



Voices from Public Assembly Trumpets: Sound Tool and Student Movement in Republican China

Xu Ziming

Department of History, Nanjing University, China, Graduate School Student(PhD)

E-mail: xuziming2015@163.com

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ABSTRACT

In recent years, the studies on the student movement in Republican China have been more accurate. However, some areas still remain uncovered, such as the technology of student movement. In this paper, the author focuses on how students utilize sound tools in their movements, especially in public meetings. During the May 4th Movement and the 1920s, Chinese students mainly used speaking trumpets without electricity. In the 1930s, electric tools began to appear in student movement for sound propagation. In the student movement of postwar China, students of various political positions could make a use of loudspeaker, wired broadcasting, and megaphone or other equipments. The battle of sound had been part of the Chinese civil war. In general, sound tools had taken an important role in the history of student radicalism.

Key Words: Student movement, Sound technique, Republican China

I . Introduction

In China's modern history, students and student movements are unavoidable topics. However, studies on student movements, using either a revolution history paradigm before 1980s or a more objective and multi-perspective-focused approach later, are all from angle of political, cultural or social history, with relatively insufficient attention to the material and technology aspects. Therefore, this essay attempts to study student movements in Republican China period from the aspect of sound technologies used in demonstration, propaganda, and assemblies. To answer the question how students organized and conducted movements requires probe into not only its social root, ideology and culture background but also development of technologies and tools and their interaction with users.

Xiong Yuezhi has pointed out in *Western Learning Spreading to the East and Social Change* that new objects emerging after the Industrial Revolution did not only change people's mode of production and life extensively and deeply, but also played a role in China's modern history as an element in modernization and urbanization¹⁾. And before, there were some scholars attempting to analyze modern China's social movements from the perspective of technical tools, for example, Yang Xu wrote an article named *Electrified National Mobilization*, which explained how Chinese Boycotts movement in late Qing dynasty used telegram as a technical tool for mobilization²⁾. This essay, named *A Tool to Transmit Sound and Student Movements* in the Republican China Period, intends to study student movements in the Republican China period following this logic.

Different from radio broadcasting that transcends limitation of time and space and serves ordinary people, sound transmission tools and cases studied in this essay don't fall in the category of mass media, but highly depend on locality and venue, closely linked with one-off demonstration or assembly. Technically speaking, sound transmission tools used by student movements, particularly non-electrical speaking trumpets or home-made trumpets used by earlier movements, are very crude, not displaying any modernity in terms of technologies. However, limited propaganda range and lag in technology didn't prevent those trumpets, big or small, from playing import roles in China's modern history, and were even recorded in news reports, memoirs, student movement history books,

1) Xiong Yuezhi: *Western Learning Spreading to the East and Social Change* in his work *Qianjiang Ji*, Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2011, P. 230.

2) Yang Xu: "Electrified" *National Mobilization – Taking Late Qing Dynasty Movement Against USA's Chinese Exclusion Law in Shanghai as an Example*, a master thesis of Anhui University, 2015.

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and paintings, tinged with heroism and romanticism. These simple but practical home-made tools formed certain correspondence between urban students and CCP in remote countryside in terms of propaganda technologies³. They said that “As there were no loudspeakers, speakers had to use speaking trumpets or trumpets made of sheet iron” and students took all means to get electrical tools (by borrowing from schools or even requisitioning from merchants). This is not so much proving poor conditions for their movements as reflecting their intention and passion for using new technologies, in another word, pursuit of being politically and technically advanced altogether. With the transition from iron sheet trumpets, speaking trumpets, and home-made trumpets to wired broadcasting equipment and loudspeakers, radical students eventually brought schools as part of the pan-politicized society into China’s revolution in the 20th century.

This kind of interactions between students and people, schools and politics, mediated by voices, were vividly depicted in a poem written in 1946:

*Voices from public assembly trumpets
Crawl through my window, into my room and my heart
I shall also go
With reeds made by people
And swords given by people
To this grand assembly of people⁴*

Here we have to explain what student movements in the title refer to. As pointed out by Taiwanese scholar Lv Fangshang (1994) student movements in general sense cover campus upheavals and student movements, two aspects hard to clearly distinguish. Student movements are one kind of mass movements, which have political significance; student upheavals are unrests within campuses, which are closely linked with student benefits⁵. This categorization created by Lv Fangshang (1994) was afterwards summarized by scholars as: student movements demand what the time demands, which is not necessarily true for campus upheavals⁶. Nevertheless, on top of the time’s demands of diachronic

3) *Thoughts from Trumpets and Blackboards*, written by Wang Zhenyuan, an account of shape and effects of trumpets used in areas liberated by CCP before electrification, for your reference. Please see 11th Edition *Chongzhou City Literature and History Material Selection*, 1995, p. 111.

4) *China Poetry (Guangzhou)*, 2nd edition in 1046, p. 6 & 7, written by Yufei.

5) Lv Fangshang: *From Student Movements to Students in Movements*, special journal of Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1994, p. 1 of the Introduction.

6) Wang Yuming: *Study on Post-war Student Movements in China (1945—1949)*, a doctoral dissertation of Nanjing

nature, considerations shall also be given to synchronic features of interactions between students and other groups. Consequently, this essay still takes those student movements that didn't present strong antagonism against school authorities or government but indeed went out of campus and interacted with the public (particularly political interaction) as study subjects.

II . The Age of Speaking trumpet Age in Student Movements

Speaking trumpets are the sound transmission tool used in student movements in the very beginning. Like many other objects in China's modern history, it is also a foreign invention. In 1908, Wang Jisun (1908) translated "speaking trumpet" as "语管", in his compiled book *Physics Vocabulary*.⁷⁾ Richard Wilhelm (1911), a German missionary, in *German-English-Chinese Science Dictionary*, translated German word "schallrohr" and English word "speaking trumpet" into "语管、话管、传声筒"⁸⁾. Afterwards, 传声筒 became the then usual Chinese name of this horn shape sound transmission tool.

Speaking trumpets are used by students in mass movements, starting from the May 4th Movement. As recalled by Luo Zhanglong, on May 1st and 2nd, the covert action team comprised of 8 national schools in Beijing made 4 arrangements, the first



Fig. 1 a picture named "Social Beauty Ms. Zhou announcing the ball game result with a speaking trumpet" in *Illustrated Newspaper of China Photographic Society*, which shows shape of speaking trumpets used then.

University, 2013, p. 2.

7) *Physics Vocabulary*, compiled by Wang Jilie, published by Commercial Press, 1908, p. 24.

8) *Deutsch-englisch-chinesisches Fachwörterbuch*, compiled by Richard Wilhelm, Qingdao Deutsch-chinesische Hochschule, 1911, p.440.

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of which was to “control the rostrum, understand conference directions, and send one member to take the speaking trumpet.”⁹⁾ By May 4th, with the help from Yi Keni, a presidium member, the covert team did take control of the speaking trumpet on the Tiananmen Square and got hold of the meeting minutes.



Fig. 2 Part of *The May 4th Movement*, Zhou Lingzhao

Speaking trumpets came into play not only in the Beijing where the May 4th Movement broke out and was centered, but also in student movements elsewhere. According to *Shenbao*'s report that “Yesterday (May 7th), under scorching sun, in the national convention held in the public stadium outside the west gate, thousands of people stood around the square center, shouting through horn shape speaking trumpets and applauding”, horn shape speaking trumpets were also used in the May 7th National Convention in Shanghai. After June 16th, 1919, primary and middle school students in Suqian, on the call of State Student Union, assembled in a public stadium. As recalled by participants, “the host announced convention opening with a big speaking trumpet.”¹⁰⁾

The image of students with speaking trumpets during May 4th Movement became a sign for remembering May 4th or revolutionary spirit. After founding of the People's Republic of China, in 1951, when drawing the historical painting *May 4th Movement*, Zhou Lingzhao highlighted a young student holding a trumpet in the center

After the May 4th Movement, such horn shape speaking trumpets became a must-have for student movements, and appeared in several movements in 1920s:

1. May 30th Movement Period

After the May 30th Massacre, in June 1925, Guiyang Student Union and the May 30th Massacre Attention Group organized a demonstration. At the beginning, the chief commander and deputy chief

9) Luo Zhanglong: *The May 4th Movement and Marxism Study Society, Chinese Literature and History Material Collection- Political and Military Part*, volume 2, p. 28.

10) Liu Gongfu: Accounts of the May 4th Movement in Suqian, the 5th issue *Child-like Glee of Huaiyin Literature and History Material* edited by Literature and History Material Research Committee, Huaiyin City Council, 1986, p.

commander held an about 2-chi-long trumpet and announced, “The demonstration now starts!” Then leading students from each school marched on slowly, holding school flags and blowing horns and beating drums.¹¹⁾ In Shanghai, Shen Yixiang, then a student from University of Shanghai, “resolutely rushed out through the gate of this old church university to the street, to join in this heroic strike by workers, merchants, and students, in which she held a trumpet and a bamboo tube, gave speeches, and invited donations.”¹²⁾ (Note: bamboo tubes are used to hold money donated, which is not a sound transmission tool.) In Beijing, CCP organized protests with thousands of participants, during which Zhao Shiyan¹³⁾, Liu Qingyang¹⁴⁾, and Deng Cuiying, the representative of national army officer Lu Zhonglin, all used a speaking trumpet to speak to the mass.

2. The March 18th Massacre:

The March 18th Massacre in 1926 was Duan Qirui administration’s bloody suppression on demonstration against the Eight-Nation Alliance’s ultimatum. As recalled by participants, speakers gave speeches using a horn shape speaking trumpet, which could only spread their voice to a limited range.¹⁵⁾ Students that took part in the petition also recalled that, on the stone lion to the east of the government office, one student spoke to the mass through a trumpet, telling them Duan Qirui refused to meet student representatives.¹⁶⁾ Later on, Beijing Local Supervision Department admitted as well, “there were students holding trumpets, flags, and flyers, nothing else.”¹⁷⁾

3. March 31st Massacre in Chongqing during the Northern Expedition

11) Liu Zuchun, Zhang Rubi (writer): *Recalls of Guiyang Student Movements for Massacre*, in the 2nd issue of *Guiyang Literature and History Material Selection* compiled by *Guizhou Literature and History Material Compilation Committee*, Guiyang, Guizhou People’s Press, 1981, p. 187.

