

The Civilization Consciousness and Imagination Landscape of Guangdong in the Late Ch'ing Dynasty and the Early Republic of China: A Case Study of Guangdong Education Museum^{*}

LIU Yanhong

Guangdong University of Education, Guangzhou, China

After the “restoration” of Guangdong Province in 1912, the government has been working hard to construct an advanced and civilized city image of Guangdong Province. In October of the same year, the Guangdong Education Museum, which is located in the Department of Education of Guangdong Province, opened in a hurry, trying to inspire a new chapter in the understanding of Chinese civilization with educational models. This paper attempts to explore the cultural relationship between the exhibition mode, exhibition logic, social activities, human cognition, and urban space through a case study of the development of the regional museum. On the one hand, the development of its form paradigm has gone through the superposition of the texts and practical experience of the construction of the Oriental Learning and Education Museum, the exhibition of educational products in 1904, the Nanyang Business Association in 1910, the Guangdong Education Conference, etc., and various related museum experience and cultural behaviors have been highlighted, forming a standardized exhibition of Educational Museum; on the other hand, Zhong Rongguang and others have created an exhibition of Educational Museum in the social activities of “model province”, Guangdong Education Museum, as an important cultural index of Guangzhou, the capital city of Guangdong Province, constituted an important landscape of the metropolis in the early Republic of China, thus shaping and influencing the social and cultural space tone of Guangzhou after the 1920s.

Keywords: Guangdong education museum, exhibition, metropolitan city, social landscape

Preface

In modern China, the concept of education museum was introduced and put into practice, which began with the regulations that “Grade-A normal schools should have an education museum” in *Qinding School Regulations* (Ren-Yin schooling system) and *Zouding School Regulations* (Gui-mao schooling system) promulgated by the Ch'ing court in the early twentieth century. The Regulations involved all aspects of school education and life at that time, and the core spirit of the main body came from Japan. However, as early as the 27th year of Guangxu's reign (1901), the imperial court had issued an order to establish schools, and the governor-general of Hu-Guang, Zhang Zhidong, once sent Luo Zhenyu and others to Japan for intensive educational inspections. According to the inspection results and the practical measures after returning home,

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LIU Yanhong, Ph.D., Associate Professor, major in History, Museology and Material Culture Studies, Department of Politics and Law, Guangdong University of Education, Guangzhou, China.

Hunan, Tianjin, and Guangdong became the pioneers of education museum experiments, starting the process of establishing a model display of Chinese education and cultural progress¹. Located in the south of the Five Ridges, Guangdong was not too late for the development of its people's wisdom and regional concept. Guangzhou Municipal Museum (founded in 1929), the first cultural relics exhibition in Guangzhou, and Guangdong Cultural Relics Exhibition in the 1940s have fully demonstrated its ambition for Guangdong culture and Guangzhou's status as a political and cultural center (Ding, 2017, p. 66). However, in the late Ch'ing Dynasty and the early Republic of China for about 20 years, the development of Guangdong's educational culture experienced the process of traveler stories, educational borrowing, policy implementation, and internalization and localization (Yang, 1975, pp. 79-85), in which the construction, rise and fall of Guangdong Education Museum could be regarded as a typical case². However, it existed for an extremely short period of time, only two years from its opening in October 1912 to its end in 1914. Therefore, none of the past scholars has conducted special research on it, and the existing researches are mostly attached to the First Education Conference of Guangdong, and slightly mentioned from the perspective of the social and educational significance of the work of Guangdong Department of Education at that time³ (Zhou, 2001; 2003; 2007; 2011). This paper focuses on the shaping of the civilization consciousness of the provincial capital, the superposition of multiple historical research paradigms, and the understanding of the social landscape of the museum exhibition, to understand the significance of the construction of Guangdong Education Museum from multiple perspectives.

Although Guangdong Education Museum occupied only two rooms in the east side pavilion of the Department of Education, the actual public space it presented was by no means limited to this. The operation and development of Guangdong Education Museum involved the education museum, surrounding supporting facilities and activities carried out in the Department of Education. It may seem to be built hastily, but its establishment was backed by historical experience and theoretical origin. Specifically, within the framework of body and use, the historical background displayed by Guangdong Education Museum was exactly the beginning of the new-style education implementation after the New Deal, and the imitative manufacturing trend of educational supplies brought by the sharp market demand for school educational supplies. Its development was the progressive superposition of Guangdong Education Museum inheriting Tokyo Educational Museum, educational supplies exhibition, and Nanyang Industrial Exposition, which fully demonstrated the diverse aspects of its museum exhibition history⁴.

¹ In the 30th year of Guangxu's reign (1904), Hunan Library and Education Museum was completed and opened. In the same year, Guangdong Student Affairs Division also opened an exhibition hall for books and educational supplies. In the 31st year of Guangxu's reign (1905), Tianjin Educational Supplies Exhibition Hall was completed and opened. In the 34th year of Guangxu's reign (1908), an education museum was also established in Tai'an, Shandong. The construction of these education museums is regarded as an important sign of the initial establishment of the career of education museums in China.

² Guangdong Education Museum specifically refers to the education museum opened on October 10, 1912 in the "Provincial Capital" of Guangzhou at the Department of Education. Since the display of the Department of Education was referred to as the "Education Museum" in the *Min Sheng Daily* and *Guangdong Education Bulletin* many times, the word "Guangdong" is added in this paper to distinguish it from Tianjin Education Museum in 1905.

³ Zhou Xingliang has been concerned about the research on modern Chinese political parties and associations and the educational activities of the Republic of China for a long time. The part of his research involving Guangdong education has a brief discussion on the situation of Guangdong Education Museum.

⁴ Tokyo Educational Museum refers to Tokyo Museum built in the 4th year of Meiji (1871), and was renamed the Education Museum in 1877. Educational supplies exhibitions specifically refer to exhibitions displaying education supplies, such as the "Book and Education Supplies Exhibition Hall" in 1904. Guangdong Education Museum of Nanyang Industrial Exposition refers to "Guangdong Education Museum" in the special hall of Nanyang Industrial Exposition in 1910. Nanyang Industrial Exposition also had an "Education Hall" in its main hall, and "Guangdong Education Hall" was set up for there were too many education supplies in Guangdong.

Historically, most of the researches on museology have paid attention to the history of the development of museums. In terms of research on the system, education museum, as a part of the museum system, responded more to the call for building a “national educational relics museum” in the early 21st century, which had historical continuity and the need for verification of historical status and value. In the early days, there were special chapters on the historical development of education museums in Chen Duanzhi’s (1936) *General Theories of Museology* and Fei Gengyu and Fei Hongnian’s (1948) *Introduction to Museology*. Special research on the development of education museums in the late Ch’ing Dynasty and the early Republic of China mainly included the regional case discussions of Li Jun (2015; 2017) and Li Fei (2014; 2018). According to the similarity of the display contents of museums, education halls, educational supplies exhibition halls, and transcript exhibitions were inevitably involved when mentioning education museums, with a common feature of being related to schools, teaching, and students. On the whole, the researches on education museums were not given sufficient attention in terms of conceptual understanding, disciplinary development, or research horizons.

