

Educational "Variations": Student Movement and Educational Independence in the Early Republic of China

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Abstract

This paper discusses the interaction between education and student movement in the early Republic of China, and proposes that education as a "variation" is closely related to the literary public sphere. Teachers and students in colleges and universities constitute the dual subjects of literature and education, and promote social change through fan magazines, club activities and student movements. The student movement has developed from moderate propaganda to radical protests, such as the May Fourth Movement and the "March 18" tragedy, reflecting the sacrifice and struggle of young people in the battlefield of practice and writing. At the same time, intellectuals advocated "educational independence" and tried to get rid of political interference, but they struggled to explore in the financial and institutional difficulties. Through the construction of public opinion in the literary public sphere, education not only shapes the interaction between writers and society, but also completes its own modern transformation.

Keywords: *Early Republic of China; Educational Independence; Student Movements; Literary Public Sphere.*

1. INTRODUCTION

In the early years of the Republic of China, the interaction between writers and the public sphere of literature was reflected in the deep participation of educational forces, and literature and education were mutually exclusive, and there was a variation relationship between the two. Leo Fan once discussed Benjamin Schwartz's research method on the history of thought, believing that this boundless "two-sided" dialectic is the "sonata" of the history of thought: "Charles Rosen and others believe that the sonata in music is a basic form of tune, and its structural variations are endless. However, Ban's (Schwartz) intellectual history 'Sonata' gives us a deeper and broader connotation. (2009, p. 200)

Similarly, the May Fourth New Culture Movement, which was first played in Beijing, is also a set of far-reaching sonatas. In this complex and melodious tune, the tune of the fan magazine is the first to linger in the ears, and the themes of literature and thought are the first to be embodied. The other theme that follows is related to teachers, students and universities, and is the theme of education. It forms a counterpoint relationship with literature, and when the prologue begins to sound, the "variations" of education unfold and form the "variations" of education. In Beijing in the early Republic of China, the rise of fan magazines or societies such as "New Youth" and "New Wave" rooted in institutions of higher learning showed the close connection between education and literature. Therefore, it can be said that education is also another way to shape the relationship between writers and the literary public sphere in the literary field, in addition to the relationship between the interactive space constructed by fan magazines or institutions.

2. TEACHERS AND STUDENTS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES AND LITERARY SETTLEMENTS: THE MAIN OVERLAP BETWEEN THE EDUCATIONAL FIELD AND THE LITERARY FIELD

In the interaction between writers and the literary public sphere, the premise of the variation relationship between literature and education is that their subjects as participants coincide. With the introduction of new colleges and universities and the Western education system, the traditional identities of writers, literati, and scholars have undergone the transformation of the feudal gentry class into modern intellectuals. With colleges and universities as the center, teachers and students in colleges and universities in the Republic of China have gradually become the main body of modern intellectual groups, which not only makes the modern education field more and more solid, but also because of their strong will to speak out, inherit new ideas and even recreate literature, and build the main body and cultural foundation of the literary public sphere.

Some commentators pointed out: "The formation of this new type of literary public sphere is synchronized with the assembly of modern intellectual groups and the process of absorbing modern Western scientific knowledge and humanistic spirit, and it gradually gets rid of the characteristics of the traditional social representative public sphere and the political public sphere of the late Qing Dynasty, and begins to present a social public discourse space with the nature of 'private discourse' that pursues self-independence and is free from other dependencies." Taking "New Youth" as an example, among the editors of Lu Xun, Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, Hu Shi, Liu Bannong, Shen Yinmo, Qian Xuantong, Gao Yihan and other editors, except for Lu Xun, they all work in higher education institutions, they all have stable social occupations, have free and flexible social identity and activity space, and the full guarantee of living income and freedom of thought and action enable them to enter the public sphere of literature with independent personalities. (Yang Yongming, 2019, p. 16)

In general, teachers and students in colleges and universities constitute the main body of participants in the literary public field and social practice, they are the main body of the educational field, and they are also the main body of the literary field. As mentioned in the previous chapter, writers are not a profession, but related to the attitude or position of literature, which determines the openness of the writer community. In the pioneering period of all wastes, whether it is manpower, organization or mass base, it is a scarce resource to build a literary public sphere. Universities everywhere—bringing together intellectuals who implicitly identify as writers, organizations that carry out literary activities, and idealistic students—have effectively coalesced into a physical literary public sphere.