12) Xia Mingxi, Wang Shunqi: Shen Yixiang, *Principal of the First Girls’ School in China*, the 5th volume of *Collection of Zhejiang Literature and History Database* compiled by *Zhejiang Province Literature and History Database Committee*, Hangzhou, Zhejiang People’s Press, 1996, p. 266.

13) *Historical Materials on Zhao Shiyan*, *Collection of Sichuan Literature and History Materials* compiled by the 23rd issue *Sichuan Province Literature and History Research Committee*, p. 243.

14) *Shenbao*, June 15th, 1925.

15) Zhang Shunying: *An Account of the March 18th Massacre*, the 2nd volume of *Chinese Literature and History Material Collection- Political and Military Part*, Chinese Literature and History Press, p. 128.

16) Yang Chunzhou: *What a Student Sees in a Petition*, in the 102nd edition of *Selection of Literature and History Materials* by *Literature and History Material Research Committee*, Literature and History Material Press, 1986, p. 9.

17) *Shenbao*, April 8th, 1926.

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The March 31st Chongqing Massacre happened on March 31st, 1927, when the Sichuan warlord Liu Xiang suppressed protests against British military vessels shelling Nanjing, which was led by the KMT left wing and CCP, and resulted in death of over one thousand. As recalled by Ye Lankui, a survivor, when students and people were setting up the venue without a clue of the military's plot, some student representatives (there were six groups representing workers, farmers, merchants, students, soldiers, and women respectively) shouted with a trumpet, "all groups and school representatives, please meet on the platform."¹⁸⁾ Then, people started walking to the platform, and suddenly gunfire broke out.

To now, we have demonstrated usage of speaking trumpets in major movements in 1920s. The period from the May 4th Movement to China's student movements in the early 1930s might be called "the age of speaking trumpets." Speaking trumpets were the key acoustic tool for student propaganda, which were of the shape shown in picture 1 and 2 and made of sheet iron, sheet lead, paper, and so on. Of course, speaking trumpets are not the only acoustic tool. If possible, revolutionary youth would surely not reject advanced and big electrical tools. For example, Ye Minzhai, a Sichuan gentry member, gave a gramophone, "which had a skewed trumpet and was rarely seen then", to Li Guanying, his eldest son-in-law and an early communist, to support his revolutionary propaganda.¹⁹⁾ However, tools like speaking trumpets (called home-made broadcaster or loudspeaker) could still be seen in the War of Resistance Against Japan, the Liberation War, and political propaganda after establishment of the People's Republic of China.

Here I'd like to mention another type of trumpet, a musical instrument with a horn shape



Fig. 3 Cover of *Red Light*, a monthly magazine

18) Ye Lankui: *Saddening Recall of March 31st, Chongqing Literature and History Material Journal – Account of Chongqing March 31st Massacre*, written by CPPCC Sichuan Province Chongqing City Committee, p. 138.

19) Li Banglie: *My Mother Ye Zhuangbo*, the 21st issue of *Collection of Neijiang Literature and History Materials* compiled by Sichuan Province Neijiang City Literature and History Research Committee, 2004, p. 94.

mouth. Such trumpets were also used in student movements together with bronze drums and other instruments, to clear the way or draw attention from pedestrians before slogan shouting or speeches, not for speeches or speeches themselves. As recalled by Li Xianwen(2009), a Tsinghua University student during the May 4th Movement, “at that time, Tsinghua students like us, with tall ones holding flags in the front, blowing horns and beating drums, entered the city from Xizhi Gate to participate in demonstration, shouting slogans all the way”.²⁰⁾ Besides, the provincial 2nd Normal University and 8th Middle School students in Zhangzhou used “bronze drums and trumpets” to clear ways in protests as well²¹⁾. According to an article, a drawing on the cover of *Red Light*, CCP Europe branch’s official magazine, shows a young man holding high a red flag with his right hand, and a “loudspeaker” on the left hand²²⁾. However, we can see from the original drawing that it is neither an electrical loudspeaker nor a speaking trumpet, but actually a musical instrument like a trumpet. Usage of instruments in propaganda should be related to the design of this drawing.

III. Electrical sound transmission tools and student movements before and after Sino-Japanese War

Speaking trumpets maintained its leading role in China’s student movement propaganda until the movement on January 29th in 1935 and early days of Sino-Japanese War. For example, one who experienced the Jan 29th Movement in Wuhan saw that “one student, possibly from Zhonghua University, was speaking with a speaking trumpet made of sheet iron, announcing the demonstration objective, sequence, and route”.²³⁾ In one venue of the January 29th Movement in Kaifeng, one speaker “held one trumpet made of wrought iron to his mouth and spoke to the audience.”²⁴⁾ The image of one

20) Li Xianwen: *Autobiography of Li Xianwen*, Hunan Education Press, 2009, p. 17.

21) Shenbao, June 1st, 1919.

22) Zhang Zhongjian: *Recalls of Work & Study in France*, the 11th issue of *Zhitong County Literature and History Materials* compiled by Zhitong County Consultative Conference Culture, Education, and Health Committee, 1994, p. 84.

23) Chen Wudu: *Recalls of Wuhan Dec. 9th Student Movement, the 1st issue of Wuhan Literature and History Material Database* compiled by Wuhan City Consultative Conference Literature and History Research Committee, Wuhan, Wuhan Press, 1999, p. 497

24) Ji daozi: Kaifeng Students’ Recall of Peiking Jan. 29th Movement, the 12nd issue of *Henan Literature and History*

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January 29th Movement participant, a female university student, standing on a stool and speaking to Beijing residents through a speaking trumpet became the cover of *Public Life* magazine.²⁵⁾ In 1937, Xishui Junior Middle School built up an anti-Japanese salvation propaganda team. Its members “picked up home-made trumpets and explained to the mass why we needed to unite, fight, and save our country, which was well received.”²⁶⁾ Home-made trumpets are also called home-made broadcaster. A girls’ school in Anju Town Tongliang County (whose principal was an underground CCP member) used home-made broadcasters for anti-Japan propaganda, including teaching students to sing anti-Japan songs in the mountain behind the school in the morning and afternoon, as well as the mass on the go-to-market day.²⁷⁾

However, from the middle 1920s, electrical sound amplifying tools started to be used in commercial promotion, cultural education, public assemblies, and politician speeches in China. In 1923, foreign taxpayers in the international settlement held a conference in the city hall, with a sound amplifier set up on the platform in advance, which was an early assembly in China’s modern history using sound amplifiers. In 1925, when people from all sectors of Shanghai held a memorial service to mourn Sun Yat-sen, “they borrowed



Fig. 4 the cover of *Public Life* magazine in 1935: a female student holding a trumpet made of sheet iron and speaking. The figure in this picture is Lu Cui, a student of Department of Sociology of Tsinghua University.

Materials compiled by Henan Province Consultative Conference Literature and History Research Committee, Henan People’s Press, 1984, p. 62.

25) Zhou Aicong: *Two Anti-Japan Salvation Organizations Forced to Stop*, the 4th issue of *Changde Literature and History Materials* compiled by Changde City Council Literature and History Research Committee, 1988, p. 5.

26) Xu Youjun: *Xishui Students’ Salvation Propaganda during the Anti-Japan War*, the 1st issue of *Xishui Literature and History Materials* compiled by Xishui County Council Literature and History Research Committee, 1987, p. 44.

27) *Recalls of Anti-Japan Propaganda*, with materials provided by Wang Jiyuan and organized by Yan Changgao, in the 12th issue of *Hechuan Literature and History Materials* compiled by Sichuan Province Hechuan County Council Literature and History Material Committee, 1999, p. 32.

sound amplifiers from the Youth Association to use for memorial speeches.”²⁸⁾ In 1927, there was an advertisement that wrote “the venue is big, so the audience can’t hear clearly without a loudspeaker provided by Yamei Company”²⁹⁾ on *Shenbao*. “Setting up a sound amplifier for public assemblies” was later even required for KMT party activities³⁰⁾.

Electrical sound transmission tools had already appeared in public places, but were more used for commercial purposes and in speeches, assemblies, movements and others led by politicians in power. The speed of microphones, loudspeakers, wired broadcasting devices entering campuses was slow. Some coastal cities and a few provincial capitals, such as Jiangsu Province, were ahead of their times, and defined ambitious province-wide electrical-device-based education plan³¹⁾. However, generally speaking, electrical sound devices were still not widely used in universities and high schools until before the War of Resistance Against Japan started, let alone become a tool freely used by students. In December 1931, Shandong Student Union went southward to Nanjing to petition for the Mukden Incident. When seeing a microphone in the hall of Nanjing National Government upon reception by Chiang Kai-shek, they said it was something they never seen before³²⁾. Some of them even highlighted in their memoirs, Chiang Kai-shek speaking in Fenghua accent in front of the old-style microphone like a clown³³⁾.

Nevertheless, poor conditions didn’t stop students from commitment to electrified on-site propaganda. Students devoted to anti-Japan propaganda in those years once wrote an article named *An Anti-Japan Propaganda Team of Volunteers*, to describe in detail how a group of middle school students in Huai’an built up an “electrified anti-Japan propaganda team”:

28) *Shenbao*, March 21st, 1925.

29) *Shenbao News*, August 27th, 1927.

30) In May 1930, two decisions were made in KMT Jiangsu Province Meeting, the 2nd of which is “to set Jiangsu province club and loudspeakers for public assemblies in the provincial capital. *Shenbao*, May 8th, 1930.

