples included Wu Ruo'an, Yang Yinyu's friend Lü Bicheng, and the renowned female educator Wu Yifang. Among the manifold reasons for this, one might be the Christian education some of them had received as discussed in Yang Yinyu's experience in Laura Haygood Girls' School (Wu Yifang was also a graduate of it). Another main reason might be the traditional roles that female

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 601.

<sup>339</sup> Wu Ruo'an, "Huiyi Shanghai Wuben nüshu [Memories on Shanghai Wuben Girls' School]" (1986) in Zhu Youhuan, ed. *Zhongguo jindai xuezhi shiliao [Archival Collections of Modern Chinese Educational System]*, Vol.2, No.2 (Shanghai: Huadong shifan daxue chubenshe [Chinese East Teacher training University Press], 1989): 608. The two sentences of the lyrics were: '*Haishang shouchuang nü xuexiao, peitai guomin ci qi zhao; sheng nan wu xi nü wu nao, congjin min wo jie tongbao.* 海上首創女學校，胚胎國民此其兆；生男勿喜女勿惱，從今民我皆同胞'.

<sup>340</sup> Wu, "Huiyi Shanghai Wuben nüshu," 602.

teachers had played in Imperial China. On the one hand, according to Gu Zhenfu's *History of Female Teachers*, female teachers in ancient times were usually those who were aged over forty and were without children, so that they would be able to focus on teaching and taking care of young children.<sup>341</sup> On the other hand, as Susan Mann and Lu Weijing have studied, the cult of chaste widow and maiden in the Qing era was enhanced not only by the social mechanism of the Jingbiao System, but also by women's responses to the national crisis.<sup>342</sup> Yang Yinyu's attitude reflected that it was an important element that contributed to these female teachers' choice between marriage and career. As shown before, Yang Yinyu was determined to devote herself to modern education and remained single until her death. Her situation was later mocked by Lu Xun as 'widow-ism' (*guafu zhuyi* 寡婦主義) in 1925 when Yang became the president of Beijing Teachers' College for Women, which will be discussed later in Chapter IV.

### **Tokyo Teachers College for Women**

In 1907 when the Qing court announced its approval of women's public education, Duan Fang led a grand examination in Nanjing to select distinguished students to study at American universities including Yale, Columbia and Wesley Women's College.<sup>343</sup> Female students were allowed to take national examinations like their male counterparts for the first time and obtained the opportunity to study abroad. Yang Yinyu went to Nanjing and participated in this examination. Her experiences at Laura Haygood Girls' School had perhaps attracted her to witnessing American culture for herself and at the same time, her brother Yang Yinhang was also preparing to go to the United States. After he

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<sup>341</sup> Gu, "Nüshi kao," 3.

<sup>342</sup> Susan Mann, "Widows in the Kinship, Class and Community Structures of Qing Dynasty," *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 46, no.1, (1987): 37-56; Lu Weijing, *True to Her Word: The Faithful Maiden Cult in Late Imperial China* (California: Stanford University Press, 2008).

<sup>343</sup> Duan made agreements with the American schools during his visit as part of the Qing delegation. Lu Yanzhen, *Zhongguo jindai nüzi jiaoyu shi [The History of Women's Education in Modern China]* (Taipei: wenshizhe chubanshe [Literature, History and Philosophy Press], 1989), 43-44.

achieved a Master's degree in Law from the Waseda University of Tokyo in 1907, Yang Yinhang enrolled at the University of Pennsylvania in the US, studied modern Law and went back to China as a lawyer and prosecutor.

As the purpose was to select top students from the Yangzi area to attend elite universities in the US and to set a model for future selections, the exam was highly competitive. It required that 'male students should have graduated from middle schools, so that they can enter these prestigious universities of America directly; female students should have fluent literacy in English, and an established knowledge in Chinese learning.'<sup>344</sup> The language and social ability that Yang had developed in Laura Haygood Girls' School, as well as a sound foundation in Chinese learning that she achieved from both Laura Haygood and Shanghai Wuben allowed her to pass this demanding examination. However, Yang Yinyu was ranked fourth out of the five female students and only the top three girls could be enrolled at the Wesley Women's College of Georgia, the Alma Mater of Miss Laura Haygood.<sup>345</sup> Thus Yang Yinyu missed the chance to study at the Wesley and stay with her brother in the United States, and was sent by the Jiangsu government to study in Japan instead.<sup>346</sup> She did not go to Japan immediately after the examination and this was probably because her father Yang Xuexin passed away in 1908.

In 1909 Yang Yinyu enrolled at Tokyo Teachers College for Women. In China women's schooling had been integrated into the national system, and women's teacher training schools were now growing

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<sup>344</sup> Lu, *Zhongguo jindai nüzi jiaoyu shi*, 44.

<sup>345</sup> Ibid., 44. The top three female students were: Hu Binxia (胡彬夏, 1888-1931), Wang Jilan (王季蘭,?-?) and Song Qingling (宋庆龄, 1893-1981), who at the time used her original name Song Qinglin 宋庆林.

<sup>346</sup> The news of the students who received government scholarships was reported in *Shanghai Shenbao*: "Pizhun Geiyu Nüxuesheng Liuxue Jingfei [Authorise the Scholarship for Women Students to Study Overseas]," *Shenbao*, (September 19, 1907). According to the memoirs of Yang Jiang, Yang Yinyu first enrolled at the Aoyama Women's School (青山女子学校) to learn Japanese language in 1907 and 1908. However, there is no record in Aoyama showing the enrolment of Yang Yinyu around this academic year.

rapidly. In 1908, Beijing Teachers School for Women (*Beijing nüzi shifan xuetao* 北京女子師範學堂) was established as the country's highest training school for female teachers. After Yang graduated in 1913, she would return to be a teacher at this school. With the announcement of the Renyin-Guimao system in 1904, all local academies were required to be transferred into new schools, in which modern subjects were added. However, there was an extreme shortage of new teachers. According to Cong Xiaoping's statistics, in 1907, there were 1,955 higher-level primary schools, 29,199 introductory-level primary schools, and 2,451 primary schools for both levels in the provinces.<sup>347</sup> On average, each of these schools would have had about two new teachers who had been trained at teachers' schools.<sup>348</sup> Thus, teacher training education, or teachers' education, was of specific importance. The Qing court issued a series of policies encouraging all students, both male and female, to study abroad, and imperial rewards were given in particular to those students who returned from abroad and graduated from teacher training schools. As it read in the decree in 1909:

‘Now education is vigorous, and we are extremely short of qualified teachers... the students who study teacher training education should return and serve the country immediately after their graduation... the talented students of teacher training education will be given special rewards... five years later government titles will be granted.’<sup>349</sup>

Japan's experiences in educational reforms and women's schooling in teacher training made it an intellectual sanctuary that appealed to ‘Chinese students from all parts of China making their exodus’, as it was described by American educator John Mott in 1908.<sup>350</sup> Yang Yinyu was among the earliest group of Qing students that Tokyo Teachers College for Women admitted, which was one of the few

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<sup>347</sup> Introductory-level primary school was prepared for students aged between 6 and 11, while higher-level primary school was for students aged between 11 to 15. See Figure 5.

<sup>348</sup> Cong, *The Rise of Teachers' Schools*, 70.

<sup>349</sup> “Xuebu zou chuyang xuexi wanquan shifan biye jiangli zhe [Educational Department: Rewards for the Students Who are Graduated from Teacher training Education],” *Jiaoyu zazhi [Educational Review]* 1, no.3, (1909): 17-18.

<sup>350</sup> John R. Mott, *Chinese Student Migration to Tokyo* (New York: Foreign Department, International Committee, Young Men's Christian Associations, 1908), 3.

universities that was managed directly by the Japanese central government.<sup>351</sup> The earliest group of Chinese female students who studied in Japan first came to Tokyo as wives, sisters and daughters with their male family members in 1899, and mainly enrolled in Shimoda Utako's Practical Women's School, which was part of her Imperial Women's Association (*teikoku fujin kyōkai* 帝國婦人協會) established in 1899.<sup>352</sup> While the Practice School for Women emphasised educating new women with Pan-Asian nationalism, Tokyo Teachers' College for Women that Yang enrolled in was a special school at a national level that produced professional female teachers. Together with Tokyo Teachers College for men (*Tokyo shihan gakkō* 東京師範學校), these two colleges were at the time the highest level of teacher training schools in Japan, and were seen as model schools by Chinese reformers.

Joan Judge's studies have discussed how this earliest group of Chinese female students in the Practice School for Women developed a strong sense of nationalism but she has not explored the small group of Chinese female teachers in Japan and their contribution to China's modern education later.<sup>353</sup> Thomas Curran has made a general discussion of how Western educational teaching methods, mainly the child-centred pedagogy of Pestalozzi and Herbart, were first absorbed by Japanese educators and then introduced into China. However, his case studies remain on a few key Chinese male educators such as Luo Zhenyu (羅振玉, 1866-1940) and Yu Ziyi (俞子夷, 1885-1970), and no attention has been paid to these early female teachers who were also studying modern pedagogies. Besides, his studies emphasise the pedagogies, neglecting how Japanese nationalism and Confucianism informed the process when Chinese teachers, both male and female, learnt modern pedagogies in that country.

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<sup>351</sup> The college was reorganised into the Ochanomizu Women's University (御茶ノ水女子大学) in 1949. *Ochanomizu jyoshi daigaku hyakunen shi [The Hundred Years' History of Ochanomizu Women's University]* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu University Press, 1984), 122.

<sup>352</sup> In early 1905, there were more than thirty female students in Tokyo, the majority of whom were attending Shitada's Practice School, including Hu Bingxia, the girl who was ranked first in the Exam of 1907, and the famous female revolutionary Qiu Jin (秋瑾, 1875-1907). Xie Changfa, *Zhongguo liuxue jiaoyushi [The History of Chinese Students Studying Abroad]* (Taiyuan: Shanxi jiaoyu chubanshe [Shanxi Educational Press], 2006), 55-58.

<sup>353</sup> Judge, "Talent, Virtue, and the Nation", 765-803.

This section therefore uses the case of Yang Yinyu in this period to demonstrate how these early female teachers explored modern educational pedagogies that were influenced by a sense of nationalism in Japan. The first part provides the historical background of teacher training for women in Japan and explores the educational ideologies of the college, in order to demonstrate the environment that Yang Yinyu was educated in. The second part analyses an interview given by Yang Yinyu and examines how she understood women's education and modern educational pedagogies on her own terms.

### *Educational Ideology of Tokyo Teachers College for Women*

In 1909, Yang Yinyu and another young Chinese female called Zhang Peifen (張佩芬, 1890-1976?) enrolled at Tokyo Teachers College for Women as the first two students from Qing China.<sup>354</sup> At the time the school had just been reorganised by the Ministry of Education from its previous incarnation into a university-level school. It had three main academic departments—Literature (*bunka* 文科), which taught Japanese Literature, Chinese language, Japanese History, Law and Economics; Science (*rika* 理科), which had courses in Physics, Mathematics, Chemistry, Geography and Biology; and Artistry (*gigeika* 技芸科), which focused on home economics (*kaseigaku* 家政学), with courses in Physiology and Hygiene, the Application of Science, Tailoring, and Japanese language.<sup>355</sup> Besides this, there were two special departments also attached, Domestic Affairs (*kaji senshūka* 家事專修科) and Literacy and Exercises (*kokugo taisō senshūka* 國語體操專修科). In the same year, the school introduced the *Special Regulations for Foreign Students* (*gaikokujin tokubetsu nyūgaku kitei saitei* 外

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<sup>354</sup> Zhang Peifen was a Bai national from Yunnan, and she later became a feminist and female educator in the Republican era and also remained single for her lifetime. Cun Lixiang, “Baizu nüxing Zhang Peifen: jindai Zhongguo funü yanjiu diyiren [Zhang Peifen of Bai Nationality: the First Chinese Studying Feminism],” *Zhongguo gongchandang xinwen wang* [News of Chinese Communist Party], (May 10, 2013).

<sup>355</sup> “Meiji 43 nen teisei no gakuka kateiyo [Amended Curriculum of 1910],” *Tokyo jyoshi kōtō shihan gakkō yitiran, Meiji 42-44 nen* [Overview of the Tokyo Teachers College for Women, 1909-1911] (Tokyo: Tokyo Teachers College for Women Press, 1912).

國人特別入學規程細程) in order to regulate the increasing number of foreign students from Thailand, China and the new colony Formosa (Taiwan).<sup>356</sup> Based on the *Special Regulations*, Yang and Zhang were admitted as audit students in the Department of Sciences (*rika chōkōsei* 理科聽講生).<sup>357</sup> As an auditor from a foreign country, Yang Yinyu, as well as the other foreign girls, took the same curriculum as all the indigenous Japanese students, but their activities and progress were directly monitored by the college and Ministry of Education of Japan.

The environment of the school Yang Yinyu was educated in was defined by Japanese military nationalism and Confucianism. National education in Japan at the time was developed based on its core principle— *Imperial Rescript on Education* (*kyōyiku chokugo* 教育勅語), issued by the Meiji Emperor in 1890. More than a declaration, it was a spiritual creed of Imperial Japan that would dominate education in the country for half a century until the end of World War II.<sup>358</sup> Since the 1870s,

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<sup>356</sup> *Ochanomizu jyoshi daigaku hyakunen shi*, 123-124. The *Special Regulations* of the College were made according to a decree issued by the Ministry of Education in 1901— the *Special Regulations on Foreign Students in the Ministry-Governed Colleges* (*monbushyo chyokkatsu gakko gaikokujin tokubetsu nyūgaku kitei* 文部省直轄学校外国人特別入學規程). The earliest foreign students that were admitted by the Tokyo Women's Higher Teacher training College were four female Thai students. In 1903, together with another four male students, a group of eight students was sent by the Queen of Thailand to Japan.

<sup>357</sup> One year after Yang Yinyu was enrolled, Fang Junying (方君瑛) was admitted to the Department of Literature and Liao Bingjun (廖冰筠) was admitted into the Science faculty alongside Yang and Zhang. In 1911, three more Chinese students, Cheng Jing (程競), Zheng Shenyin (鄭審因), and Ouyang Yaqin (歐陽雅琴), enrolled in the Science faculty. Therefore, including Yang Yinyu, there were altogether seven students from Qing China studying at the Tokyo Teachers College for Women by the end of 1911. *Ochanomizu jyoshi daigaku hyakunen shi*, 124.

<sup>358</sup> Benjamin Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890* (New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press, 2009), 348. The whole article of the Rescript reads: 'Know ye, Our Subjects: Our Imperial Ancestors have found Our Empire on a basis broad and ever-lasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our education.

Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance the public good and promote common interests; always respect the constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain the same virtue. October 30, 1890'. Translation is from Ryuusaka Tsunoda, ed. *Sources of Japanese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), 646-647.



the Japanese government had sent students to Europe and the US in order to investigate Western pedagogies. Despite the introduction of Western knowledge, however, in the 1880s the Japanese central government saw a revival of Confucian morality at the behest of Emperor Meiji, and a rising military nationalism under the hawkish cabinet of Itō Hirobumi.<sup>359</sup> In 1882, the militarist General Yamagata Aritomo (山縣有朋, 1838-1922), who was appointed by Itō Hirobumi to the cabinet in 1899, issued the *Imperial Rescript to Soldiers and Sailors* (*gunjin chokuyu* 軍人勅諭) and called for absolute loyalty to their commander, the Emperor. Three years later, the Minister of Education Mori Arinori (森有礼, 1847-1889), the other key member of the Itō cabinet, launched a second round of national educational reforms which aimed to increase central planning of education and to promote military nationalism in the national school system.<sup>360</sup> In his *Minister Mori's Proposal on Education* (*Mori monshyo kyōiku jōsō bun'an* 森文相教育上奏文案) issued in 1885, he established that a new course of military exercises (*heishiki taisō* 兵式體操) would be added to the curricula of all the national schools, in order to strengthen citizens and the country as a whole.<sup>361</sup> Alongside the Tokyo Teachers College, the Tokyo Teachers College for Women aimed to follow the ultimate goal of Japan's educational tenet and the foundation of the *Imperial Rescript on Education*, which was to be 'loyal to the Emperor and love the country' (*chūkun aikoku* 忠君愛國).<sup>362</sup> As shown in the picture (Figure 2.6), the Confucian qualities 'loyalty' (*chū* 忠) and 'filial piety' (*kō* 孝) permeated school life and the purpose of teachers for these female students.

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<sup>359</sup> Motoda Eifu (元田永孚, 1818-1891), a Confucian tutor and advisor of Emperor Meiji, who was a key figure that led Meiji to adopt Confucianism in nation-building. Warren W. Smith, *Confucianism in Modern Japan*, second ed. (Tokyo: The Hokuseido Press, 1973), 57.

<sup>360</sup> Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 353.

<sup>361</sup> Hamano Kenyichi, "Tokyo shihan gakkō ni okeru chōtō enzoku seiritsu katei ni kansuru kenkyū [A Research on the Educational Excursion in Tokyo Teachers College]," *Waseda daigaku daigakuin kyōikugaku kenkyūka kiyō* [Research Journal of the Department of Education in Waseda University]. No.11-2, (2004): 83-91.

<sup>362</sup> *Tokyo kōtō shihan gakkō enkaku ryakushi* [The Reforming History of the Tokyo Teachers College] (Tokyo: Tokyo kōtō shihan gakkō [Tokyo Teachers College], 1911), 1-5; Machida Norifumi, *Meiji kokumin kyōiku shi* [The History of Citizenship Education in Meiji Japan] (Tokyo: shyowa shuppanshya [Shyowa Press], 1928), 375-470.

The president Takamine Hideo (高嶺秀夫, 1854-1910), who was regarded as ‘the father of Japan’s education of teacher training’, developed a hybrid education ideology that centred on Japanese military nationalism and Confucian morality, but he deployed a liberal pedagogy as its method.<sup>363</sup> Within an environment of Japanese nationalism and Confucianism, the school taught a liberal pedagogy that originated from the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827).<sup>364</sup> This Swiss educator’s ideas had greatly influenced the development of Western pedagogies in the nineteenth century. It emphasised practicality and concentrated on the development of the innate potential and interests of the child in the hope of producing confident, independent, well-rounded citizens.<sup>365</sup> It was now applied by Takamine after his first contact with Pestalozzi’s ideology at Oswego State Teacher training and Training School, New York in 1875.<sup>366</sup> In 1886, when Takamine was the president of Tokyo Teacher training College, he was required by the Ministry of Education to organise the first educational excursion (*shōgaku ryokō* 修學旅行), which aimed to conduct military training among the students. Disagreeing with Mori Arinori’s original plan to make the excursion a purely military exercise, Takamine Hideo insisted on adding sightseeing tours and research visits to museums and affiliated primary schools during the excursion.<sup>367</sup> This kind of sightseeing tour for students would later be undertaken by Yang Yinyu when she became the president of Beijing Teachers College for Women.

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<sup>363</sup> Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 183.

<sup>364</sup> In 1875, he was sent by the Ministry of Education to America to study Western education, and after his return to Japan, Takamine Hideo served both in the cabinet and the Ministry of Education. In 1878, he was appointed by the Ministry as the vice-president of the Tokyo Higher Teacher training College in 1878 and became its president from 1881 to 1891. In the meantime, he served in the cabinet as a special counsellor on teacher training education and educational reform, and started to teach as a professor at Tokyo Teachers College for Women. Since 1897, Takamine Hideo served as the president of the school until he died in 1910. ‘Takamine Hideo sensei den [The Biography of Professor Takamine Hideo]’ (1921) in *National Archives of Japan Digital Archives*, No. zatsu (雑) 02938100; ‘Tokyo jyoshi kōtō shihan gakukouchyō Takamine Hideo tokushi jyoyi no ken [The Record of the Official Titles Awarded to the President of Tokyo Teachers College for Women, Takamine Hideo]’ (1910) in *National Archives of Japan Digital Archives*, No. jyo 叙 00311100-005.

<sup>365</sup> Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 171-172.

<sup>366</sup> Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education*, 186-187.

<sup>367</sup> Hamano, “Tokyo shihan gakko ni okeru chiyouto enzoku seiritsu katei ni kansuru kenkyū,” 84.

Apart from all the subjects in the Science curriculum, Yang Yinyu learnt the five compulsory courses that were shared by all three departments—Morals (*shūshin* 修身), Educational Pedagogy (*kyōikugaku* 教育學), English Language (*gaikoku go* 外國語), Physical Exercise (*taisō* 體操) and Music (*ongaku* 音樂). As part of the Morals course, which was ranked as the most important part of the curriculum above all others, the *Imperial Rescript on Education* was required to be memorised by all students. In addition, the course of *Characteristics of Our Citizens* (*waga kokumin dōtoku no tokushitsu* 我々国民道德ノ特質) was taught to students: ‘Loyalty and Filial Piety are the foundations of human morality; to respect the Emperor and love the country is the general principle for all subjects’.<sup>368</sup> According to *Minister Mori’s Proposals*, ‘To teach the students obedience (*junryō* 順良), benevolence (*shin’ai* 親愛), and dignity (*ichū* 威重) is the priority of the teacher training colleges.’<sup>369</sup>

In the curriculum of Educational Pedagogy, Yang Yinyu was taught Psychology, Educational History, Pedagogy, Childcare, and School Management. Among each main curriculum of Morals, Education, and courses within Sciences, the school set specialised courses that taught students how to teach each subject, in line with the educational vision of Takamine Hideo, to make sure that the students were able to teach these subjects to younger children. Furthermore, each year, the students were guaranteed a number of academic hours to do teaching practice in affiliated primary schools. Thus, through the setting of the curriculum, the school ensured that the students would become qualified teachers who held strong moral foundations as citizens, a good knowledge of modern science, as well as familiarity with advanced teaching methods, which were all designed to contribute to the better education of future generations.

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<sup>368</sup> ‘忠孝は人倫の大本，尊王愛國は臣民の通義なり。’ *Takamine Hideo sensei den*, 91.

<sup>369</sup> ‘生徒をして順良，親愛，威重の三氣質を備へしむるを以て，師範學校に於ける教養上の最大切要事となし。’ *Ibid.*, 93.

In 1913, Yang Yinyu graduated from the school. In fact, she and the only other girl Zhang Peifen were the only two Chinese students that successfully graduated that year.<sup>370</sup> In 1911 when the anti-Manchu rebellion the Xinhai Revolution (*xinhai geming* 辛亥革命) broke out, many Chinese students studying in Japan returned home because they felt uncertain about their futures as the Qing Empire collapsed. However, Yang Yinyu stayed and continued. As she compared the contemporary situation of China to the environment that King Goujian faced, Yang thought the best thing to do was to study hard and wait. After four years' of studying, Yang Yinyu was now proficient in Japanese language and customs. Her niece Yang Jiang later recalled that Yang Yinyu was 'a professional in Japanese language. Japan is a country with onerous etiquette, especially for women who had to use more courtesy in family and social life, but my aunt could do it all very well.'<sup>371</sup> On graduation, Yang Yinyu was awarded a gold medal.<sup>372</sup> Being a distinguished student meant that Yang Yinyu had a good knowledge of the curriculum and the moral values it contained. From her teaching practice, she was capable of managing a school as well.

### Yang Yinyu as A Female Teacher

In June 1913, a delegation from Beijing Teachers School for Women arrived in Japan to learn the teacher training for female teachers.<sup>373</sup> When they visited the Tokyo Teachers College for Women, Yang Yinyu warmly welcomed them and introduced the school to the leading delegate Hu Zhouhui (胡周輝, birth and death dates unknown), who was also a Wuxi native. The interview with Yang Yinyu was carefully recorded by Hu in her thirty-page report published in the influential educational

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<sup>370</sup> *Tokyo jyoshi kōtō shihan gakko, dairoku rinji jyōyin yōseijyo, daishō ni nen* [Tokyo Teachers College for Women, No. 6 Temporary Training Class for Tutors] (*Tokyo jyoshi kōtō shihan gakko* [Tokyo Teachers' College for Women], 1925), 244. Three out of the total of seven Chinese students had graduated from the College by 1913.

<sup>371</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 74-75.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>373</sup> Yang Yinyu would teach in this school from 1914 and from this school she was sent to America in 1918. On her return, she was then appointed president in 1924 when the School was reformed into Beijing Teachers College for Women.

periodical *Educational Review* (*Jiaoyu Zazhi* 教育雜誌).<sup>374</sup> The dialogue between Hu and Yang provides us with a valuable opportunity to examine how Yang Yinyu understood the educational ideology and pedagogy of Japan, and the concerns of these early female teachers when they were studying in Japan.

Hu firstly asked Yang what the differences were between women's education in Japan compared to the West. Yang Yinyu answered that Japan was still advocating for the ideology of 'good mother and virtuous wife', but she was aware that its meaning was changing. As she answered,

'Its meaning is now totally changed. In the past it emphasised compliance, but now [it does not]. Teachers always teach us that : "you are virtuous and good if you do not let yourself be advanced servants".'<sup>375</sup>

Apparently, Yang Yinyu was taught that independence was the new standard of a women's good virtue in nationalist Japan. Yang Yinyu was also taught that it was important to inspire children to realise their full potential when she applied what she had learnt in practice. When she led the school guided tour for Hu Zhouhui, she told Hu that, 'when the children learn drawing you can let them do as is their will, so it can release their nature. If you set too many boundaries, they would feel constrained.'<sup>376</sup> Hu Zhouhui then especially asked Yang whether male and female teachers in Japan had the same level of knowledge in teaching, and about differences in their roles. Yang answered that female teachers in Japan still fell a little behind because women's schooling had just started, so female teachers could only serve in lower levels of schools compared to male teachers. This reflects that Hu and Yang were

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<sup>374</sup> Hu Zhouhui, "Paifu Riben kaocha xiaowu baogao (weiwan) [Reports on the Investigation to Japanese Schools (to be continued)]," *Jiaoyu zazhi* [*Educational Review*] 5, no.10, (1913): 71-86; Hu Zhouhui, "Paifu riben kaocha xiaowu baogao (xu) [Reports on the Investigation to Japanese Schools (Continued)]," *Jiaoyu zazhi* [*Educational Review*] 5, no.12, (1913): 91-104. According to Hu's report, the delegation started off from Beijing and they visited six cities on the way to Tokyo. Altogether they visited seven girls' schools in the cities of Tianjin, Hiroshima, Okayama, Kyoto, Nara, and Tokyo. The first part of the report recorded their experiences in the former six schools, and the second part of the report focused on their visit to Tokyo Teachers College for Women, where Yang Yinyu helped them during their visit.

<sup>375</sup> Yang answered: '日本至今仍主張賢母良妻主義。惟其意義與前大異。從前偏於服從。今則教師每謂生徒。汝等切勿為高等奴隸即算賢良。' Hu, "Paifu riben kaocha xiaowu baogao (xu)," 91.

<sup>376</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

both aware of the immaturity of women's schooling and they perhaps both wished women's education could be developed further and improved.

Then Yang Yinyu introduced Hu to how practical teaching in the school was conducted. Every student had to practise teaching in class, and before they did it they needed to prepare a proposal of teaching (*jiao'an* 教案). When the student was teaching, senior primary school staff would come to monitor her, and give criticism or advice. Each week students gathered and held a 'criticism meeting' (*piping dahui* 批評大會). At the meeting, the host would ask all students about what they thought about a particular student's teaching, and all students would give criticism and advice. When Hu asked whether both positives and negatives would be pointed out by observers, Yang answered that 'only demerits were picked out but merits would not be particularly praised.'<sup>377</sup> Hu was surprised by the rigid rules of these evaluation meetings, and further asked whether the female students would feel frustrated as a result. Yang replied that, 'of course we feel sad but no one dares to express it and just sobs. Otherwise, we would be labelled as 'not qualified to be a teacher.'<sup>378</sup> We can see from here that, when Yang Yinyu was trained as a teacher in Japan, the military quality of tough endurance was knitted into a teacher's basic qualification and viewed as being an essential attribute.

The rules of boarding in the school were also learnt by Hu as the delegation was especially surprised by the tidiness and strictness of the dormitories. Yang Yinyu was familiar with all these rules and showed every detail to Hu. In her report, Hu drew a bed in the dormitory, which could contain students' clothing (Figure 14). Hu Zhouhui also asked Yang about the details of administration in the school, including the proportion of staff, the facilities in classrooms and laboratories, the rules of boarding, and so on. The answers to all of these questions would be carefully studied by the

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<sup>377</sup> Ibid., 91-92.

<sup>378</sup> Ibid., 92.

delegation of Hu and used in the improvement to Beijing Teachers' School for Women. Yang Yinyu's detailed answers to each question reflected the fact that she had made great efforts to learn not only the pure knowledge but also the management skills needed by administrators and teachers, so she could be prepared for her return. Furthermore, her own identity of being a female teacher was also shaped by the teaching methods of the school as well as the strong nationalist environment in Japan at the time.

### **Summary**

Through an analysis of the various educational ideologies of the different schools Yang attended, the chapter demonstrated how her identity of being a new female teacher was shaped by the complicated interactions of Christian education, Chinese nationalism, and Japanese Confucianism. The schools that Yang had enrolled in before 1907 were pioneering in advocating for women's schooling in the lower Yangzi area as well as in the whole of China, which endowed Yang with a strong sense of women's leadership and feminist ideas of gender equality in education. Yang Yinyu's experience was unique and cannot represent all women in China when they were becoming teachers. However, Yang's experience allows us to observe how Chinese women became modern teachers in the very early stages. Most of them, including Yang Yinyu, Lü Bicheng, Zhang Peifen and Wu Yifang, were foreign-inspired, and highly patriotic and dedicated to the cause of women's education, and also very tradition-bound in their own moral commitments as women.

When women were officially permitted to receive school education, modern subjects were integrated by the Qing court into the curriculum, but the ideology was still based on the concept of raising 'virtuous wives and good mothers'. However, as shown in the case of Yang Yinyu, the female students understood it in a different way to what historians nowadays have focused on. Compared to the limitations of traditional female teachers, the progress of women's schooling at the time lay not just in

the improvements to the curriculum, but the fact that women were given equal opportunities in serving as teachers and conducted careers outside of household. Teaching had been an occupation in great demand for moral training in China for centuries. The roles of the new female teachers were not as limited as those of their ancient counterparts, who only could work within households and teach womanly virtues. At the same time, as womanly virtues were further combined into the rising nationalism in both Japan and China, moral training remained a crucial part for these new female teachers, but obviously these virtues were changing towards new qualities such as independence and military endurance.

In 1913, after the establishment of the Republic of China, the new Ministry of Education introduced the Renzi-Guichou system, which was largely similar to the Renyin-Guimao in structure but had a reoriented educational principle. In the new system, the pragmatic methodology from American education, the military and national spirits from Japanese education and the aesthetic education from Germany were combined with Chinese moral education.<sup>379</sup> Yang Yinyu as a new teacher who had experienced both American missionary education as well as Japanese education undoubtedly was a great talent at the time. On her return, she first taught for a short period of time in Suzhou, and soon she was invited by Hu Zhouhui to teach in Beijing. Over the next period of time, the new teachers would evolve into a specific group of professional educators, who were dedicated to further improving China's educational pedagogies, and Yang Yinyu would be one of them.

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<sup>379</sup> As the decree on the educational principles of the Republic of China read: 'The [new] education should emphasise moral education, together with the education of pragmatism and the education of militarism and nationalism. Furthermore, use the education of aesthetics to fulfil ones' morality'. The German element was added by the Minister Cai Yuanpei because of his own experiences in Germany. Duiker, *Ts'ai Yuan-pei*, 15; "Jiaoyubu buling [Decree of Ministry of Education]" *Jiaoyubu bianzuan chu yuekan [Editing and Compiling Department of the Ministry of Education Monthly]*, no. 2, (Sep 2, 1912): 1-3.



## **Chapter III: The Educator and University President**

Modern Educators and the May Fourth Period, 1912-1924

### **Introduction**

In 1913, on her return from Tokyo, Yang Yinyu was invited by Hu Zhouhui to work as a teacher of mathematics in Beijing Teachers School for Women. Apart from teaching mathematics, Yang was promoted to be a dean (*xuejian* 學監) by the president Fang Huan (方還, 1867-1932), in charge of boarding and responsible for school regulations, a post which was usually undertaken by prestigious male teachers. Together with Yang Yinyu at the school, there were also her uncle Yang Zhixun, who was a teacher of Chinese literature and calligraphy, and her sister Yang Yinfen as a teacher of physics and arithmetic.<sup>380</sup> Yang Yinyu's career as an educator started here. She left the school in 1918 to study in the USA where she gained experience that would distinguish her from the other new teachers. Between 1918 and 1921, Yang Yinyu obtained a Bachelor's degree and Master's degree in Education. In March 1924, Yang was nominated by Ministry of Education to be the president of Beijing Teachers College for Women, which had been upgraded from Beijing Teachers School for Women in 1918. Within half a year, Yang further reformed the school into a university, named Beijing Teachers University for Women. By that time, the university was the highest level school for women and the only women's university in China, and Yang herself became the first female president of a modern university in Chinese history.

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<sup>380</sup> Fang Huan, *Beijing nüzi shifan xuexiao yilan [An Introduction of Beijing Teachers School for Women]*, (1918): 99-103. *Shanghai Municipal Library*, Archive number: 1537792. Many of Yang Yinyu's family members served important positions in the new Republican government. Yang Yinhang, for instance, acted as a chief procurator in Jiangsu under Yuan Shikai's reign based on his knowledge of modern law and economics; Yang Yinyue, the elder brother of Yang Yinhang and Yang Yinyu, who also graduated from Pennsylvania University, served as a staff member in Ministry of Agriculture and Economics.

This chapter examines how Yang Yinyu's experiences in Columbia University shaped her ideology and posed her dilemmas when she tried to reform Beijing Teachers College for Women in 1924. The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, despite the fact that Yang Yinyu was the first female university president in China, her own ideas and activities have been obscured by the anti-Yang movement in 1925, with historians usually regarding her as a conservative authoritarian according to the perspective of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping. This chapter, however, finds that Yang Yinyu actually had successfully promoted the school into a university just three months before the movement occurred. Her reforms have not been studied in English-language academia, and have received only passing attention even in China.<sup>381</sup> Her emphasis on moral training, which has long been the source of the criticism of her as a 'conservative and feudal' person, derived from her understanding of the role of modern educators and of the nature of the school as a base for national teachers. Besides, Yang actually held a rather mature and systematic set of ideas regarding the future of the Chinese modern school system, which should be reexamined in the context of the second educational reforms during the Republican era.

Second, the chapter uses Yang Yinyu's case to demonstrate how American influences further professionalised modern Chinese educators, and guided their efforts in the New Education Movement (*xinjiaoyu yundong* 新教育運動). It had an interrelated role in the New Culture Movement (*xin wenhua yundong* 新文化運動) and the May Fourth Movement (*wusi yundong* 五四運動). Current literature on these two significant social and political movements largely focuses on the modern intellectuals from the perspective of Chinese writers and political activists, but has paid little attention on the role of educators. Third, the chapter shows how complicated tensions emerged among educators and politicians during the late 1910s and early 1920s, and the dilemmas Yang Yinyu faced

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<sup>381</sup> Chinese historian He Linghua has analysed the evolution of Beijing Teachers College for Women but it stopped at the year of 1924 due to limited archival resources. He Linghua, *Xin Jiaoyu xin nüxing: Beijing nügaoshi yanjiu, 1919-1924 [New Education and New Women: A Study on Beijing Teachers College for Women, 1919-1924]* (Beijing: Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe [Social Science Press], 2004).

when she implemented her reform. Existing scholarship on Chinese educational reforms during the period largely take the group of ‘educators’ as a broad entity, but fails to look at the evolution of this group of people and their internal differences and struggles. In summary, through examining Yang Yinyu’s activities and networks during these years, the chapter demonstrates the process how she became a modern educator, and the process of professionalisation of modern educators.

### Existing Literature

Studies on modern Chinese educational reforms focusing on the 1910s are very limited in Western scholarship. In the very few monographs, most historians regard the educational reforms at the time as a failure due to the slow progress of school enrolment during the first two decades of Republican era. For example, by demonstrating the serious unemployment of modern graduates in the new system, Thomas Curran claimed that the Republican educators ‘failed to create a modern nation.’<sup>382</sup> However, Curran did not factor the damage caused by war during the period of time under study into the issue of unemployment. Besides, his study takes only a few renowned politicians and educators including Cai Yuanpei, Zhang Jian and Luo Zhenyu (羅振玉, 1866-1940) as ‘educators’, but fails to study ‘educators’ as a professional group in which there was a larger amount of professionals who were not well-known politicians.<sup>383</sup>

Another example is Suzanne Pepper’s study *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-century China*. In this study, Pepper demonstrates that the results of educational reforms of China in the first two decades were poor—taking schooling for girls for example, school attendance rose from an estimated 0.07 percent of the total females in 1906 to no more than 6.32 percent in 1922-1923.<sup>384</sup> Pepper uses

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<sup>382</sup> Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 353.

<sup>383</sup> *Ibid.*, 347.

<sup>384</sup> Suzanne Pepper, *Radicalism and education reform in 20th-century China : the search for an ideal development model* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1996), 76.

Japan as ‘a useful comparison’—in 1873 when Japan’s educational reforms launched only 28 percent of people attended school (both males and females), but within two decades this ratio grew rapidly to 80 percent, and by 1909 it reached 98 percent. Pepper thus declared that leaders in Chinese education were responsible for China’s failures as the main goals of Chinese modern education were merely ‘political training in patriotism and physical education’.<sup>385</sup> However, Pepper’s comparison is problematic. First, Japan during the 1870s to the 1900s, which Pepper believed was Japan’s most successful period, maintained a rather stable political situation under the centralised government of the Meiji Emperor. In China, however, during the 1900s to 1920s the country was in extreme political chaos. Despite of the establishment of Republic of China in 1912, as Cong Xiaoping has recognised, the central authority in Beijing disintegrated immediately after Yuan Shikai’s failure to establish a constitutional monarchy, and regional warlords seized power over local affairs, including educational reforms.<sup>386</sup> According to Barry Keenan, from the death of Yuan Shikai in 1916 until the Nationalist party regained a certain degree of central control in 1926, there were twenty different Ministers of Education, an average of two incumbents assuming that office every year. This made central arrangements on national education difficult to realise.<sup>387</sup> Second, as this chapter will show, although modern educators in China took moral training in patriotism as a fundamental motivation in educational reforms, professional educators including Yang Yinyu did try to promote mass education, and improve the national school system. Both this chapter and the next will contribute to show the complicated situation of modern educators in the political turbulence, and argue that it is oversimplified to attribute the ‘fault’ to any kind of social players.

When the state lost control over local education officials in China during the warlord period, according to Cong Xiaoping, teacher training schools played a special role in unifying education

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<sup>385</sup> Ibid., 76.

<sup>386</sup> Cong, *Teachers Schools*, 72.

<sup>387</sup> Keenan, *Dewey Experiment in China*, 61.

nationwide.<sup>388</sup> As Cong argues, Beiyang government leaders believed that if they could unify the nation's education system, they would unify the country. Measures to realise this end included nationalising (*guoyou hua* 國有化) teachers colleges and placing middle schools for teacher training under the control of provincial governments. Besides this, all the teachers schools and colleges took charge of developing and supervising local education.<sup>389</sup> While Cong's work particularly delineates the special role of teachers schools during this period, this chapter uses the case of Yang Yinyu to shed light on the other side of the coin—the rising group of modern educators. In 1918 and 1919, US-trained educators became the mainstream, and they launched the New Education Movement, aiming to introduce the American ideology of Progressive Education into China. Their efforts and activities directly led to the Renxu System (*Renxu xuezhi* 壬戌學制) in 1922, and the establishment of Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education (CNAAE) to promote this reform.

However, according to Cong, reforms during the reforms towards Renxu system in 1922 produced an unexpected consequence for Chinese modern education: a shortage of teaching personnel, especially qualified primary and secondary teachers. Cong believes that it was because many Teachers colleges were upgraded into comprehensive universities after 1922. In order to become proper universities, most Teachers colleges added new departments and their original pedagogic mission was assigned only to the Department of Education.<sup>390</sup> In addition, Cong went on to raise the anti-Yang movement in which, she wrote, 'the progressive students protested their dictatorial president Yang Yinyu', as an example in discussing the decreasing number of qualified primary and middle school teachers. Nevertheless, this chapter argues that, Yang Yinyu was by no means a simple conservative or 'dictator'. Moreover, Yang's reforms showed that although she was upgrading the college for teacher

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<sup>388</sup> Cong, *Teachers Schools*, 72.

<sup>389</sup> *Ibid.* 72-73.

<sup>390</sup> Cong, *Teachers Schools*, 96-97.

training into a national university, she paid specific attention in maintaining the university as a base for teacher training and tried to retain the university's responsibility to produce more qualified teachers for primary and middle schools nationwide. However, when she began to reform the university, she soon fell into the dilemma of factional struggles between the staff and Ministry of Education. Besides, the student movement and political intervention, as it will discuss in the next chapter, further interrupted the possibility to maintain a system of teacher training in the university.

The reason why there is little research on the group of professionalised educators and the New Education Movement is perhaps because research on this decade has focused on the prevailing New Culture Movement and the May Fourth Movement of 1919. These social and political movements had left significant impacts on Chinese literature and politics at the time, and even more profound legacies thereafter. Thus, historians' focus is often paid to the literary intellectuals and political leaders at the time, but not usually to the educators. For example Chou Tse-tung's monograph *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* in 1960, which is the cornerstone of studies of May Fourth, as well as Vera Schwarcz's work *The Chinese Enlightenment* in 1986, have both investigated the contribution of intellectual revolutions in the making of Chinese modernity.<sup>391</sup> As the legacy of May Fourth lasts, however, post-modern approaches begin to revisit the period of 1920s and question the rationality of May Fourth movement. Yu Ying-shih suggested in 2001 that the May Fourth movement was 'neither Enlightenment nor Renaissance' that characterised by historians of previous ages, but should be studied 'in terms of its multi-dimensionality and multi-directionality'.<sup>392</sup>

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<sup>391</sup> Chou Tse-tung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1960); Vera Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment: Intellectuals and the Legacy of the May Fourth Movement of 1919* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986). Important essays are also included in Benjamin Schwartz, ed. *Reflections on the May Fourth Movement: A Symposium* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972). The essays in this book emphasise on the cultural iconoclasm during the movement as well as intellectuals' decisive roles.

<sup>392</sup> Ying-shih Yü, 'Neither Renaissance nor Enlightenment: A Historian's Reflections on the May Movement' in Milena Doleželová-Velingerová and Oldrich Král, ed. *The Appropriation of Cultural Capital, China's May Fourth Project* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 320.

Rana Mitter's work *A Bitter Revolution* published in 2004 further examines how 'May Fourth' has been formed as a 'phrase or set of images that meant different things to different people'.<sup>393</sup>

This chapter therefore, also contributes to this 'multi-dimensionality and multi directionality', and examines how the activities and concerns of educators intersected with those participating in the New Culture and May Fourth Movement. The 'May Fourth generation' that these important literature by Schwarcz and Mitter focuses on largely consisted of the literature professors in the leading university Beijing University, known as Peking University or Beida, including Qian Xuantong (錢玄同, 1887-1939) and Fu Sinian (傅斯年, 1896-1950);<sup>394</sup> Chinese modern writers Lu Xun, Ding Ling (丁玲, 1905-1986), and political activists such as Zou Taofen (鄒韜奮, 1895-1944) and Du Zhongyuan (杜重遠, 1898-1944).<sup>395</sup> These intellectuals were leading figures but not professional educators. Yang Yinyu's case as an educator who advocated for both moral training and modern pedagogies further complicates the picture of how we understand 'conservativeness' and 'progressiveness' during the period.

### Structure and Sources

In order to analyse Yang Yinyu's educational ideology and activities as a modern educator within a wider network of modern educators, this chapter is divided into four sections. The first section defines the meaning of 'educators' and their characteristics during the early Republican era. It also shows how American influences professionalised the group of modern educators in the late 1910s and early 1920s. The second section uses Yang's correspondence with her teacher and the university archives of

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<sup>393</sup> Rana Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution: China's Struggle with the Modern World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 24.

<sup>394</sup> See the 'New Youth' in Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 64-72.

<sup>395</sup> See the 'May Fourth Generation' in Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution*, 54-65.

Columbia University to examine what Yang had studied and how she had participated in a network of Chinese educators in the US.

The third section analyses Yang's letters to her students, and demonstrates her own ideas towards the May Fourth Movement and interests in mass education. The final section depends on the university archives of Beijing Teachers College for Women, and presents a detailed picture of the educational ideology of that institution when Yang promoted it into a university, as well as recounting the problems and dilemmas she met during the process. Through Yang Yinyu's experience at the time, this chapter shows the missions and contributions of modern educators, and how their efforts were inspiring to the May Fourth Movement but were also subjected to the difficult political turmoil of the times and were criticised in the post-May Fourth environment.

### **Defining 'Educators' in the Early Twentieth Century**

In order to understand the role of modern educators had played in the New Culture and May Fourth period, a definition on this group of new professionals is needed here. By using the local periodicals and Yang Yinyu's experience and network in the US, this section firstly discusses the missions and responsibilities of modern educators. Then it demonstrates how American influences, namely from the trend of Progressive Education in the US and its leading philosopher John Dewey, dominated the development of this group of people during the late 1910s and early 1920s.

#### *Missions and Responsibilities*

The concept of 'professional educators' *jiaoyu jia* (教育家) or *jiaoyu zhuanjia* (教育專家) in modern China was a new and fluid concept that was developing with the educational reforms in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Two elements were indispensable: the first was a speciality in the knowledge of education as a modern subject; the second was a strong moral commitment in



education. In terms of the first standard, it was not clear at first, but developed with the growing educational associations during the late Qing and early Republican period. As the *Dictionary of Chinese Education* published in 1928 defined:

‘[Professional educators are] teachers who are capable of at least one type of speciality, for example, in educational pedagogies, administration of local schools, evaluation and measurement in educational results, or application of these educational results into industry, etc. These trained teachers who can do what other teachers cannot do can be called professional educators.’<sup>396</sup>

The dictionary further stipulated that ‘these professionals can apply methods into practice. Thus, in developing Chinese education it is better to have professional educators.’<sup>397</sup> Before the idea was defined in the dictionary, discussions on the nature of ‘educators’ started to appear in the early educational periodicals in late Qing era. One example was the article *Maxims of Foreign Educators* in *World of Education* (*Jiaoyu Shijie* 教育世界), which was the earliest educational periodical, established by Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei (王國維, 1877-1927) in Shanghai in 1901. It introduced the educational ideologies of thirty-seven foreign philosophers, including ancient Greek philosopher Plato and pre-modern and modern British philosophers Francis Bacon (1561-1626) and Herbert Spencer (1820-1903).<sup>398</sup>

As discussed in Chapter I, educational associations and societies began to flourish around 1904 and 1905, among which Wuxi Educational Association and the Student Society of Wuxi were typical cases. Yang’s family members promoted new education mainly by introducing foreign textbooks, ideologies, or translating foreign monographs. By the standard of ‘educators’ in 1928, they were acting more as new teachers and mediators of new knowledge, which were the earliest form of

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<sup>396</sup> “Jiaoyujia [Educator],” Wang, *JYCD* (1928), 660.

<sup>397</sup> *Ibid.*, 660.

<sup>398</sup> “Jiaoyu jia geyan [Maxims of Foreign Educators],” *Jiaoyu shijie* [*World of Education*], no.1, (1904): 87-90.

modern educators. In 1906, the Qing court first acknowledged local educational associations and required them to ‘assist educational administrations and spreading the new education.’<sup>399</sup> In 1912, the Republican government announced *Regulations of Educational Associations*, acknowledging that the mission of educational associations was ‘studying the subject of education and promoting the development of China’s education’.<sup>400</sup> In 1918, the Ministry of Education issued details on who qualified as association members:

‘First, current teaching and administration staff in schools; second, those who have more than two years’ experience in new education; third, those who are not new school graduates but possess a good amount of knowledge.’<sup>401</sup>

In order to ensure every member was promoting new education, it also stipulated that primary-school graduates or *Keju* candidates must fulfil the second requirement, otherwise they were not allowed as members.<sup>402</sup> By the end of the 1910s, the main educational associations in China included the Jiangsu Education Association (*Jiangsu Jiaoyuhui* 江蘇省教育會) set up in 1905, and Education Association of Vocation (*Zhiye jiaoyuhui* 職業教育會) established in 1916. Since 1912, local and provincial education associations composed of the National Federation of Education Associations (*Quanguo Jiaoyuhui Lianhehui* 全國教育會聯合會), which held annual conferences discussing the development of new education and making educational policies.<sup>403</sup> Thus, while the educational associations were

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<sup>399</sup> Gu Xiuqing, *Qingmo minchu Jiangsu jiaoyuhui yanjiu [The Jiangsu Education Association in the Late Qing and Early Republican Era]* (Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe [Guangxi Teachers University Press], 2009), 2-3.

<sup>400</sup> It listed twelve regulations on educational associations. For example, educational associations nationwide were managed by their own local units in counties, cities, and provinces. They held regular communication but not affiliated with each other. The main duties of educational associations were to study school education (*xuexiao jiaoyu* 學校教育), social education (*shehui jiaoyu* 社會教育), and family education (*jiating jiaoyu* 家庭教育), and all their achievements would be taken into policy-making by municipal or provincial educational bureaus. Wang, *JYCD* (1928), 647.

<sup>401</sup> *Ibid.*, 648.

<sup>402</sup> *Ibid.* 648.

<sup>403</sup> Wang Chuxiong, *Zhongguo xinjiaoyu yundong yanjiu 1912-1930 [The New Education Movement 1912-1930]* (Ji’nan: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe [Shandong Educational Press], 2010).

developed into an important force in modern Chinese education after the abolishment of *Keju*, modern educators emerged as a professional occupation and played key roles in educational reforms.

The other standard for modern educators to hold was to observe the moral expectations and social responsibilities of being educators, which had been ascribed great importance by the modern educators themselves from the beginning and was reiterated during the following decades. As it has shown in the previous two chapters, teachers' morality was a quality that derived from the *Keju* heritage of the social expectations of teachers, and the close link between education and national revival that stemmed from traditional notions as to the roles and responsibilities of educators as intellectuals. According to *Dictionary of Chinese Education*, 'educators should not only have specialities in education. They must have great moral character [*weida zhi rengen* 偉大之人格]. This is crucial because teachers have the most important influence on their students, and thus they have the most profound role in society.'<sup>404</sup> It further explained the four necessary qualities in teachers' morality:

'The first is physical morality [*tige* 體格]. Teachers should have strong bodies... so they have sufficient energy and are capable of doing tough jobs.

The second is temperament [*xingqing* 性情]. Teachers should have characteristics such as being ready to help others [*fuzhu xing* 扶助性], self-control [*zizhi li* 自制力], endurance [*jianyi xing* 堅毅性], be broad-minded [*xiongjin kaikuo* 胸襟開闊], benevolence [*hele* 和樂], have enthusiasm and a sense of dedication [*recheng fenggong* 熱誠奉公].

The third is talent in teaching [*caineng* 才能]. Successful teachers should have talents such as the ability to observe [*guanचा* 觀察], thinking [*sikao* 思考], studying [*yanjiu* 研究], planning [*jihua* 計畫], and be flexible to adapt themselves to changes [*yingbian* 應變].

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<sup>404</sup> Wang, *JYCD* (1928), 679.

The fourth is attitude [*taidu* 態度]. Teachers should have good attitude such as sympathy [*tongqing* 同情], sincerity [*chengken* 誠懇], fairness [*gongping* 公平], politeness [*limao* 禮貌]. Teachers cannot be indifferent [*lengdan* 冷淡], arrogant [*jiao'ao* 驕傲] or frivolous [*qingfu* 輕浮].<sup>405</sup>

From these requirements in the dictionary, we can see that modern educators saw teachers' morality as being essential, because they believed that education at the stage was a fundamental cause in Chinese society. Teachers' qualities were the utmost priority because they would ensure the future development of Chinese people. Yang Yinyu herself, presented the same attitude towards teachers' morality. As mentioned before in Introduction, Yang took 'good morality' (*rengē hao* 人格好) as the most important characteristic when she discussed the role of teacher with her students in Beijing Teachers University for Women in 1924.

News reports during the 1900s and 1910s also showed that teachers' morality was a prevailing concern that was also promoted by leading educators influenced from Japan. In 1906, for example, Japanese educator Inoue Enryō (1858-1919)'s speech *The World View and Value of Educators* was translated and published in the widely-read *Educational Gazette of Zhili*. It encouraged teachers and educators to endure the low income and difficulties they met, and emphasised the need for educators to have good morals:

'We educators must have the determination in taking education as a lifelong career regardless of poor income or other peoples' disrespect... Educators should have virtuous characteristics, and be tenacious in difficulties. Educators should first cultivate and promote themselves and then they can teach others.'<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>405</sup> Ibid., 680.

<sup>406</sup> Inoue Enryō, trans. by Liu Xuzeng, "Jiaoyu de shijie guan ji rensheng guan: yimin jiaoyujia anxin lun [The World View and Value of Educator]," *Zhili jiaoyu zazhi* [*Educational Gazette of Zhili*], no.13, (1906): 7-9.

The moral component of being an educator was emphasised by Liang Qichao in his speech addressed in the Ministry of Education in 1917. For Liang, the responsibility of educators was far more than just teaching knowledge:

‘The ambition of educators is crucial to the future of Chinese education,’ Liang said, ‘now in schools, many students still take entering officialdom [*lieguan* 獵官] as their goal, which is a thought left by *Keju* system. Educators should correct it, otherwise our academia will be corrupted.’<sup>407</sup>

Thus, by these two standards, modern educators in early twentieth-century China were a group of people who had a strong ambition and saw education as a lifelong career. Further, they investigated the subject of education and took social responsibility as their mission. Yang Yinhang and his peer Hou Hongjian are good examples: they were both advocating for establishing new schools in the early 1900s, but while Yang Yinhang later became a lawyer, Hou Hongjian continued to study pedagogies and took education as a lifelong career. Yang Yinyu was also a typical ‘educator’ according to the definition given above. Being a teacher who was investigating the subject of education in the US, Yang wished to ‘know more about the normal school training’. In 1919 when she was studying in Columbia University, Yang wrote to her teacher Miss Florence Bigelow that, ‘the aim of a teacher is not only earning a living. The teachers training schools must be different from any other vocational schools, do you think so?’<sup>408</sup> (Figure 15)

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<sup>407</sup> Liang Qichao, “Jiaoyujia zhi zijue [The Self-Consciousness of Educators]” (1917) in Shu, *JYSZL*, vol.3, (1960): 954-955.

<sup>408</sup> Yang Yinyu’s letter to Florence Bigelow, Archives ‘Yang 10(2)’ (April 19, 1919), *Walnut Hill Archives*.

## American Influences on Chinese Modern Educators

In the 1910s, the establishment of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship by the United States as well as the Twenty-One Demands proposed by Japan to China's Republican government in 1915 propelled a sharp turn towards cooperating with America by the Chinese government and away from Japan.<sup>409</sup> Chinese academia's interest was also shifting from learning from Japan towards learning from the US. Chinese students in Japan gradually returned to their country, and the inflow peaked in 1918 when Japan proposed to take Shandong from Germany's hands at the Paris Peace Conference after the end of WWI.<sup>410</sup> The Ministry of Education set up the Educational Bureau of Chinese Ministry of Education in the Washington DC, which acted as a station for receiving Chinese students who came to study in the US and was responsible for placing them into US colleges.<sup>411</sup>

Teachers education in the US at the time was heavily influenced by the ideological trend of Progressive Education (called *jinbu jiaoyu* 進步教育 in China), which was started in 1883 by the American educator Francis Waylan Parker (1837-1902) and British educator Cecil Reddie (1858-1932). The trend reached its climax when American educator and philosopher John Dewey established an experimental middle school, where he implemented his idea that 'education is life' (*jiaoyu ji shenghuo* 教育既生活). He opposed the tendency of traditional teaching pedagogies to feed students with knowledge, and emphasised instead the need to develop children's inner characters

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<sup>409</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 581-582; Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: from War to Peace 1894-1972* (Chicago: Rand McNally College Publishing Company, 1975), 209-223.

The Twenty-One Demands was delivered by Japanese Minister Hioki Eki to President Yuan Shikai of Republican China on January 18, 1915, calling for Japanese control of Shandong, Manchuria, Inner Mongolia, the southeast coast of China, and the Yangtze Valley. The Demands also required employment of Japanese advisors in Chinese political, financial, military, and police administrations, and the purchase of at least 50% of China's munitions from Japan. The date of May 7, 1915 was the ultimatum from Japan's side. Yuan Shikai finally signed the Demands on May 9, 1915, which was later commemorated as the National Humiliation Day.

