A Study on the Interaction Between Gender Morality and Free Love in Early 20th Century: Centered on Du Cheng Shu & Qu Jiang's Love Letter

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Abstract

This article attempts to answer the question of "love" and why it has been prohibited from entering the public sphere in Chinese history. This article takes the "Love Letter Incident" as a case study and uses the process tracking method to analyze the love letter incident between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang. In this event, various social groups interacted on this matter, so this article horizontally compared the thinking and self-expression of young men and women in the face of love issues and vertically explored the premature and delayed disclosure of love issues under the trend of gender equality in China since the early 20th century. However, in China at the beginning of the 20th century, the issue of love still faced scrutiny from traditional Chinese gender morality and morality, making it difficult for love issues to be made public. This article finds that in early 20th-century China. The concept of "gender equality" accompanied by China's modernization movement (May Fourth Movement) was valued by society, and the morality of "gender equality" has never been established. However, Chinese society still maintains an unfriendly attitude towards women, and the perception of gender inequality is still considered normal.

Keywords: Early 20th Century China, Gender Morality, "Publicization" of Love, Public Sphere, Feminism in China



Introduction

In traditional Chinese society, sexual morality between men and women often cannot enter the public sphere, and the issue of love has always been seen as "informal communication". However, in late 19th century China, social changes ushered in a shift in the public-private boundaries of traditional male-female sexual morality. With the modernization of learning from the West, the culture of free love has also prompted men and women to try to "public" the interaction of mutual love. However, "freedom of love" is at odds with the traditional Chinese morality of male and female sexuality. In the definition of traditional Chinese morality of male and female sexuality, the relationship between men and women needs to maintain a certain distance. Especially for men and women who are not in a marital relationship, are not allowed to hand over items to each other, which means that "men and women give and receive without marriage". This idea symbolizes that love between men and women cannot become a formal public issue. In addition, with the entry of Western media into Chinese society since the 19th century, newspapers have become a field for the public to express their opinions. Due to the public nature of the field of newspapers, people tend to believe that their issues refer more to "important issues of the country and society", but overlook that as citizens, their issues such as "public opinion" and "love" are also part of the country and society. Although China was transforming from a "dynastic state" to a "national state" from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, its social transformation was driven by state power, but its moral standards remained stagnant.

Unlike the traditional love between men and women presented in letters and love tokens, the active or passive communication of love between men and women in the field of newspapers and magazines is more public, adding constraints and responsibilities of public issues to love writing. In traditional China, the exchange of love letters between men and women is more about the free expression of emotions in the private field, and there is little discussion on topics other than expressing good feelings. In the correspondence between Qu Jiang (屈疆) and Du Chengshu (杜成淑), the male protagonist links the issue of China's elimination of the traditional system with seeking love from girls, and endows men and women with symbolic significance for achieving free love. In 20th-century China, men who opposed feudal ethics hoped to actively break free from the constraints of old sexual morality on women, and in action, hoped to help women realize their self-worth. This is because men believed that women's liberation was an important link for China to move towards democracy and prosperity.

Qu Jiang's love letter is not a traditional love letter text, but a manifesto mixed with men's imagination and expectations of new sexual morality in the era of new and old changes. The occurrence of Qu Jiang's love letter incident is a representative event of the transformation of new and old ideas in 20th-century China. Based on Xia Xiaohong's(夏晓虹)(Xia,2014) article "New Education and Old Morals - Taking Du Chengshu's Refusal to Qu Jiang's Letter as an Example", this article combs and analyzes the historical materials of the Qu Jiang Love Letter incident, and relies on three letters exchanged between Qu Jiang and Du Chengshu: "Qu Jiang's Original Letter", "Du Chengshu, Secretary of the Chinese Women's Association of Sichuan Female School Students, Answers to Qu Qiang's Secret Letter of the School Student", and "Reply to Du Chengshu's Letter of the Female Student", Exploring the writing and consideration of love issues by young men and women in the late Qing Dynasty, and further exploring the reasons for the alienation and distortion of love issues after entering the public sphere. In February 1907, during the Spring Festival holiday, Qu Jiang, a student of the Beijing Translation School (京师译学堂), saw Du Chengshu, a student of the Sichuan

Female School (四川女子学堂) who was selling books to aid in relief on the street in a tea house. Qu Jiang personally wrote a letter, and the next day, Du Chengshu sent Qu Jiang's original letter to the Beijing Translation School for supervision. Qu Jiang was immediately punished with expulsion.