31) Refer to *Study on Electrified Education in Jiangsun Province in the Republican China Period* written by Du Guangsheng, a doctoral dissertation of Inner Mongolia Normal University, 2013.

32) *Recall of Shandong Students Demonstration in Nanjing for the Sept. 18th Incident* written by Tian Youzhuo, in the 3rd issue of *Zibo Literature and History Materials Collection* compiled by Shandong Province Zibo City Consultative Conference Literature and History MaterialResearch Committee, 1985, p. 34.

33) “At that time, it was an old microphone in front of Chiang Kai-shek, which could not directly amplify sounds but through several trumpets in the venue. Chiang Kai-shek talked and boasted to the microphone, and then the boast transmitted to the loudspeakers outside, which caused howls of laughter. That was a real embarrassment. Chiang Kai-shek was astonished, and just dodged by saying “this matter is …” in Fenghua accent. *Recall of the Petition Group Going Down South*, in the 12th issue of *Zaozhuang Literature and History Materials* compiled by CPPCC Zaozhuang Council Literature and History Material Committee , 1991 p. 60.

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After July 7th Lugou Bridge Incident broke out, the whole nation joined in bitter denunciation of the enemy and brought the fight against Japanese invaders to a peak. In the fall of 1938, some middle school students of Huaian County volunteered to build up an anti-Japan salvation propaganda team, named “electrified anti-Japan propaganda team”. Following the wired broadcasting method, it needs only one loudspeaker, one broadcasting device, and one room as a temporary broadcasting room, with the loudspeaker connected with power and hanged on the square or by the street, to broadcast to the mass. Finishing in one place and then moving to another, it is really convenient...We borrowed a gramophone and many records. At the beginning of every broadcast, we played some songs first and then go to business, mainly reading news on anti-Japan war victories everywhere, abstracted from newspaper articles., and sometimes playing anti-Japan songs in between, for example, *My family in the Northeast Songhua River*... Some people feel deeply touched and educated hearing such songs.³⁴⁾

Among them, the main contributors were Zhu Baoshan, Dai Kuiyuan, and Dai Enming, as they were best in class performance, particularly at physics. They came up with the idea of using wired broadcasting for propaganda and got some loose telecom parts and pieced them together into a broadcasting machine...Qian Shubao and Xue Juehe, elder than us and of sturdy build, were responsible for handling the machine, hanging the loudspeaker, wiring, and maintaining order on site, etc.. Every time, Dai Yaoyuan, a steady young man, made a plan, had it agreed by others through discussions, and then divided the work.³⁵⁾

These are valuable descriptions of the origin of the electrified anti-Japan propaganda team, device sources, propaganda contents and effects, and job sharing. The reason why students tried all means to get electrical equipment is their tremendous function in anti-Japan salvation propaganda and unprecedented convenience in inspiring and educating the mass. Now, over 80 years later, we can still feel their excitement and joy.

Apart from packaging by themselves, students also learned to borrow broadcasting equipment from merchants with some strong measures. Below is a case of Wuxi students conducting anti-Japan propaganda in 1930s:

34) Lin Zong: *A Volunteered Anti-Japan Propaganda Team*, in the 10th issue of *Huai'an Literature and History Materials* compiled by Jiangsun Province Huai'an City Consultative Conference Literature and History Material Committee , 1992 p. 197.

35) the 10th issue of *Huai'an Literature and History Materials*, p. 198.

At that time, modern tools were few used in anti-Japan salvation propaganda. Only trumpets made of sheet lead were used to speak to the people, which worked really poorly. Shihe Cloth Shop, in a prime location on the North Street outside the North Gate (now still there left intact), with a decorated signage, had broadcasting equipment upstairs. Students asked to borrow from them but got refused. In despair, one student said, “We may have to take strong measures.” Then they went upstairs without permission. Those knowing some about broadcasting entered the broadcasting room and used equipment inside to appeal to the mass for resistance against Japan, and called on merchants to be patriotic, rather than selling Japanese goods for their own interests to improve Japan’s economic power and bring harm to China and Chinese people. With broadcasting equipment, young students made huge propaganda achievements.³⁶⁾

For people now, requisitioning merchants’ equipment is an extreme action. But, for students as enlighteners, modern equipment were things that they “should” have and use. In the context of national crisis, students believed their nationalism ideology was of utmost moral legitimacy.

Of course, not all students had to self-make or requisition electrical broadcasting equipment. Actually, political connection and university relocation to inland in the Anti-Japanese War period greatly boosted exchanges between students at different schools in various places. Consequently, primary and middle school students were often able to get help and guidance from university students and social professionals. For example, Yangliu Street Primary School in Zunyi Guizhou asked for help from Zhejiang University, which was relocated there. It was said that they “borrowed a loudspeaker from Zhejiang University, hanged two trumpets in the venue, and shouted commands using a microphone.”³⁷⁾ Students from Guangyang Middle School in Shunde Guangdong said, when giving a performance in public to invite donation of winter clothes for refugees from the Northeast, “luckily Chen Dongru, a graduate, borrowed equipment and helped us with performance lighting and sound setting.”³⁸⁾ After Lugou Bridge Incident broke out, Hou Yizhai and Tanwei, two young people

36) Ye Jingqiu: Student Movments in Wuxi in 1930s, in the 4th issue of *Wuxi County Literature and History Materials* compiled by Jiangsun Province Wuxi City Consultative Conference Literature and History MaterialResearch Committee , 1986, p. 40.

37) Li Hengzhang: *Recall of Red Schools – Zunyi Old City (Yangliu Street) School*, in *About Zunyi in the Anti-Japan War Period (II)* in the 8th issue of *Zunyi Literature and History Materials* compiled by Zunyi City Literature and History MaterialResearch Committee , 1985, p. 173.

38) Luo Feng: *Some Accounts of Shunde Student Movements in the Beginning of Anti-Japan Salvation*, in the 3rd issue of *Shunde Literature and History* compiled by Guangdong Province Shunde County Consultative Conference, Shunde

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who were studying in Nanjing and had already joined in the Student Salvation Union, went back to Wuhu and mobilized local youth to hold the “Propaganda Convention of Wuhu Youth’s Support for anti-Japanese Soldiers”, broadcast anti-Japanese programs, and “appeal for resistance against Japan on the street with a loudspeaker for the first time.”³⁹⁾

IV. The Battle of Voice: KMT versus CCP Fighting and Sound Transmission Tools in the Post-War Student Movement

The student movement of post-war China is a subject of much concern in the study of modern history. Mao Zedong once used the phrase “second front” to outline “the sharp struggle between the great and righteous student movement and Chiang Kai-shek’s reactionary government.” Today, the academic circles have a more comprehensive understanding of the history of the student movement under the struggle between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. For example, Wang Qisheng (2017) pointed out that the campus is not simply a confrontation between the progressive teachers and students who pro-CCP versus the military and police agents of Kuomintang. There have also been “non-battlefield struggles” between organizations and students.⁴⁰⁾ Wang Yuming believes that in addition to the political struggle between Kuomintang and CCP, the student movement has its own internal mechanism.⁴¹⁾ Today, however, it is an incontrovertible fact that since 1948, the student movement in the Kuomintang-controlled area has indeed become an opposition between teachers and students versus the Kuomintang government, and has become a factor in favor of the CCP. So, from the perspective of the “the material history of student movement”, what role do loudspeakers, tweeters and other sound transmission tools play in this struggle and competition in campus space?

County Printing House, 1983, p. 22.

39) Ding Yu: *Anti-Japan Salvation Activities Conducted by Wuhu Young Students*, in *Local History of CCP Wuhan for Youngsters* compiled by Wuhu Municipal Party Committee CCP History Research Center Anhui People’s Press, 2006, p. 164.

40) Wang Qisheng: *KMT in the University Campus*, in his work *Revolution and Counter-Revolution: The Politics of the Republic of China from the Perspective of Social Culture*, China Social Sciences Publishing House, 2017, p.227.

41) Wang Yuming: *Study on Post-war Student Movements in China (1945—1949)*, p. 129.

1. The authorities utilized amplifying equipment to calm student movement

In July 1948, a student movement erupted in Kunming, demanding “against U.S.’s supporting to Japan”, which resulted in a confrontation between students and military and police forces. On July 15th, when the students of Yunnan University confronted the military police, the Yunnan Police Command asked Ding Zhongjiang, the president of *Pingmn Daily*, to broadcast a speech to the students, which’s main point was: “Students should put their studies first and not be exploited by others, hold back quickly, return to the original school to study . The government would protect the safety of students.” In order to prevent students from throwing stones at Ding Zhongjiang, the military police also placed loudspeakers on the wall and the wires were stretched very long to make Ding Zhongjiang Hiding in the hayloft. However, Ding Zhongjiang has been regarded as a “cultural spy” and the students are unmoved.⁴²⁾ In the early morning of the 17th, Lu Han, the chairman of Yunnan Province, came to the campus, put up a loudspeaker on the rack downstairs, once again persuaded the students to get out of the building, and promised that they would not be punished, and finally said, “If you don’t listen to me, I don’t care about you.” That’s it! After speaking, he left the loudspeaker to get into the car. Lu Han’s method and posture finally worked. Yunnan University students followed the advice and walked out of the building.⁴³⁾ After the incident, He Shaozhou, the commander-in-chief of the Yunnan Garrison who was present, said angrily to Shenzui: “He (referring to Lu Han) specializes in being good cop and leave us to be bad cop.” What He Shaozhou didn’t understand was that communicating with students in front of a loudspeaker and so-called “Pretend to be a good cop” is exactly the necessary method adopted by those in power to deal with student movement.

