

Confucianism in the Context of Sino-Japanese Intellectual Interchange: Japanese Influence and Early Modern Chinese Textbooks, 1895–1905*

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In the 1890s many Chinese reformers regarded western education, or the “modern form of education,” as one of the critical factors contributing to the successes of the West. Yet the western “foreignness” and the language barriers made it difficult for the Chinese to digest western ideas. China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894–95 shocked intellectuals as well as reformers. Looking at Japan’s achievements, they began to realize that Japan was both a gateway to the sciences and technology of the West and a successful example of preserving Confucianism. It was in this context that Confucianism seemed to be a common ground for the Chinese to imitate the pattern of the Meiji reform. In this sense, Confucianism can be seen as an intellectual agent in the Sino-Japanese encounters in the period from 1895 to 1905.

However, an examination of the differences between native Chinese Confucianism and Japanese Confucianism leads us to question what “Japanese Confucianism” is, and how it played a significant role in the diffusion of western learning in China. To address these questions, Chinese elementary textbooks produced from 1895 to 1905 are analyzed in this paper as a case study of the Japanese influence on China’s move to modernization. This ten-year period is significant in both modern Chinese history and the history of Chinese education, as this period was marked by China’s defeat in the Sino-Japanese War, the 1898 Reform, the announcement of the first modern Chinese school system and the abolishment of the civil service examination system, and then the victory of Japan in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–05. The Chinese fever of learning and borrowing from Japan characterized this period. Against this socio-political and cultural setting, this paper discusses why, how and to what extent Japanese Confucianism influenced the content, format and design of early modern Chinese textbooks.

Japanese Confucianism and Meiji Education in Sino-Japanese Encounters of the Late Qing Period

In the 1890s the Chinese reformers noted the cultural similarities between China and Japan which became the ground for their call for modelling on Japan. These similarities, however, actually disguised the significant difference between Chinese and Japanese versions of Confucianism. On the surface, both China and Japan can be described as Confucian societies, but Japanese Confucianism did not gain political

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and ideological domination as it did in China and Korea. In pre-Tokugawa times the status of Confucianism, according to Kurozumi Makoto, was “only a parasitic existence in the Buddhist establishment,” while Buddhism and Shinto “had built a solid tradition of their own since antiquity,” and “were both woven deeply into the social fabric of Tokugawa society” through their domination in areas of rituals and beliefs, which were the foundation for the functioning of state and society.¹⁾ The civil service examination system, a meritocracy that successfully granted Confucianism in China and Korea the dominating position in socio-political and ideological areas, did not work for Japanese society where, under the rules of the samurai, social order was established on the basis of the *ie* 家 (house-centered lineage). What Confucianism could offer in the beginning of the Tokugawa period was knowledge relating to government and ethics. This then contributed to the increasing demands for Confucianism commencing with the mid-Tokugawa period, thanks to the expansion of printing and education, and more importantly, the peace established by the Tokugawa government with the tighter social intergration of the *ie*. Even with this increased demand, however, Confucianism was still not quite a “religion” because it was unable to establish “its own ceremonies and rituals” like Shinto and Buddhism did, and its existence and development still had to depend upon its affiliation with Buddhism and Shinto.²⁾ This affiliated status of Japanese Confucianism may help us understand how Japanese Confucianism was inter-culturalized, and later developed into “a curious blend of Japanese fascism and a remanufactured form of Confucian tradition.”³⁾

In contrast, Chinese Confucianism was in a dominating position. Like Japanese Confucianism, native Chinese Confucianism had a similar quality in terms of absorbing and accommodating other learning and schools of thought, but “otherness” was always moulded to Confucianism. Confucianism in China, by and large, dominated the functioning of state and society, even when philosophical Confucianism was at its nadir.

For instance, in early medieval China (100–600), Mysterious Learning, Taoism and Buddhism became far more attractive to intellectuals of the time than philosophical Confucianism. By studying filial piety in this period, however, Keith N. Knapp finds that Confucianism in this period actually “achieved its first overwhelming political and social significance” and “had immense appeal for members of the literate elite.”⁴⁾ For this seemingly contradictory phenomenon, Knapp’s explanation mainly focuses on the external factors, such as the weak central government and the rise of provincial elite families that used Confucian values and rites as “essential cultural tools for creating powerful, cohesive, and cooperative extended families,” and for ensuring that “their families survived the vicissitudes of the age and continued to hang on to and legitimise their privileged positions.”⁵⁾ Yet this does not tell us why Confucianism was employed to maintain the elite family order and to ensure their survival. One explanation may be that Confucianism was the only scholarship which dealt with the real world (入世) while Taoism and Buddhism were concerned more with religious and spiritual issues (出世). The rise of Mysterious Learning, Taoism and Buddhism meant the decline of philosophical Confucianism, yet in reality the elite families still needed Confucian values and rites to handle day to day life. From this perspective, we may say that in the early medieval period Confucianism dominated socio-political

spheres while literati, after philosophical Confucianism reached its peak, turned to Mysterious Learning, Taoism and Buddhism for intellectual stimulation.

