

**ANALYZING HU SHI'S ROLE IN BAIHUA (白话) MOVEMENT DURING
MAY FOURTH PERIOD**

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*...When you grow to adulthood,
Don't forget my instruction:
I want you to be an upright person,
I don't want you as my filial son.*
Hu Shi (My Son, 1919)¹

¹ A poem by Hu Shi written in 1919 after the birth of his first son. (Egan and Chou, 141)

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis addresses to the reform of written vernacular language that has been initiated by Chinese intellectual Hu Shi during the May fourth period and how the literary reform which is known as the Baihua Movement was achieved.

Early 20th century witnessed, without a doubt, one of the most important movements in Chinese history; which is referred as May Fourth Movement. Intellectuals at the time craved for creating a new culture, especially since the realization of China's weak position and backwardness after getting into contact with Western nations. Devotion to Confucian tradition was regarded as the foremost obstacle to modernize China. Thus, Confucianism was depicted as enemy and was used in a slogan "Down with Confucius and sons" (Staiger, 68).

May Fourth period in China goes together with New Culture Movement since it embraced both socio-political activities of the students and intellectuals along with new literature and new thought movements and together they cover the scope of years between 1915-21 (Chow, 2). During that period, one of the reforms has been realized was the Baihua (vernacular) literary language movement.

At the time around May Fourth group of intellectuals including Chen Duxiu, Li Dazhao, and Hu Shi with democratic ideas resorted to the western new philosophical trends and opposed feudal despotic systems, old rituals and old culture, and instead advocated democracy and science and this raised the banner of "literary revolution" (Ziming, 201). Since it revolutionized written communication, Baihua (literary revolution) was a vital part of May Fourth period and holds substantial importance in "changing the Chinese way of thinking" (Chow, 272).

This study will analyze Hu Shi's role particularly because he is one of the main figures that set the framework how to realize a literary reform on Chinese language in early 20th century and his mindset formed the measures of the reform by his famous article "Tentative Suggestions about literary reform" published in 1917 in "New Youth" magazine (Bi, 57). Hu Shi is recognized as the "ideological father of the literary revolution" (Dluhosova, 3). His logic of pragmatism and "idealistic faith in the perfectibility of mankind" helped him shape his views and his reliance on scientific method which he utilized in social sciences and even for his own life principles (Taiwan Today).

In this thesis, Hu Shi's role in Baihua reform will be analyzed by discussing in detail;

- The reasons behind why Hu Shi stood by this ideal, referring to his philosophical and political ideas

- The path Hu followed in order to set the framework for Baihua

- That was achieved by the literary reform and outcome of the reform as a result of Hu Shi's efforts.

In order to achieve this goal; this study is divided in five main chapters; the first chapter will attempt to give a historical background of Chinese language and the previous literary reform attempts to be able to compare with the literary reform (Baihua) realized during May 4th Period.

The second chapter will be dedicated to explain the socio-political conditions of May fourth era and New Culture Movement to be able to demonstrate how the ideas of the intellectuals were shaped in that specific period including Hu Shi's .

Further in the thesis, in Chapter 3, Hu Shi's efforts in terms of Baihua reform and how his mindset formed the basis for the reform by going into detail on his personal and educational background in order to depict his influences in regards to the reform will be discussed.

Chapter 4 in this study, there will be an in-depth analysis of Hu's 1917 Article "Tentative Suggestions about Literary reform" to describe the path he suggested in order to achieve the literary reform which later had been acknowledged as a "convenient start point for the modern Chinese literature" (Goldman, 17). Finally, in Chapter 5, the aim will be to discuss the outcome of the reform and the change that had been achieved with Baihua movement.

In this study apart from books and articles in order to gather historical data, there will be a frequent consultation to primary resources such as Hu Shi's personal letters and diary entries that has been gathered in book by Egan and Chou and a microfilm prepared by Cornell University that contains Hu's essays and speeches during his time in Cornell to be able to further understand his mindset and approach to the reform along with writings about Hu Shi to depict how he was being perceived by others.

CHAPTER 1

CHINESE WRITING LANGUAGE IN A HISTORICAL CONTEXT

According to Terence Ball, “Who and what we are, how we arrange and classify and think about our world – and how we act in it – is deeply delimited by the conceptual, argumentative and rhetorical resources by our language.”(Haapanen, “Language, Time and the May Fourth Movement” 101). In other words, our language shapes our perception of the world and therefore holds substantial importance in terms of understanding certain events.

It is vital to examine the history of Chinese written language before analyzing the literary reform during the May Fourth era and what role Hu Shi played in this movement primarily because in order to be able to compare the modifications made to the former systems, but also to stress the evolution of writing system’s importance in China socially and to identify patterns in changes over the centuries if there is any.

Examining written language history of a nation that has a relatively short history is challenging enough. However, a history that spans over three millennia, considering the amount of text they produced over time is quite large. Yet, it is not impossible (Kern and Hegel, 1).

Chinese language is an old language and in fact Chinese belongs to Sino-Tibetan family and the earliest records of oracle bone script “jiǎgǔwén” dates back over three millennia. There is a lot of controversy of its periodization due to lack of sufficient evidence (Chen, 1). The evolution of Chinese writing can be divided into three different main periods; *Shang* Dynasty which the most ancient documents belong to, followed by *Qin* Dynasty when Chinese Empire was united in terms of politics, economy and culture and finally *Han* Dynasty where modern form of Chinese writing “Kai Shu” appeared [Kai Shu is distinct form other forms in terms of its clarity and intolerance of other variations] (Lien-Tan, 446-448).

Changes in Chinese writing from Shang to Qing were limited to the changes in *form* rather than *nature* of writing system itself. For instance, from Shang’s pictographs transformed into formalized symbols of Zhou, then were replaced by standardized characters in Qin Dynasty. There were no fundamental changes until the end of 19th century when

activities of Western missionaries and events led some reformers to call for a literary reform in order to revitalize the nation (DeFrancis, 240-41).

There are several concepts to highlight in order to examine the writing reform movements in general:

文言 *Wényán* : Literary Language Writing

It is classical Chinese with little connection to spoken Chinese because of its grammar and special literary vocabulary and it was used as a literary language until early 20th century (Lien-Tan, 453).

白 *Báihuà*: Vernacular Language

A vernacular, simplified writing style that has been introduced by Hu Shi in 1917 in order to permit the expression of the new ideas. During the May fourth period, *Báihuà* was adopted and became known as national language in 1922 (Lien-Tan, 453).