On the one hand, universities were the material basis for the formation of the literary public sphere at that time (the places, equipment, financial sources, and professors' salaries on which newspapers and magazines depended), and on the other hand, the participants in the literary public sphere (intellectuals, writers, some students) were also the main components of universities. Therefore, it can be said that the university itself, which integrates material space and spiritual space, is a special literary public domain. In the literary field and real society of Beijing in the early Republic of China, teachers and students in colleges and universities were also the founders and participants of many public opinion spaces.

On the one hand, they use paper and pen to stir up words, trying to awaken ignorant thoughts, and on the other hand, they wave flags and shout in reality, joining the torrent of movement, hoping to transform society through practice. In this sense, teachers and students

in colleges and universities have opened up different dimensions of battlefields with the help of the literary public domain, which is the practical battlefield of young students and the literary battlefield of newspapers and magazines, which greatly enriches the connotation of the literary public sphere and makes the voice of the literary public sphere linked to social change.

It is worth noting that the main body of the practical battlefield and the written battlefield has its own emphasis. For example, the main body of the practical battlefield in the real world is the majority of young students, and their mentors in the academy - Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Li Dazhao, Lu Xun, etc. - act as guides for young people. In contrast, in the literary battlefield created by newspapers and magazines, the main force is these long-established pioneers of the new cultural movement, followed by emerging young writers or student leaders. Of course, this is closely related to the identity characteristics of the subject: college students are in their vigorous youth, they are numerous, nourished by modern education, and more receptive to new trends of thought such as democratic science.

At the same time, its own values and worldview have not yet been fully established, and it is easily agitated in spirit and behavior, and is a social force that should not be underestimated. Unknown students have no independent financial ability and no objective conditions to concentrate various resources. The students' tutors, as professors at famous universities, are knowledgeable and well-income, which gives them the ability to start magazines, build public opinion spaces, and promote the implementation of literary and ideological revolutions. Different circles often revolve around the most authoritative individual, which reflects the dominance of cultural and economic capital. Of course, students lack cultural and economic capital, and under the spiritual guidance of their mentors, they are destined to charge into battle in the torrent of practice and become "cannon fodder".

3. THE EMBODIMENT OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT IN THE INTERACTION BETWEEN WRITERS AND THE LITERARY PUBLIC SPHERE

Unknown students make up the majority of the movement. Their key lies in their valuable "youth" traits. Youth is not only the growth stage of students and individuals, but also the beginning of the whole society. This word symbolizes the rising new life, and it is also the excellent trait appreciated by the mentors of the "gentleman generation" such as Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Hu Shi. Chen Duxiu's definition of youth still echoes: "Youth is like early spring, like the rising sun, like the budding of a hundred flowers, like the new emergence of a sharp blade, and it is also the most precious period of life." Youth are like fresh and lively cells in society. (1915, p. 1) Li Dazhao's sensible "born in youth and died in youth, born in youth and died in youth" (1916, p. 11) The cry is even more deafening, metaphorically metaphorically recognizing the colorful personality of young people who blend romantic freedom and scientific rationality.

Song Mingwei pointed out accordingly: "Youth is not only a category of age, but also a symbol of a series of noble ideas: novelty, progress, and the regain of youth for the nation." (2018, p. 71) It can be said that the image and action of youth are the themes that run through this period, and youth is not necessarily related to age, as long as the body and mind adhere to the concept of progress, it seems to be the category of youth discourse, as Jiang Tao said: "The so-called 'youth' is not entirely an age or sociological delineation, corresponding to specific groups such as students, staff, and small intellectuals..... 'youth' is also an ideological 'concept', with the help of this ' The continuous extension and interpretation of the concept, a generation of new subjects who can create historical possibilities, has been summoned. (2015, p. 19)

However, it is undeniable that the "new youth" that have emerged one after another after Liang Qichao's call for "Young China" are represented by students who have received scarce new education. In the context of the rapid development of the modern higher education system, the number of students is naturally quite large, coupled with the leadership of elite intellectual tutors, clubs and student leaders with extensive influence have come one after another, they are rising stars in the literary field and society, and they are also vaguely stained with the temperament of "elite intellectuals". In Beijing alone, in addition to the well-known Xinchao Society, student-led new cultural clubs include the Youth China Society, the Social Implementation Society, the Work-Study Mutual Aid Society, the National Society, and the Shuguang Society.