Later, Qu Jiang wrote a letter to Du Chengshu and exchanged answers with Qu&Du and the two of them about the original letter. Qu Jiang eventually dropped out of school and left Beijing, and Du Chengshu became embroiled in a debate over the clarification of her identity by the Chinese Women's Association (中国妇人会). Therefore, this article focuses on the love letter incident between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang in 1907, attempting to answer why the issue of "love" between men and women, as Chinese "citizens", was always considered an issue that could not be openly discussed until the early 20th century. Why did the relationship between gender and public-private boundaries in Chinese society at the beginning of the 20th century not modernize?

It should be noted that although many scholars believe there was no "citizen" identity in China during the late imperial period, this article believes that the early 20th century was a period of transformation in China. To become a modern country, China has gradually westernized and is trying to establish its own "Civic Culture". "Civic Culture" encompasses equality before the law and the personal equality of all citizens including gender morality (Almond, 2008). It can be said that in the early 20th century, gender morality in China engaged in a game between tradition and modernity, but the results of practice did not have much impact on traditional Chinese gender morality.

Research Method

This article uses the process tracking method to conduct a causal analysis of the process of publicizing love issues in the public sphere and then reveals the reasons for the failure of publicizing love issues.

- 1. Track the interaction process of love letters between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang
- 2. Analyzing how the love letters between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang have moved towards the public sphere
- 3. Tracking how the public sphere provided feedback on the love letter incident between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang
- 4. Why did the issue of "love" fail in China's social transformation

Concept Definition

Traditional gender morality: In the private sphere, traditional Chinese women need to obey the three obediences and four virtues(三从四德) and follow the arrangements of their father and husband before and after marriage, and after the husband's death, they need to follow the arrangements of their son(在家从父,出嫁从夫,夫死从子,即三从). Women need to pay attention to the cultivation of four abilities: moral character, language, appearance, and sewing (the four virtues refer to women's moral character, language, demeanor, and Needlework)(妇德、妇言、妇容、女红,即四德). "Male leads outside, female leads inside" (男主外,女主內)refers to the participation of men in social and public affairs, women in household chores, and the need for women to be husband's "virtuous assistants" (贤内助) in the private field. The traditional discipline of "women without talent are virtuous"(女子无才 便是德) deprives women of the right to receive equal education as men. "Women's Virtue" (女德) and "Women's Training" (女训) were textbooks for ancient women, aimed at educating them to become qualified wives and mothers.

Research Hypothesis & Theory

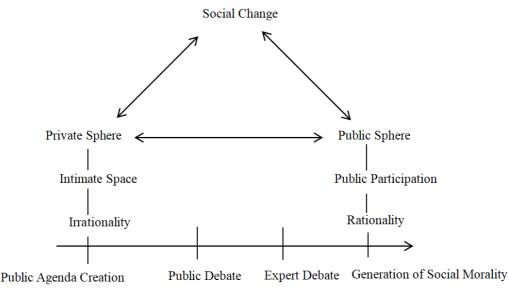
This article attempts to integrate Robert Cox's environmental communication theory with Pan Yaling's (潘亚玲) (Pan,2019) international norm generation theory, and construct a new analytical framework to examine the interaction between social change and the public sphere. Pan Yaling's normative generative model is a construction of the public sphere (Pan,2008). Pan Yaling's specification generation model is based on Barry Buzan's security theory, believing that specification generation is a process of security (Buzan, et. al,2020). The so-called "security" refers to the process of designating and accepting a "threat". For example, when a threat is presented as an "existential threat" that requires taking measures beyond normal political procedures but can be considered legitimate and urgent, securitization occurs. When explaining the generation of international norms, the theory of security needs to identify four types of actors, namely: the security actors of security operations, the referents of security that need to be protected, threat agents, and ordinary listeners. The implementers of security are similar to advocates of norms, and threat agents are similar to normative opponents; The referent and audience sometimes overlap, often in a passive position in the process of security and standardization generation. The generation of international norms often goes through four stages.

