

学位論文要約

Life Histories of Chinese Students in Prewar
Tokyo Higher Normal School

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Introduction

The purpose of this study is to explore life histories of Chinese students in prewar Tokyo Higher Normal School.

One of the most striking phenomena in the recent history of China is the Chinese movement to study abroad. While previous studies have focused primarily on the merits of this movement, this study proposes to explore both the positive and negative aspects for a more well-rounded analysis. The history of Chinese people studying in Japan has been analyzed from political-historical (Shu 1927; Matsumoto 1931; Abe 1976) and cultural perspective (Saneto 1960; Li 1992), yet these studies are limited by their external perspective. More technical aspects such as instructions, curricula, and student-teacher relationships have not yet been studied.

In this study, the history of Chinese people studying in Japan is explored from a bottom-up perspective by using life history method. The life history method has been applied by sociologists and other scholars working in the humanities for over 110 years (Goodson 2001). As stated by Yamada, “The life history method is an approach to reconstruct individual’s experiences and life by focusing on individual’s interviews, autobiographies, diaries, etc. The method has the merit of exploring the dynamic relation between individual and society (Yamada 1997, 142).”

This study focused on life histories of Chinese students who entered Tokyo Higher Normal School (THNS) from 1908 to 1922 as a case study to explore (a) the experiences of officially-sent Chinese students in Japanese teacher training institutions, and (b) why there was a different image existed between Chinese and Japanese students regarding their identities as students of teacher training school. Jing (2005) pointed out that sending Chinese students to study in higher normal schools in Japan was a significant event in the training history of secondary school teachers in China; however, the vital question of what Chinese students learned in these schools has not been discussed appropriately. Thus, this study pays attention to the Chinese students who entered THNS under a contract signed by the two countries. According to the contract, THNS would accept 25 Chinese students annually between 1908 and 1922. As reflected by the amount of support provided to these students by the Chinese government, these students were venerated for their potential. As graduates of THNS, their contributions to the educational field in China has been emphasized (Jing 2000; 2005). On the other hand, Japanese students who also graduated

from higher normal schools were criticized by Japanese researchers (Funaki 1997 1998; Yamada 2002) because the academic cliques (*gakubatsu*) formed by the higher normal schools' graduates had negative influences on the society of secondary school teachers in Japan. To understand why there was a different image existed between Chinese and Japanese students, it was necessary to examine their life experiences in the school. Yamada (2006) stated that students in prewar higher normal schools were socialized as to be morally good teachers by focusing on a Japanese students' life history in Hiroshima Higher Normal School; whereas, the case of Chinese students in THNS has not been studied yet.

Therefore, this study was carried out to explore the experiences of Chinese students in THNS and to reconstruct the relations between Chinese students, THNS, and Chinese society. This study not only re-examines the influences of sending Chinese students to study in THNS through a bottom-up perspective, but also provides an understanding of the training history of secondary school teachers in the recent history of China by focusing on an elite group's pre-service stage.

Chapter 1 Chinese students of Tokyo Higher Normal School: quantitative analysis on their characteristics

To explore the historical background of Chinese students in THNS, this chapter introduced *The Special Deals of Five Schools* which signed by the Chinese and Japanese governments firstly and then analyzed history of these five schools about accepting Chinese students by focusing on number of applicants, enrollment, and admission ratio. Moreover, to analyze the attributes of Chinese students at THNS, Chinese students' native provinces in China, majors, and graduation number in the undergraduate course were also investigated. Indicated by highly competitive ratios of these five schools, those Chinese students admitted by these five schools were elites. In THNS's case, the admission ratio for the department of science was lower compared to the department of arts and up to 62.4% of Chinese graduates from 1919 to 1927 belonged to the department of arts.