Frequently active young people of insight have brought a glimmer of light to the society after the ebb of the May Fourth tide, and there are tired and scattered new cultural pioneers to succeed them, and young people have begun to appear on the stage of history. For example, Wang Jingzhi, a young poet who broke into the literary world with "The Wind of Hui", is even younger than the New Wave Society and is only a middle school student. Hu Shi did not hesitate to appreciate Wang Jingzhi, and even included the younger generation he represented in the intergenerational investigation, juxtaposing it with Hu Shi's own generation of new literary pioneers, saying: "Until the last year or two, another group of young poets came out; They were weakened by the influence of old poems, so their liberation was more thorough, and Jingzhi was the most promising of these young poets. (1924, p. 298)

In addition, Zheng Zhenduo, Geng Jizhi, Qu Qiubai, Xu Dishan, etc. were also up-and-coming young students. After joining the Social Implementation Society, they started anew, successively founded the "New Society" periodical, the monthly magazine "Humanity", and initiated the establishment of the Literary Research Association. After spending their youth, they made persistent efforts and gradually became pivotal figures in literary and political history, which to a certain extent reflected the important role played by young student representatives in their lives in the cultural capital accumulated in the early days.

However, the young students who show their faces on the stage of history are only a minority after all, and most of the young students are just figures that flash in the smoke and dust of history, and have no specific appearance. They are silent and push history forward with their flesh and blood. How to show the spirit of sacrifice and patriotism of young students? The most direct manifestation is the student movement. Under the surging trend of new thought, the society is brewing a storm of change, and the student movement in the early Republic of China has risen one after another, with Beijing and Shanghai being the most.

As an ancient cultural city, Beijing has naturally strong higher education strength, and the emerging Shanghai has also shown vitality in the field of higher education, such as Nanyang Public School in the late Qing Dynasty, Fudan Public School, China Public School and other private universities established in accordance with the Qing government's "Guimao school system", as well as well-known church universities such as St. John's University and Aurora University at home and abroad.

As far as the student movement is concerned, there is an obvious relationship between Shanghai and Beijing. The huge student movement often started in Beijing and then spread to Shanghai, and the influence spread to the whole country. After the outbreak of the student movement in Beijing, "on May 7, various groups, schools and business gangs in Shanghai held a national meeting at the public stadium outside Ximen due to the Qingdao issue and the

detention of Beijing students. Then, more than 20,000 people in Shanghai took to the streets to launch a march. The first team of the parade was the Nanyang Public School team, and the leader advocated that the teams march separately, and after shouting 'Long live China, don't forget this day', they were divided into two teams to march separately. (Zhao Zhengqiao, Yin Bo, 2021) More than ten schools such as Shibe Public School, Zhongxi Public School, and Shenzhou Girls' School participated in the commemorative activities, and the importance of Shanghai's student group in the May Fourth Movement was fully revealed.

In addition to radical demonstrations and class strikes, there are also quiet and solemn commemorative activities, large and small, giving lectures, sending and receiving leaflets, and so on. In the modern student movement, the representativeness of the May Fourth Movement goes without saying, and it is also a student movement that makes heroes.

Many young students became heroes and entered the broad society, Fu Sinian, Luo Jialun, and Kang Bai were all like this, as were Zheng Zhenduo and Qu Qiubai. But as mentioned earlier, there are only a few young students who have left a reputation, and the focus should be on those sentient beings. How do those young people with blurred faces carry out practical activities? In fact, almost all individual or group student movements deepen their social influence through the operation of relevant issues in the literary public sphere.

From the voices of writers in the literary public sphere, we see that the various student movements supported by the vast number of unknown young students are not as dazzling as heroes, but full of bitterness, which condenses blood and tears, intertwined with struggle, hesitation, sacrifice and mourning. On the eve of May Fourth, at Peking University, there are still a few students who have a warm attitude towards new ideas. Yang Zhensheng once described this kind of "most naïve and explicit" struggle: "Some people put their noses on the "Anthology" under the lamp window to read Li Shan's small handwriting, and at the same time, some people sang Byron's poems outside the window.