普通话 *Pǔtōnghuà* : Standard Chinese / Mandarin

It is the official language of China. Consists of Beijing Dialect, grammar and dialects of mandarin and the vocabulary of modern Chinese literature (Lien-Tan, 453).

拼音 *Pin Yin* : Romanization System for Standard Chinese

It is a system of 58 symbols which was adopted in 1958 after several attempts for Roman alphabet (Lien-Tan, 453).

This thesis is concerned with the two of these concepts *Wenyan* and *Baihua*.

▪ 1.1 Comparison Between Classical Language (*Wenyan*) and Vernacular Language (*Baihua*)

“‘What Chinese is it that you want to learn sir?’ asked the first Sinologue of established reputation that I consulted: ‘there is the language of the ancient classics, and the language of more modern books, and the language of official documents, and the epistolary language, and the spoken language, of which there are many dialects: now which Chinese is it that you wish to begin with?’ In 1867, Sir Thomas Wade used this in his the preface to ‘Progressive Course Designed to Assist the Student of Colloquial Chinese with this reminiscence’” (Harbsmeier, 373-374).

Chinese consisted of different languages as stated in the example above. Wenyan is a written language used for literature along with philosophical, historical, scientific writings and personal works. It was considered as a “prestigious language form” in pre-modern China since it’s mostly used in poems and essays according to traditional division of literature. On the other hand, it lacked “a standard pronunciation; it could be pronounced according to any of the various dialects (Goldman, 19). The classics were written in an abbreviated format (wenyan) and used a different syntax and vocabulary than the spoken language and it steadily had gotten further away from the living language. In addition to these, it was extremely difficult to acquire and required repetition copying what has been already written (Bi, 57).

Wenyan’s transition to Baihua was not a rapid one, after years of domination wenyan’s replacement to baihua could not take place in a day. From the final years of 19th century different styles of written languages were emerging depending on the need of the time (Chen, 76).

Those styles can be grouped under four;

- traditional wenyan : norm in telegrams and ritualistic purposes
- modern wenyan : incorporated vast amount of vocabulary form Japan. Norm for newspapers and periodicals
- traditional baihua : vernacular literary works in late Tang dynasty, and novels in Ming and Qing Dynasties
- new-style baihua : May Fourth Style Baihua, consists of various types of new style that reformist were experimenting during the period. Differs from traditional baihua in terms of grammar because traditional baihua borrowed heavily from the West. Even though is mainly based on Northern Mandarin still was characterized by expressions from Old Chinese and translations from foreign languages but still was not using the actual speech. New style baihua became norm for the advocates of the language reform in fields of literature, education and other intellectual fields since 1910’s (Chen, 76-77).

According to Hu Shi’s own words, Baihua is;

“I enlarged the scope of the literature in baihua and it includes the writings of old literature that, in terms of understanding, approached speech, I always say that baihua has three meanings: Firstly, it derived from “reciting” on the stage; it simply means the speech

that can be expressed and understood. Secondly, it resembles the meaning of the word pure, and refers to speech that is devoid of ornaments. Thirdly, its meaning comes from the word understand, so it is a speech that is understandable and smooth”

(Dluhosova,1).

Baihua (Vernacular language) echoed the profoundly ideals of populists. The baihua movement defended that wenyuan should be replaced by the “plain speech” (Baihua) which was spoken by majority of ordinary Chinese. They stood behind the ideal that this not only would change the non-elites’ access to politically related written resources easily, and also facilitate their own entry into politics, but in addition to all of these; it would change the “system of values in Chinese thought and literature” (Jenco, 4). “Baihua had the ultimate goal to convey new ideas and realities that appeared in a new changing society” (Dluhosova, 5).

▪ 1.2 Earlier Attempts to Reforming Chinese Written Language

Regarding the desire to reform the language, an argument in China appeared in terms of “unification of the spoken and written language in 1880’s by Huang Zunxian and became the precedent of New Literature movement (Dluhosova, 3).

One of the first “proposals” for language reform was received from a language teacher and a translator, Lu Zhuangzhang in terms of Romanization of Chinese:

“The wealth and strength of a country depend on science. The growth of science depends on everyone--men and women, young and old- having a love of learning and a knowledge of theory. Their ability to have a love of learning and a knowledge of theory depends on using a phonetic system of writing; then, once the alphabet and spelling have been mastered, everything can be read by oneself without a teacher. It depends on speech and writing being the same; it also depends on a simple script which will be easy to learn and write. This will save more than ten years’ time. If all this time is applied to the study of mathematics, the natural sciences, chemistry, and all sorts of practical studies, how can there be any feat that our country will not be rich and strong?” .[Cited in De Francis, 1950, p.107] (Wan, 72)

Three points has been covered in his proposal which were, everyone should master literacy in order to learn, Western Way of writing in order to led the development of science

and Chinese system of writing was too hard to master so proposed a non-phonetic system. Lu's proposal constituted an original model for later reform models (Wan, 72).

A leading journalist Huang Yuanyong before leaving for United States wrote a letter to Tiger monthly's Editor and Chen Duxiu's associate Zhang Shizhao:

"In my humble opinion, politics is in such confusion that I am a loss to know what to talk about...As to fundamental salvation, I believe its beginning must be sought in the promotion of a new literature...The method seems to consist in using simple and simplified language and literature" (Chow, 272).

However, Editor Zhang replied in a quite discouraging manner that promotion of new literature presumes a certain level of political stability (Chow, 272).

▪ 1.3 Earlier Examples of Vernacular Language

Vernacular language existed in Chinese texts long before we arrived to May fourth period in the timeline of Chinese history in different formats. During the Han Dynasty, early vernacular elements started to appear in various texts, especially in the translations of Buddhist texts. However it was Tang Dynasty, where the Baihua "vernacular literary language" developed as a type of written language. It is important to know for a long period of time baihua and wenyan coexisted. Baihua differed from wenyan in terms of wenyan stayed as supreme standard of written language whereas baihua was considered as low culture that could be found in folk stories and plays. Baihua served as a medium for representative literary works of later periods such as "Qu" (verse) in Yuan Dynasty and the novels in Ming and Qing Dynasties (Chen, 69).