Putting the development history of education museums in the global vision, it reveals more research and disciplinary trends. Shiina Sentaku (1993) pointed out in *The Development History of Japanese Museums*: “The world’s first education museum was the Education Museum in Toronto established in Canada in 1853” (pp. 56-59); since then, education museums have been established all over the world (Shiina, 1993). In the article “Education Museum in Toronto in the 1950s”, Chieko Mizogami (2007) believed that one of the achievements of the World Exposition in the 19th Century was the formation of educational collections in education museums. In other words, many education museums were set up to collect the collections of expositions or to commemorate their holding. Martin Lawn’s (2009) compilation of *Modelling the Future: Exhibitions and Materiality of Education* outlined the process where large-scale exhibitions and world expositions in the 19th and 20th centuries affected the trend of education system through exhibits, spaces, classification standards, and systems. The author believed that the role of world exhibitions in the 19th and 20th centuries was to confirm the relationship between nation-states and modernity, in which the educational collection represented the best model and standard for the future of countries, displaying the identity of nation-states in a visible space. Unlike schools, this model presented a side of comparative education, and elaborated on classification and genealogies, while the logic of discourse behind it was also an expression of political consciousness.

From the Outside to the Inside: Citing the Experience of Tokyo Educational Museum

Concept and Management of Tokyo Educational Museum

As the predecessor of the current National Science Museum, Tokyo Educational Museum was founded in 1877 and was considered to be the eleventh educational museum founded in the world at that time. Shiina Sentaku’s believed in research that the main builder of the museum was Tanaka Fuzimaro. In his early years, Tanaka was active in Bakumatsu; in 1867, he served in the new government and was dispatched by Tokugawa Shogunate to participate in the Paris Exposition and investigate the museum. In 1871, Tanaka was appointed as an official in the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and he also served as a member of the Iwakura Mission. He went to Europe and the United States to investigate the Western education system and wrote the *Report on the Centennial Exposition Education of the United States*. During his participation in the Exposition, Tanaka learned about the advanced educational system at the time, especially

the operating experience of educational museum exhibitions, and he began to build the Tokyo Educational Museum after returning home.

Research suggests that the development of Tokyo Educational Museum was divided into two stages. In the first stage, Tokyo Educational Museum was a product of the era when expositions prevailed and the global compulsory education system was formed. In 1873, the Japanese government set up the Bureau of Exposition Affairs that was merged with the Museum of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, and established a new antiquities museum, animal, plant, and mineral exhibition hall in Uchisange. In 1875, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology established Tokyo Museum at the original location of the Museum of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, which was renamed several times later and finally named Tokyo Educational Museum. Many collections of this period were purchased from abroad via international exhibitions, such as the Exposition Universally de Paris in 1878 and London International Health Exhibition in 1884. From the perspective of display categories, the exhibits were collected from various countries, with no obvious collection rule; from the perspective of display methods, foreign exhibits and domestic exhibits were mixed up, and foreign items were placed next to domestic imitations to show the audience the future direction for Japanese education (Kayoko, 2009). Thus it can be seen that the early educational museums were not only a “showroom” of modern education, but also a “laboratory or factory” of new equipment to enlighten citizens’ science education idea.

In the second stage, Tokyo Educational Museum moved to Ueno Park in 1882, and was transferred to the Ministry of Imperial Household from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Most of the museum was renamed Tokyo Imperial Museum (the predecessor of Tokyo National Museum today), and the Education Section was moved to Yushima Daisei Hall in 1889, attached to the Higher Normal School with smaller scale. Scholars generally believe that this marked the end of Tokyo Educational Museum’s leadership of modern education in Japan, which turned into an educational venue for scholars, teachers, and students. Compared with the “citizen education institution” in the early period, the nature of the museum was closer to a “normal education institution” in the later period.

Tokyo Education and Museum Exhibition in the Documentary Vision of the People Traveling to the East

According to statistics of Andrews (1908) on educational museums around the world in 1908, there were 74 educational museums in 22 countries besides the United States. In the list, there was only one in Japan, namely Tokyo Educational Museum (Andrews, 1908). With existing materials, it cannot be confirmed whether educational museums were built in other parts of Japan at that time, but it can be certain that Tokyo Educational Museum was the most well-known, and the scattered records of educational museums in the journey-to-east diary texts in Ch’ing Dynasty that can be seen today were basically only concentrated in Ueno, Tokyo.

Tan Ying Lu written by Wang Zhichun (1842-1906) was the earliest record of Tokyo Educational Museum among the journey-to-east diary texts in Ch’ing Dynasty. Wang Zhichun, also named Juetang and Jiaosheng, was from Qingquan County, Hunan Province. He was the descendant of the famous thinker Wang Fuzhi in the late Ming and early Ch’ing Dynasties, he joined Hunan Army at the age of 20. In the 1870s, Japan threatened China’s southeast coast, and the court needed to grasp the development situation, politics, and customs of Japan; in 1879, Wang Zhichun was sent to Japan for investigation (Chen, 2013, pp. 67-80). After Wang Zhichun returned home from Japan, he published *Tan Ying Lu*; in the second volume *Journey-to-East Diary*, he recorded his visit to the educational museum in Ueno, and said it “enabled scholars to investigate the nature based on

specific things” (Wang, 2010, p. 578). In 1880, Li Xiaopu, who was an official in Jiangxi, also went to Japan for sightseeing, and wrote *A Journey to Japan*.⁵ When he visited Tokyo, he pointed out “there are four museums in this place, and the most popular is the Educational Institute.” The Educational Institute refers to the Educational Museum in Ueno, Tokyo. In his visit, Li noticed that the museum contained plants, animals, stones, crafts, and physical machines (Lou, 1983, p. 99).

Both Wang Zhichun and Li Xiaopu only made a macro record of Tokyo Educational Museum, but the details are lacking. The detailed records can only be fully reflected in the travel notes compiled by Chen Jialin. Chen Jialin, also named Yishi, was from Liuhe, Anhui, and was an entourage of Xu Chengzu, a Chinese envoy sent to Japan. During his stay in Japan, he collected Japanese newspapers and periodicals, reports, official documents, historical records, etc., and compiled a book accompanied with what he saw and heard there, introducing Japan’s geography, customs, historical evolution, economy, and political and military status. Throughout his diplomatic career, Chen Jialin extracted and translated many Chinese and Japanese research reports and travel notes, and finally compiled them into *Dong Cha Jian Wen Lu*, where a “tour” in fifty-nine items described in detail the internal structure and display categories of “Tokyo Educational Museum” (Shi, 2016, p. 160). The specific records are as follows:

The exhibits are placed in different rooms, there are categories imitating Western equipment, including rules, balances, gauges, astronomical telescopes, astrolabes and other appliances. In addition, there is a painting room and a medical room hanging a bronze figure, and the right building is where the books are stored. (Wang, 1985, p. 11)

Due to the lack of historical materials, it is impossible to confirm the specific source of the travel notes, but it can be seen that the educational museum seen in the tour had specially opened a reference room for scholars researching animals, plants, and stones, indicating the museum’s general science education attribute of serving teachers and students.