In one corner of the room, someone was shaking his head, reciting the ancient text of the Tongcheng School in a frustrated manner, and in the other corner, several people were discussing what to do with Nala's life after she got out of the 'puppet house'? The people who read the ancient texts expressed disgust at the discussants, and the discussants cast contemptuous eyes on the people who read the ancient texts. (2013, pp. 38-39)

According to statistics, less than 10% of the approximately 2,500 freshmen admitted by Peking University in early 1919 actively participated in publishing or speaking activities related to new culture (Wei Dingxi, 2015, p. 176), which shows the confusion and swaying of young students. Another example is that after the outbreak of the student movement in Beijing, the people of Shanghai echoed from afar, and Zhou Shoujuan repeatedly supported the students in the "Declaration" column "Seeing and Hearing Trivia" hosted by him, overflowing with sadness, and showing a rare rational posture in a radical, as if he was about to tear off the new clothes of the student movement:

In the second half of the strike, more than a dozen female students lined up on the Republic of China Road, holding oil paper umbrellas, and walked through the west gate of Xiaobeimen.

The leader held a large flag with the words "Dear compatriots, do not riot". There were also many students with white cloths hanging on their bodies and the words "Do not riot". I said that the market is now on strike, and there must be no riots. But this time we are fighting

between justice and evil, and the banner is very clear. As soon as you riot, you will release the face of evil paths, and the banner will also be dirty. (1919)

In fact, in the early years of the Republic of China, when old and new ideas were pulled, the student movement also experienced a gradual evolution process, rather than radical demonstrations at the beginning. Before the outbreak of the May Fourth Movement, a group of Peking University students full of reform consciousness had formed a civilian education lecture troupe, taking to the streets in a peaceful manner and giving speeches on the roadside or next to temples to educate the people, "vaguely indicating that more and more students regard whether civilians can be educated as an important social and political issue" (Wei Dingxi, 2015, p. 174). Deng Chunlan, who caused a sensation after the "May Fourth", submitted a letter calling on universities to lift the ban on women and Peking University to finally open up the ban on women on the agenda, revealing the moderation, rationality and idealism that the student group abides by.

However, in the Age of Chaos, ideals will eventually be slaughtered by reality. In the process of the transformation of the student movement from mild to intense, it is paradoxically embellished with the background of death, so that the students' practical practice is often accompanied by painful death. From solemn silence to violent street movements, they either died humbly or heroically, but without exception, these bitter deaths had a social impact with their complex referentials that profoundly illuminated reality, imprinting the sacrifices and extraordinary efforts of young students on the battlefield. Among them, the representative deaths of Li Chao and Lin Deyang and the "318" tragedy can be exemplarized, and they also have their own temporal significance because they are fixed in different historical backgrounds.

After the climax of the May Fourth Movement stabilized, in the second half of 1919, Li Chao, a student at Beijing Women's Higher Normal School, and Lin Deyang, a student at Peking University, passed away one after another, bringing to the surface various social problems represented by the death of young people and arousing heated discussions in public opinion. On August 16, 1919, Li Chao, a student of the Chinese Department of Beijing Women's College, who had struggled to study and was despised at home, died of pneumonia in the French Hospital in Beijing.

On November 30 of the same year, a memorial meeting for Li Chao was held on the campus of the Women's High School. The memorial service not only had many initiators, including Mao Bangwei, president of the female high school, Cai Yuanpei, president of Peking University, and senator Guan Mianjun, but also attended by famous people, Cai Yuanpei, Li Dazhao, Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, Jiang Menglin, etc. gave special speeches, and Luo Jialun, Zhang Guotao, Liang Shuming, etc. gave free speeches. Although the number of male guests was limited due to the venue, there were still nearly 1,000 people from all walks of life who attended the meeting.

More importantly, before and after the memorial service, well-known newspapers and periodicals such as "Morning News", "New Wave", "Young China", and "New Youth" also paid attention to Li Chao's death, published many mourning or problematic articles, Hu Shi even wrote "The Biography of Li Chao", and many dramas and novels also used Li Chao's experience, and various attempts in the literary public field pushed the social discussion of Li Chao's death to a climax. All over the country, not only larger-scale memorial services for Li Chao have been held, but also similar incidents of women running away, and even the

formation of women's work-study mutual aid groups, indicating that the words contained in Li Chao's death have gradually become a movement and become a symbol of women's liberation.