In 1907, the Chinese and Japanese governments agreed to sign a contract to improve the education quality for Chinese students. This contract was called *The Special Deals of Five Schools*. According to this contract: 1) The First Higher School, Tokyo Higher Normal School, Tokyo Higher Industrial School, Yamaguchi Higher Commercial School,

and Chiba Medical School would accept 165 Chinese students annually between 1908 and 1922; 2) If the Chinese students could pass entrance examinations held by these five schools, the Chinese government would finance their tuition fees and living expenses.

Although the scholarship attracted Chinese candidates in Japan to apply for these five schools, there was a preference among the Chinese applicants. The First Higher School had the most applicants among three schools in Tokyo. However, these three schools in Tokyo were difficult to enter due to their higher competitive ratios in 15 years (except for some special circumstance, i.e. the Revolution of 1911 in China).

Those Chinese students who applied for THNS during 1914 to 1922 went through intense competition in the entrance examinations. Referring to *Bulletin of Tokyo Higher Normal School*, Chinese students who entered THNS between 1908 and 1922 came from both coast area and inland area of China. By applying data from *Annual Report of Ministry of Education*, it can be concluded that 1) the admission ratio for the department of science was lower compared to the department of arts, and 2) up to 62.4% of Chinese graduates from 1919 to 1927 belonged to the department of arts.

Chapter 2 Methodology in this study

Life history method has been applied from various perspectives, such as literature, history, social science (anthropology, psychology, and sociology), education, feminism, and minority (Smith 1994, 294). Inside the field of sociology, life history method has been applied since the 1920s. This method has its own rises and falls as the main methodology for qualitative research: Goodson (2001, 6-18) described it as the process of origins (1920-1930s), but declined it in the 1960s, and re-embraced it in the 1980s. It can be said that as a strand of biographical method in qualitative research, life history method shows its uniqueness and develops its methodology in the process against the positivism.

Compared to the positivism research, life history method was doubted as lack of “reality” and “objectivity”. The flaws of life history method, on the other hand, became another possibility to understand the humanity (Smith 1994) based on the individuals’ subjectivities rather than objective data. For the sociologists, applying the life history method is not merely to collect individuals’ stories, but in a further sense to seek the underlying connection between individuals’ lives to their societies. As Goodson stated, researchers use the life history method for three reasons: 1) The various dimensions of an

individual's life cannot be divided as they are actually influencing each other; 2) There is a crucial interactive relationship between individuals' lives, their perceptions and experiences, and historical and social contexts; 3) Individuals' subjectivities (such as how they construct their own identities and perceive their lives) in society can be seen through the life history studies (Goodson 2001, 2).

As the core approach conducted in life history studies, an interview is considered as an "ongoing" narrative project and treated as a "collaboration" between the life story teller (interviewee) and the life historian (interviewer) (Goodson 2001,84-88). Through the interviews, interviewees perceive themselves more clearly and give specific meanings into their lives. Therefore, researchers (e.g., Goodson et al, 1992) stress that the life history method can be applied in developing teachers' professional lives.

This study cannot apply the life history method in helping the interviewees reconstruct their subjectivities and develop their lives due to the temporal restrictions of this retrospective study. To explore what experiences that Chinese students had in THNS, this study collected the autobiographical data of Chinese students. By collecting autobiographical data and exploring what happened in the past, this study was carried out from the perspective of the oral history method. Yet, this study was not only aimed to find what happened in the past through the Chinese students' narratives, but also to reconstruct the Chinese students' subjectivities of having an identity as students who studied in a secondary teacher training institution and as officially-sent students who were highly anticipated by the Chinese government. To understand how Chinese students perceived their life experiences of studying in THNS and to analyze how Chinese students interacted with the society, this study took a perspective from the life history method.