In 1870's Baihua was used in journalism as a challenge to dominance of wenyan. Until this date, wenyan and baihua was being used concurrently in journalism field. However, with missionary impact after 1870's baihuwen (vernacular writing) was used in religious periodicals as well and newspapers expanded their readership. In the turn of the century, writers aim to replace wenyan with baihua in most fields and revolutionary media adopted baihua. Therefore, there was a need for new terms and in 1913 A.H. Mateer compiled a lexicon of new terminology in written baihua including terms for objects imported from the west (Goldman, 19-21).

According to Hu Shi, Lu Xun's "A Mad Man's Diary" is one of the first literary works written in modern vernacular Chinese. In fact, Hu's position against tradition and critical awareness of a formative language was directly affected by Lu Xun's Mad Man's Diary. Throughout the story there is a critical attitude towards language and there are various practices that can be found in everyday life that are subject to estrangement and therefore one's legitimacy called into question (Tang, 67).

It can be deduced that by the time of May fourth period, intellectuals of the time were already exposed to several reform ideas which helped them form the structure for written language reform. Therefore Hu Shi and other intellectuals of his time had examples of proposals however, the pace setters were Hu Shi and Chen Duxiu (Pollard, 360).

This thesis, in Chapter 3-4, will analyze how Hu Shi's suggestions transformed and his mindset affected the baihua reform in what way, also how his idea of a literary reform differs from the previous ones. In order to further analyze the Baihua movement, it is crucial to understand language reform in different shapes and forms and the reason for them to occur because if we are able to examine them collectively it can be gathered that there is tendency towards substantial changes regarding modernization throughout the history of Chinese written language.

CHAPTER 2

EARLY 20TH CENTURY-MAY FOURTH PERIOD

For each and every reform, the period it took place can be utilized as the guide to explain the reasons behind it, conditions that facilitated its acceptance or the difficulties it faced to appreciate its hardship and highlight the efforts have been made and in order to acquire this guide, one must study the period that a reform occurred in depth. Therefore it is vital to examine the conditions of May Fourth Period and the New Culture Movement in order to study the reasons behind the call for a literary reform.

▪ 2.1 May Fourth Incident and The Shandong Problem

On 4 May 1919 around 3000 students gathered at the Tiananmen Square in order to protest the favoring of Japan at China's expense in the Paris Peace Conference. Japan had settled agreements with Great Britain, Italy, and France during the war in order to gain control of Shandong peninsula. Many claimed that the delegation in Paris had betrayed the Chinese people (Haapanen, *Adaptation to World Trends*, 18).

▪ 2.2 Beginning of May Fourth Movement and Its Underlying Reasons

The traditional examination system had been abolished in 1905 and in 1911 China had become a republic; however the tradition had gotten stronger. The first president of the republic, Yuan Shikai considered himself as the head of Confucianism and in 1914, restored the sacrifices to Confucius. 1916's draft constitution resolution was to make Confucianism the base for national education and further on he made an effort to restore the monarch during the first years of the republic (Staiger, 68)

Literary and intellectual uproar of the May Fourth Movement occurred afterwards the event of Twenty One Demands when Chinese political situation worsened substantially. From 1915 until 1917, China witnessed two monarchical movements. There were even talks about the return of a "real dragon emperor" among the illiterate masses. Apart from humiliation of the foreign nations, there was a real danger of warlords and old bureaucrats in

China. Caught in the middle of all of these, young Chinese intellectuals were looking to save the nation (Chow, 41).

▪ 2.3 A Need for a Language Reform

Republic of China was founded in 1912 after the Xinhai revolution caused the collapse of the Qing dynasty. Due to the birth of this new nation-state, there was a need for national language in order to achieve mass literacy and education. With the empire's collusion, there was a need to build a modern state which required a transition from culturalism to nationalism. Dr. Arthur Smith argued,

The leaders of the new China had learned that one chief element in the amazing efficiency of the Japanese soldier lies in the fact that he can read” (Wan, 74).

During that time, the Chinese also imported a lot of European ideas including language ideologies, a Eurocentric language model which meant monolingualism and cultural homogeneity is necessary to achieve progress, modernization and national unity. (Wan, 73-74).

▪ 2.4 Road to Reform

Establishment of the “New Youth” Magazine by Chen Duxiu, a veteran revolutionary who was exiled to Japan returned to Shanghai which played an “extraordinary part” in May Fourth Movement. There were severe laws restricting the publication and with a regime so repressive, the Chinese press suffered decline after 1915. Chen tried to avoid direct political obligations and declared the purpose of the magazine as “reformation of thought and behavior of youth”. Hu Shi was mostly integrated with academic and literary fields; Chen emphasized the necessity for destruction of stagnant traditions (Chow 43-45)

Reforms of the Peking University were as significant as “New Youth” establishment for May Fourth. When Cai Yuanpei took over the Chancellorship in Peking University, a period of changes started. He established a three point policy; first, research means creating of new civilization, secondly university is not a substitute for examination system or a recruitment system and thirdly university should preserve its academic freedom. In the summer of his return from United States Hu Shi joined the faculty- where he taught courses on philosophy far from tradition. (Chow 48-53)

Establishment of “New Tide” Magazine in 1918 via students with their adviser being Hu Shi - who adopted critical spirit, scientific thinking and reformed rhetoric as their guidelines for their publication is another important event for the May Fourth Movement (Chow, 51-60)

Winter 1919, New Youth Magazine published their manifesto in order to express their common opinion, it included their view on traditional literature “We have to give up the useless and irrelevant elements of traditional literature and ethics because we want to create those needed for the progress of the new era and new society” (Chow, 175).

▪ 2.5 Iconoclasm in May Fourth Period

May Fourth period is recognized as rebelling against Chinese tradition. It is essential to examine the opposition to Confucius in order to understand the call for a movement. The concept of iconoclasm which means rejecting the idea to follow Confucius tradition and a sense of individualism was emerged during May fourth and it is a “unique historical phenomenon” in Chinese as well as world history perceptive. There are various ways social and cultural change occurs and it is not necessary to completely destroy the old in order to create the new but also iconoclasm usually emerges in the process of modernization some old practices become intolerable. However, May fourth iconoclasm did not fit to these patterns and it was in fact was influenced by Social Darwinist idea of “change” which meant “value” The reason behind Social Darwinism was because it provided an explanation for unprecedented humiliation resulted from Western Intrusion. Many political events such as Yuan Shikai abuses, heightened May fourth intellectuals’ frustration and alienate them from tradition (Schwartz, 26-27).

“It is fair to say, in the early period of May Fourth Movement, pragmatism, skepticism and agnosticism were the principal critical approaches found in reformers’ attack on traditional ethics and ideas” (Chow, 297).