There is also the death of Lin Deyang, a Peking University student. On the morning of November 16, 1919, Lin Deyang, a third-year undergraduate student in the Department of Law of Peking University, drowned himself in the lotus pond of Wanshengyuan. The first to pay attention to this matter was Luo Jialun, who published in the "Morning Post" "Is it youth suicide or society killing youth?" From the perspective of a classmate, Lin Deyang's experience is outlined for us. He was a patriotic young man who advocated industry to save the country, and he founded the first domestic goods store in Beijing to boycott foreign goods through practice. Helplessly, his weak body dragged down his industrial activities, and the regret of the management, economic difficulties and poor management made him exhausted, and dragged down his sick body. In desperation, he chose to commit suicide.

Lin Deyang's suicide caused a huge repercussion in the intellectual community. In his speech, Cai Yuanpei called Lin "the first person to commit suicide in Beijing" (1919), and seemed to want to use Lin Deyang's suicide as a space for follow-up discussion. A "movement" is brewing a discussion about youth and suicide. Later, Li Dazhao wrote "A Suicidal Youth" and "The Problem of Youth World-Weary Suicide", Chen Duxiu published "Suicide Theory - Ideological Changes and Youth Suicide", and Qu Qiubai wrote "Why did Lin Deyangjun commit suicide?" "Suicide", Zheng Zhenduo compiled a special number of "suicide" in "New Society", which aroused the spiritual thinking of suicide and reflected the mental symptoms of the May Fourth period.

Compared with the realistic meaning of Li Chao's death, the "movement" caused by Lin Deyang has a more philosophical reference, discussing the metaphysical way of suicide and the way of youth, and distinguishing the meaning of suicide. For example, Luo Jialun had earlier praised that "suicide like this is really the most honorable thing in the world, and only the noblest personality can do it" (1919, p. 684), which is exactly in line with Lin's suicide through hard work. Li Dazhao also pointed out: "The epidemic of youth suicide is the first step in the awakening of young people and a flash of light in the era of social decadence. (1919) establishes social hope through suicide. In this regard, Jiang Menglin obviously opposed it: "Youth, suicide is a great sin. (1919) In the view of Chen Duxiu and Qu Qiubai, Lin Deyang's suicide is the most philosophical and religious, and Chen said that Lin's suicide is "the highest suicide, a philosophical suicide, and a source and model of all kinds of suicides..... It is the mother of all kinds of suicides. (1920, p. 8) Qu Qiubai's discourse adds a bit of poetry and frenzy on the basis of philosophy and religion:

Suicide! Suicide! Hurry up and commit suicide! You can't not commit suicide, you should commit suicide, you should commit suicide every day, all the time. You have to fight your way out of the old religion, the old system, and the old society of old ideas, and emit a huge flame in this twilight old world..... The god of freedom is the god of suicide. (1986, p. 3)

Lin Deyang's death also went beyond the individual at this time, moving away from the philosophy of suicide, but its core is still related to the difficult process of how and how young people practice in this bleak society. Suicide is just a metaphor, indicating the creation of new life through self-sacrifice and the advancement of society. In this way, the deaths of two unrelated individuals, Li Chao's death and Lin Deyang's suicide, seem to be strangely linked.

However, when the student movement is coerced by power or politics, their practical practice is very easy to go misguided and go to an extreme of being dominated by politics.

Because in front of mentors, family, friends, and even the masses, they are living individuals full of subjectivity, but in front of the state machine, they are defenseless cold parts. Youth deaths can also be communal and mixed with violence and gore. In this regard, this is the case with the May Fourth Movement, as well as the "March 18" tragedy. After the "Dagukou Incident", which humiliated the country, on March 18, 1926, more than 5,000 students and the masses gathered in Tiananmen Square to carry out a petition march against imperialism. Like the "May Fourth", the "March 18" has also completed the configuration in the history of literature, and is another representative student movement after the "May Fourth".

In this regard, Lu Xun's discourse has made remarkable contributions. An article "In Memory of Liu Hezhenjun" stereotyped the "318" tragedy: "The blood of more than forty young people overflowed around me, making it difficult for me to breathe and hear, what words could there be? When crying, it must be after painful confirmation. (2006, p. 98) Thus, in the lament that followed, this radical and deadly student movement constructed a broader ideological and social space, more universal in nature than women and philosophers, and represented a wider range of groups.