<sup>410</sup> In 1918, Chinese students in Japan reached consensus to return to China together in protest against Japanese claims on Chinese territory. "Liuri xuesheng quanti guiguo [All the Chinese Students in Japan return China]," *Jiaoyu zazhi* [Educational Review] 10, no.6, (1918): 45-46; "Liuri xuesheng quanti guiguo yuanyin [The Reason Why Chinese Students in Japan All Returned]," *Xinwen bao* [Shanghai News Daily], (May 30, 1918): 2.

<sup>411</sup> The bureau as an important station for those Chinese students in the US has not been mentioned in literature. Its address was in 2015 Nineteenth Street, N.W., Washington DC. The chief officer of the Educational Bureau from 1918 to 1920 was Mr. U. Y. Yin.

by encouraging them to ‘learn from practice’ (*cong zuo zhong xue* 從做中學).<sup>412</sup> Dewey was at the time widely regarded as ‘the teacher of Teachers because of this child-centred pedagogy and a reinterpretation on the role of schools in the society.’<sup>413</sup> The Teachers College of Columbia University, in which Dewey served as the college principal, became a sanctuary for teachers around the world, including Chinese teachers (Figure 16). According to Zhuang Zexuan (莊澤宣, 1895-1976), a renowned Republican educator who was studying in Teachers College at the same time as Yang Yinyu, ‘Columbia University is now the biggest university in the world. It has more than 30,000 students altogether. Within the university, the Teachers College is the world’s biggest institution doing research in education. Students in this college number 5,000.’<sup>414</sup>

Between 1908 to 1923, Teachers College of Columbia University produced the most renowned education leaders in Republican China including Hu Shi, Jiang Mengling (蔣夢麟, 1886-1964), Yan Yangchu (晏陽初, 1893-1990), Tao Xingzhi (陶行知, 1891-1946), Guo Bingwen (郭秉文, 1879-1969), Zhang Boling (張伯苓, 1876-1951), Wang Maozu (汪懋祖, 1891-1949) and Chen Heqin (陳鶴琴, 1892-1982). These people were pioneers in the launch of New Education Movement, and the arrival of their mentor John Dewey in China in 1919 was a significant turning point.<sup>415</sup> From 1919 to 1920, Dewey delivered lecture series in China’s main universities, and in December 1921, a new educational association, CNAAE, was created to implement the policies made during the

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<sup>412</sup> Wang, *Zhongguo xinjiaoyu yundong yanjiu*, 74-75; Lawrence A. Cremin, “John Dewey and the Progressive-Education Movement, 1915-1952,” *The School Review* 67, no.2, Dewey Centennial Issue, (1959): 160-173.

<sup>413</sup> Edwin E. Slosson, “John Dewey: Teacher of Teachers,” *Independent*, (March 26, 1917)” 541-544.

<sup>414</sup> Zhuang Zexuan, ‘Gelunbiya daxue shifanyuan ji Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiuhui [The Teachers College of Columbia University and the Chinese Education Association]’ in *Xin jiaoyu* [*New Education*], (1920?):466.

<sup>415</sup> Gong Qichang, “Jindai xin jiaoyu yundong ji qi yuanli [New Education Movement and its Missions],” *Jiaoyu yanjiu huikan* [*Studies on Education*] 2, (1932): 7-19.

movement.<sup>416</sup> The association was supported by Paul Monroe (1869-1947), another main figure in Progressive Education at the Teachers College of Columbia University. Chinese educators in this association became a deciding force in promoting Dewey's ideology of pragmatism and democracy.

According to Wang Maozu, who later stood by Yang's side during the Anti-Yang movement, 'Dewey has taught us what New Education is and how should it be realised... Dr. Monroe is also assisting us in this cause... The essence that we have learnt from the US and Europe in these years is this National Association.'<sup>417</sup> What John Dewey emphasised however, was not only modern subjects and democracy, as is suggested by the concerns of the current literature on his impact on China, but also moral education. In the 1920s, occupational ethics (*zhiye daode* 職業道德) were developed in the US, and teachers' ethics were especially included in Dewey's *Educational Philosophy*.<sup>418</sup> Wang Maozu translated John Dewey's *Principles of Moral Education* in 1918.<sup>419</sup> Discussing the ethics of teachers, Dewey argued that a school should serve the society, thus teachers should educate people according to the social needs.<sup>420</sup>

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<sup>416</sup> Recent studies on Hu Shi and John Dewey included Sor-Hoon Tan, "China's Pragmatist Experiment in Democracy: Hu Shih's Pragmatism and Dewey's Influence in China," *Metaphilosophy* 35, no.1/2, (2004): 44-64; Yung-chen Chiang, "Appropriating Dewey: Hu Shi and His Translation of Dewey's 'Social and Political Philosophy' Lecture Series in China," *European Journal of Pragmatism and American Philosophy* 7, no.2, (2015): 71-97.

<sup>417</sup> Wang Maozu, "Zhonghua jiaoyu gajinshe de yuanqi [The Establishment of National Association for the Advancement of Education]," *Xin Jiaoyu* 5, no.3, (1922): 343-344.

<sup>418</sup> George Bailey Chambers, "Codes of Ethics for the Teaching Profession," *The Ethics of the Professions and of Business* (Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1922), 121-127; Mary Finn, "Educational Innovation and Dewey's Moral Principles in Education," *Educational Studies* 12, no.3, (1981): 251-263.

<sup>419</sup> Wang Maozu, "Daode jiaoyu yuanli [Principles of Moral Education]," *Liumei xuesheng jibao [Chinese Students in the US Quarterly]* 7, no.2, (1918): 123-126.

<sup>420</sup> "Duwei zhi daode jiaoyu [The Moral Education of John Dewey]," *Xin jiaoyu [New Education]*, (1919): 262-269.



## Yang Yinyu's Journey in the US

As an alumni of these renowned educators, Yang Yinyu absorbed many ideologies from John Dewey and Paul Monroe, particularly in regard to moral education and their emphasis on primary and secondary education. She had played a vivid role in the Chinese community in the Teachers College of Columbia University and later joined in the CNAAE as well. In the current literature, only the leading educators were regarded as the main body of the 'modern educators' in Republican era.<sup>421</sup> Little is known about the network of Chinese educators in Columbia University, where Yang Yinyu was one of the very few females. The activities of these professional educators played a significant role in promoting the second educational reform in Renxu system and stimulating to the New Culture and May Fourth Movement.

### Studying Education

On September 4, 1918, Yang Yinyu arrived at the port of San Francisco.<sup>422</sup> Two months later, she was introduced by the Chinese Ministry of Education to the Walnut Hill School in Natick, Massachusetts. Established in 1893, Walnut Hill was a preparatory school for Wellesley College, and here Yang met her beloved teacher and friend Miss Florence Bigelow (?-1930), the founder and principal of the school.<sup>423</sup> According to Bigelow's reports to the Educational Bureau, before Yang first visited Walnut Hill, Miss Sze Tsong Yuan (袁世莊 Yuan Shizhuang, 1892-?) of Wellesley College (Figure 17), the

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<sup>421</sup> Their life and influences on modern Chinese education and society have been widely explored in Chinese academia in Mainland China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong in the recent decades. Biographical monographs include: Song Enrong and Xiong Xianjun, *Yan Yangchu jiaoyu sixiang yanjiu [The Educational Ideologies of Yan Yangchu]* (Liaoning: Liaoning jiaoyu chubanshe [Liaoning Educational Press], 1994); Zhou Jiarong and Wen Zhaojian, *Tao Xingzhi yu jindai Zhongguo jiaoyu [Tao Xingzhi and the Modern Chinese Education]* (Hong Kong: Xianggang jiaoyu tushu gongsi [Hong Kong Education and Books Company], 2010); Jiang Yongzhen, *She wo qi shei: Hu Shi [Despite Me, Who Else: Hu Shi]*, 3 volumes (Taiwan: Xin xing chubanshe [Xinxing Press], 2011).

<sup>422</sup> "Nanking, Yang Yin Yu" in Department of Labor, Immigration Service, San Francisco, *National Archives of United States, San Francisco*, (1918). No. 17472/26-27.

<sup>423</sup> Isabel Holmes, 'Walnut Hill: A Retrospective Celebrating 120 Years' in *Behind Stowe: Walnut Hill School for the Arts*, Vol.4, No.1, (Spring and Summer, 2014): 8-9. Walnut Hill School was established by Wellesley graduate Florence Bigelow and Charlotte Conant in 1893. First set up as a traditional boarding school for girls, Walnut Hill was strong in training of arts for young women, and now is an independent boarding and day high school for arts students. 'History' in Walnut Hill School for the Arts, (accessed on January 18, 2018). [Available online]:[https://www.walnuthillarts.org/uploaded/Updated\\_AboutImages\\_2016/Walnut\\_Hill\\_FactSheet\\_update\\_8-11-2016-FINAL.pdf](https://www.walnuthillarts.org/uploaded/Updated_AboutImages_2016/Walnut_Hill_FactSheet_update_8-11-2016-FINAL.pdf).

daughter of the vice Minister of Education Yuan Xitao (袁希涛, 1866-1930), had already introduced Yang to the principal by telephone.<sup>424</sup> Then on the day of arrival, Yang brought a recommendation letter from her friend Hu Bingxia (who was then called Mrs. T.C. Chu). Yuan and Hu had similar educational backgrounds to Yang, and they were the first Chinese graduates in Walnut Hill. They later kept a good relationship with their mother school.<sup>425</sup> According to Miss Bigelow, Yang Yinyu ‘herself impressed us as being a fine and able woman... we therefore secured a room for her...’<sup>426</sup>

From her letters, it is clear to see that Yang Yinyu demonstrated great enthusiasm in studying education, and she wished to visit as many teacher training schools as possible. Yang told Miss Bigelow about her plan to be admitted to Columbia straight away after she was admitted by Walnut Hill. ‘Before she felt ready for it [applying for Columbia]’, as Bigelow wrote in a letter to the officer of the Bureau, Yang ‘wished to observe the work of an American (teachers) school first’, and she also wanted to ‘accustom herself to American life and [improve] the use of English language’.<sup>427</sup> Apparently, Bigelow was very happy to offer help for this lady of ambition.<sup>428</sup> In December 1918, one month after Yang’s enrolment, Bigelow wrote a letter to the Teachers College of Columbia, asking them whether they could offer a place for Yang and what form of application Yang should make for

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<sup>424</sup> Yuan Shizhuang later married Wang Maozu around 1923. According to a memoir essay written by Yuan Shizhuang and Wang Maozu’s daughter Wang Anqi, Yuan Shizhuang was a distant cousin of Yang Jiang, which meant that the family of Yuan and Yang were relatives. Wang Anqi, “Maozhuang wangshi [The Past of Maozhuang]” (2002), article published on website *Wangshi zongqing wang [Genealogy of Wang Family]*, [available at: <http://www.iwangs.com/forum.php?mod=viewthread&tid=22775>].

<sup>425</sup> “Walnut Hill School to Educational Bureau”, *Walnut Hill Archives* (November 2, 1918), 1. Mrs. T. C. Chu was the married name of Hu Bingxia. As mentioned in the previous chapter, like Yang, Hu was born in Wuxi and she had competed with Yang in 1907 when they both attended the national scholarship for studying abroad. Together with Song Qingling, Hu Bingxia scored among the top three students and was sent to US, while Yang Yinyu was the fourth and thus was dispatched to Japan.

<sup>426</sup> *Ibid.*, 1. According to the correspondence, the school originally had ‘no room left’ to enrol new students.

<sup>427</sup> Correspondence between Miss Bigelow and Mr. C. Upton, Secretary of Teachers College, Columbia University, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (December 24, 1918); (January 3, 1919); (January 10, 1919).

<sup>428</sup> As a Wellesley graduate, Bigelow was very willing to provide Walnut Hill as a platform for young female students to prepare to study in first-class colleges or universities. According to her letter to Columbia University, ‘two of the three Chinese female students that were sent by Qing government to the US in 1907 prepared themselves for Wellesley College, and one of them had just passed examination for a doctorate in Chicago University’ in 1918. Miss Bigelow to Mr. C. Upton, Secretary of Teachers College, Columbia University, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (December 24, 1918), 1.

admission. Bigelow wrote, ‘Miss Yang is a woman of maturity and training... After study [in Japan] she returned to China and has been, for the last four years, the Dean of the only government normal school for girls in China.’<sup>429</sup> A reply was received only a week later, saying that that Columbia would arrange a ‘tentative estimate’ for Yang.<sup>430</sup> During the process of Bigelow’s conversation with Columbia, Yang successfully transferred to the Massachusetts State Normal School for Girls at Framingham with Bigelow’s arrangement and under her suggestion that it was ‘one of the best normal schools [in Massachusetts]’.<sup>431</sup> She stayed at Framingham for three terms until she passed the examination for Columbia. In the summer of 1919, Yang Yinyu passed the exam and was successfully admitted to the Teachers College of Columbia directly as a senior undergraduate student (Figure 18), and moved to New York. She was joined by her niece Yang Baokang (楊保康, birth and death dates unknown, Figure 19), the daughter of Yang Yinyu’s elder brother Yang Yinhuan.<sup>432</sup> In New York they stayed in the Whittier Building (Figure 20), a women’s dormitory of Teachers College of Columbia University.

In her correspondence with Miss Bigelow in early 1920, Yang Yinyu detailed the undergraduate and postgraduate courses that she had taken in Columbia:

‘I had five of the postgraduate courses here last semester, namely: *Philosophy of Education, Measurement and Experimentation in Elementary Education, Psychology of Childhood, How to Teach Geometry in Secondary School, and Household Administration*. I am carrying six courses this semester, they all advanced courses

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<sup>429</sup> Bigelow to Upton, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (December 24, 1918), 1.

<sup>430</sup> Upton to Bigelow, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (January 3, 1919), 1.

<sup>431</sup> Bigelow to Upton, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (January 10, 1919), 1; Bigelow to Yin, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (April 22, 1919), 1. According to Bigelow, Yang Yinyu remained in Walnut Hill School only through the fall term of 1918. During her stay in Walnut Hill, ‘Miss Yang gave her attention highly to studying and visited in several classes, to have as much practice as possible, she improved better English.’

Yang was then registered in Massachusetts State Normal School in Framingham from late December, 1918 until summer term of 1919.

<sup>432</sup> In 1918, Yang Baokang passed the examination to receive a Boxer Indemnity Scholarship at Tsinghua University, and went to the US with Yang Yinyu. Yang Baokang achieved a Bachelors degree in Science in Wellesley College and then Masters degree of Education in Columbia University in 1922. She then returned to China along with Yang Yinyu, and became an educator as well. Yang Baokang later married Shen Fozhao and changed her name to Shen-Yang Baokang. “Jieshao Yang Baokang nüshi,” *Qinghua fukan [Journal of Tsinghua University]* 40, no.2, (1930?): 22.

concerning the elementary school education, method, curriculum, and supervision. I am very much interested in the so called “project method”.<sup>433</sup>

The courses that Yang had chosen reflected the fact that she was particularly interested in educational methodology on primary and middle school teaching.<sup>434</sup> While the first course *Philosophy of Education* was John Dewey’s theory, other courses were derived mainly from the theories of Paul Monroe, who believed that children would unconsciously imitate what their teachers did. Same as Dewey, Monroe emphasised teachers’ morality especially in the training of primary and middle school teachers.<sup>435</sup>

Yang’s ideology of moral training, though stemmed in the traditional expectation towards teachers in Imperial China and influenced by the teacher training education she received in Japan, was now further enhanced by her study experience at the Teachers College of Columbia University. When Yang later became a university president in 1924, she emphasised teachers’ morality and encouraged the students to behave themselves so that they would be qualified morally as teachers for younger children. At the same time, Yang also joined CNAEE, which included the most renowned and influential educators, mostly foreign-trained, at the time. News report on *Dagongbao* showed that Yang Yinyu was one of the authors in a series of monographs introducing new educational pedagogies published by the CNAEE. According to the short introduction, in China there was very little special monographs discussing the subject of Education. Thus, the CNAEE invited fourteen educators to

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<sup>433</sup> Yang Yinyu to Miss Bigelow, *Walnut Hill Archives*, (February 28, 1919): 4.

<sup>434</sup> The Teachers College of Columbia University had more than 200 comprehensive courses on Teachers Education, which were divided into seven main categories: *History and Principles of Education, Educational Psychology and Measurements, Educational Administration and School Supervision, Theory and Practice of Teaching, Vocational Education, Practical Arts Education and Summer Sessions*. Teachers College Columbia University, *School of Education Announcement* (New York: Columbia University, 1919-1920), 42-90.

<sup>435</sup> William W. Brickman and Francesco Cordasco, “Paul Monroe’s Cyclopedia of Education,” *History of Education Quarterly* 10, no.3, (1970): 324-337.

write and edit a series of monographs of Education. Yang Yinyu was the only female educator, who was responsible to write a book on women's education.<sup>436</sup>

A conference report in 1925 also showed that Yang Yinyu was one of the educators in the association. The CNAEE divided educators based on their specialities into groups such as English (*yingyu jiaoxue zu* 英語教學組), Chinese (*guoyu jiaoxue zu* 國語教學組), History (*lishi jiaoxue zu* 歷史教學組), Children's Education (*youzhi jiaoyou zu* 幼稚教育組), International Education (*guoji jiaoyu zu* 國際教育組) and so on.<sup>437</sup> While her niece Yang Baokang was the chief of Children's Education, Yang Yinyu was in the groups of English and also Women's Education.<sup>438</sup> She also created a new group called 'Communication for International Children' (*shijie ertong tongxin jiaohuan zu* 世界兒童通信交換組), in order to build up an international network for Chinese children. Unfortunately, as Yang was later be drawn into the anti-Yang movement, she could not realise her plan.

### *The Community of Chinese Educators in Columbia University*

From the mid-1910s there were about 20 Chinese students at the Teachers College, and they formed a Chinese Educational Club (*Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiuhui* 中國教育研究會), which took the responsibility to 'study and discuss the most advanced educational pedagogies, which have not been

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<sup>436</sup> Most of the educators in editing this series of books were American-trained, including Wang Maozu and Tao Xingzhi. Unfortunately this thesis cannot locate this series of books. "Jiaoyu gaijinshe bian jiaoyu congshu [The Books of Education Edited by Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education]," *Dagongbao (L'Impartial)*, (March 26, 1924): 6.

<sup>437</sup> In the group of History, chief members were Liang Qichao and Hu Shi; in the group of International Education, chief members were Guo Bingwen, Wang Maozu, Fan Yuanlian, Hu Shi, Huang Yanpei and Cai Yuanpei. "Zhonghua jiaoyu gaijinshe di si jie nianhui yilan [The Fourth Annual Conference of Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education]" (August 1925), in *Archives of Modern History, Shanghai Library*.

<sup>438</sup> Main members in the group of English also included Lin Yutang (林語堂), Chen Yuan (陳源), Xu Zhimo, Yuan Changying (袁昌英), and N. B. Nance. Lin and Chen would later involved in the debate with Lu Xun on the anti-Yang movement. Main members in the group of Women's Education were: Hu Bingxia, Wu Yifang, Chen Hengzhe, Xu Shoushang and Yuan Changying.

researched before in China.<sup>439</sup> Yang Yinyu joined the Educational Club immediately after she entered the college. According to Zhuang Zexuan (莊澤宣, 1895-1976), the general tasks of the Club were:

‘1 Studying all the important problems of Chinese education.

2 Inviting famous speakers to deliver speeches on Chinese or other country’s education, for reference [to China].

3 Discussing essays and articles about Chinese education.

4 To publish our outcomes for those who are concerned about Chinese education.

The Association also is responsible for welcoming new Chinese students. In every new term, we will help new students finding accommodation, introduce them to teachers, and discuss lectures together.<sup>440</sup>

In 1920, there were nineteen registered members, and thus they shaped a small Chinese community within the college, which was at the pioneering front of studying ‘the most advanced educational pedagogies’ for China, and also provided a sense of belonging for new students. This year, the club had Mr. P. C. Chang (張彭春, 1892-1957) as the president, and ‘led bi-monthly meetings with discussion on vocational education, women’s education, and the organisation of a provincial educational bureau.’<sup>441</sup> The members had a variety of specialities, for example, in primary education, administration of education, educational experiments, etc., while Yang Yinyu’s speciality in the association was ‘teachers education, psychology, and teaching methods’.<sup>442</sup> The source of sponsorship of each member might worth paying attention, because it reflected that these students were largely government-sponsored, and would be appointed to important positions when they returned China. The

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<sup>439</sup> Zhuang, *Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiuhui*, 473.

<sup>440</sup> Zhuang, *Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiuhui*, 474. Guo Bingwen studied at the Teachers College of Columbia University from 1911 to 1914, and achieved his PhD degree with thesis titled ‘The Chinese System of Public Education’.

<sup>441</sup> “Club News,” *Chinese Students Monthly* 15, no.3, (1920): 67. Founded as *The Chinese Students’ Bulletin* in 1905, Chinese Students Monthly was a monthly gazette hosted by the Chinese Students’ Alliance of the Eastern States, and became the official periodical of the Students’ Alliance from 1911 when Gu Weijun (顧維鈞, 1888-1985) united the nation-wide Chinese student associations in both western and eastern America.

<sup>442</sup> Zhuang, *Zhongguo jiaoyu yanjiuhui*, 476. P.C. Chang (Zhang Pengchun) was the brother of the renowned republican educator Zhang Boling (張伯苓, 1876-1951). As a recipient of a Boxer Indemnity scholarship, Zhang achieved a Bachelors degree in Literature in Clark University in 1913, and Master degree of Education and PhD degree in Education in 1922 in Columbia University. He later taught in Nankai University, Chicago University, and became a diplomat for the Republican China in 1940. Zhang Pengchun was among the board of United Nations which initiated the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* in 1948. Long Fei and Kong Yangeng, *Zhang Boling yu Zhang Pengchun [Zhang Boling and Zhang Pengchun]* (Tianjin: Nankai University, 2016).

students consisted of four categories: Ministry of Education (*bupai* 部派), provincial educational bureau (*guanfei* 官費), Boxer Indemnity Scholarship (*Qinghua fei* 清華費) or self-funded (*zifei* 自費). Among the 19 members, 4 were self-funded (21%), 4 by Boxer Indemnity Scholarship (21%), 7 by provincial sponsorship (36%), while Yang Yinyu was the only one sponsored by the Ministry of Education.<sup>443</sup> It meant that about 80% of these Chinese students were government-sponsored, but Yang was the one with the closest link with the central government.

Apart from attending the Chinese Educational Club in the college, Yang Yinyu was also active in the Chinese Students' Club of Columbia, which was a part of the national network of the Chinese Students' Alliance in the US (Figure 21).<sup>444</sup> In the fall term of 1920, Yang applied to be the Chinese secretary of the Students' Club, working together with President Q. K. Chen, Vice-President C. Y. Chang, and English secretary P. L. Yuan. One semester later, Yang became the Vice-President of the Students' Club. According to P. L. Yuan's report, the enrolment this year of Chinese students in Columbia was 132.<sup>445</sup>

The Chinese Students' Club also served as a platform for both domestic and American educators coming to exchange views on educational issues. On February 13th 1920 for example, the Students' Club gave a reception to an Educational Mission composed of leading educational authorities from different parts of China. According to the club news,

‘Ex-Vice-President of Ministry of Education, Honourable Yuan Tsi-tao, and President Chen Pao-chuan of Peking Teachers College addressed the club. We were also fortunate to hear from Dr. Gilbert Reid and Prof. McLouth of New York University who will before long leave for China.’<sup>446</sup>

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<sup>443</sup> Ibid., 475-476. Three members did not provide their information.

<sup>444</sup> Chinese Students' Alliance in the USA, *The Chinese Students Alliance Pamphlet Aims to Tell You* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1920).

<sup>445</sup> “Club News” in *Chinese Students*, *Chinese Students' Monthly* 15, no.3, (1920): 67.

<sup>446</sup> Wan Chuck, “Columbia,” *Chinese Students' Monthly* 15, no.5, (1920): 61.

Chen Baoquan (陳寶泉 1874-1937), mentioned as the ‘President of Peking Teachers College’ at the time had just established a Research Department on Moral Education (*daode jiaoyu yanjiubu* 道德教育研究部) in Beijing, which aimed to encourage educators to develop moral education in current educational reforms.<sup>447</sup> During this visit, Chen warmly invited Yang to work in China after graduation and later supported her nomination in Beijing Teachers College for Women in 1923.

### **Yang Yinyu in May Fourth Movement and New Education Movement**

The First World War ended in 1918. While the Americans were celebrating the Allies’ victory, in China a mass student movement, which now known as the May Fourth, broke out in Beijing. On May 4, 1919, more than five thousand university students and citizens gathered in Tian’anmen, protesting against China’s treatment at the Paris Peace Conference.<sup>448</sup> From 1898, Germany had leased from the Qing government Jiaozhou Bay of Shandong for 99 years. With Germany’s defeat in 1918, however, Japan aimed to take over Jiaozhou Bay. The student movement finally pressured the Chinese delegation at Versailles to reject the Peace Treaty, and this was seen as a great political victory for students.<sup>449</sup>

While the existing literature largely focuses on how the New Culture Movement ‘enlightened’ the students’ eagerness to attend and lead social affairs, this section uses Yang Yinyu’s case to analyse what role educators played in this significant social and political movement. From the letters between Yang and her students as well as teachers during this period, Yang showed a strong sense of responsibility as an educator and took a leading role in encouraging her students to participate public affairs. It demonstrates a sharp contradiction compared with how she has been interpreted as a

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<sup>447</sup> “Chen Baoquan sheli daode jiaoyu yanjiubu [Chen Baoquan’s Establishment of the Studying Department of Moral Education],” *Jiaoyu gongbao* [Educational Gazette], no. 647, (1918): 75-77.

<sup>448</sup> Schwarcz, *The Chinese Enlightenment*, 7.

<sup>449</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 591-595.



conservative who opposed students in the current scholarship. This section thus provides a way for us to understand how Yang viewed her own identity as an educator. It is oversimplified to label Yang as a conservative or progressive. Although being a cultural loyalist, her educational ideologies lay in promoting patriotism, mass education, physical education, and teachers' social responsibility.

### Patriotism

Similar to many foreign-educated Chinese or leading elites at the time, Yang emphasised the differences between Americans and Chinese and tended to believe that these differences were key reasons for China's weakness.<sup>450</sup> In a letter to her students, which was published in the college journal of Beijing Teachers College for Women, Yang Yinyu showed her joy that she could witness American society with her own eyes and, she wrote, she wished to share the 'vivid energy' (*huoqi* 活氣) that she had observed with her students. She wrote, 'American people are full of vivid energy. Everyone in every association in the society connect with each other by this energy. Thus, no matter in what activity or cause, they all can work together, achieve progress and get development.'<sup>451</sup> By the 'vivid energy', Yang was referring to active discussions and direct participation in public affairs, and the patriotism of Americans that she had witnessed:

'American people are optimistic, talkative, and sociable...

American students are active. No whether matter the student performs well or not in their studies, the student will not be looked down upon by others and is very confident...

The society is active too, no matter where people come from [different backgrounds], they are very concerned with public affairs.'<sup>452</sup>

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<sup>450</sup> At the time there were many articles published on school journals and newspapers in discussing the differences between China and the West. For example, in the same journal in which Yang's letter was published, renowned scholar Liang Shuming's speech was recorded, in which Liang analysed the contrasts between American and Chinese philosophies and educational ideologies. Liang Shuming, "Cong jiaoyu shang he zhexue shang suojian zhongxi ren zhi butong [Examining the Differences between Chinese and Westerners by Education and Philosophy]," *Beijing Nüzi Shifan Xuexiao Wenyi Huikan* [Literature and Art Journal of Beijing Teachers School for Women] 1, no. 5, (1919): 19-27.

<sup>451</sup> Yang, Yinyu, "Yang Yinyu xiansheng zi meiguo yu guowenbu tongxue shu [A Letter of Miss Yang Yinyu from America to the Students of Literature Department]," *Beijing Nüzi Shifan Xuexiao Wenyi Huikan* [Literature and Art Journal of Beijing Teachers School for Women] 1, no.2, (1919): 2-3.

<sup>452</sup> *Ibid.*, 3-4.

This activeness and ‘vivid energy’ obviously was the most striking thing that Yang felt. She believed that the victory of America and the Allies in the WWI could be ascribed to it:

‘The victory of America is because its vivid energy. At the beginning of the European War [WWI], the Americans were just bystanders. However, everyone here soon paid attention, everyone talked about it, everyone knew the [progress of the] War, everyone held resentment towards the Germans, and everyone was aware of the danger to his own country.

When the battle started, there soon gathered a million educated youngsters, and women were enthusiastically joining the Red Cross. People all over the country were cohesive and united, everyone regardless of being rich or poor, servants, elders made clothes and commodities for the soldiers. Every week, the president of a university would hold a public meeting, having a chat with all the staff and students...’<sup>453</sup>

Yang believed that this ‘vivid energy’ should be introduced to China so that her people could have a same active attitude towards China’s struggles at the time. When the May Fourth Movement occurred in Beijing, Yang Yinyu was delighted to see the power and patriotism of her students, and she encouraged them to fulfil their responsibility to lead and benefit society. She wrote, ‘on the Shandong problem, I have learnt from newspapers about your actions, and I am so happy that you already have vivid energy and patriotism.’<sup>454</sup> In her opinion, students should keep this energy and patriotism, but act with restraint:

‘[You need to] keep this vivid patriotism, and hold a calm and solid attitude, do things that are beneficial for society, such as using and advocating Chinese-made products, teaching poor people, discouraging cigarettes, alcohol, and foot-binding. These things are trivial, but all beneficial [to the society].

We all do not have mighty power, but [we can] start from small matters, step by step, and do not be greedy seeking fame, do not be afraid of difficulties... in the future there will be a big achievement.’<sup>455</sup>

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<sup>453</sup> Ibid.,.5.

<sup>454</sup> Yang Yinyu, “Yang Yinyu xiansheng zi meizhou laihan [Miss Yang Yinyu’s Letter from North America],” *Beijing Nüzi Shifan Xuexiao Wenyi Huikan [Literature and Art Journal of Beijing Teachers School for Women]* 1, no.2, (1919): 1-2.

<sup>455</sup> Ibid., 1.

From Yang's words above, we learn that Yang was standing by the side of students and she was worrying for them as their patriotic demonstration would be suppressed by the authorities. However, even though she was concerned about their circumstances, Yang encouraged students to be active in social affairs. This was contrary to her widespread image as a 'conservative' and 'preventing her students joining public affairs'.<sup>456</sup>

### Responsibilities of Teachers and Mass Education

Apart from encouraging her students to participate in social affairs, Yang also reminded her students to take on their responsibilities as teachers, and to this end she shared with them what she had learnt in Columbia University (Figure 22). Influenced by Dewey's theory, Yang Yinyu believed that a close link between schools and society was the 'true aim of education':

'When I was in China, I had the problem that I thought the aim of education was to teach and all I could do was to fulfil my responsibility [to teach] and not take on any others.

I did not know that the true aim of education was to benefit the society [*zaofu shehui* 造福社会]. Thus, now our responsibility is to benefit the society, otherwise we fail in our responsibility'.<sup>457</sup>

To fulfil the responsibility in promoting the 'true aim of education', Yang paid particular attention to encourage students in promoting mass education (*pingmin jiaoyu* 平民教育). Her focus at the time echoed the efforts of many leading educators, including Yan Yangchu, 'the Father of Mass Education'.<sup>458</sup> In his foundational essay *The New Mass Education*, Yan Yangchu promoted the importance of phonetic notes on Chinese characters (*zhuyin zimu* 注音字母).<sup>459</sup> In China, there was

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<sup>456</sup> Chen Shuyu, "Nüshida shisheng yuanhe fandui Yang Yinyu [Why the Students and Staff of Beijing Women's Teachers University were Protesting against Yang Yinyu]," *Lu Xun yanjiu yuekan* [*Lu Xun's Study Monthly*], no.6, (2015): 31-34.

<sup>457</sup> Yang, 'Zi Meiguo shu', 7-8.

<sup>458</sup> Yan Yangchu was known for his English name James Yen in English academia. Charles W. Hayford, *To the People: James Yen and Village China* (New York: Columbia University, 1990).

<sup>459</sup> These phonetic notes were first invented by Zhang Taiyan (章太炎, 1869-1936), an influential revolutionary gentry scholar who was educated in Japan. He was the teacher of many modern left-wing scholars such as Qian Xuantong and Lu Xun. The system was inspired by the Japanese hirakana system, and used the semi-syllabary (*pianpang* 偏旁) of Chinese characters to annotate the pronunciation.

only one form of written language, but people in different provinces had huge differences in the pronunciation based on their own dialects. Thus, in 1913, Unification Board of the Pronunciation of Chinese Language (*duyin tongyihui* 讀音統一會) was established by the Ministry of Education, responsible for annotating Chinese characters in order to promote mass literacy and reach unified pronunciation.<sup>460</sup> The introduction of *zhuyin zimu* was promoted by many New Culture leaders at the time including Cai Yuanpei and Hu Shi, but was also an important task for educators during the New Education Movement.<sup>461</sup> Figure 23 was a picture published on the periodical Official Language and Phonetic Notes Magazine (*Guanhua Zhuyin Zimu Bao* 官話注音字母報), showing an old man having his eyes opened (who represented the illiterate masses) by a young, educated person. The conversation between the old and young men read: ‘Ah, I cannot see. I cannot even walk one step. What can I do? —Sir, don’t worry, I give you one pole.’ Phonetic notes were put beside each Chinese character, so those who were not fluent in characters could still read out the sentences by the notes.<sup>462</sup> As Yan Yangchu urged, ‘the majority of our Chinese people are illiterate... we educators must make efforts in promoting and studying mass education!’<sup>463</sup>

Yang Yinyu shared Yan Yangchu’s advocacy and also regarded *zhuyin zimu* as a crucial way in ‘enlightening people’s minds’. She wrote to her students:

‘Are you willing to sacrifice a little of your time, to enlighten the people [*kai minzhi* 開民智]? If you are, make speeches, learn *zhuyin zimu*, and teach others so they can [read] by themselves. If something happened and you

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<sup>460</sup> Li Jinxi, *Guoyu yundong shigang [The History of the Chinese Language Movement]* (Beijing: Shangwu yinchuguan [Commercial Press], 1934).

<sup>461</sup> Cui Minghai, “Zhiding guoyin changshi: 1913 nian de duyin tongyihui [The Attempt to Make National Pronunciation: the Unification Board of the Pronunciation of Chinese Language],” *Lishi dang’an [Historical Archives]*, no.4, (2012), 112. *Zhuyin zimu* was later evolved into *zhuyin fuhao* (phonetic symbols 注音符號) in 1933 under the Nationalist government. It was then brought to Taiwan by the Nationalist Party, and in use until nowadays. In Mainland China, *zhuyin fuhao* were abandoned in 1958, and replaced by *hanyu pingyin* (漢語拼音) which uses Roman letters to annotate Chinese characters.

<sup>462</sup> “Wode yanjing kanbujian [I cannot see],” *Guanhua zhuyin zimu bao [Official Language and Phonetic Notes Magazine]*, no.16, (1916): 2.

<sup>463</sup> Yan Yangchu, “Pingmin jiaoyu xin yundong [The New Mass Education],” *Xin Jiaoyu [New Education]* (1922). Yan established the Mass Education Association in 1923, and cofounders included Tao Xingzhi and Zhu Qihui, who were both active educators during the 1920s and part of Yang Yinyu’s network.

cannot make speeches, then you can deliver leaflets and use *zhuyin zimu*. Isn't it more convenient? I always talk about *zhuyin zimu* in my letters, please don't feel it is boring.'<sup>464</sup>

Besides, she encouraged her students to convey what they learnt to more people through speeches. As she wrote in the letter, the students should organise more speech associations (*yanjiang hui* 演講會), so that their voices could both influence the political authorities and the mass public:

'Students of each school can generate speech associations and connect to each other. If you [the associations] fail in diplomatic pressure, then you can address speeches to those within schools, to raise the attention of the public. In this way, people both inside or outside of school can all know about the current situation consistently. Those evil people will be afraid of [your power], friendly countries will appreciate it, and the political authority also have no reasons to interrupt, isn't it good?'<sup>465</sup>

During her stay in the US, Yang appreciated the idea that the American teachers schools had courses in 'Current Affairs' [*shishi* 時事] and 'Speech Training' [*shuohua fa* 說話法]. Thus, she decided to introduce these courses to China. Through taking these two courses, Yang believed, 'students would have a wide worldview', and also could 'speak eloquently' about important issues.<sup>466</sup>

### Women's Physical Education

Apart from the courses of 'Current Affairs' and 'Speech Training', another thing attracted Yang most was the P. E. lessons and sports facilities in American schools, which Yang believed could strengthen the students' bodies and cultivate students with 'courage and perseverance' in practice. Historian Yu Chien-ming's important monograph *Inside and Outside of Sports Fields* published in 2007 has delineated the history of women's physical education and sports in the Qing-Republican transition. It demonstrates how women's bodies were liberalised through the sports activities they were allowed to

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<sup>464</sup> Yang, 'Zi meizhou lai han', 1.

<sup>465</sup> Ibid., 1.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid., 7.

attend or strived to earn by themselves.<sup>467</sup> In Yu's studies, we can observe how the sports activities of Chinese women were expanded from playing shuttlecock (*ti jianzi* 踢毽子) at home in the 1890s, practising Japanese-style military gymnastics in new schools during the 1900s, to competing ball games and running as men in the 1920s. Swimming course appeared as a prevailing sports activity only after the late 1920s and 1930s.

However, Yang Yinyu in 1919 had already begun to introduce this sport to her students. In her letter, Yang elaborately introduced the details of the swimming course, such as how often students should attend, what they wore, the fees and so on. It was probably learnt from the Massachusetts Normal School in Framingham. To increase students' acceptance of this new sport, Yang even drew pictures of the swimming pool, changing room, and a swimming suit in the letter (Figure 24). She said: 'students wear rubber caps, and swimming suits, which are like a piece of cardigan. When they enter water, their hair will not be wet, and their bodies are not exposed... At the end of the term, students have a competition.' She also suggested that, 'we [the Beijing Teachers College for Women] and our affiliated schools have some funding which is not fully used, it would be great if we can raise the money and build a swimming pool!'<sup>468</sup>

When Yang Yinyu later became the president of Beijing Teachers College for Women in February 1924, she immediately established a Board of Physical Education (*tiyu weiyuanhui* 體育委員會), in order to promote the importance of sports in the college. The Board had two missions: one was to encourage the students to attend sports (*yundong* 運動), and the other was to teach students about

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<sup>467</sup> Yu Chien-ming, *Yundongchang neiwai: jindai huadong diqu de nüzi tiyu 1895-1937* [Inside and Outside of Sports Fields: Women's Physical Education in Eastern China, 1895-1937] (Taipei: Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 2007).

<sup>468</sup> Ibid., 8-9.

hygiene (*weisheng* 衛生).<sup>469</sup> The Board set up a series of rules for P. E. lessons, and from the requirements, we can learn why Yang Yinyu took physical education as a crucial part of teacher training. According to the requirements, students were examined by four aspects:

‘First, physical health (*shenti* 身體). Students will have health check every year in order to observe their physical growth. Second, spirit (*jingshen* 精神). Students should be particularly taught with the qualities such as sincerity (*chengyi* 誠意), courage (*yongqi* 勇氣), endurance (*jianreng* 堅忍), calmness (*chenjing* 沈靜), rules (*guilü* 規律), and cooperation (*xietong* 協同) during the sports.

Third, skills (*ji'neng* 技能). Students will be taught with sports skills. Fourth, diligence (*qinduo* 勤惰). [Teachers] can observe whether students are diligent or not according to their attendance.’

Thus, for Yang Yinyu, physical education was a vital means to promote the physical health of students, and moreover, it was beneficial to cultivate students’ morality as teachers.

### *A Conservative or Progressive?*

For many people around her at the time, Yang appeared to be a serious cultural loyalist and strongly patriotic. Towards Chinese politics, according to Xu Zhimo, the famous modern poet, Yang was a ‘mild conservative’ [*wenhe baoshou pai* 溫和保守派], and she ‘did not agree with wiping out all the traditional morals and totally Westernising China, but only favoured limited changes.’<sup>470</sup> Xu Zhimo called Yang Yinyu the head of the ‘Bryan Party in Columbia’, which was a term coined by Xu himself based on the peaceful diplomacy advocated by the American diplomat Bryan Jennings during WWI.<sup>471</sup>

In a speech made by Yang at a club party of Chinese students held in Cornell University, recorded by Xu Zhimo:

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<sup>469</sup> “Tiyu weiyuanhui chengli [The Establishment of the Board of Physical Education],” *PTCWW*, no. 62, (April 13, 1924): 2.

<sup>470</sup> Xu, *Liumei riji*, 87.

<sup>471</sup> According to Xu, the Party consisted of Yang Yinyu, her niece Yang Baokang, Yuan Shizhuang, and several other female students who appeared to be ‘conservative’ towards politics.

‘Yang’s first point was that Chinese people should strengthen their bodies in order to serve the country. Secondly she insisted that Chinese people can only endure present hardship and strive for revival [*woxin changdan* 臥薪嘗膽], but cannot have entertainment such as singing and dancing. The third point is that she did not agree that Chinese people should be totally Americanised.’<sup>472</sup>

As discussed in Chapter II, Yang’s patriotism and belief in the idea of *woxin changdan* (lit. lie on brushwood and taste gall) came from the educational environment that she grew up in and the social responsibility conferred to her as a female teacher in the 1900s. Yang insisted on preserving Chinese culture rather than destroying it. From Figure 25, we can see that Yang dressed in a traditional Chinese cloth gown with embroidery buttons, with a Chinese hairstyle. She was different to other young Chinese ladies who dressed in Western-style blouses and permed their hair. In the letters to her students (Figure 22), Yang wrote in half vernacular, half-classical Chinese. It suggests that she was supportive of using the vernacular form of the Chinese language, which was promoted by many intellectual leaders during New Culture Movement, but she also did not agree to the erasure of all classical Chinese.

Nevertheless, in terms of educational ideologies Yang was by no means a simple conservative, and as shown above, her advocates in *zhuyin zimu* and physical education for women were actually among the most progressive ideas at the time. At the same time, she believed that people’s prevailing call to ‘erase morality’ was out of their ‘misunderstanding’, and as she argued, ‘morality is a universal concept in every country.’ For Yang, morality did not mean backwardness but a kind of rule existing in every cause. In 1923, Yang published an article titled *Misunderstandings on Sex Education* (*Xing Jiaoyu zhi Wujie* 性教育之誤解) in *Educational Review* and openly discussed the topic of sex education, which was a new and very progressive issue that was just about to appear in educational

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<sup>472</sup> Ibid., 94.



periodicals.<sup>473</sup> In the article, Yang wrote, ‘some people regard sex education as an obscene thing and have not realised its importance.’<sup>474</sup> Yang noted that the main issues of sex education were two: one was morality [*daode* 道德], and the other one was hygiene [*weisheng* 衛生]. She argued:

‘When people talk about sex, they often link it with freedom [*ziyou* 自由], liberalisation [*jiefang* 解放], and condemnation on moral grounds. However, morality is a universal concept in every country. In China we have a custom of gender segregation, then we have a moral code [*lijiao* 禮教] for this segregation. In the West, people have a custom of sociality, then they also have a moral code of sociality. Now we admit that in the East we emphasise this segregation too much, so what we need is to reform it and introduce sex education in schools, but also to not destroy our moral code entirely.’<sup>475</sup>

Based on her experience at the Laura Haygood School for Girls and in New York, she found that morality was not only specific to China, but a set of social rules that changed subject to different cultures. This educational ideology was interrelated with her insistence on preserving Chinese culture and adopting a reforming attitude towards Chinese society. Her claims would be echoed in the 1930s when Chiang Kai-shek, Chairman of the Nationalist Party, launched the New Life Movement and promoted a revival of Chinese traditional ethics. However, in the early 1920s when the views of iconoclastic advocates of American liberalism prevailed among most Chinese youngsters, Yang’s beliefs were seen as an anachronism. As Xu Zhimo summarised, ‘Chinese people here all call her a guardian of Chinese essence [*guocui baocun jia* 國粹保存家].’<sup>476</sup>

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<sup>473</sup> In 1923, the educational periodical *Educational Review* [*Jiaoyu Zazhi*] published a special issue on ‘Sex Education’, which included thirteen articles discussing the theory of sex education.

<sup>474</sup> Yang Yinyu, “Xing jiaoyu zhi wujie [*Misunderstandings on Sex Education*],” *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* [*Education and Life*], no.23, (1923): 249. Yang Yinyu’s niece Yang Baokang also published an article discussing the sociality of American people in the same periodical as Yang Yinyu. Yang Baokang, “Jiaoyu shang zhi nannü jiaoji wenti [*Gender Sociality in Education*],” *Jiaoyu yu rensheng* [*Education and Life*], no.23, (1923): 249-250.

<sup>475</sup> *Ibid.*, 249.

<sup>476</sup> Xu, *Liumei riji*, 104.

## Yang Yinyu's Reforms in Beijing Teachers College for Women

Having achieved a Masters degree in Education from Columbia University in 1922, Yang Yinyu returned to Beijing Teachers College for Women in 1923 as a professor of Education. In February 1924, she was nominated by the Ministry of Education as the president of the college. Yang began institutional reforms immediately after she arrived in post—to promote the college into a modern university (*gaizu daxue* 改組大學). Converting existing colleges to American-style universities was a main policy in the American-style school system of Renxu, which was proposed at the 7th and 8th conferences of the National Federation of Educational Associations in 1921 and 1922. In the previous Renzi-Guichou system, it had four year of introductory-level primary school, three years of higher-level primary school, and four years of middle school (3-4-4 system), with four years of college paralleled to six years of university. The Renxu system shortened the years of schooling in primary and middle level with a system of 6-3-3, and aimed to upgrade all the colleges into universities.<sup>477</sup>

In current literature historians often emphasise the institutional changes brought about the Renxu reforms, but neglect the internal tensions between educators and politicians. As Sally Borthwick has pointed out, this is because records of the ministry's internal politics are scarce, but obviously 'there was a conflict between men who identified with the scholar-official class and those who saw themselves primarily as professional educationalists.'<sup>478</sup> In addition, historians still take the anti-Yang movement in 1925 as a key turning point in students' political awakening and a victory for them in protecting academic independence. However, while the next chapter will analyse the complicated problems in the movement, the following paragraphs demonstrate that Yang Yinyu's dilemma in 1924 and 1925 was already there when Yang took over the college and was shared by many educators including her predecessor Xu Shoushang. Focusing on Yang Yinyu's institutional reforms at Beijing

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<sup>477</sup> 6-3-3 meant six years of primary school (*xiaoxue* 小學), three years of lower-level middle school (*chuji zhongxue* 初級中學) and three years of higher-level middle school (*gaoji zhongxue* 高級中學).

<sup>478</sup> Borthwick, *Education and Social Change in China*, 74.

Teachers' College for Women, this section draws a complex picture of the dilemma faced by professional educators when they were implementing their own educational ideas.

### *Political and Social Environment of Beijing Academia*

As discussed previously, educational professionals came into being as a social group in China with the development of Chinese educational reforms in early twentieth century, yet it was difficult to exactly define who 'pure' educators were. Their identities often blurred when many of them took up political roles in governments. In the late 1910s and early 1920s, a particular idea called *xuefa* (學閥) appeared, which came from the term *junfa* (軍閥) and literally meant 'warlords of education'. As both this chapter and the next show, it was a concept that coined by people at the time to represent those warlords who had power struggles in education, and also those educators who had authoritative political power.<sup>479</sup> As an important phenomenon in Chinese modern education that blended students' nationalism and political struggles, the concept of *xuefa* has not been fully studied in current scholarship. Timothy Weston's exceptional monograph *The Power of Position*, uses Cai Yuanpei and the famous Peking University during his term, to reveal the complicated tensions between educators and politicians in the post May-Fourth era.<sup>480</sup> This section deepens Timothy's study and demonstrates the complicated dilemma faced by educators in the early 1920s.

On one side, internal struggles in Ministry of Education were ceaseless, with the quick shifts and competition taking place among different Beiyang factions in the central cabinet. Different factions and political parties challenged for the position of Minister of Education as a key position through which they could secure financial resources and exercise a degree of central control over local business. On the other, students' movements prevailed in Chinese schools, colleges, and universities

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<sup>479</sup> "Xuefa [Warlords of Education]," *Keyu congkan [After-school Journal]*, no.2, (1921): 37-38.

<sup>480</sup> Timothy B. Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004).

after 1919. As the pressure applied to the Chinese diplomatic delegation in Paris at May Fourth Movement was seen as an unprecedented victory for students, demonstrations and protests led by college students became increasingly common in China, especially in Beijing during the early 1920s. The following incidents show how the struggles within Ministry of Education and student movements were intertwined, and how what Yang was facing at in 1924 and 1925 had emerged in protests against her predecessor Xu Shoushang (許壽裳, 1883-1948) in 1922 and 1923.

In early 1922, aside with the announcement of Renxu system, Cai Yuanpei launched an educators' society called the National Promotional Society for Academic Independence (*quanguo jiaoyu duli yundong hui* 全國教育獨立運動會). Through the manifesto, it declared that, 'education is the foundation of a nation's culture... However, in recent years, this noble cause has been damaged by the endless battles, wars, and dirty whirlpool of politics.'<sup>481</sup> Based on this condition, the mission of this society was threefold: the first and second points emphasised the need to establish special boards to manage funds for educational use. These boards should be run directly by educators and educational associations but not the government. This claim was to ensure that the newly-established Russian Boxer Indemnity Scholarship would be used in education and not exploited by warlords in factional battles.<sup>482</sup> Russia's share in the Boxer Indemnity of 1901, as shown in Chapter I, occupied the largest amount, which was 130,371,120 *tales*, four times the size of America's.<sup>483</sup> Apart from American Boxer Indemnity Scholarship, according to Lu Jiande's research, the Russian Boxer Indemnity Scholarship was a main reason that stirred up the Beijing academia at the time, which caused many

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<sup>481</sup> "Quanguo jiaoyu duli yundong hui xuanyan [Manifesto of National Promotional Society for Academic Independence]," *Xin jiaoyu [New Education]* (1922): 901-902.

<sup>482</sup> *Ibid.*, 902.

<sup>483</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 481. The shares of the Allies in the total of 67.5 million pounds sterling of Boxer Indemnity were: Russia 29%, Germany 20%, France 15.75%, Britain 11.25%, Japan 7.7%, United States 7.3%, Italy 5.9%, Belgium 1.9%, Austria 0.9%, Others 0.3%. Indemnity payments to Germany and Austria were ended in 1918 when the Beiyang government announced war against the Central Powers.

problems, including the anti-Yang movement.<sup>484</sup> In March 1922, Cai Yuanpei also published an article ‘On Academic Independence’ in *New Education*, arguing that: ‘education must be managed purely by educators. They should have a space of independence and not be interrupted by politics.’<sup>485</sup>

Xu Shoushang began his reforming agenda at Beijing Teachers College for Women in December 1922.<sup>486</sup> He himself however, was soon involved in the prevailing movement of ‘Expelling Peng and Retaining Cai’ (*qu Peng wan Cai yundong* 驅彭挽蔡運動) later this year. In November 1922, despite Cai Yuanpei’s calls for ‘academic independence’, the Beiyang government nominated Peng Yunyi (彭允彝, 1878-1943), member of the Zhengxue faction (*zhengxue xi* 政學系) in the Nationalist Party, as the Minister of Education.<sup>487</sup> Cai Yuanpei, relieved from responsibility as Minister, indignantly resigned office as president of Beida in January 1923 in order to protest this decision, which he took to be a ‘hopeless political intervention in education’.<sup>488</sup> His departure gave rise to a mass movement in Beijing among educators and students, who regarded Peng as a typical warlord appointment. During early 1923, thousands of university students in Beijing gathered and demonstrated against the Ministry of Education, calling on it to withdraw its nomination of Peng. In September 1923, the

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<sup>484</sup> Lu Jiande, “Xiaozhang yu eguo gengkuan de fenpei [University Presidents and the Disputes of Russian Boxer Indemnity],” *Dongfang zaobao [Oriental Morning Post]*, (September 13, 2015).

<sup>485</sup> Cai Yuanpei, “Jiaoyu duli yi [On Academic Undependence],” *Xin jiaoyu [New Education]* 4, no.3, (1922), in Tao Yinghui, *Minguo jiaoyu xueshu shi lunji [The History of Education and Academics of the Republic of China]* (Taipei: Showwe Information Co. Ltd., 2008), 110.

<sup>486</sup> Xu Shoushang, ‘Benxiao gajian nūzi daxue yijianshu [Proposal to Upgrade Our College into University]’ in *PTCWW*, No. 13, (December 31, 1922), 1-2. Born in Zhejiang province, Xu had studied together with his townsman Lu Xun under the teaching of the exiled revolutionary Zhang Taiyan in Japan in the early 1900s, and later became a lifetime friend of Lu. Before Xu started the presidency of Beijing Teachers College for Women in July 1922, Xu and Lu had both served as professors of Chinese Literature in Beijing University and staff members in Ministry of Education under Cai Yuanpei.

<sup>487</sup> The *Zhengxue* faction was established in 1916 by Zhong Guxiu (谷鍾秀, 1874-1949), one of the senior members of Sun Yat-sen’s Revolutionary Alliance. Tang Degang, ‘Zhengxue xi tanyuan [The Origin of Zhengxue Faction]’ in *Zhuanji wenxue [Biography and Literature]*, vol.61, no.3, (1992): 43-47.

<sup>488</sup> Lü Fangshang, *Min’guo shilun [History of Republican China]*, vol.2, (Taipei: Commercial Press, 2013), 800.

Ministry finally agreed to replace Peng with Huang Fu (黃郛, 1880-1936), the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the previous cabinet of Yan Huiqing (顏惠慶, 1877-1950).<sup>489</sup>

As a supporter of Cai, Xu Shoushang tendered his resignation to the Ministry along with three other college presidents in Beijing in January 1923. Five months later he returned to his own college and set up the Committee of Preparation for becoming a Women's University (*nüzi daxue choubei weiyuanhui* 女子大學籌備委員會).<sup>490</sup> In the same month, a Preparation Department (*yuke* 預科) was established, and started to set examinations in Shanghai and Beijing to recruit students during the summer holiday.<sup>491</sup> However, the plan was soon laid aside after students began to protest against Xu during the summer holiday of 1923. Students gathered on campus and levelled the accusation that 'Xu's management was poisoning the school'.<sup>492</sup>

Xu chose to resign again, as historians He Linghua and Lou Aofei have pointed out, his main concern was to protect himself from a 'difficult situation', which was the power struggles among Beiyang factions in the seesaw battle of occupying cabinet seats, and the prevailing students' movements in

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<sup>489</sup> Ibid., 799-801. Cai Yuanpei's role in the movement of 'Expelling Peng and Retaining Cai' has been analysed in detail in the recent work of Chinese scholar Lou Aofei: Lou Aofei, *Chongdu Cai Yuanpei yu Beida [Rethink Cai Yuanpei and the Beijing University]* (Beijing: Social and Science Academic Press, 2017).

<sup>490</sup> The other three university presidents were: Zhou Songsheng (周頌聲, 1879-1964) of Beijing Medical College (北京醫專), Yu Tongkui (俞同奎, 1876-1962) of Beijing Industrial College (北京工專), and Zheng Jin (鄭錦, 1883-1959) of Beijing Arts College (北京美專). 'Xiaozhang baogao cizhi qingxing [The President's Report on the Resignation]' in *PTCWW*, No. 17, (January 25, 1923), 1-2; 'Nüzi daxue choubei weiyuanhui chengli hui [The Establishing Meeting of the Board of Preparation for Women's University],' *PTCWW*, No.35, (June 3, 1923), 5.

<sup>491</sup> "Beijing nüzi gaodeng shifan xuexiao tianshe nüzi daxue yuke yuanqi ji zhaosheng jianzhang [The Reason of Establishing the Preparation Course for Beijing Women's University and General Regulations on Recruiting Students]," *PTCWW*, no.38, (June 24, 1923), 6-8. The Preparation Department altogether enrolled 25 new students during the summer of 1923. "Students Enrolled in Our new Preparation Department," *PTCWW*, no.41, (October 21, 1923), 3.

<sup>492</sup> "Beijing nügaoshi jinwen [Recent situation of Beijing Teachers College for Women]," *Xinwen bao [Shanghai News Daily]*, (July 19, 1923), 3; "Nügaoshi xuesheng zizhihui quanti qishi [The Manifesto of the Self-Governing Committee of Beijing Teachers College for Women]," *Chenbao [Beijing Morning Post]*, (August 4, 1923).

schools which made some institutions virtually ungovernable.<sup>493</sup> In his resignation letter, he observed that student nationalism was used by political parties in their power and financial struggles:

‘Some people are taking revenge, making up evidence, mixing up black and white, stirring up facts. [They] even instigate students and used the name the ‘Students’ Self-governing Society’ to make two manifestos.