However, it is also quite important to note that intellectuals differed in terms of their views on tradition.

There were four main figures including Hu Shi related to the movement and their position varied:

Wu Yu was first to attack Confucianism. His studies led him to determine that Chinese society and state were based on despotism and inequality and was severely against filial piety (Staiger, 70-71) In fact, Hu Shi, in the preface of Wu Yu's collective works called Wu Yu "the one most vigorously had attacked Confucianism in the years before 1920" (Staiger, 70)

Chen Duxiu pursued the aim of education of Chinese people. He was very well acquainted with Western ideals and committed himself to democracy and science. He viewed tradition deeply rooted in Chinese life; he tried to change people's consciousness and liberation of people from bonds of tradition so they may be free individuals (Staiger, 77) He called for "literary revolution" with his positive three great principles (Goldman, 71).

Li Dazhao was the only representative of May Fourth that saw China's backwardness as an advantage. He also did not feel tradition and modern western thought were incompatible. He further stated "the very backwardness of nations like China and Russia held the seeds of youth and progress" (Staiger, 83).

Hu Shi denied the tradition in totalistic terms, he argued for a gradual and "organic assimilation" (Schwartz, 45). Hu's argument was based on pragmatism which was "no doctrine or -ism was more than an instrument for the solution of this or that practical problem" (Chow, 218). It will further analyzed Hu Shi's views on Chapter 3 in depth.

▪ 2.6 Dewey's Pragmatism and China Stay

Dewey's China visit coincided with the May Fourth period which was from 1919 until his departure in 1921. Hu's close acquaintance with Dewey is the reason behind Dewey being the first foreign scholar to teach in China in 1919. Hu Shi laid the groundwork for his reception and stay. Only three days after his arrival May Fourth incident took place and thousands of young Chinese were involved in a mass demonstration in Beijing (Ching and Wang, 4-5).

During his time there Dewey was actually being compared to Confucius. Dewey was in fact anticipated to replace Confucius and declared as the "new intellectual icon". Dewey's presence, as an example of Western modernity helped as a dynamic basis of motivation for May Fourth intellectuals who wanted to discard the old tradition and follow the Western path (Ching and Wang, 14)

CHAPTER 3

HU SHI, HIS MINDSET AND HIS APPROACH TO THE LITERARY REFORM

Until now in the study, the Chinese written language is examined from a historical context in order to show the written language before the Baihua reform and give an insight about the Socio-Political conditions of the May Fourth period which Baihua reform flourished as a branch within the movement itself. In this chapter, the study will highlight Hu Shi's position during May Fourth Movement, the man who was behind one of China's most comprehensive intellectual reforms and how it is deeply connected to his educational and professional background. Furthermore, this chapter will focus on his mindset and his approach to a literary reform.

▪ 3.1 The Man behind the Reform: Hu Shi

Hu Shi was in a village school from 1895 until 1904 and during that time he found in a waste paper basket of a popular novel published in Baihua (vernacular language) later Hu himself made a statement about the novel he found; "They thought me life, for good and for evil" (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 20)

By the time he was 16 years old, Hu Shi was the editor of a magazine called "The Struggle" which he wrote about iconoclasm, attacking to superstition. He found friends as restless as he was, and they would talk about revolution and atheism and one night, he left for Beijing for a scholarship at an American university and he passed. Right before he left, he adopted the manhood name (according to Chinese custom) Shi – which mean "fit" as in "Darwin's Survival of the Fittest" (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 259). He was interested in revolution, going against tradition and a need for a reform from an early age, those experiences all led Hu shape his ideas.

After Hu passed the examinations for a Boxer Indemnity Fund scholarship in 1910, he head to Ithaca, New York to study agriculture in Cornell University. He later switched his major to philosophy which became the field he is known for. He took courses from botany to chemistry, from German to architecture (Cornell Hu Shi Transcript) and that led him form opinions on different subjects and become more multi-dimensional in his way of thinking.

He first conceived of the Chinese renaissance movement while he was still studying in Cornell (Taiwan Today). During his time in Cornell, he was recognized by his clarity and originality in addition to “a man who was able to his thoughts in the most satisfactory way” (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 327). He graduated from Cornell in 1914 and continued studying in Columbia University under the tutorship of John Dewey who is known for “pragmatism” which deeply affected Hu throughout his life. He received his PhD from Columbia and returned to China in 1917 to develop his thoughts on literary reform (Taiwan Today Article).

“It is difficult for me to leave Ithaca...On leaving this home of my own making for the home of my fathers; I am not sure whether I’m more happy or sad”

Hu Shi wrote on his departure to China [Egan and Chou, 86]

Hu sailed for China in June 1917 (Egan and Chou, 86) and his writings depict that he was grieving after spending 7 years in United States to leave behind his life there with uncertainty. At the time he was not aware that he was going to lead one of the most important reforms in Chinese history during his time in China.

August 1917, he started teaching Chinese philosophy in Peking University (Taiwan Today). Here is an account by his student “Gu Jiegang” who later himself will become a renowned historian;

“Many of my classmates were skeptical. ‘He is a student who just came back from America-how could he teach us Chinese stuff at Peking University?’ I had my own doubts. When he finally came, he wrote his own handouts, ignored everything that had been thought before...He pushed aside all that went before-Tang, Yu and the Xia and Shang Dynasties- and started with the time of Duke Xuan of Zhou. This was a huge blow to those of us with our brains full of document and commentaries on the Three kings and Five emperors. The entire class listened, mouths agape”.

[Egan and Chou, 133]

It can be deduced from this statement that even his students were initially highly judgmental of a man teaching Chinese thought with western ideals and his new ways of approaching to philosophy intrigued them.

His words on owing to society as follow;

“I am recommending an ever loyal heir to my four hundred million countrymen. Who is this heir? He is ‘society’...As long as someone contributes to society, whether or not they have sons and grandsons society will always remember them, and be thankful to them...Sons, grandsons-whether your own blood and flesh or adopted-are unreliable. I recommend that you consider society your ever loyal heir”

[Egan and Chou, 58]

Hu continuously encouraged the young people in China, the students to assume responsibility that times urged upon them, to develop a sense of personality in order to think critically and still tolerate the ideas of others (Grieder)

▪ 3.2 Hu’s Influences

Hu Shi was not a political activist or primarily a political thinker (Grieder). However, he had a keen sense of history (Egan and Chou, 4) and combining this with his education in philosophy, without a doubt, helped him from his political beliefs. Many influences, Chinese and Western facilitated him shape his opinions. From his father, he “inherited an appreciation for humanistic tradition of orthodox Confucian thought” and later he merged this with Western sources from Huxley to Ibsen, from Morley to doctrines of Woodrow Wilson (Grieder).