The blurred figure of the student group, through this movement, and then through Lu Xun's sigh, is more clearly manifested in the historical context: "A real warrior, dare to face the bleak life, dare to face the dripping blood." If it does not break out in silence, it will perish in silence. Those who survive will vaguely see a faint hope in the pale red blood; A real warrior will move forward more vigorously. (2006, pp. 99-103) In general historical narratives, the "Yang Expulsion Movement" and the "March 18" tragedy of Women's Normal University are often linked together, believing that they are inextricably linked, on the one hand, of course, because the two movements have common participants (such as Liu Hezhen), and on the other hand, because there is an obvious continuity between the two events in time and inside, such as the sequence of occurrences and the resistance to political forces, as Xu Guangping said: "At the beginning of the trend, it was indeed an academic problem in the school. Later, Yang Yinyu violated the school's hopes, killed thieves and educated them to move forward, and combined with the dark forces and played with the methods of politicians, so that the problems in the school expanded into the struggle for darkness and light, and unknowingly included the tendency to combine all democratic forces and declare war on the authorities, and then because of the '318' tragedy." (1918, p. 302)

From the "Yang Expulsion Movement" and the "March 18" tragedy, it can be seen that through a variety of group means such as negotiations, petitions, proclamations, demonstrations, and even bloodshed, the different forms of these student movements are increasingly related to political authoritarianism. Compared with the student leaders and leaders of the new culture camp in the May Fourth Movement, as well as the breakthrough role of the first two individual activities in the student movement, the "318" tragedy reflects collective and anonymous joint participation. In the category of student movements, this is an important symbol of individual cohesion into a collective, showing that the subjective consciousness of young people is clearer. The most important thing is that the student movement, as a practical activity that originated in the field of education, can burst out with great transformative energy, and it is fundamentally due to the different forms of narration and review by writers in the literary public sphere, which finally makes the student movement leave its name and stereotype in history. In other words, it is precisely by relying on reports, eulogies, discussions and literary works of various genres in the literary public sphere that we can continue to tell their stories in future generations.

4. THE EMBODIMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ISSUES IN THE INTERACTION BETWEEN WRITERS AND THE LITERARY PUBLIC SPHERE

It should be pointed out that the reason why these implicit or explicit student movements can often achieve positive results or stage victories as desired is mostly based on the rich public opinion space constructed by writers, intellectuals and authority figures. Through the extraction of public opinion space, the connotation and significance of the student movement can be conveyed to society and have a far-reaching impact. From the late Qing Dynasty's "Qingyi Bao", "National Daily" and "Xinmin Congbao" to the "New Youth", "New Wave", "Yusi", "Modern Review", etc. after the Republic of China, for a long time, newspapers and magazines have inherited the "writing system" of writers intervening in public and national issues. With the guidance of university tutors and the awakening of young students, the role of education in it has become more and more important, and of course, in addition to the rise of the student movement, the attention and guidance of writers and intellectuals on educational issues cannot be ignored.

First of all, they play a certain role in the practice and subsequent development of the student group through the discussion and correction of educational topics on the literary battlefield. Secondly, writers, intellectuals, thinkers, educators and even managers have expressed their views and thoughts on education based on their respective discourse positions, setting off an upsurge in educational independence from 1921 to 1928, and while advocating educational independence, they have also completed the writing of literary history through the writing, publication and reading of essays, miscellaneous feelings, current reviews and other literary categories. Therefore, in this educational variation, it is particularly important to examine the views and statements of writers or intellectuals on students and education, which is the literary battlefield they dominate.

In the field of education, intellectuals' pursuit of freedom and independence is the most valuable. If in the practice of literature and governance, freedom and independence are related to personal choice and are the greatest embodiment of subjective concepts and basic attitudes, then for education, freedom and independence are more of the presentation of collective will and conform to the objective requirements of the surrounding environment. The free expression of teachers, students and teachers in the student movement has shaped the overall image of modern education to a certain extent, indicating that the path of freedom and independence is the implementation of the collective will, and educators and managers face them to think about how to conform to the trend of history in difficult times and promote freedom and independence as the unchanging truth of the education industry.

It is an indisputable fact that education is subject to politics and system. The pioneers of new culture not only lead the construction of public opinion space, but also often wear multiple identities in reality, acting as institutional managers or social and political figures, and have to be suppressed by politics. This puts them in the cracks, and sometimes they feel a sense of abandonment. As far as Peking University is concerned, even though President Cai Yuanpei has an inclusive temperament, he can't help but feel powerless in the face of the actual situation of Peking University, and he resigned several times during his tenure. Peking University is located at the core, every move is under the watchful eye of authoritarianism, and the number of teachers and students of Peking University is large, and the free atmosphere is the first in the country, and the opposition between the old and the new in the school is serious, and there are many radical movements, so the daily affairs management of the school is often

accompanied by demonstrations, bloodshed, imprisonment, bail and resignation and other extraordinary events.