In the course of development, Chinese Confucianism needed to enrich and perfect itself through its interaction with other schools of thought. For example, moral values emphasized in Confucianism very much relied on individual self-cultivation, but the Confucian moral system did not contain a function that could exert psychological pressure on people: they would be punished or rewarded by supernatural forces according to their deeds. In the process of developing as a religion, Taoism added such a punish–reward system to encourage people to practice good deeds based on Confucian ethics. Such punishment or rewards would also affect one’s offspring for generations. This idea can be traced back from the *Yizhuan* 易傳 (Commentaries on the Book of Changes), and later Taoist writings, such as *Bao Puzi* 抱朴子 (The Master who Embraces Simplicity) by Ge Hong 葛洪 (284–364), and *Zhen Gao* 真誥 (Declarations of the Perfected) by Tao Hongjing 陶弘景 (456–536) and the *Taiping jing* 太平經 (The Scripture of Great Peace), all expressed this idea.⁶⁾ This Taoist punish–reward system permeated throughout society and became the accepted culture of most people, regardless of their social class. This may have contributed to the fact that filial piety, as the core of Confucian virtues, dominated cultural and social life even when philosophical Confucianism was at its nadir. However, unlike Japanese Confucianism which had to obtain its legitimacy through affiliation with Shinto and Buddhism, Chinese Confucianism’s interaction with Taoism actually secured its dominant position in political and social life, and Taoism could not replace Confucianism for this role. Even in the Ming-Qing period the “tripartite balance of religions” brought about the incorporation of Taoism and Buddhism into Confucianism, such as the use of ledgers of merit and demerit for personal moral cultivation,⁷⁾ but the accommodation of Taoism and Buddhism in Confucianism and broadened the realm of Confucianism rather than taking its central position in political and social spheres. In contrast, Tokugawa Confucianism was only “an external partner to legitimacy”⁸⁾ that helped enhance an ethic of loyalty and filial piety toward superiors.

Furthermore, Confucian scholars in Tokugawa Japan were actually literati who were engaged in learning or literature, or the culture of *kanji* (漢字文化) rather than Confucianism. This “culture of *kanji*” is the learning of *Kangaku* 漢學, or Chinese Learning, which embodies a linguistic genre and does not contain the essences of Confucianism. This nature of Chinese Learning helped it survive under Japan’s nationalism.⁹⁾ *Kango* 漢語, a foreign “other,” was selected as a national language for national unification and integration, as it was considered the proper linguistic vehicle that could serve the national needs and represent authority and certainty, since no dialect could serve this purpose. Also, western knowledge was introduced into Japan by using Chinese words which had been cultivated by Chinese learning and Confucianism and conveyed its notions and values. Therefore, it was the Chinese writing system that gave Chinese Learning and Confucianism the glory of becoming the basis for absorbing and developing Western Learning in Japan.¹⁰⁾ In this process, not only had Japanese Confucianism and Chinese Learning accepted Western Learning and contributed to the development of this new knowledge in Japan, they completed the amalgamation of *Jugaku* 儒學, or Confucian Learning, and *Kangaku*. In

other words, it was not Confucianism per se or Chinese Learning alone but the *kango* that became the important vehicle for transporting new knowledge, including western learning and thought, and to serve Japan's national unification and integration. It was also because of the *kango* that Confucianism and Chinese Learning were transformed and merged to become "a Japanese-style Chinese culture, the power of a creole culture" that later "came to lend support to Japanese nationalism."¹¹⁾

The Chinese reformers in the 1890s did not pay much attention to the fact that Japanese Confucianism, by accepting the gods of Shinto, theorized "the formation of national social rituals in a format that amalgamated Shinto and Confucianism."¹²⁾ Because of this compromise with the teachings of *Kokugaku* Shinto, Japanese Confucianism contributed to the formation of the notion that Japan's imperial dynasty was unbroken for ages and for eternity. This notion was the core of the *Kokugaku* discourse. However, the Chinese reformers of the time were amazed at Japan's achievements which, they believed, resulted from the Meiji reformation where Confucianism was successfully preserved while western learning was accommodated and developed. They did not realize that Meiji Confucianism developed on the basis of a Confucian tradition which had already been altered in the hands of Tokugawa Confucian thinkers. This altered form of Confucianism "opened itself to Western Learning and *Kokugaku* and converged toward a Shinto-type totality."¹³⁾

This Japanized Confucian tradition developed further and became one of the key components in Meiji education. In the early Meiji period the government focused on western technology and practical skills which prevailed in schools' curricula. However, western political theories, such as Samuel Smiles' *Self-help* and J. S. Mill's *On Liberty*, as well as the writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau, were translated into Japanese along with the introduction of western practical knowledge into Japan. These western political ideas became important sources for People's Rights Movement in the 1870s. Meanwhile, many scholars or the former students of Chinese Learning were involved in this movement, and they found an echo of western political ideas in the ideal of primitive Confucianism.¹⁴⁾ This may explain why Itō Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841–1909) blamed Confucianism for social discontent and political destabilization, and took a stand opposing Confucianism. In his view, education for ordinary people should only focus on practical knowledge; then they would not get involved in politics which should only be the concern of the elite. Motoda Nagazane 元田永孚 (1818–1891), advisor to the Meiji emperor, however, disagreed with Itō's view and called for establishing and practicing "a national doctrine" (*kokkyō* 国教) that contained Confucianism and the "Shinto tradition of the emperors since antiquity," based upon which the national essence (*kokutai* 国体) was built. Education was then to implant this *kokutai*.¹⁵⁾

Motoda wanted to promote his idea through both general education and higher education, but Japan, in order to build a modern nation, needed western political systems and knowledge, which were lacking in amalgamated Confucianism and Shinto. Also, western sciences and practical learning in the early Meiji period prevailed and became the key component in the curriculum of high schools. Therefore, this Motoda-designed nation could only be promoted and diffused through general education at the elementary level.¹⁶⁾ This then required a shift of focus in

general education, and the relation between Confucian ethics and practical learning was vividly illustrated in an analogy: ethics education, where the virtues of loyalty and filial piety were at the core, was the roots of a tree and practical skills and knowledge were leaves and branches.¹⁷⁾ This is why in the revised version of the education law (1880) the theme of *shūshin* 修身 or ethics took precedence over all other subjects. In 1890, the Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo* 教育勅語) inserted this ethical framework into general education.