H 1: With the occurrence of social change, issues in the private sector are gradually breaking the gender divide between public and private. After breaking the gender divide between public and private, the original symbolic actions were challenged. The new agenda and social change jointly challenge the old moral norms, and the public sphere targeting this issue is also taking shape at this time.

H 2: As the issue breaks the divide between public and private, issues that originally belonged to the private domain begin to enter the discussion of civic morality. At this stage, public debate determines whether the issue can attract the attention of experts.

H 3: If an issue enters the stage of expert debate, it represents that the issue has received sufficient attention from social and national elites. At the same time, this also indicates an increased opportunity for new issues to become new ethical norms, and during this period, issues of practice and risk will be discussed.

H 4: Entering the stage of social morality generation indicates that this issue has become a new social consensus. This social consensus is recognized by the state and society, and at the same time, the state and society may ensure the legitimacy of new morals in the form of institutions. After establishing legitimacy, feedback will be given to the changing environment (As shown in Figure 1).



Source: Created by the author

Result

1. The Integration of New and Old Education in China at the Beginning of the 20th Century

In ancient China, women were confined to the private sphere and unable to enter the public sphere. Women have not obtained legal status equivalent to adult men in the private sphere, and women are excluded from the public sphere. It provides opportunities for women to break the traditional moral norms of the three obediences and four virtues (三从四德) and lays the foundation for women to move from the private sphere to the public sphere.

Du Chengshu is a student at the Sichuan Female School in Beijing. After discussion, Sichuan officials from Beijing decided to establish a women's school through joint efforts and funding from the Sichuan Association (四川同乡会) to adapt to the new situation of women's education development(Ching Hua Jih Pao,1906). In April 1906, the Sichuan Female School opened. Wang Shanquan (王善荃), Du Deyu (杜德與), and Sichuan officials residing in Beijing provided financial support to the Sichuan Female School(Ching Hua Jih Pao,1906). Under the influence of the issue of saving the nation and striving for survival in the late Qing Dynasty, in terms of public morality, the School emphasized the need to cultivate female students into "female citizens" (Nü Kuo Min,女国民), indicating that the Sichuan Female School was founded with a strong sense of social responsibility. To raise the awareness of female students towards the responsibility of female citizens, the campus of Sichuan Female School is specially located at the site of the Qin Liangyu (秦良玉) Memorial Hall of the Ming Dynasty female general from Sichuan.

But in terms of gender morality, the school brochure continues the ancient Chinese norm that men and women should not engage in private contact. The teaching purpose of the school is to teach women modern general knowledge based on inheriting traditional female virtues. (Da Kung Pao,1906). All teachers and workers in the school are women, and parents of students need to dispatch maids to be responsible for the transportation of students to and from school. The school sends patrol police to protect students on their way to and from school. The emphasis placed by Sichuan Female School on the personal safety of female students was aimed at reducing the probability of female students having contact with men during school and between the first and second semesters (Da Kung Pao,1906).

In terms of gender morality, Du Chengshu adheres to the traditional gender morality of gender segregation. Compared to Qu Jiang's way of sending letters on a date, Du's Letter proposed a more reasonable acquaintance plan than sending love letters privately. Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang are very close to the tea stall, and if Qu Jiang has a good impression of Du Chengshu, he can express his feelings in front of her. After obtaining the consent of his elders, they can start a relationship (Shun T'ien Shih Pao, 1907). Du's Letter refuted the statements in Qu Jiang's letter that the two had already communicated, and unilaterally declared and self-proved the fact that the two had never had any communication. Du Chengshu emphasized the need to record detailed information about guests when meeting them and informed her elders, but Qu Jiang's name was not included in Du Chengshu's meeting records, so the two had never met before. Qu Jiang mentioned in his letter that he had known Du Chengshu for nearly a year. Du Chengshu denied this point. In terms of public morality, Du Chengshu believes that women should bear social responsibility, and Qu Jiang's practice of sending love letters privately interferes with women's pursuit of social value. Du's letter believed that Qu Jiang's private delivery of a love letter to Du Chengshu was disrespectful to her personality. Du Chengshu believes that during the Spring Festival holiday, selling books to raise funds in the cold wind is a heroic act for women to shoulder social responsibility (Shun T'ien Shih Pao,1907). Qu Jiang's act of sending love letters privately hinders women from realizing their social value.