Educational Museum Construction in Luo Zhenyu’s Investigate to Japan

After the “New Deal” in the late Ch’ing Dynasty, the Ch’ing court urgently needed high-quality teachers to cope with the shortage of school teachers, and teacher education was designated as one of the key academic investigations and an important requirement for the compilation of new schooling systems by the Ch’ing court (Lu, 2012). In the *Charter* based on the experience of educational investigation, the attached *Charter of the Grade-A Normal Schools* first proposed the construction of an educational museum. This opinion was formed and seen in Luo Zhenyu’s early investigations.

Luo Zhenyu (1866-1940) was also named Shuyan and Xuetang, and his ancestral home was Yongfeng Township, Shangyu County, Zhejiang Province; he was a modern Chinese educator, archaeologist, epigrapher, scholar of Dunhuang Studies, bibliognost, proofreader, and paleographer. He was called to the capital in the late Ch’ing Dynasty and served as the second-class advisory officer of the Department of Education, later he served as a counselor, and also an agricultural supervisor of the Imperial University of Peking. In 1901, Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei initiated the establishment of *Education World*, China’s first professional education journal, which mainly translated foreign educational theories, laws, and regulations, and published suggestive articles on the issue of the new schooling system in the late Ch’ing Dynasty. In December 1901,

⁵ Li Xiaopu was a literati in the late Ch’ing Dynasty, whose birth and death are unknown. He traveled in Japan from early April to mid-June in 1880.

Governor-general of Hu-Guang, Zhang Zhidong, and Governor-general of Jiangnan and Jiangxi Provinces, Liu Kunyi, submitted memorials together to recommend six people including Luo Zhenyu to visit Japan for education investigation, which lasted two months and eight days (Chen, 1943, p. 11). He wrote in a letter to Luo Zhenyu: "I would like to invite you to host, lead four or five people, such as Chen Shike, to visit Japan for a few months to observe the situations and consult insiders, and create a manuscript" (Zhang, 1998, pp. 4155-4156; Qu, 1991, p. 117).

It can be seen that the original purpose of Luo Zhenyu's visit to Japan was to provide investigation reference for Zhang Zhidong's compilation of the *Charter*. Luo Zhenyu and others visited Tokyo Educational Museum in detail during their investigation in Japan to learn about its organizational system and operation. After returning home, he published *Two Months in Japan* in the periodical *Education World* in March in 1902. This travel diary included the author's preface and Zhang Shaowen's postscript, and chronologically described what he saw and heard from November 4th to December, where Tokyo Educational Museum was introduced as follows:

There is also an educational museum attached to the school to display educational supplies for reference. The display is divided into three parts: the first part is family education and kindergarten, elementary school supplies and their works; the second part is the teaching aids, equipment, specimen, wall maps, etc. for physics, mathematics, astrology, geography, chemistry, zoology, physiology and botany; the third part is industrial education equipment and works, pictures, music teachers' reference books, magazines, etc., and there were tables for visitors to read. It's heard there are 60000 to 70000 visitors coming here every year, and students from middle schools, industrial schools, and vocational schools bring books to compare with real objects, which is of great benefit to the education sector. (Chen, 2007, pp. 128-129; Luo, 2010, pp. 93-125)

Around 1902, Luo Zhenyu published several articles in the *Education World* based on what he saw and heard combined with the educational requirements at the time. Texts such as *Five Essentials of Education* and *Establishing the Department of Teacher Education* initially built Luo's educational philosophy and system (Luo, 1901a; 1901b). It is worth noting that, as the main sponsor for the publication of *Education World*, Zhang Zhidong had a great influence on Luo (Qu, 1991, p. 89).

In a series of proposals for education reform and schooling system construction, Luo Zhenyu spared no effort in advocating the construction of educational museums. In April 1901, Luo Zhenyu had written articles *Eight Views on Education*, *Japan's Educational Aims*, and *Private Discussions on Schooling System* before going to Japan for investigation; he analyzed and advocated the possibility of establishing libraries and museums in provincial capitals, and emphasized on "collecting books and educational supplies at all times and in all over the world, and letting people read and increase their knowledge" (Luo, 1902a; 1902b). Luo Zhenyu believed that such museums should be all-encompassing, play an educational role in opening mind, and showcase the development of domestic and foreign education for the people. Among his articles, the Item X of *Private Discussions on Schooling System* involves museums as follows:

Museums are set up in the capital, the provinces, departments, prefectures, and counties successively, and the educational museum was first established to collect various educational supplies for research. It is approximately divided into three parts: 1. Family education, kindergarten and elementary school appliances and their works (referring to students' paintings, calligraphy and handicrafts, etc.); 2. Teaching aids, specimens and pictures for physics, mathematics, astrology, geology, chemistry, physiology, study of plants and animals; 3. Industrial and educational supplies, works and pictures. The viewing rules are provisionally set. (Luo, 1902c, pp. 1-5)

It can be seen that the educational museum template accepted by Luo Zhenyu in 1901 was an “educational institution” that took the classification of disciplines as the display logic, was attached to normal schools, and served teachers, students, and the education sector, belonging to the second stage of Tokyo Educational Museum. Comparing Luo Zhenyu’s proposal for educational museum with Tokyo Educational Museum at this stage, it is not difficult to find that the educational museum conception accepted by Luo Zhenyu required: First, construct museums of physical education, for the specimens, pictures, and utensils in educational museums all embodied the idea of physical education; secondly, it emphasized the positioning of educational museum as an affiliated institution of normal schools. Since the graduates of higher normal schools would mainly become teachers in the future, the first part displayed in the educational museum should be the school supplies and works of children aged 3-6 and elementary school children, the second part classified based on the subjects of undergraduates in higher normal schools, and the third part manifested the infiltration of industrial education factors into higher education. Therefore, positioning the educational museum as a subsidiary institution of teacher education was a manifestation of the actual educational reform during that period.

In 1904, the *Charter* formally promulgated the attached *Charter of the Grade-A Normal Schools*, which first proposed the construction of educational museums. Although the *Charter* was based on Luo Zhenyu’s investigation experience, comparing the two propositions, the *Charter* did not emphasize the logic of discipline classification, but advocated educational museums’ “extensive collection” as “social educational institutions” aiming to open up to ordinary citizens and improve public morals. Combining with the needs of the times to popularize a new educational landscape at the beginning of the implementation of the new schooling system, it is possible to understand the technical requirements of the Charter for the “extensive collection” by educational museums. At that time, the Chinese people generally did not understand the development of education at home and abroad, let alone accept; facing the lack of educational supplies and teaching materials, the significance of popularizing common sense and reporting the international situation was highlighted. This was not much different from the fact that Tokyo Educational Museum “extensively collected” educational supplies at home and abroad during the exposition era in the 19th century; neither of them adopted any specific educational concepts, but only extensively absorbed foreign ambiguous and complex technical concepts (Chieko, 2007).

Shaping of Civilization Consciousness in the Provincial Capital Guangzhou: The Practice Form of Educational Museum

The Initial Pattern of Educational Museum: Educational Supplies Exhibition

At the beginning of the implementation of new-style education, new-style schools were built all over the country. From 1904 to 1909, the number of new-style schools in China increased from more than 4,000 to 60,000, and the number of students also increased dramatically (Tian, 2001, p. 168). The demand for educational supplies behind constituted a huge market. Although there were specialized manufacturers of educational supplies in China, they could not compete with foreign educational supplies in terms of quality, category, and price; therefore, schools were “mostly purchased from Japan”. In order to turn the tide, there was an urgent need from top to bottom to “investigate all foreign educational supplies, and imitate the supplies that can be imitated”⁶. This was almost the same as the proposal of “extensive collection” for educational museums in the *Charter* in 1904.