Although researchers who have interests in the history of Chinese people studying in Japan rarely claim to use life history method, aspects of the life history method can be seen in their studies (e.g., Wu 2001; Tohoku University 2004; Wada et al, 2017). Major themes of these historical studies that include the life history method inquire about the experiences of Chinese students while studying in Japan and the resulting life stories acquired based on these experiences. Unfortunately, the heavy focus on successful figures who have made great contributions to China has hindered a better understanding for other Chinese students' stories. Rather than emphasizing famous figures and their contributions, Shimada (2015) focused on a Chinese student's experiences of studying in Waseda

University from 1931 to 1934 and how these experiences affected the Chinese student's life. Shimada claimed that although this Chinese student was regarded as a traitor in the history by Chinese people, the Chinese student's life was worth to be studied as an approach to understand the relation between China and Japan during the war time. The Chinese student's life should not be judged on whether he succeeded in his official career or not (Shimada 2005, 140-141). Even though Shimada's research is a rare case, it did provide another voice to understand the history.

In conclusion, to hear the unheard voices of Chinese students studying in prewar Japan, this study was intended to use the life history method and to collect the autobiographical data of Chinese students. In using the life history method, this study tried not only to explore what experiences Chinese students had in the school, but also to analyze how Chinese students built the relation with the historical and social contexts.

Chapter 3 Motivation of Chinese students to enter Tokyo Higher Normal School

Before analyzing Chinese students' life experiences in THNS, this chapter focuses on their motivations to enter the school. According to Chinese students' narratives (Tian 1936; Zhang 2000; Wu 1988; Qian 1990), decision of studying in Japan was made by their families based on the considerations of acquiring higher education and gaining scholarship from the Chinese government. Surprisingly, some of them (e.g., Tian, Zhang, and Wu) had no interests in becoming school teachers, they entered THNS solely for the scholarship. Thus, they expressed regrets for not taking the risk of applying for the First Higher School (FHS).

In the 1910s, students in China had less opportunity to obtain higher education if they were not living in major cities such as Beijing and Nanjing. Thus, scholarship offered by the Chinese government under the context of *The Special Deals of Five Schools* was regarded as a good opportunity for those students who just finished their studies in middle schools. To seize this chance, some families decided to send their children to study in Japan.

In order to obtain the scholarship setting for these five schools, Chinese students started preparing for entrance examinations of these five schools by applying several strategies after arrived in Tokyo. These strategies include attending preparatory schools specific to Chinese students, studying reference books related to the entrance

examinations, and hiring Japanese tutors.

As these five schools held their entrance examinations in different schedules, Chinese candidates could apply for all these five schools (Wu 1988; Qian 1990; Zhang 2000). However, these five schools also had different enrollment schedules; which means candidates who admitted by THNS could not attend entrance examinations of FHS because the time of THNS' enrollment was earlier than FHS' entrance examinations. Being afraid that they would fail in entrance examinations of FHS, Chinese students who passed the examinations of THNS chose to enter THNS expediently. Given that the fierce competition for entering FHS, it might be a wise decision to enter THNS, yet, for these students who made this decision, they expressed regrets in their reminiscences.

Chapter 4 Life experiences of Chinese students in Tokyo Higher Normal School: focus on the Chinese students in the Faculty of English

Whilst some Chinese students claimed that they were unwilling to become school teachers before they entered THNS, would they be processed as secondary school teachers through the education in THNS? It might be a significant point to understand the relationship between Chinese students and THNS. Thus, this chapter focuses on Chinese students' life experiences in the school, including what instructions and curriculum they were instructed and how they interacted with instructors. Furthermore, Chinese students' perceptions towards the school will be discussed. By focusing on the life stories of Tian Han (1898-1968, playwright and drama activist) and Qian Gechuan (1903-1990, English scholar), the instructions of the Faculty of English have been revealed as academic-biased, and the interactions between Tian and his instructor (Fukuhara Rintaro) were centered on studying English literature as well. It should be mentioned in this chapter that Chinese students expressed discontent against the school in terms of school status.