In Du Chengshu's letter, there is an ideal of being willing to take on social responsibility and participate in the cause of saving the nation like men. Du Chengshu tends to be open in public morality, but conservative in gender morality. Du Chengshu's gender morality lags behind public morality.

The Beijing Translation School where Qu Jiang is located, although a modern school, has not achieved modernization in gender morality. The training program of Beijing Translation School is representative of China's modern schools in the 20th century. The teaching purpose of Beijing Translation School is to cultivate diplomatic talents who are suitable for China's modernization construction. The Beijing Translation School was established after the School of Combined Learning(京师同文馆) and is one of the three affiliated institutions of The Imperial University of Peking(京师大学堂)(Wu,2020). As a student of the Translation School, Qu Jiang tends to have an open attitude towards gender morality.

In terms of gender morality, Qu Jiang tends to break the social norms of gender segregation. In Qu Jiang's love letter writing, he took advantage of the recent trend of open communication between men and women to explain the rationality of delivering love letters. In the beginning, Qu Jiang talked about the current situation of gender segregation in China. Apart from the communication between opposite-sex relatives in the private sector, there are no public and legal opportunities for communication between men and women in the public sector (Chin Pao,1907a).

Qu Jiang also claimed to have made friends with female friends in Suzhou(苏州) and Shanghai(上海), to compare the strict customs of the North. At the same time, he also

expressed his open attitude towards men's and women's communication (Pei Ching Jih Pao,1907). Qu Jiang positioned the letter to Du Chengshu as a normal category of heterosexual communication between men and women and pointed out that there should not be too many restrictions on heterosexual communication. After being repelled by the Beijing Translation School and Du Chengshu publicly disclosing Qu Jiang's original letter, Qu Jiang once again talked about his attitude and principles towards male and female communication in his letter "Reply to Du Chengshu's Letter of the Female Student" (覆女学生杜成淑书). Qu Jiang learned about the etiquette of Western men's and women's communication. As long as men and women feel good about each other after meeting, they can communicate and chat. If they feel suitable, they can continue to socialize. If not, they can separate, this type of communication method is not uncommon (Qu,1907). If we follow the rules of Western male-female communication, Qu Jiang's behavior of writing a letter to Du Chengshu and inviting the park is not considered excessive.

In terms of public morality, Qu Jiang believes that learning Western male-female communication is also an important part of China's modernization. Qu Jiang talked about the current situation of male and female communication in China, where there are no public or legal opportunities for communication between men and women in the public sphere, except for communication between relatives of the opposite sex in the private domain. Qu Jiang believes that since China has already learned advanced Western ideas, the transformation of male-female communication is necessary and should not be prohibited. At the end of Qu Jiang's writing, there was a desire to seek freedom abroad and vent his inner dissatisfaction. In Qu Jiang's love letter writing, he took advantage of the recent trend of open communication between men and women to describe the rationality of sending love letters. Qu Jiang's love letter conveys the hope for the modernization of Chinese male-female communication, which reflects the synchronization of Qu Jiang's public morality and gender morality.

2. The Publicization of the Qu Du Incident and Public Sphere Comments on the Qu Du Incident

After receiving a love letter from Qu Jiang, Du Chengshu handed over Qu Jiang's original letter to the principal of the Beijing Translation School, marking the beginning of the publicity of the Qu&Du incident. On 22 February 1907, Du Chengshu received a handwritten letter from Qu Jiang, a student from the Beijing Translation School, while selling books to raise funds for the disaster area. On 23 February 1907, Du Chengshu submitted Qu Jiang's original letter to Zhang Qin, the supervisor of the Beijing Translation School, and wrote a letter to Zhang Qin outlining the negative impact of Qu Qiang's behavior of seducing girls. Du Chengshu pointed out that Qu Jiang's private delivery of letters not only damaged Du Chengshu's reputation but also related to the reputation of the Beijing Translation School and the Chinese Women's Association (Chin Pao,1907). Qu Jiang's behavior greatly insulted Du Chengshu, who was the secretary of the Chinese Women's Association. On the afternoon of February 24th, Principal Zhang Qin replied that Qu Jiang had violated Article 8 of the Student Code of the Translation School and was punished with dropping out of school. The punishment of Qu Jiang by the Beijing Translation School was publicly posted in the school on the morning of the 24th (Sheng Ching Shih Pao,1907).