⁶ Investigation on American Education. *Eastern Miscellany*, 1906, Volume 3, Issue 5, 6th edition.

Under such a historical background, one of the earliest educational supplies exhibitions in China, “Books and Educational Supplies Exhibition Hall” was opened in 1904. Guangdong Governor Zhang Renjun (1846-1927) appointed a committee member stationed in Shanghai to purchase new books in Shanghai in 1904, and recommended a Panyu County official to go to Japan to purchase specimen instrument and other equipment⁷. The Student Affairs Division was responsible for displaying the purchased teaching supplies in the museum to provide reference for the manufacturers of educational supplies, and the students of Panyu County managed the affairs of the exhibition hall⁸. Obviously, a relatively complete plan for the curatorial principles and implementation strategies of the “Books and Educational Supplies Exhibition Hall” had been formed. In 1906, the Department of Education clearly pointed out that the society “needs a lot of educational supplies. If we don’t produce by our own, but rely on other countries, we cannot revitalize art”. However, it was obviously powerless to self-produce all educational materials; therefore, the Department of Education encouraged manufacturers to produce “common supplies” first, including pens, inks, watercolor painting appliances, gymnastics equipment, music instruments, museum specimens, etc.; secondly, it encouraged schools to first consider the “domestic products” when purchasing educational supplies. In addition, after inspecting the quality of educational supplies in various manufacturing industries, the educational institution “issued a decree that all schools purchase for one year”. One year later, if the schools gave good comments, the manufacturing industry could apply for tax exemption⁹. The *Regulations of Educational Supplies* had brought two more obvious social impacts: talented people in various industries competed to manufacture educational supplies. For example, Li Renzhong, a student in Xingning County, Guangdong Province, was rewarded for self-made microscopes. The reason for the reward was that the “convex mirror” of microscopes was unique to Western countries, and even Japan could produce it by itself, but he successfully manufactured it and none raw materials were “not obtained from outside”¹⁰; Secondly, based on the requirements of the industry, manufacturers and schools gradually contacted each other. In 1906, Guangzhou Prefect Chen Wangzeng (1853-1929) set up “Guangdong Industrial Exhibition Center” with the purpose of “developing industries to maintain the overall interests” and officially opened in March of the same year. At the tea party, about seven to eight thousand people from all walks of life such as schools, charitable institutions, industry, and commerce gathered together. Zhu Changlan Company, craft charitable institutions, and merchants sent all kinds of goods for display in the exhibition hall. At noon that day, all schools gathered to sing to foil atmosphere. The *Eastern Times* commented that the exhibition center was “taking advantage of the trend”¹¹. All schools participated in by singing and performing, which can be said to cater to the social needs for developing industries, because students were the inheritors of industrial development and future producers, and educational supplies were an important part of the industrial development at that time. Although there were no historical data clearly confirming that the education supplies were also within the exhibition scope of “Guangdong Industrial Exhibition Center” in 1906, the regulations of the “Commodity Industry Exhibition Center” co-organized by Guangdong government and merchants in 1909 clearly indicated three categories of exhibits, namely natural products, handicrafts, and educational supplies, and the *Trial Charter* made rules to invite reputable persons from the political, academic, and newspaper circles

⁷ Please Permit to Release. *Shun Pao*, October 11, 1904, 3rd edition.

⁸ The Student Affairs Division Will Set Up an Exhibition Hall. *Eastern Times*, October 9, 1904, No. 120, p. 6.

⁹ Official Document: Document of the Department of Education to Schools Rewarding the Manufacturing of Educational Supplies Regulations. *Education Magazine*, 1906, Issue 18.

¹⁰ Industry—Self-made Microscope Rewarded by Guangdong. *Shun Pao*, October 20, 1907, 11th edition.

¹¹ The Opening of the Industrial Exhibition Hall. *Eastern Times*, April 7, 1906, 3rd edition.

to investigate the site every year¹². At that point, it can be seen that the educational supplies exhibition, which originally had a commercial attribute, highlighted the various connections with schools.

In short, the educational supplies exhibitions were held to showcase all educational supplies at home and abroad for the reference of those in need. This was consistent with the proposal in 1904 that educational museums shall popularize common sense of education and report the development of international education. The biggest difference was that the educational museums attached to normal schools were originally part of the education system, while the educational supplies exhibitions were nurtured in the commodity market. Outwardly, educational museums and educational supplies exhibitions were not closely related; however, in terms of student groups and manufacturers of educational supplies, a close relationship between the two was established, which was ultimately manifested in Nanyang Industrial Exposition in 1910.

A Link Between Past and Future: The Construction of Guangdong Education Pavilion of Nanyang Industrial Exposition

In June 1910, Nanyang Industrial Exposition, the largest expo in modern China aiming to “open the mind and develop industry and commerce”, was held in Nanjing. This was a world exposition gathering exhibitions, forums, and entertainment, and a total of 22 regions and 14 countries participated in the exhibition. Nanyang Industrial Exposition had a main hall, provincial halls, special halls, and professional halls. In addition to the Education Pavilion, Jiangnan Province and Jiangxi Province government also set up Jinan Pavilion for overseas Chinese in the southeastern Islands (Su, 2010, p. 134). Originally, the educational exhibits of various provinces should be displayed in the Education Pavilion of the museum; however, due to the excessive exhibits, high selection standards, and shortage of personnel resources in Guangdong, a special pavilion of Guangdong Education Pavilion was built. The details are as follows:

Due to the excessive educational supplies in Guangdong Pavilion, Guangdong Education Pavilion was built. It was reported that the pavilion project had already been completed earlier, and the supplies had been fully displayed. Although the other pavilions of the province were rescheduled to open on June 4th, this pavilion was still opened yesterday. It was difficult to check the manuals, and the review department took the manuals as the main item of review. More than ten staff from the production department were assigned to check in different groups; and it took a long time to check the situations where there were manuals but no products, and there were products but no manuals. Every day, all staff worked from 7:00 am to 6:30 pm, and only checked more than ten supplies, indicating the difficulty.¹³

Guangdong Education Pavilion was also known as Guangdong Educational Supplies Exhibition Hall. Zhang Zhenxun (1841-1916), an overseas Chinese industrialist and Premier of Guangdong General Chamber of Commerce, sent the investigation chief Tao Binnan to Guangdong to urge it¹⁴ (Zhang & Zhu, 1990, p. 183). After Tao Binnan arrived in Guangdong, he “visited all the self-government associations, the general chamber of commerce, the educational association and other organizations and newspaper offices”¹⁵. A few days later, people from all walks of life, including the Guangdong Institute of Local Autonomy, gathered to discuss the establishment of “Guangdong Sponsor Association of Nanyang Industrial Exposition”; at first, Tao Binnan “explained the distinction between the Sponsor Association and the Production Association in public, and

¹² Charter: Trial Charter (Unfinished) of Guangdong Industrial Exhibition Center. *Guangdong Industrial Newspaper*, 1909, Issue 80, pp. 35-40.

¹³ Opening of Guangdong Education Pavilion. *Shun Pao*, July 5, 1910, 11th edition.