2. School provided amplifying equipment for pro- Kuomintang students

As mentioned above, the KMT is not purely passive in campus. There are also members of the Three People’s Principles Youth League and the Youth Army in colleges and universities, and the Kuomintang government can instruct the school to provide support for their activities. For example, at Nanchang National Chung Cheng University, in the 1947 student union election, the school took the initiative to provide loudspeakers to the Zhengguang campaign composed of the Three People’s

42) Li Zhizheng: *The procession of the Kuomintang reactionaries’ suppression of the student movement in Kunming on the July 15th incident*, The Yunnan Consultative Conference Literature and History Research Committee: *Yunnan Literature and History Selection*, Series 2, 1963, p.126.

43) Shen Zui: *The whole story of the suppression of the student patriotic movement during the July 15 incident in Kunming*, National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference Literature and History Research Committee :*Literature and History Selection* ,50th Series , Literature and History Publishing House, 1964, p.184.

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Principles Youth League, the Youth Army, and the Youth Party, so that they could put propaganda such as “Rebellion”, “Founding of a Nation”, and “Three Principles of the People” all day long in loudspeaker.⁴⁴⁾ However, the result of the election was still the victory of another electoral group “representing the progressive forces of democracy.” It can be seen that propaganda equipment cannot determine the success or failure of political struggles on campus.

3. Students utilized amplifying equipment to develop student movement

Loudspeakers and loudspeakers are not only used by the authorities or pro-government student groups. During the 1947 election for the Fudan University Student Union, a student named Jiang Changyue borrowed a radio speaker from his brother to serve for the “Joint Campaign group” supported by underground CCP, and was responsible for installation, debugging, and maintenance during the election. (2000).⁴⁵⁾ In response, the campaign group of the Fudan’s Three People’s Principles Youth League also set its own broadcast, even saying that a member of the “Joint Campaign group” was the director of the political department of Li Xiannian’s army.⁴⁶⁾ However, Three People’s Principles Youth League had fallen behind in its propaganda methods, the use of slander methods was even more disheartening, and as a result, it lost the student union election. Progressive students will not only use amplifying and broadcasting methods to target the opponents of the Youth League in the school, but also use loudspeakers to promote to the military and police. On June 5, 1948, the students of Shanghai Jiaotong University held a parade on campus and set up powerful loudspeakers on a hill to preach to the soldiers on guard on campus the meaning of “against U.S. ’s supporting to Japan”. KMT officers did not want soldiers to hear student propaganda and ordered them to sing KMT party songs. At the end of the song, the “dear police brothers” preaching from the students rang again.⁴⁷⁾ In

44) Zhang Yingquan: *My experience in the Nanchang student movement*, Nanchang Committee of the Communist Youth League : “*Jiangxi Literature and History Selection : Memoirs of Nanchang Youth Movement*”, Jiangxi Provincial Publishing Administration, 1981, p.254.

45) Ge Qiangyue: *Years of passion: My Life in 1940s*, 2005, p.174.

46) Compilation of Fudan University CCP Activities during the Third Civil Revolution War, Wang Zheng wrote: *Fudan University Party Activities during the Third Civil Revolution War*, Fudan University Press, 2000, p. 109.

47) The Student Movement History Compilation Group of CCP Committee of Jiaotong University: *Democratic Fortress Grows Strongly in Struggle, Literature and History Materials Selection*, vol.2, compiled by Shanghai Consultative Conference Literature and History Material Working Committee, 1979, Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 1979, p. 114. *Stories of Shanghai Modern Revolution* published in the early 1960s also mentioned that the students of Jiaotong University used loudspeakers to propagate anti-US support to the military and police: “Students keep propagating through the broadcaster. Police officers are even more anxious. ‘Don’t listen!’ and asked the police to sing reactionary

1948, at the “Anti-Civil War and Anti-Persecution” rally at Peking University, the student leaders of the North China Federation of Students also used a loudspeaker on the podium to report the process of military and police suppression.⁴⁸⁾

4. The authorities destroyed the power supply conditions to suppress student movement

On December 1, 1945, the KMT military police suppressed the teachers and students of the Southwest Associated University who demanded anti-civil war in Kunming, causing four deaths and more than ten serious injuries. It was the “one two-one tragedy”. After the incident, the Kunming Federation of Students and various non-governmental organizations held a funeral ceremony for the four people who sacrificed. A total of 30,000 people participated. Originally, the Federation of Students set up loudspeakers in Mashikou, Huguomen and other places to preach at the funeral, but a temporary power outage occurred in Kunming that day. The power outage was judged by the students as a prepared conspiracy by the government. The students of the Southwest Associated University standing on the high platform of the road sacrifice can only “chant the sacrifice in a hoarse voice.”⁴⁹⁾The government’s “power cut” measures did limit the ceremonial effect originally planned by the Federation of Students.

5. Students destroyed amplifying equipment to develop student movement

In May 1947, the so called Protecting School movement was launched in Shanghai Jiaotong University. The students of Jiaotong University arrived at Shanghai North Railway Station and prepared to go to Nanjing to petition. In order to calm the turmoil, the university president Wu Baofeng wrote eight notices, the contents were broadcast to the students by the loudspeakers of the station. However, the students’ emotions became more intense, destroying the station loudspeakers and insisting on driving train to Nanjing to petition. The *Shenbao* report said with emotion: “The student representatives are no longer able to convey the opinions of both. It seems that there is no

songs to disrupt.” See Zhuang Xing et al.: *Stories of Shanghai Modern Revolution*, Shanghai People’s Publishing House, 1961, p.142.

48) Tangshan Consultative Conference Literature and History Material Committee: *Tangshan Jiaotong University Student Movement :1946-1949*, Kaiming Publishing House, 1994, p. 63.

49) Zhou Zhang: *The funeral of the four martyrs of the “December 1st Incident” attended by 30,000 people in Kunming, Selected historical materials of the December 1st Movement*, compiled by editor group of history of the December 1st Movement, Yunnan People’s Publishing House, 1980, p.93.

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way to put down it.”⁵⁰⁾ Finally, Minister of Education Zhu Jiahua came to Zhenru Station, sat in the armored car and talked to the students with a loudspeaker, agreeing the requirements of the students. Here, Jiaotong University students dismantling loudspeakers is more emotional and symbolic than functional—that is, they hate loudspeakers to convey the voice of the authorities and demonstrate to the authorities by demolishing the loudspeakers.

6. Students’ comprehensive utilization of amplifying equipment equipment

In May 1948, a publicity gala to commemorate the “May Fourth Movement” was held at Shanghai Jiaotong University. This event typically showed students’ comprehensive use of sound, light, and electricity when expressing politics:

On that day, the entrance to Jiaotong University was open, and you couldn’t help entering and exiting. The large lawn in front of Ronghong Hall was like a blanket spread on a hot floor. Everybody’s arms stretched out enthusiastically to all those who defend democracy and pursue progress. On the roof of the gymnasium and Ronghong Hall, It is equipped with a huge “nine-headedbird” (loudspeaker) which was rare at that time. The head of the student union discussed with me, decided to choose the gymnasium to be the gala center, and opened all the door and windows. I asked the head of the engineering department to discuss together and decided to utilize school’s storage materials, electricians, and carpenters vigorously assisted students in making arrangements.⁵¹⁾

On the evening of May 4th, the atmosphere on the campus of Jiaotong University was refreshed. On the large lawn in front of the upper courtyard and the middle courtyard, a tall “democratic fortress” was erected. The tweeter on the floor of the engineering hall broadcasted an exciting march: “Brothers, toward the sun, toward freedom, toward the bright road. You see that the darkness will disappear, and the light will shine ahead.” From the gate of Jiaotong University to Democracy Square, a road was decorated to show how Chinese youths struggle from “May 4th to May 4th”. From the school gate, along the way were lanterns which was marked by large arrows, “May 4th”, “May 30th”...in turn. The last arrow is “Towards Dawn”, pointing directly to the gate of the campfire. At the other end of Democracy Square, on the newly built Xinwenzhitang building, ten characters “Democratic, Free and Happy New China”

50) *Shenbao*, May 14th, 1947

51) Cai Ze: *Fragment of Jiaotong University Student Movement, Literature and History Materials Selection*, vol.2, compiled by Shanghai Consultative Conference Literature and History Material Working Committee, 1979, p.176.

are hung, catchin audiences' eyes.⁵²⁾

The combination of student movement politics and power technology depends not only on the students of Jiaotong University who are good at science and engineering and the technical conditions of the “nine-headed bird” (loudspeaker), but also on mobilizing the “mass” in the “small society” of campus. . For example, the author of the first recollection, Cai Ze, was then the head of the General Affairs Department of the Jiao Tong University, and he fully supported the activities of the students; there were also electricians and woodworkers who participated in the arrangement, and they were mobilized into campus politics. The comprehensive participation of personnel also shows that the climax of the post-war student movement is indeed the “student movement” rather than the “student upheaval”, that is, it is not a confrontation within the campus, but a political conflict between all teachers, students and employees, which is regarded as oppressive. opposition. The Kuomintang government's “exercising students”, spy activities, and violence, and other countermeasures, have on the contrary made themselves more and more deprived of legitimacy on campus. When studying the post-war student movement of the Central University, Jiang Baolin (2016) commented that, in general, the Kuomintang's attitude and response to the student movement have become increasingly tough, and the CCP's organization and mobilization methods have also become more adept.⁵³⁾ In fact, this is not only the case in Central University, but also in Shanghai Jiaotong University and many other schools. In fact, this is not only the case in Central University, but also in Shanghai Jiaotong University and many other schools. Advanced sound technology is part of this “more skilled organization and mobilization method”, which has effectively helped CCP get an advantage in the particular space of campus.

Scientist Li Xianwen mentioned in his self-report that when Tsinghua students participated in the May Fourth Movement, apart from reminiscing “holding the banner, blowing the trumpet, drumming... and shouting slogans along the road”, he also commented that “it seems like this is patriotic. , I have lost all my homework.”⁵⁴⁾ Li Xianwen here implies criticism and reflection, that is, political concern should not affect students' pursuit of academic work. Twenty years after the

52) Zhou Wangjian : *Recall of Against U.S.'s Supporting to Japan Movement in Shanghai, Literature and History Materials Selection*, vol.2 , compiled by Shanghai Consultative Conference Literature and History Material Working Committee, 1979, p.155.

