

CONTENTS

I Introduction	1
<i>Definition of the Movement</i>	I
<i>Economic, Social, and Political Background</i>	6
<i>Significance of the Movement in Historical Perspective</i>	11
PART ONE	
DEVELOPMENT OF THE MOVEMENT	
II Forces that Precipitated the Movement, 1915–1918	19
<i>Humiliation of Patriots at Home (Impact of the Twenty-one Demands)</i>	19
<i>Reforming Zeal of Students Abroad</i>	25
III The Initial Phase of the Movement: Early Literary and Intellectual Activities, 1917–1919	41
<i>Establishment of New Youth Magazine</i>	42
<i>Reforms at Peking University</i>	48
<i>The Alliance of the New Intellectuals and the Establishment of New Tide Magazine</i>	51
<i>Reform Views of the New Intellectuals</i>	58
<i>The Opposition's Argument and the Rejoinder</i>	61
<i>Response of the Youth to the New Ferment</i>	73
<i>The Anti-Japanese Petition of May 1918</i>	77
IV The May Fourth Incident	84
<i>China's Failure at the Versailles Peace Conference</i>	84
<i>Chinese Public Sentiment in Respect to the Peace Treaty</i>	89
<i>Disillusioning News from Paris</i>	92
<i>The Students: Their Character and Organization</i>	94
<i>The May Fourth Demonstration</i>	99
<i>From the Legation Quarter to Ts'ao Ju-lin's House</i>	109
V Developments Following the Incident: Student Demonstrations and Strikes	117
<i>Immediate Reaction of the Government</i>	118
<i>Establishment of the Peking Student Union and Mobilization of the Intellectuals</i>	120
<i>Student Support from Other Cities</i>	129
<i>The President's Disciplinary Mandates and Ts'ai Yüan-p'ei's Departure</i>	132
<i>The Students' General Strike</i>	139

VI Further Developments: Support from Merchants, Industrialists, and Workers	145
<i>The Government's Failure to Secure a Compromise from the Students</i>	145
<i>Mass Arrests of June 2, 3, and 4</i>	148
<i>The June Fifth Merchants' and Workers' Strikes in Shanghai</i>	151
<i>Settlement of the May Fourth Incident: Fall of the Cabinet and Refusal to Sign the Peace Treaty</i>	158
<i>Attempts to Split the Students after the Settlement</i>	167
<i>Some Questions Regarding the Settlement</i>	168
VII Expansion of the New Culture Movement, 1919–1920	171
<i>Increasing Unity among the New Intellectuals</i>	171
<i>Invigorated Programs of New Youth and New Tide</i>	174
<i>Rapid Increase of New Publications and Revamping of Old</i>	176
<i>The Rising Tide of Iconoclasm</i>	182
<i>New Intellectual, Social, and Political Organizations</i>	187
<i>Public Education Sponsored by the New Intellectuals</i>	191
<i>Increasing Support for the New Culture Movement</i>	194
VIII Foreign Attitudes Toward the Movement	197
<i>The Japanese Reaction</i>	197
<i>Two Contrasting Western Attitudes: Sympathy and Suspicion</i>	201
<i>The Soviet Appeal</i>	209
IX The Ideological and Political Split, 1919–1921	215
<i>Major Intellectual Groups Involved in the Split</i>	215
<i>"Problems and Isms"</i>	218
<i>Sociopolitical Activism versus Cultural Activism</i>	222
<i>Democracy, Capitalism, Socialism, and Westernization</i>	228
<i>Participation in Politics</i>	239
X Sociopolitical Consequences, 1920–1922	254
<i>Reorientation of Political and Economic Organizations</i>	254
<i>The Emancipation of Women</i>	257
<i>Reforms in Education</i>	259
<i>Later Trends in the Student Movement</i>	262

PART TWO

ANALYSIS OF MAIN INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS

XI The Literary Revolution	269
<i>The Old Literature</i>	269
<i>Advocacy of Realism and the Vernacular in Literary Writing</i>	271
<i>Opposition to the Literary Reform</i>	279

CONTENTS

· xv

<i>Humanitarianism, Naturalism, and Romanticism: The Society for Literary Studies and the Creation Society</i>	283
<i>From Literary Revolution to Revolutionary Literature</i>	287
XII The New Thought and Re-evaluation of the Tradition	289
<i>The Hard Core of the Old Thought</i>	289
<i>New Thoughts: Realism, Utilitarianism, Liberalism, Individualism, Socialism, and Darwinism</i>	293
<i>New Methods: Pragmatic, Skeptical, and Agnostic Approaches and the Beginning of Marxist Influence</i>	297
<i>"Down with Confucius and Sons"</i>	300
XIII The New Thought and Later Controversies	314
<i>Doubts on Antiquity</i>	314
<i>Re-evaluation and Reorganization of the National Heritage</i>	317
<i>The Antireligious Movement</i>	320
<i>The Controversy over Eastern and Western Civilizations</i>	327
<i>The Polemic on Science and Metaphysics</i>	333
XIV Conclusion: Various Interpretations and Evaluations	338
<i>A Renaissance, Reformation, or Enlightenment — The Liberals' Views</i>	338
<i>A Catastrophe to China — Criticisms by the Conservative Nationalists and Traditionalists</i>	342
<i>An Anti-Imperialist and Antifeudal Movement Called Forth by Lenin — The Communist Interpretation</i>	347
<i>Who Led the Movement?</i>	355
<i>The Real Nature of the Movement — A Suggested Interpretation</i>	358
<i>Achievements and Shortcomings Reappraised</i>	361
<i>Some Further Considerations</i>	366
A Chronology of Relevant Events, 1914–1923	371
Appendixes	379
<i>A. A Brief Analysis of the Social Forces in the May Fourth Period</i>	379
<i>B. The Number of Schools and Students Involved in the May Fourth Incident</i>	384
<i>C. Universities and Colleges Involved in the May Fourth Incident</i>	386
<i>D. Data on Workers' Strikes in China, 1918–1926</i>	388
Notes	391
Index	457

THE MAY FOURTH MOVEMENT