The Imperial Rescript was the work of Inoue Kowashi 井上毅 (1843–1895), Yamagata Aritomo 山県有朋 (1838–1922) and Motoda Nagazane. It contains (1) Yamagata-Inoue militaristic nationalism that can be formulated as “education + military power = the national strength”; (2) Motoda-Inoue Confucianism that placed the traditional virtues on the center of instruction; and (3) “Inoue’s modern elements of constitutional government, of utilitarianism and practical learning to improve society.”¹⁸⁾ Within this framework, the five relationships of Confucianism (ruler–subject, parent–child, elder brother–younger brother, husband–wife, friend–friend) and its related code of ethics were the base of education. More significantly, the Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety were integrated into one and became a close family ethics where the entire nation was a family and all Japanese people were children of the emperor. As such all the children were ordered by the emperor—the family head—to fulfill their duties to the nation. This notion was at the center of Japanese nationalism.¹⁹⁾

Japanese textbooks reflected this change in Meiji education, which was also noticed by the Chinese reformers who went on official study tour of Japan from 1895 onward. For example, Liu Tingchen 刘廷琛 (b. 1869) in his memorial of 1907 said that Japanese textbooks contained the cultivation of morality, good behavior, loyalty to one’s sovereign and love of country. He was particularly impressed that Japanese officials from the Ministry of Education repeatedly stated that without moral education, it would be like a tree with leaves and branches but no roots.²⁰⁾

Japanese Influence on the Content of Early-Modern Chinese Textbooks: Patriotism and Loyalty to the Emperor

According to the Imperial Rescript, “Loyalty to the emperor as the living symbol of the *kokutai* was supposed to be instilled into the minds of the children as the first value. The main purpose of education was to foment the spirit of nationalism.” This resulted in a form of Japanese nationalism where the loyalty to the emperor equals the love of country. This patriotism, in the view of Inoue Kowashi, should be the key component of education, as “every powerful nation in Europe strives to foster through compulsory education a deep sense of patriotism together with the knowledge of the national language, history and other subjects. Patriotism becomes a second nature.” “If the Japanese people are not imbued with patriotic spirit, the nation cannot be strong.” In this sense, education was as important as armed forces in defense of national interests, and both armed forces and education were “indispensable to make a nation fully independent.”²¹⁾

This ideology was imposed on the compiling of Japanese textbooks in subjects of ethics, language, geography and history. In 1886 a censorship authority was set up to

ensure that this nationalism permeated in the content of all textbooks, especially those for *shūshin*, or ethics. In 1903 the Meiji government controlled all textbook production, as the compilation of textbooks was considered to be of vital importance not only to the course of general education but to the prosperity and safety of the whole country as well.²²⁾

This Japanese version of education was adopted by Chinese reformers of the 1890s. This fever over the Japanese model was triggered by the 1895 Sino-Japanese War. After the Opium War in the 1840s China began to realize the necessity of learning technology from the West. In the course of the Self-strengthening Movement of the 1860s and 1870s, the Qing government set up schools, such as the Tongwenguan 同文館 in Beijing (established in 1862) and Shanghai (established in 1863), attempting to train professionals who would master foreign languages and introduce western knowledge into China.²³⁾ The Sino-Japanese War awoke the Chinese reformers to the reality that all the measures implemented during the Self-strengthening Movement were inadequate to answer the aggression of Western Powers and to make China strong and powerful. Japanese victory over China on the one hand humiliated the Chinese. On the other hand, however, that victory pointed to a new direction for China's reform: modeling on Japan. They marveled at Meiji Japan's success in combining modern technology and traditional ideology, which suggested a pattern that China could follow in her process of seeking modernization.²⁴⁾ And the Chinese writing system made this possible and more accessible than learning from other western powers.

At that time, reformers, irrespective of whether they were government officials, such as Zhang Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909), or intellectuals, such as Kang Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927) and Liang Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), all agreed that by following the Japanese pattern China would also be able to effectively absorb Western learning while still preserving traditional learning as its “roots” and “substance.” This was clearly stated in Zhang Zhidong's famous pamphlet *Quanxue pian* 勸學篇 (Exhortation to Learning),²⁵⁾ and was widely shared by others.²⁶⁾ Regarding the translation and use of Japanese textbooks, Zhang Zhidong pointed out that the Japanese did exactly the same thing, as their education fully imitated that from the West except that the Japanese changed western subjects in religion to *shūshin* or ethics and compiled their own *shūshin* textbooks. Zhang noticed that while the Japanese way of using textbooks of other countries benefited their country greatly, the use of textbooks from the French Republic in Russian schools caused repeated unrest.²⁷⁾ Clearly, Zhang realized that the use of foreign textbooks had both advantages and disadvantages and the key point was to select and modify carefully in accordance with the situation of one's own country.