Du Chengshu published Qu Jiang's letter in the newspaper, marking the deepening of the publicity of the Qu Du incident. With the support of newspapers, public debates were able to open up. Du Chengshu handed over Qu Jiang's original letter to the principal of the Translation School and also sent the letter to major newspapers and magazines, hoping that

the editor could make it public. It can be seen that Du Chengshu had already made it public before the Translation School punished Qu Jiang. On February 26th, Beijing's Shun T'ien Shih Pao published a secret letter from Qu Qiang, a student at the Sichuan Female School, answered by Du Chengshu, the secretary of the Chinese People's Association. This is one of the earliest newspapers to publish Du Chengshu's original letter, and on the same day, Shun T'ien Shih Pao published news of Qu Jiang's overthrow. After the Shun T'ien Shih Pao made public the private delivery of love letters by Qu Jiang, newspapers such as Pei Ching Jih Pao (北京日报), the Tianjin's Chin Pao(津报), The Chung Kuo Hsin Nü Chieh Tsa Chih (中国新 女界杂志), and the Sheng Ching Shih Pao (盛京时报) reported on it. On March 5th, Shun T'ien Shih Pao published Qu Jiang's "Reply to Female Student Du Chengshu". The coverage of love letters in these newspapers has extended personal disputes in the private domain to the public sphere.

The criticism of Qu Jiang's behavior by Sheng Ching Shih Pao is lighter compared to that of Chung Kuo Hsin Nü Chieh Tsa Chih. The annotation of Qu Jiang's love letters by China New Women's Magazine adds personal likes and dislikes of the editor, and the criticism of Qu Jiang goes beyond the principle of dealing with facts and rises to the level of personal attacks. The Chinese New Women's Magazine added annotations after each sentence of Qu Jiang's original text. The editor of the Chinese New Women's Magazine believes that Qu Jiang's so-called study abroad in Shanghai, Suzhou, and other places is not a real study abroad. Qu Jiang mentioned in his love letter that he has several female close friends, and the editor of the Chinese New Women's Magazine believes that people with excellent qualities will not make friends with Qu Jiang (Chung Kuo Hsin Nü Chieh Tsa Chih,1907). The degree of criticism towards Qu Jiang varies among newspapers due to their different positions. This is because under the blending of new and old ideological trends, the definition of new and old sexual morality by the general public is still being explored, and the boundaries between new and old sexual morality are not yet clear.

Zhang Xincheng's (张心瀓) recollection of Qu Jiang being expelled differs from what was written in Du Chengshu's letter at that time. Due to the possibility of misplaced memories, Zhang Xincheng's intuitive perception of Qu Jiang dropping out of school also proves the general understanding of the public and private domains of men and women in the late Qing Dynasty, that is, women are not the protagonists who publicly release messages about their love (The Literature and History Materials Committee,2000). Zhang Xincheng was a student at the Beijing Translation School. In Zhang Xincheng's recollection, he believed that after seeing Du Chengshu staring at him, Qu Jiang thought Du was interested in him, so he wrote a letter to Du Chengshu and accused Qu Jiang of being Du Chengshu's father rather than Du Chengshu. It is impossible to verify whether Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang had an intention, as Zhang Xincheng said. However, from Zhang Xincheng's recollection, it can be seen that in the social context of 1907, women generally could not act as fully responsible individuals to defend themselves in the public domain.