...They were fulfilling their own interests with grandiose reasons. I am extremely sad.’<sup>494</sup>

The Students’ Self-governing Society (*xuesheng zizhi hui* 學生自治會), mentioned by Xu Shoushang, would later play a leading role in the Anti-Yang Movement. The concept of ‘students’ self-governing societies’ first came into being in the anti-Manchu revolutions in the late Qing era. Although the meaning of ‘self-governing’ was still informed by the context of Confucian ideology ‘self-examination’ (*zixing* 自省) and ‘self-cultivation’ (*ziwo xiushen* 自我修身) in the early 1900s, these societies were promoted by late Qing revolutionaries as a step towards a Westernised conception of people’s political right to autonomy (*zizhi quan* 自治權).<sup>495</sup> The functions and meanings of these societies were popularised after the success of Xinhai Revolution, and developed from self-examination towards participating school decisions and public affairs.<sup>496</sup>

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<sup>493</sup> Lou, “Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nüshida fengchao,” 105; He, *Xin jiaoyu, xin nüxing*, 155-164.

<sup>494</sup> Xu Shoushang’s original words were written in classic verse: ‘少數人挾私泄憤，捏造事實，顛倒黑白，淆惑視聽，甚至鼓動學生妄加汙蔑，用學生自治會名義發布兩次宣言，誠不足以動人，信不足以孚衆。自謂待人不欺，而反受人之詐，處事以公而轉毀之曰私，疾首疚心，莫此爲甚。’ According to Lu Jiande’s research, Xu Shoushang might have conflict with some staff over salaries, and diverging views on how best to distribute the Russian Indemnity. Lu, “Xiaozhang yu e’guo gengkuan de fenpei.”

<sup>495</sup> In 1903, news reports showed that a student self-governing society had been established in a new school called Wuyi Study Hall (*wuyi xuetaang* 務義學堂) in Shanghai. According to its regulations, the duties of the society were to foster students with the habit of checking mistakes [*renguo* 認過], being incorruptible [*qinglian* 清廉], and being diligent [*jingqin* 精勤]. In 1905, when Duanfang, then acting as the Governor of Hunan who was of Manchu origin, tried to restrict the self-governing societies in local study halls, *Xing Shi* (*Awakened Lion* 醒獅), a pioneering revolutionary periodical based in Japan, urged Hunan people to fight back. “Xuesheng zizhi [Self-governing of Students],” *Zhejiang baihua bao* [*Zhejiang Vernacular Magazine*], no. 68, (1903): 3; “Xuesheng zizhi yi hou zui hu [How can students’ self-governing be guilty],” *Xing shi* [*Awakened Lion*], no.1, (1905): 147-148.

<sup>496</sup> In 1913, Zhili Education issued an article, urging that the duties of students’ self-governing societies should not be limited to self-examination, but should expand to social affairs. “Tichang xuesheng zizhili [Students’ ability of self-governing should be advocated],” *Zhili jiaoyujie* [*Academia of Zhili*], no.2, (1913): 35-40.

After the events of May Fourth 1919, students' self-governing societies mushroomed in most colleges and universities, and the range of their power expanded far beyond 'self-governance'. The Students' Self-governing Society of Beijing Teachers College for Women was founded in December 1919, aiming to allow students to 'help each other in promoting individual abilities and school development.' It consisted of three departments: Appraisal (*pingyi bu* 評議部), Operation (*ganshi bu* 幹事部) and Examination (*jiucha bu* 糾察部).<sup>497</sup> At the time of its establishment and thereafter, almost every student in the college joined in the Society (Figure 26).<sup>498</sup> According to the students' discussions published in the college periodical, the meaning of self-government was: 'to govern the school on the willingness of students, and make the life of the school coherent to the society.'<sup>499</sup> From here, the idea of students' self-governing had transformed from a traditional notion of self-improvement into a definite channel of conveying the will of the students, and exercising great influence on school decisions.

Xu Shoushang's resignation was approved by the Ministry in February 1924, and Yang Yinyu was nominated as the new president. News reports at the time showed that Yang Yinyu was 'hesitant' and 'dared not take the position' until late March of 1924 because of the ongoing student protests against Xu.<sup>500</sup> According to a report in *Academic (Lamp Xuedeng 學燈)*, Yang Yinyu was very popular among students before she went to the US, so now the students all welcomed her return and 'agreed' to her appointment as the president.<sup>501</sup>

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<sup>497</sup> "Nügaoshi bannian lai zhi xuesheng jihui [Students' Assembly of Beijing Teachers College for Women in the Recent Half Year]," *Shen Bao [Shanghai Daily]*, (March 17, 1920): 6-7.

<sup>498</sup> Lou, 'Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nüshida fengchao', 107.

<sup>499</sup> Wang Shiyong, 'Xuesheng zizhi [Students' self-government],' *Nügaoshi wenyi huikan [Literature and Arts of the Beijing Teachers College for Women]*, vol.1, no.2, (1919): 32-33.

<sup>500</sup> "Beijing nügaoshi xiaozhang zhi jiren renwu [The Successors of the President of Beijing Teachers College for Women]," *Xinwen bao [Shanghai News Daily]*, (February 22, 1924), 5; "Nügaoshi xiaozhang bugan jiuzhi [The President of Beijing Teachers College for Women does not Dare to Take the Position]," *Xinwen bao [Shanghai News Daily]*, (March 30, 1924), 5.

<sup>501</sup> "Nügaoshi huanying Yang nüshi [Beijing Teachers College for Women Welcomes the Return of Miss Yang]," *Xuedeng [Academic Lamp]* 7, no.21, (1923).



### Yang Yinyu's Reforms and Dilemmas

After receiving the acknowledgement from the students, Yang Yinyu took over the college and began her reforms. However, Yang soon met a strong opposition from the staff, which was caused by two problems— financial distribution and power imbalance. On March 9, 1924, Ministry of Education established the first committee of the General Board of Beijing Teachers College for Women (*nügaoshi dongshihui* 女高師董事會), in order to plan the distribution of the Boxer Indemnity returned by Russia.<sup>502</sup> The establishment of general boards in universities was recently introduced by the new Minister of Education Zhang Guogan (張國淦, 1876-1959), a former aide of Yuan Shikai, in early 1924. As a common organisation in American universities, the general board was added into Chinese universities under the Renxu system, in order to deal with financial affairs, especially for those national universities who received financial support directly from the Ministry of Education.<sup>503</sup> According to the new decree,

‘Every national university must have a general board, which is responsible for ‘planning the development of the university, and discussing the budget and auditing. First, the university president is the chair; Second, the Ministry of Education will directly appoint staff of the Ministry as board members [*bupai dongshi* 部派董事]; Third, the board can also appoint members [*pinren dongshi* 聘任董事] by itself, but it needs to apply to Minister of Education for approval.’<sup>504</sup>

Thus, Yang Yinyu became the chief director of the General Board when she was appointed as the president. Apart from her, the members of the board included renowned statesmen and educators Liang Qichao, Tan lisun (談荔孫, 1880-1933), Wang Zhanghu (王章祐, 1878-?), Mao Bangwei (毛

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<sup>502</sup> For more information on the return of the Russia Boxer Indemnity, see: Li Jiagu, “Beiyang zhengfu yu sulian guanyu tuihuan e’guo gengkuan de jiaoshe [The negotiation of Beiyang government and Russia on the Return of Boxer Indemnity],” *Jindaishi yanjiu* (*Modern Chinese History Studies*), No.5, (1991): 160-168.

<sup>503</sup> As historian Liu Runtao argued, the addition of the General Board was one of the main features that marked a transition of Chinese modern educational system from the German model to the American style. Liu, “Nüshida fengchao qianye de mouji mouxi”, 78.

<sup>504</sup> Liu, “Nüshida fengchao qianye de mouji mouxi”, 77.

邦偉, 1873-1928), Xiong-Zhu Qihui (熊朱其慧, 1876-1930), Huang-Shen Jingying (黃沈景英, birth and death dates unknown), Ministry chief official Chen Baoquan and auditor Shen Buzhou (沈步洲, birth and death dates unknown).<sup>505</sup> However, its establishment undermined the existing power structure within the college, namely the Council (*pingyi hui* 評議會), which would become part of the reason why many of the staff later supported the students in the anti-Yang movement.

In order to understand the function of the Council and its role in the conflict between Yang and the staff as well as its importance in the anti-Yang movement, the administrative system of a university or college needs to be briefly explained here. In October 1912, Minister of Education Cai Yuanpei, who aimed to promote a modern German-style school system, advocated the establishment of Councils among colleges and universities in the *Decree on Universities (daxue ling 大學令)*.<sup>506</sup> According to the Decree,

‘Each university has one president, who is responsible for all affairs of the school. Each department has one director, who was responsible for the management of the affairs of the department. Each university should also have a Council, which directors of departments and all professors could select with election.’<sup>507</sup>

Cai then updated the *Amended Council Regulations (pingyihui guize xiuzheng’an 評議會規則修正案)* in 1920, which promoted Councils to be the most powerful and authoritative organs in universities.<sup>508</sup> Thus, apart from the Ministry of Education which had legal right to govern affiliated national schools, Councils were responsible for the most important decisions and management in colleges and universities, together with presidents, in order to balance the power of the presidents.

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<sup>505</sup> “Decree of Ministry of Education,” *PTCWW*, no.57, (March 9, 1924), 1.

<sup>506</sup> Cai Yuanpei, “Jiaoyubu gongbu daxue ling [The Ministry of Education Issued the Decree of Universities,” *Zhonghua jiaoyujie [China’s Education]*, (October 24, 1912): 29-31, edited in *GDJY* (1993), 367-368.

<sup>507</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>508</sup> The original decree was issued by Cai in his reform in Peking University: *Regulations and Preparation of Council of Beijing University [Zhiling Beijing Daxue Gaixiao Pingyihui Janzhang 指令北京大學該校評議會簡章]* in 1917.

Even if the college or university was to be run in a circumstance without a president, the Council was to be the sole organisation that maintained the school affairs. In December 1923 during Xu's absence, at which time the College was in great shortage of professors and teachers, for example, Yang Yinyu was directly invited by the Council to be a professor of English.<sup>509</sup>

On March 21, 1924, promptly after the announcement of the establishment of the General Board, the Council issued a declaration on the school periodical, urging Yang Yinyu to raise its opposition to the Ministry:

'To the President:

The Ministry of Education has now changed the regulations and set up a Board for the school, but it did not contact the Council beforehand. The staff of the school have not heard about it either. Its responsibilities and power are especially incompatible to us.

We had a meeting on March 19, and decided not to recognise this Board. Please pass on our decision to the Ministry of Education and ask it to cancel it as quick as possible.

The Council'<sup>510</sup>

At the same time, 30 professors in the college jointly signed a manifesto, making it clear that they were also objected to the new Board, though they continued to recognise Yang as the president.<sup>511</sup> The manifesto read:

'Miss Yang Yinyu has studied in both Japan and United States, and she is now governing the school as a female president. It is a good decision [*rendi liangyi* 人地兩宜].

However, the Ministry of Education has now arbitrarily established a Board in the school, and some so-called "members" are in charge of planning and decisions.

The school is directly governed by the Ministry, so the Ministry is obliged to solve the financial problem. As to the school affairs, we have the president and the Council, as well as chief directors of departments.

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<sup>509</sup> "Zhi Yang Yinyu xiansheng han [To Miss Yang Yinyu]," *PTCWW*, no.46, (December 2, 1923), 3.

<sup>510</sup> "Pingyi hui zhi xiaozhang han [A letter from the Council to the President]," *PTCWW*, No.60, (March 30, 1924), 3.

<sup>511</sup> "Guoli Beijing nüzi gaodeng shifan xuexiao jiaoyuan xuanyan [The Manifesto of Beijing Teachers College for Women]," *PTCWW*, no.60, (March 30, 1924), 4.

Now suddenly irrelevant people come to take charge of the school's important affairs, it looks like support but in fact is a manipulation...

It is contravening the independence of education. We cannot be silent, thus make this manifest and reject the Board.<sup>512</sup>

Among the 30 signed professors, at least 14 were at the time part-time professors from Peking University, who had just made a resolution to boycott the General Board created by the Ministry in their own university.<sup>513</sup> 7 out of the 14 professors, Li Taifen (李泰棻 1896-1972), Ma Yuzao (馬裕藻, 1878-1945), Qian Xuanton (錢玄同, 1887-1939), Li Jinxi (黎錦熙, 1890-1978), Shen Yinmo (沈尹默, 1883-1971) and his brother Shen Jianshi (沈兼士, 1887-1947) would later join the anti-Yang movement. The 'important school affairs' mentioned by the staff, was that they hoped to use the new Russian Boxer Indemnity fund, which was now in the hands of the Ministry, to meet shortages in relation to both staff salaries and school maintenance. From the manifesto above, we can learn that the professors regarded that the Ministry should solve the financial issue by distributing the fund, but the arrangement on how to use it should be made by the Council as well as the president internally. Apparently, the new Board undermined the original position of the Council, and challenged the expectations of the protesting professors.

The 'political manipulation' perceived by the professors and protested against in the manifesto, probably came from the constitutionalist background of the politicians and educators in the board—Liang Qichao was then the main leader of the *Yanjiu* faction (*yanjiu xi* 研究系), which was a part of the Progressive Party (*jinbu dang* 進步黨) established in 1913.<sup>514</sup> Xiong-Zhu Qihui, was the wife of

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<sup>512</sup> Ibid., 4.

<sup>513</sup> Liu, 'Nüshida fengchao qianye de mouji mouxi', 78-79.

<sup>514</sup> For the development of political parties after 1912, see "The Struggle between the Kuomintang and the Peiyang Military Clique" chapter in Li Chien-nung, trans. by Ssu-Yu Teng and Jeremy Ingalls, *The Political History of China 1840-1928* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., 1956), 274-303.

another *Yanjiu* leader and former Minister of Finance Xiong Xiling (熊希齡, 1870-1937); Huang-Shen Jingying was the wife of the newly-appointed Minister of Education Huang Fu. As discussed in Chapter I, during the early 1900s when the Qing reformers were searching for an ideal political mode during institutional reforms, Liang Qichao introduced constitutionalism and this idea was shared by many intellectuals and even revolutionary activists including Yang Yinyu's brother Yang Yinhang. However, in 1911 the Qing court was overturned in the Xinhai Revolutions, and in the newly-established Republican government, members from revolutionary parties, including Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party, dwarfed the number of politicians of constitutional background. Especially after Yuan Shikai's failed attempt to restore a constitutional monarchy in 1916, constitutionalism was seen as an outdated idea by people who supported revolutions. Obviously, Yang Yinyu was now in the middle of a conflict not only over the distribution of the windfall of funds from the Russian Boxer Indemnity, but also a power struggle between constitutionalists and professors of Peking University who had backgrounds in the Nationalist Party. However, instead of supporting either the Ministry or the Council, Yang Yinyu as the president formed a new 'Special Council' (*teshu pingyihui* 特殊評議會). Yang believed that apart from members from the Ministry and the university staff, the special Council should include directors of affiliated primary and middle schools. Yang's accusers would later call this decision 'improper' and the new Council was be criticised by her opponents as her 'own council' (*yuyong* 御用).<sup>515</sup>

Yang's Special Council might have stemmed from her beliefs in the need to develop affiliated primary and middle schools under the Renxu system. After the educational reform of 1922, which emphasised the leading role of universities in the institutional system, universities became a vital channel to promote fundamental education through their affiliated primary and middle schools. Thus, when Yang

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<sup>515</sup> Wan yu, "Nüshida fengchao jishi [The Movement of Teachers University for Women]," *Funü zhoukan [Women's Weekly]*, no. 36, (1925):3-5.

was upgrading the college, she paid specific attention to the newly-added affiliated high-level middle school, which required an additional budget.<sup>516</sup> According to the published financial report of the college, it was responsible for the budgets of all its affiliated schools including the affiliated primary, middle, and kindergarten.<sup>517</sup> Thus, Yang convened the ‘Special Council’ in order to ensure people from the new chain of affiliated schools would participate in decision-making processes.<sup>518</sup> However, no matter out of what reasons, the staff would not compromise. In the climate of the ongoing struggle for influence between the Council, the Board and the Ministry, the university’s staff would not agree to any dilution of their power.

On April 27, 1924, Yang formally put a plan forward to Ministry of Education to upgrade the College.<sup>519</sup> However, one day later, another 15 teachers jointly resigned and declared that they ‘could not cooperate with Miss Yang’.<sup>520</sup> During April and May, many staff members left the university.<sup>521</sup> The proposal was finally authorised by the Ministry in July, and the college was renamed Beijing Teachers University for Women (*guoli Beijing nüzi shifan daxue* 國立北京女子師範大學). Nevertheless, due to the crisis of Council and Board, whether the University could survive was in

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<sup>516</sup> “Gaoji zhongxue choubei weiyuanhui yishi lu [Memo of the Preparation Board of High School],” *PTCWW*, no. 71, (June 15, 1924), 3.

<sup>517</sup> “Baogao shu [Financial Report],” *PTCWW*, no. 65, (May 4, 1924), 1.

<sup>518</sup> The original system was: affiliated kindergarten- affiliated primary school- affiliated middle school- Beijing Teachers College for Women. Because of the upgrading of the College, the new system became: affiliated kindergarten- affiliated primary school- affiliated lower-level middle school- affiliated high-level middle school- Beijing Women’s Normal University.

<sup>519</sup> ‘Chen jiaoyu bu wei ni jiang benxiao gaiban nüzi shifan daxuexiao qingyu zhaozhun you [Proposal to the Ministry of Education: Upgrade the College into Teachers University for Women]’ in *PTCWW*, no. 64, (April 27, 1924): 1.

<sup>520</sup> The manifesto of the 15 staff members was recorded in Wan Yu, “Nüshida fengchao jishi”, 2. The 15 teachers were not the same as those 30 who made the previous manifesto in March, and largely not specialists but unknown members such as the director of publishing Hou Ruzhu, and teacher of physical education Yang Juwu.

<sup>521</sup> The issues of no. 65 and 67 of the *PTCWW* published Yang’s letters to the resigning teachers.

doubt. During the three months in the summer of 1924, Yang Yinyu had to visit various professors, including Lu Xun, and asked them to stay or come to serve in the new university.<sup>522</sup>

## Summary

This chapter have explored the experience of Yang Yinyu during the late 1910s and early 1920s and her own educational ideologies, which has long been buried and even twisted. In contrast to the current literature that regards her as an arbitrary conservative, it shows that Yang was, in many ways, a progressive educator. As discussed above, Yang Yinyu played a vivid role in the network of Chinese educators in Columbia University, and she was also supportive in encouraging her students to take more social responsibilities, including teaching the mass public with *zhuyin zimu*. Her educational ideologies lay in children's education in primary and middle-school level, physical education, as well as sex education. As a patriotic educator with strong sense of responsibility, Yang Yinyu should not be understood merely from the perspective of her opponents. Yang also presented a degree of conservativeness through her emphasis on moral education. However, this conservativeness was by no means an expression of her desire for feudal dictatorship, but rather a part of her efforts to instill an appreciation of the need for professionalism in being an educator. Despite being in an environment of New Culture Movement where 'morality' was considered as an outdated anachronism, her emphasis on teachers' morality was echoed by many educators including Yan Yangchu, Wang Maozu and Chen Baoquan. It demonstrated that there was considerable scope for people to hold differing views on morality during the May Fourth period depending on their own standing-points.

Yang Yinyu's reform on Beijing Teachers College for Women was a typical case in demonstrating the difficulties caused to professional educators deriving from the political environment of Chinese

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<sup>522</sup> "Beijing nügaoshi fengchao pingxi [The Protest in Beijing Teachers College for Women has settled down]," *Shenbao: jiaoyu yu rensheng zhouban* [Education and Life Weekly of Shenbao], no.36, (1924): 440.

Lu Xun's diary in this period of time recorded that Yang Yinyu and Xue Xiezhi, the chief administrator, visited him in person with an invitation. Liu, "Nüshida fengchao qianye de mouji mouxi", 80.

academia at the time. The educational reform in 1922 not only brought about ideological changes based on Dewey's theory but also created institutional conflicts in the existing structure within schools. These internal conflicts were catalysed and fuelled by political struggles among political factions with competing claims over sources of financial support, thus educators in the early Republican era hardly could realise their reforming agenda. In addition, as shown in the case of Yang's predecessor Xu Shoushang, students' self-governing societies were enlivened after May Fourth 1919, and their protests against university presidents were beginning to be used by political parties in power struggles.

The new Beijing Teachers University for Women was finally reopened, and had its opening ceremony on September 22, 1924.<sup>523</sup> It at the time was the sole and highest national women's university, and Yang remained the president, the first female university president in Chinese history.<sup>524</sup> As has been shown above, Yang aimed to develop the university as a base for professional teachers, and wished to further develop affiliated primary and middle schools. However, her agenda would be soon overwhelmed by the anti-Yang movement.

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<sup>523</sup> L. C. Y., "Benxiao chengli dianli jishi [The Opening Ceremony of Our University]," *PNTCWW*, no. 77, (September 28, 1924): 1.

<sup>524</sup> "Hanping Yang Yinyu wei Beijing nüzi shifan daxue xiaozhang [Appointing Yang Yinyu as the President of the Beijing Teachers University for Women]," *Jiaoyu gongbao [Education Gazette]*, no.349, (August 1, 1924), 15.



## **Chapter IV: The Movement to Expel Yang**

Student Radicalism, Feminism and Political Struggles, 1924-1926

### **Introduction**

In September 1924, Beijing Teachers University for Women began the new term in a difficult political and financial environment. Two months later, a few students started to protest against Yang Yinyu and oppose her decision in dismissing several students who did not return to school on time at the start of term.<sup>525</sup> This protest, initially confined to only a few students in the Student Self-governing Society, became a movement called Movement to Expel Yang (*quyang yundong* 驅楊運動) in January 1925. It triggered disputes and battles among students, university staff including Lu Xun, political parties, intellectuals, and educators throughout the year. This student movement, in both Chinese and English academia, has long been seen as a key moment in the development of students' autonomy, as well as their revolutionary and feminist successes. For example, in *History of Beijing Teachers University* published in 1982, Chinese historians define this movement as 'a fierce battle of revolutionary intellectuals and students against the feudal forces in Beijing'.<sup>526</sup> Whereas Lu Xun, Xu Guangping and the other student activists represented the 'revolutionary intellectuals and students', Yang Yinyu and Zhang Shizhao were characterised as representatives of 'feudal forces'. As mentioned in the beginning of this thesis, this interpretation has been adopted in the standard textbook in China from the 1980s until the present. In the English language scholarship, the movement has been often raised as a typical example of students' efforts to protect academic freedom in the history of Chinese feminism.<sup>527</sup> The *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, for instance, defines Xu Guangping as a pioneer of

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<sup>525</sup> Chen Shuyu, "Nüshida Shisheng Yuanhe Fandui Yang Yinyu [Why did the students of Beijing Teachers University for Women protest against Yang Yinyu]," *Lu Xun Yanjiu Yuekan* [*Lu Xun Studies Monthly*], no.6, (2015): 31-34.

<sup>526</sup> Xiaoshi bianxiezu [Compiling Commission of University History], *Beijing shifan daxue xiaoshi* [*History of Beijing Teachers University*] (Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe [Beijing Teachers University Press], 1982), 75.

<sup>527</sup> Yuxin Ma, *Women Journalists and Feminism in China, 1898-1937* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2010).

feminist revolution, and describes Yang Yinyu in the footnote as ‘a conservative who supported warlord government and opposed the May Fourth Movement.’<sup>528</sup>

Recent articles by Chinese scholars Lu Jiande and Lou Aofei, as discussed before, have significantly reexamined the political manipulation in the student movement.<sup>529</sup> However, although they wish to reappraise Yang Yinyu’s own voice, their discussions on her are restricted in one piece of Yang Yinyu’s announcement published in 1925 due to limited archival sources. Furthermore, they have not discussed the internal complexity of students’ claims, and why the students’ nationalism was radicalised and being easily exploited, nor have they evaluated the historical meaning of this anti-president movement in modern Chinese education.

Drawn on the works by Lu Jiande and Lou Aofei and various new archival sources, this chapter provides the first full reevaluation of this significant student movement. It particularly sheds light on the voices of Yang Yinyu, the students who did not wish to participate the movement, and the educators, in order to reinterpret what did the movement mean for education, and demonstrates the intersection of transnational experiences, feminism and politics in education. Historians largely have not demonstrated the linear development of the movement, but this chapter divides the movement into three stages, and draws a more sophisticated picture to present how a protest within small number of students finally was expanded into a large-scale movement. This chapter argues that it is oversimplified to define this movement as an antagonistic confrontation between ‘revolutionary’ and ‘feudal’ forces. As it will show, the movement presented a rise of individualism rather than a practice of democracy or a development of Republicanism; a manipulation of the discourse of feminism rather

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<sup>528</sup> Chiu-ye Cheung, “Xu Guangping” in Lee, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, 602.

<sup>529</sup> Lu Jiande, “Xiaozhang yu eguo gengkuan de fenpei [University Presidents and the Disputes of Russian Boxer Indemnity],” *Dongfang zaobao [Oriental Morning Post]*, (September 13, 2015); Lou Aofei, “Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nüshida fengchao [A Revisit to Yang Yinyu and the Student Movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women],” *Jiaoyu xuebao (Journal of Educational Studies)* 11, no.2, (April, 2015): 104-115.

than a practice of feminism; and a victory of political intervention rather than the students' glory in protecting academic independence. In summary, if examined in the perspective of modern Chinese education, the movement in fact hindered the educational development in producing qualified school teachers, and cut off an important career path for female students.

### *Political Background of Chinese Academia 1924-1926*

A brief discussion of the political background of Chinese academia between 1924 to 1926 here is necessary for us to better understand the social context of the anti-Yang movement. It also explains the reasons why current literature of student movements often focus on the political side rather than the perspectives of educators and students. In the period of late 1924 to early 1926, which the anti-Yang movement covered, China witnessed internal turmoil. Factional battles intensified among Beiyang cliques, and the Nationalist Party (Kuomintang or KMT) launched the 'nationalist revolution' (*guomin geming* 國民革命), in time cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) under a United Front policy (*guogong hezuo* 國共合作). The anti-Yang movement cannot be examined without this political background because political campaigns at the time permeated the whole process.

The student protest started during the Jiang-Zhe Battle (*Jiang Zhe zhanzheng* 江浙戰爭). It was a battle between Jiangsu Military Governor Qi Xieyuan (齊燮元, 1885-1946) and Governor Lu Yongxiang's (盧永祥, 1867-1933) of Zhejiang, who respectively belonged to Cao Kun's Zhili Clique (曹錕, 1862-1938, *zhi xi* 直系), and Duan Qirui's Anhui Clique (段祺瑞, 1865-1936, *wan xi* 皖系), which lasted from September 3 to October 13, 1924.<sup>530</sup> The complicated political struggles among the Zhi, Wan, and Feng cliques (*feng xi* 奉系) caused not only war damage all over the country, but also

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<sup>530</sup> Li, *The Political History of China*, 468-470. The battle was on a controversy over the territory of Songjiang and Shanghai, and was a part of the Zhi-Feng War (*Zhi Feng zhanzheng* 直奉戰爭) which started from 1922. For the power struggles between Zhi and Feng Cliques, see 'The Sequence of Power Struggles,' chapter in Lucian W. Pye, *Warlord Politics: Conflict and Coalition in the Modernisation of Republican China* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971), 13-38.

stirred peoples' wide discontent towards warlordism.<sup>531</sup> Yang Yinyu would later be characterised as a 'running dog' of Duan Qirui during his reign from late 1924 to early 1926.

During the Jiang-Zhe battle, Huang Fu (黃郛, 1880-1936) of the Zhi Clique served a short term as Prime Minister, and at the same time the Minister of Education.<sup>532</sup> News reports showed that Huang was expected by educators to solve two problems—to sort out universities' financial resources and to end the prevalent student protests, and Huang promised to do so.<sup>533</sup> As shown in the previous chapter, the two problems had been educators' main concerns since the late 1910s. However, the wars and battles expended substantial costs. In September 1924, presidents from eight national universities (*guoli baxiao* 國立八校) in Beijing, including Yang Yinyu, jointly telegraphed Huang Fu, and again asked for support. Huang promised that he would soon respond to the issue, but asked the university presidents to maintain the colleges by themselves for two months.<sup>534</sup> In November the financial crisis finally was temporarily eased because Huang Fu agreed to distribute part of the Russian Indemnity in

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<sup>531</sup> In 1923, after the Zhi Clique won the first Zhi-Feng War, Cao Kun drove Li Yuanhong (黎元洪, 1864-1928) away from office in June and claimed the Presidency on October 6, 1923. Cao Kun stayed in office for one year, though he was widely criticised for bribing his cabinet (Cao Kun *hui xuan* 曹錕賄選). In October 1924, although the Zhi Clique won the second Zhi-Feng Battle, Cao Kun was defeated by General Feng Yuxiang (馮玉祥, 1882-1948) from his own clique, which is known as Beijing Coup (*Beijing zhengbian* 北京政變). Feng imprisoned Cao Kun and exiled Wu Peifu (吳佩孚, 1874-1939), the leader of Zhi Clique after Cao, and turned to support Sun Yat-sen's Nationalist Party and Zhang Zuoling's Feng Clique. Feng Yuxiang's coup directly contributed to Sun Yat-sen's decision to launch the Northern Expedition. 'Launching the Northern Expedition: Reasons and Results', chapter in F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949* (Port Washington, N. Y., 1955), 25-35.

<sup>532</sup> Huang was a follower of Feng Yuxiang. After the Beijing Coup, Huang constructed a temporary cabinet (*Huang Fu neige* 黃郛內閣, October 31-November 24, 1924) before Duan Qirui became the Prime Minister. "Dazongtong ling: te ren Huang Fu jian dai guowu zongli ci ling [President's Decree: Appointing Huang Fu as the Prime Minister]," *Jiangsu jiaoyu gongbao* [*Jiangsu Educational Gazette*], (October 30, 1924): 1.

<sup>533</sup> "Huang Fu dui jing baojie biaoshi yu zhengdun xuefeng [Huang Fu said to the Press that he wanted to Regulate Students' Movements]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (January 12, 1924): 19; "Huang Fu jiuzhi hou zhi jingshi jiaoyu [The Beijing Academia in Huang Fu's Term]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (September 29, 1924): 7.

<sup>534</sup> "Ba xiao jiaozhiyuan dui Huang Fu zhi biaoshi [Attitudes of the Staff in Eight National Colleges to Huang Fu]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (October 11, 1924): 4. The news reported: 'Now the government is busy with battles, and unable to raise funds for education. [Many colleges] have to be suspended or closed. Academia is now propelling the establishment of the Special Board of Russian Indemnity, and on the other hand, [the staff] hope the Minister Huang Fu can quickly solve the students' movements in colleges.'

advance.<sup>535</sup> Thus, the two months between September to November 1924 was a tough period for Yang to maintain the university.<sup>536</sup>

After the victory of Wan Clique in October, Sun Yat-sen, the leader of Nationalist government based in southern Chinese province of Guangdong, issued the *Declaration of Northern Expedition (Beishang Xuanyan 北上宣言)*, making clear the Nationalist Party's determination to erase the dual enemies of China—warlordism (*junfa zhuyi 軍閥主義*) and imperialism (*diguo zhuyi 帝國主義*). In March 1925, however, Sun Yat-sen died, and the party fell into a leaderless dilemma and a period of reorganisation, in which time Sun's follower Chiang Kai-shek, the head of Whampoa Military Academy (*guangpu junxiao 黃埔軍校*) rose to power. The outbreak of the May Thirtieth Incident (*wusa can'an 五卅慘案*) in Shanghai further stimulated outraged nationalism nationwide. Both the death of Sun Yat-sen and the May Thirtieth Incident were actively echoed by students in Beijing, who led anti-government demonstrations, and the anti-Yang movement became a part of it. All of these incidents contributed to the victory of the Nationalist Party and the establishment of its new regime in 1927.

### Existing Literature

Through a detailed analysis of the various players in the movement, the chapter contributes to three fields of studies, which are inter-related with each other in the case of anti-Yang movement. The first is the studies on the student movements and student radicalisation during the 1920s to 1940s. One emphasis is on the political party-students relations in the schools and campaigns based in areas of

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<sup>535</sup> According to the news report, the fund of Russian Indemnity was originally designed to be distributed monthly from January 1924 until April 1925. However, Huang decided to distribute all shares of the remaining four months in advance, so as to make up the financial shortage and maintain the running of the eight national colleges. The presidents of eight national universities were 'Jiang Menglin of Beijing University, Jiang Yong of Law University, Zhang Huanwen of Medical University, Yang Yinyu of Beijing Teachers University for Women, Wang Jixu of Industry University, Chen Tingling of Arts College, Zha Liangzhao of Beijing Teachers University.' "Jing jiaoyu fei yu jiaoyu bufei zhi xiao jue: Huang Fu yu ba xiao xiaozhang jian zhi ganqing gehe [Struggles of the Finance of Beijing Education: Discord between Huang Fu and Eight University Presidents]," *Xinwen bao [Shanghai News Daily]*, (November 16, 1924): 4.

<sup>536</sup> According to the university bulletin, Huang Fu committed to solving the budgets of the universities, but the 'business of the senior middle school should better be suspended until peaceful time'. Huang Fu, 'Jiaoyu bu zhiling [Decree of Ministry of Education],' *PNTCWW*, no. 79, (October 12, 1924): 1.

South China, especially the revolutionary centre Guangdong in the period from the initiation of Northern Expedition to the 1940s. Lincoln Li, for example, examines how the KMT and the CCP captured the political mood of young students and organised student nationalism into tangible political forces during 1924 to 1949.<sup>537</sup> Li's focus is on two typical military and political training schools of either party—the Whampoa Military Academy in Guangdong, and Xi'nan Associated University (*xi'nan lianhe daxue* 西南聯合大學) in Yunnan. Christina Gilmartin also focuses on the revolutionary camp in Guangdong, but from a feminist perspective centred on the Women's Mobilisation Campaign led by female Nationalist He Xiangning (何香凝, 1878-1972).<sup>538</sup> The anti-Yang movement, however, reflected how the student protest in a non-political or military school in North China echoed the call of revolution in the South.

Another emphasis is about the political activities of students. Robert Culp's recent monograph *Articulating Citizenship*, for example, discusses how the students' self-governing societies of secondary schools in the lower Yangzi area (also in South China) 'ran self-governing societies to act out democracy' and their activities showed signs of an emerging republicanism.<sup>539</sup> The Student Self-governing Society which led the anti-Yang movement, however, showed a different pattern of students' political activities. It showed students' ambivalence towards the idea of democracy, and that individualism actually overwhelmed republicanism. As this chapter shows, students were aware of the democratic procedures of the society, however, plans and decisions were carried not on the views of the majority of students, but according to the will of Xu Guangping and several other student leaders.

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<sup>537</sup> Lincoln Li, *Student Nationalism in China, 1924-1949* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994), 4.

<sup>538</sup> Christina K. Gilmartin, "Gender, Political Culture and Women's Mobilisation in the Chinese Nationalist Revolution, 1924-1927," chapter in Christina K. Gilmartin, at al. ed. *Engendering China: Women, Culture, and the State* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), 196-225.

<sup>539</sup> Robert Culp, *Articulating Citizenship: Civic Education and Student Politics in Southeastern China, 1912-1940* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2007).

In terms of the political exploitation of the student nationalism, two fundamental works are John Israel's monograph *Student Nationalism in China 1927-1937*, and Lü Fangshang's work *From Student Movement to Mobilising Students*.<sup>540</sup> Both Israel and Lü delineate how the political parties involved made use of outraged post-May Fourth student nationalism.<sup>541</sup> However, they have not explained the internal complexity of students' understandings and definitions of 'conservative' and 'progressive' in relation to their foreign-returned teachers.<sup>542</sup>

This internal complexity of students' perceptions towards their Westernised teachers is related to the second field of studies: the transnational experiences of the foreign-trained intellectuals and their roles in China's modernisation. As discussed in the previous chapter, in the early 1920s, American-trained educators played the leading role in educational reforms. However, during the student movements of the mid-1920s, Yang Yinyu and many foreign-trained educators were regarded as 'traitors' in the political campaign of anti-imperialism because of their foreign background. As mentioned in the Introduction, this labelling of these Western-returned Chinese intellectuals has been discussed in Ye Weili's pioneering work *Seeking Modernity in China's Name* and Stacey Bieler's monograph *Patriots or Traitors*.<sup>543</sup> Both studies demonstrate the pivotal roles that American-trained intellectuals played in developing western-style urban culture in the 1920s to 1940s.<sup>544</sup> Bieler's studies particularly show

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<sup>540</sup> John Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937* (California: Stanford University Press, 1966); Lü Fangshang, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng 1919-1929 [From Student Movement to Mobilising Students]* (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1994).

<sup>541</sup> While Israel particularly focuses on the political mobilisation of the Nationalist Party in preparing for the War of Resistance against Japan after 1927 [this is a bit unclear – say when the war started not when preparations began], Lü emphasises on the period of 1924 to 1927 when the Nationalist Party successfully turned itself into a political power to realise their revolutionary cause before its regime began.

<sup>542</sup> Lü Fangshang adopts the usual interpretation on the anti-Yang movement, and recognises it as a movement between 'conservative' Yang Yinyu and 'progressive female students' who belonged to the 'new women' of the May Fourth generation.

<sup>543</sup> Weili Ye, *Seeking Modernity in China's Name: Chinese Students in the United States, 1900-1927* (Stanford: Stanford University, 2001); Stacey Bieler, *Patriots or Traitors: A History of American Educated Chinese Students* (Florence: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>544</sup> Bieler uses 16 American-educated intellectuals in republican era, including Hu Shi, Tao Xingzhi, Yan Yangchu, to show how these people transferred their American influence in their later working experience in China. Ye discusses more about the identity crisis of these intellectuals when they tried to adapt Western culture but at the same time maintain their identities as Chinese. Ye also points out that it was their personal experiences that shaped 'Chinese modernity'.

how the attitudes towards these American-trained intellectuals linked with the shaping of broader nationalist discourse. However, neither study has discussed the role of gender played in the radicalisation of nationalist discourse.<sup>545</sup>

However, feminist advocate in promoting women's participation in politics was a prominent progress during the nationalist revolution, which is the third field of studies— Chinese feminism in the 1920s. As a movement between female students and female president, the students' final victory over their 'feudal' president is often interpreted as an important moment of feminist awakening and emancipation. For instance, Christina Gilmartin raises the movement as one of the examples in the 1920s feminist movements in her important monograph *Engendering the Chinese's Revolution*, published in 1995.<sup>546</sup> As mentioned before, Cong Xiaoping and Ma Yuxin also adopt this interpretation in their recent monographs. However, this chapter argues that this interpretation is problematic, and it oversimplifies the process how 'feminism' was understood and used by different people for different ends. On one side, the motivation of the student protesters was not for feminism, but only to expel their president, and they even disguised their intention with the excuse of 'feminism'. On the other, Yang Yinyu's claims in gender liberalisation were not seen as 'feminism', but regarded as signs of weirdness. Ultimately, while educators maintained the university in order to ensure female students' equal rights in attending school and career opportunities, the protestors actually propelled the definition of 'feminism' towards a single-sided notion of 'revolution'.

### Sources and Structure

The main archives researchers have relied to support the current literature on the anti-Yang movement are the records from Xu Guangping and Lu Xun, who have been regarded as a noble couple with

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<sup>545</sup> In Bieler's monograph, Chinese female professor Chen Hengzhe (陳衡哲, 1893-1976) is the only female among the 16 case studies. In her analysis on Chen Hengzhe, Bieler mainly discusses Chen's progressiveness in promoting American culture in China, but has not presented the changing meaning of 'feminism' brought about by Chen.

<sup>546</sup> Gilmartin, *Engendering the Chinese Revolution*.



‘revolutionary love’ (*geming aiqing* 革命愛情).<sup>547</sup> It was during the anti-Yang movement that they began private correspondence, which would be later published by Lu Xun in 1933 with the name *Letters between Two Places* (*Liangdi Shu* 兩地書). This collection of private letters between 1925 to 1927 has been republished through decades and is widely used as a raw material for Lu Xun studies and investigations of love and revolution in the republican era.<sup>548</sup> As discussed in the Introduction, Xu Guangping played a significant role in promoting Lu Xun’s position in the making of historical discourse during the 1950s and 1960s. In most current literature in both Chinese and English scholarship, Xu Guangping has been regarded as a pioneer of women’s revolutions, and her words have been seen as an undoubtedly objective verdict for historians to understand the process of the anti-Yang movement in the context of China’s revolutionary history.

One exceptional work is Lu Jiande’s recent article published in 2013, in which the scholar explores the psychological world of Xu Guangping and Lu Xun by their correspondence and points out their shared hostility and aggressiveness. This chapter relies mainly on various types of archives rather than the usual sources from Lu Xun and Xu Guangping and deepens Lu Jiande’s analysis. Apart from the university archives, the chapter also uses a wide range of news reports and articles from different publishers; diaries, personal letters and memoirs of the participants and contemporaries, in order to demonstrate the complexity and nuance of the movement and its historical meaning beyond politics.

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<sup>547</sup> Lu and Xu lived together from 1927 and became lifelong couple thereafter. They did not get married, but kept a relationship of cohabitation from 1927 until Lu’s death in 1936. Lu Xun first married in 1901 under the traditional marital law, and had a wife called Zhu An (朱安, 1878-1947) arranged by their parents. Under the new tide of free marriage (*ziyou lian’ai* 自由戀愛), which advocated boycotting arranged marriage, Xu and Lu regarded each other as true loves. At Lu Xun’s funeral, Xu called herself as ‘the cohabitant of Lu Xun’. Zhang Enhe, *Lu Xun he Xu Guangping* [*Lu Xun and Xu Guangping*] (Hubei: Hubei renmin chubanshe [Hubei People’s Press], 2008).

<sup>548</sup> Chen Shuyu, *Xu Guangping de yisheng* [*The Life of Xu Guangping*] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People’s Press], 1981); Bonnie McDougall, *Love-letters and privacy in modern China: the intimate lives of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). In 2001, there was a Chinese TV series named *Lu Xun and Xu Guangping*, which narrated their story of revolution and love.

The chapter consists of four sections. Although Lu Jiande's recent study examines the subjective role of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, the university life remains unknown. By analysing previously unused university bulletins, the first section thus contributes to fill the blank and suggests that the students had conducted vivid activities in the university before the anti-Yang movement started, and politics was not their main concern. It also explores the educators' expectations of the university after the Renxu reform of 1922 in order to show the role of this university in Chinese modern education system.

The chapter then analyses the anti-Yang movement according to three stages. The first stage lasted from November 1924 till May 1925, when Xu Guangping and several other student leaders in the Self-governing Society initially launched the protest against Yang. During this period, the chapter finds that a call to action from Xiang Jingyu (向警予, 1895-1928), an early female member of the CCP, played a crucial role, and that the protest was driven to a great extent by Xu Guangping's personal willingness to act.

In the second stage, which lasted from May to August 1925, the protest was intensified into a mass anti-Yang movement. For the first time the voices of Yang and her supporters will be presented, which were quickly overwhelmed by the student activists and the participation of more players, including Lu Xun and many staff with backgrounds in the Nationalist Party, as well as political exploitation by Nationalist leader Li Shizeng (李石曾, 1881-1973). Periodicals became a site of debate, where internal and external elements of the anti-Yang movement came in to conflict. The period from August to November 1925 was the third stage. Despite Yang Yinyu's resignation, the students continued to fight against Zhang's decision to close the university. In September, the university split into two universities, respectively headed by Zhang Shizhao and Li Shizeng. Educators' attitudes are investigated here in order to show what did the movement and the two universities mean to the

educators. At last, despite the educators' suggestions, the protestors finally won the battle in the Beijing Revolution in November. In this revolution which marked a cooperation between the Communist and Nationalist Parties in Beijing, the students defeated Zhang Shizhao and reunited the university, which was now totally under the charge of the Nationalist Party. Overall, this chapter provides a new interpretation to this movement, and demonstrates the entangled history of transcultural conflicts, feminism, political struggles and student radicalisation in the mid-1920s Chinese education.

### Yang Yinyu and the University

When the anti-Yang movement was intensified between August and December 1925, Lu Xun as one of the university staff had published several articles attacking Yang, which have been used as the most compelling evidences in interpreting Yang Yinyu's 'feudalism', 'darkness' and 'dictatorship'. In his article *A Woman University President's Dream of Men and Women* (*Nü Xiaozhang De Nan Nü De Meng* 女校長的男女的夢), Lu likened Yang with a 'malicious procuress who oppresses gentlewomen' (*e qianpo bile liangjia funü* 惡虔婆逼勒良家婦女), and satirised that 'these bad things [Yang's strictness and later resort to policemen in students' protests] might be learnt from Columbia University'.<sup>549</sup> In Lu Xun's other famous essay on the subject, *Widow-ism* (*Guafu Zhuyi* 寡婦主義) written in late 1925, Lu referred to Yang Yinyu's management as an education of 'widow-ism'.<sup>550</sup> By 'widow' here, Lu Xun meant a woman 'who left her husband and had to be single' (*dushen zhe* 獨身者), which obviously represented Yang Yinyu's personal experience of divorce. In the article, Lu Xun attributed Yang Yinyu's strictness in school regulation to her 'mental' problem because of the 'single life'. He wrote:

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<sup>549</sup> Lu Xun, 'Nü xiaozhang de nan nü de meng [A Woman University President's Dream of Men and Women]' in *Jingbao fukan* [Supplementary of Beijing Daily] No.234, (1925): 73. Here Lu Xun used 'qianpo' 虔婆, which meant something similar to 'procuress'. According to news reports in the late Qing era, *qianpo* bought and sold young girls for prostitution.

<sup>550</sup> Lu Xun, "Guafu zhuyi [Widow-ism]," *Funü zhoukan* [Women's Weekly], Anniversary Issue, (November 1925): 25-27.

‘Love is a natural thing. [A woman] first has a husband, or lover, and children, then her love is awakened. Otherwise, [this natural instinct] would be hidden, wither, and [she would] become abnormal [*biantai* 變態]. Thus, having these single women to teach children is like having blind people to ride horses because they are more paranoid and harsh than normal people.

In a university led by a widow, students cannot survive. Students should be naive and happy, but [the widow] thinks they are bewitched; students should be full of vigour, but [the widow] thinks they are restless...’<sup>551</sup>

Finally, Lu Xun concluded: ‘if there were more and more of these single women but not any measures, then the education of widow-ism would be more and more strong. At that time, more and more female students would be their victims.’<sup>552</sup> In these two articles, Lu Xun portrayed an image of Yang Yinyu as an abnormal single woman, who was paranoid and arbitrary to her students because of her long single life. Lu Xun’s misogynistic attitude has been long time neglected by historians, but is studied in Lu Jiande’s recent article. By investigating Xu Guangping’s correspondence with Lu Xun, Lu Jiande finds that Xu Guangping shared with Lu Xun’s hostile attitude and her attack on Yang Yinyu was out of ‘inexplicable hate’.<sup>553</sup> Another historian Chen Shuyu published an article in 2015, attacking Lu Jiande ‘defame the revolutionary heroes Lu Xun and Xu Guangping’. Chen believes that it was Yang Yinyu’s own problem because the university life was ‘dark and oppressive’, still by using Xu Guangping and Lu Xun’s articles.<sup>554</sup> However, this section explores the unused university bulletins

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<sup>551</sup> Ibid., 26.

<sup>552</sup> Ibid., 27.

<sup>553</sup> In the letter written on May 27, 1925, Xu Guangping wrote to Lu Xun: ‘when I was small, my brother died. Thus when I saw people on street who were in a similar age as my brother, I always hated them—I hated why they did not die but my brother died. When my father died, I add my hate to those elders who were begging on street for food. Since then, I always hate when someone died if they are related with me, and at the same time, I hate all those who are alive even they are not relevant to me. [*fanze you side yu wo youguan de, tongshi wojiu zengheng suoyou yu wo wuguan de huozhe de ren* 凡則死的與我有關的，同時我就憎恨所有與我無關的活著的人]’ This horrible attitude was surprisingly echoed by Lu Xun. In Lu Xun’s response three days later, Lu Xun wrote: ‘I have a situation which is just opposite to you: if those who are related with me are alive, I feel worried; if they die, I feel released. [*wozheng xiangfan, tong wo youguan de huozhe, wo dao bu fangxin, sile, wo jiu anxin* 我正相反，同我有關的活著，我倒不放心，死了，我就安心]’. “*Liangdi shu*” in *Lu Xun quanji* [Full collection of Lu Xun’s Works] (Beijing: renmin wenxue chubanshe [Peoples’ Literature Press], 2005), 78. In the original letters, Xu Guangping wrote three times ‘curse [*zuzhou* 詛咒]’, but later Lu Xun changed them all into ‘hate [*zenghen* 憎恨]’. For more psychological analysis on Xu Guangping and Lu Xun, see Lu Jiande, “Muqin, nü xiaozhang, wenzui xue—guanyu Yang Yinyu shijian de zaisikao [Mother, Female University President, and the Skills of Condemning—Rethinking the Anti-Yang Student Movement],” *Zhongguo xiandai wenxue yanjiu congkan* [Modern Chinese Literature Studies], no.8, (2014): 23-45;

<sup>554</sup> Chen, “Nüshida shisheng yuanhe fandui Yang Yinyu,” 31-34.

and demonstrates educators' expectations towards this university. In addition, although politics was important, it was by no means the only concern of the majority of students. Many students shared a good relationship with Yang Yinyu and the university life was not as terrible as described in Xu Guangping and Lu Xun's articles.

### *The Role of the University*

At the opening ceremony of Beijing Teachers University for Women in September 1924, many influential politicians and educators addressed speeches, including the renowned educator Tao Xingzhi. Like Yang Yinyu, Tao had graduated from Teachers' College of Columbia University and was influenced by John Dewey.<sup>555</sup> While the last chapter demonstrated how political struggles and financial problems had fermented before Yang's arrival, Tao Xingzhi's speech at the opening ceremony tells us about educators' hopes for this university as a base for teacher training as well as giving important context on the political and financial environment of the university. Tao began his speech by saying: 'I possess delight, concern and also hope for this university.'<sup>556</sup> The 'delight' was that Tao believed that the establishment of the university marked great progress for women's education:

'Twenty-three years ago, Zhang Zhidong initiated women's education within the household, thus women's role in education was first acknowledged. Seventeen years ago, teacher training schools for women were established, so women could attend public schools for the first time. However, women did not have equal place with men because the level of women's schools were lower than general schools [for men].

In 1918, Beijing Women's Normal School was upgraded into Beijing Women's Normal College, which was at the same level as Beijing Normal College [for men]. Now, you [the college] are further promoted into a

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<sup>555</sup> Tao Xingzhi was influenced by the theory of ancient Chinese philosopher Wang Yangming — 'knowledge and activities are two sides of a coin' [*zhixing heyi* 知行合一]. In Columbia University, Tao found this ethos was echoed in John Dewey's theory that 'Education is life'. After he returned to China, Tao served as a chief member in the CNAEE and a main editor of the periodical *New Education*. He also invented the pedagogy that 'educating and learning are two sides of a coin' [*jiaoxue heyi* 教學合一]. Tao Xingzhi's half-Chinese half-Westernised educational ideology has been discussed in Bieler's *Patriots or Traitors* and Cong Xiaoping's *The Rise of Teachers' Schools*.

<sup>556</sup> Tao Xingzhi, "Tao Xingzhi xiansheng yanjiang [Speech of Mr. Tao Xingzhi]," *PNTCWW*, no. 79, (October 20, 1924): 2.

university at the same time as Beijing Normal University. Within two decades, women's education has developed from nothing, how joyful it is!<sup>557</sup>

From the above, we can see that Tao Xingzhi's speech reflected that the educators saw the university as a crucial development in gender equality in Chinese education. At the same time, Tao regarded the university as a fruit of the twenty year's educational reform, and placed great hope on its potential to further promote Chinese education. The concerns and hope of Tao came from two sides. The first was that unreasonable student protests against the staff had increased after 1919. Thus Tao reminded the students of the responsibilities of being teachers and being 'rational':

'I hope you do not forget our compatriots' suffering [in the current wars and disasters] and bear your responsibility. This responsibility means improving our education [*gailiang jiaoyu* 改良教育], developing rationality [*fazhanlixing* 發展理性], and helping our compatriots not to suffer more. This responsibility is shared by all male and female students.

The university is a place for developing more teachers for the whole nation. Every one of you will go to teach after graduation, thus you [your jobs] are related to peoples' lives.<sup>558</sup>

Tao Xingzhi's urging was consistent with his ideas in 1919 and was shared by many educators at the time. In October 1919, Tao Xingzhi attended the 13th anniversary ceremony of Beijing Teachers College, which was chaired by John Dewey and key Republican educators Cai Yuanpei, Hu Shi and Jiang Menglin.<sup>559</sup> The topic of this anniversary was 'self-governing societies'. Scholars such as Hang Suhong and Robert Culp take Dewey's speeches as an inspiring beginning of students' enthusiasm for convening the societies.<sup>560</sup> From the speech delivered by John Dewey on the day, however, he was giving advice on this popular phenomenon, rather than promoting it as a new idea. As Dewey argued,

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<sup>557</sup> Ibid., 2.

<sup>558</sup> Ibid., 3.

<sup>559</sup> John Dewey's speech was directly interpreted by Hu Shi at the anniversary party, and later published on the periodical *New Education*. John Dewey, translated by Hu Shi, "Xuesheng zizhi [Students' self-government]," *Xin Jiaoyu* [*New Education*] 2, no.2, (1919): 163-166.

<sup>560</sup> Hang, "Minguo xin nüxing de jingshen kunjing," 197-198; Culp, *Articulating Citizenship*, 106-107. Barry Keenan's monograph *The Dewey Experiment in China* does not regard it as Dewey's main mission.

‘the nature of self-government is not only expanding one’s power, but also to bear more responsibilities on oneself.’<sup>561</sup> Similarly, Jiang Menglin advocated that, ‘The self-governing society is not a fashion, it is not a movement that aims to protest against presidents... The society must bear responsibilities, that is, in the past, you could blame staff for bad education, but now, you need also examine yourselves.’<sup>562</sup> From their speeches in 1919 and Tao Xingzhi’s speech in 1924, we can see that the educators were aware of the danger of increasing student protests against presidents, and stressing the idea of ‘responsibility’ [*zeren* 責任] instead of promoting ‘power’ [*quanli* 權力], ideas which were echoed in Yang Yinyu’s claims.

The other aspect on which Tao Xingzhi focused was political competitions within the Ministry of Education and financial shortages in Beijing academia due to factional battles among Beiyang warlords. As Tao Xingzhi argued:

‘The struggles among military factions are just about the extinction of political cliques. However, the struggles in education are about the extinction of a nation. I hope the university can persist through these difficulties. It would be the university’s fault if it was closed due to war, but it would be the ministry’s fault if it was closed due to financial shortage.’<sup>563</sup>

At such an important historical moment, celebrating the opening of China’s only women’s university, it may be significant that Yang did not attend the ceremony, and neither did officials of the highest level from the Ministry of Education. They all sent representatives to address speeches for them. Yang Yinyu was represented by the Director of General Affairs (*zongwu zhuren* 总务主任) Wu Jieyi (吳戒逸, birth and death dates unknown), who was one of the university council members. The Minister of Education Huang Fu was represented by the vice Minister Chen Baoquan, while the former Minister

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<sup>561</sup> Hu, “Xuesheng zizhi,” 163.

<sup>562</sup> Jiang Menglin, “Xuesheng zizhi [Students’ self-government],” *Xin jiaoyu* [*New Education*] 2, no.2, (1919): 118-121.

<sup>563</sup> Tao, “Tao Xingzhi xiansheng yanjiang”, 3.

of Education, Zhang Guogan, was replaced by his aide Lei Renbai (雷人百, birth and death dates unknown).<sup>564</sup> The absence of Yang Yinyu as well as the Ministers, may have resulted from political and financial struggles between university presidents and the Ministry of Education.

Wu Jieyi also reiterated the severe financial problems the university faced in his speech: ‘Our budget from Ministry of Education still keep the level of 1919, without any increase. Now that we are upgraded to a university, we deserve an increase in our financial budget. After all, all the construction of the university relies on financial support.’<sup>565</sup> In summary, the opening ceremony and the speeches by Tao Xingzhi and Wu Jieyi showed that educators saw the university as an important base to further develop women’s education and promote women’s rights in education, but also that from its earliest days it faced political and financial problems.

### Student Activities

Although the university bulletin was not likely to contain a lot of criticism of Yang, what it provides us is an insight in to what else was going on other than student leaders’ interest in politics. From the bulletins, there were many active students’ societies, including arts and literature clubs. Students were encouraged to write poems and essays and their works were published every week, and this lively mix of articles showed that politics was not the only diversion or necessarily the chief concern of everyone at the university. Take issue no. 87 for example, a poem on the theme of autumn written by a student in pen name Man Yun was published in the university bulletin. Following her poem was a mourning essay written by another student Xiao Sheng, in lamenting her sister’s death (Figure 27).