Under these circumstances, Japanese textbooks, which included subjects in both sciences and *shūshin*, were translated into Chinese or used directly as Chinese textbooks. In the course of introducing the Meiji Japanese education system into China, Luo Zhenyu 羅振玉 (1866–1940) played a significant role. Luo was a well-known scholar for his contribution to the research of *jiaguwen* 甲骨文 (inscriptions on bones or tortoise shells). His activities in China's move to modernization in the late Qing period started in early 1897 when he founded the Agricultural Society

(*Nongxuehui* 農學會) in Shanghai, and began to publish the Bulletin of this society (*Nongxue bao* 農學報), which included translated versions of western and Japanese writings on agriculture. By the same token, in 1901 Luo began to publish *Jiaoyu shijie* 教育世界 (Educational World), the first education journal in China. In 1902, he was assigned to visit Japan by Zhang Zhidong and Liu Kunyi 劉坤一 (1830–1902) to learn about Japan's education. On his return, not only did he bring back his own observations and findings but also Japanese books on education. Both translated Japanese books and his writings on educational reforms were all printed in *Educational World*. Later, *Jiaoyu congshu* 教育叢書, a multi-volume collection of educational works, was also printed.²⁸⁾

Another example is *Mengxue bao* 蒙學報 (The Children's Educator), which was the official publication of the Association of Children's Education (蒙學公會). Its first issue was published in Shanghai in 1897. It was a weekly magazine and each issue contained about twenty pages. The objective of the association was to unite the minds and hearts of people, promote the teachings of the sages, eradicate inveterate weakness, and open a new world to people. Each issue contained two parts: the first part included texts intended for children between 5 and 8 years old (*sui*); and the second part included the materials for children between 9 and 13 years old. The contents of these texts included history, mathematics and geography. Most of them were translated from Japanese textbooks for children, but there were also a small portion of texts from the West. The magazine's name was changed to *Mengxue shubao* 蒙學書報 after the thirty-ninth issue. It was closed down in 1902, after seventy-two issues in total had been published. In the same year, Wang Zhonglin 汪鐘霖 printed the *Mengxue congshu* 蒙學叢書, a collection of articles and works that had not been published in *The Children's Educator*.²⁹⁾ Out of forty-six textbooks in this collection there were twenty-six textbooks which were directly translated from the Japanese, with subjects ranging from Japanese geography, world geography, Japanese history and world history, natural sciences, zoology, botany, physical geography, geology, gymnastics, physiology, constitutions of Japanese primary schools, school management and social educational law (社會教育法). There were also seven books translated directly from English textbooks, while thirteen were either composed through translation or imitation of Japanese textbooks.

Chinese textbook writers quickly noticed that the spirit of Japanese nationalism penetrated the content of Japanese elementary textbooks in subjects of language, history and geography, as well as ethics. This was then taken as a key principle in their compilation of Chinese textbooks. The *Mengxue duben* 蒙學讀本 (Textbook for Elementary Education) is an example.

This set of textbooks was created by Yu Fu 俞復, Ding Baoshu 丁寶書 and other staff members of the Wuxi Sandeng School 無錫三等學堂, which Yu established in 1898. At the time there were no textbooks for this kind of new school, so the staff there created one lesson a day. In 1902 Yu Fu founded his own commercial publishing house, Shanghai Wenmin shuju 上海文明書局, and printed the texts they produced between 1898 and 1902 in seven volumes.³⁰⁾ This was one of the earliest set of textbooks compiled by the Chinese in the late Qing period. The textbook stated clearly in its preface that the contents followed the Japanese example.

Japanese textbooks eulogized the virtues and achievements of Emperor Jimmu 神武天皇 and Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉 (1536–1598), who unified Japan and is also known for his invasion of Korea. The aim of these Japanese textbooks was to instill the ideas of patriotism into the minds of children. This textbook, by following the example of Japanese textbooks, contains the history of the Qing, with a line from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty to the suppressing of the Taiping Rebellion, and then to the Tongzhi Restoration. When students read this textbook they would feel grateful for the emperor's blessing and protection, and gather all their courage [to do whatever they can] for their beloved country.³¹⁾

A similar acknowledgement of the Japanese influence can also be found in a textbook entitled *Mengxue chuji xiushen shu* 蒙學初級修身書 (*Junior Primer for Moral Education*) which was intended for the first three years of schooling.³²⁾ Jiang Fu 蔣黼, the author of this set of textbooks, was one of Luo Zhenyu's partners in both scholarship and activities in introducing Japan's modern education system and textbooks into China. He was also involved in establishing the Agricultural Society and publishing the society's bulletin. Jiang in his preface stated that this set of textbooks followed the format of the Japanese textbooks for moral education, but the content was based on good deeds and wise advice from Chinese history and contemporary well-known people; there were also some stories of foreigners.³³⁾

Evidently, when following the Japanese pattern to emphasize Confucian ethics and patriotism, these Chinese textbook writers did not realize that the interpretation of *zhong* 忠 (loyalty) and *xiao* 孝 (filial piety) in native Chinese Confucianism and interculturalized Japanese Confucianism differed significantly. In Chinese Confucianism, loyalty to the empire or emperors and filial piety toward one's parents sometimes presented a dilemma, as sacrificing one's life for one's emperor means that the person could not be the filial son for his own parents. This dilemma did not exist in Japanese Confucianism as the Japanese *ie* and the Chinese *jia* 家 were two different concepts. The Japanese *ie* was "not a lineage or household, but a cooperate structure encompassing nonrelated retainers as well as those linked by blood." In other words, *ie* was "the house as a component of the large social order."³⁴⁾ In the Chinese concept, individual households (*jia* 家) and state (*guo* 国) were two different entities which were related but never merged as one. The Japanese *ie* system allowed Tokugawa-period Confucians to replace the abstract concept of *tian* 天, or Heaven, with superiors, or the emperor or Amatsukami (天神). In the second half of the Tokugawa period *ie* and state became combined as *kokka* 国家 (*guojia* in Chinese). The ethic of loyalty toward superiors was then transferred to this *kokka* or the emperor rather than individual houses.³⁵⁾