53) Jiang Baolin: *Academics and Politics in the National Central University during the period of the Republic of China*, Nanjing University Press 2016 edition, p.271.

54) Li Xianwen: *Autobiography of Li Xianwen*, Hunan Education Press, 2009, p. 17.

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May Fourth Movement, the politicization of the student movement has continued unabated, and the students' sound tools have also changed from "trumpets and drums" and "tin horns" to sound amplifying equipment integrated with "sound and light". For the students of Jiaotong University in 1948, they probably did not think that participation in politics hindered their studies; on the contrary, they actively used the scientific and technological knowledge they learned to serve the goal of "saving the country" in a more active and radical way. Campus politics has its own mechanism. Neither the coping strategies of those in power nor the "academic-based" and "scientific-based" concepts of predecessor teachers can completely restrict the actions of young students. From a long-term historical perspective, the scene and image of "students occupying the building and using tweeters to promote their claims" is not a phenomenon unique to China in the 1940s, but a preview of the typical scenes of the student movement in the second half of the 20th century. Such scenes have occurred in the "May Storm" in France in 1968 and the conflict of University of Tokyo in Japan in 1969.

In short, in the course of Chinese students from the "May Fourth Movement" to the "Dawn", the sound transmission tools used by the student movement and the ways in which these tools are used have also undergone a process of development and change. History should not be forgotten, those big and small trumpets, let alone the lively sound from those speakers. It is worth noting that in addition to sound tools, the student movement also has research value on the use of various "implements", such as printing tools (how students make flyers and self-printed publications), communication tools (how movement participants contact), images, Flags, etc. If we add the perspective from the "implement", we can see a more comprehensive and vivid history of student movement.

Ethical considerations

Ethical issues (including plagiarism, informed consent, misconduct, data fabrication and/or falsification, double publication and/or submission, and redundancy) have been completely observed by authors.

Conflict of Interests

The author has no conflict of interests to declare.

[原始中文]

集会的喇叭——传声工具与民国学生运动

一、引论

在中国近代史上，学生和学生运动，是一个绕不开的话题。然而，关于学生运动，无论是八十年代之前的“革命范式”，还是之后更加客观、更加强调多角度的研究，都是从政治史、文化史或社会史着眼的，对其中物质、技术方面的关注相对不足。因此，本文尝试从学生在游行、示威、宣传、集会时声音技术入手，来还原民国学生运动的一个侧面。要回答学生是如何“运动”起来和怎样“运动”的问题，除了社会根源的追溯和思想文化脉络上的考察，还要考虑到技术工具的发展变化，及其与使用者——人的互动。

熊月之在《西物东渐与社会变迁》中曾指出，工业革命以来层出不穷的新器物不仅广泛而深刻地改变了人们的生产生活方式，也作为现代化、城市化的元素在中国近代史上发挥了作用¹⁾。之前已有研究者尝试从技术工具角度剖析近代中国的社会运动，如杨旭《“触电”的民族动员》就关注于晚清抵制美国《华工禁约》运动怎样利用电报这一“技术资源”进行动员²⁾。本文题为“传声工具与民国学生运动”，就是想接续这一理路，试图从“器物”角度考察民国学生运动。

与能够超越具体时空限制、服务于普遍的市民大众的无线电广播不同，本文所提及的诸多传声工具和案例并不属于大众传媒的范畴，它们高度依赖于在地性和现场性，与一次性的游行、集会紧紧联系在一起；从技术上讲，学生运动所使用的传音工具，尤其是初期所用的、非电力的传声筒或“土喇叭”往往非常粗陋，就科技本身并不具有特别的“现代性”。然而，传播范围的狭窄和技术上的“落后”并没有阻止那些大大小小的喇叭在近代史上扮演重要角色，乃至被涂抹上英雄主义和浪漫主义的色彩，留存在新闻报道、回忆录、学运史书写、杂志封面和油画当中。而“简易实用”的“土工具”，也让城市中的学生与中共在偏远农村中“宣传事

1) 熊月之：《西物东渐与社会变迁》，载氏著《千江集》，上海人民出版社，2011年，第230页。

2) 杨旭：《“触电”的民族动员——以晚清上海抵制〈华工禁约〉运动为例》，安徽大学硕士学位论文，2015年。

业”的技术实践形成了某种呼应³⁾；当事者“当时没有扩音器，讲演者只能用传声筒/铁皮喇叭”的表述和学生千方百计（借用学校设备甚至强行征用商家设备）获得电化传声工具的行为，与其说证明了他们从事运动时的条件简陋，不如说反映了他们利用新技术来参与运动的目标和热情，即追求“政治上进步”和“技术上先进”的同一。在学运宣传工具由“铁皮喇叭”、“喇叭筒”、“土话筒”发展为有线广播和高音喇叭的同时，激进学生最终也使校园作为一个泛政治化的社会的一部分，参与了二十世纪中国革命。

这种以声音为中介的、学生和“人民”、校园和政治之间的互动，形象地体现在1946年的一首诗当中：

集会的喇叭

那声音爬进了我的窗里，我的房里，我的心里呀！

我也得出去，

我也得带着人民的芦荻，

人民交给我的刀剑出去……

出去参加这个广大的民众集会⁴⁾

在此，我们还必须为本文题目中的“学生运动”做一说明。如台湾学者吕芳上指出，泛化的“学生运动”称呼实际上涵盖了“学潮”和“学运”两个不易截然划分的方面。“学运”是群众运动的一种，具有政治意义；而“学潮”指学校内部的风潮，与学生的切身利益有关⁵⁾。吕芳上的划分，被后来学者总结为：学生运动与时代诉求一致，而学潮则不一定反映时代诉求⁶⁾。不过，除了历时性的时代诉求之外，还应考虑到共时性的学生与其他群体互动的特点。因而，对于那些并未针对校方或政府表现出很强的对抗性，但确实走出校园、与社会大众形成互动（尤其是政治性的互动）的学生活动，本文仍将其作为考察的对象。

3) 王振垣《由喇叭筒和黑板报想到的》一文，记述了电器化之前中共解放区运用的“喇叭筒”的形制和作用，可供参考。见崇州市政协编印《崇州市文史资料选辑》第11辑，1995年，第111页。

4) 《中国诗坛（广州）》，1946年光复版新2期，第6至7页。作者署名“宇菲”。

5) 吕芳上：《从学生运动到运动学生》，台北中研院近代史研究所专刊，1994年，“绪论”第1页。

6) 汪玉明：《战后中国学生运动研究（1945—1949）》，南京大学博士学位论文，2013年，第2页。

二、学生运动的“传声筒”时代

传声筒，是最开始在学生运动中大展身手的传声工具。和近代中国的诸多事物一样，传声筒也是一种舶来品。1908年，王季孙在其编译的《物理学语汇》中将英文“speaking trumpet”译为“语管”。⁷⁾德国传教士卫礼贤（Richard Wilhelm）在《德英华文学科学字典》中把德语“schallrohr”和英语“speaking trumpet”译为“语管、话管、传声筒”⁸⁾。而后，传声筒成为当时汉语中较通行的对这一喇叭形传声工具的称呼。

传声筒被学生运用群众性运动，始于五四运动。据罗章龙回忆，在“五四”前的五月一、二日，以北京国立八校的秘密行动小组曾经安排了四项工作，第一就是“控制主席台，掌握大会方向，派一个组员去掌握喇叭筒。”⁹⁾等到五四那天，在天安门广场的会场上，借助身为主席团成员的易克嶷帮助，行动小组果然拿到了传声筒，掌握了大会记录。

不仅在五四运动的爆发地和中心——北京的运动中传声筒发挥了作用，在其他地方的五四学运中，也有它的身影。据《申报》报道，5月7日在上海举行的国民大会上，也使用了“喇叭式之传声筒”：“昨（五月七日）午，烈日如炙，炎威甚炽，西门外公共体育场之国民大会，万众环立于广场中，咸以喇叭式之传声筒大声疾呼，台下掌声起伏如沸鼎。”1919年6月16日后，宿迁中小学生对全国学联的号召，在公共体育场集会。据亲历者回忆，当时的场景是“大会宣布开始，主持人……用大喇叭扩音。”¹⁰⁾



图1. 1929年《中国摄影学会画报》的插图“交际花周女士执喇叭筒报告球战情形”。可见当时的传声筒形制。

7) 王季烈编译：《物理学语汇》，商务印书馆，1908年，第24页。

8) 卫礼贤（Richard Wilhelm）编：《德英华文学科学字典》，青岛德中高等学校出版社，1911年，第440页。

9) 罗章龙：《五四运动和马克思学说研究会》，《中华文史资料文库·政治军事编》第2卷，第28页。

10) 刘公孚：《宿迁“五四”运动亲历记》，淮阴市委员会文史资料研究委员会编《淮阴文史资料》第5辑《悠悠赤

五四运动中“学生与传声筒”的形象组合，成为后来追溯“五四”或革命精神的一种符号。到后来新中国建国后，1951年周令钊绘制历史油画《五四运动》时，也在画作中心突出了一个手持喇叭筒的青年学生。

五四运动后，这种喇叭形的传声筒成为了学生运动的“标配”，在二十世纪二十年代的几次风潮中都有出现：



图2. 周令钊《五四运动》局部

1、五卅运动时期：

五卅惨案发生后，1925年6月，贵阳“学生联合会”和“沪案后援会”举行示威游行。游行开始时，先由总指挥和副总指挥手持长约两市尺的大喇叭，向大会发出“示威游行开始！”的号令，而后各校先头学生再手捧校旗，吹号打鼓，徐徐行进。¹¹⁾ 在上海，时为沪江大学学生的沈贻芴，“毅然冲出这所老牌教会学校的大门，奔向街头，手持话筒、竹筒，演讲募捐，加入到这场罢工、罢市、罢课的英勇斗争中去。”¹²⁾（按，竹筒的作用是装募捐所得的钱币，非传声工具。）在北京，中共组织了数万人的游行示威，包括赵世炎¹³⁾、刘清扬¹⁴⁾和国民军将领鹿钟麟的代表邓萃英都以传声筒向集会群众讲话。