Apart from these influences, the name that influenced Hu the most was John Dewey during his time in Columbia University. It is imported to note that Dewey was one of the reasons he transferred to Columbia. In one of the letters he wrote to his mother, he stated there were three main reasons for why he is moving to Columbia; (1) he wanted to expose himself to a large city and different points of view, (2) since he has a lot of friends in Ithaca, socializing took much of his time, (3) He desired to study with John Dewey (Egan and Chou, 78).

Apart from this, he also stated himself;

“My thought is influenced mainly by two persons; one is Huxley and the other is Mr. Dewey. Huxley teaches me how to doubt and teaches me to believe in nothing without sufficient evidence. Mr. Dewey teaches me to consider the immediate problems in all cases, to regard all theories and ideals as hypotheses which are in need of verification, and to take into

account the effect of thoughts. These two persons make me understand the character and function of scientific method”

[Chow, 297]

As it can be gathered from Hu’s own words, Dewey had a substantial role on how he does his research, how he justifies his ideas, and applies his methodology.

▪ 3.3 Hu Shi’s Mindset

It is quite important to highlight some methods and approaches Hu adopted while proposing and working on the Baihua reform and thus in this study it is divided into four points to further analyze the mindset of Hu and how each of these points assisted the reform.

- Pragmatism /Experimentalism

Hu concentrated John Dewey’s philosophy into an axiom: “Be bold in your hypothesis; be meticulous in your verification!” Which is quoted usually in order to promote logical thinking among Chinese (Egan and Chou, 3).

The origination of the doctrine should be based on and should develop from the study of precise, practical problems. All embracing *-ism’s* might not fit the practical needs of the time and they are only utilized by politicians in slogans. All of the problems that China has, cannot be solved together and it needs to be dealt with one by one. (Chow, 218).

According to what he learnt from Dewey, Hu argued that use of scientific method in criticizing tradition and solving social problems. There was in fact one experiment he conducted and wrote about which was regarding the traditional morning ritual and he concluded that one must eliminate all superstition and rather than following the tradition blindly asking “why?” (Aboulafia and Shook, 47-48). Hu referred himself as an “experimentalist” in politics as well as in scholarship (Grieder)

Hu’s words on thinking critically about Chinese problems as follows;

“What our country urgently needs today is not novel theories or abstruse philosophical doctrines, but methods by which knowledge may be sought, affairs discussed, things examined, and the country governed”

[Egan and Chou, 70]

Hu Shi, being an experimentalist he never took anything as the absolute truth and evaluated the accuracy always in reference to its results. He held a rather optimistic impartiality and thus handled the burden of the events in China in a time of uncertainty better than his contemporaries. On the other hand, being patient in an impatient age has its own risks and can be misunderstood as indifference to “manifest abuses” and it actually made Hu’s work really difficult in terms of explaining himself to other intellectuals (Grieder).

The pragmatist experiment by Hu Shi with the influence of Dewey in democracy they projected for China was one of scientifically guided and educationally nurtured disorganized reform, being in the middle of “gradualist liberalism” between “conservative traditionalism”. According to Sor-hoon Tan, regardless of Hu Shih's adamant devotion to Dewey's views, his interpretation of pragmatism differed from Dewey's by leaning toward a “one-sided emphasis” on science as the key and leaning towards an unbalanced emphasis on education rather than political activism in order to achieve democracy (Shusterman, 4).

- Slow Change

Hu was an important believer in patience in expecting results. He always defended the idea that the only realistic approach to organize a program to achieve a reform is through gradual and undramatic changes which will allow dealing with specific obstacles and trying to find a solution for them “bit by bit, drop by drop” which is why he advocated an evolutionary not revolutionary change and he did not approve the emotional reactions to any crisis which he believed was an interference for the intellectual reconstruction (Grieder).

It can be observed from a letter he wrote mentioning the Baihua reform saying; he was not expecting immediate results and gave a long time span for it to be accomplished but the reform was (almost) realized before it was anticipated.

“...As to the movement known as the Chinese Literary revolution in which I have been a laborer, I am happy to say that it is now almost an accomplished fact. When we began in 1917, we expected to have a hearing in ten years and to succeed in 20 years. But the time had long been ripe, thanks to the numerous nameless vulgate writers of the last 1.000 years”

Hu Shi in his 1923 letter to Edith Clifford Williams

[Egan and Chou, 173]

- Western Ideals and Thought on Democracy

Hu sought to push China out into the march of world history, where the pace was set by Western achievement, both technological and intellectual (Grieder)

In order to draw connection to “east and west” to further justify his western way of thinking. He explained his thoughts as even though cultures and histories in East and West were immensely different, they also shared something in common, for instance as the way scholars understanding of the past; while Qing scholars were unaware of the arrival of modern science, in conducting “evidential research” (kaozheng) of classical texts, they established a thorough procedure and a host of sophisticated methods that were actually scientific in essence (Wang, 490).

. In 1914, he wrote an article called “A Republic for China” and explained that there is a misconception that the world thinks democracy is a new thing for China and it is not true since even though China was being ruled under a monarchical government for several millennia, behind the monarchs and the aristocrats there was a quiet, peaceful, oriental form of democracy dominating in China and he continued by detailing negligence of the people took place before in every announcement of the several revolutions which ended old dynasties and founded new ones (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 144).

A letter Hu wrote to his American friend in 1916 in relation to Yuan Shikai’s attempt to overthrow republicanism and self-inauguration as the first emperor he stated that there is no short way to “political decency and efficiency”. There is a need for prerequisites in order to secure a good government and he believed that it’s their (Hu and other intellectuals) business to provide them to “create new causes” (Grieder).

As it can be deducted from above, he adopted Western ideals such as democracy as a means to find a solution for China’s problems and it is observed in terms of the literary reform Hu’s famous eight suggestions were highly influenced by a western one, Ezra Pound’s eight Don’ts which was published years before. Also his experimentalism is another example of these western ideals which he opted out for establishing Baihua reform since experimentalism was quite popular in the west at the time (Chow, 30).