However, to the Chinese reformers of the 1890s, the face value of what the *kango* provided was convenient for them to insist on the virtues of loyalty to the emperors (忠君) and patriotism (愛國) while adopting western technology through the Japanese translation of western books. This was a shortcut to accessing western learning and the world outside China. Meanwhile, it was a blind imitation of the Japanese model, which did not help China accomplish what Japan had achieved. On the other hand, however, by ignoring the content of this altered Confucian tradition, China did not

develop a Japanese type of iron-blood nationalism, even though the terms *zhongjun* (*chūkun* in Japanese) 忠君, *ai'guo* (*aikoku*) 愛國, *guomin* (*kokumin*) 國民 and *guojia* were all directly copied into Chinese textbooks as well as the writings of the intellectuals of the time.

Loyalty to the Emperor in the Chinese Context: The Call for Political Reform

In book six of Jiang Fu's *Junior Primer for Moral Education*, Lesson 22, entitled "Respecting the Emperor," it is stated:

Today those who are talking about reform all like to advocate the people's rights (民權), thinking that if everybody can be one's own master, then the country would be strong. This is really empty talk without any roots. Russia is a monarchy. About three hundred years ago, the country was very weak. The Russian Emperor, Peter the Great (1672–1725), started reforms and then Russia became one of the strongest countries in the world. Japan's imperial line has not been broken since the country was established. About forty years ago, the emperor's power was replaced by the *bakufu* 幕府 and there were invasions from powerful enemies. The Meiji Emperor then retrieved power and initiated reforms; consequently, Japan became the most powerful country in East Asia. From these two examples we can see that if we want to strengthen our country, the key issue is to make our country prosper, instead of giving people rights. The Qing court has been ruling the country for several hundred years since its establishment, and people in the whole of the country all admire the emperor's morality wholeheartedly. If today the minds and hearts of people are united, and officials all fulfill their duties properly, literati all focus on their scholarship, and people from all walks of life do best in their own careers, the reform that the Qing court initiated would then be carried out smoothly, and then it would not be difficult for China to keep abreast of powerful countries like Russia and Japan!³⁶⁾

On the surface, this point reflected the conservative views before and after the 1898 Reform that in order to survive the invasion of western powers, China should follow the models of Meiji Japan and Russia and embrace the constitutional monarchy. However, the same arguments and even the same phrases may be found in the writings by famous reformers of the time, such as Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. For instance, in 1896 Liang Qichao called for reform in China and used the examples of Russia, Germany and Japan to support his argument. According to his argument, China could become as strong as these three countries if reform measures were implemented immediately. Liang elaborated the Russian case by focusing on Peter the Great, who traveled to other countries to study new technology and then implemented reforms on his return. The reforms changed the fate of the country, and turned a weak Russia into a strong and powerful nation, and extended its territory by thousands of miles.³⁷⁾

The second case is Germany. Liang briefly mentioned how Prussia was defeated in the French Revolutionary Wars and the wars of Napoleon, and became a virtual dependency of France. At this low ebb, Prussia started social and economic reform,

and laid the groundwork for a universal education system. These reform measures helped transform Prussia into a modern state and led to the creation of a modern army. Then in the Franco-German War (1870–71), the French were defeated by the Prussians. This victory over the French signaled the rise of Prussian militarism and imperialism. But in the eyes of Liang Qichao, this was an exemplary case of how a country could rise from its defeated status and eventually gain supremacy.³⁸⁾

Japan was the most powerful case that Liang used to urge the Guangxu emperor (1871–1908) to initiate reform. Liang stated that before the Meiji Restoration Japan was under the rule of the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603–1868), and had been forced to sign infamous “unequal treaties” with Russia,³⁹⁾ Germany⁴⁰⁾ and the United States,⁴¹⁾ and the country was almost destroyed. It was the Meiji emperor who changed the fate of Japan which, after implementing reforms for thirty years, arose from a small and weak country to a strong nation with military power, and became aggressive towards China: in 1879 the Meiji government annexed Ryukyu, and then it wanted to do the same to Taiwan.⁴²⁾ By establishing Japan as an example of the transformation of humiliations suffered into a stimulus for reform, Liang concluded, “Being defeated itself is not a big disaster. The real disaster is that a country, when defeated, still does not act to strengthen itself.”⁴³⁾ If China still did not act quickly after having been defeated by Japan, Liang warned, China would be colonized like India, Poland and Asian countries such as Vietnam, Burma and Korea.⁴⁴⁾

The implementation of reform measures, Liang believed, had to rely on the Guangxu Emperor. In order to establish this point, Liang tracked the history of the Qing dynasty and argued that the Qing court was in a favorable position to lead China’s reform. First, the power of the Qing emperor was still intact (*junquan tongyi* 君權統一), which was an advantage for the Guangxu Emperor to initiate and lead reform. Second, in the entire history of China, only the Qing emperors were most keen on changes (惟本朝為善變), especially the Kangxi Emperor 康熙 (r. 1654–1722) and the Yongzheng Emperor 雍正 (r. 1678–1735) whom Liang equaled to Peter the Great, Germany’s Wilhelm I (1797–1888) and Meiji Japan’s Mutsuhito 睦仁 (1852–1912). These five emperors, in Liang’s opinion, were the great leaders of reform through which their countries became united, strong and prosperous. As well as exemplary emperors, he used cases from Qing history, such as the suppression of the Taiping Rebellion and the Tongzhi Restoration, to persuade the Guangxu Emperor to act like the Meiji Emperor and to change China’s course through reform.⁴⁵⁾