2、“三·一八”惨案：

1926年3月18日的“三·一八”，是段祺瑞执政府对抗议八国通牒的游行群众的血腥镇压。据当日集会的参与者回忆，开会时，发言人用喇叭式的传声筒讲话，发言人的声音只能传到附近有限的小范围。¹⁵⁾ 参加请愿的学生也记述说，在执政府东边石狮子上，有一位同学用喇叭

子情》，1986年，第63页。

11) 刘祖纯、张汝弼（执笔）：《“五卅惨案”贵阳学生运动的回忆》，载贵州文史资料选辑委员会编《贵阳文史资料选辑》第2辑，贵阳，贵州人民出版社，1981年，第187页。

12) 见夏明羲、王舜祁：《我国第一所女中校长沈贻芴》，浙江省政协文史资料委员会编《浙江文史集粹》第5辑，杭州，浙江人民出版社，1996年，第266页。

13) 《赵世炎生平史料》，见四川省文史资料研究委员会编《四川文史资料选辑》第23辑，第243页。

14) 《申报》，1925年6月15日。

15) 张舜英：《三·一八惨案亲历记》，《中华文史资料文库·政治军事编》第2卷，中国文史出版社，第128页

筒向群众传话，传播段祺瑞不肯见学生代表的消息。¹⁶⁾而后京师地方监察厅的调查也承认：“只见学生拿着喇叭、旗子、传单，没有别的东西。”¹⁷⁾

3、北伐时期的重庆“三·三一”惨案

重庆“三·三一”惨案发生于1927年3月31日，当时国民党左派和中共主导的群众集会抗议英国军舰炮击南京，结果遭到四川军阀刘湘的镇压，死伤千余人。据惨案幸存者叶兰奎回忆，当集会的男女学生和民众不知军方阴谋，还在布置会场时，即有有学界代表（当日共有工农商学兵及妇女协会六类团体）用传声筒呼喊：“各界各团体，各学校代表，请到主席台来开会了。”¹⁸⁾各界代表听到后，正在往主席台聚集，镇压的枪炮声便已响起。

至此，我们已经证明了整个二十年代历次运动中传声筒的在场。从“五四运动”到三十年代初的中国学生运动，或许可以被称作“传声筒时代”。传声筒是学生进行宣传时最主要的声音工具，其形制如图1、图2所示，其材料则有铁皮喇叭、铅皮喇叭、纸喇叭等等。当然，传声筒并不是唯一的声工具。如果有机会，革命化的青年当然不会拒绝“先进”和“大件”的电化工具。如四川士绅叶敏斋为了支持大女婿、早期共产主义者黎灌英的革命活动，就曾经把家里“带个歪脖子喇叭，当时为稀奇货”的留声机送给黎灌英作宣传工具。¹⁹⁾但直到抗日战争、国共内战乃至建国后的政治宣传，都仍然能看到传声筒一类工具（被称为“土广播”、“土话筒”）的身影。

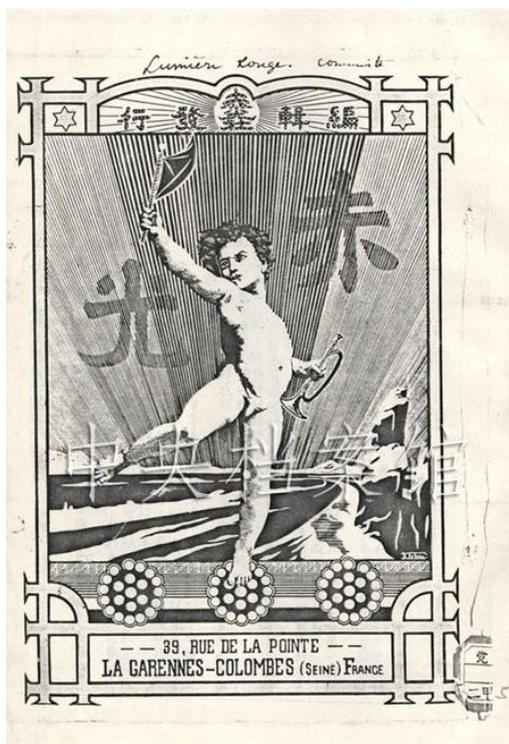


图3.《赤光》月刊封面

16) 杨春洲：《一个请愿学生的见闻》，载文史资料研究委员会编《文史资料选辑》第102辑，文史资料出版社，1986年，第9页。

17) 《申报》，1926年4月8日。

18) 叶兰奎：《伤心回忆三·三一》《重庆文史资料丛刊 重庆“三·三一”惨案纪事》作者：中国人民政治协商会议四川省重庆市委员会，第138页。

19) 黎邦烈：《忆母亲叶庄伯二、三事》。四川省内江市政协文史和学习委员会编《内江文史资料选辑》第21辑，2004年，第94页。

在此还要提及另一种“喇叭”，即有喇叭口的乐器。这种喇叭在学生运动中也有运用，不过不是为了传播演讲、呼喊的人声，而是和铜鼓等其他乐器搭配起来，在学生喊口号、宣讲前起到开道或引人注目的作用。据“五四”时在清华读书的李先闻回忆，“五四”运动时：“我们清华同学，由高个的同学在前面举着大旗，吹号，打鼓，由西直门进城，参加游行，沿路喊口号”²⁰⁾。同时，漳州的省立第二师范和省立第八中学学生游行时也曾以“铜鼓喇叭”开道²¹⁾。中国共产党旅欧支部的机关刊物《赤光》的封面，有回忆文章称画的是一位青年右手高举红旗，左手执“扩音器”²²⁾。然而从原图看来，青年左手拿的既不是电化扩音器，也不是传声筒，而应当是小号之类的乐器。这种图案之所以如此设计，应该和乐器在宣传中的运用相关。

三、电化传声工具与抗战前后的学运

“传声筒”在中国学生运动宣传工作中的主导地位，一直维持到1935年的“一·二九”运动和抗日战争初期。例如，一位武汉“一二九”运动的亲历者就曾经目睹“大概是中华大学的一位学生拿着一个铁皮做的话筒讲话，宣布游行的目的、次序、路线”。²³⁾在开封，“一二九”运动的会场上，讲演者“只用一个镗铁制的喇叭筒，手拿着放在嘴前，向大家讲。”²⁴⁾一个“一二·九”运动时女大学生拿着喇叭筒站在凳子上对北平市民演说的图像，还成为了当时《大众生活》杂志的封面。²⁵⁾1937年浠水初级中学组织了一支抗日救亡宣传队，宣传者“拿起土话筒，向群众讲演团结一致，抗战救国的道理，很受群众欢迎。”²⁶⁾土话筒还会被称作“土广播”。铜梁

20) 李先闻：《李先闻自述》，湖南教育出版社，2009年，第17页。

21) 《申报》，1919年6月1日。

22) 张仲斌：《留法勤工俭学片段回忆》，梓潼县政协文教卫生委员会编《梓潼县文史资料》第11辑，梓潼县政协文教卫生委员会，1994年，第84页。

23) 陈务笃：《武汉“一二·九”学生运动忆旧》，武汉市政协文史学习委员会编《武汉文史资料文库》第1辑，武汉，武汉出版社，1999年，第497页。

24) 嵇道之：《开封学生响应北平“一二·九”运动追记》，河南省政协文史资料研究委员会编《河南文史资料》第12辑，河南人民出版社，1984年，第62页。

25) 周艾从：《两个被迫停止活动的抗日救亡组织》，常德市委员会文史资料研究委员会编印《常德市文史资料》第4辑，1988年，第5页。

26) 徐又俊：《抗战时期浠水学生的救亡宣传活动》，浠水县委员会文史资料研究委员会编印《浠水文史资料》第1辑，1987年，第44页。

县安居镇女校（该校校长为中共地下党员）的抗日宣传中，就包括用“土广播”早晚在学校后山教唱抗日歌曲，利用赶场天教群众唱抗日歌曲。²⁷⁾

然而，从二十世纪二十年代中期开始，电化扩音工具，开始逐步运用到中国的商业宣传、文化教育、公共集会和政治人物的演讲当中。1923年，公共租界纳税外国人在市政厅举行大会，“先期在演说台上安设放音器”，这是笔者所见的近代中国在集会场所运用扩音器的较早案例。1925年，上海各界举行悼念孙中山的仪式时，“向青年协会商借会场放音器，以备追悼会演说时之用。”²⁸⁾ 1927年，在《申报》上出现了“会场地位广阔，报告时无扬声器不能遥达观众……亚美公司供给扬声器”²⁹⁾ 的广告。“设立公共集会放音器”甚至成为国民党党务活动的要求和举措。³⁰⁾

不过，电化传声工具虽然已经出现在公共场合当中，但是更多地服务于商业需要或政治当权者主导的演讲、集会、运动会等活动，麦克风、扩音器、有线广播等等进入校园的步伐是缓慢的。有一些得风气之先的沿海省市和少数省会城市走在了时代的前列，如江苏省，就制定了雄心勃勃的全省范围的电化教育计划。³¹⁾ 不过就总体而言，直到抗战前夕，电化声音技术尚未在大中学校中普及开来，更谈不上成为学生能自主利用的工具。1931年12月，山东学联为“九一八”事变南下南京请愿，当学生们受蒋介石接见，在国民政府的厅堂里看到麦克风时，还说这是“前所未见”的³²⁾。一些南下