¹⁴ Tao Binnan, also named Xun, was from Dantu. He was the Investigation Chief of Nanyang Industrial Exposition Office.

¹⁵ The Launch of Guangdong Production Association. *News*, August 2, 1909, 10th edition.

everyone got it”, and it was decided that the Department of Education initiated “Education Exhibition of Guangdong Province”¹⁶.

Therefore, in order to organize Nanyang Industrial Exposition, Guangdong established “Guangdong Production Association” and the “Guangdong Sponsor Association”, and also organized a preparatory exhibition for educational supplies, namely the “Education Exhibition of Guangdong Province”. The Premier of “Guangdong Production Association” was Zhang Zhenxun. As the Premier of the Guangdong Chamber of Commerce, Zhang Zhenxun was considered to be the first person who initiated Nanyang Industrial Exposition. He once went to European and American countries to participate in exhibitions, and had considerable experience in large-scale expositions, so he deserved to be elected as the Premier¹⁷ (Liang, 2007, pp. 199-201). The Governor-general of Jiangnan and Jiangxi Provinces and Nanyang Minister, Zhang Renjun (1846-1927), who had served as the Governor-general of Guangdong and Guangxi Provinces, was elected as the chairman of “Guangdong Sponsor Association” for this Industrial Exposition. He later invited Qiu Fengjia, Huang Jingtang, and Pan Baoheng to be members of the Association. Qiu, Huang, and Pan were all gentries from the Institute of Local Autonomy. It was organized by Guangzhou General Chamber of Commerce, and backed by descendants of giant merchants, who were all gentry merchants in Guangdong. The initiator of the “Education Exhibition of Guangdong Province” was Shen Zengtong, the then official of the Department of Education of Guangdong in 1910. Shen Zengtong (1853-1921), also named Zifeng, was the younger brother of the celebrity Shen Zengzhi at the time. He was close friends with Kang Youwei and Zhang Qian, and he was also a key member of Shanghai Study Society, one of China’s earliest museum advocates and builders (Zhang, Jiang, Qiu, & Gao, 2000). In August 1895, Shen Zengtong and his brother Shen Zengzhi supported Kang Youwei when he lobbied scholar-officials and prepared to organize the Study Society. The following records can be seen in *Kang Nanhai Chronicle*: “Shen Zipei from the Ministry of Punishments and Chen Ciliang from the Ministry of Revenue both approved this move”, “In early July, I made an appointment with Ciliang to gather guests... and the brothers Shen Zipei and Shen Zifeng. We made an agreement at the table, that everyone donated” (Y. W. Kang & N. H. Kang, 1993, p. 66). It can be confirmed that he once helped his brother Shen Zengzhi support Kang Youwei to open up the Study Society. In 1910, under the initiative of Shen Zengtong, schools began to send exhibits to the “Education Exhibition of Guangdong Province”, and these exhibits would also be sent to Guangdong Education Pavilion of Nanyang Industrial Exposition.

Although the educational supplies of Guangdong Education Pavilion were specially collected by Shen Zengtong, the guiding role of Guangdong Production Association with Zhang Zhenxun as the Premier in the preparatory process cannot be ignored. The Production Association attached great importance to absorbing experience from the large-scale expositions participating in, and took them as objects of learning and imitation, emphasizing the difference in its own construction:

The world’s unparalleled ivory clocks at the Exposition Universally de Paris, and the luxurious decorations at Japan Exposition were not daily necessities. The newspapers of these countries ridiculed them as forgetting livelihood issues, but we can understand the truth of expositions from this. Special attention shall be paid to local specialty products and daily necessities, and we should specialize in industries, but do not advocate nihilism, so as to lay a foundation for future

¹⁶ Continued Journal of Guangdong Production Association. *News*, August 15, 1909, 10th edition.

¹⁷ Report: The Policy of Proposing Production Association for the Industrial Exposition. *Guangdong Industrial Newspaper*, 1909, Issue 76, p. 43.

revitalization. In accordance with the purpose of the Association, all the daily necessities produced by the province will be collected and displayed, regardless of workmanship.¹⁸

It can be seen that being pragmatic and not extravagant was the basic principle of the Production Association for this Industrial Exposition.

In 1910, Guangdong Education Pavilion was finally officially opened, which divided the items collected across the country into 24 parts and displayed them in eight halls: education, crafts, medicine, agriculture, fine arts, machinery, transportation, and military equipment. Education was the first hall, which was divided into early education, school education, and social education, containing more than 2,500 items in 34 categories (China National Microfilming Center for Library Resources, 2003, p. 1005). It is worth noting that Guangdong Educational Museum was classified according to the three major educational spaces of museums, and then the educational function of museums was further subdivided into school education, family education, and social education (Ministry of Education, 1987, p. 221). At that time, the Education Pavilion of Nanyang Industrial Exposition was divided into elementary school, middle school, normal school, and industry according to the schooling system. In contrast, the classification logic of Guangdong Education Pavilion was obviously advanced, reflecting the social education care of “opening the mind”.

Guangdong Education Pavilion had a rich variety of products. In addition to the conventional pictures, scripts, and textbooks similar to the education pavilions of the museum, there were also a large number of educational supplies, such as slates (Western printing), chalks, blue inks, pens, inks, pastes, glues, brushes, etc.; special products included a 500-fold microscope, tap water brush, etc. According to the official report, almost all educational products came from schools, and were classified into two categories: student works and educational supplies, such as Mingxin College’s braille book and cecograph; animal, plant, and mineral specimens from Grade-A normal schools; rock stationery from technology schools, etc. (Su, 2010, pp. 165-166). Based on this, two levels of information can be summarized: Firstly, schools had the ability to manufacture educational supplies. Although there was no material directly stating that educational supplies were produced by school students or teachers, compared with educational supplies exhibitions, the qualitative changes during this period could be seen, that is, educational supplies of commodity attributes were directly produced by schools, rather than the previous educational supplies manufacturers, which meant that the educational supplies exhibition had been integrated into the schools. Secondly, educational supplies were displayed as school works. The educational supplies produced by some schools even came with an “educational supplies manual”, which was very rare at this Industrial Exposition, and the report also praised Guangdong Education Pavilion for this detailed measure (Bao, 2010, p. 43). “Educational supplies manual” was a modern way of publicity, from which it can be seen that the schools intended to take educational supplies as their own business cards. Schools chose to place educational supplies together with other conventional works when presenting their educational achievements, which may reflect two purposes: firstly, the ability of industry in the sense of developing industry was regarded as evidence of educational progress. Educational supplies could highlight the schools’ own industrial abilities and the ability to cultivate industrial talents; secondly, the works of the same-grade schools under the same education system were roughly the same, which did not attract people. Exquisite educational supplies were more in line with the curiosity of viewers who bought tickets than school works. As a result, educational supplies with commodity attributes entered schools from the beginning of commerce, which

¹⁸ Report: Announcement of Products by the Production Association. *Guangdong Industrial Newspaper*, Issue 100, 1910, p. 43.

“linked to the past”; from the exhibition logic, it is possible to see the foresight of Guangdong Education Pavilion, which “linked to the future”.