After emphasizing the importance and urgency of implementing reform, Liang pointed out that above all, political reform was critical to China’s survival. Only when the political system changed would educational reform be effective and talented people that China needed badly be trained and fostered. The failure of the Self-strengthening Movement in the 1860s and 1870s, Liang maintained, was due to its focus merely on western technology instead of political systems.⁴⁶⁾ The political reform Liang designed for China was to change the absolute monarchy to the constitutional monarchy which, he believed, had worked for Japan and could work for China too. He dismissed the idea of *minzheng* 民政, or democratic system (literally meaning “people’s government”), saying that in Japan the imperial line had been

continuing uninterrupted for two thousand years, and the power of the emperors was more absolute than that in China, but its people's rights were respected as much as those in Britain and Germany.⁴⁷⁾

Liang's idea derived from his teacher Kang Youwei, who presented his own work on Meiji Japan's reform (*Riben bianzheng kao* 日本變政攷) to the Guangxu Emperor prior to the 1898 Reform. Kang also compiled a *Catalog of Japanese Books* (*Riben shumuzhi* 日本書目志) on the basis of Japanese books he purchased and the interpretation his daughter provided.⁴⁸⁾ In his account, it took the West about five hundred years to complete their progress in politics and technology (*zhiyi* 治藝).⁴⁹⁾ Japan followed the example of the West, and it only took thirty years for the Japanese to accomplish what the West had achieved. In this world, Kang commented further, only Russia and Japan quickly turned their countries from the weak into the strong and powerful states, but the Russian model would not work for China as there were language barriers. Therefore, Kang came to the conclusion that modeling on Japan, China's nearest neighbor, would be the quickest way for China to achieve the successes of the West and Japan. He even predicted that China could complete the same reformation within three years.⁵⁰⁾ This prediction seems absurd, yet it was a reflection of the national psychology after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. That is, what made a country as small and weak as Japan strong and powerful could surely fix the problems of the great Chinese empire, and the constitutional monarchy was the perfect political form for China. Liang agreed wholeheartedly with his teacher and cited Kang's point in his own writing.⁵¹⁾

There are similarities in the elaboration of Qing history and the role of the emperors in reform in the writings of Kang and Liang, and in Lesson 22 of Jiang Fu's textbook. This lesson presented Japan as a model for China's modernization and conveyed the idea that Japan had actually made progress with the emperor system (*tianhuangzhi* 天皇制 in Chinese, *tennōsei* in Japanese). The message in this lesson also indicated that through general education, Japan emphasized the absolute power of the emperor more than ever, and Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety were further highlighted in moral education. Therefore, this lesson appears to be an abbreviated version of Kang and Liang's proposal for the late Qing reform. However, because of its imitation of the Japanese *shūshin* textbooks, it has a stronger tone than the writings of Kang and Liang when urging all the peoples of China to be loyal to the absolute power of the Qing emperor.

Loyalty to the Emperor and Patriotism in the Context of Social Darwinism

Jiang Fu's textbook discussed patriotism in Lesson 22 of the fifth book. It states, "A country can only be established when the people are united. If the minds and hearts of the people are united, and everybody is patriotic, then the country will definitely prosper. If the minds and hearts of people in the country are not unified into one, everybody is full of selfish desire, and the country will then definitely be destroyed. When a nation is doomed, people of this nation, both their homes and lives, cannot survive either."⁵²⁾

This passage is similar to what is stated in Japan's Imperial Rescript on Education, which states that one should "advance public good and promote common interests,"

and “should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the state.”⁵³⁾ However, the example used to support the author’s argument is not from Japanese texts but can be traced back to China’s sage king, King Wu 武 (r. 1122 BC–1114 BC), the first sovereign of the Zhou Dynasty. It says that at the time King Wu only had three thousand people while King Zhou 紂 (r. 1154 BC–1121 BC) of the Shang Dynasty had thousands of people. However, people who followed King Wu were unified into one, while people of the Shang were in disunity and were consequently either massacred (a great massacre where so much blood was shed as to float the pestles) or they became homeless. The lesson ends in a sharp rhetorical question: “If one does not love his country, what kind of benefit can one get from it?”⁵⁴⁾

While the emphasis on the unification under the emperor and the use of the terms “*zhongjun*” and “*aiguo*” appeared identical to what was presented in the Japanese textbooks, Chinese patriotism in the late Qing textbooks was also reflected in remarks that the survival of the Chinese race was threatened by the white race. For instance, in the *Textbook for Elementary Education (Mengxue duben quanshu)* by the Wuxi Sandeng School, one lesson states: “Asia is the biggest among five continents. Its southeast is surrounded by sea, its north is connected with the Arctic Ocean, and its west is boarded with Europe. Asia was the earliest established continent, with the longest civilization among five continents. In the last hundred years, Russia became powerful in the north, Britain became competitive in the south, and other powers, such as Germany and France, also cast their greedy eyes on Asia. The power of the white race has gradually extended to the continent of East Asia. What a precarious situation the Asian continent is in!”⁵⁵⁾

Furthermore, the late Qing textbooks also indicated that the powerful white race was aggressive towards Asia and China. In Lesson 33 of the same textbook, the author commented: “Europe is the smallest in five continents; its east is boarded with Asia, its south is connected with Africa, its west is surrounded by the Atlantic Ocean. There are nineteen countries in this continent, and the powerful countries are Russia, England, France and Germany. The peoples in these countries are persistent with determination and dedication, and they became competitive with the development of new knowledge. This is why Europeans became the only powerful race in the world.”⁵⁶⁾