图4.1935年《大众生活》第6期封面：手持铁皮喇叭筒演讲的女学生。图

27) 王继渊提供资料，颜昌高整理《抗日宣传片段回忆》，四川省合川县委员会文史资料委员会编印《合川文史资料》第12辑，1995年，第32页。

28) 《申报》，1925年3月21日。

29) 《申报》，1927年8月27日。

30) 1930年5月国民党江苏省党政谈话会作出了两项决定，其中第二条是“设立苏省会俱乐部，及省会公共集会放音器”。见《申报》，1930年5月8日。

31) 参看杜光胜《民国时期江苏省电化教育发展研究》，内蒙古师范大学博士学位论文，2013年。

32) 田有祚《“九一八”事变山东学生赴宁请愿示威亲历记》，载山东省淄博市政协文史资料研究委员会编印《淄博文史资料选辑》第3辑，1985年，第34页。

请愿学生，还在回忆中突出了奉化口音的蒋介石在旧式麦克风面前的丑角形象。³³⁾

但是，条件的简陋并未阻挡学生致力于实现“触电”的现场宣传。当年那些投身抗日宣传的学生曾留下一篇《一支自发的抗日宣传队》的文史资料文章，详细记述了淮安的一批中学学生是如何组建一支“抗日电播宣传队”的：

七·七芦沟桥事变爆发，全国人民同仇敌忾，掀起抗日高潮。一九三八年秋，淮安中学部分学生自发地建立起一支抗日救亡的宣传队伍，名曰“抗日电播宣传队”。它仿照有线广播的办法，只要一只广播喇叭，一台广播机，找一间房子作为临时的广播室，将广播喇叭扣上皮线，接通电源，挂在广场或闹市街头，就可以开始广播了。这一处结束，再到另一处广播，非常方便……我们又借来一只留声机和许多唱片。广播开始，首先播放歌曲唱片，接着便报告这次广播的节目，主要内容是从报纸上摘录的报道各地抗日战场上的胜利消息，中间也穿插一两首抗日歌曲，加《我的家在东北松花江上》……有些群众听到这些歌曲，也都受到很强烈的感染和教育。³⁴⁾

“其中主是朱宝善、戴逵元和戴恩铭三人，因为他们在班级里学习成绩最好，尤擅长物理。最初设计用有线广播来进行宣传活动就是他们出的主意，并从物理实验室里找泉一些零碎电讯器材，七拼八凑组成一台广播机来使用的……钱树宝、薛觉鹤二人，年龄较我们大，身强力壮，出外宣传时，搬运广播机，挂广播喇叭，接电线，以及维持场地秩序等等都依赖他们。戴逵元比较稳健，每次外出广播节目一般都由他编排，然后大家一起研究通过并进行分工。³⁵⁾

这是一段非常有价值的文字，记述了电播宣传队的缘起、器材来源、内容、人员分工和宣传效果。学生之所以千方百计获得电化的设备，正是艳羨和向往它们在以抗日救国为目标的政治宣传上的巨大功效，在“感染和教育”社会大众上前所未有的便利。时隔八十多年，我们还能感受到他们的兴奋和欣喜。

除了自行组装外，学生还会用“先礼后兵”的方式获得原属商家的广播设备，试看一个三十

33) “当时蒋介石讲话用的是旧式麦克风，蒋介石面前的麦克风，不能直接传话，会场上安装几个小喇叭筒，蒋介石在面前的麦克风上讲吹牛皮，挂在外边的几个喇叭筒跟着连续传出的吹牛皮、吹牛皮、吹牛皮的声音，引起全场大笑，有的同学也跟着呼叫吹牛皮。……闹了一个大笑话。蒋介石日呆口吃，只是操着奉化口语‘这个兹(事)’，‘这个兹(事)’搪塞过去”——邵剑秋《忆参见南下请愿团》，载中国人民政治协商会议枣庄市委员会文史资料委员会编印《枣庄文史资料》第12辑，1991年，第60页。

34) 林总：《一支自发的抗日宣传队》，江苏省淮安市政协文史资料委员会编印《淮安文史资料》第10辑，1992年，第197页。

35) 江苏省淮安市政协文史资料委员会编印《淮安文史资料》第10辑，第198页。

年代初无锡学生进行抗日宣传的例子：

当时向群众作抗日救亡的宣传，极少现代化工具，只有用铅皮的话筒来传声，讲演效果实在太差。无锡北门外北大街的“时和”绸布店(现仍在原址，保持原样)。在闹市之区，门面有装璜，楼上已有广播设备。学生们向时和布店商借广播，遭到拒绝。在无可奈何之际，有一学生说：商借不允，只有先礼后兵了。大家就自发地联合登楼，由略有广播常识的学生，跑进播音室，使用其广播设备，向城内外群众和地方父老大声疾呼，宣传抗日救亡道理，并呼吁商人要爱国，不能为谋私利，而认贼作父，推销日货，增强侵略者的经济实力，害国害民。青年学生掌握了广播工具，收到特大宣传效果。³⁶⁾

强行征用商家的扩音设备，在当代人看来当然是一种极端行为。不过，对自居为启蒙者的学生而言，“现代化工具”是自己“应当”拥有和使用的东西。在民族危机的背景下，学生认为自己所秉持的民族主义意识形态具有有至高无上的道德正当性。

当然，并不是所有的学生都要靠自行组装或强行征用来获得电化播音设备。实际上，抗战时期的政治联络和大学内迁大大促进了各地、各校青年学生的交流。中小学的学生往往可以藉此获得大学生和社会人士的帮助与先导。如，贵州遵义的杨柳街小学就求助于西迁遵义的浙江大学，“向浙大借来扩音器，会场挂着两个大喇叭，用麦克风喊口令。”³⁷⁾广东顺德广雅中学的学生为东北难民筹募含寒衣举行公演时，“幸得社会知青陈东如借出器材，还亲自动手为我们办妥演出照明、播音等工作”。³⁸⁾卢沟桥事变爆发后，在南京读书并已参加南京学生救国会的芜湖青年后奕斋、谭伟回到芜湖，动员当地青年组织了“芜湖青年援助抗敌将士宣传大会”，并利用广播电台播放抗敌剧，“第一次用扩音器在街头向群众宣传抗日”。³⁹⁾

36) 叶劲秋：《三十年代初无锡的学生运动》，江苏省无锡县政协文史资料研究委员会编印《无锡县文史资料》第4辑，1986年，第40页。

37) 黎恒章：《回忆红色学校——遵义老城（杨柳街）小学》，遵义市文史资料研究委员会编《遵义文史资料》第8辑《关于抗日战争时期的遵义》（下），1985年，第173页。

38) 罗风：《顺德学生抗战初期活动片段》，广东省顺德县政协编《顺德文史》第3辑，顺德县印刷厂，1983年，第22页。

39) 丁瑜：《芜湖青年学生的抗日救亡活动》，中共芜湖市委党史研究室编《中国共产党芜湖地方史青少年读本》，安徽人民出版社，2006年，第164页。

四、声音之战：战后学生运动中的国共角力与传声工具

抗战后到中华人民共和国建国时期的学生运动，是近代史研究中一个备受关注的主题。毛泽东在当年即曾把“伟大的正义的学生运动和蒋介石反动政府之间的尖锐斗争”称为“第二条战线”。今天，学界对国共争端下学生运动史的认识已经更加全面。如王奇生指出，校园中并不是单纯的共产党进步师生和国民党的军警特务的对抗，也曾经有过以组织对组织、以学生对学生的“文斗”⁴⁰⁾。而汪玉明则认为，在国共政争之外，学生运动有自身的内在机理⁴¹⁾。不过，一个不可辨驳的事实是，从1948年后，国统区学运确实越发变为师生与国民党政府间的对立，而成为对中共有利的一个因素。那么，从“物的学运史”而言，扩音器、高音喇叭等传声工具又在这场校园空间里的角力与角逐中扮演了什么角色呢？

1、当局用扩音设备安抚学运

1948年7月，昆明爆发以“反美扶日”为诉求的学生运动，形成学生与军警力量对峙的局面。7月15日，当云南大学学生与宪兵对峙时，云南警备司令部请《平民日报》社长丁中江用播音方式对学生广播讲话，大意是：学生应以学业为重，不要受人利用，应从速回头，仍回原校读书，以求上进。并说政府保护学生安全，下来后绝对无事。宪兵一方为了防止学生向丁中江投石头，还把扩音器放在墙头上，电线拉得很长，让丁中江躲在草棚之中。不过，丁中江已被看做“文化特务”，学生不为所动⁴²⁾。17日清晨，云南省主席卢汉来到云大，在楼下架放起扩音器，再次劝学生走出大楼，同样保证不惩办他们，最后说“你们不听我的话，我就不管你们了！”说完便离开扩音器准备上车。卢汉的方法和姿态最终起到了效果，云大学生听从了劝告，走出了大楼⁴³⁾。事后，在场的云南警备总司令何绍周气冲冲地对沈醉说：“他（指卢汉）专充好人，叫我们来当恶人。”何绍周所不明白的是，在扩音器面前与学生交流或“装好人”，正是当政者处理现代学潮、学运的所采取的必要方法。

40) 王奇生：《大学校园中的国民党》，载氏著《革命与反革命：社会文化视野下的民国政治》，社科文献出版社，2017年，第227页。

41) 汪玉明：《战后中国学生运动研究（1945—1949）》，第129页。

42) 李志正：《“七·一五”国民党反动派在昆明镇压学生运动的经过》，云南政协文史资料研究委员会《云南文史资料选辑》第2辑，1963年，第126页。

43) 沈醉：《昆明“七·一五”镇压学生爱国运动始末》，全国政协文史资料研究委员会编《文史资料选辑》第50辑，文史资料出版社，1964年10月，第184页。

2、校方为亲国学生群体提供扩音设备

如上文所提及，国民党在校园内部并非是毫无支点、纯然被动的。高校内也有三青团组织和青年军成员，国民党政府可以指点校方为他们的活动提供支持。如在南昌国立中正大学，在1947年的学生自治会竞选中，校方主动把扩音器提供给三青团、青年军、青年党组成的正光竞选团，让他们在喇叭筒里整天做“戡乱”、“建国”、“三民主义”等竞选宣传。⁴⁴⁾ 不过，选举结果仍然是“代表民主进步力量”的另一竞选团获得了胜利。可见宣传设备并不能决定校园内政治角力的成败。