Guangdong Education Museum in the Civilization and Landscape Imagination of the Provincial Capital

Politics and Personnel: Zhong Rongguang and Model Province Construction

After the 1911 Revolution, the Nanjing Provisional Government headed by Sun Yat-sen was established. In March of the same year, Yuan Shikai became the interim president of the Republic of China and moved the interim government to Beijing in April. The new regime urgently needed to reform the old society, but it was unable to establish a brand-new mechanism in a short period of time. In terms of education, the official education administration file *Official System of the Ministry of Education* would not be promulgated until two years later¹⁹. This meant that the central education administration system had not yet been established and could not provide normative guidance for local education. Therefore, the national education system environment was relatively loose. In Guangdong, government officials centered on Zhong Rongguang (1866-1942) carried out a series of new education reforms based on the construction of a “model province”.

Zhong Rongguang (1866-1942), also named Xingke, was from Xiaolan, Xiangshan (now Zhongshan), Guangdong. In his early years, he founded *Ke Bao*, *Bowen News*, *Anyu News*, and so on. In 1898, he taught at Guangzhou Gezhi Academy (later renamed Lingnan Academy and Lingnan School). In 1910, he raised funds abroad for running a school. In 1912, he took charge of Guangdong Education Department. In the next year, he went on a study tour in the United States. In 1916, Zhong Rongguang returned home and taught at Lingnan School (later renamed “Lingnan University”). In 1927, Lingnan University was reverted to the natives, and Zhong Rongguang served as the first president and taught there for decades. Zhong Rongguang was one of the advocates of the theory of “saving the country with education”. He was known as the “patriotic educator”, and he and Zhang Boling were jointly called “Zhang in North and Zhong in South”²⁰ (for the life story of Zhong Rongguang, please refer to: Yu & Li, 1984). During his tenure as the editor in chief of *Bowen News*, Zhong Rongguang widely met “Zheng Shiliang, Wang Dahan, etc., and his friendship with Mr. Zhongshan was also cordial because of his common interests” (Zhao, n.d.).

In 1907, due to his revolutionary status, Rongguang was arrested by the Ch’ing court in Baoding and then released. He mainly went abroad to raise funds for running schools, while secretly conspiring for revolution. After the Wuchang Uprising, he returned to Guangdong and served as the Director of the Department of Education in 1912, starting 14 months of Guangdong’s education innovation (Jiang, 2010).

Before Zhong Rongguang took office, Guangdong Military Government had the Ministry of Education, with Qiu Fengjia and Ye Xiasheng as the principal and deputy ministers. In May 1912, the Ministry of Education in the provinces was renamed the Department of Education in accordance with the system. Guangdong took Rao Fushang and Yang Shouchang as the directors and deputy directors, but they left their

¹⁹ *Education Bulletin*, Volume 2, July 1914.

²⁰ In 2019, Federation of Social Sciences of Zhongshan City organized an “Academic Symposium on Zhong Rongguang and Modern China”, where *The Collection of Zhong Rongguang* was officially published (Guangzhou: Guangdong Higher Education Press, 2019). By collecting *Student Community in Lingnan*, *Min Sheng Daily*, *Guangdong Education Bulletin*, *Lingnan University Journal Weekly*, *Lingnan University and Overseas Chinese*, *Central Overseas Chinese Affairs Monthly*, *Shun Pao*, *Shanghai Republic of China Daily*, and the relevant collection materials of the Archives of Guangdong Province and other units present relatively complete information on the main social activities of Zhong Rongguang in different periods, especially during his stay in Guangdong.

posts without doing anything. Zhong was formally appointed as the Director of the Education Department in May. At that time, the Central Ministry of Education had not had time to issue formal education documents, so the Education Department directly advocated educational affairs in various regions. In the same year, Sun Yat-sen first initiated the construction of “Guangdong Model Province”. The specific spirit includes:

Thinking of Guangdong as a model province, with the status and financial resources of Guangdong, combined with business conditions, the opening of the people’s mind, so as to get rid of the bad habits of arrogance, fight bravely and ruthlessly, and draw their minds and talents, to rejuvenate the industry and strive for the prosperity of the country, which must be effective within a few years. (Research Office of History of the Republic of China, Institute of Modern History, & Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 1982, pp. 351-352)

Zhong Rongguang’s series of educational innovation activities were carried out in the vast construction of such a “model province”. At that time, all new orders of the democratic society had not been established after the revolution, and the control of local education affairs had not yet returned to the Central Ministry of Education. Zhong Rongguang was able to efficiently establish a set of ideal educational paradigm in a short period of time from May 1912 to July of the following year, in which Guangdong Education Museum manifested the materialization of his educational conception. Based on practical needs, Zhong Rongguang had to refer to all advanced education standards at home and abroad to build an education benchmark that was well-matched with a “model province”. Therefore, Guangdong Education Museum was not the crystallization of ideas based on personal experience; on the contrary, it had the significance of integrating the experience of the previous exhibition halls under the campaign of “model province”.

Space Management and Landscape Imagination of Guangdong Education Museum

Layout of the exhibition space. Guangdong Education Museum was located in the east side building of the Department of Education. It was officially opened on October 10th, 1912 on National Day²¹. The staff of the Department of Education, centered on the Director, were the main organizers of the museum. When the Department of Education petitioned the governor Hu Hanmin for his opinion, it explained the purpose of establishing the museum: “in the eastern and western countries, every metropolis has educational museums, displaying educational supplies for viewing and using as models”. The governor said in his reply: “The establishment of educational museums is based on foreign models, uses them for reference, helps school education. The intention is good and nice, and the eastern and western countries all have experience”. Combining the foregoing background discussion, it can be seen that there are two original intentions for the establishment of Guangdong Education Museum: the first was that the educational museum should be a standard for “metropolitan cities” under the environment of the “model province” construction movement; the second was that the educational museum was the banner of education and the object of imitation at the beginning of launching the new education after the revolution.

The preparations for the exhibits in the museum were very hasty, so the exhibits were not complete. It was not until eight days before the opening that schools were notified to select and send works for museum display: “Schools in this city shall exhibits to the Department of Education before the 7th of this month to prepare for the opening day, and the exhibiting schools shall send within ten days”. On October 7, it notified again that “stores, manufacturing plants, government offices, and schools” shall send items to the museum for display in

²¹ The Exhibition Hall of the Department of Education opens regularly. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 5, 1912, 5th edition.

accordance with the production guidelines. Although there were special guidelines to regulate the order of production, the requirement for categories of exhibits was “those who can prepare shall try to prepare”. The Department of Education issued an announcement to collect exhibits: “All items that fall within the scope of education must be collected to prepare for exhibition”²². This was almost the same as the keynote of “extensive collection” for educational museums in the *Zouding School Regulations* in 1904.