The above two points are related, and convey a sense of crisis. Although this seems similar to what is revealed in the writings in Meiji Japan, the Chinese sense of crisis was much stronger and deeper after the defeat in the Sino-Japanese War. As Liang Qichao pointed out, Japan also had the experience of being forced to open its ports for trade with western powers such as Russia, Germany and the United States, but through reform Meiji Japan soon turned its fate around. To the Chinese people, the acknowledgement of Japanese superiority was more painful and humiliating than being defeated by western powers. This then added more anxiety to the reformers like Liang Qichao over the fate of China. Liang asserted that changes were inevitable, but there was a crucial difference between self-reform (*zibian* 自變) and forced change (*daibian* 代變). Japan, as a successful example of *zibian*, soon arose from its weak status to the position of the most powerful country in Asia, because it implemented reform measures on its own initiatives. Countries that did not take the initiative to

change were forced to change by foreign encroachment, such as the reforms in Turkey that resulted from foreign intervention, the colonization of India by Great Britain, and the partitioning of Poland by Russia, Prussia and Austria. These cases enabled Liang to relate the issue of reform to the serious matters of saving China (*baoguo* 保國), Chinese race (*baozhong* 保種) and Chinese faith (*baojiao* 保教). If China did not act quickly, Liang warned, Chinese people would fall into the same fate as the Jews and the African slaves.⁵⁷⁾ With this close link between reform and the survival of China, Chinese race and Chinese faith, the emphasis on loyalty to the emperor became an essential ingredient of patriotism, as the emperor would be the facilitator of reform measures, and supporting the emperor was to support one's own country.

On the surface, this called for Japanese-style reform and imitated Japanese patriotism. On a deeper level, this is a reflection of China's awakening. The lesson the Chinese learned from defeat in the Sino-Japanese War was much greater than all the humiliations China suffered before, because the West was far away from China and the distance somewhat diluted the sense of emergency, but Japan was on the doorstep. From this perspective, China's defeat by Japan was a shock and a wake-up call to the Chinese people. Consequently, the more humiliated China felt about its defeat, the more appealing the Japanese model became. In 1896, thirteen Chinese students journeyed to Japan in order to find the secrets behind the Japanese success. This marked the beginning of the study-in-Japan movement.⁵⁸⁾

Under the influence of social Darwinism, the Chinese reformers were fully aware of the so-called natural rule of the "survival of the fittest." China's humiliation by the West and, worst of all, by Japan, mixed with patriotism. Loyalty to the Qing emperor and urgent needs to reform were integral to the formation of a preliminary form of Chinese nationalism. The contradictory roles of Japan, being both a model for China to follow and also a mighty enemy were consolidated in this form of nationalism. This can be exemplified by lesson 2 in the *Textbook for Elementary Education*:

Wishing our country be impregnable,
transcend Europe, America and Japan.
Both the army and navy be flourishing and blazing,
making the Qing dragon flag be shining in the world.
Imperialists are currently expanding their world,
we cannot wait and then feel sad when the nation is fallen.
India has been colonized, and Poland has lost its sovereignty too.
But look at our empire, it is like a sleeping lion
that will rise and roar loudly to shake the world."⁵⁹⁾

This text was in a form of poetry designed for children to read, chant and remember. This shows that the Chinese textbook writers actually agreed with the Meiji Japanese view of education and its link with the country's self-strengthening. The Japanese belief that nationalism and patriotism should be infused in textbooks on language, geography and history, as well as moral education also became the principle of the late Qing textbook composers. For instance, Yu Fu and other staff at the Wuxi Sandeng School stated in an editorial that all these subjects were actually relevant to

each other: language was the tool and vehicle, and history could teach students the glory of China's past and awaken in them a patriotic fervor to equip them for the task of wiping away the humiliations imposed upon China by the imperialist forces in the West and Japan. Geography was also a critical subject because it could inspire students to love their country, and know the relationship between China and the world. By teaching students geography the lofty aspiration of strengthening China and protecting our race would be instilled into their minds.⁶⁰⁾

Modern Features of Late Qing Textbooks and New Approaches to the Education of Children

The introduction and translation of Japanese textbooks and works on education had a positive impact on Chinese educational reform, especially on the design of modern textbooks. Before 1895 Chinese reformers basically obtained the information of modern education in the west through works of missionaries and translated works from the West. Such information was fragmented and therefore did not provide the reformers with a systematic and complete picture. The introduction of Japanese textbooks and translated works into China after 1895 enabled the Chinese to have direct access to the Japanese texts, so the Japanese education system was copied by Zhang Zhidong and his associates who drafted the first modern school system based on the Japanese documents.⁶¹⁾ As for textbooks, those on science subjects were adopted directly by newly established modern Chinese schools (*xuetang* 學堂), and those on history, geography, language and ethics were altered to provide Chinese content. However, the composition, format and design of the Chinese textbooks were all copied from the Japanese textbooks.

Again, let us take Jiang Fu's *Junior Primer for Moral Education* (*Mengxue chuji xiushen shu*) as an example. This set of textbooks includes six volumes, and each volume contains twenty-two lessons which are designed for a half academic year.⁶²⁾ This followed the design of Japanese textbooks in the 1880s. In 1881 Japan established its modern elementary school system in which the first three years were beginners (*chudeng* 初等), and another three years were for intermediate level (*zhongdeng* 中等), and after that were two years for senior level (*gaodeng* 高等). The set of the Japanese textbooks for ethics (*shūshin*) for both beginners and intermediate level usually contains six volumes, that is, each volume serves one semester, and two for one academic year.⁶³⁾ This elementary school system was later adopted in Zhang Zhidong's draft (1903–04) for the first modern Chinese school system, but Jiang's textbooks were produced before its promulgation. In fact, most late Qing textbooks for ethics and language (*duben* 讀本, reader) were in this format.