As students belonged to the Faculty of English, Tian Han and Qian Gechuan entered the faculty in different years. Qian recalled specifics of study experiences in his memoirs and Tian was pointed out that he had a close relationship with Fukuhara Rintaro in his classmates' reminiscences (see Zhang 1999; 2000). To reconstruct Chinese students' experiences in THNS, Qian and Tian's life stories have been focused in this chapter. Their life experiences can be described from two aspects: the instructions and curriculum of the school and the interaction with instructors. In the former aspect: 1) the special preparatory

course setting for the Chinese students was redundant and wasting their time; 2) the instructions of the faculty were focused on the study of English literature; 3) the learning method for the students was self-study centered. In the latter aspect, the relationship between Tian Han and Fukuhara Rintaro has been found, and their interactions were centered on studying English literature.

Based on the perceptions towards the school, Chinese students expressed dissatisfaction against the school. The discontent might be due to the instructions from the school. However, according to the narratives of Wu Yude (Wu 1988), another fundamental reason was the social status of THNS being lower than Imperial University. As noted by chapter 3, Some of Chinese students regretted the decision of not taking entrance examinations of FHS. Before these Chinese students entered THNS, they already sensed that they were not elites compared to the students who would enter Imperial University via FHS. Affected by the movement to promote the school status in THNS, Chinese students' discontent over the status of the school had been strengthened.

In short, although THNS was known as a teacher training institution for secondary school teachers, Chinese students accepted academic-biased instructions rather than professional-centered training from the school. In this sense, they could not construct a professional identity as secondary school teachers through the school education. Instead, Chinese students were affected by the movement to promote the school status in THNS and they expressed disappointment over the prestige of the school.

Chapter 5 Life experiences of Chinese students outside the school: focus on their romantic experiences

Chinese students' life experiences in THNS are revealed in chapter 4. In fact, in Hiroshima Higher Normal School, Japanese students also experienced academic-centered instructions from the school and the movement to promote the school status (Yamada 2006). However, different from Japanese students who were criticized for being strongly influenced by Japanese nationalism and having no free wills (Maki 1971; Funaki 1998), Chinese students were not affected by the strict discipline of the school and had more leisure time to experience Japanese society outside the school. Therefore, in this chapter, Chinese students' life experiences outside the school are analyzed by focusing on the romantic experiences of Tian Han and Qian Gechuan. Their romantic experiences were

affected by their studies of English literature in the school.

Chinese students entered THNS when they were young. Their romantic experiences might be one of the most important life experiences outside the school. More importantly, “love” (*ren'ai*) was a social trend in the Taisho era, which was not only discussed by the Taisho intellectuals but also practiced by ordinary young Japanese people (Kanno 2001). Under this social context, Chinese students were undoubtedly affected by this forming modern custom, as Qian Gechuan’s said, “We, students who study abroad, get affected by (the thoughts of) Kuriyagawa and perceived that “love is the best” (Qian 1990, 29).”

According to Qian, THNS was not strict with its foreign students (Qian 1990 61), thus he did not make much efforts on the study. As a student who majored in English, he read *Modern Views on Love* which wrote by a scholar of English literature----Kuriyagawa Hakuson(1880-1923). Kuriyagawa’s proposition on “love is the best” influenced Qian to pursue romance. Qian started a relationship with a Chinese girl who also studied in Tokyo, and then they got married in Tokyo.

Tian Han also married his girlfriend in Tokyo. However, his romantic experiences can be described in a wider sense. Tian had an interest in the thoughts of love and tried to enlighten Chinese youths to understand this modern concept. In Tian’s diary (Tian 1922), he expressed great interests in love issues and romantic news in Japan. Meanwhile, Tian also published several plays and articles referring to the love issues. These works have been viewed as being affected by the thoughts of love and female from the Japanese society (Yan 2013). However, this study found that Tian’s thoughts of love had been formed based on his relationship with his girlfriend and discussion with his friends about love. Moreover, Tian had gone through a process of constructing his thoughts about love. In the early stage of the process, he admired the concept of “love is the best” and pursued the pure love. While on the later stage, he understood the conflict between “soul” and “body” in love and asserted the thoughts of “soul and body in one” (*rei niku ichi*).