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<sup>564</sup> Huang Fu took over the post from Zhang Guogan in June 1924, and at the same time Huang served as the Prime Minister (Huang Fu’s cabinet October 31-November 24, 1924). The speeches by Wu Jieyi, Chen Baoquan and Lei Renbai were recorded in no.77-no.81 issues of the *National Peking Teachers College Weekly*.

<sup>565</sup> Wu’s speech was probably prepared by Yang Yinyu. Wu said at the beginning: ‘I am representing Yang Yinyu to give this speech.’ He firstly narrated the development of the university since 1908 when it was first built up by the Qing government as a primary academy for women teachers. Then he reported the process of upgrading the university in 1923 and 1924, and finally Wu addressed the principles and aims of the university as well as addressing its current dilemmas, principally the financial shortage. L. C. Y., ‘Benxiao chengli dianli jishi’, 1.



In the university, Yang Yinyu also supported the students to visit the annual meeting of the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education during the summer holiday. In their reports, the students recorded every place they had visited in Jiangsu, and gave details of the annual meeting.<sup>566</sup> Therefore, the university life of students when Yang Yinyu was the president was not as bitter as Lu Xun had described, and his words should not be taken as the only primary sources when historians examine the anti-Yang movement. Besides, as mentioned before, Yang Yinyu was popular among students before she went to the US and she kept correspondence with her students when she was studying there.<sup>567</sup> At the opening ceremony, graduates sent a decorative plaque, commemorating the success of Yang Yinyu in promoting the college into a university (Figure 28).

In December 1924, Yang Yinyu attended the anniversary of the Alumni Association (*xiaoyou hui* 校友會) of the affiliated middle school. In her speech, Yang Yinyu praised the Alumni Association as a good platform for graduated students to keep contact with each other and the school. She regretted that she felt ‘distanced’ (*shengshu* 生疏) with her ‘mother school’ (*muxiao* 母校) Shanghai Wuben Girls’ School because ‘there was not an alumni association like this’. Yang then compared the school to a ‘native home’ (*niang jia* 娘家) for graduates and said, ‘graduated students were just like daughters. When they return to the school and meet with teachers and friends, it is just like daughters returning to their native home.’<sup>568</sup> Yang’s ideas of comparing students to daughters and schools as homes were later harshly attacked by Xu Guangping and Lu Xun, who mocked her as the ‘mother-in-law’ of the university.<sup>569</sup> However, the bulletin showed that the atmosphere of the anniversary was

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<sup>566</sup> ‘Shujia nanxing suilu [Reports of Our Tour to the South],’ *PNTCWW*, no. 88, (December 14, 1924): 3.

<sup>567</sup> Recalled by Yang Jiang, many of Yang Yinyu’s students saw her off at the train station when she left the school in 1918. Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 75.

<sup>568</sup> “Xiaoyouhui disanzhou jinianri xiaozhang Yang Yinyu xiansheng yanshuo [Miss Yang Yinyu’s Speech on the Third Week Anniversary of Alumni Association],” *PNTCWW*, no. 89, (December 21, 1924): 4.

<sup>569</sup> Chen, “Nüshida Shisheng Yuanhe Fandui Yang Yinyu”, 32.

pleasant at the moment. Apart from Yang Yinyu, some students of the middle school also addressed their feelings about the alumni association, which indicated that many students shared Yang Yinyu's attitude by seeing the school as a home.

### Yang Yinyu's Emphases

As discussed in Chapter III, Yang Yinyu had particular interests in promoting students' abilities in public speech. Besides, she paid attention in physical education and sex education. According to the university bulletins, Yang Yinyu as the president also emphasised three other aspects. Firstly, like Tao Xingzhi, Yang believed that the university should take the responsibility for developing the affiliated kindergarten, primary and middle schools, and producing more qualified teachers for lower-level schools nationwide. After Yang Yinyu's reform, school regulations, weekly reports and student activities on the affiliated kindergarten, primary and middle schools became an integral part in the university bulletins, which indicated that Yang was reforming the university bulletin for the use of university students.<sup>570</sup> At the same time, Yang was requested higher budgets for these affiliated schools from the Ministry of Education. According to Yang Yinyu's proposal, the affiliated schools in 1924 retained the same budget as in 1918, and thus could not be developed.<sup>571</sup> Besides, how university students implemented new pedagogies would depend on their apprenticeships in affiliated primary and middle schools. At an event to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the affiliated kindergarten in April 1925, Yang expressed her joy at seeing its development but also apologised to the parents that 'she could not make it better due to limited funding.' At the same time, Yang encouraged parents to communicate more with teachers, so 'family education and school education can be coherent.'<sup>572</sup>

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<sup>570</sup> For example, in the issue of no.90, after a weekly report of the university, the bulletin recorded a conference report of the affiliated middle school, and a morning assembly in the affiliated primary school.

<sup>571</sup> Students in Beijing Teachers University for Women also had to go to Beijing Normal University to borrow laboratory equipment. Yang Yinyu. "Lihua qiju yu shifan daxue heyong [Laboratory Equipments in Beijing Normal University]," *PNTCWW*, no. 87, (December 7, 1924): 2; Yang Yinyu, "Chengwen [Proposal]," *PNTCWW*, no. 90, (December 28, 1924): 2.

<sup>572</sup> "Fushu mengyangyuan shizhounian jinian zhuhui jishi [The Tenth Anniversary of the Affiliated Kindergarten]," *PNTCWW*, no.102, (April 20, 1925): 3.

Second, Yang as the president was responsible for finding employment for graduates when they finished university and she was willing to help the students to study abroad. During the 1910s, unemployment of graduates from new schools after the end of Keju became a problem of Chinese new educational system.<sup>573</sup> Huang Yanpei (黃炎培, 1878-1965), the leader of Jiangsu Educational Association, launched the Vocational Education Movement (*zhiye jiaoyu yundong* 職業教育運動), because he believed ‘what is most worrisome about our education today is that after graduation our students are unemployed.’<sup>574</sup> Thus, it was the president’s obligation to consider the career development of graduate students. In late 1924, Yang Yinyu joined in a new association named the Board for Chinese Female Students Studying Abroad (*Zhongguo nüzi liuxue weiyuanhui* 中國女子留學委員會), which was established by Mrs Lawrence Thurston, the founder and president of the Christian Ginlin College (*Jinling nüzi daxue* 金陵大學) in Nanjing.<sup>575</sup> In the advertisement published on the university bulletin, the Board said it would ‘help those female students who are willing to study in the US, and to help them collect all the school information, and process applications.’<sup>576</sup> In April 1925, Yang also convened a new board within the university called the Board of Employment (*jieshao weiyuanhui* 介紹委員會), which aimed to introduce graduated students to serve as teachers in middle and primary schools nationwide. Key members of the board included renowned educators Liang

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<sup>573</sup> See ‘Modern Education and the Occupational Mobility Structure’ in Curran, *Educational Reform in Republican China*, 289-353.

<sup>574</sup> Huang Yanpei, “Huang Yanpei jun diaocha meiguo jiaoyu baogao [Huang Yanpei’s Report on American Education],” *Jiaoyu zazhi* [Educational Review] 8, no.4, (1916): 7-8.

<sup>575</sup> “Youzhi liumei zhe zhuyi [Those Who Wants to Study in America, Pay Attention],” *PNTCWW*, no. 86, (November 30, 1924): 4. Mrs Lawrence Thurston (1875-1958) had a Chinese name De Benkang 德本康. According to the information, the Board was created in the help of the Institute of International Education of the USA [*Meiguo guoji jiaoyu weiyuanhui* 美國國際教育委員會], and the Association of College Graduate Students for Women [*Meiguo daxue biye nüzi lianhehui* 美國大學畢業女子聯合會].

<sup>576</sup> The Board had Mrs Thurston as the director, and Mrs McMillan of Peking Union Medical College as the secretary. The main members were Yang Yinyu of the Beijing Teachers University for Women, Mrs Alice Frame of Yenching College, Mrs. Mary Leaman of Southeast University of Nanjing, Hua Jingxia of Young Women’s Christian Association, and Mei Zhiyi of Canton Christian College.

Shuming (梁漱溟, 1893-1988) and Tao Xingzhi.<sup>577</sup> Even in June 1925 when university life was interrupted during the anti-Yang movement, Yang Yinyu and the Employment Board were still attempting to fulfil their responsibility. According to Yang Yinyu's report on the meeting, she emphasised that 'this task should not be interrupted because of the ongoing movement. We should introduce our graduates this year to schools as usual. At the moment letters of appointment are decreasing and society is doubting about our graduates [due to the movement], thus we have to train the students with the ability to learn knowledge and also moral training, so that we can recover our social credit (*shehui xinyong* 社會信用).'<sup>578</sup>

The third main point of emphasis for Yang was specifically on the moral training, called *xunyu* (訓育) in the 1920s. On October 24, 1924, Yang Yinyu convened a new board named Board of Moral Training (*Xunyu Weiyuanhui* 訓育委員會). According the university bulletin, the board aimed to: 'first, train students into qualified teachers for middle and primary schools; second, train students as good citizens; third, train students to have good habits as university students.'<sup>579</sup> Robert Culp has introduced us to how *xunyu* was conducted in the middle schools of Jiangnan area during the 1920s and 1930s. By demonstrating the daily routines in schools, Culp shows how the traditional moral education was combined in *xunyu* and contributed to a development of western-style citizenship among Chinese students.<sup>580</sup> In Yang Yinyu's case, however, *xunyu* represented a necessity for teacher training, and moreover, a political competition on moral education between educators and politicians. News reports in mid-1924 showed that political parties had begun to make use of the student

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<sup>577</sup> "Jieshao weiyuanhui chengli [The Establishment of the Board of Employment Board]," *PNTCWW*, no. 102, (April 12, 1924): 1. Liang Shuming was a renowned cultural loyalist of modern China. Historian Guy Alitto has written a biographical monograph, see Guy Alitto, *The Last Confucian: Liang Shu-ming and the Chinese Dilemma of Modernity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

<sup>578</sup> "Jieshao weiyuanhui [Meeting of the Board of Employment]," *PNTCWW*, no. 112, (June 21, 1925): 2.

<sup>579</sup> "Xunyu weiyuanhui diyici huiyi [The First Meeting of Board of Moral Training]," *PNTCWW*, no. 82, (November 2, 1924): 2.

<sup>580</sup> Culp, *Articulating Citizenship*, 165-208.

nationalism of May Fourth. According to *Dagong bao* on May Fourth 1924, two months after Yang became the university president, she was invited by the Beijing Student Union to address a speech on the Fifth Anniversary of May Fourth Student Movement. The opening speech was made by Zhu Wushan (朱務善, 1896-1971), an early member of the Communist Party. Zhu argued that the main responsibility of the students after May Fourth was to ‘beat down the current warlord government’, but Yang Yinyu did not agree with him. Yang Yinyu remarked, ‘the May Fourth Movement had positive influences on the academia, but it also had negative influences.’ She hoped that ‘the students would carry on the good side, but also amend the bad side.’<sup>581</sup> While the ‘good side’, as discussed in the previous chapter, meant patriotism and students’ initiatives in leading social activities, the ‘bad side’ indicated by Yang Yinyu referred to the increasing student protests in Beijing. She asked students to commit to their roles as teachers.

To summarise, Yang Yinyu as a president emphasised both knowledge and moral training. Her educational ideologies were derived from the role of the university in the whole education system: it was the highest and only national university for female teachers, and it was a base for producing more teachers for the lower-level schools nationwide. Through the Board of Employment and Board of Training, Yang Yinyu wished the students to take their social responsibilities of being teachers. As the university bulletins showed, before the anti-Yang movement, students conducted various activities, in which politics and revolutions were not main concerns for the majority of students.

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<sup>581</sup> “Beijing zuori zhi wusi wuzhounian jinianhui [The Fifth Anniversary of May Fourth Movement in Beijing Yesterday],” *Dagong bao* (*L’Impartial*), (May 5, 1924).

## Stage One: The Beginning

According to Xu Guangping, dissatisfaction among students towards Yang Yinyu started from late 1924. In November, Yang Yinyu dismissed three students from the Literature Department (*guowen bu* 國文部) who were ‘late in returning school’ due to the Jiang-Zhe Battle.<sup>582</sup> The decision was taken as ‘unfair’ by students, thus the Student Self-government Society represented the dismissed students in negotiations with the university, but ‘ended up without a result’.<sup>583</sup> On January 18, 1925, the Society convened a meeting, and decided ‘not to recognise Yang as the president’.<sup>584</sup> The Society soon appealed to the Ministry of Education on January 22, listing out Yang’s ‘crimes’ and asking the Ministry to arrange a new president for them.<sup>585</sup> The next day, the Society issued a manifesto, and urged Yang ‘to leave the school as soon as possible, otherwise we will resort to last methods’. In the meantime, the students required Yang to respond to their manifesto ‘within six hours’.<sup>586</sup> From here, the Anti-Yang protest began. While Lu Jiande focuses on the absolute subjectivity of Xu Guangping in her initiative targeting Yang, this section finds that the early formation of anti-Yang protest was also related to the increasing power of student self-governing societies. It was also influenced by the political and feminist campaign by the party member Xiang Jingyu (向警予, 1895-1928), who was an influential modern feminist and one of the early founders of Chinese Communist Party.<sup>587</sup> Xu

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<sup>582</sup> Xu Guangping, “Xiaochao canyu zhong wo de jingli [My Experiences in the Student Movement],” *Beijing shifan daxue zhongwenxi wenxue lunwen ji ji Lu Xun zhencang youguan beishida shiliao* [The Literary Collection of the Department of Literature in Beijing Teachers University, and Related Archives of Lu Xun] (Beijing: Beijing shifan daxue chubanshe [Beijing Normal University Press], 1982): 297-298. The article was written by Xu Guangping in 1933.

<sup>583</sup> *Ibid.*, 298.

<sup>584</sup> Qiu yang, “Youguan nüshida fengchao shiliao de liangdian zhiyi [Questions on the archives of Student Movement in Beijing Teachers University for Women],” *Lu Xun yanjiu dongtai* [New Research in Lu Xun’s Studies], no.8, (1986): 18.

<sup>585</sup> Lou, ‘Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nüshida fengchao’, 108.

<sup>586</sup> “Beijing nüzi shifan daxuesheng quzhu xiaozhang [Students in the Beijing Teachers University for Women Expelled President],” *Shen bao* [Shanghai Daily], (January 31, 1925):6.

<sup>587</sup> Xiang Jingyu was an early member of the CCP and leader of the women’s movement in Shanghai during the first united front with the KMT. She was also the earliest Chinese to introduce Bolshevism into China. In 1918, Xiang Jingyu joined Mao Zedong and Cai Hesen’s New People’s Study Society (*xinmen xuehui* 新民學會), which was supporting the work-study programme in France. In France, Xiang came to believe that Bolshevism was an ideal model for China. She argued that the family had to be replaced by collective institutions, and advocated for building public nurseries and free choice in marriage. In her wedding photo with Cai Hesen, the couple rejected traditional ceremony, instead, they sat together holding a copy of Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital*. ‘Xiang Jingyu’ in Lee, ed. *Biographical Dictionary of Chinese Women*, 557.

Guangping thus found a foothold for her later actions, and her personal determination, which was not out of a rightful defence on feminism, was later disguised under ‘feminism’.

### *Xu Guangping and the Student-Self Governing Society*

As discussed above, educators began to be aware of the danger behind the excessive rise of students’ protests after 1919. However, students largely took the self-governing societies as an organisation to wield political power, and the range of their power was expanding far beyond school management. One example was a protest raised by the Self-governing Societies of Beijing Women’s Normal College and other three national colleges in Beijing in April 1924.<sup>588</sup> When Yang Yinyu was caught in the conflict with some of the staff on the issue of the General Board and Council on Russian Boxer Indemnity, the Self-governing Society of the college raised a proposal directly to Ministry of Foreign Affairs. They urged the government to disclose details of its negotiations with the Russian government and at the same requested that the Ministry retain the diplomat Wang Zhengting (王正廷, 1882-1961) at the negotiation table against Russia.<sup>589</sup> The Ministry promptly gave a response to the students’ self-governing societies of the four colleges on April 14. Signed by the Minister Gu Weijun (顧維鈞, 1888-1985), the Ministry insisted that the decision should be made within the government.<sup>590</sup> From this we can see that, although the policy-making process of Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not influenced by the students, the protest reflected the students’ range of power and desire for political participation, this participation in turn often became their excuse for being absent from school.

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<sup>588</sup> The other three universities were Beijing Normal College, Industry College and Arts College.

<sup>589</sup> “Songhuan nūgaoshi xuesheng zizhi hui cheng qing heban [Reply to the Self-governing Society of Beijing Women’s Normal College],’ *Archives of Modern History Institute of Academia Sinica*, Volume of Foreign Affairs of Beiyang Government, No. 03-32-513-03-008, (April, 1924), 64-66; “Wang Zhengting dianshu zhong e jiaoshe jingguo [Wang Zhengting’s Telegraph on the Negotiation between China and Russia],” *Xinwen bao [Shanghai News Daily]*, (March 23, 1924), 2. Like Gu Weijun, Wang Zhengting was well-known for his hardline at the Paris Conference of 1919. Thus, when Wang openly admitted that the negotiation would be taken over by the Ministry from his hands in March 1924, students in Beijing sought to pressure the Ministry, wishing to influence its decision with their joint proposal.

<sup>590</sup> “Songhuan nūgaoshi xuesheng zizhi hui cheng qing heban,” 22.

In November 1924, the temporary Minister of Education Yi Peiji (易培基, 1880-1937) supported Yang Yinyu's decision and ordered that 'those who were dismissed should not return to the university'.<sup>591</sup> In November and December, Yang published the statistics of attendance on the bulletin, which can be seen as a direct response towards the Society's appeal. During September to November 1924, absence was a serious problem in the university. Only 26 per cent of all the 250 students in the university remained attending school, and the number fell to merely 14 per cent in November.<sup>592</sup> The three dismissed students were from Literature Department, which had no students attending at all from September to November.<sup>593</sup>

### *Xiang Jingyu's Call and the Beginning of Protest*

In *The History of Beijing Teachers University*, historians claim that the students protested to the Ministry of Education because Yang 'colluded with Beiyang government and restricted students' patriotic activities. Yang also used university funds according to her own will and all students and staff were opposed to her'.<sup>594</sup> However, evidences show that the students' claims were influenced by Xiang Jingyu but the excuses were problematic. In December 1924, Xiang Jingyu published an article *A Big Thing Female Students Should Do during Winter Holiday* in *Women's Weekly* (*Funü Zhoubao* 婦女週報). Xiang urged female students nationwide to pay attention to the new form of political participation 'citizens' assemblies' (*guomin huiyi* 國民會議). This was a form of peoples' assembly first proposed by Sun Yat-sen in his *Declaration of Northern Expedition*, which was to consist of 'representatives

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<sup>591</sup> "Buling [Order of the Minister of Education]," *PNTCWW*, no. 86, (November 30, 1924): 1.

<sup>592</sup> "Wei queke xuesheng dang quanji renshu baixin bijiao biao [The Percentage of the Attendance]," *PNTCWW*, no. 89, (December 21, 1924): 2.

<sup>593</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>594</sup> *The History of Beijing Teachers University*, 74-75.



from chambers of industry, commerce, academia, universities, workers' societies, agricultural societies, anti-warlord societies and other political parties.<sup>595</sup>

Xiang Jingyu wrote, 'citizens' assemblies are a sharp weapon that can be used by the people to fight against warlords.' Based on the existing organisation, however, Xiang argued 'why don't women have a role in the citizens' assembly, we should not be excluded!' No wonder, Xiang Jingyu's call for women's political participation was a big step forward in women's emancipation during the Chinese nationalist revolutions. However, her radical attitude towards teachers and educators provoked students in Beijing. Xiang claimed:

'The worst now are those stupid teachers and educators! They do not know what education is, but just want to secure their jobs and do not care about the extinction of our nation. They just want to flatter the warlords, and cheer on old feudal families...

When they see any students participate in the social movements or feminist movements, they always think students are bad and violating rules. They ban student's activities so they can demonstrate their dignity as teachers.'<sup>596</sup>

In January 1925, during the winter holiday, Xu Guangping and several leaders of the Student Self-governing Society initiated a protest to Ministry of Education, accusing Yang of 'corruption and embezzling the schools' funds' [*qintun gongkuan 侵吞公款*], in the name of all students. At the same time, they also asked for social support by convening a public meeting and inviting the media. Most journalists did not attend the meeting because they thought 'many cases of anti-president protests recently had inside stories [*neimu 内幕*].'<sup>597</sup> Indeed, whether the protest could represent all students was questionable. On receiving students' manifesto in January 1925, Yang Yinyu asked the protesters

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<sup>595</sup> "Beishang xuanyan [Northern Expedition]," *Geming daobao [Guide of Revolution]*, no.4, (1926): 18.

<sup>596</sup> Xiang Jingyu, "Hanjia zhong nüxuesheng yinggai zuo de yijian dashi [A Big Thing Female Students Should Do during Winter Holiday]," *Funü zhoukan [Women's Weekly]*, no. 65, (1924).

<sup>597</sup> "Zuori nüshida xuesheng zhaodai xinwen jie [Yesterday Students of Teachers University for Women had a Reception with the Media]," *Chen bao [Beijing Morning Post]*, (February 2, 1925), 6.

whether it represented all other students, and requested them to sign it for accountability. However, the students refused to do so.<sup>598</sup> At first the students of the Society had disputes on whether or not to go to the Ministry in protest.<sup>599</sup> In Xu Guangping's memoir, 'twenty or more among the forty students agreed to protest, another ten or more claimed to follow others', so the decision was 'narrowly passed'.<sup>600</sup> However, another student leader Lü Yunzhang (呂雲章, 1893-1974) recalled in their memoir that,

'Among our altogether 45 students, there were only three or four activists, including me. When the Society was asking all the students to protest to the Ministry, [the students did not agree because] Xu Guangping was speaking Cantonese [students from other parts of China could not understand her dialect], and I was opposed to it too, so at the time only one third of our class went to the Ministry.'<sup>601</sup>

From Lü Yunzhang and Xu Guangping's words, we can see that the protest came from Xu Guangping and very small number of student activists, and even leaders within the Society were not coherent on a unified decision. The reasons behind the protest were also problematic. Ma Xulun (馬敘倫, 1885-1970), the vice Minister of Education at the time who was responsible for handling this protest, later published an article in August 1925 when the protest had turned into an intensified movement. According to Ma, the 'crimes' of Yang raised by the students were investigated by the Ministry and proven to be 'a distortion of the facts' [*weiqu panshuo* 委曲判說].<sup>602</sup> Therefore, the Society's protest to the Ministry in January 1925 finally ended unsuccessfully. In February when the new term started, everything had appeared to return to usual. However, this situation was not to an end. Xu Guangping recalled in 1940 that she was angry about 'others' indifference':

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<sup>598</sup> "Beijing nǚzi daxuesheng quzhu xiaozhang [Students in Beijing Teachers College for Women are Now Expelling the President]," *Shen Bao* [*Shanghai Daily*], (January 31, 1925), 1.

<sup>599</sup> Lou, 'Zailun Yang Yinyu yu nūshida fengchao', 108.

<sup>600</sup> Xu, 'Xiaochao canyu zhong wo de jingli', 297-298.

<sup>601</sup> Lü Yunzhang, *Lü Yunzhang huiyi lu* [*Memoir of Lü Yunzhang*] (Taipei: Wentan chubanshe [Wen Tan Press], 1961): 25. Xu Guangping was born in Guangdong province, and spoke Cantonese, which was very different to Mandarin, thus Lü Yunzhang meant that many students did not understand Xu Guangping's speech very well.

<sup>602</sup> Ma Xulun, "Nū shida [Beijing Teachers University for Women]," *Jia yin zhoukan* [*Jia Yin Weekly*] 1, no.5, (1925): 13.

‘Everyone was limp... this let me feeling uncomfortable [*fangan* 反感], thus I had a flame in my heart to fight again. I was thinking, “let me have a try, to see who would give an order on me!” So, when everyone was indifferent [to this anti-Yang protest], I stood out as a chief of the Self-governing Society.’<sup>603</sup>

Xiang Jingyu read about the protest in the newspapers and wrote a letter directly to the Student Self-governing Society. Xiang for the time pointed out that the problem in the university was a ‘women’s problem’, and openly encouraged the student activists in North China to continue to fight against their ‘feudal’ president and join the revolutionary tide in the South:

‘I think the root of the problems in your university is the same as that of that famous Southeast University. The aim of the Southeast University is to create America-influenced students to suit the needs of Imperialism and warlords [*Meiguo shi de shangpin* 美國式的商品], while the aim of the Beijing Teachers University for Women is to preserve the thousand-year-old national essences of concubine ethics [*qiefu zhidao* 妾婦之道], and to create good wives and good mothers as appendages [for men] [*xianqi liaomushi de fushupin* 賢妻良母式的附屬品].

This kind of education is humiliating women’s dignity. It is shameful. It is an education for slaves! [*wuru nüzi renge de jiaoyu, kechi de jiaoyu, muli de jiaoyu* 侮辱女子人格的教育，可恥的教育，奴隸的教育]’<sup>604</sup>

Southeast University (*dongnan daxue* 東南大學) in Nanjing, remarked on here by Xiang Jingyu, was an example of an institution that was the ‘product of imperialism and feudalism’ as interpreted by the revolutionary discourse at the time.<sup>605</sup> Its situation was very similar to that of Beijing Teachers University for Women. Originally a teachers’ school in Nanjing, it was upgraded by Guo Bingwen

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<sup>603</sup> Xu Guangping, ‘Lu Xun xiansheng yu nüshida shijian [Mr. Lu Xun and the Student Protest in the Beijing Teachers’ University for Women]’, (1940), edited in Haiyin, *Xu Guangping wenji* [*Literary Collection of Xu Guangping*] (Nanjing: Jiangsu wenyi chubanshe [Jiangsu Literature and Arts Press], 1998): 115.

<sup>604</sup> Xiang Jingyu, “Duiyu genben gaige Beijing nüzi shifan daxue de yijian bing zhi Beijing nüzi shifan daxue quanti tongxue [My Letter to the Students of Beijing Teachers University for Women, and My Opinion on How to Remould the University],” *Funü zhoubao* [*Women’s Weekly*], (February 9, 1925): 2-4.

<sup>605</sup> In January 1924, Sun Yat-sen enacted the policy of ‘uniting with Russia and the Communist Party’ [*lian e rong gong* 聯俄容共] at the First Conference of the Nationalist Party, which marked the first unification of Nationalist Party and Communist Party (*diyici guogong hezuo* 第一次國共合作). Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 608-614; Zheng Shiqu, “Guogong hezuo yu xuesheng yundong 1924-1927 [The Cooperation of the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party and Student Movements 1924-1927],” *Beijing shifan daxue xuebao* [*Journal of Beijing Normal University*], no. 3, (2015): 102-103.

into the first national university during the second educational reform in 1921.<sup>606</sup> Supported by the most influential and powerful educators and politicians, including Zhang Jian, Cai Yuanpei, Wang Zhengting, Yuan Xitao, Jiang Menglin and Huang Yanpei, Southeast University was expected to be constructed into the top academy in southeast China and served a basecamp for developing modern education in the South.<sup>607</sup> Like Beijing Teachers University for Women, it was a member of the Board for Chinese Female Students to Study Abroad. However, from 1924 protests in Southeast University were intensifying as well. Like Yang Yinyu, Guo Bingwen was protested against by students and staff, due to his newly-established university board, which was in conflict with the existing university council. Students labelled Guo and the educators of Jiangsu origin as ‘a gang of foxes and dogs [*hu qun gou dang* 狐群狗黨]’ who ‘controlled Jiangsu academia’.<sup>608</sup> As an experienced politician (which Yang Yinyu was not), Guo soon quit the presidency, and gave up the position to another educator Hu Dunfu (胡敦復, 1886-1978).

Based on this nationalist ideology, a new systematic paradigm of revolution was gradually formed in re-interpreting the current education and educators, who were characterised as *xuefa* ‘warlords of education’. Xiang Jingyu’s interpretation fundamentally changed the nature of the anti-Yang protest. For Xu Guangping, her personal attack was ascribed a more meaningful purpose in feminism and a part of a broader nationalist revolution against warlordism and imperialism.

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<sup>606</sup> The predecessor of the university was Nanjing Teachers College (*Nanjing gaodeng shifan xuexiao* 南京高等師範學校), which was established in 1914 within the first national educational reform of the new Republic. ‘Guoli dongnan daxue choubi chengli [The Preparation and Establishment of National Southeast University]’ in *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie [Chinese Academia]* 10, no.7, (1921): 78-79. Together with Hu Shi and Jiang Menglin, Guo Bingwen was one of the earliest America-returned educators who propelled the second educational reform towards Americanisation. Like Yang Yinyu, Guo graduated from the Teachers’ College of Columbia University as early as in 1914, with his PhD thesis *The Chinese System of Public Education*.

<sup>607</sup> “Guoli dongnan daxue yuanqi [The Origins of the National Southeast University],” *Zhonghua jiaoyu jie [Chinese Academia]* 10, no.7, (1921): 76-78. Could cut this detail

<sup>608</sup> “E mi tuo fu [Amitabha],” *Gu jun [The Isolated Force]*, no.10, (1924): 1-2; “Dongnan daxue de qiantu [The Future of Southeast University],” *Zhongguo qingnian [China’s Youngsters]* 3, no.67, (1925): 256-261. *Zhongguo qingnian* was an official journal of the Youth League of the Chinese Communist Party, founded in Shanghai in 1923. *Gu jun* was established by revolutionary intellectuals in Shanghai in September 1922. It advocated radical nationalism (*guojia zhuyi* 國家主義) and later supported the Chinese Youth Party and its official periodical *Xing shi (Awakened Lion 醒獅)*.

However, Xiang Jingyu herself later expressed uncertainty towards the motivations driving the protest in a second letter to the Student Self-governing Society in April 1925:

‘What is going on in your anti-Yang protest? I am the first one to openly express support for you, but now I am confused! I don’t know your intentions behind your protests against your president! If you are protesting her because of rightful reasons, then you must insist till the end and expose the corruptness of the university! But if you are just paying personal revenge and making trouble for President Yang, please just stop your activities and frankly apologise to your president. Now you are doing neither, what is the problem?’<sup>609</sup>

In this letter, Xiang Jingyu respectfully called Yang Yinyu ‘President Yang’ and did not continue to attack Yang as she had in the previous letter, which indicated that Xiang might know the protest was not as ‘rightful’ as the students had claimed.<sup>610</sup> However, Xu Guangping and the student activists persisted and saw their protest as being meaningful in the ‘liberation of women’. In March 1925, Xu Guangping published an article in *Beijing Women’s Weekly*, a student-run periodical in Beijing, using the pen name *chi ping* (持平, lit. being impartial): ‘The problem of our university is not isolated, but a social problem, a women’s problem. The liberation of women should not be realised by begging, we should earn it at the cost of iron blood [*tiexue* 鐵血]!’<sup>611</sup>

On March 11, 1925, a week before her article was published, Xu Guangping wrote her first letter to Lu Xun, who at that moment was a professor in the university as well as a member of staff of the Ministry of Education. In the letter, Xu attributed the failure of anti-Yang protest in January to the fact that Yang Yinyu was ‘bribing’ the students, and she presented herself as a successor to the May Fourth spirit. Xu wrote:

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<sup>609</sup> Xiang Jingyu, “Dui Beijing nüshida fengchao de ganyan [Words to the Protest in Beijing Teachers University for Women],” *Funü zhoubao* [*Women’s Weekly*], no. 81, (1925).

<sup>610</sup> There are no further direct letters written by Xiang Jingyu to the Student Self-governing Society published in periodicals. This might be because Xiang went to the Soviet Union in November 1925. She was finally executed in May 1928 when Chiang Kai-shek launched a political purge against the Communist Party.

<sup>611</sup> Chi ping, “Beijing nüjie yibufen wenti [Problems of Beijing Women],” *Funü zhoukan* [*Beijing Women’s Weekly*], (March 18, 1925), in Chen Shuyu, *Xu Guangping de yisheng* [*The Life of Xu Guangping*] (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubenshe [Tianjin People’s Press], 1979), 19.

‘The president uses many methods to bribe [*shoumai* 收買] the students—sending them to study abroad [*liuyang* 留洋], helping them to teach at the school after graduation [*liuxiao* 留校]... Today a student is bribed, tomorrow another is bribed...

If the president had great educational policies, why did she not publish it to all?

Alas, the future of Chinese education!

The students’ attitudes are softened... Alas, the future of Chinese women’s education!

Young students after May Fourth are now so pathetic.’<sup>612</sup>

In fact, the ‘bribery methods’ mentioned by Xu Guangping, were related with Yang Yinyu’s responsibilities as a university president. However, within the paradigm of anti-imperialism and anti-feudalism, Yang’s activities, intended to develop the possibilities of future career for female students, were seen by Xu Guangping as corruption and oppression. At the same time, Xu’s claims and those of other student activists gradually received support among more students. Peer pressure among students was a more significant factor than considerations of political right and wrong or democratic procedure. As Lü Yunzhang wrote: ‘after that [when Lü did not agree with Xu in January], Xu Guangping, who had studied with me on the same desk for three years, turned on me [*fanlian* 翻臉], and never spoke a word with me.’ Lü also had to clarify to others that she was not among Yang’s followers.<sup>613</sup> When she later recalled her revolutionary experiences in the 1920s, Lü said, ‘no one dared to say no. Those who returned home were called “traitors”.’<sup>614</sup>

Besides, many students supported Xu Guangping because they regarded Yang’s attitude towards gender segregation unacceptable. According to Lü Yunzhang’s memoir, in 1924 one female student in

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<sup>612</sup> Lu Xun, ed. by Lu Xun jinian weiyuan hui [Commemoration Board of Lu Xun], *Liang di shu* [Letters between Two Places] (Unknown: Lu Xun quanji chubanshe [Full Collections of Lu Xun Press], 1941): 14.

<sup>613</sup> Ibid., 25. Lü wrote, ‘all of them now thought I was in Yang’s camp [*Yang pai* 楊派]. In fact, I am just a person of emotion [*zhong qingyi* 重情義], and I just had a sentiment [*qingyi* 情誼] based on our relationship of teacher and student. Actually I did not even have a conversation with Yang Yinyu after she returned from America, so I was always going home with annoyance [*fanna* 煩惱].’

<sup>614</sup> Ibid., 14.

the university called Deng Yifang (鄧裔芳, ?-1925) became unwell. Yang Yinyu asked a male doctor to check Deng and he asked her to take off her clothes. This action was unacceptable to Deng and most of female students at the time. As discussed in the previous chapter, Yang Yinyu believed the sex segregation in China was too serious so advocated sex education because of her experience in the US. However, students at the time regarded Yang as ‘unreasonable’ (*bujin renqing* 不近人情) action. Deng finally died of illness, but her anger towards Yang was echoed by many students including Lü Yunzhang, who later agreed to participate in Xu Guangping’s fight.<sup>615</sup>

### Stage Two: Radicalisation

In May 1925, Xu Guangping and the Student Self-governing Society decided to launch another formal attack against Yang Yinyu, and they chose to openly deny Yang at the ceremony to mark the tenth anniversary of National Humiliation Day (*guochiri* 國恥日) held in the university.<sup>616</sup> National Humiliation Day was set up by Yuan Shikai in 1915 after the Twenty-one Demands, and it became part of national commemoration in schools in the years afterwards. However, the death of the Father of Republican China Sun Yat-sen in March 1925 popularised the date as a commemoration for Sun’s revolutionary spirit. On the day in 1925, students in cities such as Beijing, Shanghai and Wuchang convened mass assemblies and demonstrations to commemorate Sun Yat-sen.<sup>617</sup> As *Chinese Youth* advocated, ‘Mr. Sun’s revolutionary spirit, which represents the spirit of our nation, is indelible... We should continue to fight, to realise his revolutionary cause!’<sup>618</sup>

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<sup>615</sup> Ibid., 20. In the memoir of Yang Yinyu’s niece Yang Jiang, Yang Jiang also regard her aunt as a strange person because Yang Yinyu wore a white dress when she attended Yang Jiang’s wedding ceremony. In Imperial and early modern China, people usually wore white clothes when they attended funerals, thus Yang Jiang thought Yang Yinyu was sometimes ‘unreasonable’.

<sup>616</sup> The National Humiliation Day was firstly set up by Yuan Shikai after Japan’s Twenty-One Demands in 1915.

<sup>617</sup> “Guonei zhuandian [Domestic News],” *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai Daily News*], (May 8, 1925): 2.

<sup>618</sup> Dan yi, “Sun Zhongshan xiansheng [Mr. Sun Zhongshan],” *Zhongguo qingnian* [*Chinese Youth*] 3, no.71, (1925): 316-321.

On the ceremony of National Humiliation Day planned and prepared by Yang Yinyu and the university council, the student activists openly declared their desire to remove Yang from her position as president. According to news reports, ‘students were shouting in the hall, refusing to let Yang Yinyu step on stage to hold the ceremony. Anti-Yang slogans were posted up everywhere on walls and doors.’<sup>619</sup>After this violent protest, Yang Yinyu ‘decided not to be tolerant anymore.’<sup>620</sup> In the afternoon of the day, Yang convened a council meeting, and the council made a decision to dismiss the six student leaders of the Student Self-government Society, including Xu Guangping and Liu Hezhen, who would later be killed in the March Eighteenth Massacre in 1926.<sup>621</sup> From May to August 1925, the situation of the anti-Yang movement was further complicated by the outraged nationalism from the May Thirtieth Incident, the Lu Xun and the intellectuals’ debates, and political intervention from the Nationalist Party.

### Yang Yinyu’s Response and Her Supporters

On May 9, two days after the second protest, Yang Yinyu published an announcement in the university bulletin (Figure 29). Yang wrote:

‘To all students:

The university is the highest academic institution in our country in cultivating teachers [*quanguo zuigao peiyang shizi zhidi* 全國最高培養師資之地]. I bear this responsibility, and I have sought development every day and night since I came here.

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<sup>619</sup> ‘Jing nüshida fengchao shangzai xiangchi zhong’, 3. In *History of Beijing Teachers University*, it did not provide the process how student activists attack Yang.

<sup>620</sup> “Yang Yinyu dui nüshi fengchao zhi shanhou [Yang Yinyu’s Measures towards the Student Movement],” *Dagong bao*/*Dagong bao (L’Impartial)*, (May 15, 1925): 5.

<sup>621</sup> The notice of the council was published alongside with Yang Yinyu’s announcement on the university bulletin on May 10. The six dismissed students were: Jiang bodi 姜伯諦, Liu Hezhen 劉和珍, Pu Zhensheng 蒲振聲, Xu Guangping 許廣平, Zhang Pingjiang 張平江, and Zheng Deyin 鄭德音.



Unfortunately, several students are provoking trouble and breaking rules [*zishi fangui* 滋事犯規]. I have been tolerant from the beginning because I want to maintain the school [*weiqu qiuquan* 委曲求全], but today I feel hopeless. This decision is my last resort [*wanbu deyi zhi ju* 萬不得已之舉].

A school is like a family [*xuexiao you jiating* 學校猶家庭]. No elder would not love the family members, and juniors need also pay respect to seniors and their efforts. It is my fault [*xundi wufang* 訓迪無方] that caused the dismissal of these six students, I am grieved.

From now on I hope students can help each other, and together seek development for our school. If anyone has different opinions, please come to me directly, [I will] of course accept. Please take the future of the school as the premise, so we can have better education.

All of [you] students come here from far away because you seek education. Please encourage yourselves and others. I believe all those who have similar thoughts will be willing to hear [these words].

Yang Yinyu, May 9<sup>622</sup>

The decision made by Yang was quickly sanctioned by the Minister of Education Zhang Shizhao, and the Ministry promptly made the fact that it stood by Yang clear.<sup>623</sup> Like Yang Yinyu, Zhang believed in mild reforms and preservation of Chinese traditional culture.<sup>624</sup> When he was first nominated as the Minister of Education in 1923, Zhang advocated for ‘regulating and solving problems in academia’ (*zhengdun xuefeng* 整頓學風), and inaugurated policies to constrict student movements.<sup>625</sup> For his firmness in advocating traditional literary and hardline attitude towards student movements, Zhang was called the ‘Tiger Minister’ (*laohu zongzhang* 老虎總長) by students, and was also

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<sup>622</sup> “Yang xiaozhang zhi quanti xuesheng gongqi [President Yang’s Announcement to All Students],” *PNTCWW*, no. 106, (May 10, 1925): 1.

<sup>623</sup> “Jiaoyu bu xinren Yang Yinyu [The Ministry Supports Yang Yinyu],” *Shen Bao* (*Shanghai Daily*), (May 13, 1925): 3.

<sup>624</sup> Zhang Shizhao studied law and constitution in the University of Aberdeen in the United Kingdom. In 1914, Zhang founded the periodical *Jia Yin Weekly* (*jiayin zhoukan* 甲寅週刊), discussing diplomacy and constitutionalism. Nearly all articles were published in classical verse. Many main authors in this journal were most renowned scholars and politicians, including Hu Shi, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, etc. The journal was closed in 1915 by the government. Then, Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu founded a new journal the *New Youth* (*xin qingnian* 新青年), which became the matrix of the New Culture Movement, while Zhang Shizhao insisted on the value of traditional literature. For Zhang Shizhao’s political philosophy, see Leigh K. Jenco, *Making the Political: Founding and Action in the Political Theory of Zhang Shizhao* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

<sup>625</sup> Zhang Shizhao’s policies included: first, that the formation of students’ assemblies should be agreed by university presidents, and guided by the staff. Second, that people outside of the university were banned from using the campus for student assemblies. Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 215-216.

criticised by revolutionaries as a ‘road-blocking tiger’ (*lanlu hu* 攔路虎) who obstructed the progress of the New Culture Movement.<sup>626</sup>

In May 1925 Zhang Shizhao himself faced student demonstrations because of students’ dissatisfaction towards restrictions on public assemblies ordered by Beijing police. To prevent physical damage and violent conflicts, the police office of Beijing demanded that students not hold mass assemblies outside *Tian’an men* (天安門), the front gate of the Forbidden City (Figure 30) on the tenth anniversary of National Humiliation Day.<sup>627</sup> Rumours appeared in some periodicals that Zhang Shizhao was behind the police order.<sup>628</sup> Regardless of the police’s instructions, Beijing students gathered at the north gate *Shenwu men* (*shenwu gate* 神武門), shouting the slogans ‘Beat down the warlords (*dadao junfa* 打倒軍閥)!’ ‘Beat down the imperialism (*dadao diguo zhuyi* 打倒帝國主義)!’<sup>629</sup> After the demonstration, the students proceeded to Zhang Shizhao’s home, and destroyed his furniture and burnt the house.<sup>630</sup> In the end, police arrived and arrested eighteen students, injuring seven.<sup>631</sup>

After the incident, Beijing students continued to demonstrate against the government, requesting (*qingyuan* 請願) Zhang Shizhao’s dismissal as well as that of the chief of police Zhu Shen (朱深,

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<sup>626</sup> “Wo men zenyang dufu laohu zongzhang [How can We Tackle the Tiger Minister],” *Jingbao fukan* [*Supplement of Beijing News*], no. 248, (1925): 8. The reason why Zhang Shizhao was called a ‘tiger’ also came about because of the English name of his periodical *Jia yin*, *The Tiger*. Zhang used the name because the year of *jia yin* in 1914 was the year of tiger in the Chinese zodiac.

<sup>627</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 217.

<sup>628</sup> Zhang Shizhao later denied this. He wrote in his *Jia Yin Weekly* that, ‘The police office issued an order to prohibit mass demonstrations, and asked Ministry of Education to distribute this order to universities, but the Ministry did not comply.’ Zhang Shizhao, *Jia yin zhoukan* [*Jia Yin Weekly*] 1, no.1, (1925): 18. The *Jia Yin Weekly* had been suspended in DATE, but it was restarted by Zhang in 1925 to respond to the current situation.

<sup>629</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 217-218.

<sup>630</sup> “Zhang shi zhangjiao zhi Beijing xuechao [Beijing’s Student Movements after Zhang Shizhao Became the Minister],” *Jiaoyu zazhi* [*Educational Review*] 17, no.6, (1925): 1-5. According to the report, about 300 students arrived Zhang’s home at five o’clock of May 7. When they found that Zhang was not at home, the student ‘got raged and smashed windows and furnitures’. About 70 policemen then came and fell in fight with students. The arrested students were largely from private colleges, because there were policemen guard most of the public colleges.

<sup>631</sup> “Zhang Shizhao jia daohui [Zhang Shizhao’s House was Smashed],” *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (May 24, 1925): 6.

1879-1943), and the release the arrested students.<sup>632</sup> Students' attitudes towards Zhang Shizhao were reflected in a student article published in *Xing Shi*:

'We students want to commemorate Humiliation Day, but Zhang Shizhao did not agree and used police to suppress... He abetted the police to beat the students! Now the unarmed patriotic students get hurt and bleed! I think we should give Zhang Shizhao a title of "traitor", or "running dog of the Anfu [Duan Qirui's government]"!' <sup>633</sup>

The nationalist periodical *Gu Jun* also praised the students' activities and encouraged students to overturn the 'traitorous' government rather than targeting at its 'accomplice' Zhang Shizhao. It read:

'Humiliation Day was established because of Japanese imperialism... Now Duan's government is opposing our assemblies on this date, isn't it a traitorous government [*maiguo zhengfu* 賣國政府]? Zhang Shizhao's prohibition is actually the government's trick. Now Beijing students are fighting! They use what they have used with Cao Rulin against Zhang Shizhao!...

Instead of petitioning the government, you should gather more people and get prepared [to fight]!' <sup>634</sup>

On May 13, Zhang Shizhao's open resignation letter was published in *Chen bao* (*Beijing Morning Post* 晨报), and was taken as a compromise and apology to students.<sup>635</sup> The press which printed this periodical was regarded as a voice for of Liang Qichao's *yanjiu* faction, and its site would later be burnt out by outraged protesters during the Beijing Revolution in November 1925. When student activists in Beijing Teachers University for Women found that Yang Yinyu did not resign as Zhang Shizhao did, they vowed to 'fight till the end'.<sup>636</sup> From the day when Zhang's resignation letter was

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<sup>632</sup> "Xuechao yishi nan pingxi [Endless Student Movements]," *Chen bao* [*Beijing Morning Post*], (May 12, 1925): 4; Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 218.

<sup>633</sup> "Beijing xuechao fasheng zhi yuanyin jingguo [The Reasons and Process of the Beijing Student Movement]," *Xingshi* [*Awakened Lion*], no.33, (1925): 3.

<sup>634</sup> "Zhang Shizhao jinzhi xuesheng jinian guochi [Zhang Shizhao Prohibited Students in Commemorating the Humiliation Day]," *Gu Jun* [*The Isolated Force*] 2, no.12, (1925): 11-12. Cao Rulin was the one of the Chinese diplomats on the Paris Peace Conference. He was regarded as a traitor, and his home was burnt during the May Fourth Movement.

<sup>635</sup> Duan Qirui approved Zhang's resignation, but retained him as the Minister of Justice.

<sup>636</sup> "Jing nüshida xuesheng fengbi xiaozhang shi [Students in Beijing Women's University Locked the President's Office]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (May 15, 1925): 4; "Nüshida fengchao shangzai xiangchi zhong [The Student Movement in the Women's University Has Not Ended]," *Jiaoyu jie* [*Academia*], (May 18, 1925): 4.

published, the students began to guard the school gate and blocked Yang Yinyu's entry to the school (Figure 31). University activities ceased, and teaching paused. When the university council attempted to convene meetings, students obstructed the way, and prevented Yang's attendance. They locked the president's office, dormitory and secretary's office, and took turns day and night preventing Yang's entrance.<sup>637</sup>

The confrontation was becoming increasingly fierce, and emotional. Lü Yunzhang recalled: 'When I sent food to the students, they seemed to have forgotten the danger [of their actions], but thought it was a little interesting and romantic [*biezhi de quwei* 別致的趣味]... The Students' Alliance of Beijing (*xuesheng lianhehui* 學生聯合會) also came here to reconcile the parties, to some extent to pursue justice, but they also took it as a good chance to find girlfriends.'<sup>638</sup>

On May 14, Yang Yinyu wrote a letter to the public, which was published in *Beijing Morning Post* on May 20 and the university bulletin on May 24. She started with the sentence 'the future of education is tough [*jiaoyu zhi qiantu ji yi* 教育之前途棘矣]'

'I have been studying in different countries, and teaching for ten years. I am willing to sacrifice all for the development of our students. Since last year when I became the president of the Women's University, I have aimed to achieve progress.

I believe ethics and knowledge are both important in women's education today, but self-cultivation and liberation are difficult to achieve at the same time [*daode yu zhishi bingzhong, xiuyang yu jiefang junan* 道德與知識並重，修養與解放俱難]. However, now that we have our title as a teachers' college [*shifan* 師範], [I] have to ask [you to keep] ethics and urge [you to learn] knowledge [*dunpin lixue* 敦品力學]...

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<sup>637</sup> "Nüshida fengchao shangzai xiangchi zhong", 4.

<sup>638</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyi lu*, 25.

Now in this highest women's academy, there are girl students who use violence to expel their president. Slogans are posted on gates, see what are they saying? Offices are sealed for days, entrances are blocked, some students guard doors, to what purpose? ... Shout and scold, but all the [so-called] crimes are just empty words.<sup>639</sup>

In this letter, Yang demonstrated her concern about the future of academia, and reiterated that she insisted on moral training because she believed the university had the responsibility of producing qualified teachers for the whole nation. Yang also conveyed a constrained attitude towards this protest against herself, as she wrote: 'Justice is there for ages [*gongli bainian zizai* 公理百年自在]... Buddha said do not argue, literati do not explain [*foyan wuzheng ruzhe bubian* 佛言無諍，儒者不辯]... I will not further explain myself, all please just wisely and calmly observe [the protest].'<sup>640</sup>

This was the last time that Yang Yinyu openly defended herself to the public. She insisted that her innocence would be proven in time. Besides, there were students who were still not willing to participate in this intensified anti-Yang movement. On May 19, four students from the Preparation Department issued a manifesto, making clear that they were opposing this anti-Yang protest. It read:

'Education is a noble career [*shensheng shiye* 神聖事業]. Students are valuable talents, on which the nation depends. In recent years, student movements are constant, although reasons vary, [educational] progress is hindered. This interruption is the misfortune of the future of education, and also creates bitterness of all of us. We all come here from thousands of miles away. [We have been] nurtured by our parents, cultivated by our nation, sponsored by our society, taught by our teachers, so that we have this opportunity [to study here]. As we are graduating, if we would not become qualified talents, how can we repay [the nation], how can we establish our career? Therefore, when the protest happened, our class remained neutral. Even though more and more students now are getting radical, we will not participate. We think right and wrong is very clear. The conflict would be enlarged [if everyone participated]. [We do not want our school to] repeat the tragedy of the Arts College or Datong College.

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<sup>639</sup> "Benxiao xiaozhang Yang Yinyu xiansheng duiyu benxiao baolie xuesheng zhi ganyan [President Yang Yinyu's Letter]," *PNTCWW*, no. 108, (May 24, 1925): 1.

<sup>640</sup> 'Benxiao xiaozhang Yang Yinyu xiansheng duiyu benxiao baolie xuesheng zhi ganyan', 1.

At first we dared not to say something, but now every manifesto uses the name of Student Self-government Society, we think it is not right. We thus have to make this manifestation with tears. Please forgive us, my schoolmates, and the whole society.

Wu Runying, Chen Yixuan, He Zhanlun, Zhou Yuanyi

[吳潤英，陳伊璇，何展綸，周元懿] May 19<sup>641</sup>

This manifesto has not appeared in the existing literature on the anti-Yang movement, but it was important to demonstrate that the protest at the time was not approved of by all students. Under such an environment of mass movement and peer pressure, it was courageous of these students to demonstrate their attitude. According to a news report in *L'Impartial* (*Dagong Bao* 大公報), students of the university divided into two camps, one advocating for maintaining the school and discussing the issues with the government, while the other one insisting on using radical methods.<sup>642</sup> Student activists took the position that ‘as long as Yang Yinyu turns up in school, we’ll drag her out!’<sup>643</sup> In addition, they also aimed to expel the remaining staff in school. As Lü Yunzhang wrote in her memoir, ‘we decided to expel the chief administrator [Wu Jieyi] as well. At the time I saw many students were cheerless, so I pulled desks and made loud noise. Now the students’ emotion was agitated, so all of us drove away our administrator successfully.’<sup>644</sup>

### *Lu Xun and the Anti-Yang Staff*

At the same time, students competed to win support from other forces outside of the school. They first received support from some professors, most of whom were part-time staff based at Peking University.<sup>645</sup> On May 12, more than twenty professors attended a joint meeting of students and staff,

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<sup>641</sup> Datong College and Arts College mentioned in the manifesto were two colleges in Beijing that were shut down by Ministry of Education in 1924 due to mass student protests. “Nūshida you buyuan nao fengchao zhe [There Are Students Who Are Not Willing to Participate in the Protest],” *Dagong bao* (*L'Impartial*), (May 23, 1925): 5.

<sup>642</sup> ‘Xuelian hui neibu fenlie [The Students’ Alliance Split]’ in *Dagong bao* (*L'Impartial*), (May 23, 1925): 5.

<sup>643</sup> “Nūshida fengchao yu nao yu qi [The Student Movement in the Women’s University Was Getting Worse],” *Dagong bao* (*L'Impartial*), (May 19, 1925): 5.

<sup>644</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyi lu*, 25.

<sup>645</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

including Ma Yuzao and Li Taifen, who had previously had disputes with Yang over the university board. They created a new school council, which was responsible for ‘maintaining the school until the Ministry send a new university president.’<sup>646</sup> At the same time, Lu Xun also joined the battle and fully supported the students.

On May 10, Lu Xun started to publish articles that obscurely mocked Yang. In his series articles *Some Sudden Thoughts* published on *Supplement of Beijing News (Jingbao Fukan 京報副刊)*,

Lu compared Yang Yinyu to ‘a cruel sheep’.<sup>647</sup>

‘Now I can see sheep and wolves in Beijing... Cruel sheep and weak wolves.

I still remember how women were suppressed in the past, even worse than sheep. Now thanks to foreign education, [women] seem to have achieved liberation. However, when they have high positions like university presidents, aren’t they now suppressing their students of the same sex?’<sup>648</sup>

At the council meeting on May 21, Yang imitated the methods used by the Ministry in the student movement of Arts College in the previous year, and proposed two points to try to control the movement. ‘First, asking police to expel the students from the school, and prohibit them from dining in the school. Second, to start the summer vacation early.’<sup>649</sup> In the end most staff agreed with the second point, but opposed to the first one, and the meeting ended unproductively.<sup>650</sup> One week later, Lu Xun and other six staff Ma Yuzao, Shen Yinmo, Qian Xuanton, Shen Jianshi, Li Taifen, Zhou

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<sup>646</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 225.

<sup>647</sup> ‘Sheep’ in Chinese pronounces *yang*.

<sup>648</sup> Lu Xun, “Huran xiangdao [Some Sudden Thoughts],” *Jingbao fukan [Supplement of Beijing News]*, (May 12, 1925): 5.

<sup>649</sup> ‘Nüshida fengchao zhong zhi jiaoyuan biaooshi [Staff’s Attitude in the Student Movement of the Women’s University]’ in *Dagong bao* *Dagong bao (L’Impartial)*, (May 24, 1925): 5.

<sup>650</sup> *Ibid.*, 5.

Zuoren, jointly issued a manifesto in *Jingbao* (*Beijing News* 京報), announcing to the public that the anti-Yang movement was born ‘out of the willingness of all students in the university.’<sup>651</sup>

Soon, the incident raised disputes from outside of the university. On May 30, Chen Yuan (陳源, 1896-1970, pen name Xiying 西滢), a professor of Peking University, published an article in his column in *Modern Review* (*Xiandai Pinglun* 現代評論), hinting that the anti-Yang movement was ‘instigated by some belonging to the most powerful faction in Beijing academia’.<sup>652</sup> By the ‘powerful faction’ here, Chen meant the Zhejiang faction in Peking University, which had Cai Yuanpei as the leader. The seven professors including Lu Xun were all from Zhejiang.

As early as January when the Student Self-government Society submitted its anti-Yang proposal to the Ministry of Education, Chen Yuan had commented in *Xiandai pinglun* that the students’ proposal ‘might be ghostwritten by some staff’.<sup>653</sup> Chen wrote: ‘the crimes that the students listed out against Yang Yinyu were ridiculous. The students accused Yang of “pocketing public money”, it is possible that they were advised by some people.’<sup>654</sup> In June, Lu Xun published *My faction and Origin* (*wode ji yu xi* 我的籍與系) in his literary periodical *Grassland* (*Mang yuan* 莽原), responding that it was a ‘rumour’ and asserting that he was not working for ‘any dark political party.’<sup>655</sup> Chen Yuan and Lu Xun’s war of words would last until 1926.