Freedom is not absolute, but always exists. Although he emphasized that universities have the responsibility to transform society, when the "May Fourth" surges, education and politics are mixed, stability becomes a balance that is extremely difficult for university management to achieve, which forces the campus to return to the true nature of learning. Cai Yuanpei said that the first priority of students is to study: "I have a prejudice against the student movement, thinking that in school, the greatest purpose should be to study, and there should be no political organization.

Those who are over 20 years old and have a special interest in politics can participate in political groups with personal qualifications without being involved in schools. (1984, p. 504) The school should also be a special place for learning: "The university is an institution of pure study, not a place for cultivating qualifications, nor a place for selling knowledge. Scholars should have an interest in researching and learning, especially cultivating the personality of scholars. (Cai Yuanpei, 1984, pp. 191-192) This is in interesting contrast to the ideal blueprint outlined by Cai Yuanpei: "Under a corrupt government, there are not many people who serve society, and the university that claims to be an intellectual class has to take everything as its own responsibility. (1984, p. 437) The root of this contradictory rhetoric lies in the erosion of education by politics.

Whether teachers and students have freedom of action and thought is closely related to whether policies or systems support it. This leads to a broader social issue, that is, how to adhere to the independence of education when education and politics are in conflict. The problem of student management is traced back, and the fundamental problem involved is the reform of the education system. Higher education in the early Republic of China has developed rapidly, and the number of colleges and universities and the scale of running schools have expanded year by year, attracting a considerable number of returnees from studying abroad to join them, but the chaotic political environment has also cast a shadow on its future prospects. How to follow the path of a university suitable for China? "Educational independence" has naturally become a hot topic in public opinion, and universities are the proper meaning of the topic, so Cai Yuanpei wrote "Discussion on Educational Independence", and discussions on higher education in newspapers and magazines have also emerged one after another, which has become a trend.

In short, we can summarize these independent discussions on education from three aspects: form, nature and funding, and see them as a window into how education is connected to literature through the medium of the literary public sphere. The first is the formal issue of the university. For the new intellectuals who are engaged in education after returning to China, they have received systematic Western higher education in corresponding majors, have deep theoretical origins, and are immersed in the more advanced higher education system at that time, and have a clearer understanding of the system and appearance of universities. Zhang Xiruo, who graduated from Columbia University, once ridiculed the academic level of Peking University: "However, according to the content of Peking University (such as the superficiality of the course, the simplicity of the equipment, etc.), anyone who knows what a 'university' is, anyone who has completed a foreign university, knows that the famous Peking University is just a paper tiger with no substance." (1925, p. 7) In Zhang Xiruo's mouth, the undergraduate graduates of Peking University are not as good as the middle school students in Germany and France, but this is already the level of China's highest university.

This seems to be closely related to the organizational form of Chinese universities, and copying the Western education system regardless of China's national conditions will obviously have a negative impact, so the idea of a new university with the color of traditional Chinese academies came into being. It is difficult to fundamentally reverse the dilemma caused by total Westernization.

The second is the basic nature of the university. In the eyes of many intellectuals, the reason why China's education has declined is because it is deeply poisoned by corruption. On the one hand, the power of educational institutions is declining, and they can only win over all parties to raise capital; On the other hand, in order to occupy cultural capital, all forces intervened in the management of educational institutions, taking them as their own and making them sacrifices to capital. On the whole, education has become the hub of all corrupt activities, and its nature is treacherous. Tao Menghe criticized accordingly: "We are in the decline of education today, and in the era when all educational undertakings are destroyed by soldiers, limited by funds, and limited by talents, how many enemies, warlords, bureaucrats, and politicians are surrounded by major educational institutions today." How many demons, plausible scholars, plausible educators, and plausible scientists are entrenched or coveted by the institutions of education. (1925, p. 8) Dow frequently spoke out against the strange phenomena in the field of education, believing that education today is not pure, but a mixture of many impurities, a force fought for by many forces, and summarized the characteristics of education as sacred, politicized and commercialized. Thus, education is both a pawn and a gorgeous new dress, with an empty interior.