- Individualism

Hu Shi, as can be seen in his explanation below, believed that change starts form individual itself, with self-responsibility. He took Ibsen as an example to demonstrate in order

to fulfill the responsibility to the society one must think our own individuality and this view is not self-centered.

“The occidental point of view, as I understand it, is something like this: Above everything else, we have a duty towards ourselves. We must be true to ourselves. We must do our own thinking and must never hamper our own individuality and character...”

This view is best illustrated by Henrik Ibsen in his play ‘A Doll’s House’ ...

This view is not all egoistic. Nay, it is best for the wellbeing of society that the individual should have the fullest freedom to develop to the utmost capacity”

Hu Shi’s 1914 letter to Edith Clifford Williams

[Egan and Chou, 11]

Even though Ibsen actually was first presented to China in 1907 by Lu Xun, it was Hu Shi that made it popular. New Youth dedicated a full issue to a translation of Ibsen's play "A Doll's House" and an article on "Ibsenism" written by the Hu Shi. Both article and play struck a powerful chord with young social reformers. Intellectuals at the time were discussing about how to save China because of its backward and weak situation. Another topic that had importance was how to modernize China and they decided that they should begin with “new individuals, new minds”. Thus, they looked to Ibsen. Ibsenism was equal to individualism in Hu Shi's mind (Melvin)

▪ 3.4 How Hu Approached the Literary Reform

Before beginning to analyze Hu’s place in Baihua, here is a poem called “A Raven” by Hu Shi which is usually considered as his self-portrayal as an advocate of the modern vernacular:

*“I get up early in the morning
And stand on someone’s roof, crowing,
Annoyed, people say I’ve brought them bad luck,
But just can’t force myself to twitter and pretend to be charming!”*

(Bi, 59)

Poem explains Hu’s position from his own words and his refusal to the ones who defend traditional forms. One of the most innovative features of the poem was the self-representation

Hu utilized and it was an experiment he tried even though there were a lot of opposition to all the new forms any other than traditional (Bi, 59).

Hu Shi saw that what China needs primarily was a new language. As a language reformer, he ranks with Dante and Chaucer. Similarly he dignified as literature the popular speech of his time and place (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 267).

A writing, such as Chinese, which is consisted of drawing pictures, it is normal for it to be enigmatic. The Chinese like their puzzles for this reason for a long time writers used a language so cryptic they conceal rather than to reveal what they mean. If we take the example of Confucius, he wrote, 'Not Know Life How Know Death'. Hu Shih utilized the same characters but he started the reform of the written language (Baihua) by confidently writing out, "you don't know anything about life, how can you understand the meaning of death?" Apart from this, he introduced some slang which was borrowed from the "vulgate" by utilizing everyday phrases and "vulgar" character combinations in his own writing. It resulted in Baihua which translates into "clear talk" (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 258).

What made Hu Shi stand out from others who attempted to reform the literary language is that his "*revolutionary approach*" While, vernacular language existed before, it was Hu Shi that "asserted its (vernacular language) *dignity and importance*" (Bi, 57). Another claim about Hu Shi's victory in Baihua reform came from DeFrancis; the Reform was made possible due to its identification with a cause of Chinese *nationalism*" (Bi, 58)

With a concrete research in vernacular fiction hallmarked by his study "The Dream of Red Chamber" he demonstrated the richness of that particular novel which was one of his pioneering studies. Most importantly, Hu's views about "old culture and tradition" were more similar to an "additional construction" rather than "destruction of old". Even when he needed to refer to the literary reform, he used words as "constructive literary reform" or "Chinese Literary Renaissance" (Bi, 57).

"A Constructive Theory of Literary Revolution" written in 1918 by Hu Shi added four additional points to his famous 1917 "Tentative Suggestions" article which will be analyzed in Chapter 4 and made the following requirements for the new literature:

"First, speak only when you have things to speak of; second, speak: whatever you want to speak of, and speak in the way you normally do; third, speak in the voice of your own, not that of others; fourth, speak: in the language befitting your own time." (Shang, 5).

Hu here is emphasizing the word “speak” and even uses it in the place of writing in order to deliberately clear the line of separation between the two (Shang, 5).

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF HU SHI’S

“TENTATIVE SUGGESTIONS ABOUT LITERARY REFORM”

The story behind Hu Shi’s famous article is; in 1916, some of Hu’s Chinese friends went rowing on Lake Cayuga, Ithaca near Cornell University. A storm upset the boats and their plan did not go through. One of the boys in the group, in order to remember this moment composed a poem in Classical Chinese and then sent it to Hu Shi to get a criticism. The inconsistency between the subject of the poem and how it was presented seemed ridiculous to Hu Shi that when he returned to his house he wrote an article- with a modest title: “Some Tentative Suggestions about Literary Reform” He put it in an envelope and sent it to China where it was published in New Youth Magazine. The article later in life gave him the title of “the father of Chinese Renaissance” which he is still known for (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 257)

At this point, the study will attempt to analyze this article in depth to demonstrate how Hu Shi proposed a literary reform, highlighting what type of structure needs to be followed, preparing a guideline for the upcoming reform - which eventually turned into a success story that changed the history of language and literature in China.

Hu starts his article with a modest sentence: “*How am I, unlearned and lettered, qualified to speak on the subject?*” (Hu, 1). Here, he raised a question to later justify the reason why his proposal should be considered, continuing his words with

“Yet, I have over the past few years, with the benefit of my friends’ argumentation, pondered and studied this matter a fair degree and the results achieved are perhaps not worthy of discussion. So I summarize the opinions I and list them at eight points” (Hu, 1).

After he explains why his opinions matter, he states eight matters to be considered in order to discuss a literary reform.

1- *Writing should have substance.*

What Hu means by substance is two main points which are; feeling and thought. Feeling is the soul of literature and literature without feeling is like a man without a soul. He emphasizes that thought is one person's ideals and his perception. Even though, thought does not need literature to be transmitted, literature is enhanced through thought and thought is likewise enhanced by value that literature brings. This is why works of Xin Qiji, Shi Nai'an and Zhuangzi are everlasting. Thought is the brain of literature. He gives the example of an attractive man without the capacity of thinking is not sufficient enough, so as a literature without substance, it is beauty without soul or brain is inferior nonetheless. He believes the main reason behind the deterioration of literature is writing without any thought or sincere feeling and if it can be saved, it is through writing with substance (Hu, 124-125).