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<sup>651</sup> ‘Duiyu Beijing nüzi shifan daxue fengchao xuanyan [Our Manifesto of the Movement of Beijing Teachers’ University for Women]’ in *Jingbao* [*Beijing News*], (May 27): 2. According to Xu Guangping, Lu Xun originally wrote the Manifesto, and he then asked Ma Yuzao to distribute it to other professors to sign.

<sup>652</sup> Chen Xiying, ‘Xianhua [Chat]’ in *Xiandai pinglun* [*Modern Review*], Vol1, No.25, (1925):

<sup>653</sup> Chen Xiying, “Beijing de xuechao [Student Movements in Beijing],” *Xiandai pinglun* [*Modern Review*] 1, no.9, (1925): 4-5.

<sup>654</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>655</sup> Lu Xun, “Wode ji yu xi [My faction and Origin],” *Mang Yuan* [*Grassland*], no.7, (June 1925).



### *Student Nationalism in the May Thirtieth Incident*

Along with the ferment of the anti-Yang movement came the continuing upsurge of nationalistic outbreaks, which reached a climax in the May Thirtieth Incident in Shanghai. It had its origin in a Chinese workers' strike in February of the year protesting against low wages at a Japanese cotton weaving mill in Shanghai. The confrontation between the workers and the Japanese owner finally resulted in a violent clash, with one worker killed and another seven wounded. The British-dominated Shanghai Municipal Council's pro-Japanese attitude in the incident caused large-scaled demonstrations and strikes lead by college students, workers, and merchants, protesting against the Japanese and British authorities. Not until December, when the British police inspector-general was dismissed and the Municipal Council paid an indemnity to the deceased and the wounded, did the public anger decrease.<sup>656</sup>

Immediately following the May Thirtieth Incident, a rash of nationalistic agitation broke out in different parts of the nation, and the Beijing students were one of the most important organic parts.<sup>657</sup> On June 6, a grand conference named the Joint Meeting of Beijing Academia on the Shanghai Incident (*Beijing jiaoyujie hu'an houyuan lianhe dahui* 北京教育界滬案後援聯合大會) was held by student representatives from most of the colleges and universities in Beijing.<sup>658</sup> At the same time, the Student Self-government Society of the Beijing Teachers University for Women also founded its own Supporting Association (*Beijing nüzi shifan daxue hu'an houyuan hui* 北京女子師範大學滬案後援

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<sup>656</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 627-628; also see 'Japan and Chinese Nationalism' chapter in Marius B. Jansen, *Japan and China: from War to Peace 1894-1972* (Chicago: Ran McNally College Publishing Company, 1975), 365-372.

<sup>657</sup> Immediate clashes with the imperialists included the Hankou incident of June 10th, Canton Incident on June 23rd, Nanjing incident of July 31, and the Chongqing incident of July 2nd, etc., all resulted in death and wounded of Chinese workers, Japanese and British soldiers. Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 628.

<sup>658</sup> "Choubei Beijing jiaoyujie hu'an lianhe dahui [Preparing the Joint Meeting of Beijing Academia on the Shanghai Incident]," *PNTCWW*, no. 110, (June 7, 1925): 1.

會), echoing the heated nationalism.<sup>659</sup> From now on, the anti-Yang movement was grounded in a wider nationalist movement. The Student Self-government Society exclaimed in public speech:

‘The Imperialists Britain and Japan! They have guns, they have killed our workers, students, people in Shanghai!

We should rise! Rise! Do not wait, let’s be the backup for our compatriots in Shanghai! We vow to sacrifice our blood, to defend against this cruelty. We are also petitioning the government, proposing our protest, and monitoring the government so it is not to be tyrannised by Britain and Japan.

The time is dangerous! Again and again, the police shoot at students. Now it is happening in Shanghai, how can we know it will not happen in Beijing, or even across our whole country? Now the enemies are in front of us, let’s beat them down, quick! Quick! Let’s die in fighting for our nation! Don’t survive for nothing! Rise! Rise! Rise!’<sup>660</sup>

In the following weeks, the students as well as students in Beijing continued strikes (*bake* 罷課), sparing no efforts in fund-raising and public speeches. The university bulletin published the decree issued by the Police Office of Beijing, which asked the students ‘not to interfere public order’ and be careful about the use of political parties.<sup>661</sup> However, the police as well as the Beiyang government had already lost popular support, or any prestige among students and people. Gradually, students activists’ claims in the anti-Yang movement would be merged into the wide context of anti-imperialism.

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<sup>659</sup> “Benxiao xuesheng yuanzhu hu’an zhi rechen [The Enthusiasm of Our Students in Supporting the Shanghai Incident],” *Ibid.*, 1. The Association promptly settled on an explicit division of labour: propagating, fund-raising, and public speech, to raise the attention and participation of the whole society. According to its regulations, every student in the university had to donate at least two *jiao*, and public speeches had to be held every day in the afternoon from 1 to 4 o’clock. 1 *jiao* valued about 100 *bronze yuan*, while a newspaper cost 2 *bronze yuan* at the time.

<sup>660</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2.

<sup>661</sup> “Benxiao bugao [Decree of the Beijing Police],” *PNTCWW*, no. 111, (June 14, 1925): 1. The decree required: ‘Do not propagate red theory [*chihua* 赤化, meaning the ideology of the Communist Party]. Do not set up red flags [the flag of the Nationalist Party]. Do not propagate anti-government speech. Do not interrupt public traffic. Do not coerce other people to donate. Do manage and publicise the donation in prevent some people’s manipulation.’

## Political Intervention

Immediately after the reorganisation of the Nationalist Party in early 1924, young students were seen as the most important resources for political success in its battle with the Beiyang government. On March 12, 1924, the Central Executive Board issued *Policies on Student Movements* (*xuesheng yundong zhengce* 學生運動政策), which was the Party's first explicit outline for motivating students to make revolution.<sup>662</sup> The policy stated: 'Students are the crucial elements in nationalist revolutions, and they have already played an important role in the current process.'<sup>663</sup> Li Shizeng, one of the senior party members in the Nationalist Party as well as a professor in Peking University, was now nominated as the Central Inspector (*zhongyang jiancha weiyuan* 中央監察委員) responsible for organising political activities in Beijing.<sup>664</sup> Li Shizeng at the time was one of the key members in Commission for Readjustment of Qing House Affairs (*Qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui* 清室善後委員會) and Central Committee of Antiquity Protection (*zhongyang guwu baohu weiyuanhui* 中央古物保護委員會), which were responsible for taking over the Qing court's prosperities in the Forbidden City.<sup>665</sup> Besides, because of his position in the Sino-French relations, Li had also been an indispensable intermediary in the French Boxer Indemnity.<sup>666</sup> Li Shizeng's financial resources rivalled

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<sup>662</sup> Zheng, "Guogong hezuo yu xuesheng yundong", 103.

<sup>663</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 270.

<sup>664</sup> Li Shizeng was one of the earliest party members in the Nationalist Party. Li and two other senior members Wu Zhihui (吳稚暉, 1865-1953) and Zhang Jingjiang (張靜江, 1877-1950) co-founded the World Community in Paris in 1906, advocating anarchism. In 1920, Li and Wu established Sino-French University (Zhongfa daxue 中法大學) in Beijing, and appointed Cai Yuanpei as the university president. Chen Jiyong, *Li Shizeng zhuan* [*Biography of Li Shizeng*] (Taipei: jindai zhongguo chubanshe [Modern China Press], 1984).

<sup>665</sup> "Banli qingshi shanhou weiyuanhui zuzhi tiaoli [Regulations of the Commission for readjustment of Qing House Affairs]," *Zhengfu gongbao* [*Government Gazette*] 213, no. 3104, (November 14, 1924): 573; "Commission for Readjustment of Ching House Affairs," *English Weekly*, no. 479, (1924): 1242.

<sup>666</sup> Wang Shuhuai, *Gengzi peikuan* [*The Boxer Indemnity*] (Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1974); Lu Jiande, 'Zhang Shizhao, Li Shizeng he jinfalang an [Zhang Shizhao, Li Shizeng and the Case of Gold Franc]' in *Shucheng* (*Book Town*), (September 2015): 53. The Case of Gold Franc (*Jinfalang an* 金法朗案), which took place from 1923 to 1926, was an important issue in the diplomacy of Beiyang government. The Franc was devalued after the First World War and the French government required China to return the Boxer Indemnity in Gold Francs, which were valued at three times the price of the Franc, in order to support the now-extinct Sino-French Industry Bank. This case was managed by the Cabinet of Zhang Shaozeng, in which Huang Fu served as the Minister of Finance as well as Education.

the Ministry of Education. In June 1925, instead of requiring funding from the Minister of Education as usual, representatives of the seven national colleges turned to negotiate with Li Shizeng.<sup>667</sup>

Reports showed that as early as in January 1925 when the students first submitted the anti-Yang manifesto to Ministry of Education, Li Shizeng was involved in the competition of taking over the post.<sup>668</sup> However, Zhang Shizhao at the time was vigilant to the expansion of Nationalists' activities in Beijing and insisted that the women's university should be guided by a female president.<sup>669</sup> Zhang and Li also had disputes on the Commission of Qing House Affairs.<sup>670</sup> In April, Zhang telegraphed Huang Guohou (黃國厚, 1881-1968), who was the president of Hunan Teachers School for Women (*Hunan nūzi shifan xuexiao* 湖南女子師範學校), and invited her to Beijing.<sup>671</sup> However, Huang's expertise was in teaching domestic science, which was regarded by students as linked to the cliché 'education of good wives and good mothers', and she was even mocked by the students as 'Mrs. Needlework [*fengren xiansheng* 縫紉先生]'.<sup>672</sup>

After Yang Yinyu dismissed the six student leaders of the Self-government Society, Lü Yunzhang and Zhang Pingjiang (張平江, 1906-1975), one of those who had been dismissed, went to see the right-

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<sup>667</sup> "Jiaoyujie fenpei jinkuan yi tuoxie [Negotiation of Funding in Beijing Academia]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (June 8, 1925): 4.

<sup>668</sup> 'Nūzi shida jiang yi xiaozhang [The Women's University Will have A New President],' *Dagong bao* (*L'Impartial*), (January 16, 1925): 4. According to *Dagong bao*, 'the authority probably will choose either Li Shizeng or Wu Zhihui to take over the school.'

<sup>669</sup> Zhang Shizhao at first considered asking his wife Wu Ruonan (吳弱男, 1886-1973) to be the president. Wu was one of the few female Nationalists and had previously been the secretary of Sun Yat-sen. According to Lu Jiande's studies, Li Dazhao was willing to recognise Wu Ruonan as the president. However, due to her relationship with Zhang Shizhao, this plan was laid aside as well. Lu, "Muqing, nū xiaozhang he wenzui xue", 41.

<sup>670</sup> Lu, 'Zhang Shizhao, Li Shizeng he jinfalang an', 47. After organising a new cabinet, Duan Qirui proposed to add four ministers of the Beiyang government in the Commission of Qing House Affairs, among whom there was Zhang Shizhao. However, Li Shizeng denied and the Commission was solely controlled by the Nationalist Party.

<sup>671</sup> 'Zhang Shizhao dianping Huang Guohou zhang jing nūshi [Zhang Shizhao's Invitation to Huang Guohou],' *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (April 13, 1925): 3.

<sup>672</sup> 'Nūshida fandui Huang Guohou zhangxiao [Students in the Women's University Opposed to Huang Guohou],' *Tsinghua zhoukan* [*Qinghua University Weekly*], no. 346, (1925): 74; Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, *Liang di shu*, 66.

wing Nationalists, who had the Han Garden (han huayuan 漢花園) as their base, for advice.<sup>673</sup> Jiang Shaomo (姜紹模, birth and death dates unknown), one of the right-wing Nationalists who was related to the Lieutenant General Dai Li (戴笠, 1897-1946), encouraged Lü and Zhang ‘to manufacture some incidents [*zhizao can’an* 製造慘案].’<sup>674</sup> Lü Yunzhang recalled that Jiang Shaomo told them that in response ‘Yang Yinyu would soon take some policemen to school, you can take this advantage and spill some blood’. Therefore, student activists adopted more extreme measures to boycott Yang. Suicides and hunger strike would be resorted to in order to convey their determination. Many students knew that Yang Yinyu would not use violence against them, but they had to use these methods to win support. As Lü wrote,

‘Yang Yinyu was not a violent person. She just brought the police to look around the school and then leave. Some students stepped forward (later I knew they were communists), but they were only hurt a little on their legs, not given any serious wounds or bleeding. After Yang and the police left, we went on to have meetings. We decided that if the police came to arrest us, we would commit suicide together in a school building. In fact, the medicine that we had prepared was fake.’<sup>675</sup>

The school began the summer holiday in July, however, with the support of Nationalists and some staff, the students occupied the campus and continued to block Yang’s entrance. At the time, Zhang Shizhao was re-appointed by the Beiyang government as the Minister of Education, and made fully responsible for this long-lasting student movement.

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<sup>673</sup> After the death of Sun Yat-sen, the Nationalists split into left and right wings. The left wing, which had Liao Zhongkai (廖仲愷, 1877-1925) as the leader, was inclined to cooperate with the Chinese Communist Party. The right wing, represented by Chiang Kai-shek and Dai Jitao (戴季陶, 1891-1949), advocated for elimination of Communists. According to Lü, the left and right wings of Nationalists were based in Cuihua Lane (*cuihua hutong* 翠花胡同) and Han Garden (*han huayuan* 漢花園) respectively. Yang Tianhong, “Su’e yu ershi niandai guomindang de paibie fenhua [Russia and Factions within the Nationalist Party],” *Nanjing daxue xuebao [Journal of Nanjing University]*, no.3, (2005): 86-96; Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyilu*, 26.

<sup>674</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyilu*, 26.

<sup>675</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

On July 28, Yang Yinyu again warned the students who remained in school to leave as soon as possible. It was already in summer holiday but the students still did not return home. Four days later, on August 1, with Zhang Shizhao's approval, Yang arrived the school and declared that the four classes of students who continued to remain in school were dismissed (*jiesan* 解散). At the same time, she ordered the water and electricity to be turned off. Responding to these actions, the students went on a hunger strike.<sup>676</sup> Around fifty student representatives from other schools in Beijing soon made four resolutions against Yang Yinyu's 'arbitrary suppression' of students.<sup>677</sup>

### Stage Three: Political Struggles in Education

On August 6, Yang Yinyu submitted her resignation. It was accepted by Zhang Shizhao, and she was transferred to work in the Ministry. On the same day, Zhang Shizhao issued a decree to formally suspend studies at the university and publicly published a report in his *Jiayin Weekly*. The anti-Yang movement was now upgraded into a movement called 'Movement to Expel Yang and Topple Zhang', which was echoed by students associations nationwide. While Zhang Shizhao reorganised the university into National Women's University (*guoli nüzi daxue* 國立女子大學), the student protesters and the anti-Yang staff, including Lu Xun, set up a small school in the support of Li Shizeng, and claimed to be the orthodoxy successor of the original Beijing Teachers University for Women. Despite the educators' discussion and urge in academic independence and respect to women's rights, the protesters finally won the battle over Zhang Shizhao in November 1925 during the outbreak of Beijing Revolution. Lu Jiande's research has reexamined the political component in the the small school, which is interpreted as a tenacious insistence of Xu Guangping and Lu Xun in current mainstream

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<sup>676</sup> "Yang Yinyu daibing ru nüshida [Yang Yinyu Entered the University with Police]," *Dagong bao* *Dagong bao*, (August 2, 1925): 4; "Jing guoli nüshida zhi xin sheshi [Recent Developments in Beijing Women's University]," *Shen bao* [*Shanghai News*], (August 2, 1925): 9.

<sup>677</sup> The students argued: 'first, to widely make manifestos, disclosing Yang Yinyu and Zhang Shizhao's crimes. Second, to convene meetings with the media tomorrow and ask them to uphold justice. Third, to provide food to the remaining students in school. Fourth, to request the police station withdraw patrols.'"Jing xueshengjie fandui Yang Yinyu jia wuli guwei [Beijing Students Oppose to Yang Yinyu Using Armed Force]," *Dagong bao*, (August 2, 1925): 4.

interpretation.<sup>678</sup> This section further discusses the attitudes of educators and reevaluates the meaning of protests' victory to Chinese modern education and Chinese feminism.

### *Political Manipulation and Feminism in Movement to Topple Zhang*

In his report to suspend the university, Zhang narrated the whole process of this anti-Yang protest, and presented his understanding of it. He wrote:

‘Since last year president Yang was protested against by several students. However, some activists occupied the campus and interfered the running of the school, making it into a situation of anarchy [*wuzhengfu zhuangtai* 無政府狀態]. From May until now, students have controlled the campus, and the staff can only work outside of it.

I approved Yang Yinyu’s proposal to reorganise the four classes. On August 1, some extreme students held sticks and bricks, shouting and expelling [Yang and the police]. They teared off the notices, and guarded the school gates. At the same time, many male students from other schools came to help, and threatened [Yang]....

I can only suspend this school, in reference to the case of the Arts College last year...’<sup>679</sup>

Zhang Shizhao believed that a president’s appointment or dismissal should not be decided by protesting students.<sup>680</sup> Towards Yang Yinyu, Zhang expressed respect and sympathy. He wrote in the report: ‘as a female educator, president Yang was aware of her responsibilities, bearing difficulties and injustice, standing firm from the beginning till the end. Although she has some shortcomings, she deserves this position.’ In terms of the students, Zhao Shizhao wrote, ‘the students’ activities were this rampant, but the public has no idea about truth. Some people with other purposes are ready to

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<sup>678</sup> Lu Jiande, “Gushi de jieju [The End of the Story],” *Zhonghua dushu bao [Chinese Reading]*, (March 2015): 13.

<sup>679</sup> Gutong [孤桐, Zhang Shizhao’s pen name], “Tingban Beijing nüzi shifan daxue chengwen [Report on Suspending the Beijing Teachers University for Women],” *Jiayin zhouban [Jiayin Weekly]* 1, no.4, (1925): 1-3.

<sup>680</sup> On August 3, Li Shizeng and Zhang Shizhao met at the evening ceremony of the Alumni Association of American and European-returned Students (*oumei tongxuehui* 歐美同學會), a privileged association of politicians who had studied in America and Europe. According to Zhang, Li was telling others how the female students were bruised on the day, but Zhang countered that it was the students that used self-made weapons to attack the president and the policemen. “Yu Li Shizeng tanhua ji [My Conversation with Li Shizeng],” *Jia yin zhouban [Jiayin Weekly]* 1, no.4, (1925): 8-10.

stir....These activities are not helping education, but destroying education! They are not respecting women, but humiliating women!’<sup>681</sup>

However, Zhang’s own position was in danger. Li Shizeng declared, ‘if we want to revitalise diplomacy, we must first clear up our domestic politics. Zhang Shizhao was instructed by imperialists, we must spare no efforts in expelling him.’<sup>682</sup> On August 18, on the council meeting of Peking University, Li Shizeng proposed that the university should be independent from the Ministry of Education, because Zhang Shizhao was a ‘sinner’ due to his actions towards the female students.<sup>683</sup> Li Shizeng’s proposal was firstly passed in a vote of 7:6, and Peking University soon announced independence.<sup>684</sup> The professors who voted for the proposal included Shen Yinmo and Ma Yuzao, who were both active in the anti-Yang movement.<sup>685</sup>

Li Shizeng’s proposal was also strongly opposed by many other professors as well. Twenty professors including Hu Shi, Chen Yuan, Yan Renguang (顏任光, 1888-1968), Yan Shutang (燕樹棠, 1891-1984) and Li Siguang (李四光, 1889-1971), jointly addressed a long article in the *Educational Review*, clarifying the whole process of voting, and directly defined Li Shizeng’s proposal as ‘a political struggle’.<sup>686</sup> Obviously, these professors were opposed to Li Shizeng’s intention— to weaken the Ministry of Education and the Beiyang government by making use of the current mass student

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<sup>681</sup> Zhang Shizhao, ‘Tingban Beijing nūzi shifan daxue chengwen’, 2.

<sup>682</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 228.

<sup>683</sup> ‘Beijing daxue tuoli jiaoyubu wenti zhi jiufen [The Entanglements of the Beijing University and the Ministry of Education],’ *Jiaoyu zazhi [Educational Review]*, vol.17, no.10, (1925): 6-8.

<sup>684</sup> ‘Beijing daxue xuangao duli [The Beijing University Announced Independence],’ *Chen bao [Morning Post]*, (August 20, 1925): 1.

<sup>685</sup> ‘Beijing daxue tuoli jiaoyubu wenti zhi jiufen [The Entanglements of the Beijing University and the Ministry of Education],’ 6.

<sup>686</sup> *Ibid.*, 7. They argued that, ‘First, Peking University should be independent from the political struggles and student movements as soon as possible, and leave a final place for academic research. Second, if anyone wants to promote any activities outside of the school, please use your own name but not the name of the school. Third, our council should be used for internal reforms, but should not interfere other causes outside of its own responsibilities.’



movements as well as asserting the independence of Peking University.<sup>687</sup> Among these professors, Li Siguang witnessed the day when Yang Yinyu returned to school and declared to dismiss four classes. Li wrote: ‘Yang Yinyu was get ready to talk to the students. She told the police not to act, and walked towards the students, surrounded by turbulent abuse... My young students, for what reasons have you behaved like this?’<sup>688</sup>

However, the students vowed to ‘beat down’ Zhang Shizhao and Yang Yinyu, though the latter had already resigned. On August 12, Beijing Students’ Association issued a joint manifesto, declaring that Zhang Shizhao and Yang Yinyu were ‘ruining education’ and earning support from more students’ associations in other cities. They claimed:

‘Yang Yinyu is a running-dog of Zhang Shizhao, Zhang Shizhao is the running dog of the warlord [Duan Qirui], the warlord [Duan Qirui] is the running dog of imperialists Britain and Japan... Thus, the problem in Beijing Teachers University for Women is not a single problem in Beijing, but a crucial problem for our whole nation!’<sup>689</sup>

At the same time, a commission named the Maintenance Board of Beijing Teachers University for Women (*nüshida xiaowu weichihui* 女師大校務維持會) was established by the Students’ Self-governing Society, and key staff members including Lu Xun, Li Taifen, and Shen Yinmo. The Board decided that they would not accept Zhang Shizhao’s order, and supported the students staying at the school.<sup>690</sup> With the support of Li Shizeng and these professors, the students activists issued another manifesto, urging students nationwide to begin ‘eliminating the pests of academia [*jiaoyujie maozei*

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<sup>687</sup> Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 239.

<sup>688</sup> Zhong kui (仲揆, Li Siguang’s pen-name), “Zai nüshida guanju de jingyan [My Experience in the Drama of Teachers University for Women],” *Xiandai pinglun [Modern Review]* 2, no.37, (August 22, 1925): 11-12.

<sup>689</sup> Yuan Jinghua, ed. *Zhang Shizhao xiansheng nianpu [The Chronology of Mr. Zhang Shizhao]* (Jilin: Jilin renmin chubanshe [Jilin Peoples’ Press], 2001), 171.

<sup>690</sup> “Nüshida sheng yu jiaobu duikang [Students of the Women’s University Oppose the Ministry],” *Cheng bao [Beijing Morning Post]*, (August 9, 1925): 1.

教育界蠹賊] Yang Yinyu and Zhang Shizhao.’ (Figure 32)<sup>691</sup> In their manifesto the students accused Yang and Zhang of ‘ganging up with the warlords, flattering the imperialists, being ruthless and tyrannical, and oppressing feminism’.<sup>692</sup>

In carrying out the decision to suspend the university, Zhang Shizhao ordered Liu Baizhao (刘百昭, 1893-?), the head of Beijing Department of Education (*Beijing jiaoyuting tingzhang* 北京教育廳廳長) to take over the school. On August 22, Liu Baizhao and around fifty policemen and twenty housemaids, entered the university and compelled the remaining students to leave the school.<sup>693</sup> According to news reports, students were ‘crammed into cars, and transferred to temporary dormitories, given food and asked to wait for the re-opening of the university.’<sup>694</sup> Lü Yunzhang recalled that, ‘it was extremely chaotic everywhere, bystanders crowded on streets... Twenty or more housemaids pushed female students into cars, and conveyed them to a supplementary school in Baozi Lane. At the time, Mr. Li Shizeng and Wu Zhihui came for help.’<sup>695</sup>

This enforcement as well as the manifestos by student activists in Beijing triggered a wider movement among students and revolutionary parties nationwide, in which Zhang Shizhao and Yang Yinyu were firmly labelled as a ‘running dog of imperialists.’ In the following days, students’ societies and associations united in Beijing and resolved to jointly expel Zhang Shizhao.

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<sup>691</sup> “Beijing nüzi shifan daxue xuesheng zizhahui quanti xuesheng, wei Yang Yinyu goujie Zhang Shizhao wuzhuang fengsuo nüshida cuican jiaoyu rouling nüquan shi qigao quanguo tongbao jiemei xiongdi quzhu jiaoyujie maozei Yang Yinyu Zhang Shizhao xuanyan [Manifesto of the Student Self-government Society of the Beijing Teachers’ University for Women: Yang Yinyu Colluded with Zhang Shizhao, Closed the School, Destroyed Education, Trampled Women’s rights. Our Compatriots, Brothers, Sisters, Please Expel the Pests of Academia Yang Yinyu and Zhang Shizhao],” *Dagong bao*, (August 8-10, 1925): 4;

<sup>692</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

<sup>693</sup> ‘Nüshida fengzhao zhi kuoda [Expansion of the Student Movement of Women’s University]’ in *Shen bao* [*Shanghai News*], (August 23, 1925): 3. The newspaper also reported that ‘the Prime Minister Duan Qirui was outraged because male students stayed overnight in this women’s university, and thus ordered the Beijing Police to drive away the students’.

<sup>694</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>695</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyilu*, 27.

‘Now the flames of imperialists are burning in Asia... This imperialist Zhang Shizhao is a hooligan but in charge of justice and academia. Yang Yinyu is in Zhang’s clique, and she is also a shameless person... They used armed police to suppress vulnerable female students... We hope our compatriots will rise to deny the running-dog Zhang Shizhao as our Minister!’<sup>696</sup>

In sympathy with the female students, societies such as Tianjin Integrity Society (*cheng xuehui* 誠學會), the Youth Society (*qingnian xuehui* 青年學會), and the Shanghai Students’ Association (*xuesheng lianhehui* 學生聯合會) all issued manifestos in newspapers supporting the students in Beijing.<sup>697</sup> In addition, women’s associations in the Nationalist Party and Communist Party in Guangzhou and Shanghai also telegraphed the students in Beijing, denouncing Zhang Shizhao’s ‘barbarian suppression’, and calling on the students to ‘beat down this traitor Zhang Shizhao’ (Figure 33).<sup>698</sup> Alongside with the statement of women’s societies of Shanghai was their manifesto against unequal treaties and trading tariffs, and slogans on ‘beating down imperialism’. Zhang Shizhao and Yang Yinyu were paralleled with foreign ‘imperialists’. At the same time, students published articles in Beijing newspapers such as *Supplement of Beijing Daily*, *Beijing Women’s Weekly*, condemning Zhang and Yang, and promoting this movement. Students using the pen-names Qiusheng (秋聲) and Guhong (孤鴻) called for: ‘beating down the road-blocking tiger of women’s liberation!’, and ‘beating down this education of good wives and good mothers!’<sup>699</sup>

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<sup>696</sup> ‘Yuanzhu nüshida xuesheng zhi quzhang xuanyan [Joint Manifesto of Beijing Students in Expelling Zhang Shizhao]’ in *Dagong bao* *Dagong bao (L’Impartial)*, (August 24, 1925): 4.

<sup>697</sup> Statements of these societies were published on *Dagong bao* on August 23 to August 25.

<sup>698</sup> “Shanghai gejie funü lianhehui zhi nüshida tongxue dian [Women’s Societies in Shanghai Telegraphed with Students of Women’s University],” *Xin li li [New Twilight]*, (September 16, 1925): 3; “Zhongyang dangbu funübu diantao Zhang Shizhao [The Women’s Department of Central Party Telegraphed the Students and Denounced Zhang Shizhao],” *Guangzhou minguo ribao [Guangzhou Republican Daily]*, (September 24, 1925); 1.

<sup>699</sup> Qiusheng, “Dadao funü jiefang yundong de lanluhu [Beat Down the Road-obstructing Tiger of Women’s Liberation]”; Gutong, “Xianqi liangmu de nüzi jiaoyu [Women’s Education of Good Wives and Good Mothers],” *Funü zhoukan [Women’s Weekly]*, no.41, (September 23, 1925): 129-130.

## Two Universities and Educators' Discussions

Regardless of heated public opinion, Zhang Shizhao was preparing to reorganise the university into a new one called National Women's University, and reallocate the three hundred students into this new university. The preparation committee consisted of four university presidents: Hu Yuanyi (胡元儀, birth and death dates unknown), Hu Dunfu, Cheng Zhenji (程振基, 1890-1940), Shi Ying (石瑛, 1879-1943), from Mingde University, Southeast University, Northwest University, and Wuchang University respectively, as well as two female educators, Zhu-Hu Bingxia and Zhou-Shen Baode (周沈葆德 1889-1987).<sup>700</sup> Yang Yinyu also chose to remain silent in public, but still assisted the Board in handing over school affairs.<sup>701</sup>

On the other side, the Student Self-government Society and Board for School Maintenance also launched a new university at another site in Shifuma Street (*shifuma dajie* 石駙馬大街), retaining the name Beijing Teachers University for Women. Led by Li Shizeng, this university of merely forty students had Lu Xun, Ma Yuzao, and Xu Shoushang as teaching staff. In most of the current orthodox historical works and scholarship, the activities of this Board have been regarded as a courageous defence of academic independence.<sup>702</sup> However, the aims of the people in this 'university' were various but not for education. Compared to Zhang Shizhao's preparation committee, which consisted of university presidents and educationalists, Li Shizeng's Beijing Teachers University for Women was headed by political leaders and the staff fully consisted of professors with Nationalist backgrounds. As

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<sup>700</sup> "Nüzi daxue zai jiji choubei zhong [The Women's University is Under Preparation]," *Shen bao* [Shanghai News], (August 29, 1925): 3. Hu Bingxia and Shen Baode had very similar studying experiences as Yang Yinyu. Shen Baode went to the U.S. in the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship together with Yang, while Hu wrote Yang a reference letter when he entered Walnut Hill School.

<sup>701</sup> 'Nüzi daxue zai jiji choubei zhong', 3. According to the news report, Yang 'organised the dormitories, libraries, laboratories, and financial administration, for handing over.'

<sup>702</sup> *Beijing shifan daxue xiaoshi*, 75; Ma, *Journalists and Feminists in Modern China*, 78.

Lü Yunzhang later admitted, ‘although we had very few people, our supporters were very powerful. In addition, we had [support from] students’ associations and public opinion.’<sup>703</sup>

In September 1925, educators Tao Xingzhi, Wang Maozu, Gao Renshan (高仁山, 1894-1928) and (Zhao Naichuan 趙迺傳, 1890-1958) issued articles on *New Educational Review* (*Xinjiaoyu Pinglun* 新教育評論) to express their opinions towards the two universities. Zhao Naichuan argued that Beijing Teachers University for Women should be retained because of ‘women’s emancipation’ (funü jiefang 婦女解放). According to Zhao, women’s independence was based on financial independence, thus women need special training in career so they could acquire employment. ‘In China we still do not have many career choices for women, and teachers are still the best and the most suitable occupation for women at the moment.’<sup>704</sup>

Tao Xingzhi paid sympathy to the authorities who had made efforts (probably meant Yang Yinyu) in establishing the teachers university, and argued that the problem was not about the name, but about the urgency to have a ‘real’ teachers university. Tao wrote,

‘In order to cultivate more qualified teachers, apart from studying modern subjects, we also have to follow four principles. The first is that students must take education as their main career. The second, all the students who wished to be teachers have to be very clear about the needs of primary and middle schools. The third is that all the students have to learn the teaching skills as well as the subjects taught in primary and middle schools; the fourth is that every student must pay attention to her moral training, and they should make them deserve this occupation.’<sup>705</sup>

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<sup>703</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyilu*, 26.

<sup>704</sup> “Nü shida yu nü da wenti zhi taolun [Discussions on Teachers University for Women and Women’s University],” *Xin jiaoyu pinglun* [*New Educational Review*], (1925): 3-10.

<sup>705</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

By Tao Xingzhi, no matter what name the university was, students who were trained as teachers had to fulfil their responsibilities. Tao also noted that ‘now the school in Shifuma Street is not as naive as before’, but he still respected the willingness of female students in both of the universities. Tao suggested that these two universities should be merged together. Wang Maozu’s attitude was similar to Tao Xingzhi, but he directly pointed out that the ultimate problem in the university was because of politics. As Wang wrote,

‘For many years, educators are toddling in political movements, and this problem could only be solved by the self-consciousness of people who were involved in education. The problem of Beijing Teachers University for Women can be solved only if the authorities are willing to guide the university into the path of education and save it out of politics.’<sup>706</sup>

Wang Maozu later published another article *Educators’ Self-Rescue* in early 1926, in order to raise educators’ attention in this movement.<sup>707</sup> In general, from the words of Zhao Naichuan, Tao Xingzhi and Wang Maozu, educators saw this movement as a typical case of political struggles, and took the movement as a disastrous intervention in women’s education.

### *Beijing Revolution and the Protesters’ Victory*

On September 1, 1925, Zhang Shizhao reopened National Women’s University, which had about two hundred students.<sup>708</sup> On the other side, Li Shizeng’s Beijing Teachers University for Women also had its opening ceremony on September 21. According to the news report on the next day, the ceremony was attended by Li Shizeng, his follower Yi Peiji, and the professors of the Maintenance Board. At the

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<sup>706</sup> “*Jinnian lai jiaoyu zai zhengchao zhong dagun, shi wei jiaoyu zhi zhiming shang. cizhong bingzheng, fei taren suo neng liaojiu, weiyou suzhu jiaoyujie zhi zijue. gu cici nüshida zhi hui fu, qi xianjue wenti, zhi zai dangshizhe shifou you chengyi jiang xuexiao yingru jiaoyu de guigao, chaochu zhengchao de xuanwo.* 近年來教育在政潮中打滾，實為教育之致命傷。此種病症，非他人所能療救，惟有訴諸教育界之自覺。故此次女師大之回復，其先決問題，只在當事者是否有誠意將學校引入教育的軌道，超出政潮的漩渦。” *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>707</sup> Wang Maozu, “*Jiaoyujie de ziji [Educators’ Self-Rescue]*,” *Chengbao fukan [Supplementary of Beijing Morning Post]*, no.15, (January, 1926): 1.

<sup>708</sup> ‘The Preparation of the National Women’s University’ in *Shen bao [Shanghai News]*, (September 2, 1925): 3.

ceremony, Xu Guangping represented the forty students and addressed a speech. Xu Guangping meaningfully said: ‘we students just want to study. We do not know who are of *zhengxue* clique, who are of *yanjiu* clique, who are from the Nationalists. All we had was the suppression of education, we just know [who has the] power of justice.’<sup>709</sup> During September and October 1925, there were two successors to Beijing Teachers University for Women, but this status would be ended soon as the outbreak of Beijing Revolution in November.

In November 1925, the Political Committee of the Nationalist Party (*guomindang zhengzhi weiyuanhui* 國民黨政治委員會) and the Northern Committee of the Communist Party (*zhonggong beifang quwei* 中共北方區委) jointly decided to initiate a national assembly in Beijing, targeting Duan Qirui’s Beiyang government and Zhang Zuolin’s Feng Clique in the Northeast.<sup>710</sup> On November 28, 1925, the national assembly for the ‘Autonomy of Customs Tariffs’ (*guanshui zizhu guomin dahui* 關稅自主國民大會) was convened (Figure 34), by the professor Zhu Jiahua (朱家驊, 1893-1963) of Peking University, who was later the Minister of Education in the Nationalist Government during the 1930s.<sup>711</sup> More than forty thousand citizens gathered in the front of the Shenwu Gate of the Forbidden City. At the assembly, Zhu Jiahua announced that ‘the ultimate goal of this assembly was to protest against Duan Qirui, request him to resign, and stand up for the Nationalist Government of Guangzhou.’<sup>712</sup> Groups of ‘commandos’ (*gansi dui* 敢死隊) which consisted of workers and students distributed flyers on streets, written ‘Nationals: Get armed! Unified! Violent! Revolution in the

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<sup>709</sup> Xue Suizhi, *Lu Xun shengping shiliao huibian [Archives of Lu Xun]*, Vol.3 (Tianjin: Tianjin renmin chubanshe [Tianjin People’s Press], 1986): 335.

<sup>710</sup> Beijing difang dangshi yanjiuhui [Committee of the History of the Communist Party in Beijing] ed. *San yi ba can’an shimo [The Process of the March Thirtieth Tragedy]* (Beijing: Wen jin chubanshe [Wenjin Press], 2000), 43-45.

<sup>711</sup> On October 26, 1925, Duan’s government convened a meeting with ambassadors from twelve countries in Beijing, negotiating tariff duties. Chinese diplomats included Shen Ruilin, Yan Huiqing, Wang Zhengting, Huang Fu, Shi Zhaoji. However, on the day of the meeting, over fifty thousand citizens demonstrated in Beijing, protesting against Duan’s meeting and requesting for ‘tariff autonomy’. *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>712</sup> *Ibid.*, 43; Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 243.

Capital!’<sup>713</sup> After the assembly, the demonstrators proceeded to Duan’s home, but were stopped by policemen. Thus, they turned to the homes of Zhang Shizhao and Zhu Shen, who were taken as national traitors, and again smashed and burnt their houses.<sup>714</sup>

The next day, more than fifty thousand demonstrators continued the national assembly, and passed seven proposals, and ultimately, refused to recognise Duan Qirui as the Prime Minister.<sup>715</sup> It was finally ended by Zhu Jiahua because the assembly turned into a riot and internal conflicts began inside the Nationalist Party and the Communist Party. However, although the leader called for an end, the demonstrators proceeded to the office of Beijing Morning Post, which once published Zhang Shizhao and Yang Yinyu’s letters, and burnt out the site.<sup>716</sup> Immediately after the end of Beijing Revolution, the Nationalist Government in Guangzhou telegraphed the main newspapers in large cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, Tianjin, and Wuhan, resolving to support the Beijing citizens and their anti-government demonstrations. They praised events in Beijing as ‘a revolution of Beijing people fighting for their freedom’.<sup>717</sup>

After the Beijing Revolution, Zhang Shizhao retreated to the Tianjin concession, and resigned again in December 1925. The School Maintenance Board of Beijing Teachers University for Women soon

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<sup>713</sup> ‘minzhong wuzhuang qilai, tuanjie, baodong, shoudu geming 民眾武裝起來，團結，暴動，首都革命！’ Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 243.

<sup>714</sup> “Jing shimin shiwei [Beijing Citizens’ Demonstrations],” *Shi bao (The Eastern Times)*, (December 1, 1925): 1.

<sup>715</sup> The seven proposals passed at the national congress were: 1. to immediately remove all power from Duan Qirui; 2. to dismiss the tariff negotiation meetings and announce China’s autonomy in tariffs (*guanshui zizhu* 關稅自主); 3. to form a temporary government committee and convene national congress before the establishment of a national government; 4. to request that the national armies obey all the decisions of the congress; 5. to punish national traitors and close down all their properties; 6. to arrest the national traitors and have them judged openly by the public; and 7. to investigate the Gold Franc Case Dongli, “Ji Beijing minzhong geming yundong [A Record of Beijing Revolution],” *Zhengzhi shenghuo [Political Life]* no.59, (1925), quoted from Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 243.

<sup>716</sup> “Jing shimin shiwei [Beijing Citizens’ Demonstrations],” *Shi bao (The Eastern Times)*, (December 1, 1925): 1. The exact reasons of the burning of the office of *Chenbao* remain unknown. According to historian Lü Fangshang, the reasons might be first, because of its anti-Communist comments; second, because it was regarded as belonging to the *yanjiu* faction; and third, because of peer competition. Lü, *Cong xuesheng yundong dao yundong xuesheng*, 244.

<sup>717</sup> “Zhongguo guomindang dui Beijing geming yundong xuanyan [Manifesto of the Nationalist Party to the Beijing Revolution],” *Zhen guang [True Light]* 24, no. 11-12, (December 8, 1925): 115-116.



convened a meeting, deciding to restore the university.<sup>718</sup> At the time, the struggles between Li Shizeng and Zhang Shizhao finally ceased. Students in Li Shizeng's Beijing Teachers University for Women, including Xu Guangping and Lü Yunzhang, 'gloriously returned to the original campus'.<sup>719</sup> 'I clearly remembered the first thing we did after we returned. Jiang Baidi [one student] climbed to the window of the library, using ink to cover the signboard of "Women's University", and replaced it with a paper board of ours,' recalled Lü Yunzhang. 'All of the two hundred students were so scared and fled, thus we forty students recovered [*guangfu* 光復] the university.'<sup>720</sup>

## Summary

This chapter has reexamined Yang Yinyu's own voice in the anti-Yang movement, reinterpreted the movement within a broader social and political context, and reevaluated its historical meaning in Chinese modern education. First, in the existing literature, little is done to understand Yang Yinyu's own educational ideology and normal university life when she was the president. Historians often depend on Lu Xun and Xu Guangping's works and thus present the university life as a harsh environment just as the protesters described. However, according to the new archival materials, and in particular the university bulletins, discussed here, students conducted plentiful activities beyond the political sphere. Despite an extreme shortage of funds, Yang maintained diverse teaching courses and strived to implement her ideology of developing more qualified teachers for schools nationwide.

Second, Yang Yinyu's emphasis on discipline and moral training stemmed from her view of the critical role of the university as a teachers' training school. Her desires and concerns were not those of a 'feudal' individual, but rather were shared by many of her peer educators, as was shown in the

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<sup>718</sup> "Nü shida weichi hui [The School Maintenance Board of the Beijing Teachers University for Women]," *Shi bao* (*The Eastern Times*), (December 1, 1925): 1.

<sup>719</sup> Lü, *Lü Yunzhang huiyi lu*, 27.

<sup>720</sup> *Ibid.*, 27.

speeches of John Dewey, Tao Xingzhi, and Jiang Menglin. Although the prevailing student protests and movements demonstrated a degree of emancipation and liberation on the part of the students, the serious disruption this posed to the life of the school, impeded its main function, education, and interrupted the development of modern education. China in the 1920s had already undergone twenty years' of modern educational reform, but as Cong Xiaoping's studies suggest, the shortage of new teachers was a crucial problem throughout the Republican era.

Third, the movement demonstrated a far more complicated picture than it has been interpreted in current literature. On one side, the movement was initiated out of Xu Guangping's individualism, not democratic procedure. Although the protestors' claims in the early stages were influenced by the political and feminist campaign triggered by the revolutionary party member Xiang Jingyu, its ultimate intention in the later stages was just to realise the purpose of toppling the president and the minister of Education. Among some of the students, Yang Yinyu's westernised attitude towards gender was received as a particular marker of unacceptable strangeness. Peer pressure also played a crucial role in the radicalisation of students, which helped make the anti-Yang movement become part of the wider environment of nationalism in Beijing after the May Thirtieth Incident. On the other side, Lu Xun's support in the student movement was related with his relation with Xu Guangping, and his articles in attacking Yang Yinyu should not be used as an objective verdict to evaluate Yang and the movement. Furthermore, political intervention from Li Shizeng and the Nationalist Party permeated through the development of anti-Yang movement in the later stages. For educators, the end of the university was a great loss for Chinese education, especially women's education. Therefore, the movement was ended with a victory of political manipulation rather than the students' protection of academic independence.

## **Chapter V: The Villain**

### The History and Collective Memory of Yang Yinyu, 1926-1938 and the Aftermath

#### **Introduction**

In the winter of 1925, Yang Yinyu returned to Suzhou, living with her brother Yang Yinhang's family.<sup>721</sup> Although she had left Beijing and the anti-Yang movement had ended, the attack on her did not stop. Liu Hezhen, one of the student leaders that Yang dismissed in May 1925, would be killed in March Thirtieth Eighteenth Tragedy (*sanyiba can'an* 三一八惨案) in 1926. Lu Xun wrote the famous essay *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* after this incident, condemning the cruel massacre by the warlord government and at the same time criticising Yang's decision to dismiss Liu the previous year. From here Yang was portrayed as one of the 'killers' whose actions led to Liu's death, despite the fact that Yang was not even involved in March Eighteenth Tragedy. This essay by Lu Xun was later selected to be incorporated in standard textbooks in China during the 1960s as a classic article that reflected the revolutionary spirit of Liu Hezhen, the leading role of Lu Xun in anti-warlordism and anti-imperialism, the darkness of warlord government and its running-dogs, including Yang Yinyu.<sup>722</sup>

This chapter will disentangle the history of how the prevailing image of Yang Yinyu was constructed and explain why she has been remembered as a villain from 1926 till present. The chapter argues that the discourse characterising Yang Yinyu as a villain as represented in current literature was already formed during the March Eighteenth Tragedy in 1926, and was further enhanced on a national level through the teaching of Lu Xun's works after the 1960s. The chapter finds that during Yang's final ten years living in Suzhou, though being 'frustrated' according the memoir of her niece Yang Jiang and

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<sup>721</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 78. Yang Jiang recalled that Yang Yinyu had her own room, and she liked to decorate it with the colour green.

<sup>722</sup> In *Teaching Method of Lu Xun's works* published in 1973, Yang Yinyu was footnoted as 'a president that clung to warlord government and oppressed progressive students.'

student Su Xuelin, Yang still was keen on teaching and wished to fulfil her duty as an educator.<sup>723</sup> After her death in 1938, people in Suzhou remembered her as a heroine and her peer educators commemorated her in schools. It was after the 1960s when Lu Xun's works were selected into textbooks that Yang came to be taught, and thought of, as a villain on the national scale.

The purpose of this chapter is threefold. First, it contextualises Lu Xun's article *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* in the historical background, and suggests that the prevailing image of Yang Yinyu was in fact shaped by Lu Xun as a villain in 1925 and 1926. Lu Xun's criticism of Yang immediately merged into the wider atmosphere of outraged nationalism and a discourse of 'villainy' was formed during March Eighteenth Tragedy. Second, it explores the activities and the inner world of Yang Yinyu during her final ten years under the Nanjing regime, to complete our portrayal of her as a lifelong educator. Third, it investigates how Yang was regarded by people around her before she was held up as a negative example through Lu Xun's perspective in contemporary textbooks. Through years of school teaching with a focus on Lu Xun after the 1960s, a stereotyped collective memory on Yang Yinyu as a national villain was produced. In summary, by exploring the last stage of Yang Yinyu's life and deconstructing the process of how she was shaped as a national villain, as Arif Dirlik points out, will 'reconcile our memory with history'.<sup>724</sup>

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<sup>723</sup> Ibid., 78-95; Su Xuelin, pseudonym *chunlei* (春雷), "Jige nü jiaoyu jia de suxiexiang, er, Yang Yinyu nüshi [A Sketch of Several Female Educators, No. 2, Miss Yang Yinyu]," *Shenghuo [Life]* 5, no.13, (1930): 195-197.

<sup>724</sup> Arif Dirlik, *Postmodernity's Histories: The Past as Legacy and Project* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2000), 19.

*The Making of Educational Orthodoxy Based on Chinese Nationalism, 1926-1928*

The final ten years of Yang Yinyu's life was a period known as the 'Nanjing Decade' under the rule of the Nationalist Party. After the success of Northern Expedition, the Nationalist Party conducted a vigorous period of national integration and state building before the country was thrown into a total war against Japan in late 1937.<sup>725</sup> Compared with the Beiyang government, the Nationalist government maintained more centralised power over education, and established an educational orthodoxy based on Chinese nationalism, which was characterised in its core political ideology—the Three People's Principles (*sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義).<sup>726</sup> During the Northern Expedition, the Nationalist government issued the *Organisational Principles of the Educational Committee in the Nationalist Government* (*guomin zhengfu jiaoyu weiyuanhui zuzhifa* 國民政府教育委員會組織法), which meant that it began to take education as an organic part of social construction. Xu Chongqing (許崇清, 1888-1969), a key member of the Educational Committee as well as the Head of the Educational Bureau of Guangdong, first proposed the policy of 'the "participation" of education' (*danghua jiaoyu* 黨化教育) in March 1926, arguing that the national education should be guided by the core ideology of the Nationalist Party.<sup>727</sup>

In May 1928, the newly-established Grand Academy (*da xueyuan* 大學院), at the time the highest educational institution, held the First National Conference on Education (*diyici quanguo jiaoyu huiyi*

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<sup>725</sup> Lloyd Eastman, 'Nationalist China during the Nanking Decade 1927–1937', chapter in *The Cambridge History of China*, edited by John K. Fairbank and Albert Feuerwerker, Vol.13 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 116-167.

<sup>726</sup> The Three People's Principles were proposed by Sun Yat-sen in 1905, and became the ultimate political ideology of the Nationalist Party. It represented *minzu*, *minquan*, *minsheng*, literally meaning the 'principle of nationalism' (*minzu zhiyi* 民族主義), 'principle of people's power' (*minquan zhuyi* 民權主義), and 'principle of peoples' welfare' (*minsheng zhuyi* 民生主義). Chiu-Sam Tsang, *Nationalism in School Education in China* (Hong Kong: Progressive Education Publishers, 1967), 53-54. First edition published in 1933.

<sup>727</sup> Xu Chongqing was a cousin of Xu Guangping, who both came from the Guangdong Xu clan. Dan Zhaobin, *Huayu yu quanli, Zhongguo jin xiandai jiaoyu zongzhi de huayu fenxi [Discourses and Power, An Analysis of the Educational Principles in Modern China]* (Shandong: Shandong jiaoyu chubanshe [Shandong Educational Press], 2008): 421-422.

第一次全國教育會議), in order to work out an educational foundation for the new regime.<sup>728</sup> At the conference held in Nanjing, the Grand Academy decided to replace the ‘the “partification” of education’ more specifically with the ‘education of the Three People’s Principles’.<sup>729</sup> It explained the new policy as follows:

‘The education of Three People’s Principles is an education that aims to realise the Three People’s Principles. All of our education should be conducted to revive the national spirit, and to elevate the morality of the people, and to train their bodies, in order to realise the liberty and equality of our nationality...

Ultimately, all of our education should be conducted according to the Three People’s Principles, and be conducted for the realisation of these principles.’<sup>730</sup>

The ‘national spirit’ (*guomin jingshen* 國民精神) which education in Nationalist period aimed to cultivate, was the ‘spirit of nationalism to protect China against imperialism’, which consisted of ‘cultural invasion, economic invasion, and political invasion’.<sup>731</sup> The new policy was then passed in the Third National Congress of the Nationalist Party (*guomindang disanci quanguo daibiao dahui* 國民黨第三次全國代表大會), and thereafter, the ‘education of Three People’s Principles’ became the core of educational ideology of the Nationalist regime and was propagated in all levels of schools around the nation.<sup>732</sup>

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<sup>728</sup> *Da xueyuan* was established in October 1927 in Nanjing by the Nationalist government. Cai Yuanpei was nominated as the chief administrator, and it functioned as the Ministry of Education. Within one year, the *Da xueyuan* was abolished and the Ministry of Education of the Nationalist government was formally created in October 1928. Cui Hengxiu, *Minguo jiaoyubu yu gaoxiao guanxi zhi yanjiu 1912-1937 [An Study on the Relationship between the Ministry of Education and Universities 1912-1937]* (Fuzhou: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe [Fujian Educational Press], 2011).

<sup>729</sup> Dan, *Huayu yu quanli*, 463-465. This meant that even if the political party later deviated from Three People’s Principles, the education should continue to emphasise the teaching of Sun Yat-sen.

<sup>730</sup> Ibid., 465. “我們全部的教育，應當發揚民族精神，提倡國民道德，鍛鍊國民體格，以達到民族的自由平等...總之，我們全部的教育，應當照准三民主義的宗旨，貫徹三民主義的精神。” English translation refers to Tsang, *Nationalism in School Education in China*, 52.

<sup>731</sup> Tsang, *Nationalism in School Education in China*, 49.

<sup>732</sup> Ibid., 52-53.

Yang Yinyu in these years did not directly participate in educational reforms, nor was she at the political centre. From 1929 to 1933, Yang Yinyu was teaching at Soochow University, a Christian university that at that time was undergoing ideological transition to adapt itself to the requirements of the Nationalist regime. Yang later taught at several different schools including Suzhou Middle School (*Suzhou zhongxue* 蘇州中學) and Suzhou Women's Normal School (*Suzhou nüxi shifan xuexiao* 蘇州女子師範學校). In the meantime, Yang also was a member of the Science Association of China (*Zhongguo kexueshe* 中國科學社). Together with CNAAE, these educational organisations, which Yang Yinyu was part of, were at the leading edge of promoting modern science and cultural protection under the pressure of cultural invasion from Japan.

### Existing Literature

Through the deconstruction of the stereotyped image of Yang Yinyu, this chapter contributes to three main areas of studies. The first is the historical meaning of March Eighteenth Tragedy in the Republican history. On March 18, 1926, the United Front (CCP and KMT) held another national assembly in Beijing. The assembly turned into a mass demonstration against the Prime Minister Duan Qirui, in which 47 citizens were killed and more than a hundred were wounded. Many of the victims were students, in conflict with government guards.<sup>733</sup> This significant incident triggered an intensive wave of nationalism and anti-government sentiment in China at the time, yet this important event has not received much attention in English language literature. Scholars and historians mainly take the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and the May Thirtieth Incident in 1925 as the most significant turning points in modern Chinese history during the Republican era. For example, both John Israel's *Student Nationalism in China 1927-1937* and Rana Mitter's monograph *A Bitter Revolution* examine the rising nationalism among students in the period of 1920s to 1940s, but neither mention the March

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<sup>733</sup> Tsang, *Nationalism in School Education in China*, 61.

Eighteenth Tragedy.<sup>734</sup> The reasons might be that, first, it is considered more important to examine the origins of the ‘May Fourth spirit’, because of its significance in China’s unification after 1927, as well as its lasting legacies in the contemporary era. Second, historians largely take the following rounds of student movements after 1925 as the direct repercussions of the two unprecedented incidents.

The second related area is the studies of Lu Xun. When Lu Xun was constructed by the CCP as a leader of revolutionary spirit between the 1950s to 1970s, his activities and attitudes during the anti-Yang movement as well as the March Eighteenth Tragedy were taken specifically as typical cases to embody this revolutionary spirit. Thus, Lu Xun’s portrayal of Yang as one of the ‘villains’ in the March Eighteenth Tragedy was enlarged especially in the 1950s and 1970s. China’s opening-up policy in 1978, two years after the end of the Cultural Revolution, allowed historians to revisit Chinese modern history, including the March Eighteenth Tragedy as well as the political use of Lu Xun, beyond the discourse of ‘the CCP’s leading role’. During the 1980s, both Chinese and western historians including Merle Goldman and Lung-kee Sun have all demonstrated how the CCP made political use of Lu Xun during the 1950s and 1970s.<sup>735</sup> In 1996, the Studying Society of the CCP’s History in Beijing (*Beijing difang dangshi yanjiu hui* 北京地方黨史研究會) convened the 70th anniversary of March Eighteenth Tragedy, in order to recover the roles of various players in this significant incident, apart from Lu Xun and the patriotic students such as Liu Hezhen. As Wang Guohua (王國華), the head of Beijing Municipal Archives said, ‘we have written too much about the role of the CCP in the incident in the past decades, but little on the KMT... Without the United Front of the CCP and KMT, this large-scaled movement was impossible to realise.’<sup>736</sup> In a recent article in reappraising the incident, Chinese historian Zheng Shiqu reiterates it as ‘a milestone of the

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<sup>734</sup> Israel, *Student Nationalism in China, 1927-1937*; Mitter, *A Bitter Revolution*.

<sup>735</sup> Merle Goldman, “The Political Use of Lu Xun,” *The China Quarterly*, no.91, (1982): 446-461; Lung-Kee Lee, “To Be or Not to Be Eaten: Lu Xun’s Dilemma of Political Engagement,” *Modern China* 12, no. 4, (1986): 459-485.