According to the educational museum management charter, the Education Department subdivides the furnishings in the museum into five parts, which are listed as follows:

(I) Educational supplies, specimens of animals, plants and minerals, all models of sound, light, electricity, chemistry, biology and physics (II) Chinese and foreign textbooks, all new books and maps (III) School regulations and student affairs statistics (IV) Works of agricultural, industrial and commercial schools, handwork, pictures, arithmetic, and texts (V) A special room is set in the Education History Materials Library for school staff meetings and academic lectures.²³

The source of exhibitor Zhong Rongguang's exhibition experience can be seen from the classification of exhibits in the museum. The exhibits in the first part were educational equipment of various disciplines; after combining with the school works of all levels in the fourth part, comparing Luo Zhenyu's proposal for educational museums, it can be known that Zhong Rongguang's experience in exhibiting the museum originated from Tokyo Educational Museum in Japan, and both of their display logics were classified according to various levels and disciplines. The second part was Chinese and foreign textbooks, which originated from the tradition of Guangdong “Books and Educational Supplies Exhibition Hall” in 1904. The third part reflected the school running and education methods, which directly responded to Zhong Rongguang's “borrowing of model” for schools to follow. The “education history materials” in the fifth part referred to past educational supplies and educational history materials²⁴. Comparing with the keynote of “extensively collecting” for educational museums in *Zouding School Regulations* in 1904, the exhibition of history in the fifth part affirmed the progress from education in the past. In short, from the exhibition of educational supplies in 1904 to Nanyang Industrial Exposition in 1910, the classifying principles of exhibitions and the experience and intentions presented by the exhibits were most fully embodied in Guangdong Education Museum in 1912, forming the best model for educational museums.

Landscape imagination of school activity space. Before the official opening of the Education Museum, the Department of Education had put forward its concern for school education: “Students visit the museums after class, to compare and observe each other”²⁵. According to the method and regulations of the Department of Education for the establishment of the museum, the educational museum included the museum and all spaces outside the museum with social and educational functions. The Department of Education vacated two buildings directly opposite its office and turned them into an educational museum, built sports fields and courts in the flat areas, and changed the examination shed into a lecture hall, and the high ground behind was turned into a theater and music pavilion²⁶. These projects started after Zhong Rongguang took office in May, and the gate project had been completed by mid-August²⁷.

²² The Department of Education Collects Exhibits. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 7, 1912, 7th edition.

²³ Notice of the Opening of Education Museum. *Guangdong Education Bulletin*, Issue 5, February 1913, p. 31.

²⁴ Preparation for the Establishment of an Educational Museum. *Guangdong Education Bulletin*, March 1913, Issue 4, p. 43.

²⁵ The Department of Education Collects Exhibits. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 5, 1912, 4th edition.

²⁶ Preparation for the Establishment of an Educational Museum. *Guangdong Education Bulletin*, March 1913, Issue 4, p. 43.

²⁷ Overview of the Department of Education. *Min Sheng Daily*, August 10, 1912, 5th edition.

Among the supporting measures around the Education Museum, the sports field embodied the school space most. Zhong Rongguang also explained that the sports field was built for students in schools without sports venues when retrospectively the construction by the Department of Education (Zhong, 1913, p. 45). On the opening day of the Education Museum, there was a girls' entertainment party in the sports field. Participants came from the First Normal School, the Second Normal School, and the Women's Sports School. In the afternoon, there was a boys' entertainment party in the sports field. The participating schools included Grade-A Normal Schools, Lingnan School, Nanwu Middle School, and so on. The content of the boys' and girls' entertainment parties included race walking, three-legged race, and relay race. The commentaries of *Min Sheng Daily* lamented that "there were so many viewers"²⁸.

According to the content of the activity, the entertainment parties for boys and girls were a competitive sports content. There were many guests on the opening day:

There are many guests, especially in the academic circles. Foreign guests come from Lingnan Academy, Shengxin Academy, and Zhongde Academy, and many other people far away from Peking and Tsinghua Universities, and Japan and German consulate officials and so on. There was almost no foothold in the department, and it is also a grand event. (List of Male and Female Students of the Recreation Club. *Min Daily News*, October 12, 1912, 6th edition.)

It can be seen that there were important figures from academic circles and political circles on the opening day. Under the observation by academic circles and political circles, the competitive sports activities of the entertainment party were like performance, which can also be proved by the fact that the Department of Education awarded first, second, and third prizes to school students with outstanding performance after the party²⁹. The education museum was a space for the display of educational supplies, and the sports performances of students at the entertainment party became evidence of educational progress in the form of mobile activities. Under the scene logic of education display at the opening ceremony, the sports field was a space for students. At this time, the context of the sports field as an educational display space disappeared, and the existing state of the sports field in turn influenced people's choices and judgments. Therefore, it can be seen that the regulations of the Education Museum stipulated that anyone could purchase tickets to enter the museum³⁰. At this point, the student space extended outward, becoming a modern urban public place for ordinary leisure and entertainment.

The expansion of performance space and the shaping of social civilization. The Education Museum was opened on the National Day. In other words, the Department of Education chose to display the education level of the "model province" at such a special time of the National Day, it was certain that the government consciously took use of education to create political public opinion. The Department of Education also explained the benefits of the Education Museum to the country:

The products of our country are not refined, so foreigners take advantage of this and we suffer loss. This is true for everything, including education supplies. Visitors to the museum should be able to gradually improve to regain the spillover profits.³¹

According to *Min Sheng Daily*, the opening ceremony was held on the National Day Memorial. The event started at 8 o'clock in the morning. First, the Director of the Department of Education, Zhong Rongguang, led

²⁸ Record of the National Day Commemoration of the Department of Education. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 12, 1912, 5th edition.

²⁹ List of Male and Female Students of the Recreation Club. *Min Daily News*, October 12, 1912, 6th edition.

³⁰ Notice of the Opening of Education Museum. *Guangdong Education Bulletin*, Issue 5, February 1913, p. 31.

³¹ The Department of Education Collects Exhibits. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 5, 1912, 4th edition.

the staff of the Department into the auditorium and delivered a speech in front of the national flag, which lasted an hour. Then he led the guests to visit the school park, education museum, and other places. *Min Sheng Daily* commented that the museum was “not complete”, but since the exhibits in the museum were solicited within two or three days, it was understandable. Afterwards, the guests went to the old examination shed to listen to the lecturer Yi Weimin’s speech. The political drama “Free Mirror” was staged in the theater; in the music pavilion, Shengxin Academy performed military music, and there were more than 1,000 listeners, and it didn’t end until 12 o’clock³².

Among a series of activities on the day of the commemoration, speech dramas and musical performances could best embody political tension. It can be noted that the performers were schools, the performance cost was military-related, the performance environment was the Department of Education, and the audiences were from academia, politics, school teachers, and students. Speech dramas and musical performances were both entertaining performance forms, and such an easily accepted and spread form could effectively propagate politics, but it also inevitably dispelled the seriousness of politics.

Similar activities were also carried out other than the National Day. Spring break in 1913 was from April 1st to 7th. The Department of Education believed that music was an important subject, so it held a music seminar from 2nd to 5th convening teachers and students from all schools; it also held a convivial gathering after the meeting, notified the public and private schools in the city to select students good at military music, school music, and singing to sign up for performances, and set admission tickets for profit. On the day of the concert, Mr. Huang Shaopei first gave a speech: “There is no big difference between Chinese and Western music, but now students all learn Western music at schools.” Later, the Army’s First Division Military Band played military music, and students from Grade-A Normal Schools’ Elementary Schools, the Second Elementary School, Shengxin School, Grade-A Normal Schools’ national language specialties, the 3rd, 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th elementary schools played in the music pavilion. During the break, the guests visited the Education Museum³³.