2- *Do not imitate the ancients.*

Every dynasty had its own literature; as times change, so does the literature, each period has its own character. Hu states that it is simply the "progression of civilization". He holds the belief that his generation is not able to look back and accepts that ancient literature is superior to the present one and the reason behind is that literature develops and "does not stand still". Furthermore he stated that, one cannot succeed without following the path of progression (Hu, 125-126).

Up to this point he explained how the literary process works and here on he continued with detailing what he means by "not imitating the ancients". Even if one work resembles the ancients it is nothing more than increasing the number of "realistic counterfeits" and he further discusses is that literature? (Hu, 126).

This issue can be solved through writing our own poems and not imitating the works of the ancients First rank in literature is assumed as "the more I look up to him the higher he becomes" but in reality in terms of "contemporary literature" only vernacular fiction is worthy of a comparison because they do not imitate the ancients and they write about contemporary situation (Hu, 127).

Hu in this chapter demonstrate the importance of the "contemporary" and defy the attachment that writers have for ancients, explaining that one can only pursue literature if they

are able to recognize the current situation of their own period. As it can be observed his views against tradition makes the most part of his discussion.

3- *Emphasize the technique of writing.*

According to Hu, many writers do not appreciate the importance of “syntactic structure” which means grammatical construction and lack of it will lead to “absence of communication” (Hu, 127).

At this point, he highlighted the vitality of the technique that writer is utilizing because without a specific grammar structure, the writer is not able to pass the message along properly and this is a point should be considered in a discussion of a literary reform.

4- *Do not moan without an illness.*

He marks this point as “it is not easy to discuss” believing that the youth of his time had a “tragic” perception of the world and even if they use an alias they choose names such as “lifeless, cold ashes” just to demonstrate how desperate they feel (Hu, 128). He held the view of holding on to old, leads to lack of action and most importantly one’s service for the country” which as an intellectual is an ideal Hu Shi held dear. He added; it’s one thing being aware of the difficult situation our country is facing, it is another thing just to cry about it and step aside and do nothing (Hu, 128). In this chapter he calls the reader to action by giving them a sense of urgency and ensuring them that staying still with discouragement will not lead to change.

5- *Eliminate hackneyed and formal language.*

Hu, in this point, urged the elimination of unnecessary clichés just in order to form a lyrics and he defends his point of view by giving an example from a poem with list of clichés. A part from the poem is below;

“Like tiny peas, the twinkling flames of an evening lamp
Cast a flickering shadow on a solitary figure,
Helter-skelter and adrift.” (Hu, 128).

Hu found the stale diction in this poem “absurd” (Hu, 129). He also gave his suggestion on how to eliminate this hackneyed language which is “creation of new phrases to describe and portray what people see and hear with their own eyes and ears or personally live through” (Hu, 129).

6- *Do not use allusions.*

In this Hu spared the most of his effort on this particular point since he believe it is the most misunderstood one. Hu specified what he meant by allusion. He divided the meaning of it to two main parts; a broader sense which may or may not be used and a narrow sense that he is against (Hu, 130)

Broad meaning of allusions he categorized in five types;

- Metaphors created by the ancients that did not lose their effectiveness in time.
- Idiomatic expressions (part of the everyday language)
- Historical references
- Using the ancients in a metaphorical manner in order to draw comparison between historical and contemporary.
- Citing the words of ancients.

In narrow sense when he referred to allusion is; he meant incapacity to create their own words in order to explain what is in front of them. What Hu was against was that utilizing allusions as replacement for the language since they are unable to express them directly and they use allusions to do the job for them. He regarded allusions as self-deception and deception of the others (Hu, 133).

7- *Do not use parallelism.*

Hu stated that even in ancient texts parallelism and regulated verse can be detected. He gave an example of parallelism from the “Analects”;

“In food (the gentleman) does not seek satiety,
Nor in his dwelling does he seek ease and comfort” (Hu, 136)

Even though there are excellent works written with them according to Hu, he raises the question of “Is it not because they restrict man’s freedom to such an extent?” (Hu, 136). He believed that just in order to remain loyal to the regulated verse, the actual reason behind the writing can be missed and he notes that even if parallelisms cannot be eliminated completely it should not be urged neither. At the end of his explanation of this point he adds that vernacular is truly canonical and the regulated verse is the lesser tradition and acknowledges that when some people read this, they will not be able to stand his point of view (Hu, 137).

8- *Do not avoid vulgar diction.*

He explains the rationale behind this point is that his literary canon is composed of Shi Nai’an, Cao Xueqin and Wu Woyao and that is why he suggests not avoiding vulgar diction. He defends his point by stating since the Buddhist scriptures, translators were aware that classical language was not efficient in transmitting the meaning. He declares Yuan is the period where immortal works have been created because spoken and written languages had gotten closer by using vernacular language and vernacular nearly became a literary language.

He suggested that from today’s perspective of historical evolution, he is sure that vernacular will be a great tool to develop the future literature (Hu, 137-138).

He finished his article by urging his scholarly elders in China for send their analysis and “circumspection” and modification if needed. He clarifies why he named the article as “suggestions” as in order to express its incompleteness and seek improvement from his countrymen (Hu, 139)

When his article is examined as a whole, first quality of the article is that Hu provided set of rules on how to reform literature in China and most importantly he states his reasons in a very orderly manner on why there is need for change in literature and how it can be useful to Chinese literature. His “suggestions” follows logic from why to how and it is very clear. As stated above in previous chapter in this thesis, Hu Shi is known for his clarity and efficiency in his explanations since his university years and in his article these trait can be detected (Hu Shi Papers in Cornell, 327).

Second quality that is important to point out is the “modesty” can be observed throughout the article from start to finish, hence the title “modest/tentative”, always in attempt to justify why his suggestions on literary reform should be considered and he is accepting that

he is still a student and he invites elderly scholars to analyze his suggestions and modify them in order to make it better.

Third point is that he makes constant references to tradition in the sense of how using a classical language – that is so old- is not working for present literature and he calls for progress in literature.

CHAPTER 5

WHAT CHANGED WITH BAIHUA: FAR REACHING CONSEQUENCES OF MAY FOURTH AND REFORMS

May Fourth constituted a “milestone” in the development of nationalism which went along with cultural movement and social reform. Starting with Baihua in 1917 it led to the founding of the Communist party in 1921. It turned out to stand for various thought and actions (Schwartz, vii). In this chapter, the study will cover the period from Baihua’s acceptance to which consequences it led within literary or outside literary fields.