In summary, unlike Japanese students, Chinese students of THNS were not affected by the nationalism ethos from the school. Instead, they enjoyed their leisure times and experienced the Japanese society in their own ways. For Qian Gechuan and Tian Han, their romantic experiences in Japan had significance in their lives and can be viewed as being influenced by the school experiences of studying English literature.

Chapter 6 Careers of Chinese students after they returned to China

To explore the direct effects of studying in THNS, Chinese students' careers after they returned to China are analyzed in two steps: investigating their occupations in general and later focusing on the life history of Qian Gechuan and Tian Han. It was thought that Chinese graduates from THNS would work as secondary school teachers in China. However, from an investigation based on 128 Chinese graduates, the results showed that Chinese graduates had different career paths in comparison to Japanese graduates' career development.

According to "Foreign Graduates' List" from *Bulletin of Tokyo Higher Normal School*, there were 265 Chinese students graduated from the undergraduate course of THNS from 1911 to 1927. By using *Duxiu Database*, careers of 128 Chinese graduates were investigated. Chinese graduates' initial occupations were not limited to secondary schools. On the contrary, 21.8% of the graduates entered higher educational institutions, 17.2% of them were headmasters of middle schools and 36.8 % of them worked in national universities in their later careers. Chinese graduates' career paths were different from those of Japanese graduates from higher normal schools who kept their careers in the society of secondary school teachers in Japan (Yamada 2002). These Chinese students who graduated from THNS between 1908 and 1927 could attain higher positions easily in China. It can be said that the majority of Chinese graduates' careers deviated from the society of secondary school teachers. School system changes in China during 1904 to 1922 and the forming academic cliques in China affected these Chinese students' careers.

Furthermore, although up to 36.8% of the Chinese graduates worked in national universities in their late careers and the Chinese society perceived them as experts in Education due to their status as graduates of THNS, some of them did not perceive themselves as educators. By focusing on life histories of Tian Han and Qian Gechuan, the academic-centered instructions of THNS influenced their life pursuits profoundly. Thus, THNS chartered its Chinese graduates as experts in terms of Education in the Chinese society from the 1900s to 1920s. However, the academic-centered instructions influenced Chinese students' lives in another sense. In the cases of Tian Han and Qian Gechuan, they both perceived themselves as the literati.

Conclusion

Sending Chinese students to study in higher normal schools has been regarded as one of the significant ways for China to learn from Japan and establish its teacher training institutions (Jing 2000; 2005). However, what these government-funded students learned in the school and what their career paths were in China have not been studied yet. Particularly, this history was examined from the national perspective, individuals' subjectivities have been neglected and misunderstood for a long time.

This study explored life histories of those Chinese students who studied in THNS between 1908 and 1927 by focusing on their life stories when studying in THNS and their careers after they returned to China. Based on the analyses of 4 Chinese students' narratives and the investigation of 128 Chinese graduates' careers, this study reconstructed these Chinese students' life histories while placing them in the Chinese and the Japanese society they inhabit.

The different life histories between Chinese students and Japanese students shed light on role of THNS had played in different societies. In the Japanese society, higher normal school was regarded as a filter of the country (Maki 1971). Japanese students who entered higher normal schools were processed as "good" teachers through school education. As the school education was academic-centered, the norm of good teachers was instructed through implicit moral education in the school ethos (Yamada 2006). On the other hand, although THNS also chartered its Chinese graduates for the Chinese society, different from Japanese graduates whose occupations were limited to secondary schools, Chinese graduates were perceived as experts in Education by the Chinese society and their careers deviated from the society of secondary schools.

However, the study merely referred the former stage of the academic clique formed by graduates of THNS, their ideas of teacher training and practices in China have not yet been examined. Furthermore, the study took Chinese students who studied in THNS between 1908 and 1927 as a case study, Chinese students who entered Tokyo University of Arts and Sciences afterwards have not been explored. Also, in the future study, other Chinese government-funded students who studied in the First Higher School, Tokyo Industrial School, and Chiba Medical School based on *The Special Deals of Five school* need to be mentioned as a comparative study.