<sup>736</sup> “Ji’nian sanyiba can’an qishi zhounian zuotanhui zhaokai [The 70th Anniversary of March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Beijing dangshi yanjiu* [Communist Party’s History].



cooperation among the CCP, KMT, students and intellectuals in the path of revolution’, and this cooperation was ‘decisive’ in the final success of Northern Expedition.<sup>737</sup>

Thus, this chapter proposes the importance of this incident in the English language literature, and also analyse the significance and its inner difference from May Fourth Movement and May Thirtieth Movement. As this chapter shows, the March Eighteenth Tragedy had a different pattern of social meaning than the May Fourth and May Thirtieth and in China it has been a sustaining topic in the history of modern revolutions. Immediately after the incident, students and intellectuals at the time clearly differentiated the incident from the May Fourth Movement of 1919 and May Thirtieth Movement of 1925: while the previous two incidents in 1919 and 1925 were peoples’ fight against unequal treaties and foreign invaders, the March Eighteenth Tragedy was a fight against ‘internal villains’ and ‘running dogs of foreign imperialists’. The case of Yang Yinyu, who was constructed as one of the ‘internal villains’ and ‘running dogs’, provides us an opportunity to examine how the discourse of ‘martyrs and villains’ was shaped during the nationalist revolutions.

The chapter does not aim to undermine Zheng Shiqu’s interpretation, but it does suggest that the definition of ‘internal villains’ was not unproblematic. Besides, despite historians’ reappraisal of Lu Xun in the recent decades, little has been to demonstrate how this constructed political legacy of Lu Xun has been enhanced through years of school teaching in China. Yang Yinyu’s case provides us an opportunity to demonstrate the lasting legacy of Lu Xun’s works in shaping the collective memory of historical figures in China.

Third, Yang Yinyu’s own experiences during the Nanjing decade contribute to reappraisal of the role of non-political figures in the WWII. As Rana Mitter identifies, before the 1980s the only parts of the

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<sup>737</sup> Zheng Shiqu, “Cong Wusa dao Sanyiba de Zhongguo zhishijie [The Chinese Intellectuals from the May Thirtieth Movement to the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Lishi yanjiu [Historical Review]*, no.5, (2016): 109-126.

Chinese experiences that were discussed in details were the events in the CCP's revolutionary base area.<sup>738</sup> In the 1980s, Chinese historians begin to regard Yang Yinyu with more sympathy after Yang Jiang confirmed her aunt's heroic death at the hands of the Japanese in her memoir essay. However, in current literature portrayals of Yang Yinyu tend to be split between the 'villain' shaped by Lu Xun in 1926, and the tragic heroine described by Yang Jiang. Chinese historians such as Wang Feng'e and Wang He, for example, praise her death and call her 'a daughter of China who had a nationalist spirit'.<sup>739</sup> These overly simplistic versions of Yang have ignored her complicated identity, presented in this thesis, and failed to understand her on her own terms. As the chapter will show, throughout her life Yang was a Chinese person deeply influenced by missionary education and the Christian spirit of 'sacrifice', particularly after 1925.

### Structure and Sources

The chapter consists of three sections. Through Lu Xun's articles and a series of advocates and public activities presented in newspapers and periodicals in 1926, the first section examines how the discourse of 'martyrs and villains' was formed during the March Eighteenth Tragedy, and how Yang Yinyu was constructed as a representative of this nationalist discourse by Lu Xun. The second section depends on the archival materials obtained from the university and schools where Yang had taught in Suzhou, to explore Yang's activities after she left Beijing. It also uses the memoir articles by Yang's niece Yang Jiang and student Su Xuelin to demonstrate how Yang suffered personally from the lasting infamy created by the anti-Yang movement and Lu Xun's call to 'continuously attack drowning dogs'. The final section finds that contrary to Yang's widely-accepted image as a national villain, she was in fact remembered as a war-time heroine before the 1950s. By investigating teachers' discussions of

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<sup>738</sup> Rana Mitter, *China's War with Japan, 1937-1945: The Struggle for Survival* (London: Allen Lane, 2013), 11.

<sup>739</sup> Wang Feng'e and Liu Yuan, "Zhongguo shouwei daxue nüxiaozhang Yang Yinyu jiaoyu sixiang shuping [The Educational Ideologies of China's First Female University President Yang Yinyu]," *Shenyang shifan daxue xuebao [The Journal of Shenyang Teachers University]*, no.2, (2017): 125-128; Wang He, "Yang Yinyu: Zhongguo diyiwei daxue nüxiaozhang [Yang Yinyu: China's First Female University President]," *Zhongguo qingnianbao [China Youths Daily]*, (August 25, 2017): 4.

how to teach the article *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* from 1970s until the present, it argues that the collective memory on Yang Yinyu in contemporary China has been forged through school education. Overall, the deconstruction of the images of Yang Yinyu in this chapter understand this figure on her own terms, and only through this, we can understand a historical figure based on his or her own concerns but not from the tainted lens of politics. Moreover, it also demonstrates its implications to the contemporary educational reforms on textbooks.

### **Lu Xun's Construction of Yang Yinyu in the March Eighteenth Tragedy**

Immediately after the March Eighteenth Tragedy, Lu Xun published *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen*, in which he called the day 'the darkest day of the Republican era' (*minguo yilai zui hei'an de yitian* 民國以來最黑暗的一天), a phrase which is now widely used in periodicals to represent the 'cruelty' of the republican warlords.<sup>740</sup> In this famous article, Lu Xun commemorated Liu Hezhen as a 'true fighter' in the anti-government demonstration. Lu Xun wrote:

'I hear that Liu Hezhen went forward gaily. Of course it was only a petition and no one with any conscience could imagine a trap. But then she was shot before Government House, shot from behind, and the bullet pierced her lung and heart. A mortal wound but she did not die immediately. When Zhang Jingshu, who was with her tried to lift her up, she too was pierced— by four shots, one from a pistol—and fell. And when Yang Dequn, who was with them, tried to lift her up, she, too, was shot: the bullet entered her left shoulder and came out to the right of her heart, and she also fell. She was able to sit up, but a soldier clubbed her savagely over her head and her breast, and so she died.'<sup>741</sup>

American historian John K. Fairbank once used this paragraph by Lu Xun to demonstrate historians' difficulties in picturing events. As Fairbank remarked, 'the exact trajectory of the bullets through the girls is plainly Lu Xun's artistic contribution. No autopsies were performed such as that on President

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<sup>740</sup> Lu Xun, "Jinian Liu Hezhen jun [In the Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen]," *Yu Si* [*Silk of Literature*], no. 74, (1926):3. The sentence has been quoted widely, for example, in "Minguo yilai zui hei'an de yitian [The Darkest Day in Republican Era]," *Beijing ribao* [*Beijing Daily*], (June 29, 2011): 12.

<sup>741</sup> John K. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 209.

Kennedy.’<sup>742</sup> Indeed, in most of the edited archival materials produced in China during the 1970s and 80s, including narratives and memoirs by participants, as it will be shown in the following discussion, presented abstractions or descriptions like ‘tension mounted between patriotic students and the warlord government authorities, who shot many demonstrators’, just as Fairbank has identified.<sup>743</sup> Historians nowadays usually fall into the difficulty that they have only verdicts from one side, whose values and memories might be influenced by the dominant communist narrative developed during the second half of the twentieth century. However, by examining Lu Xun’s works at the time and the news reports and intellectuals’ discussions on periodicals at the time, this section demonstrates the layers in the construction of Yang as a villain and help to understand the wider impact of the incident.

### *The March Eighteenth Tragedy of 1926*

In November 1925, the Anti-Fengtian War began between the Soviet-backed Nationalist Army (*guomin jun* 國民軍) and Japan-backed Feng clique, which were led by Feng Yuxiang and Zhang Zuolin (張作霖 1875-1928) respectively.<sup>744</sup> In March, Japanese troops bombarded Dagu Port (*dagu kou* 大沽口) near Tianjin, while the Nationalist Army fired back. This act was taken by the Japanese side as a violation of the 1901 Protocol, which was signed between the Qing court and the Eight-nation Alliance after the Boxer Rebellion.<sup>745</sup> On March 16, ambassadors of Japan and seven other countries including Britain, the US, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Spain, and Belgium jointly proposed an ultimatum to the Beiyang government, demanding that it destroy all the defence

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<sup>742</sup> John K. Fairbank, *The Great Chinese Revolution, 1800-1985* (New York: Harper & Row, 1986), 209.

<sup>743</sup> *Ibid.*, 210.

<sup>744</sup> In November 1925, Guo Songling (郭松齡, 1883-1925), a general in Zhang Zuolin’s Fengtian clique, launched a mutiny and deserted to Feng Yuxiang’s Nationalist army. In December, Guo Songling was caught by Zhang, who then began the battle with Feng Yuxiang in Tianjin and Beijing. *San yi ba can’an shimo*, 51-52.

<sup>745</sup> Tsang, *Nationalism in School Education in China*, 161.

establishments in Dagu Port within 48 hours.<sup>746</sup> The March Eighteenth Tragedy of 1926, three months after the Beijing Revolution, started from another national assembly which was held to protest against this ultimatum.

On March 18, the deadline of the ultimatum, Xu Qian (徐謙, 1871-1940), a key member in the Nationalist Party's Central Executive Committee, and Li Dazhao, who was then also one of the leaders in the Communist Northern Committee, jointly convened a national assembly in front of the Tian'an gate of the Forbidden City, which is now the site of Tiananmen Square. One day before, 200 representatives from more than 150 associations in Beijing gathered at Peking University, including the Nationalist Party's Executive Committee, Beijing Students' Association, and students' self-governing societies from most of the schools, to discuss 'measures against the ultimatum'. The representatives decided to hold a national assembly the next day by the time of the deadline of the ultimatum, with the purpose of 'rejecting the ultimatum, banning the Japanese troops from entering Dagu Port, and expelling the ambassadors of the eight countries out of China.'<sup>747</sup>

At ten o'clock on March 18, the national assembly took place as planned. Over 50,000 students from more than 80 schools and universities in Beijing, and 20,000 citizens attended. On the conference stage, the banners read: 'Against the Powers' Ultimatum!' (*fandui lieqiang zuihou tongdie* "反對列強最後通牒!"); 'Expel the Ambassadors!' (*quzhu shuming zhi geguo gongshi* "驅逐署名之各國公使!"); and 'Abrogate the Boxer Protocol!' (*feichu xinchou tiaoyue* "廢除辛丑條約!")<sup>748</sup> Xu Qian addressed the opening speech, arguing: 'the eight-nation allies are now again attacking us, and the

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<sup>746</sup> "Ri jian bude ru dagu kou [Japanese Vessels Not Allowed in Dagu Port]," *Shi bao* (*The Eastern Times*), (March 14, 1926):1. The news report showed that on the 12th, 'the US ambassador warned if China did not take action soon, the US would resort to military force'.

<sup>747</sup> *San yi ba can'an shimo*, 81.

<sup>748</sup> *Ibid.*, 87.

ultimatum is the evidence! The Boxer Protocol was signed between them and the Qing court, but we Republican people absolutely do not recognise it!<sup>749</sup> The assembly finally passed a proposal which contained eight decisions.<sup>750</sup>

At 12 o'clock, Xu Qian announced that the assembly was finished, and it was the start of the mass demonstration. The demonstrators paraded towards the government buildings, holding banners and shouting "Beat down warlord Duan Qirui!" "Beat down Imperialism!", with citizens acclaiming them along the streets.<sup>751</sup> In the parade of about 2,000 people, the representatives of Supporters' Association for Diplomacy in Guangdong (*Guangdong sheng waijiao houyuan hui beishang qingyuan daibiao tuan* 廣東省外交後援會北上請願代表團) were at the front, following with student representatives of the eight national universities in Beijing, including the Self-governing Society of Beijing Women's Normal University.<sup>752</sup> Many professors, including Zhu Ziqing (朱自清, 1898-1948) and Lin Yutang (林語堂, 1895-1976) from Peking University and Tsinghua University attended as well.<sup>753</sup>

At that moment Duan Qirui was in Tianjin, thus the demonstrators met only with armed guards and policemen in front of the government buildings. Their confrontations finally burst out into a chaotic and bloody conflict, which left 46 people dead and 155 wounded.<sup>754</sup> In the afternoon, Duan Qirui and

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<sup>749</sup> *Sanyiba can'an shimo*, 87-88.

<sup>750</sup> "Fankang lieqiang zuihou tongdie guomin dahui ti'an [The National Congress' Proposal of Protesting Against the Powers' Ultimatum]," *Jing bao* [*Beijing News*], (March 19, 1926): 1. They were: '1. to telegraph all the people and together protest against the ultimatum; 2. to telegraph all countries around the world, to oppose the Powers' attack on China; 3. to urge the Beiyang government to reject the ultimatum; 4. to expel all the ambassadors who have signed the ultimatum from China; 5. to announce the Boxer Protocol invalid; 6. to turn down the terms of the ultimatum; 7. to punish the culprits who hurt protesting demonstrators; 8. to encourage the Nationalist Party in fighting against the Imperialists.'

<sup>751</sup> *San yi ba can'an shimo*, 91.

<sup>752</sup> Xu Guangping did not attend the assembly, but was staying with Lu Xun at Lu's home.

<sup>753</sup> Le Tianyu, "Wo suo zhidao de zhonggong diwei zaoqi de geming huodong [My Experiences in the Early Revolutionary Activities of the Beijing Local Committee of the Party]," *Beijing zhengxie* [Beijing Municipal Committee of the Chinese Communist Party], ed. *Wen shi ziliao* [*Historical Archives*], vol. 10, (Beijing, 1981): 21.

<sup>754</sup> "Sanyiba can'an shangwang qeshu [The Numbers of Dead and Wounded in the March Eighteenth Tragedy]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (April 9, 1926):1.

Jia Deyao (賈德耀, 1880-1940), the Minister of the Army (*lujun bu* 陸軍部), issued an arrest warrant, declaring: ‘In recent years, Xu Qian, Li Dazhao, Li Yuying [Li Shizeng], and Yi Peiji have used communism to stir the society and create turbulence. Today Xu Qian led hundreds of rioters attacking the government, throwing bombs, setting fires and attacking policemen... Xu Qian and the others should be arrested and punished.’<sup>755</sup>

This armed suppression by the government and the issuance of the arrest warrant afterwards immediately triggered larger indignation among society. Participants, who were mainly students and intellectuals, immediately published their experiences in periodicals and newspapers, giving the details of the fighting during the conflict. Yuan Zhongyi (袁中一, birth and death dates unknown), a student of Tsinghua University, recorded his personal experience in the university periodical:

‘A student representative talked to us by a loud-speaker: “in the government there is no one coming to respond to us! What a government!” People in the parade were shouting “Beat down the Duan government!” I thought we would now continue walk to another place, but soon there came sounds of gun-shots. People began to run desperately. We [students of Tsinghua University] were at the end of the parade, so we thought they were blank shots... However, then I saw the policemen and guards were holding their guns and shooting towards the people... I swear that there were no riots before they did this!’<sup>756</sup>

Zhu Ziqing, the renowned modern poet who was then a professor in Tsinghua University, wrote in Lu Xun’s *Yu Si* five days after the incident that ‘blood and screaming was everywhere’ and called it ‘a great massacre by the government’.<sup>757</sup> Although it is hard to investigate whom it was exactly that gave the order to the policemen and guards to shoot, people at the time generally attributed it to Duan Qirui and his ‘running dogs’. As Yuan Zhongyi declared: ‘it must have been a planned massacre [*yumou de*

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<sup>755</sup> Sun Dunheng, Wen Hai, ed. *Sanyiba yundong ziliao [Archival Materials of the March Eighteenth Tragedy]* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe [People’s Press], 1984), 66-67, quoted from Hu Xiao, ed. *Duan Qirui nianpu [The Chronicle of Duan Qirui]* (Hefei: Anhui daxue chubanshe [Anhui University Press], 2007), 246.

<sup>756</sup> Yuan Zhongyi, “Sanyiba can’an zhi fenxi [An Analysis of the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Qinghua zhouban [Tsinghua University Weekly]* 24, no.6, (1926): 18.

<sup>757</sup> Zhu Ziqing, “Zhizhengfu da tusha ji [Record of the Government’s Massacre],” *Yu si [Silk of Literature]*, (1926): 4.

*tusha* 預謀的屠殺] by Duan Qirui's government!<sup>758</sup> Recalled by Zang Kaiyuan, one of the participants, in 1982: 'when we arrived the government, the policemen were already standing there. We thought it was normal, and they would not use weapons towards us... They must already have planned [to conduct the massacre]!' <sup>759</sup>

### Lu Xun's Attitude towards Yang Yinyu

In Lu Xun's article *In Memory of Liu Hezhen*, he not only portrayed the dramatic death of Liu Hezhen, but also accused Yang Yinyu for her decision to dismiss Liu, though Yang had no other connection with this incident. As he wrote:

'Among the more than forty victims, Miss Liu Hezhen was a student of mine... I first got to know her name last summer, when Miss Yang Yinyu, the president of Women's Normal University, expelled six members of the students' self-governing society. Miss Liu Hezhen was one of the six leaders... I had always imagined that any student who dared to stand up and protest against a powerful president must be a sharp and radical person. However, she struck me as a gentle young lady with a constant smile on her face.'<sup>760</sup>

In the essay, Lu further remarked: 'A real hero dares to face directly at the tragedy of life and bear bloodshed unwaveringly. It is sorrowful and joyful!'<sup>761</sup> Lu Xun described Yang Yinyu as being a 'powerful president' who had links to factions (*guangyou yuyi* 廣有羽翼), which implied that Yang had strong connections with the Beiyang warlords. This phrasing has been interpreted in contemporary textbooks as an evidence to prove Yang Yinyu's 'collusion' with the warlord government.<sup>762</sup>

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<sup>758</sup> Yuan, "Sanyiba can'an zhi fenxi", 19.

<sup>759</sup> Zang Kaiyuan, "Wo suo jingli de sanyiba can'an [My Experiences in the March Eighteenth Tragedy]," *Beijing dangshi ziliao tongxun* [Archival Materials of the Party's History in Beijing, vol.4, (1982): 3.

<sup>760</sup> Lu, 'Jinian Liu Hezhen jun', 3.

<sup>761</sup> Ibid., 3-4.

<sup>762</sup> In *Teaching Method of Lu Xun's Works* published in 1973, the author explained 'yuyi' as 'groups of foxes and dogs'.



We can better understand Lu Xun's reasons for continuously attacking Yang from an exchange with Lin Yutang in December 1925. After the victory of the protesters in the Movement to Expel Yang Yinyu and Topple Zhang, Lin Yutang published an article called *On the Style of Yu Si* questioning the 'scolding' (*maren* 罵人) tone of articles in Lu Xun's periodical *Yu Si*. Lin argued that authors should learn the Western concept of 'fair play' (translated directly by Lin as *fei e po lai* 費厄潑賴). By this, Lin meant two things. One was people should put down 'prejudice' (*pianjian* 偏見), and the other was that people should not continue to attack those who already lost the game. As Lin wrote, 'Duan Qirui and Zhang Shizhao have already lost [the battle] against the Nationalists, so we do not need to further attack them.'<sup>763</sup> However, Lu Xun did not agree with Lin, and soon replied in an article *We Should Postpone 'Fair Play'*, which later became a renowned article to represent Lu Xun's 'revolutionary spirit' and was also selected as one of the compulsory articles in contemporary textbooks. In the article, Lu Xun wrote, 'In China we should just beat those drowning dogs!' By 'drowning dogs' (*luoshui gou* 落水狗) Lu Xun meant the 'villains' who had lost power. Lu Xun raised Yang Yinyu and Chen Xiyong, who did not agree with the Movement to Expel Yang in 1925, as the examples of 'drowning dogs', and believed that they should be continuously attacked because once they obtained power they would exact their revenge. Lu concluded: 'I can assert that those who opposed to reforms will poison those reformers and their oppression will never end.'<sup>764</sup>

The term 'widow-ism' coined by Lu Xun in portraying the educational ideology of Yang was also adopted by people during the 1930s in describing people who opposed students' involvement in politics. For example, in 1937, one year after Lu Xun died, an author writing under the pen name Xi Jin published an article 'Widow-ism' in the revolutionary periodical *Fight (Zhan Dou* 戰鬥), arguing for the need to inherit Lu Xun's spirit. This author wrote,

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<sup>763</sup> Lin Yutang, "Lun Yu Si de wenti [*On the Style of Yu Si*]," *Yu Si*, (December 14, 1925): 171-175.

<sup>764</sup> Lu Xun, "Lun fei e po lai yinggai huanxing [We should Postpone Fair Play]," *Yu Si* 1, no.1, (1926): 5-16.

‘Twelve years ago Lu Xun opposed widow-ism... but now “widow-ism” still exists. Some people said female students should not go to hospitals to sing songs for wounded soldiers, or sing national songs on streets. They think it is not good... they believe female students should shut the doors and read books, and fighting battles should be men’s jobs...”Widow-ism” is now awakening, we should continue to fight!’<sup>765</sup>

It was hard to identify the context this author mentioned in 1937, but this article reflected that at least people during the 1930s began to adopt and use the term ‘widow-ism’, coined by Lu Xun based on his subjective interpretation of Yang Yinyu. In addition, ironically, while Yang Yinyu remained single in her feminist pursuit of promoting women’s rights in education, her condition was simplified by Lu Xun as a ‘widow’ and it became a representative symbol of conservativeness and anti-feminism.

### *‘Villains’ and ‘Martyrs’ in the March Eighteenth Tragedy*

Lu Xun’s attitude was widely accepted and Lin Yutang’s calls for ‘fair play’ were soon overwhelmed because of the outraged response to the March Eighteenth Tragedy. Lu Xun’s narrative on Yang was at the time just one part of a prevailing discourse of ‘villains’ and ‘martyrs’. On March 23, five days after the incident, the Students’ Association and the Workers’ Association of Beijing convened a memorial meeting titled the ‘Memorial for the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy’, in the Third College of Peking University (*Beida di san yuan* 北大第三院).<sup>766</sup> Banners reading ‘Martyrs’ blood’, and ‘Revolution’ were hung in front of the college gate, with thousands of attendants (Figure 35). In the meantime, because many of the victims were young students, a survey was conducted by *Educational Review*, the most influential educational periodical of the era. An information chart of the martyrs including Liu Hezhen was created. It recorded details of all the victims, including their names,

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<sup>765</sup> Xi Jin, “Guafu zhuyi [Widow-ism],” *Zhandou [Fight]*, 1, no.5, (1937): 75.

<sup>766</sup> “Sanyiba sinan lieshi zhuidao hui [Memorial Meeting for the Martyrs in the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Xingqi huabao [Pictorial Weekly]*, no.28, (1926): 2.

birthplaces, age, occupations and place of death.<sup>767</sup> According to the chart, at least 30 out of the 47 victims were middle school or college students, aged between 16 and 27 (Figure 36).<sup>768</sup>

The Rehabilitation Union of Beijing (*Beijing gejie zhaoxue hui* 北京各界昭雪會), which consisted of party members, students, workers, and citizens in Beijing, decided to hold another national assembly on March 29, the 15th anniversary of the death of the Seventy-two Martyrs of the Huanghuagang (*Huanghuagang qishier lieshi xun'nan ri* 黃花崗七十二烈士殉難日), in order to publicly mourn the martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy.<sup>769</sup> The 72 Martyrs of Huanghuagang were revolutionaries killed during the Huanghuagang Rebellion in 1911. In 1918, Sun Yat-sen established the Cemetery of the 72 Martyrs of Huanghuagang in Guangzhou, which were regarded as the ultimate emblem of the revolutionary spirit. This public funeral was originally planned to be held in the Central Park (*zhongyang gongyuan* 中央公園). However, due to its tight security guard, the memorial was held in the First College of Peking University (*Beida di yi yuan* 北大第一院) instead, in ‘a ceremonious ritual’:

‘The elegiac couplets signed by citizens of various occupations were about 16 metres long, hanging from the fourth floor to the ground. All the entrances and gates of the hall were filled with couplets, and no any spare spaces were left. In the centre there were about 30 photos of the martyrs, with flower wreaths under them. Funeral odes were written in white on blue cloth, alongside couplets from the Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party.’<sup>770</sup>

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<sup>767</sup> “Sanyiba can'an xun'nan lieshi diaochabiao [Information of the Martyrs in the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Jiaoyu zazhi* [Educational Review] 18, no.6, (1926): 1.

<sup>768</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>769</sup> In Chinese language, *zhaoxue* 昭雪 means to rehabilitate by revenge.

<sup>770</sup> “Beijing zhi Sanyiba lieshi zhuidao dahui [Memorial of the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Xinwen bao* [Shanghai Daily News], (April 6, 1926): 2.

The leadership of the Nationalist Party, representatives and students from more than 400 organisations and 100 universities attended the funeral.<sup>771</sup> ‘Citizens enthusiastically came to the funeral’, reported the Shanghai Daily News.<sup>772</sup> Even those who had no links with the victims were crying, bent over on the floor. An attendee’s words were recorded by the *Eastern Times* in Shanghai: ‘they [the students] all died for our Republican China. The foreigners are invading us, killing us, but it is not enough. Now [they] even use Chinese people to kill ourselves!’<sup>773</sup> From March 24 to 28, the Students’ Association of Shanghai led a mass strike to support their peers in Beijing.<sup>774</sup>

At the same time, students published articles on periodicals, directly comparing the incident with May fourth of 1919 and May Thirtieth of 1925. In an article *The May Thirtieth and March Eighteenth* (*Wusa Yu Sanyiba* 五卅與三一八), the intellectual Xu Mouheng (許牟衡, birth and death dates unknown) who later became an educator in the Nationalist government, drew a chart to summarise the similarities and differences between the two incidents (Figure 37). According to Xu, the two incidents were ‘both generated because of foreign invaders (in May Thirtieth imperialists killed our compatriots, in March Eighteenth imperialists invaded our sovereignty)’. However, the fundamental difference was the ‘initiators (*zhudong zhe* 主動者)’: in May Thirtieth it was the ‘foreign imperialists’ (*waiqiang* 外強), but in March Eighteenth it was the ‘internal traitors’ (*guozei* 國賊).<sup>775</sup>

On the other side, students in the Students’ Association of Guangzhou University published a special issue on May 4th, in order to commemorate March Eighteenth. In the articles, students also directly

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<sup>771</sup> “Beijing zhi sanyiba lieshi zhuidao hui,” 2. The main organisations were the Executive Committee of the Nationalist Party in Beijing, Study Group of Sun Yat-sen’s Doctrines, National Diplomatic Group, the Workers’ Association, Tianjin Manufacturing Association, the Association of Women’s Progress, the National Salvation Group, the Association for Nationalism, etc. Schools and universities included the eight national universities in Beijing, Qinghua University, Sino-Russian University, and the Sino-French University, etc.

<sup>772</sup> Ibid.,2; “Sanyiba can’an shangwang qeshu [The Victims in the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Xinwen bao* [Shanghai Daily News], (April 9, 1926): 1.

<sup>773</sup> “Beijing kai guomin zhuidao dahui [The National Funeral in Beijing],” *Shi bao* [The Eastern Times], (April 6, 1926): 1.

<sup>774</sup> Hu, *Duan Qirui nianpu*, 247.

<sup>775</sup> Xu Mouheng, “Wusa yu sanyiba [The May Thirtieth and March Eighteenth],” *Xia sheng* [The Voice of Summer], no.6, (1926): 122-124.

linked the incident with the May Fourth Movement in 1919 and expressed their determination in insisting the nationalist revolutions. For example, a student named Meng Han (夢韓) wrote in the article *May Fourth and March Eighteenth (Wusi Yu Sanyiba 五四與三一八)*: ‘we cannot forget the imperialists Britain, Japan, and especially their running dogs in China! If we do not defeat the traitor Duan Qirui, the imperialists would never fall, and our nation would never achieve independence! Thus, our only way is to continue the movements like the May Fourth and March Eighteenth—the nationalist movements!’<sup>776</sup>

Under wider pressure from the society, the Beiyang government finally recognised the victims of the March Eighteenth Tragedy as national martyrs, who were treated same as the 72 Martyrs of the Huanghuagang, but still insisted that they were ‘used by some people with ulterior motives’.<sup>777</sup> The Ministry of Interior requested the Ministry of Finance to appropriate pensions for the families of the victims, and made the decision to establish a cemetery for them in the Imperial Garden (*yuan ming yuan 圓明園*).<sup>778</sup> At the same time, Duan Qirui and Jia Deyao were prosecuted by the Students’ Association of Beijing.<sup>779</sup> Professors of Peking University including Li Dazhao and Zhu Jiahua, wrote an open manifesto, calling for Duan and Jia to be prosecuted for the crime of murder.<sup>780</sup> On April 9, Lu Zhongling (陸鐘麟, 1884-1966), a chief aide of Feng Yuxiang and the director of Beijing Bureau of Guards, launched a coup against Duan Qirui, and made Duan agree to resign the next day. Finally,

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<sup>776</sup> Meng Han, “Wusi yu sanyiba [The May Fourth and the March Eighteenth],” *Guangda xueshenghui wusi tekan [Special Issue of the Anniversary of the May Fourth by Students’ Association of Guangzhou University]*, (1926): 3-4.

<sup>777</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>778</sup> “Sanyiba can’an yuwen [The Aftermath of the March Eighteenth Tragedy],” *Xinwen bao [Shanghai Daily News]*, (April 12, 1926): 1; “Beijing sanyiba an lieshi jueding gongzang zhe [Public Funeral of the March Eighteenth Martyrs],” *Xinwen bao [Shanghai Daily News]*, (April 23, 1926): 1.

<sup>779</sup> “Sanyiba can’an yuwen”, 1.

<sup>780</sup> Sun Dunheng, Wen Hai, ed. *Sanyiba yundong ziliao [Archival Materials of the March Eighteenth Tragedy]* (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe [People’s Press], 1984), 290.

the March Eighteenth Tragedy ended with Duan's resignation. Wu Peifu and Zhang Zuolin were now in charge of Beijing.<sup>781</sup>

As shown above, March Eighteenth Tragedy was a significant point in Republican history, which stimulated people's indignation towards the government and the ones that related to it. As historian Zheng Shiqu points out, the incident directly caused the end of Duan Qirui's term and the later success of Northern Expedition. However, the incident presented a historical meaning that was different to the May Fourth of 1919 and May Thirtieth of 1925, which has not been identified by both Chinese and western historians. As shown in the discussion, a more clear definition of 'martyrs' and 'villains' was shaped typically after the March Eighteenth Tragedy of 1926. Although Yang Yinyu herself played no role in the incident, as it noted in the previous chapter, she was defined by student activists in Beijing as a 'running dog of Zhang Shizhao', while Zhang Shizhao was 'a running dog of Duan Qirui'. Lu Xun's essay *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* in 1926 further linked her with the warlord government, and branded her one of the 'running dogs' of warlordism. Lu Xun's call to 'beat down the drowning dogs' would influence Yang Yinyu's later life in Suzhou. It would also become a national ethos during the Cultural Revolution and its legacies last until nowadays.

### **Yang Yinyu's Final Years in Suzhou**

In 1927, disappointed with academia in Beijing, Wang Maozu returned his hometown Suzhou, and became a headteacher of Suzhou Middle School. The same year, he invited Yang Yinyu to teach English in the school.<sup>782</sup> Two years later, Yang Yinyu was invited by Yang Yongqing, the new president of the Soochow University, to teach modern education and Japanese language. During the

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<sup>781</sup> Hu, *Duan Qirui nianpu*, 247-248; Wang Guangyuan, ed. *Jiang Jieshi yu beifa [Jiang Jieshi and the Northern Expedition]* (Beijing: wenshi chubanshe [History and Arts Press], 2010), 1-3.

<sup>782</sup> Suzhou zhongxue xiaoshi bianwei hui [Editing Committee of the History of Suzhou Middle School], ed. *Suzhou zhongxue xiaoshi [The History of Suzhou Middle School]* (Suzhou: Suzhou daxue hubanshe [Suzhou University Press], 1999), 310-312.

decade between 1927 to 1938, despite being frustrated, Yang Yinyu still insisted on working in education. Since the early 1930s, Yang Yinyu, as well as many Chinese educators and intellectuals, became the target of Japan's wartime strategy in creating the Pan-Asian empire. Based on the newly-discovered school archives and memoirs by her niece and student, this section explores the activities of Yang and attempts to approach her inner world, in order to demonstrate her insistence as a Chinese educator during the war against Japan.

### Teaching in Soochow University and Suzhou Middle School

Soochow University was an established Christian university that had developed in Suzhou for thirty years, and it was witnessing a significant reform under the new president Yang Yongqing and the newly-established Nanjing government.<sup>783</sup> Yang Yongqing's vision for the university was in accord with the blueprint of the Nationalist Party, emphasising national salvation, the promotion of modern technology and a cultural renaissance. At the opening ceremony of 1928, president Yang Yongqing and Dr. Wu Jingxiong (吳經熊, 1899-1986), the head of the Law School, addressed a speech, saying that 'in order to save our nation... the three most demanded things in China now were religion, law, and science.'<sup>784</sup> That year, Yang Yongqing employed ten professors, among whom was Yang Yinyu, in order to construct a new faculty to achieve the university's goals.<sup>785</sup> Almost all of the professors, including Yang Yinyu, were of Chinese nationality with deep roots in traditional culture, and degrees in science or modern education from American universities (Figure 38).<sup>786</sup>

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<sup>783</sup> Soochow University was one of the first missionary schools that was built up by the Methodist Episcopal Church South. It was first registered in the State of Tennessee, where the Methodist Episcopal Church South was based, in 1900, under the name of 'Central University of China'. In October 1907, the board of the university changed its name to Soochow University. Wang Guoping, "Dongwu daxue de chuanguan [The Establishment of Soochow University]," *Suzhou daxue xuebao, zhexue shehui kexue ban* [*Journal of Suzhou University, Philosophy and Social Science*], no.2, (2000): 97-106.

<sup>784</sup> "Xinsheng ruxue dianli [Entrance Ceremony]," *Lao shaonian* [*Mature Youngsters*] 5, no.6, (1928): 2.

<sup>785</sup> Yang Yongqing, "Ge jiazhang zhu tongxue junjian [To All Parents and Students]," *Lao shaonian* [*Mature Youngsters*] 5, no.6, (1928): 2.

<sup>786</sup> 'Jiaoyuan yilan biao [Information of Staff]' in *Dongwu xiaokan* [*Bulletin of Soochow University*], Vol.33, No.1, (June 1933): 6-10. Achieved from *Suzhou Municipal Archives*, No. I 26-1-23, access date: August 16, 2016.

In September 1929, Yang Yinyu became a member of the university council, participating in meetings relating to school affairs.<sup>787</sup> Although it is not clear what role Yang Yinyu played in the council, she was in the central circle of decision-making at the time when the Soochow University was witnessing a transitional period from American to Chinese administration. The council consisted of twelve or thirteen key staff, who were deans and directors of various departments. Most of the council members, including Yang Yinyu, were Chinese, with only two Americans: one was the former president Dr. Nance, who was now the ‘western advisor’ of the university, and the other was Lelia J. Tuttle (Chinese name De Lixia 德麗霞), the dean of the newly-established Women’s College.<sup>788</sup>

A council meeting was held every two weeks, and despite the promotion of *sanmin zhuyi*, the council meeting retained a Christian prayer at the beginning, which was followed by members’ discussions on the school businesses, including regulations, penalties, or academic arrangements, and concluded with a final decision on that day’s discussions. The records show that the council was trying to restore a disciplined order for the university. Compared to the absolute freedom of students’ assemblies, demonstrations and group activities, the council made the decision that ‘any fund-raising activities of the students’ associations have to be submitted to the council for checking in advance.’ At the same time, the council also made regulations on holidays and students’ attendance.<sup>789</sup>

Apart from these regulations on school discipline, the council was adapting the Christian culture of the university to suit Chinese traditional culture. In March 1930, the council made a Chinese version of

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<sup>787</sup> Meeting records of the university council in 1929 and 1930 can be found at the *Suzhou Municipal Archives*, No. I 26-001-0020- (001—052). In current literature including the university history of Soochow University and Yang Jiang’s memoir, no one mentioned that Yang Yinyu was involved. However, the records show that Yang Yinyu was one of the council members from September 1929 until around 1933.

<sup>788</sup> Nance, *Soochow University*, 103-104. Nance was appointed by the university board after he resigned, in the idea that he would look after the interests of the Americans on the staff while the university was under transition.

<sup>789</sup> “Xiaozheng bu huiyi jilu [Records of the Council Meetings]”, *Suzhou Municipal Archives*, No. I 26-001-0020- 001, (December 26, 1929).



the degree certificate, and at the same time, the council passed the president's proposal for a new Chinese ethos at the school: 'Cultivating the righteousness between the sky and earth, Be a full man like those virtuous predecessors.'<sup>790</sup> (Figure 39) The original ethos of the university— 'Unto A Full Grown Man', was taken from the Bible (*Ephesians*, chapter 4, verse 13).<sup>791</sup> The 'full grown man', in the context of the Bible, meant a man with the virtue of faith and love of Christ. On the contrary, the new Chinese ethos, which was proposed by Yang Yongqing and confirmed by the council including Yang Yinyu, came from a motto written by Sun Yat-sen as a gift to Chiang Kai-shek in 1923.<sup>792</sup> The phrase 'righteousness between sky and earth' *tiandi zhengqi* in the first half of the sentence originated from a saying the great Confucian scholar Mencius (372BC-289BC).<sup>793</sup>

However, Yang Yinyu did not stay long in Soochow University. According to Yang Jiang, after being attacked as a 'drowning dog', Yang Yinyu became more 'sensitive' and 'stubborn', and she always criticised herself for making small mistakes. As Yang Jiang recalled, 'what I saw at that time was a broken heart. My aunt did not know there was sympathy and forgiveness in the world. She thought everyone was attacking her, everyone disliked her, and she hated herself for being so "stupid".'<sup>794</sup> Around 1933, a student in Soochow University was dismissed because he violated university

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<sup>790</sup> "Xiaozheng bu huiyi jilu", No. I 26-001-0020- 009, (March 31, 1930). 'yang tiandi zhengqi, fa gujin wanren 養天地正氣，法古今完人'.

<sup>791</sup> Yang Xichao, 'Jindai Zhongguo jiaohui daxue zhongji xiaozhang jiaose chongtu yanjiu', 87.

<sup>792</sup> Sun Yat-sen's calligraphy of this motto is now presented in the Chiang Kai-shek Memorial Hall in Taiwan.

<sup>793</sup> Known as Mengzi or Mencius, 'wu shanyang wu haoran zhiqi 吾善養吾浩然之氣' James Legge (1815-1897), the 19th-century Sinologist, translated it as 'a vast, flowing passion-nature... assistant of righteousness and reason.' English translation by James Legge from: Wikisource contributors, "The Works of Mencius/chapter03," *Wikisource*, [https://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=The\\_Works\\_of\\_Mencius/chapter03&oldid=7046059](https://en.wikisource.org/w/index.php?title=The_Works_of_Mencius/chapter03&oldid=7046059) (accessed July 5, 2018). The sentence was from a dialogue between Mencius and his student Gongsun Chou (公孫丑, birth and death dates unknown), on a discussion on how to be a full moralist (*shengren* 聖人) that would be qualified to govern the world (*tianxia* 天下).

<sup>794</sup> '我現在回頭看，才了解我當時看到的是一個傷殘的心靈。她好像不知道人世間有同情，有原諒，只覺得人人都叮著責備她，人人都嫌棄她，而她又老是那麼“開蓋”。' Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 89. Yang Jiang did not know about Yang Yinyu's experience in the anti-Yang movement so she thought her aunt was 'very strange' when she was staying with her.

regulations. However, Yang Yinyu did not agree with the university's decision, because she thought it would 'destroy the life of the student'. She thus resigned and only taught in Suzhou Middle School.<sup>795</sup>

### Chinese Educators' Cultural Protection Against Japan's Wartime Invasion

Apart from being a member of Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education (CNAAE), Yang Yinyu at the time was also a member in the Department of Education (*jiaoyu gu* 教育股) of the Science Society of China (*Zhongguo kexue she* 中國科學社).<sup>796</sup> Like CNAAE, the Science Society was an association created by Chinese scientists in the US, in 1914, with the aim to 'promote modern science in China'.<sup>797</sup> In 1917, the society was registered as a public educational organisation under the Ministry of Education of the Beiyang government, and moved from the US to Nanjing in 1918. In the following years, the society was sponsored by Cai Yuanpei and Peking University, as well as Jiangsu Education Association and had developed into a major organisation of science and education in the south of China.<sup>798</sup>

By 1928, when the Nationalist government was established, the society had more than a thousand members nationwide. It had a mature structure of four departments— Material Science, Biological

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<sup>795</sup> Ibid., 89-90. In 2015, I conducted a brief interview with Chinese historian Huang Yun in Suzhou. According to Huang Yun, in 1935 Yang Yinyu was involved in a conflict with an official named Huang Junsheng (黃駿聲, ?-1951) from Suzhou Educational Bureau, thus Yang did not teach in Suzhou Middle School after 1935.

<sup>796</sup> "Zhongguo kexue she zongzhang [General Regulations of Science Society of China]," *Kexue [Science]* 2, no.1, (1916): 128; *Zhongguo kexueshe sheyuan fenglu minglu [Directory of the Members of Science Society of China]* (Shanghai: Zhongguo kexueshe [Science Society of China], 1933). Like CNAEE, Science Society of China adopted serious regulations in developing members, which assured a solid ideology among the members. To become a member of it, the society candidates were required to be studying science or working in science. The candidate should agree with the ideology of the society, be recommended by two members, and also approved by the board.

<sup>797</sup> 'Zhongguo kexue she zongzhang [General Regulations of Science Society of China]' in *Kexue [Science]* Vol.2, No.1, (1916): 128-135. The nine founders of the Science Society, including Ren Hongjun (任鴻雋, 1883-1967), Bing Zhi (秉志, 1886-1965), and Zhou Ren (周仁, 1892-1973), were at the time the first group of Chinese students who travelled to the US through the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship set up by the US government. They were studying Chemistry, Physics, Biology, or Engineering in the University of Cornell. The students created the society and a journal named *Kexue (Science 科學)*, which later became the official periodical of Science Society of China.

<sup>798</sup> Ibid., 128; 'Zhongguo kexueshe gaikuang [An Introduction of the Science Society of China]' in *Kexue shibao [Science Times]* Vol.3, No.10, (1936): 6-10. In 1922, the society had key educational reformers including Zhang Jian, Cai Yuanpei, Liang Qichao as the board members, and was directly supported by the Ministry of Finance of the Beiyang government.

Science, Engineering Science, and Social Science, and became the think tank of the Nanjing government, which had a mission to ‘save the nation through science’ (*kexue jiuguo* 科學救國).<sup>799</sup> ‘Education’, after two decades’ development since the abolishment of *Keju* system, was now considered a social science. However, during the Second Sino-Japanese War, Japan took the mission in converting Chinese culture as a part of its Pan-Asian strategy. Chinese educators, many of whom were members of CNAEE and the Science Society of China like Yang, were the main force in opposing Japan’s cultural policies.

Japan’s use of the Boxer Indemnity was the cause of a major dispute between Chinese educators and Japanese government throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s, as was its creation of the Bureau of the Cultural Enterprises in China (*taishi bunka jimukyoku* 對支文化事務局) in 1923.<sup>800</sup> As discussed in Chapter III, the Boxer Indemnity scholarship founded by the US and Russia had been a significant source of funds for the Beiyang government to use to promote education in China. Japan started to consider the use of Boxer Indemnity for educational exchanges with China as well from the late 1910s. As Ma Boyuan (馬伯援, 1884-1939), the chief director of the Chinese Young Men’s Christian Association in Japan (*Zhonghua liuri jidujiao qingnianhui* 中華留日基督教青年會), observed: ‘since the US has set up the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship, hundreds and thousands of young Chinese go to the US every year. Each time when the ferry passes by Japan and rests in Yokohama, our Chinese students of the YMCA in Yokohama welcome them warmly and even guide them on tours in Tokyo. The competitive Japanese take it as a strong provocation and feel worried that the cultural enterprise

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<sup>799</sup> Fan Hongye, “Kexue zazhi yu Zhongguo kexue she shishi huiyao 1928-1935 [Chronicle History of the Journal of Science and the Science Society of China],” *Kexue [Science]*, No.3, (2005): 40-44.

According to the *Directory of the Members of Science Society of China*, the Society was divided into: Material Science (Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Geography), Biological Science (Biology, Medicine, Agriculture and Forest, Psychology), Engineering Science (Construction, Mechanics, Electronics, Metallurgy, Textile), and Social Science (Education, Economics, Law, Philosophy, History, Arts).

<sup>800</sup> In 1924, the Bureau of Cultural Enterprise to China was cancelled because the the name was unsatisfactory to many Chinese officials. Its name was changed to the Department of Cultural Enterprise (*Bunka shigyōbu* 文化事業部), which was set up under the Pan-Asia Bureau (*Ajia kyoku* 亞細亞局).

has been taken over by [the US] which has a different language and race [than China].<sup>801</sup> The senator of House of Peers (*kizoku-in* 貴族院) Yasukawa Keiichirō (安川敬一郎, 1849-1934) emphasised in his article *Educational Enterprise as A Foundation for the Rapprochement of Japan and China* (日支親善の基礎たるべき教育事業) in 1918, that ‘Japan and China have the same language and race... if [Japan] wants to achieve a rapprochement between Japan and China, it has to make efforts in renewing the educational enterprise and expand it... For those Chinese students who are educated by Japanese schools would be naturally close to Japan.’<sup>802</sup>

In 1922, China again began to pay the Boxer Indemnity to Japan after a suspension term of five years. At the same time, Japan obtained economic dominance over the railways in Shandong, even though the province was returned to China through the mediation of the US at the Washington Naval Conference that year.<sup>803</sup> One year later, the Japanese government and congress passed a proposal to use the Boxer Indemnity, as well as the interest payments on Shandong railways, in developing cultural and educational enterprises in China, and issued the *Act of Cultural Enterprise in China* (*taishi bunka jigyo tokubetsu kaikeihō* 對支文化事業特別會計法).<sup>804</sup> In the meanwhile, a new Department of Cultural Enterprise (*bunka jigyōbu* 文化事業部), originally named Bureau of the Cultural Enterprise to China, was created by the Bureau of Pan-Asian Affairs (*Ajia kyoku* 亞細亞局), directly affiliated to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*gaimushō* 外務省) of Japan. According to the

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<sup>801</sup> Ma Boyuan, “Wo suo zhidao de Riben dui zhi wenhua shiye [What I Know About the “Imperial Cultural Enterprise to China”],” *Qingnian jinbu [Progress of Youngsters]*, no. 73, (1924): 45-49.

<sup>802</sup> “Riren Anchuan shi lun Zhong Ri qinshan zhi jichu [Japanese Senator Yasukawa’s Opinion on the Foundation of Rapprochement of China and Japan],” *Dongfang zazhi (Eastern Miscellany)* Vol.15, No.3, (1918): 182-185.

<sup>803</sup> Yuan Chengyi, “Zhongri gengzi peikuan shulüe [A Brief History of the Boxer Indemnity between China and Japan],” *Kangri zhanzheng yanjiu [Studies on the War of Resistance Against Japan]*, No.4, (1999): 46.

<sup>804</sup> Huang Fuqing, “Ouzhan hou Riben dui gengkuan chuli zhengce de fenxi [An Analysis on Japan’s Policies on the Boxer Indemnity after the WWI],” *Jindaishi yanjiusuo jikan (Bulletin of the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica)*, no.3, (1977): 185-221.

bulletin issued by the Department of Cultural Enterprise, the department would depend on the Boxer Indemnity and the interest payments achieved from the Shandong railways, to support:

‘A, establishment of libraries and research institutes; B, Japanese-owned cultural enterprises; C, Chinese students who come to study in Japan; D, those institutions that admit Chinese students; E, public speeches and exchanges of research trips; F, organisations that make contributions to the cultural enterprise in China.’<sup>805</sup>

Most importantly, it would use the funding to establish two cultural and research institutions in Beijing and Shanghai respectively.<sup>806</sup> In December 1923, Japan and China signed the Wang-Debuchi Agreement (*Wang Chuyuan xieding* 汪出淵協定), which was negotiated by the Chinese ambassador in Japan Wang Rongbao (汪榮寶, 1878-1933) and the director of the Bureau of Pan-Asian Affairs Debuji Katsuji (出淵勝次, 1878-1947). However, Chinese academia was greatly concerned about the establishment of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship by Japan and its special Bureau of Cultural Enterprise, which they believed were within the frame of Japan’s blueprint for establishing a Japan-centred ‘East Asian culture’. Jiang Menglin told Japanese journalists that: ‘I do not want to disturb the cultural enterprise, but the methods are improper. Japan’s methods like these are equal to cultural invasion.’<sup>807</sup> Zhu Jingnong (朱經農, 1887-1951), a chief member of CNAEE, suggested that a Ministry of Foreign Affairs was not a suitable institution for conducting cultural enterprise and suggested Japan to establish an independent educational foundation to use the Boxer Indemnity. As Zhu wrote, ‘the right of distribution of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship should be maintained in the

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<sup>805</sup> Gaimushō bunka jigyobu [Department of Cultural Enterprise, Ministry of Foreign Affairs], ‘Taichi bunka jigyo no kaiyō [Introduction of the Enterprise of Culture to China],’ (1928, Tokyo): 65-74.

<sup>806</sup> One was the Beijing Humanities and Science Institution and Library, and the other was the Shanghai Natural Science Institute. The two institutions were successfully established in 1931. For a detailed discussion of the usage of the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship by the Department of Cultural Enterprise of Japan, see Huang, ‘Ouzhan hou riben dui gengkuan chuli zhengce de fenxi’, 197-206.

<sup>807</sup> *Ibid.*, 218.

foundation and not by the Japanese government. The foundation should have a board consisting of both Japanese and Chinese members.’<sup>808</sup>

From 1923 to 1926, key leaders of CNAEE, the Science Society of China and the Jiangsu Education Association, including Zhu Jingnong, Jiang Menglin, Hu Shi, and Huang Yanpei, represented Chinese academia in negotiating the structure of the Department of Cultural Enterprise with the Japanese government, but consensus could not be achieved.<sup>809</sup> In January 1927, all members of the three major associations of science and education, as well as the Joint Association of Shanghai Universities (*Shanghai ge daxue tongzhihui* 上海各大學同志會) jointly issued a manifesto, advocating ‘all [educational or cultural] associations nationwide’ boycott Japan’s plan. The manifesto read: ‘The day that “East Asian culture” begins is the day that Chinese sovereignty extinguishes.’<sup>810</sup> In 1929 and 1930, the newly-established Ministry of Education of the Nanjing government issued a decree, announcing that the Wang-Debuchu Agreement was going to be abolished, and requiring ‘all provincial educational bureaus, municipal educational departments, national universities and schools, and Chinese students studying in Japan, to not use the scholarship sponsored by Japan’s Department of Cultural Enterprise.’<sup>811</sup> After that, Japan’s cultural enterprise in China was conducted unilaterally.

Yang Yinyu never again became seriously involved in the political centre of the above negotiation of the Sino-Japanese diplomatic business, but as a member of the two major associations, the disputes on

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<sup>808</sup> Zhu Jingnong, “Duiyu duizhi wenhua shiye zhi huaiyi [My Concerns on Japan’s Cultural Enterprise to China],” *Shenbao [Shanghai Daily]*, (April 10, 1924): 15, quoted from He Shuyuan, “Zhongguo jiaoyujie yu zhongri gengkuan tuihuan jiuge [The Chinese Academia and the Entanglement between China and Japan on the Return of the Boxer Indemnity],” *Guangdong shehui kexue [Social Science Journal of Guangdong]*, No. 4, (2015): 122.

<sup>809</sup> He, “Zhongguo jiaoyujie yu Zhong Ri gengkuan tuihuan jiuge,” 122-125.

<sup>810</sup> “*Dongfang wenhua fazhan zhishi, jiushi Zhongguo zhuquan xiaojian zhiri*. 東方文化發展之時，就是中國主權消滅之日。” “Duiyu riben duizhi wenhua shiye xuanyan [Manifesto on Japan’s Cultural Enterprise to China],” *Xin jiaoyu pinglun [New Educational Review]* 3, no.8, (1927): 17-18.

<sup>811</sup> “Xunling qishier hao [Instruction No.72],” *Jiaoyubu gongbao [Gazette of Ministry of Education]* 2, no.29, (1930): 16-17.

the Japan's cultural enterprise in China are likely to have consolidated her self-identification of being a patriotic Chinese. During the 1930s, after the establishment of Manchukuo and the Great Empire of Manchuria, the Department of Cultural Enterprise conducted surveys on Chinese education and culture, and compiled directories and biographies of famous Chinese figures in politics and academia, with the aim of winning these people over to the expanding 'Great East Co-Prosperity Sphere'.<sup>812</sup> Yang Yinyu and her brother Yang Yinhang were both listed in the directories published by Japanese intelligence. For example, in the *Biographical Dictionary of Famous People in Republican China and Empire of Great Manchuria* (*gendai chūka minkoku manshū teikoku jinmei ken* 現代中華民國滿洲帝國人名鑑), published by the Intelligence Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*gaimushō jōhōbu* 外務省情報部) in Japan, Yang Yinyu and Yang Yinhang were listed among the 7,018 'representatives of Chinese and Manchuria' (Figure 40).<sup>813</sup> In the *Biographical Dictionary*, their names, dates of birth, educational degrees and job titles were introduced.

Based on this biographical dictionary, the newly-established institutions of the East Asia Development Board (*kōa-en* 興亞院), and the Study Association of Manchuria Affairs (*manshū gyōsei gakkai* 滿洲行政學會) of Japan continued editing directories of Chinese figures, with a particular focus on the Japan-trained figures in cultural and academic fields. As a Chinese educator who had stayed in Japan for five years, Yang Yinyu was noted as one of the 1,621 'Japan-trained important figures' (*Nippon ryūgaku Shina yōjin* 日本留學支那要人), and one of the 5,081 'main characters in the cultural

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<sup>812</sup> Gaimushō bunkajigyōbu [Bureau of the Cultural Enterprise to China], *Chūka minkoku kyōiku kita no shisetsu gaiyō* [*An Introduction of the Educational Establishment in Republican China*] (Tokyo, 1931), from *National Diet Library of Japan*; Gaimushō bunkajigyōbu [Bureau of the Cultural Enterprise to China, Ministry of Foreign Affairs], *Bunkajigyōbu jigyō gaiyō* [*Business Summary of the Bureau of the Cultural Enterprise of China*] (Tokyo, 1934), from *National Diet Library of Japan* [available online: <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1881172>].

<sup>813</sup> Gaimushō jōhōbu [Intelligence Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs], *Gendai Chūka minkoku manshū teikoku jinmei ken* [*Biographical Dictionary of Famous People in the Republican China and Empire of Great Manchuria*] (Nagoya: Tōa dōbunkai [Language of East Asia Association], 1937), from *National Diet Library of Japan*.

field' (*bunka kai jinbutsu* 文化界人物).<sup>814</sup> During the late 1930s and early 1940s, these directories and biographical dictionaries were printed and sold through the affiliated associations of the Study Association of Empire of Japan (*teikoku gyōsei gakkai* 帝國行政學會), in Japanese occupied Nanjing and Shanghai, as well as in Manchukuo, Japanese Korea, and Japanese-controlled Mengjiang United Autonomous Government (蒙疆, *Monko renkō jichi seifu* 蒙古聯合自治政府, 1939-1945), serving as a reference to the personnel recruiting in these areas.

Yang Jiang recalled that Yang Yinyu was invited by local Japanese officials to be an intermediary in the affairs of Qingyangdi (青陽地), the Japanese concession in Suzhou, in the early 1930s.<sup>815</sup> However, despite being familiar with Japanese language and rituals, Yang did not serve a position in the Japanese institutions in Suzhou or elsewhere, but actively supported the anti-Japanese war and persisted in her career in education. In early November 1936, the Japan-supported Manchurian-Mongolian army attempted to take over Bailingmiao (百靈廟) in the northern Chinese province of Suiyuan.<sup>816</sup> Shanxi warlord and governor Yan Xishan (閻錫山, 1883-1960), and Fu Zuoyi (傅作義, 1895-1974), the governor of Suiyuan, reinforced with units sent by Nanjing, launched an unexpectedly fierce resistance, and on November 24 they took Bailingmiao back.<sup>817</sup> During the

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<sup>814</sup> Nippon ryūgaku shina yōjinryō [Japan-Trained Chinese Important Figures] (Kōa-en seimubu [Government Affairs of the East Asia Development Board], 1942); Hashikawa Tokio, ed. *Chūgoku bunkakai jinbutsu sōken [Biographical Dictionary of the Main Figures in the Cultural Field of China]* (Manchukuo: manshū gyōsei gakukai [Study Association of Manchuria Affairs], 1940). The East Asia Development Board (*kōa-en* 興亞院) was created by the Japanese government in 1938, looking after affairs in Japanese-occupied China. It was later merged into the Ministry of Great East Asia (*daitōa shō* 大東亞省), which was established in 1942.

<sup>815</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 75. Recalled by Yang Jiang, 'both side [Chinese and Japanese officials] were very satisfied with Yang Yinyu' [mediation].' Qingyangdi was an area in the south of the city moat of Suzhou, which became the Japanese concession in 1897 after the First Sino-Japanese War. It was returned to China in 1945.