3、学生利用扩音设备以发展学运

扩音器和喇叭并非只能为当局或亲当局的学生群体所用。在1947年复旦大学学生自治会竞选当中，一个名叫蒋昌岳的学生从自己哥哥那里借来了广播喇叭，为中共地下党支持的“五院联合竞选团”服务，并负责选举期间的安装、调试、维修⁴⁵⁾。复旦三青团的竞选团为了应对，也出自己的广播，乃至在广播里说“联合竞选团”的某一成员是李先念部队的政治部主任⁴⁶⁾。然而，复旦三青团在宣传手段上既已落人后，使用污蔑手法更是丧失人心，结果输掉了本校的自治会选举。进步学生不但会用扩音、广播手段针对校内的三青团对手，还会利用扩音器向军警宣传。1948年6月5日，上海交通大学学生在校内举行游行，在小土山上架起了强力的扩音器，向在校内戒备的士兵宣讲反美扶日的意义。国民党军官不愿让士兵听到学生宣传，命令士兵唱党歌。一曲方终，学生方面“亲爱的警察弟兄们”的宣讲声便又响了起来。⁴⁷⁾ 1948年，在北大的“反内战，反迫害”集会上，华北学联学生领袖在主席台上也用扩音器报告军警镇压的经过。⁴⁸⁾

4、当局破坏扩音供电条件以压制学运

44) 张英荃：《我所经历的南昌学生运动》，共青团南昌市委编《江西文史资料选辑·南昌青年运动回忆录》，南昌，江西省出版事业管理局，1981年，第254页。

45) 葛婧月编印《激情岁月——20世纪40年代的一段生活》，2005年，第174页。

46) 第三次国内革命战争时期复旦大学党的活动编写组编，王正执笔：《第三次国内革命战争时期复旦大学党的活动》，复旦大学出版社，2000年，第109页。

47) 交大党委学生运动史编写小组：《民主堡垒在斗争中茁壮成长》，上海政协文史资料工作委员会编《文史资料选辑》（中），上海人民出版社，1979年，第114页。六十年代初出版的《上海现代革命故事》也提及了交大学生用扩音器向军警宣传反美扶日的事：“学生们通过播音器，不断宣传。警官更急了，下令‘不准听！’，并叫警察唱反动歌曲，进行扰乱。”见庄星等编：《上海现代革命故事》，上海人民出版社，1961年，第142页。

48) 唐山市政协文史资料委员会编：《唐山交大学生运动（1946—1949年）》，开明出版社，1994年，第63页。

1945年12月1日，国民党军警在昆明镇压要求反内战的西南联大等校师生，造成四人死亡，十余人受重伤。是为“一二·一惨案”。事后，昆明学联及各民间团体为牺牲的四人举行出殡仪式，共有三万人参加。本来，学联预先在马市口、护国门等地设有扩音器，在葬礼上宣讲，但当天昆明却发生了临时停电。此次停电被学生判断为政府方面有准备的阴谋。站在路祭高台上的联大学生，只能“用嘶哑的声音念着祭文”。⁴⁹⁾ 政府的“断电”措施，的确限制了学联原本计划达到的仪式效果。

5、学生破坏扩音设备以发展学运

1947年5月，上海交大兴起了护校运动。交大学生到达上海北站，准备去南京请愿。为了平息风波，交大校长吴保丰撰写了八条布告，布告内容由车站的扩音器向学生广播。然而，学生的情绪反而更加激烈，破坏了车站扩音器，并坚持开火车到南京请愿。《申报》报道对此感慨说：“学生代表已不复能传达双方意见，似已无可疏解。”⁵⁰⁾ 最后，教育部长朱家骅来到真如车站，坐在装甲车里用扩音器与学生对话，同意了学生的要求。在这里，交大学生拆扩音器的行为与其说是功用性的，不如说是情绪性和象征性的——即痛恨扩音器传达当局的声音，通过拆毁扩音器来向当局示威。

6、学生对扩音设备的综合利用

1948年5月，在上海交通大学举行了一场纪念“五四”的宣传联欢晚会，这次活动典型性地表现了学生在表达政治时对声、光、电技术的综合运用：

当天，交大校门敞开，出入不禁，容闳堂前的大草象铺在热炕上的绒毯，主人的双臂热情伸向一切维护民主、追求进步的人们。体育馆和容闳堂屋顶上都装有那时少有的巨大“九头鸟”（扬声器）。学生会的负责人和我商量，把晚会中心设在体首馆，敞开窗门。我请工务科的负责人一同商议，决定以学校的存料及电工、木工，大力协助同学，进行布置。⁵¹⁾

五月四日晚上，交大校园内气象一新，上院、中院前的大草坪上，扎起一座高大的“民主堡垒”。工程馆楼底上的高音喇叭播送着激动人心的进行曲：“兄弟们，向太阳，

49) 周璋：《记昆明为“一二一”死难四烈士三万人大出殡》，一二·一运动史编写组编《一二·一运动史料选编》（下），云南人民出版社，1980年，第93页。

50) 《申报》，1947年5月14日。

51) 蔡泽：《交大学生运动片段》，上海政协文史资料工作委员会编《文史资料选辑》（中），上海人民出版社，1979年，第176页。

向自由，向着那光明的路。你看那黑暗将消灭，光芒万丈在前头。”从交大校门直到民主广场，布置了一条“从五四到五四”的中国青年的道路，一路上彩旗招展，灯火辉煌。一跨进校门，迎面就是一个接一个装饰着灯彩的大箭头，顺次标着“五·四”、“五·卅”……最后一个箭头是“走向黎明”，直指营火会大门。民主广场的另一端，在新建的新文治堂大楼上，悬挂着十个大字“民主自由幸福的新中国”，引人注目。⁵²⁾

这次晚会的内容塑造了一个从“五四”走向黎明的学运史叙事。在这里，不仅思想意识上表现出一种启蒙与革命的自信，而且其呈现方式也是“现代化”的。在战后学运当中，上海交通大学一则更著名并传为美谈的“技术学运”事例，应当是“把火车开到南京去”，即前文提及的1947年护校风波中交大学生自主开动火车向南京请愿。然而，1948年五四晚会“声光电”一体的布置也是值得注目的。它提示我们，近代中国的技术现代性不仅仅在于商业区的霓虹灯，也存在于五光十色、炫人耳目的学生政治实践当中。

学运政治与电力技术的结合，并不仅仅有赖于擅长理工科的交大学生本身和拥有“九头鸟”（扬声器）的技术条件，还在于动员校园这一“小社会”中的“大众”。如，第一段回忆的作者蔡泽时任交大总务长，他对学生的活动倾力支持；还有参与布置的电工、木工等等，他们被动员进了校园政治当中。人员上的综合参与也说明，战后学生运动的高潮确实是“学运”而非“学潮”，即并非校园内部的对立，而是全体师生员工与一种被视为压迫性的政治的对立。国民党政府的“运动学生”、特务活动和暴力等应对措施，反而让自己在校园中愈加丧失合法性。蒋宝麟在研究中央大学的战后学运时评论说，总体而言国民党方面对学运的态度和应对措施越来越强硬，同时中共的组织动员手法也愈加娴熟。⁵³⁾事实上，不仅在中央大学如此，在上海交大和其他许多学校也是一样，而先进的声音技术就是在是这种“更为娴熟的组织动员手法”的一部分，有力帮助了中共在校园这一特定空间内获得优势。

科学家李先闻在其自述中讲到清华学生参与“五四”时，除了回忆“举着大旗，吹号，打鼓……沿路喊口号”之外，还评述说“好像这样才是爱国，书本子、功课全丢在脑后去了”⁵⁴⁾。李先闻此处盖有批评、反思之意，即认为政治关怀不该影响学生对学术本职的追求。在“五四”二十年后，学生运动的政治化有增无减，学生们的声音工具也由“吹号打鼓”、“铁皮喇叭”变成了与“声光电”一体的扩音设备。对1948年的交大学生而言，他们恐怕并不认为参与政治妨碍了自己读书；相反，他们积极运用自己学到的科技知识，以一种更积极和激进的方式服务于“救国”目标。校园政治有着自身的机理，无论是当权者的应对策略，还是前辈师长的

52) 周望健：《回忆上海学生反美扶日运动》，上海政协文史资料工作委员会编《文史资料选辑》（中），上海人民出版社，1979年，第155页。

53) 蒋宝麟：《民国时期中央大学的学术与政治（1927—1949）》，南京大学出版社，2016年，第271页。

54) 李先闻：《李先闻自述》，湖南教育出版社，2009年，第17页。

“学术本位”、“科学本位”观念，都不能完全约束青年学生的行动。而从历史的长远眼光看，“学生占领大楼，用高音喇叭宣传自身主张”的场景和形象，也不是四十年代中国特有的现象，而是二十世纪后半叶学生运动典型场面的预演，如法国1968年“五月风暴”和日本1969年的东大纷争，就出现过这种场面。

总之，在中国学生从“五四”走向“黎明”的历程中，学生运动所用的传声工具和对这些工具的利用方式也经历了一个发展变化的过程。历史不应遗忘，那些大大小小的喇叭，更不应忘记从那些喇叭中传出的鲜活的声响。值得指出的是，除了声音工具之外，学生运动对各种“器物”的利用也有研究价值，如印刷工具（学生如何制作传单和自印刊物）、通讯工具（运动参与者如何联络）、图像、旗帜等等。如果补充从“器物”出发的视角，我们便能看到出一部更加全面而生动的学生运动史。

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