Therefore, from the perspective of the basic nature, such a crux is caused by the unclear nature of the university, is the university a way for politicians to make political achievements, or is it a tool for dignitaries to seek reputation and benefits, or a practical venue for political revolution? To grasp the nature of the university, we can only reject the influence of all forces, maintain the pure independence of education, and make it strong enough to compete with political authoritarianism. Although it was likely to be an ideal state, the intellectuals at that time had already hoped for it: "If you want the power of the education sector to become a political force, you must make the power of the education sector an independent force." (Wang Shijie, 1926, p. 6) This has formed a certain echo with the construction of the literary public sphere today. However, sober intellectuals still realize that they abide by the independence of education, and schools must still adhere to their duties of teaching and educating people in order to maintain independence: "Wherever a university belongs, no matter what party it is run by or under what kind of government it belongs to, it should always be based on lectures." Being too dominated by the party and the government will inevitably damage the independence of academic education. (Yuwen, 1926, p. 2) In this way, the nature of the university lies in purity, which should be the embodiment of the few but the refined.

But this is also an ideal assumption, after all, the organization and management of universities are inseparable from financial support. This makes us talk about educational independence and have to mention financial independence. In fact, the exploration of educational independence has always had two paths: funding independence and institutional independence, which should be feasible and practical. However, the change of the education system that has not changed for a while has been a mirror in the era of political turmoil and turmoil, and it is difficult to make substantive changes and has lost its basic feasibility. For example, although the "Organic Law of the Republic of China on Universities" and the "Regulations on the Organization of University Districts", which shoulder the expectations of

education system reform, were successively implemented under Cai Yuanpei's proposal, they were repeatedly resisted during the two years of trial implementation, and were finally stopped by the Nationalist government. Commentators have pointed out that the crux of the problem lies that education cannot be completely independent of social and political conditions, and the pace of reform is too fast, coupled with the deep-rooted influence of bureaucracy and administration, so that educational reform is not beneficial (Wang Qian, 2004, pp. 66-67), indicating that the independence of the education system is still a large-scale ideal structure and cannot support actual institutional reform. Therefore, under the guidance of the overall ideology of educational independence, focusing on practical and subtle details may better solve the practical problem, that is, the problem of "money". Chen Zhesan once listed funding difficulties as one of the important reasons for the failure of reform. There is no doubt that the school's funding is crucial to the recruitment of teachers, academic investment, hardware facilities and the cultivation of free learning style on campus.

However, what backfired was that the politics of the Republic of China were not only politically corrupt and chaotic, but also education funding could not be guaranteed, which was a blow to many national universities. In 1921, Beijing broke out to protest against the "June 3rd Salary Claim Incident", and by 1926, the situation was even more difficult, except for Tsinghua University, which had no money to worry about, the daily operation of other national universities was unsustainable: "The nine national universities have been in arrears of funds for more than a year since the government, and the schools have been running in many ways, and now they have reached the point where they are exhausted and cannot be maintained. (1926) The surplus of Tsinghua funds made other universities not without envy, and even developed into a method, full of the myth of obtaining sufficient funds: "Tsinghua University's wealth is the largest in the country, and the money returned by the United States is divided into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by the Department of Taxation. (1925, p. 10)

Obviously, funding is the top priority of running colleges and universities, and Cai Yuanpei sought solutions to the funding problem through resignation, private fundraising, overseas fundraising, etc., which also seems to reflect that financial independence is the most practical way to achieve educational independence. However, behind the sufficient funds are often controlled by powerful consortiums, Tsinghua's Geng funds are controlled by the United States, church schools are subject to the church, and private schools are the world of capitalists, so that the advocacy of financial independence is often in trouble, and public welfare social fundraising seems feasible, but political corruption and turmoil also make people unable to care about the investment in education.

5. CONCLUSION

It can be seen that the various explorations of educational independence are not only the reform practice of the administrative system, but also the difficult attempts of the student group in society with their flesh and blood, and more importantly, the theoretical dispute and construction in the literary public sphere, from Cai Yuanpei's "Discussion on Educational Independence" to the discussions on the topic of education in the "Modern Review". In other words, the construction of the educational field is completed through the participation of public opinion in the literary public sphere. Therefore, relying on the process of social practice on paper, education not only emerged as a new independent field, but also completed literary variations, which was another perspective to observe the situation of the literary public sphere at that time.

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