<sup>816</sup> The battle in Suiyuan was part of the Mongolian autonomy movement led by Prince Te (Demchukdonggrub) since 1934, and Prince Te's cooperation with Japan had become an opportunity for the Empire of Japan to expand its power in the north China (*huabei* 華北). Dreyer, *China at War*, 180.

<sup>817</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181.



campaign, Yang Yinyu donated eighty jackets to the army of Yan Xishan and Fu Zuoyi.<sup>818</sup> This victory over Japanese surrogates has now been called Suiyuan Campaign (*suiyuan kangzhan* 綏遠抗戰), and is taken as one of the most important battles before the Second Sino-Japanese War. It provoked nationalism among many Chinese and proved that China could win battles against Japan. It also contributed to the Xi'an Incident and Chiang Kai-shek finally giving up his policy of non-resistance.<sup>819</sup>

### Opening Er Le Girls' School

Yang Yinyu's student Su Xuelin, who later moved to Taiwan and became a renowned female writer, once published a short biographical essay in 1930 on female educators of Republican China, which included a paragraph about Yang Yinyu.<sup>820</sup> Su Xuelin wrote, 'In the Chinese-style hall [of her home], all that Yang has are full shelves of books, two cats, and a dog. This kind of life is very lonely, but it is not uninteresting.'<sup>821</sup> In the article, Su Xuelin recalled, 'Miss Yang often says: "since I left my family, I have determined to contribute all my life to China".<sup>822</sup>' Su discussed what Yang had experienced in the student movement with great sympathy, and expressed her pity for Yang's frustration. She encouraged Yang Yinyu to continue her career in the future, and used a paragraph she received from

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<sup>818</sup> 'Yan Xishan dianfu Yang Yinyu wei juan mianao yuansui shi zhixie [Yan Xishan's Acknowledgement to Yang Yinyu on the Donation of Cotton Jackets]' in *Guoshiguan (Academia Historica)*, Yan Xishan shiliao wenjian dianbao yaodian lucun [Archives, Documents, Telegraphs of Yan Xishan], Suiyuan kangzhan an [The Suiyuan Campaign], No.4, 116-010101-0113-316, (December 1936); 'Yang Yinyu dian Fu Zuoyi juan mianao bashijian sui yuan shi [Yang Yinyu's Telegraph to Fu Zuoyi, Donating Eighty Cotton Jackets to Support Suiyuan Campaign]' in *Guoshiguan (Academia Historica)*, Yan Xishan shiliao wenjian dianbao yaodian lucun [Archives, Documents, Telegraphs of Yan Xishan], Suiyuan kangzhan an [The Suiyuan Campaign], No.4, 116-010101-0113-317, (December 1936).

<sup>819</sup> *Ibid.*, 180-181.

<sup>820</sup> In the series of articles 'Jige nü jiaoyu jia de suxiexiang [A Sketch of Several Female Educators]', Su Xuelin discussed four female educators that she most admired. Apart from Yang Yinyu, the other three were Wang-Xie Changda (王謝長達, 1848-1934), Wu Yifang (吳貽芳, 1893-1985), and Chen Hongbi (陳鴻璧, birth and death dates unknown). The three biographies have been edited in Su Xuelin, *Su Xuelin zuopin ji [Collection of Su Xuelin's Works]* (Taiwan: Su Xuelin wenhua jijin hui [Su Xuelin Foundation for Culture], 2010), 79-85. The article on Yang Yinyu is not contained in the book. The reason might be that Yang Yinyu was politically defined as a national villain.

<sup>821</sup> Su, "Jige nü jiaoyu jia de suxiexiang, er, Yang Yinyu nüshi," 195-197.

<sup>822</sup> "Ta changshuo, wo zicong tuoli jiating, bian lizhi jiang wode quanbu shengming fengxian gei Zhongguo le. 她常說，我自從脫離家庭，便立志將我的全部生命貢獻給中國了。" *Ibid.*, 195.

Yang Shoukang (楊壽康, 1899-1995) to inspire Yang Yinyu. Yang Shoukang was the eldest daughter of Yang Yinyu's brother Yang Yinhang. She had a rather close relationship with Su Xuelin and they were both converted Catholics. From this paragraph we can understand the influence of Christianity in Yang Yinyu's insistence in education and her constrained attitude towards the lasting attack. The paragraph was written by Yang Shoukang in her letter to Su Xuelin when she explained her aunt Yang Yinyu's suffering:

‘When we behave and act, it is wrong if we blindly follow the trend or cater to what others prefer. We just need to act according to our own conscience, and do the career that we think is rightful. All the detestation, injustice, oppression, just let it go. You just need to know that, the sacrifice of love, the true sacrifice, will have its own role in the long future. It will be fragrant forever.’<sup>823</sup>

Yang Shoukang's words were probably shared by Yang Yinyu. In terms of the ‘true sacrifice’ here, we can learn its meaning from Yang Shoukang's translation work *Mme Paul Féron-Vrau*. In this French language biographical work translated by Yang Shoukang, Mme Paul Féron-Vrau was a devoted Catholic who endured peoples' misunderstanding and suffered difficulties when she was conducting her missions.<sup>824</sup> Thus, for Yang Yinyu, she was greatly influenced by the Christian qualities of ‘sacrifice’, which meant to endure the difficulties in realising one's own cause. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, Yang Yinyu referred to the religion of Buddhism and the quality of being a gentry scholar when she chose to be silent in the public.<sup>825</sup> In Chapter II, her uncle's moral primer also presented that there was a possibility that people accepted Christian teachings because they

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<sup>823</sup> “*Women lishen xingshi, yiwei yinghe chaoliu, tou shisu zhihao, nashi budui de. women zhixu pingzhe liangxin, gan women renwei yingdang gan de shiye, yiqie dui wo de eshi, yuanwang, yapo dou you ta qu. xuzhi ai de xisheng, chunzheng de xisheng, zai yongjiu de weilazhong, shi yongyuan you ta de diwei, yongyuan liuyi zhe fenfang de.* 我們立身行事，一味迎合潮流，投世俗之好，那是不對的。我們只須憑著良心，趕我們認為應當幹的事業，一切對我的惡視，冤枉，壓迫都由他去。須知愛的犧牲，純正的犧牲，在永久的未來中，是永遠有牠的地位，永遠流溢着芬芳的。” Ibid., 197.

<sup>824</sup> Yang Shoukang, trans. *Fo long wu luo furen zhuanlüe [Biography of Mme. Paul Féron-Vrau]* (Shanghai: Tushanwan yinshu guan [Tushanwan Press], 1936).

<sup>825</sup> As it shows in Chapter IV, Yang Yinyu wrote in her announcement: ‘*gongli bainian zizai...fo yan wuzheng, ruzhe bubian... xing hainei mingda, pingxin chazhi.* 公立百年自在...佛言無諍 儒者不辯 幸海內明達 平心察之。Justice is just there for ages... Buddha said do not argue, literati do not explain... all please just wisely and calmly observe [the protest]’

acknowledged their similarities with Chinese teachings. Besides, there was not any archival materials showing that Yang Yinyu was an active member in any missionary societies (while Yang Shoukang was). Thus, Yang Yinyu probably was not a converted Catholic, but her activities and faiths in pursuing education were influenced by missionary education and the Christian followers around.

In 1935, Yang Yinyu initiated a plan to open a girls' school, and was supported by female educators Yu Qingtang (俞慶棠, 1897-1949), and Luo-Han Xiaofen (羅韓孝芬, birth and death dates unknown). Yu Qingtang and Luo-Han Xiaofen were both classmates of Yang when they studied in the Shanghai Wuben Girls' School. Yu and Yang also studied at Columbia University together. The school was endorsed by many academic figures in Suzhou, including the presidents of Soochow University and the Suzhou Middle School— W.B. Nance, Yang Yongqing, and Wang Maozu, as well as many celebrated intellectuals in Shanghai such as Yuan Shizhuang, Tang Guoli (湯國梨, 1883-1980), and Guo Baoyi (郭鮑懿, birth and death dates unknown).<sup>826</sup>

Yang Yinyu's Er Le School (*er le xuexiao* 二乐学校) was opened in late 1936, and by nature it offered study classes rather than a systematic schooling due to limited funds. Yang Yinyu used her home in Lotus Garden (*ou yuan* 藕園) as the site of the school at first. She soon rented a western-style house in Zhi Heng Lane (*zhi hen li* 志恆里), which had 'small garden, western-style bathroom, toilet and tap water', so that students could board there. According to the advertisement, the society provided five main courses of 'Chinese learning, Domestic Economy, English Language, Japanese Language, and

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<sup>826</sup> 'Er-le nūzi xueshu yanjiushe [Er-le Study Society for Women]' in *Suzhou mingbao* [*Mingbao Daily of Suzhou*], (June 24, 1936). Tang Guoli (wife of Zhang Taiyan, who invented *zhuyin zimu*), Yuan Shizhuang (wife of Wang Maozu), Guo Baoyi (wife of Guo Bingwen), were all classmates of Yang Yinyu in Shanghai Wuben Girls School.

Painting.<sup>827</sup> The staff of the society was largely invited by Yang Yinyu from Soochow University, such as professors Ling Jingyan (凌敬言, 1904-1959), Tao Weisun (陶慰孫, 1895-1982) and her friends Yu Tangqin, Tang Guoli.

The advertisements for Yang's small school appeared on local newspapers for only one year from June 1936 to July 1937. Within the year, very few girl students were attending the school. According to a mourning essay written by Su Xuelin in 1938, when Yang was running her own school she still suffered from being attacked by Lu Xun's students and many female students did not dare to attend her school because of her bad reputation. Su Xuelin recorded that, when Yang opened the school, students of Lu Xun attacked Yang in newspapers several times and repeatedly mentioned the anti-Yang movement, calling her an 'authoritarian, oppressor of female students, pest of education, and anti-revolutionary.'<sup>828</sup> As a result of these activities, some staff also did not cooperate with Yang, and students also left.

### Yang Yinyu's Death

Full-scale hostilities in the Second Sino-Japanese War started with the Marco Polo Bridge Incident (*Lugouqiao shibian* 盧溝橋事變) in July 7, 1937. Three months after the Marco Polo Bridge Incident, staff and students from Nankai University, Tsinghua University, and Peking University were evacuated to Kunming, a south-western inland city in Yunnan, and there they created the Associated University of the Southwest, which lasted until 1946, after the end of the war in 1945.<sup>829</sup> In this war

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<sup>827</sup> 'Er-le nūzi xueshu yanjiushe zhaosheng [Admission of the Er-le Study Society for Women]' in *Suzhou mingbao* [*Mingbao Daily of Suzhou*], (July-August, 1936); 'Su Er-le nūzi xueshu yanjiushe zhaosheng [The Er-le Study Society for Women in Suzhou]' in *Shenbao* [*Shanghai Daily*], (September 1, 1936). These information is referred from Huang Yun 黃恂, a historian of local Suzhou history and editor of Suzhou Magazine. I have conducted a brief interview with Mr. Huang in Suzhou in July 2016.

<sup>828</sup> Su Xuelin, "Dao nū jiaoyujia Yang Yinyu xiansheng [In Memory of the Female Educator Yang Yinyu]", *Gui Hong Ji* [*Collection of Guihong*] (Taipei: Chang liu Ban yue she kan [Changliu Press], 1957), 57.

<sup>829</sup> Li, *Student Nationalism in China 1924-1949*, 80-81.

that lasted for eight years in Mainland China, China suffered more than three million military casualties and incalculable civilian casualties and damage to property.<sup>830</sup> Although these major universities survived during the war, most of the local primary schools and middle schools in the war-affected area were damaged or ceased to function.

Yang Yinyu's school was interrupted as well. As the war intensified, many people in Suzhou and cities in Yangzi area as well as northeast China became refugees. In late 1937, Yang Yinyu and the whole family of her brother Yang Yinhang fled to Shanghai and Xiangshan to avoid bombardment, but as Xiangshan and Shanghai were both captured by Japan in the Battle of Shanghai (*songhu huizhan* 松滬會戰), they had to return to Suzhou.<sup>831</sup> The city was now abandoned by Chiang Kai-shek without a fight. At the time, Chiang sent most of the government to the inland city of Chongqing, and himself moved with his military agencies to Wuhan.<sup>832</sup> Events in eastern China now moved rapidly. On 13 December, 1937, the Japanese began a bloodbath in Nanjing, a hundred miles away from Suzhou, which is now known as the Rape of Nanjing (*Nanjing datusha* 南京大屠殺). Estimates of civilian deaths range from 200,000 to 300,000. Chinese citizens were forced to dig trenches for themselves before they were dead, while women were gang-raped and mutilated before being murdered.<sup>833</sup>

These atrocities were unfolding in Suzhou as well— Japanese troops robbed, raped, and slaughtered. Yang Jiang recalled that Suzhou at that time was a dead city and that corpses were seen lying on the streets everywhere. Young girls like Yang Jiang's sisters were all dressed in men's suits, and had their hair shaved off to avoid unwanted attention. Every afternoon at dinner time, Japanese soldiers came to

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<sup>830</sup> Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 709; Dreyer, *China at War*, 263.

<sup>831</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 94.

<sup>832</sup> Dreyer, *China at War*, 216-219. The Battle of Shanghai was the first of the twenty-two major battles between China and Japan during the Second Sino-Japanese War.

<sup>833</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

find young girls from each home, and the Yang sisters had to hide in bundles of firewood with their bowls and chopsticks. Their father Yang Yinhang could speak Japanese, thus he could manage to talk to the soldiers and protect his children.<sup>834</sup> Yang Yinyu, at the time was living separately from her brother's family, and was staying with the family of her student Wu Zhaoqi in another place in Suzhou. As one of the few people who could speak Japanese and who had previously had served as a mediator in Qingyangdi, Yang Yinyu reported the crimes of the soldiers to the Japanese Embassy and protested several times.<sup>835</sup> It was probably Yang Yinyu's reputation in the Japanese Embassy that made senior officials order soldiers to return what they had stolen from local families. Some young girls nearby had also sought Yang's help in avoiding rape or violence.<sup>836</sup>

On January 1, 1938, two Japanese soldiers came to Yang Yinyu's home, and asked her to go to the Japanese Embassy with them. When they walked over Wumen Bridge (吳門橋), the soldiers bayoneted Yang, and shot her, letting her body fall into the river.<sup>837</sup> She was accompanied at the time by an elder nanny of her student Wu Zhaoji's family. The old lady survived, escaped home, and told the Wu family what she had witnessed.<sup>838</sup> A carpenter picked up the body of Yang Yinyu and put her into a simple wooden coffin.<sup>839</sup> The friends and colleagues of Yang Yinyu and Yang Yinhang experienced deep sorrow and indignation when they heard of her death, and they wrote poems for her

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<sup>834</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 54-56. Yang Jiang at the time was staying with her husband Qian Zhongshu in Europe, they returned to Shanghai in 1938.

<sup>835</sup> Memoir of Yang Yinyu's student and neighbour Wu Zhaoqi 吳兆奇, and his siblings Wu Zhaoji (吳兆基), and Wu Zhaolin (吳兆琳). Their memoir is edited in Zhang Yinglin, 'Guanyu Yang Yinyu xunnan de yixie qingkuang [Memories on Yang Yinyu's death]' in Zhengxie Suzhoushi weiyuanhui [The Suzhou Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference], ed. *Suzhou wenshi ziliao [Historical Archives of Suzhou]*, Vol.16, (1987): 50-51. In the article, the author Zhang Yinglin collected four memoirs, respectively from Yu Xiaoquan (俞嘯泉)'s wartime diary, Yang Yinhang's friend Bao Tianxiao (包天笑, 1876-1973)'s memoir, Yang Jiang's letter, and a letter by Yang Yinyu's student Wu Zhaoqi.

<sup>836</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 49-50.

<sup>837</sup> *Ibid.*, 49-51.

<sup>838</sup> Zhang, "Guanyu Yang Yinyu xunnan de yixie qingkuang," 50-51.

<sup>839</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 94.

in order to praise her spirit.<sup>840</sup> When she heard of Yang's death, Su Xuelin wrote, 'if there is justice in this world, the unreasonable attack Miss Yinyu suffered will be redressed. She died protecting her students and she died for education. Her sacrifice was meaningful. As long as China survives, she will not be forgotten.'<sup>841</sup> Wuxi educator Hou Hongjian composed a Chinese quatrain poem to lament her:

'In the overwhelming catastrophe and furious gunfire, even an innocent woman suffers.  
Our nation is occupied by the enemies, homes are smashed and people wither.  
The righteous and fearless heroine, straightens up her body as a man.  
Why there is no justice in the world, but injustice that sends thee to the river.  
Brutality and darkness comes everywhere, that purity of women and children vanishes.  
Thou now leaves the danger, leaves thy innocence to the underworld.  
What a cruel sentence to be shot and fall into river, I cannot bear to hear the grievous news.  
Wait until we defeat the enemies, then the victory will come to solace the heroine.'<sup>842</sup>

Yang Yinyu's life ended here. As the fighting drew closer, Japanese airplanes started bombing the cities in the east and the north, and Suzhou people dared not light lamps after dark, let alone to hold a proper funeral. Yang Yinhang fled with all of his family to Shanghai, and managed to stay there safely. In 1939, Yang Yinhang and the children finally returned to Suzhou, and buried his sister Yang Yinyu and his wife Tang Xu'an, who had died in Suzhou before they fled to Shanghai, in the Xiugu Cemetery (*xiugu gongmu* 繡谷公墓). Yang Jiang wrote, 'The coffin [of my aunt Yang Yinyu] looked

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<sup>840</sup> Weimiao (penname 微妙), 'Aidao Yang Yinyu nüshi [In Mourn of Miss Yang Yinyu]' in *Jingbao* [*Shanghai jingbao*], (December 21, 1938): 3.

<sup>841</sup> Su, "Dao nü jiaoyujia Yang Yinyu xiansheng", 58.

<sup>842</sup> As shown in Chapter I, Hou Hongjian was one of the earliest teachers in Wuxi to open new schools to propel modern education. He went to Japan with Yang Yinhang together in 1900. The original text of Hou Hongjian's poem was:

浩劫彌天炮火狂，無辜弱女亦遭殃。  
鵲巢鳩佔尋常事，家破何堪人共亡。  
理直氣壯不怕泰，昂然巾幗丈夫身。  
豈知國際無公道，送汝清流返本真。  
橫行獸慾暗無天，婦節童貞盡蕩然。  
勇者欽君離虎口，允留青白到重泉。  
落河飲彈是何刑，噩耗傳來不忍聽。  
靜待長期殲敵後，凱旋吳下慰英靈。

Ronghu (penname 蓉湖), "Du Cang yi laoren Hou Baosan xiansheng shu Yang Yinyu cansishi yougan shuaicheng sijue [Mr Hou Hongjian's Quatrain on Yang Yinyu's Tragic Death]," *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (1938): 19.

strange. The wood lid was hastily closed, and the wood was not polished, but rough and plain. It seemed to have symbolised the rough and frustrated life of my aunt.’<sup>843</sup>

### Collective Memory of Yang Yinyu

In August 1945, Japan surrendered, and this formally brought the Second Sino-Japanese War as well as World War II to a close. In 1947, Yu Qingtang and some colleagues of Yang Yinyu launched a scholarship in Yang’s name in Suzhou Teachers School for Women, and held mourning meetings in memory of Yang.<sup>844</sup> The author of the article ‘In Memory of Yang Yinyu’ (*Ji Yang Yinyu* 記楊蔭榆) said:

‘Miss Yang Yinyu from Wuxi was a progressive in education. She studied in both the US and Japan, and took charge of Beijing Women’s Normal University. After she returned to Suzhou, Yang taught in Soochow University and Suzhou Middle School. Suzhou was occupied in August 1937, but Miss Yang did not leave here and was killed by the enemy...

Suzhou had less than twenty thousand citizens left when the city was occupied, among whom more than a thousand were killed...

In commemorating Miss Yang, we have to commit the disastrous lesson to mind, no Suzhou person will forget it.’<sup>845</sup>

Yang Yinyu, now, was remembered as a dedicated educator and heroine in the devastated post-war Suzhou. However, after the civil war that followed the Second Sino-Japanese War, the memory of her would be altered.

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<sup>843</sup> Yang, *Huiyi liangpian*, 94-95.

<sup>844</sup> “Ji Yang Yinyu [In Memory of Yang Yinyu],” *Xinwen bao* [*Shanghai News Daily*], (November 16, 1947): 2.

<sup>845</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.



### *A National Villain in Chinese Textbooks*

Over the past sixty years, Yang Yinyu has been taught as a national villain in the text books of Chinese Literature through Lu Xun's works. After the foundation of the PRC in 1949, a major reform of the Communist Party was educational reform of textbooks, in order to 'remould peoples' minds from the basic point.'<sup>846</sup> As discussed in the Introduction, Mao Zedong in 1940 had praised Lu Xun as 'the greatest Chinese writer, ideologist and revolutionist, and the bravest, the most determined, the most loyal and the most passionate national hero'. Thus, between 1955 to 1958, about twenty articles, essays, and short novels of Lu Xun were included in national textbooks as compulsory articles. The political manipulation of Lu Xun's works reached the climax during the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) when Mao Zedong and his supporters, including his wife Jiang Qing (江青, 1914-1991), used Lu Xun's words to purge Mao's political enemies. In the recent three decades, although historians and scholars have made reevaluation on the political use of Lu Xun and reappraised Lu Xun himself from various perspectives, Yang's negative image remains because little has been done on Lu Xun's construction of Yang. In addition, the teaching method in Chinese Literature further enhanced the collective memory of Yang Yinyu as a national villain.

Among Lu Xun's works in the textbooks, the two articles *We Should Postpone 'Fair Play'* and *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* were particularly emphasised as key articles for students during the Cultural Revolution, and they remain as compulsory articles in the present. In 1966, on *Peking Review*, the authoritative organ of the CCP, it issued an article *Commemorating Lu Hsun — Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution*, in which Lu Xun was defined as a 'forerunner' who 'always stood at the forefront of the times, waging an unswerving struggle to overthrow imperialism and its lackeys, sweep away the old culture of the exploiting classes, and spread and promote the new culture

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<sup>846</sup> Sun Le, "Lu Xun Zuoping zai zhongxue yuwen jiaocai zhong de zengjian yanjiu [The Increase and Decrease of Lu Xun's Works in Middle-school Textbooks]," Dissertation of Master Degree in The Department of Education, Minnan shifan daxue [Minnan Normal University], (2015), 12.

of the masses.’<sup>847</sup> In the article, it specifically raised Lu Xun’s sentence in describing Yang Yinyu —‘beating the drowning dog’ [*dasi luoshuigou* 打死落水狗], as Lu Xun’s ultimate spirit of revolution. As it wrote:

‘The phrase “beating a mad dog in the water” [drowning dog] is an outstanding expression of Lu Hsun [Lu Xun]’s thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. Lu Hsun resolutely opposed any talk of “forgiving” or “showing mercy” to the enemy. He sharply rebutted the drivel which vilifies the spirit of “beating a mad dog in the water” as “going to extremes” or “being too harsh in hating evil.” He clearly pointed out that “the nature of the dog” would not change and that if it were allowed “to crawl back on to the bank” and catch its breath, it would some day “bite to death” many revolutionaries...Can we allow them to rise up again some day to “bite to death” revolutionaries? No! We must learn from Lu Hsun’s thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit of “beating a mad dog in the water,” and beat them to the earth so that they never get up again.’<sup>848</sup>

Since then, the ‘running dog’ Yang Yinyu portrayed by Lu Xun was remembered on a national scale, and Lu Xun’s interpretation was inviolable. Teaching pedagogy in Chinese Literature was in accord with the political orthodoxy, for example, in *Teaching Methods of Lu Xun’s works* published in 1973, these two articles were listed as the top two essays of Lu Xun. In the footnote of the book, Lin Yutang, who once proposed the idea of ‘fair play’ was criticised as a ‘reactionary’ (*fandong pai* 反動派). Chen Xiying and Yang Yinyu, who were directly criticised by Lu Xun, were noted as ‘running dogs of the Beiyang warlords’.<sup>849</sup>

In 1976, when the Cultural Revolution ended, the Ministry of Education began to reform national textbooks and decentralised its editing to provincial levels. However, Lu Xun’s articles endured through ensuing rounds of reforms. A Chinese scholar Zhang Xiao has investigated that, the focus of teaching pedagogy on Lu Xun’s article *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* has been changed from 1980 to 2015

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<sup>847</sup> “Commemorating Lu Hsun — Our Forerunner in the Cultural Revolution,” *Peking Review* 9, no.45, (November 4, 1966): 8-10. [available online]: <https://www.marxists.org/subject/china/peking-review/1966/PR1966-45g.htm>.

<sup>848</sup> *ibid.*, 9.

<sup>849</sup> *Teaching Method of Lu Xun’s Works*, 1-51.

because the focus has been closely linked with political interpretation of Lu Xun. However, this section further finds that the teaching pedagogy in schools at large focus on the literary skills of Lu Xun rather than questioning his subjectivity or contextualising his articles in their historical background. In addition, the outcome of historical reevaluation of Lu Xun is generally adopted in textbooks about ten years later. For example, while historians began to restore the ‘true’ Lu Xun in the 1980s, the teaching method in school continued the ways used in the 1970s. In 1981, for instance, a high school teacher called Yang Zhixin recorded how she taught the article *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* to her students:

‘The article is a deeply affective essay... I proposed two main questions for the students to think about: First, what did Liu Hezhen look like? How were she and other victims killed by the government, and how did they act during the movement? Second, what is the lesson of her death for us to learn in the future?’

The teacher continued, detailing what the students had learned, ‘Now students can taste the affection of the writer, who harshly blamed the dirty collusion of the imperialist warlord government and their running dogs [Yang Yinyu]... the article inspires people to continue fighting.’<sup>850</sup> As Zhang Xiao points out, it was from 1990 to 2000 that teachers taught more about the author Lu Xun, and tried to ‘narrow the distance between students and Lu Xun’. In the most recent decade, teachers further encourage students to express their understanding of Lu Xun and Liu Hezhen.<sup>851</sup> Therefore, despite the end of the Cultural Revolution, the teaching pedagogy which has been emphasised mainly on the literary skills of Lu Xun has enhanced the negative image of Yang Yinyu and those who were criticised by Lu Xun, year after year.

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<sup>850</sup> Yang Zhixin, “Jinian Liu Hezhen Jun jiaoxue changshi [The Teaching Experience of *In Memory of Liu Hezhen*],” *Jinzhou shifan xueyuan xuebao [The Journal of Jinzhou Normal College]*, no.3, (1981): 78-80.

<sup>851</sup> Zhang Xiao, “Ji’nian Liu Hezhen jun sanshiwu nian jiaoxue zongshu [An Overview of the Teaching on the Article In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen],” *Xiandai yuwen [Contemporary Chinese Literature]*, no.12, (2015): 50-51.

### Contemporary Educational Reforms of Lu Xun's Works in Textbooks

Since 2009, the People's Education Press, which is the official institute affiliated with the Ministry of Education and responsible for putting together teaching materials for schools, has tried to withdraw some of the works of Lu Xun. Educator Yan Wen explained their removal saying that 'some sentences by Lu Xun are out of context, and cause misunderstandings for students who will easily and blindly possess hostility to others. It is very dangerous.' An author named Yu Deqing wrote on China Youth Daily that, 'it is good to reduce Lu Xun's works in our textbooks. Lu Xun's essays have been a main source for generations of "angry young people" [*fenqing* 愤青]. We will have less *fenqing* if we learn less Lu Xun.'<sup>852</sup>

However, disputes rose among the public more quickly than expected. A Chinese contemporary radical writer Yu Jie (余杰) then argued against Yan and the educational authority, saying that 'the article *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* is the most important enlightenment for our generation. It was this essay that stimulated me to fight as a writer [warrior]!'<sup>853</sup> A representative of the People's Education Press called Wu soon confirmed that *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* would remain and that works by Lu Xun in the textbooks would continue to occupy the largest proportion compared to other writers. Wu said: 'the works of Lu Xun will never totally disappear from Chinese textbooks.'<sup>854</sup>

Under this circumstance, when Chinese scholar Lu Jiande argued for a reappraisal of the reputation of Yang Yinyu and questioned the revolutionary legacies of Lu Xun, he was soon attacked by Chen Shuyu, the deputy chief of Beijing Lu Xun Museum. Chen had published a new version of Lu Xun's

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<sup>852</sup> "Meiti pinglun: Lu Xun zuoping yu minzu jiliang wuguan [Comments: Lu Xun's Works are Irrelevant to the National Foundation]", *Zhongguo xinwenwang* [*China New*], (August 13, 2009). [Online source available at: <http://www.chinanews.com/cul/news/2009/08-13/1815902.shtml>.]

<sup>853</sup> Yu Jie, "Jinian Liu Hezhen Jun Weihe Bei Zhuchu Yuwen Keben? [Why is *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* is be deleted from textbooks?]", *Independent Chinese Pen Centre*, (2013). [available online] [http://blog.boxun.com/hero/200801/yujie/104\\_1.shtml](http://blog.boxun.com/hero/200801/yujie/104_1.shtml).

<sup>854</sup> "Luxun Wenzhang Beichuan Chedi Tuichu Jiaocai, Huiying: Zhi Shan Yipian [The works of Lu Xun are said to be deleted from textbooks, Answer: We only Deleted One]", *Renminwang*. [available online]: <http://history.people.com.cn/n/2013/0905/c348600-22813719.html>. September 5, 2013.

works in 2006, in which he still footnoted Yang Yinyu as a typical ‘running-dog’, and Chen Xiying as a ‘reactionary’.<sup>855</sup> However, a positive sign is that there are some teachers who have read the works of Lu Jiande and have begun to rethink their teaching methods. For example, a teacher called Wang Xiaobo published his teaching pedagogy in 2017: ‘we should reexamine historical figures in Chinese Literature with new information.’ Wang takes *In Memory of Miss Liu Hezhen* as a main case: ‘when I teach this article, I use new research from historian Lu Jiande and Yang Jiang’s memoir, so that Yang Yinyu can be studied more objectively as a historical figure by students.’<sup>856</sup>

## Summary

While the previous four chapters have examined how the identity of Yang Yinyu as a modern Chinese educator was intertwined with the contemporary educational reforms, this chapter particularly deconstructs the process by which she came to be portrayed as a national villain. The chapter finds that although historians have paid attention to the political use of Lu Xun under Maoist China, they have not studied Lu Xun’s dramatic construction of Yang Yinyu and other historical figures including Chen Yuan. As the previous and this chapter have shown, the portrayal of Yang as a villain was formed during the anti-Yang movement, and was enhanced by Lu Xun in the March Eighteenth Tragedy in 1926. The incident of 1926 was a crucial turning point in Republican history, in which many patriotic students died and were raised as national martyrs. Despite the fact that Yang Yinyu was not directly involved, she was attached by Lu Xun because he believed that ‘running-dogs’ of the Beiyang warlords must be continuously condemned.

However, we need to be aware that this attitude of Lu Xun was enlarged into a political orthodoxy in a special period of the Cultural Revolution when the politicians borrowed his words for political use,

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<sup>855</sup> Chen Shuyu, *Biannianti Lu Xun Zhuzuo Quanji*. [*The Chronicle Version of Lu Xun’s Works*] (Fujian: Fujian Jiaoyu Chubanshe.[Fujian Education Press], 2006).

<sup>856</sup> Wang Xiaobo, “Duo yidao lixing de yanguang [We Need More Rationality],” *Zhongxue yuwen jiaoxue cankao* [*Teaching Reference for Middle Schools*], no.3, (2017): 46-48.

and the attitude per se was not unproblematic. It is crucial for us to reevaluate the historical figures through their own terms, without the political lens of the Cultural Revolution, and more importantly, without the lens of Lu Xun. As the previous four chapter shows, Yang Yinyu as a historical figure was rather a lifelong educator than a ‘feudal conservative’ described by Lu Xun as well as Xu Guangping. After Yang Yinyu left Beijing in 1925, she persisted with teaching but she still suffered from being attacked. She could not play a significant role in the educational reforms under the Nationalist regime, but only did what she could in a limited role as a teacher. Her insistence in education was out of her sense of responsibility of being an educator, and also influenced by the Christian qualities of sacrifice and endurance, which in turn echoed the Chinese teachings and her experiences in Japan.

When Yang was killed in the Second Sino-Japanese War, she was remembered by many people as a heroine. However, Lu Xun’s attitude of ‘postpone fair play’ became a key source of revolutionary spirit in the 1950s, which was learnt by millions of Chinese people and adopted as a key theme of the Cultural Revolution, during which time Yang became known as a national villain. This image has been increasingly enhanced, despite the end of the Cultural Revolution, due to continuities in the teaching pedagogy of Chinese Literature from the 1970s until the present. Therefore, through investigating the history of Yang Yinyu and the construction of her in this chapter, it contributes to restore this historical figure and demonstrates her historical meaning to the present.

## **Conclusion**

This thesis is the first and only biographical study of Yang Yinyu, China's first female university president. For the past six decades, Yang Yinyu has been taught in Chinese textbooks through Lu Xun's works as a feudal conservative and a negative anti-revolutionary. Historians, both in China and the West, largely acknowledge her as a 'dictator' in the university according to the mainstream interpretation of Yang, which was made based on the one-sided sources from Lu Xun and Xu Guangping. In the recent years, Chinese historians such as Lu Jiande have begun to reevaluate the subjectivity of Xu Guangping and Lu Xun and political involvement in the anti-Yang movement. However, due to the limited availability of Yang Yinyu's autobiographical materials, Yang Yinyu's own voice during the anti-Yang movement remained undiscovered. Moreover, despite being the first female university president and one of the very few female educators in the Republican era, little has been done to understand Yang's own educational ideologies, or to reappraise the historical meaning of the anti-Yang movement in terms of modern educational reforms.

By visiting the libraries and archives in the seven cities where Yang Yinyu had lived, studied, and taught in China, Japan, and the US, the author of this thesis has collected unused primary sources, and met the methodological challenge of portraying her as a three-dimensional historical figure. This thesis has critically reappraised the dominant historical interpretation, and demonstrated how she became the university president, what her educational ideologies were, and how she was constructed as a national villain. Furthermore, through the approach of microhistory, this thesis has also opened up several areas relating to modern educational reforms for enquiry, including the identity formation of the first generation of modern educators, the boundaries of education and politics, and women's experiences in the Qing-Republican transition during the early twentieth century. In turn, these areas

have allowed this thesis to recreate the educational and political environment in which Yang's educational ideologies were formed.

The findings of this thesis will be reviewed in the following paragraphs. First, this conclusion highlights Yang Yinyu's identity as a modern educator, and demonstrates how her path towards a university president was intertwined in the early twentieth-century educational reforms. Second, it summarises her educational ideologies and her reforming agenda in Beijing Teachers College for Women. Third, it sheds light on to Yang Yinyu's own voice in the anti-Yang movement, and reevaluates the movement in terms of educational development. Finally, it summarises how Yang Yinyu has been made into a national villain after her death, and proposes suggestions for teaching on Lu Xun's articles in contemporary textbooks. In general, these findings allow us to challenge the teleological lens of revolutions, and restore the historical figure on her own terms. By using Yang as a case study, this thesis also acknowledge the efforts of the earliest generation of modern educators, whose experiences have been less-explored in the existing literature, yet crucial for us to understand the changing meaning of 'education' in China's educational reforms in the early twentieth century.

### *Yang Yinyu as a Modern Educator*

First, this thesis has found that Yang Yinyu was a lifelong educator—from 1913 when she graduated from Tokyo Teachers College for Women until she died in 1938, Yang had dedicated her whole life in promoting modern education. As an individual who was living in the Qing-Republican transition, her life should not be only understood as a typical case of 'counter-revolutionary' as presented in most literature, but contained more ingredients for us to examine an educator's vicissitude in an era of exploration in education. During the five decades that Yang Yinyu lived, China experienced significant educational reforms as well as a dynastic shift in political regimes. Since the 1890s, late Qing reformers began to specifically promote educational reforms after the First Sino-Japanese War.



After the Qing court's initiation of the first national school system in 1903 and 1904, the *Keju* Examinations were abolished in 1905, and women's schooling was incorporated into the new system in 1907. In 1912, a more comprehensive school system was built up in the newly-established Republican China, and it was further reformed in 1922, which formed a foundation for today's school system in China.

In this process, a generation of new teachers and educators emerged. They were at first trained to be teachers in the increasing number of new schools, but they further propelled and developed modern education through their own efforts in studying education and conducting reforms. Yang Yinyu was one of the earliest generation of new teachers and educators, and her life and experiences were closely intertwined with the educational reforms of her era. In the existing literature of early-twentieth-century educational reforms, historians generally focus on the new schools and leading educators and politicians such as Zhang Zhidong, Liang Qichao and Cai Yuanpei. Little attention has been paid to the first generation of educators who had less political power, but dedicated their life in promoting China's modern education in an era of political turmoil and wars. This thesis argues that their existence was crucial in Chinese educational history. Compared with the leading figures, these educators took educational development, instead of politics, as their daily tasks, and they were more decisive in the local perception of the meaning of 'modern education'. By shifting the focus from those leading figures towards the less-known educators such as Yang Yinyu, we can better understand the conflicts and negotiations of the earliest educators underwent as the educational modernisation was conducted on a daily level.

Through Yang Yinyu's case, this thesis has demonstrated a new perspective to examine China's educational modernisation. As this thesis has shown, Yang and the earliest new teachers and educators had fundamentally redefined the meaning of 'education' and roles of 'teachers' and 'educators' by

their own struggles and experiences. Discussed in the first chapter, ‘education’ in Imperial China meant studying the Confucian classics and the traditional teachers were mainly responsible for promoting Confucian morality. Yang’s family directly benefitted from the late Qing statesman Sheng Xuanhuai’s first pilot program in setting up teacher training schools in 1897. Faced with the Qing’s humiliating defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War, Yang Yinhang, though mainly interpreted as a political activist in the current literature, shared the ideas of the leading reformer Liang Qichao, and regarded new education as a crucial path for national salvation. Before the abolishment of the *Keju* system, Yang Yinhang and Yang Zhixun, as well as many Japan-returned gentry scholars and students formed a network of new teachers as early as 1903. Through opening new schools and editing new textbooks, they were some of the earliest new teachers in the late Qing era, who introduced modern subjects and encouraged women’s attendance in the new schools. Their innovative activities undermined the traditional meaning of ‘education’, and the weight of knowledge was propelled from Confucian classics towards the modern subjects, which were regarded as necessary for the modernisation of China.

Thanks to her family’s pioneering role in promoting new education, Yang Yinyu was among the earliest few female students in the late Qing era. In 1904, Yang Yinyu divorced her husband. This rare case was promoted by the progressive periodical *Women’s World* to raise women’s attention to women’s rights and women’s education. However, it was a case that caused much controversy in the local society. Yang Yinyu was attacked by people around her as a woman who had failed to fulfil her ‘natural responsibility’, and people debated the necessity of women’s education. These early controversies and debates on women’s education have been discussed by historians Paul Bailey and Xia Xiaohong, but these scholars have not fully demonstrated what it meant for those earliest female students when they became new teachers. Historians such as Joan Judge have demonstrated how female students were trained with the discourse of ‘virtuous mothers and good wives’ and ‘mothers of

citizens' when they first obtained opportunities in school education. However, little has been done on the discourse of 'women as natural teachers', and the fact that these female students were firstly trained as new teachers. As the second chapter discussed, Yang Yinyu, like many of her peers such as Wu Ruo'an and Lü Bicheng, cherished her new roles as a teacher, and understood her participation as a progressive step in further promoting Chinese women's roles in general. Thus, this thesis argues that for the earliest female students in Yang's era, women's schooling significantly altered women's career options. It allowed opportunities for them to work outside of households, and to take on occupations that had been largely dominated by their male counterparts.

Yang Yinyu's unique experiences in the missionary school in Suzhou, the new school built up by native Chinese scholars in Shanghai, and Japan's highest teacher training college further complicated her identity as a female teacher. Her experiences also enriched our understanding in the development of various educational ideas in late Qing China. In the Laura Haygood Girls' School, Yang Yinyu benefited from the school's reoriented aim in developing both Chinese learning and Western learning. The female missionaries and teachers in the school provided examples for Yang to further understand female's roles outside of the household. In Shanghai, the discourse of nationalism and outraged calls for new education in the name of national salvation imparted a strong sense of the responsibility of being a teacher to Yang. At the same time, the new education provided her a sense of belonging after she was divorced. Like many of her classmates in Wuben Girls' School, Yang Yinyu voluntarily dedicated her life to women's education and modern education, in order to popularise women's schooling and promote women's roles. This image presents a sharp contrast to what we learn from contemporary Chinese textbooks and her portrayal through the standard of revolutions.

In 1907 when the Qing court formally issued the decrees of women's schooling, Yang Yinyu passed the provincial examination, and ranked fourth. She was sent by the government to study modern

education in Japan, where she was qualified as a female teacher. In Tokyo Teachers College for Women, Yang was taught modern subjects, and more importantly, she was taught the methods to train more teachers, and the qualities teachers should possess. In 1913, immediately after her graduation, Yang was invited by Hu Zhouhui, the dean of Beijing Teachers School for Women, to work in this new school. As one of the few female teachers in the early Republican era, Yang's experiences were undoubtedly unique, but her case addresses a gap in the scholarship, allowing us to understand the routes by which women became new teachers at the first place.

Despite her uniqueness, however, Yang Yinyu shared qualities that belonged to the educators of her era more widely. In the newly-established Republic of China, the group of new teachers formed the new social occupation as 'educators', who set up educational associations. Thus, 'educators' here meant those who regarded themselves as 'educators' who were active members in the educational associations, and devoted in studying and promoting new education. Taking the founders of Xijin Public School as examples, while Yang Yinhang later developed his career as a lawyer and journalist in the 1910s and 1920s, his co-founders Hou Hongjian and Cai Wensen stayed in education and served as educationalists for their whole life. Thus, these 'educators' had strong sense of responsibility, and took this occupation as their lifelong vocation. In the current literature, despite discussions of educational policies and institutional reforms, historians have done little to explore the self-identification of the 'educators', however, to acknowledge their self-definition is crucial for us to understand their efforts and contribution to China's educational modernisation.

'Educators' were further professionalised during the late 1910s when many of them went to study education in the US and influenced by the Movement of Progressive Education in Teachers College of Columbia University. As shown in the ideology of Yang Yinyu, which was shared by Tao Xingzhi and Wang Maozu, the educators not only introduced new pedagogies from the US into China, but also

promoted the social responsibilities of schools and teachers. To summarise, through investigating Yang Yinyu's life as an educator, it unfolded the lives and efforts of the earliest generation of new teachers, who defined their meanings as educators, and reshaped the meaning of 'modern education' by their own experiences.

### *Yang Yinyu's Educational Ideas and Reforming Agenda*

Second, this thesis has identified the educational ideology of Yang Yinyu, which have long been buried behind her image as a negative dictator. In addition, through the unused university bulletins, this thesis has also found that Yang Yinyu successfully upgraded Beijing Teachers College for Women into a national university. This important fact has been neglected by historians and even Yang Yinyu's niece Yang Jiang. This thesis argues that it is oversimplified to define Yang Yinyu as a conservative or a progressive. Most importantly, she should not be understood merely from the perspective of her opponents, nor only from the angle of revolutions. Her ideology filled a gap in the current literature, where the voices of female educators remain rare. The reasons are that, first, there were fewer female teachers than their male counterparts. Second, female educators tend to have left rather fewer autobiographical materials than their male counterparts, and they usually did not have chronologies written of their lives as men did.

From her letters and published articles and speeches during 1918 to 1924, we have learnt that Yang Yinyu was keen in promoting mass education. Before the May Fourth Movement of 1919, she had promoted the ideas of 'current affairs' and 'public speeches' to her students, and encouraged them to take leading roles in social activities, using their knowledge to benefit more people. She also was interested in physical education, which Yang believed could strengthen both the body and spirit of the students. These activities of Yang, reflective of current trends among educators of the time, were pioneering for the era, and presented a sharp contrast to her portrayal as a 'dictator' in the existing

literature. After 1919, however, Yang was aware of the potential danger underlying the rising tide of student protests and movements. She thus reminded students to keep to their responsibilities as teachers. Yang believed that the students' main duties were studying in the university rather than attending political demonstrations. This claim has been interpreted as a sign of 'conservativeness' by many historians. However, this thesis argues that the relative progressiveness or conservativeness of Yang, were less important in her own understanding of events when compared to her sense of responsibility to her student and society, derived from her identity of being an American-trained educator, and her understanding of the important role of the university in the whole education system in the early 1920s.

American influences were crucial in the process of professionalisation of 'educators' in the late 1910s and early 1920s. After the establishment of American Boxer Indemnity Scholarship in 1909 and Japan's proposal of the Twenty-One Demands in 1915, the tide of Chinese students studying in Japan shifted towards the US. Many renowned educators in the early Republican era were in receipt of Boxer Indemnity Scholarships, including Guo Bingwen and Hu Shi. At the time, graduates from the Teachers College of Columbia University, which was regarded as the best teacher training college in the world, formed a significant network of Americanised educators. Assisted by their mentors John Dewey and Paul Monroe, they launched the New Education Movement in China, established the Chinese National Association for the Advancement of Education, and directly led the second educational reforms in the Republican era. Historians largely focus on the role of literary intellectuals in the May Fourth Movement and New Cultural Movement, but neglect the role of modern educators in promoting liberal ideas and the importance of moral training.

John Dewey arrived in China two days before the outbreak of May Fourth Movement in Beijing. As Dewey's influence in China was more on the propagation of democracy, Chinese scholarship, both

then and now, largely focuses on his theory of democracy and pragmatism, and its impact on China's May-Fourth generation. Yang Yinyu, who was a student at the Teachers' College of Columbia University during 1918 to 1921, may have been one of the very few Chinese students that recognised Dewey's emphasis on moral education. Correspondence between Yang Yinyu and her American teacher Florence Bigelow and her students in Beijing, suggests that Yang Yinyu learnt from John Dewey's emphasis the role of the school in the society, and also Paul Monroe's theories on children's education. Thus, when Yang became the university president, she emphasised moral training to her students because they would become teachers for primary and middle schools. Her ideology should not only be understood from the criticism of Lu Xun and Xu Guangping, but needs an examination in the context of educational reforms at the era.

Periodicals also showed that Yang Yinyu was an active member in the network of Chinese educators in Columbia University, who studied and introduced new pedagogies to China. Yang's dual emphasis on both modern pedagogies and moral training was at the time echoed by her peers including Wang Maozu, Tao Xingzhi and Yan Yangchu. For her, morality meant more than Chinese traditional Confucian ethics. As she had written in the article *Misunderstanding on Sex Education*, she understood morality as a set of universal rules. She did not agree in destroying the Chinese traditions once and for all, but advocated for mild reforms.

The university bulletins allowed us to examine Yang's reforms in Beijing Teachers College for Women, and Yang's problems also provided us chances to observe the dilemma faced with by the professional educators deriving from the political environment of Chinese academia at the time. The upgraded university at the time was the highest institution for female teacher training. Thus, it took the important role of being a base for producing teachers for schools nationwide. The affiliated kindergarten, primary school, middle school and senior middle school of the university were

experimental sites for the university students to practice their teaching skills. At the same time, this chain of kindergarten-school-university provided a model for other provincial and local schools.

However, this ideal was hard to realise. First, political struggles permeated in the Ministry of Education. Like other university presidents, Yang Yinyu had limited financial support from the Ministry. Second, the institutional reforms brought about power imbalances within the university and also caused internal conflicts based on the distribution on financial resources. Besides this, students' self-governing societies became increasingly radical after the May Fourth Movement of 1919. As shown in the term of Yang Yinyu's predecessor Xu Shoushang, the students' self-governing society of the college began to be used by political parties in power struggles. These problems would all later give rise to the anti-Yang movement. In general, the educational ideology and the reforming agenda of Yang showed that, Yang was rather a progressive educator who possessed systematic ideology towards Chinese modern education. The dilemmas faced by her during reforms were common problems for the educators of the era, and her status as a female educator with little political background made her position further difficult.

### *The Anti-Yang Movement and its Historical Meaning in China's Educational Reforms*

Third, this thesis argues that anti-Yang movement should not be understood as a fight between 'brightness and darkness', nor as a glorious victory of students in protecting their university. Rather, it was a complicated process that mixed with elements of individualism, transcultural conflicts and political struggles. Yang Yinyu's role in the movement was passive because she did not have the political power to counter the political force involved in the movement. This thesis has divided the anti-Yang movement into three stages. In the first stage, the anti-Yang protest was launched out of Xu Guangping's personal will, not from democratic procedures within the Students Self-governing Society, and their accusations that Yang had misappropriated university funds were proven by the



Ministry to be wrong. Although Xu and the protesters were influenced by Xiang Jingyu's call for the advancement of women's political rights, the ultimate goal of the movement was not to promote feminism, but only to realise the end of expelling Yang Yinyu. Xiang Jingyu's second letter to the Student Self-governing Society also showed that even she was doubtful of the protestors' motivations.

The students' violent attack on Yang on Humiliation Day in 1925 propelled Yang Yinyu's decision to dismiss these student leaders, which intensified the movement into a second stage. Yang Yinyu made announcements expressing her worries on the future of the university, and at the same time restated her commitment to continue in her role as the president. However, more players became involved. Lu Xun and the staff who had conflicts in Yang's General Board in early 1924 began to support the students. The involvement of these professors, who came from Peking University, was related to Li Shizeng's political manipulation in toppling Minister Zhang Shizhao. Yang Yinyu and her supporters' voices were soon overwhelmed in the heated debates and 'factional struggles'. However, voices of the students who were not willing to participate in the movement reflected that the intention of the movement was not as rightful as the protesters claimed. Besides, peer pressure played an important role in the student movement, and Yang's progressiveness in gender liberalisation was seen as unacceptable strangeness by some students.

In the third stage, Yang Yinyu resigned and the movement was upgraded into a battle between Li Shizeng and Zhang Shizhao, who represented the Nationalist Party and the Beiyang government. After Zhang Shizhao's decision to shut down the university, the protesters won support from students' associations in Beijing and Shanghai. The protesters' manifestos linked Yang Yinyu and Zhang Shizhao as the running dogs of the Beiyang government, and villains who 'oppressed' women's rights. Their claims were soon merged into the heated nationalism that emerged during the May Thirtieth Movement. For the educators, the closure of the university was a great loss for women's education as

well as to the educational reforms, to which they had contributed great efforts. As shown in the articles by Tao Xingzhi and Wang Maozu, the problem behind the movement was the political struggles. It was a key problem that haunted educators for many years, but the complex political landscape was not fully appreciated by the student protesters. In the end, the protesters won the battle using violent methods during the Beijing Revolution.

In summary, if examined in terms of educational development, the anti-Yang movement was not a shining example of the students' protection of academic independence, but a disaster which interrupted the function of the university as a base for national teacher training. For Yang and the educators, the running of the university was a crucial means through which to promote women's roles and career development. However, the protesters during the anti-Yang movement manipulated the concept of 'women's rights' in their efforts to remove the president, and their claims propelled the meaning of 'feminism' towards a single-sided standard of radical revolution. This standard was also used in judging an individual being 'progressive' or 'conservative', however, it was an unhelpful binary categorisation when assessing historical figures based on their own identities.

Moreover, this thesis also shows that the educational reforms should not be judged as 'failures' according to any single standard such as the low employment rate and low attendance rate, as presented by historians Thomas Curran and Suzanne Pepper. As shown in the case of Yang Yinyu as well as her peers Tao Xingzhi and Wang Maozu, Chinese educators during the transitional period significantly redefined the meaning of 'modern education' and the new roles of teachers. In an environment of political turmoil and foreign invasion, their ideals were sometimes restricted when it came to putting them in to practice, yet it is oversimplified to attribute the slow development of Chinese education to any social players in particular.

### *The Construction of Yang Yinyu and Suggestions for Contemporary Chinese Textbooks*

Finally, this thesis has untangled the history of how Yang Yinyu was constructed as a national villain. It argues that although in the recent decades historians have examined the political use of Lu Xun's works in the Maoist era, they have not discussed how Lu Xun constructed historical figures according to his subjectivity. These works of Lu Xun should not be used as the sole evidence in interpreting historical figures such as Yang Yinyu. As shown in the final chapter, despite the fact that Yang Yinyu was not involved in the March Eighteenth Tragedy in 1926, Lu Xun portrayed Yang Yinyu as one of the 'villains' leading to the student Liu Hezhen's death. In the previous year, the student protestors had linked Yang as a 'running dog' of the Beiyang government, and Lu Xun's article *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* undoubtedly further confirmed their claims. At that moment, the negative image of Yang had been shaped but was still not on a national scale. Yang lived her final ten years in Suzhou, and persisted in education. After she was killed by Japanese soldiers in the Second Sino-Japanese War, she was remembered as a heroine by people in the surrounding area.

However, after 1949, Lu Xun was portrayed as the national spiritual leader in the newly-founded Peoples' Republic of China, and many of his works were included into standard textbooks. Especially during the Cultural Revolution, Lu was constructed as a forerunner of revolutions, and his attitude of 'attacking enemies relentlessly', which was expressed in the two articles *In Memory of Liu Hezhen* and *We Should Postpone Fair Play*, was regarded as the most valuable quality of revolution. Thus, these two articles were taught as the most important essays in textbooks, and Yang's negative image as a villain was promoted on a national scale.

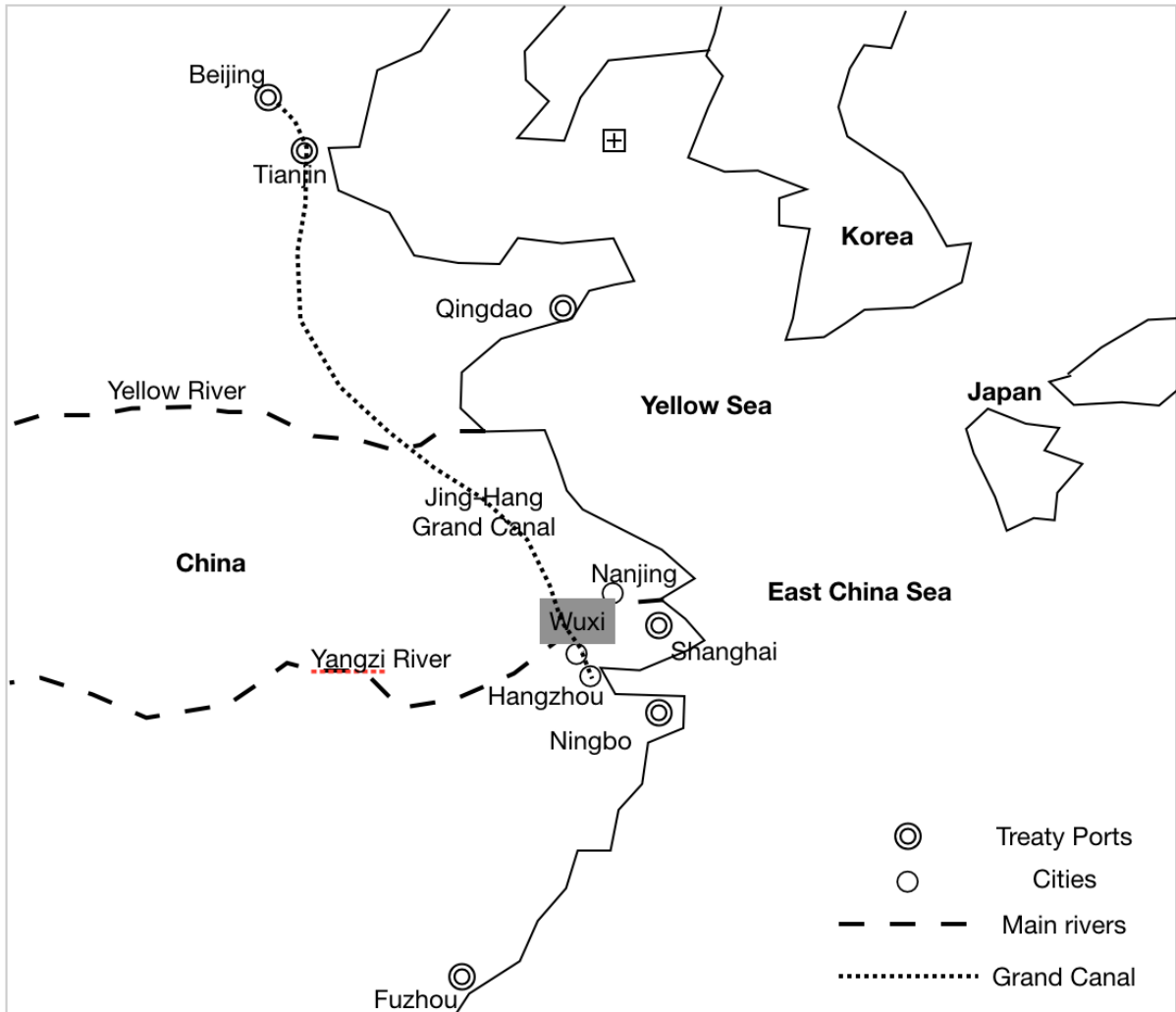
The selection of Lu Xun's articles represented a part of the revolutionary history of China, however, they should not be regarded as all of the history that millions of Chinese had experienced it differently. This thesis suggests that, when students are taught with these two articles, teachers might add more

recent findings on Lu Xun and Yang Yinyu. As shown in the recent case of the teacher Wang Xiaobo, students should be reminded of the subjectivity of Lu Xun, and learn about historical figures such as Yang Yinyu through their own perspectives.