Although the reports in the newspapers are mostly criticisms of Qu Jiang, Du Chengshu, as a party involved in the incident, inevitably cannot escape the fate of being criticized. With the increasing criticism of Qu Jiang in the newspapers. The Chinese Women's Association has also published a newspaper to clarify whether Du Chengshu is the Secretary of the Women's Association. On March 18, 1907, the Nanyang Branch of the Chinese Women's Association published an article stating that although Du Deyu and his wife were extremely concerned about fundraising for disaster relief, Du Chengshu, the daughter of Du Deyu, was not a member of the Chinese Women's Association, nor was she the secretary of the Chinese

Women's Association (Shih Pao,1907a). On March 30th, Tianjin's Chin Pao published an original letter from the Nanyang China Women's Association Branch Office to the President of the Beijing Women's Association, Ying Shuzhong (英淑仲). The letter stated that at the fundraising site, due to insufficient staff, Du Chengshu's mother was appointed as a temporary organizer, and Du Chengshu also served as the temporary volunteer secretary. Chinese women believe that if the identity of Du Chengshu is not clearly stated, the spread of rumors about the love letter incident will cause discussions among female officials, thereby affecting the overall reputation of the female official community.

The Chinese Women's Association (中国妇人会) has repeatedly published newspapers claiming that Du Chengshu is not the secretary of the Women's Association. Du Chengshu's father, Du Deyu, immediately published a newspaper claiming that his wife Huang Mingxun (黄铭训) had established The Chinese Female's Association (中国妇女会), leading to the division between the Chinese Women's Association and the Du Huang couple(Shih Pao,1907b). Faced with some rumors and criticisms in the public sphere, the Chinese Women's Association did not side with Du Chengshu, but instead adopted a way to maintain the reputation of the Chinese Women's Association by drawing a clear line with her, thereby strengthening traditional gender morality. From the attitude of the Women's Association mentioned above, we can see that as a relatively authoritative women's group in early 20th century China, the Women's Association still holds a conservative attitude towards women's self-expression in the public of China, there is not much room for Chinese society to accommodate the issue of love in the public sphere (As shown in Table 1).

	Chinese	Beijing	Chinese New	Ta Kung Pao
	Women's	Translation	Women's	and other
	Association	School	Magazine	media
Qu	against	against	against	against
Jiang(Male)				
Du Chengshu	against	supported	neutral	supported
(Female)	_			

Table 1. Chinese society to accommodate the issue of love in the public sphere

Source: Created by the author

During the public debate, after the principal of the Beijing Translation School expelled Qu Jiang, the newspaper's coverage of the Qu Jiang love letter incident inevitably impacted Du Chengshu, who was involved in the incident. The Chinese Women's Association published a newspaper claiming that Du Chengshu was not the secretary of the Women's Association. The Chinese Women's Association's approach to clarifying the relationship with Du Chengshu is in opposition to her open letter, believing that the ambiguous relationship between Du Chengshu and Qu Jiang discussed in the newspaper is damaging to the reputation of The Chinese Women's Association. The public authorities, represented by the Beijing Translation School and The Chinese Women's Association, hold a critical attitude towards the love letter incident, believing that Qu Jiang's love letter appeared in the public domain, damaging their respective reputations. Through punishment of the parties involved in the incident, indirectly reflects the maintenance of traditional sexual morality. As a result, the ambiguous gender morality of the new and old transformation eras becomes clear, new sexual morality is criticized, and traditional gender morality is strengthened.

Conclusion

In the process of transitioning from the private domain to the public domain and achieving publicization, the issue of love and affection needs to go through four stages: public agenda creation, public debate, expert debate, and the formation of new social morality. This article uses the process tracking method to analyze Qu&Du's Love Letter incident in 1907, and compares it with Han&Yang's incident at Peking University in 1924, attempting to explain the reasons for the failure of public realization of the love issue, exploring which stage of publicization the issue of love has been discontinued. Research has found that Qu&Du's Love Letter incident began with the creation of a public agenda on love issues after Du Chengshu made the love letter public. In the public debate, traditional gender morality has always dominated, manifested in the suppression of Du Chengshu, who attempted to use new gender morality, by the public power represented by the Chinese Women's Association, thereby destroying opportunities for the continued development of new gender morality. Traditional gender morality has been strengthened, and the love letter incident ended with Qu Jiang dropping out of school and Du Chengshu's reputation being damaged.

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