▪ 5.1 China’s Acceptance of Baihua

“Our movement for a ‘vulgate literature’ (i.e., a literature produced in a spoken language the people) is now an established fact. The rapid spread of the movement the last year was more than expected. I published my first article on this advocacy in Jan. 1916 but it was not until my return from America that we seriously produced works in the vulgate.

March 1919 letter from Hu Shi to Edith C. Williams

[Egan and Chou, 172]

Hu’s personal letter above portrays that his announcement of acceptance of baihua in China is a success and his comments on the pace of the movement. Of course acceptance of baihua still was a process

The vernacular language (Baihua) after fighting opposition from the conservatives, finally officially accepted when the Ministry of Education prescribed the use of baihua in all schools in 1921. Hu Shi, while still a student in United States wrote a poem which is

considered as “the very first vernacular poem for children in China” which appeared in “New Youth” in 1916;

*“Two yellow butterflies flew up in the air.
We don’t know why one didn’t return.
Now there’s only one poor butterfly in despair
It does not want to fly up again,
Up there, it still wouldn’t be in a pair”*
(Bi, 58)

This poem was written in a simple language that one can observe an expression of emotion and this would allow capturing children’s attention (Bi, 59).

“Simplified national spoken language” was made compulsory for the first two years of the primary grades in 1920, and later was extended to the upper grades and Middle school as well. However, before this time (in 1919) Dr. Hu Shih wrote an essay entitled “The Meaning of the Renaissance Movement”, in which he clarified that the literary revolution’s aim was not only at the simplification of the literary style, also through setting the vernacular as the standard for all purposes, however must proceed to the restructuring and reassessment of the entire literary heritage His principles were emphasizing the significance of a proper historical method and the need of examination from varied angles than the most scholars had achieved (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 29).

After 1920 students were exposed to wenyan less even though it was still used in all sectors of society. It became the norm in literature yet in trade and business sectors, as well as governmental institutions wenyan remained as de facto. Soon, the gap between what is taught in schools and what students are required to use created an issue and a needed to be solved. Majority opted out for improvement of baihua instead of recreating wenyan (Chen, 76-82). The arguments for “true vernacular-based written language must come along with reformation of the writing system started to emerge in this period (Chen, 81).

▪ 5.2 Consequences of May Fourth and Baihua Reform

The role of Baihua reform in China's New Culture Movement in early 20th century in terms of increasing literacy was highly relevant to the "popular enlightenment, mass education and the formation of genuine modern nation" (Bi, 56).

It was one thing to declare a need for vernacular language, and another to persuade the other intellectuals. It speaks for itself that Hu Shi's personality and character that over the next few years the influence he had become more comprehensive. The baihua revolution affected the whole country, the youth found another language to express themselves. Everyone desired to express himself in a language that he is able to comprehend and use to be understood easily. "The literary revolution had succeeded in giving to the people a national language" (Chen, *"The New Culture Movement in China"*, 50)

According to the statement of Dr. Arthur Hummel of the Library of Congress, a noted sinologist; it is no small success to overthrow of the ancient classical style and to substitute it with the vernacular as the literary standard for all practical purposes. The result varied from the rapid establishment of a massive innovative .periodical literature in which the once closed minds expressed themselves in the "natural, colloquial language of everyday life". Now the old was discarded next to the imaginative, new ones and also short stories occupied the book shelves, and new knowledge was made available in a language that even the limited education would be able to understand it (Hu Shih papers at Cornell University, 29)

Also, a lot of people were being educated because of exposure to new worlds of thought and action. It was not highly expected after following the tradition of 4,000 years, and despite new ideas and new literary revivals (Chen, *"The New Culture Movement in China"*. 54)

▪ 5.3 Socio-political Consequences Apart From Literature & Language

One of the points that has significance regarding May Fourth Reforms is that it had "immediate" and "far-reaching influences" and consequences that affected areas other than literature. One of them was the development of organization of merchants and urban workers called street unions which was later united as Federal of Street Unions of Shanghai. According to Chow, it is almost like May Fourth taught China "their strength lay in an organization" (Chow, 254-255).

Another consequence was creation of new views on family life and woman's social position by the young intellectuals. Ideas of western authors' ideas were discussed in China.

A public consideration for feminism increased and women's suffrage movement had great progress (Chow, 258).

Since May fourth was initially a student movement later gained support from intellectuals, and naturally events at May fourth period had consequences later in terms of school strikes and movements as they are called student storms. They were spontaneous protest against education control by corrupt political forces and these events led to series educational disturbances (Chow, 263).

CONCLUSION:

May Fourth period has been one of the most important times in Chinese history and the reforms that has been realized during the period had substantial consequences on China. Vernacular language (Baihua) reform is one of the most vital parts regarding that time.

This study showed that Baihua reform highly connected to Chinese intellectual Hu Shi's mentality combined with his background which essentially assisted to shape his ideals in order to achieve the reform.

Studying the history of Chinese written language showed that Vernacular language existed for a long time and what Hu achieved was to emphasize to importance of using vernacular how it is the norm in present time.

Another important finding on the study is Reform's success was partially due to its relation to "Nationalism" and thus it is important to say May Fourth Movement's event led the intellectuals to give the nation a cause to connect with and this also got them one step closer to the success.

Hu is the one which laid the basis on how to reform the language via his article "Tentative suggestions about Literary Reform" which offers eight points to consider and they are explained in a clear, modest way with a sense of providing an urgency which are concepts that are highly integrated with Hu's mentality of pragmatism, expecting a slow change, western ideals and individualism.

This study further examined Hu's influences in relation to the reform and it can be deducted that Ibsen and Dewey's influence was great yet application these influences into the reform, Hu differed from them in some ways.

The study also revealed that as Baihua which sought to generate new ideas according to Hu Shi's ideals, it was indeed successful in terms of affecting all parts of society but mostly importantly changing the way Chinese think by reforming the language.

This study concludes that Hu Shi played a key role in Baihua reform and success that the reform achieved was due to Hu's own mindset and education that helped him pass the reform's message along and his ability to encourage students and other intellectuals about a need for literary reform and also gain acceptance from China.

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APPENDIX :



Figure 1



Figure 2



Figure 3

LIST OF FIGURES:

Fig. 1-2. Hu Shi in Cornell. Cornell University.

<http://rmc.library.cornell.edu/hushih/>

Fig. Hu Shi Getting His Diploma From Cornell in 1914. Taiwan Today Article. 1962.

<http://taiwantoday.tw/ct.asp?xitem=166129&ctnode=124>