To conclude, this thesis has looked beyond the historical myth-making of Yang, and restored her identity and her world on her own terms. From the perspective of China's educational modernisations, Yang Yinyu was an individual that was shaped by the educational reforms in her era. Her efforts in pursuing modern education were organic parts of the process when Chinese educators came into being, and the meaning of 'modern education' was under shaping. Through an investigation of her ideology and her life, this thesis has demonstrated a way to reexamine China's educational modernisation through a micro lens of an educator's struggles across the boundaries of politics and education in the Republican era.

# Appendix

## Appendix A Wuxi and Lower Yangzi area <sup>857</sup>



<sup>857</sup> Source: Author's map adapted from "Eastern China," atlas map in C.S. Hammond, *Hammond's New World Atlas* (New York: Garden City, 1948), 93; Hsu, *The Rise of Modern China*, 266.

Appendix B Timetable of the Introductory-level Primary Schools, 1904 <sup>858</sup>

Subjects	Contents	Hours/Week
<b>Morals</b> <i>xiushen</i> 修身	Zhu Xi's <i>Primary-level Learning Xiao Xue</i> 朱子小學, primary-level moral primers	2
<b>Confucian Classics</b> <i>dujing</i> 讀經	<i>Principles of Filial Piety Xiao Jing</i> 孝經, <i>Analects of Confucius Lun Yu</i> 論語	12
<b>Chinese</b> <i>zhongguo wenzi</i> 中國文字	Learn about 40 Chinese characters every day	4
<b>Maths</b> <i>suanshu</i> 算術	Numbers, simple calculation	6
<b>History</b> <i>lishi</i> 歷史	Stories of local events and famous ancestors	1
<b>Geography</b> <i>dili</i> 地理	Local mountains, rivers, temples, etc.	1
<b>Physics</b> <i>gezhi</i> 格致	Local animals, plants, mines, names and usage of daily subjects	1
<b>Gymnastics</b> <i>ticao</i> 體操	Games and sports	3
<b>Total</b>		30

<sup>858</sup> Source: Author's table created according to "Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng [*Decree of Introductory-level Primary School*]," XZYB (1993), 297.

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Figure 35 The Memorial for the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy, March 23, 1926

Figure 36 *Educational Review's* Investigation on the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy

Figure 37 Xu Mouheng's comparison of the May Thirtieth Movement and March Eighteenth Tragedy, 1926

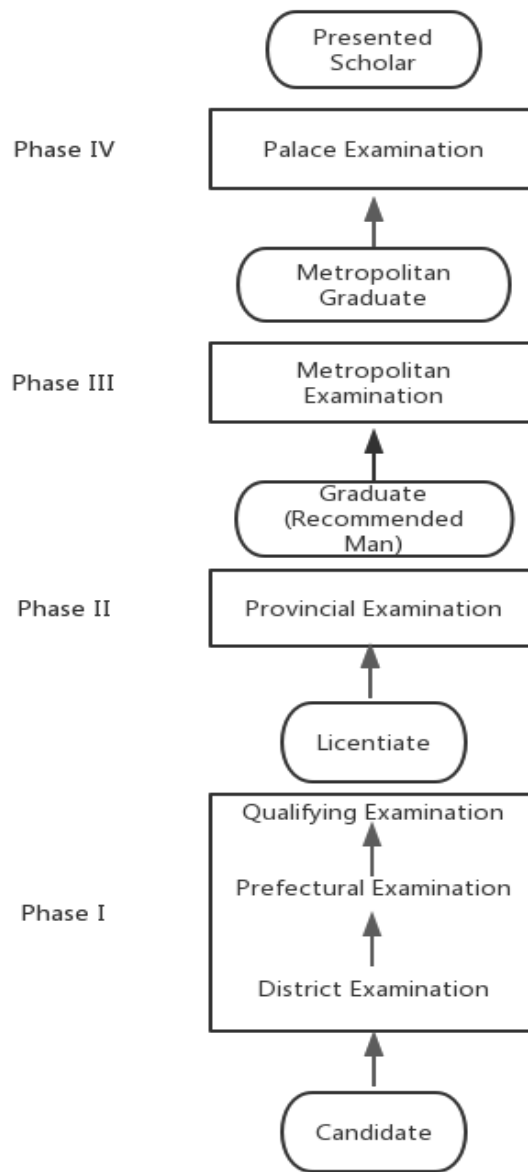
Figure 38 Yang Yinyu in Soochow University, 1930

Figure 39 The main gate of Soochow University, 1929

Figure 40 The entries of Yang Yinhang and Yang Yinyu in *Biographical Dictionary of Famous People in the Republican China and Empire of Great Manchuria*, 1937



Figure 1 The examination path for a *Keju* candidate <sup>859</sup>



<sup>859</sup> Source: Author's flow chart made based on Shang, *Qingdai keju kaoshi shulu*, 50; Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell*, 18-74.

Figure 2 Epitaph of Yang Xuexin, hand-written by Yang Yinyu, 1908 <sup>860</sup>

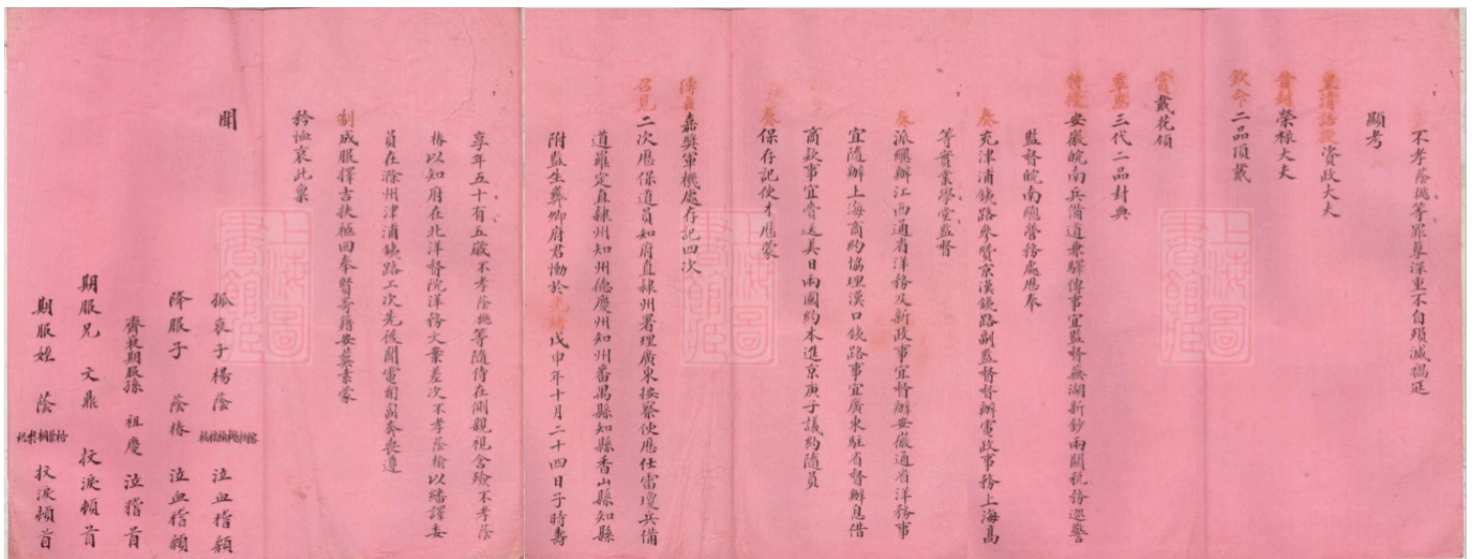
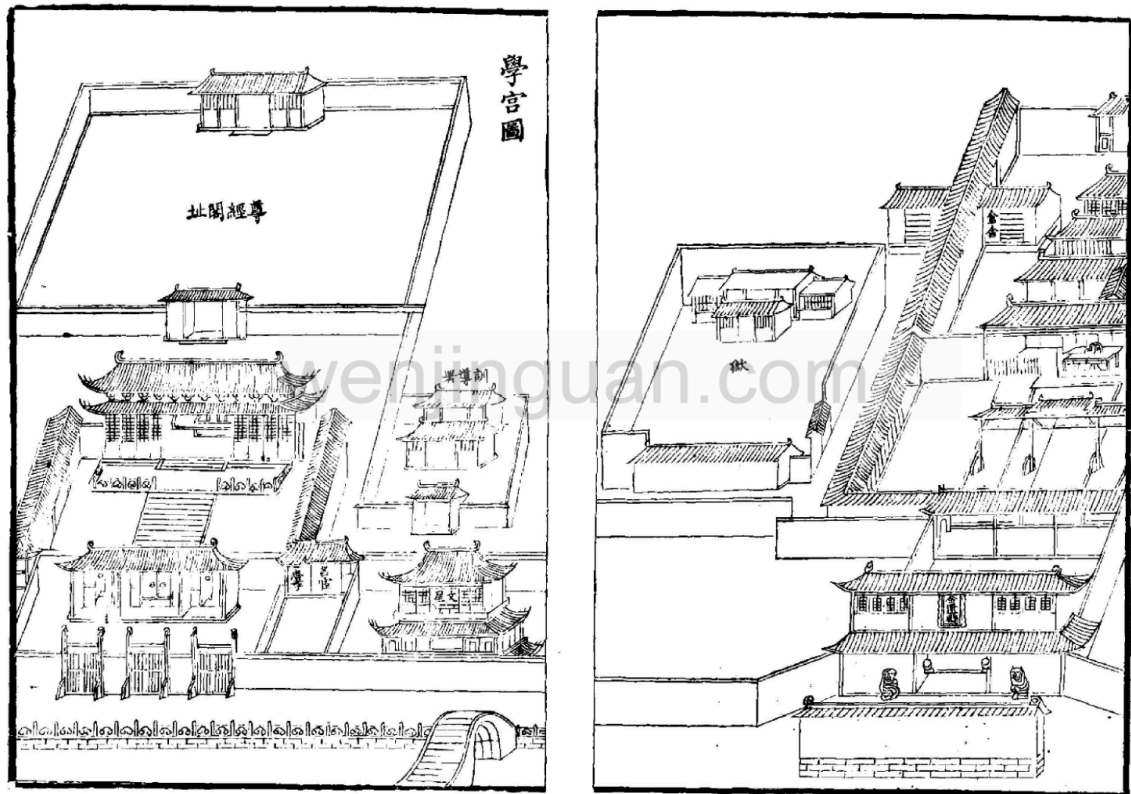


Figure 3 Wuxi Confucian School, 1881 <sup>861</sup>



<sup>860</sup> Yang Yinyu, "Yang Xuexin pugao [Epitaph of Yang Xuexin]," *Sheng Xuanhuai dang'an [Archives of Sheng Xuanhuai]*, (1908):1. Accessed from *Shanghai Municipal Library*, archival no. 105768-1. The epitaph showed that the Yang Jiang's grandfather had been a prominent official in the local area, rather than what Yang Jiang recalled as 'a small officer of a small county'.

<sup>861</sup> "Xuegong tu [Confucian School]," *WJXZ* (1881), vol. 6, 31.

Figure 4 Structure of Nanyang Public School, 1897 <sup>862</sup>

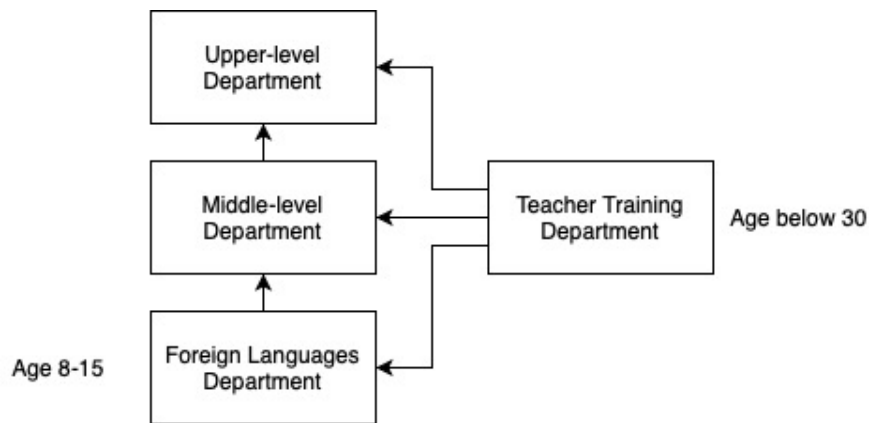
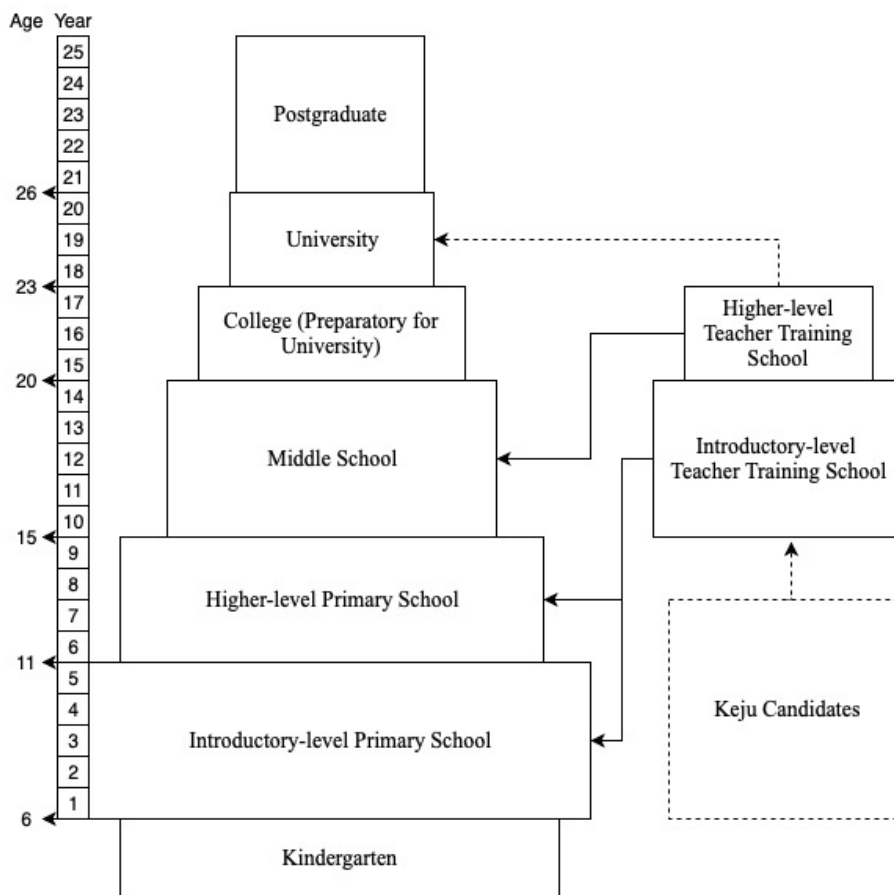


Figure 5 Structure of Renyin-Guimao Education System, 1903-1904 <sup>863</sup>



<sup>862</sup> Source: Author’s figure made according to “Nanyang gongxue jianming zhangcheng [Regulations of Nanyang Public School],” *Cui bao*, no. 9, (1897): 4-7.

<sup>863</sup> Source: Author’s figure created according to “Zouding chudeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng [Decree of Introductory Primary School],” “Zouding gaodeng xiaoxuetang zhangcheng [Decree of Higher Primary School],” “Zouding zhong xuetang zhangcheng [Decree of Middle School],” “Zouding gaodeng xuetang [Decree of College],” “Zouding daxuetang zhangcheng [Decree of University],” “Zouding chuji shifan xuetang [Decree of Introductory Teacher training School],” “Zouding youji shifan xuetang zhangcheng [Decree of Higher Teacher training School]” (1904), Gao, ed. *XZYB (1993)*, 291-427.



Figure 8 The Laura Haygood School for Girls, 1902

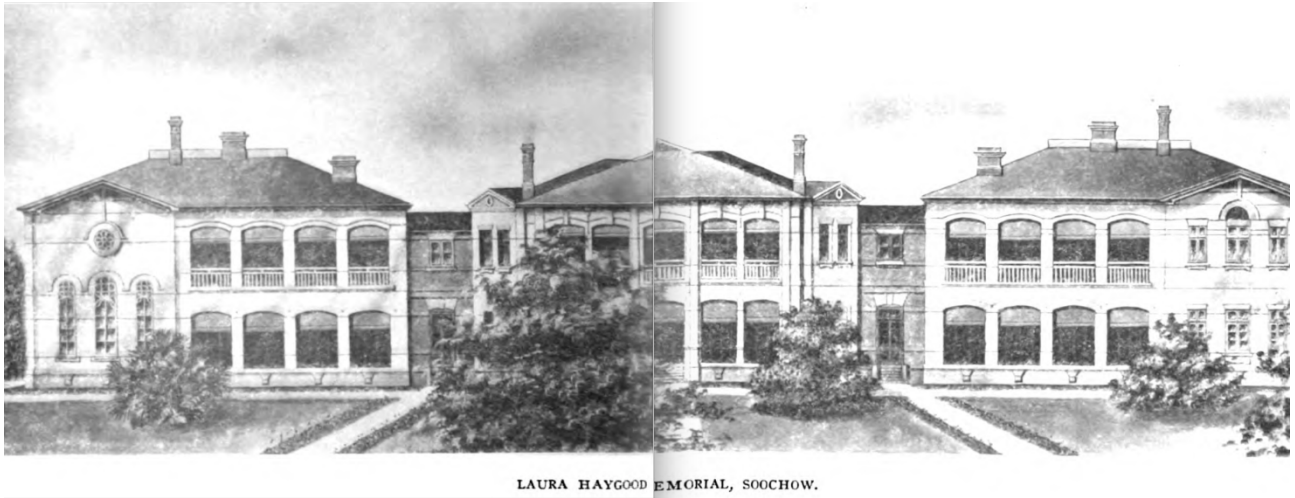


Figure 9 Students doing science experiments in the laboratory



Figure 10 Students performing maypole dancing

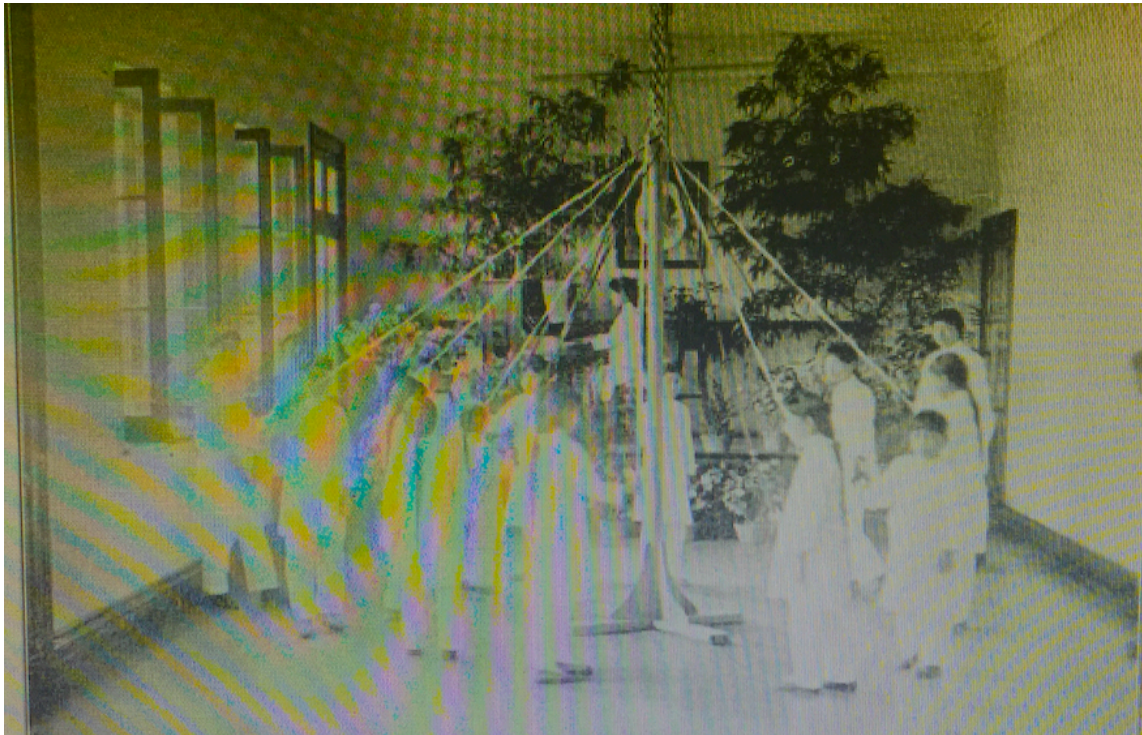


Figure 11 Shanghai Wuben Girls' School, 1910 <sup>864</sup>



<sup>864</sup> “Wuben nūshu [Wuben Girls’ School],” *Tuhua ribao* [Pictures Daily], *tekan* [special issue]: Shanghai zhi jianzhu [Shanghai’s Buildings], (1910): 12.

Figure 12 *The Moral Primer of Teacher Training for Women*, 1907

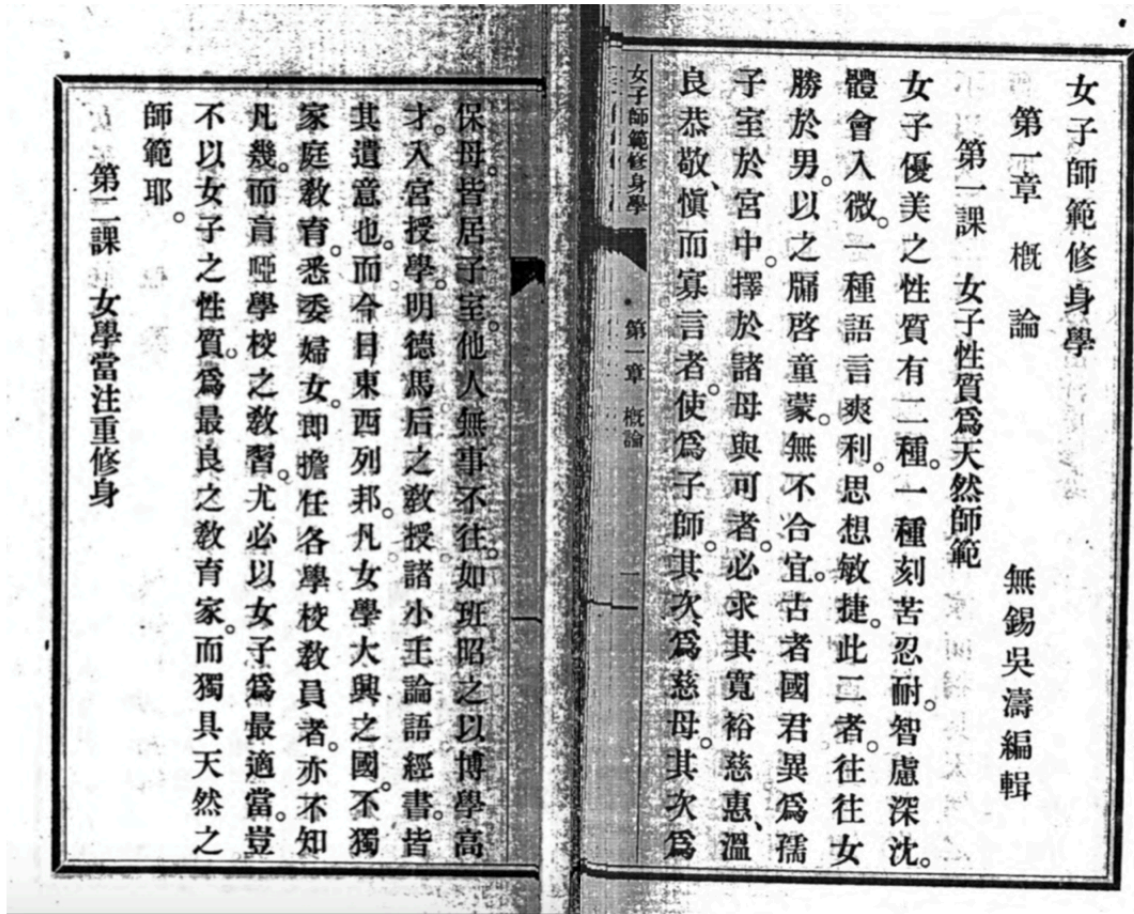
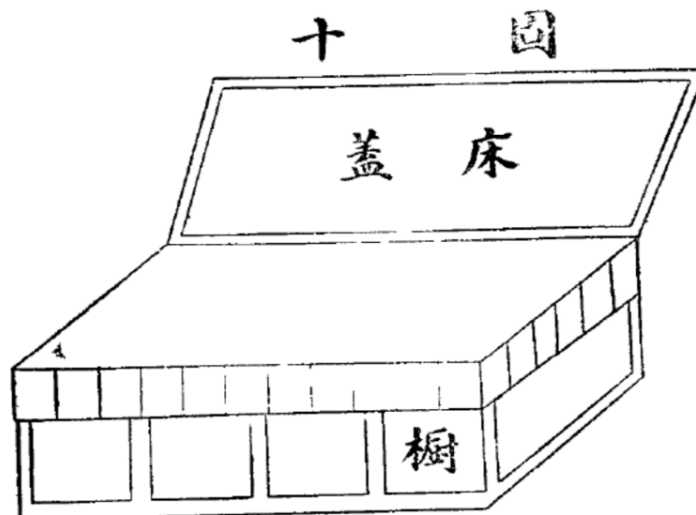


Figure 13 The school hall of the Tokyo Teachers College for Women, in which banners reading ‘loyalty’ and ‘filial piety’ are hanging in front of the stage.<sup>865</sup>



Figure 14 The cupboard bed in Japan drawn by Hu Zhouhui in her report

不。可。余。可。余。  
 詳。親。等。親。等。  
 觀。各。入。各。入。  
 其。司。其。其。其。  
 院。所。室。院。所。室。  
 落。事。見。落。事。見。  
 則。好。左。則。好。左。  
 花。整。圖。花。整。圖。  
 間。以。右。間。以。右。  
 為。暇。書。為。暇。書。  
 語。有。品。語。有。品。  
 難。所。物。難。所。物。  
 落。請。整。落。請。整。  
 雞。問。然。雞。問。然。  
 鳴。則。秩。鳴。則。秩。  
 誠。推。然。誠。推。然。  
 為。以。觀。為。以。觀。  
 不。對。其。不。對。其。  
 可。惟。人。可。惟。人。  
 多。恐。譁。多。恐。譁。  
 得。然。



<sup>865</sup> ‘nishi kōshya no chūō ni yichi suru kōdō [The Central Hall of the Western Building]’ (1915) in *Ochanomizu University Digital Archives*. Picture No. m\_ph\_3355-0010. [available online]: [http://archives.cf.ocha.ac.jp/exhibition/3355/m\\_ph\\_3355-0010.html](http://archives.cf.ocha.ac.jp/exhibition/3355/m_ph_3355-0010.html).



Figure 15 Yang Yinyu's letter to Miss Florence Bigelow, 1919

countries in all the ways she is able. Certainly a good lecture is wonderful. I wish I were there listening too.

I went to Wellesley yesterday and I met Miss Mulligan and Miss Foxcroft. I was so glad to meet them. Of course, I do not know Miss Foxcroft very well. I think Miss Mulligan is a very kind and good natured lady. Don't you think so?

We are going to have Easter vacation next week and I am planning to go to Boston to visit the normal school there. The Boston normal school is said to be the best normal school in America. So I must go to see them. I think I will know more about the normal school training.

I don't like that the people here in America call the normal school the "normal school." A person bears the responsibility of education of the citizen is a very splendid work. The aim of a teacher is not only for earning his living. The teachers training schools must be different from <sup>any</sup> other vocational schools. Do you think so?

Yours loving  
Yin Yu Yang

Figure 16 Teachers College of Columbia University <sup>866</sup>



<sup>866</sup> Author's photo, taken in New York on August 15, 2016.

Figure 17 Miss Yuan Shizhuang in Wellesley College, 1921 <sup>867</sup>



Figure 18 Yang Yinyu in Columbia University, 1920 <sup>868</sup>



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<sup>867</sup> "Who is Who," *The Wellesley Legenda* (Wellesley College, 1921), 90.

<sup>868</sup> The yearbook recorded a wrong name for Yang Yinyu. The sentence below her name read: 'We hope she will carry back her memories that will be a credit to us all.' "Class of 1920," *Columbia University Teachers College Tower Yearbook* (New York, 1920).

Figure 19 Miss Yang Baokang in Wellesley College, 1922 <sup>869</sup>



Figure 20 Yang Yinyu and Yang Baokang's dormitory in New York <sup>870</sup>



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<sup>869</sup> "Who is Who," *The Wellesley Legenda* (Wellesley College, 1922), 95.

<sup>870</sup> Author's photo, taken in New York on August 15, 2016.

Figure 21 Chinese Students' Club of Columbia University, 1920

Yang Yinyu: the second row from top, the fifth from right <sup>871</sup>



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<sup>871</sup> "Chinese Students' Club of Columbia University," *Chinese Students' Monthly* 15, no. 8, (1920): 64.

Figure 22 Yang Yinyu's letter to her students, 1918<sup>872</sup>

，榆在操場，告諸同學，為集資助葬，不二三分鐘，諸同學皆竭力捐助，一無為難情狀。其故無非因某女僕為女生所熟悉。且家死至有關係之人；此慘苦景況，皆能想像得之；是以同情之心，油然而生；不須強迫，自然樂輸也。推此情狀，吾人如能多見多聞，多知社會國家情狀者，對於社會國家，自多感情。學生較常人知之多，其愛國心，亦較常人為盛；故欲有感情，必使之生同情。生之道何？亦曰「使知之而已」知情意三者之順序固不可顛倒也。

吾國學校中人，目光較常人為遠，然較諸美國人，則仍覺甚近；蓋國校中，大多數人目光，在校門之內；最廣者，兼在他校校門之內，即所謂教育界以內；而與他種社會隔膜。致教育自教育，社會自社會。其實教育界之範圍不止此，而吾人目光不及之；故學校縱極好，而社會得益甚少。且其為益，亦僅為盲目的，偶然的而已。此吾國教育之所以興辦多年，而社會國家不受影響之原因也。榆在國時，辦事亦患此病，以為教育界人，當守教育界人之本分，他非所及。不知教育之目的，在造福社會，故造福社會即吾人之本分。否則失其本分之所在矣。

通  
信

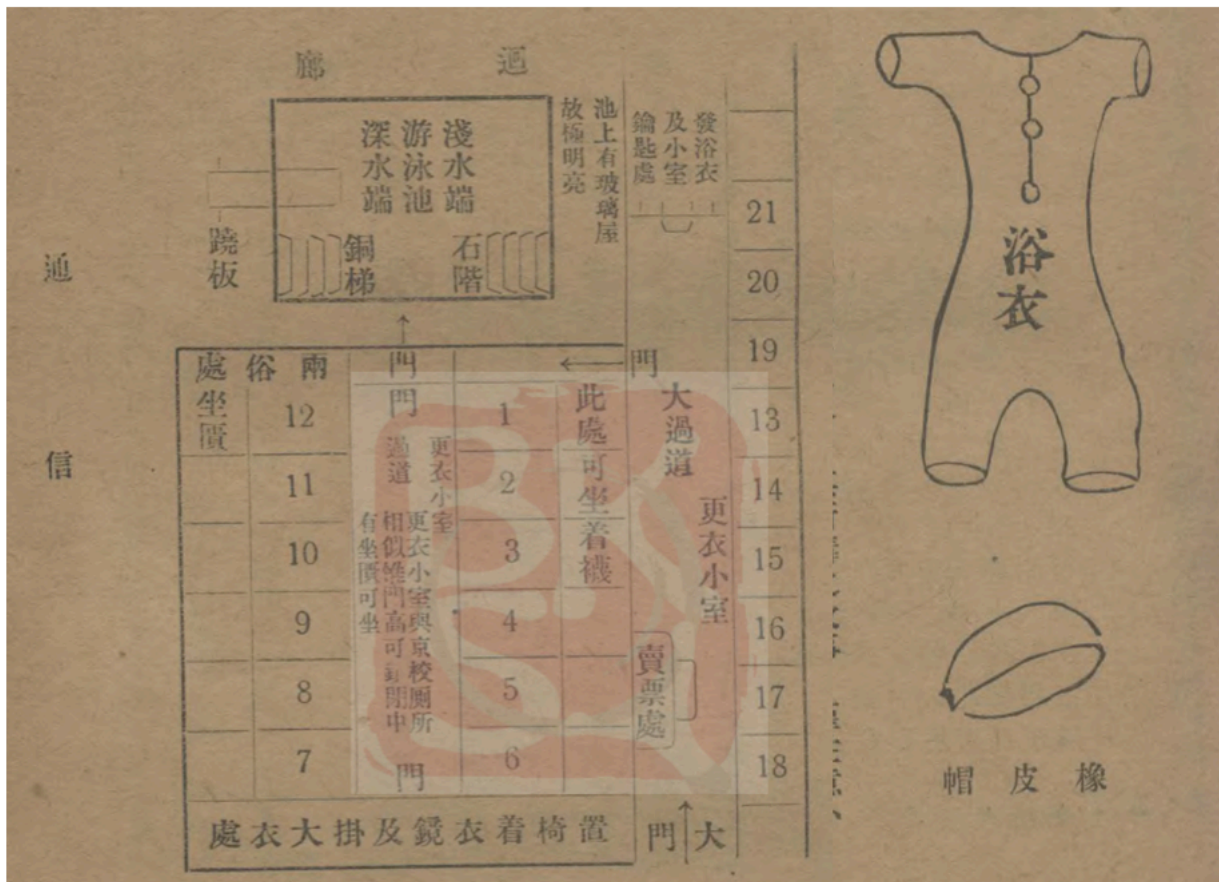
<sup>872</sup> Yang, Yinyu, "Yang Yinyu xiansheng zi meiguo yu guowenbu tongxue shu [A Letter of Miss Yang Yinyu from America to the Students of Literature Department]," *Beijing Nüzi Shifan Xuexiao Wenyi Huikan [Literature and Art Journal of Beijing Women's Teacher School]* 1, no.2, (1919): 7.

Figure 23 A picture from *Zhuyin Zimu Magazine* in 1915 <sup>873</sup>



<sup>873</sup> “Wode yanjing kanbujian [I cannot see],” *Guanhua zhuyin zimu bao [Official Language and Phonetic Notes Magazine]*, no.16, (1916):2.

Figure 24 Yang's drawings of swimming pool, changing room, and swimming suits, 1919 <sup>874</sup>



<sup>874</sup> Yang, "Yang Yinyu xiansheng zi meiguo yu guowenbu tongxue shu", 9.

Figure 25 Yang Yinyu (the fourth from right, middle row) in the Fifteenth Annual Conference of the Eastern Section of the Alliance of Chinese Students in the US, 1919 <sup>875</sup>



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<sup>875</sup> Xu Zhimo was the second man from the right top row, wearing glasses and a ribbon tie. The conference was held in Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, New York on September 10, 1919. *Chinese Student Monthly*, (1919).



Figure 26 The Students' Self-governing Society of Beijing Teachers College for Women, 1922 <sup>876</sup>



<sup>876</sup> “Beijing nūzi gaoshi xuesheng zizhi hui quanti huiyuan sheying zhaopian [Picture of the Students' Self-governing Society of the Beijing Teachers College for Women],” *Funü zazhi* [Women's Magazine] 8, no.7, (1922): 1.

Figure 27 Students' literary works published in university bulletins, 1924

**席次的排定**

蔣智存筆記

我們班上從開學到現在一共排了四次座位  
第一次因為開學時沒有排座位隨便亂坐  
第二次後來因為高低不合適另排了一次  
第三次因為有的同學眼睛不合適又排了一次  
第四次因為學功課不便又排了一次一共排了四次才排合適了

**清潔部的規程**

吳梅卿筆記

一、清潔部所管的職務  
1. 清潔教室  
2. 清潔臉盆手巾；等  
3. 保持茶具的清潔

二、值日生的分派  
1. 大掃除 全級  
2. 輪流值日 每日五人

三、值日生的職務  
1. 早上開窗戶  
2. 課後閉窗戶  
3. 清潔教室  
4. 早上來校時揮拭各處塵土  
5. 下午課後清潔教室

四、清潔黑板  
1. 清理字紙箱鉛筆匣  
2. 部長的任期和職務  
3. 任期為一學期  
4. 檢查值日生的成績  
5. 監督值日生掃除

**祭三妹**

笑生

我的三妹呀！  
去年今日  
——你長辭人世！  
今年今日  
我遠在三千里外祭你。  
傷心啊！——你病時；  
我沒能親待湯藥！  
傷心啊！——你歛時；  
我未能親憑棺柩！  
更傷心啊！——一個小別！變成永訣！  
我的三妹呀！  
臨別的囑咐裡：  
「二姐！你去……」  
依稀還在耳邊……  
怎麼你的形容就不照入我的眼中呢？  
茫茫大地，  
雨雪霏霏；  
北風寂寂，  
人淒淒；  
宇宙間充滿了傷心的氣！  
——這是我哥哥文姐，  
叩你的一日，  
潮風烈冽，  
紙灰飛揚；  
還有那大雪迷漫；  
把大地上鋪了白氈，  
萬樹上戴了素冠，  
唉呀！你們也祭她？

**秋夜**

縵雲

月皎皎，  
風細細，  
蟋蟀悲吟草際，  
難睡者，  
甚心酸；  
頻將淚暗彈。

Figure 28 Commemorative plaque given by graduates of Beijing Teachers University for Women, 1924<sup>877</sup>

**畢業生致送紀念品**

**本校成立典禮紀事(續) C.Y. Lo.**

演講既畢，畢業生致送母校改組紀念品。(附後)高懸於大禮堂中央，衆相贊賀，頗為壯觀！其後全體共唱國歌，并攝影以誌紀念，至十二時後方盡歡而散，誠吾國女子教育空前之盛舉也。乃爰筆記之。(完)

**母校改組大學紀念**

**敦宏教姆**

畢業生 陳璧如 蔣粹英  
王宗瑤 張嶠漪  
朱光玉 陶立  
孫繼緒 張雪  
錢用和 敬祝

<sup>877</sup> The plaque read: 'For the Greatness of Women's Education'. According to the report, the plaque was hung over the middle of the hall, and all the people attending the ceremony sung the national song together, which was 'an unprecedented glory for women's education.' C.Y. Lo, "Benxiao chengli dianli jishi [The Opening Ceremony]," *PNTCWW*, no. 82, (November 2, 1924): 3.

Figure 29 Yang Yinyu's Announcement, 1925

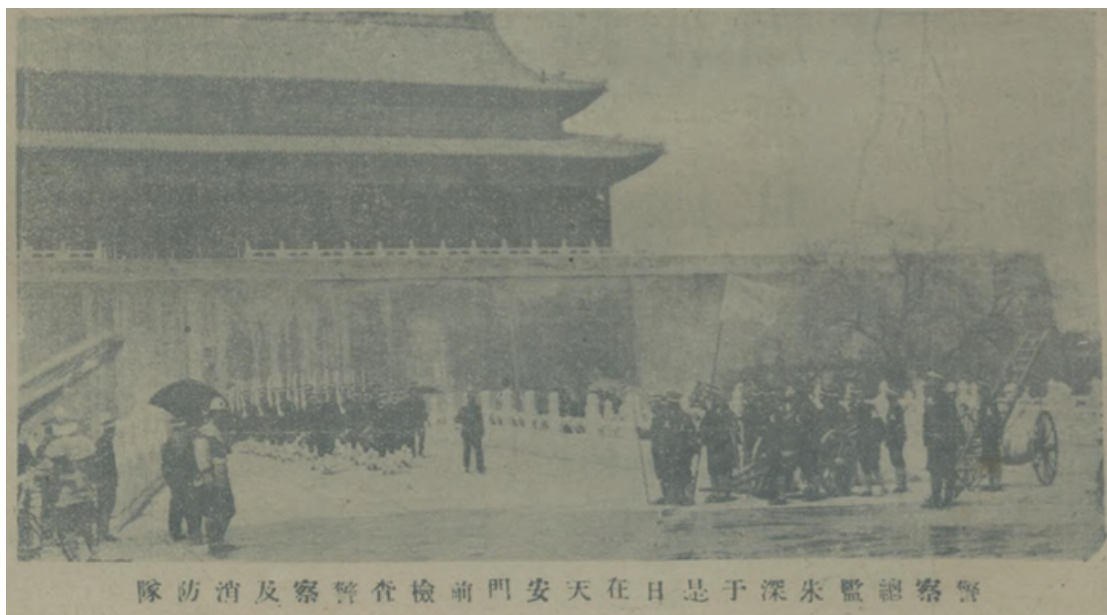
**楊校長致全體學生公啟**

本校同學公覽

本校為全國最高培養師資之地蔭榆承乏到此夙夜  
黽皇謀所以進步發達耿耿此衷同學共見頃者不幸  
少數學生以滋事犯規至於出校初時一再隱忍無非  
委曲求全至於今日裁成絕望乃有此萬不得已之舉  
須知學校猶家庭為尊長者斷無不愛家屬之理為幼  
稚者亦當體貼尊長之心剜肉補瘡非人情所忍嘔心  
瀝血責相見以誠蔭榆誠知前此訓迪無方致令六生  
退學事出無奈言則痛心自茲以往願與諸同學等本  
互助之精神圖前途之發展如有意見不妨逕來發表  
苟可採取自當開誠容納彼此以學校為前提即異日  
有教育之良果其各善自愛重力求精進諸同學千里  
負笈無非求學日新又新已勉人勉區區之意思亦有  
志者所願聞也此啟

楊蔭榆具 五月九日

Figure 30 Police patrols in front of Tian'an men before National Humiliation Day, 1925<sup>878</sup>



隊防消及察警查檢前門安天在日是于深來監總察警

<sup>878</sup> "Beijing zhi guochi ji'nian ri [The Humiliation Day in Beijing]," *Tuhua shibao* (*The Pictorial Weekly of the Eastern Times*), no. 250, (1925): 1.

Figure 31 Students sealed Yang Yinyu's office, preventing her entrance <sup>879</sup>



<sup>879</sup> "Beijing nūgaoshi zhi xiaozhang chao [The Student Movement of Beijing Teachers University for Women]," *Tuhua shibao* (*The Pictorial Weekly of the Eastern Times*), no. 252, (1925): 2.

Figure 32 The Manifesto of the Student Self-government Society, August 10, 1925

# 國立北京女子師範大學學生自治會全體學生

## 為楊蔭榆勾結章士釗武裝封鎖女師大摧殘教育蹂躪女權事

### 泣告全國同胞姊妹兄弟驅逐教育界孟賊楊蔭榆章士釗宣言

全國同胞姊妹兄弟均鑒。國家不幸。天孽繁興。如章士釗之禁止五七國馬紀念。毒打愛國羣衆。開滬案慘殺之前因。楊蔭榆之繼位校長。摧殘女子教育。釀成教育界空前之恥辱。此二賊之倒行逆施。結隊軍閥權要。獻媚帝國主義。想報章揭載。諸君亦既熟聞之矣。願此二賊之賊胆如天。暴戾成性。愈演愈烈。愈出愈奇。如最近以戰時對待敵國手段。武裝封鎖女師大。以帝國主義征服殖民地手段。壓迫女師大同學者。想諸君對此空前未有之事實。或外間傳聞不實。或報章語焉不詳。茲謹為我親愛之全國同胞姊妹兄弟泣陳之。

湖女師大自楊蔭榆當校長以來。一年有餘。此年餘之時間。楊蔭榆之辦學無狀。已詳於敝會歷次所發之宣言。敝會同人以為國家設立學校。原以實施教育養成國家健全優良能負責任改造社會之份子為宗旨。學校之設。校長不過統籌全局。為學校設施一切備公衆服務之一公僕。學校既為教育學生而設。則學生當然有權可以過問學務。校長既為一校之公僕。則執役不善。主人有隨時辭退或解僱之權。楊氏昧於

大義。生為共和國之民。又身居公僕之地位。而妄自以皇上式之校長自居。以為學生乃受吾管轄。權在我手。生殺予奪。悉我所欲。誰敢不遵。嗚呼。謬矣。(未完)

△伏汎中魯省

△林局長盡察職務

△子灣閣家紀莊均被大溜沖刷

△趕茶家嘴王莊唐家遺旭馮家竭

△或堤身坍塌。或埝面淹沒。各

△東省黃河為患已久。本年伏汎。處電報。絡繹不絕。均經林河

△未到。水即高至一丈零八寸。務局長督同上下游各分局長。

△去歲伏汎最高水位。不過水高不分晝夜。竭力搶護。均經化

△六尺。比較去歲。幾至增加一駝為夷。不虞出險。備防原定

△倍。入伏後更陰雨連綿。水勢七百餘。林以各工需料甚急。

△浩大。上游如朱口磨橋柳園。於七百餘外。又加購一千六百

△和莊雷口。中游如葛莊河套園。餘堤。石料因需要甚急。肥城

△孟家園濟陽東關鐵匠莊席家道。石料供給不及。又在洛口派

△口劉家廟五龍潭官莊。下游如陳文讓技術員由白馬山採石起

△馬張家官家壩大馬家林家三不運。石料亦可濟用。(未完)

Figure 33 Manifestos of the Women's Societies in Shanghai against Zhang Shizhao and the Tariffs, September 1925

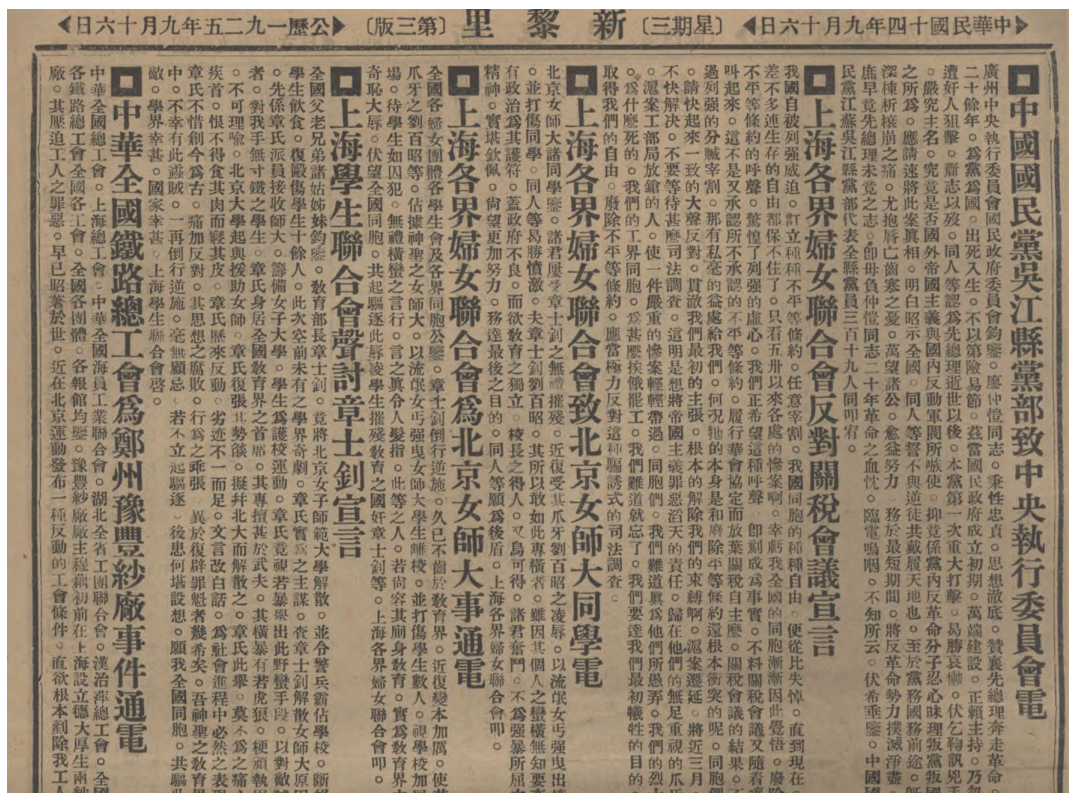


Figure 34 The National Assembly during the Beijing Revolution, November 28, 1925 880



Figure 35 The Memorial for the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy, March 23, 1926



Figure 36 Educational Review's Investigation on the Martyrs of the March Eighteenth Tragedy

教育雜誌 第十八卷				
「三一八」慘案殉難烈士調查表(一)				
姓名	籍貫	年齡	職業	備考
姚宗賢	雲南		華南專門學校學生	死於國醫院前
李慶祺	北京	二十三	交通大學畢業在京滬路服務	同前
張步庚	北京	十六	大同中學學生	同前
范士榮	雲南		師範大學學生	同前
陳柱生	廣東		廣東外交代表團代表	同前
張仲超	陝西	二十四	北京大學學生	同前
劉和珍	南昌	二十二	女子師範大學學生	同前
魏士毅	天津		燕京大學學生	同前
周正銘	安徽天長	十三	北京公立第二中學學生	同前
趙鍾鈺	四川		中國大學學生	同前
唐耀星	湖南		新文學校學生	同前
李敏學		二十一	今是中學學生	同前
劉保彝	福建建甌	二十四	工業大學學生	同前
黃克仁	湖南		北京大學學生	同前
宋昭禹	湖北		平民大學學生	同前
石德福				同前
無名男				同前
楊德璣	湖南湘陰	二十四	女子師範大學學生	死於官立醫院
李家珍	湖南		北京大學學生	同前
王其瑞		三十六	西直門京綏路工人	同前
謝 戴			匯文中學學生	死於協和醫院
譚季誠	湖南	二十七	留日歸國學生團	同前

教育雜誌 第十八卷				
「三一八」慘案殉難烈士調查表(二)				
姓名	籍貫	年齡	職業	備考
鄧長彬				同前
徐子文				同前
江雨彭	福建		工業大學學生	同前
卓五三	廣西靈山	二十一	仿華學校學生	同前
無名男				
陳 豐	四川長壽	二十四	工業大學學生	死於國醫院前
胡錫禮	湖南	二十	中法大學學生	死於國醫院前
朱良鈞	北京	十三	清明中學學生	同前
劉 怡			廣東外交代表團代表	死於國醫院前
劉家驊				
鄧廷珪				
羅時芬				
張汝春				
張良君				
李行健				
張秀良			車夫	死於協和醫院
李文文			工人	
李二善			工人	
王慶輝			市民	
沈育恆	浙江		工人	
劉 珍			工人	
向劉氏				
宮保忠				
王 毅			商人	



Figure 37 Xu Mouheng's comparison of the May Thirtieth Movement and March Eighteenth Tragedy,

1926

三、「五卅」與「三一八」之比較

欲明瞭此兩次慘案之真相，不可不將其事實作分析的研究。尤應將其因果原委，比較其異同，而確吾人之觀念。

(甲)運動之起因

五卅——為外人殺我同胞，

三一八——為外人侵我國權，

同為外侮侵臨。

(乙)運動之目的

五卅——呼醒國人，共謀自衛之道。

三一八——請政府抗議，以雪外交上之玷辱。

同為雪恥圖強。

(丙)運動之方法

五卅——發傳單與講演。

三一八——開會與請願。

同為軌內行動。

(丁)運動之群眾

五卅——學生

三一八——學生與其他國民，

同為學生居領袖地位。

(戊)運動之地點

五卅——在獨立中國之上海。

三一八——在民主國家之京城。

依理同為中華民國之安全地。

(己)運動之結果

五卅——群眾被鎗殺。

三一八——群眾被鎗殺。

同為目的不達，反遭危險。

(庚)慘殺之主動者

五卅——外強。

三一八——國賊。

(辛)慘案後國人之態度

五卅——國人共起奮鬥。

五一八——國人淡然視之。

(壬)慘案之結果

五卅——初雖有勝利之趨向，今乃漸歸於失敗。

三一八——毫無結果。

(癸)慘案所生之影響

五卅——國人仇外抵貨咸有愛國之思想

三一八——各校整頓學風禁止學生愛國運動

Figure 38 Top left: Yang Yinyu in Soochow University, 1930



Figure 39 The new Chinese motto was engraved under the original English ethos on the main gate of Soochow University, 1929



Figure 40 The entries of Yang Yinhang and Yang Yinyu in *Biographical Dictionary of Famous People in the Republican China and Empire of Great Manchuria, 1937*

楊 蔭 杭(補堂) Yang Yin-hang (Pu-tang) 江蘇省無錫縣人。一八七八年生。早稻田大學法科卒業後渡米しペンシルヴァニア

(三) 楊

大學法科を卒業す。一九二二年任江蘇高等審判廳長。後浙江高等審判廳長、京師高等檢察廳檢察長を経て、司法部參事に任ぜられたるも一九一五年官を辭し、上海時事新報主筆となる。一九二〇年上海申報社副編輯長に轉ず。其後上海に於て辯護士を開業す。

楊 蔭 溥 Yang Yin-shen 浙江省郵縣人。一九〇八年生。浙江省立第四中學及上海美術專科學校卒業。在學時代より文學を愛好し、中學時代に文學團體『飛蛾社』に加入。專科學校時代文藝の著作に従事し、一九二六年處女作『一陣狂風』を發表。又映畫脚本『蘭因絮果』を國光映畫公司の爲めに書く。專科卒業前『民新劇社』に加入。上海中央大戲院に於て『說不出』を演ず。浙江定海中學藝術教員、奉化縣立中學校教務主任、汕頭韓江師範學校教務主任、上海華華中學國文教員、天台縣立中學國文教員、上海美術專科學校教務助理、漢文正楷印書局編輯主任に歴任。現に上海滬北中學國文教員。著書『中國文學家列傳』、『中國文人故事』、『愛的教訓』、『國語文法淺說』、『五代文學』、『一陣狂風』、『先秦文學大綱』、『中國戀愛故事鈔』、『小朋友劇本』、『柳先生的教育』。

楊 蔭 溥(石湖) Yang Yin-pu (Shih-hu) 江蘇省無錫縣人。一八九八年生。米國西北大學經濟科卒業。上海光華大學商科教授、國立中央大學商學院教務處主任。該校商學院副教授、國立暨南大學商學院講師等に歴任。最近浙江興業銀行に入り儲蓄部經理たる外同銀行經濟研究室主任をも兼任す。著書『上海金融組織概要』、『中國交易所論』、『經濟新聞讀法』。

楊 蔭 榆女士 Yang Yin-yu 江蘇省無錫縣人。日本女子高等師範學校、並に米國コロムビア大學卒業。國立北京女子師範大學校長、中央大學區立民衆教育院講師に歴任。更に江蘇中學校英文教師となる。楊蔭杭の妹。

## Abbreviations

The following archival source abbreviations are used in the footnotes; full citations are listed in the bibliography.

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JYCD (1928) *Zhongguo jiaoyu cidian [Dictionary of Chinese Education]*.

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## Translations

Unless otherwise noted, translations from Chinese and Japanese terms and sentences are my own.

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- Beijing nüzi shifan xuexiao wenyi huikan* 北京女子師範學校文藝會刊 [*Literature and Art Journal of Beijing Teachers School for Women*] (1919)
- Beiyang guanbao* 北洋官報 [*Gazette of Beiyang*] (1906-1911)
- Beiyang xuebao* 北洋學報 [*Beiyang Educational Gazette*] (1906)
- Chenbao* 晨報 [*Beijing Morning Post*] (1923-1926)
- Cui bao* 萃報 (1897)
- Dagong bao* (*L'Impartial*) 大公報 (1905-1926)
- Dongfang zazhi* (*Eastern Miscellany*) 東方雜誌 (1905)
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- Guangda xueshenghui wusi tekan* 廣大學生會五四特刊 [*Special Issue of the Anniversary of the May Fourth by Students' Association of Guangzhou University*] (1926)
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- Jiaoyu yanjiu huikan* 教育研究會刊 [*Studies on Education*] (1932-1933)
- Jiaoyu yu rensheng* 教育與人生 [*Education and Life*] (1923)
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- Jing bao* 京報 [*Beijing News*] (1925-1926)
- Jingbao fukan, funü zhoukan* 京報副刊 婦女週刊 [*Supplementary of Beijing News, Women's Weekly*] (1925)
- Kexue* 科學 [*Science*] (1916)
- Keyu congkan* 課餘叢刊 [*After-school Journal*] (1921)
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*Shibao* 時報 [*The Times*] (1919-1926)  
*Tongzi shijie* 童子世界 [*Children's World*] (1903)  
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