Comparing the performances during the spring break with those on the National Day, it can be seen that the performances during the Spring Break were also political. However, according to the performance by schools, many of the performances during the spring break were arranged by school students based on their own strengths, such as spring break songs, Maiden in Armour, English poems, and so on. *Min Sheng Daily* also focused on the comparison of the students’ timbre in comments: “The voices of female normal school students are harmonious, and the songs of boys are not as good as those of girls”³⁴. It can be seen that while the official emphasized the political nature of the performances, it also arranged non-political performances. The public facilities of the Department of Education also needed to be operated and managed; when it was under economic pressure, it had to be disciplined by the existing form of the music pavilion and stage themselves to perform popular music. At this point, it can be seen that the form of the place also invisibly influenced the behavior of people, forming a modern urban public space.

The Transient Guangdong Education Museum

In 1913, the *Guidelines to the Second Guangdong Education Conference* included the Education Museum

³² Record of the National Day Commemoration of the Department of Education. *Min Sheng Daily*, October 12, 1912, 5th edition.

³³ The Chronicle of the Spring Break Concert of the Department of Education No. 1. *Min Sheng Daily*, April 3, 1913, 4th edition.

³⁴ The Chronicle of the Spring Break Concert of the Department of Education No. 3. *Min Sheng Daily*, April 7, 1913, 4th edition.

in the schedule of the Education Conference held on August 1, “visiting the Education Museum, School Garden, and Botanical Garden attached to the Department of Education.” This shows that the Education Museum was still normally running and opened. However, at this time, the political situation had begun to be turbulent. From the time when *Dafeng Daily* in Shantou denounced Yuan Shikai’s crimes in April 1913, the entire public opinion circle had been clamoring against Yuan Shikai. On July 19th, Guangdong officially announced its crusade against Yuan Shikai. At the same time, the internal political situation of Guangdong Province also changed drastically. Although the situation was tense at that time, Zhong Rongguang still held the second education conference in Guangdong on August 1st in a way roughly the same as the first education conference. Due to political turmoil, Zhong Rongguang formally resigned on August 9th (Zhong, 1913, p. 45).

The follow-up development of the Education Museum after Zhong Rongguang’s resignation could be seen in the report of *Shun Pao* on April 6th, 1914. The committee member of Guangdong Education Museum petitioned the new chief of civil affairs, Chen Jiongming, to make suggestions on the preservation of antiquities. Some of the contents related to Guangdong Education Museum are as follows:

There are many monuments in the old Department of Education. However, there are people entering without authorization recently; yesterday, the Minister of Civil Affairs instructed the committee members of the Education Museum: according to the committee member’s *Petition to Preserve the Museum’s Monuments*, etc., Jiuyaochi, Shiyaozhoutai and celebrity inscriptions stones since Tang and Song Dynasties in the Department of Education should be preserved to protect the historical sites. They shall not be ravaged by children and boors. The Police Department shall be ordered to protect the place, such as intervening the protection.³⁵

Although Guangdong Education Museum was still operating at that time, it was evident from the destruction of the historical sites outside the museum that the inside of the museum was not as vibrant as it used to be. In December 1914, after filing by the Ministry of Education, the police hospital under the jurisdiction of Guangdong Provincial Police Department was reorganized into Guangdong Public Medical College; since then, the former site of the former Political Science and Law School adjacent to the former Department of Education around Jiuyaofang, Guangzhou was transformed to a school site. Later, the relevant chronicles of the Third Guangdong Education Conference held in 1917 no longer mentioned the words “Education Museum”. The history of Guangdong Education Museum ended in a hurry in 1914.

Conclusion

The concept of “education museum” was cited from Japan when Wang Zhichun, Li Xiaopu, Chen Jialin, and Luo Zhenyu visited Japan; during the Constitutional Reform and Modernization, Kang Youwei and other reformists founded Shanghai Study Society and advocated the establishment of museums in the *Charter of Shanghai Study Society*. Zhang Qian, Shen Zengtong, Zhong Rongguang, and others all had inextricable connections with the reformists. As the first group of people to accept and advocate foreign exhibition culture, they appeared in various expositions, exhibitions, and museum construction activities later. In 1904, Zhang Baixi, Zhang Zhidong, Zhang Baixi, et al. participated in the compilation of the *Charter of the Grade-A Normal Schools*, which proposed that Grade-A normal schools should have an education museum based on the investigation results of Luo Zhenyu et al. The *Charter* advocated that educational museums should be all-encompassing and can display the educational conditions at home and abroad, so as to achieve the social

³⁵ Guangdong. *Shun Pao*, April 6th, 1914, 7th edition.

education purpose of opening the mind. It had a biggest difference from the education museums that served teachers, students, and education as advocated by Luo Zhenyu in display logic, which directly reflected the reinterpretation of foreign knowledge after being selectively accepted by the Chinese.

When the old and new educational systems were handed over, it was not realistic to build an education museum without educational collections at all, let alone build an education museum displaying evidence of educational progress. As the earliest form of practice, the educational supplies exhibition aimed to showcase all educational supplies at home and abroad for the reference of those in need. This was consistent with the idea of popularizing common sense of education and reporting the development of international education for education museums in 1904. The biggest difference was that education museums attached to normal schools were originally part of the education system, while the educational supplies exhibitions were nurtured in the commodity market. The diverse sources of exhibits and display logic at the 1910 Nanyang Industrial Exposition made it possible for educational supplies with commodity attributes to enter schools from commerce, and reflected the foresight of Guangdong Education Museum. Therefore, Guangdong Education Museum of Nanyang Industrial Exposition was a crucial step for the internalization of “travel notes” and policy implementation of Tokyo Educational Museum to Guangdong Education Museum as a local regional museum display.

In 1912, Guangdong Education Museum was opened during the National Day commemorative activities. The exhibition space was a socially diverse space, including exhibition halls, mobile visitors, and various festival activities. In the exhibition space, it could be seen that the exhibition experience and intentions from the educational supplies exhibition in 1904 to Nanyang Industrial Exposition in 1910 were most fully embodied in Guangdong Education Museum in 1912, forming the best model for education museums. In the school space, the student space centered on the sports field was opened up. Under the scene logic of education display at the opening ceremony, the sports field was a space for students. At this time, the context of the sports field as an educational display space disappeared, and the existing state of the sports field in turn influenced people’s choices and judgments. At the same time, the regulations of the Education Museum stipulated that anyone could purchase tickets to enter the museum. At this point, the student space extended outward, becoming a modern urban public place for ordinary leisure and entertainment. In terms of political public opinion and performance space, while the official emphasized the political nature of the performances, it also arranged non-political performances. This was because the public facilities of the Department of Education also needed to be operated and managed; when it was under economic pressure, it had to be disciplined by the existing form of the music pavilion and stage themselves to perform popular music. At this point, it can be seen that the form of the place also invisibly influenced the behavior of people, forming a modern urban public space.

Although Guangdong Education Museum established in 1912 only existed for a short period of two years, it can be seen from the exhibition space that with all things gathered, the education museums integrated modern urban public space that the city, as a kind of image, was a narrative symbol expressed by the official consciousness, which regulated the public perception in turn. Due to the political turmoil, all the voices and ambitions eventually became fond dreams. However, the brand-new experience and insights brought about by such social space management based on the cultural landscape of the provincial city had affected the social and cultural tone of Guangzhou after the 1920s.

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