As for how many words should be contained in each lesson, the guiding principle Jiang used once again shows the Japanese influence. In 1890 Japan's criteria for elementary school textbooks for ethics clearly stated that the text in each lesson should be simple and the level of difficulty should be designed in accordance with children's reading ability.⁶⁴⁾ Jiang's set textbook appears to follow this guiding principle, and the first two volumes are all in the vernacular and each lesson contains from thirty to 100 characters. The next four books are all in classical Chinese and each lesson contains from sixty to 200 characters.⁶⁵⁾

The use of *baihua* 白話, or vernacular language, for the first two volumes can also be attributed to the Japanese influence. Textbook composers in the late Qing period noticed that the first two volumes of Japanese textbooks used vernacular language.⁶⁶⁾ For instance, Chen Zibao 陳子褒 (1862–1922) said in 1900 that he traveled to Japan and studied the Japanese textbooks. He noted that the early Meiji textbooks for beginners all used simple vernacular and taught children the words relating to what they encountered or saw in daily life. The amount of words as well as the level of difficulty increased gradually. Chen thought that the teaching method reflected in the early Meiji textbooks was suitable for Chinese children too. Therefore, from 1895 to 1921, he devoted himself to basic literacy education, and produced forty textbooks for children and women. All his textbooks use a simple vernacular style.⁶⁷⁾ However, some educators felt reluctant to use vernacular in children's textbooks, and argued that in the Japanese language, the so-called vernacular was the *kana* syllabary, which could be used to indicate pronunciation as well as to form words, and Japanese people all knew the *kana* syllabary. Chinese language did not have a similar writing system, and the so-called vernacular referred to such words as *zhege* 這個 (this) and *nage* 那個 (that), which were only used to help form words. Children, who had not yet learned any official pronunciation of words (*guanyin* 官音) and only spoke dialects, could not tell the difference between learning simple classical Chinese and vernacular. This was the principle Yu Fu and his colleagues used to compile the texts for teaching beginners, which later became the first volume of the *Mengxue duben*.⁶⁸⁾ Nevertheless, the vernacular movement initiated in the late Qing developed further and later became part of the 1919 May Fourth Movement. The use of vernacular in the compilation of late Qing textbooks and the related debate were a reflection of this movement.⁶⁹⁾

The most significant Japanese influence on Chinese education reform and curricula is modern pedagogy, which was introduced into China through Japanese translations. These new educational theories from the West, such as the ideas of Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776–1841) and Friedrich Froebel (1782–1852), were introduced into Japan and then traveled to China through the Japanese translations.⁷⁰⁾

The educational ideas of Johann Herbart, especially the five learning principles, were introduced into Japan in 1890 and quickly adopted in educational practice. The five-step teaching method focuses on the interests of children. As reflected in writing textbooks for ethics, there was a shift from organizing lessons according to the list of Confucian virtues (*demu* 德目, *tokumoku* in Japanese) to the focus on exemplary figures (*renwu* 人物). Also, the use of tales to teach children (*yuhua* 寓話, *gūwa* in Japanese) replaced the *zuofa* 作法 method to teach children how to behave or practice moral principles in daily life used in the previous decade.⁷¹⁾

Late Qing educators, such as Chen Zibao, noticed Herbart's idea and the focus on children's interest in Japanese textbooks, and applied it to their promotion of a new type of education. Chen said that *quwei kaizhi* 趣味開智, meaning "interest and knowledge/wisdom," should be the principle in writing textbooks. In his view, using vernacular to teach children how to read and write was to educate children in accordance with their ability and nature. Only when children were attracted to learning would teaching then be effective in developing their knowledge and



Figure 1: 幼稚教育恩物圖說 (*Illustrated Instruction of Making enwu in Pre-school Education*) compiled by Seki Shinzo 関信三, and translated by Komata Kiyoshi 小俣規義 in *Collection of Works on Education* (教育叢書 *Jiaoyu congshu*), 1903.

wisdom.⁷²⁾

Froebel's kindergarten was also introduced into China through Japan. Luo Zhenyu's *Educational World* published a biography of Froebel (issue 73) and later an article on his kindergarten (issue 103). *Illustrated Instruction of Making Enwu* (gifted things) in *Pre-school Education* (幼稚教育恩物圖說), compiled by Seki Shinzo 関信三, a Japanese scholar and translated by Komata Kiyoshi 小俣規義, was also published in Luo Zhenyu's *Collection of Works on Education* (*Jiaoyu congshu*) in 1903 (See **Figure 1**).

Originally, the 1902 draft for the first modern Chinese school system had mistaken Froebel's kindergarten with the traditional Chinese *mengyangyuan* 蒙養院, which was an institute for nourishing younger children. Through reading the translations of Japanese works, Zhang Zhidong realized that *mengyangyuan* was not a kindergarten but a junior primary school. He then changed the term "*mengyangyuan*" to "*youzhiyuan*" 幼稚園 (*yōchien* in Japanese), which was a borrowed Japanese usage, to refer to kindergarten in the revised draft. The *youzhiyuan* curriculum contained playing

games, singing, speaking and making handcrafts. The first two issues were addressed apparently in response to the theory represented by Wang Yangming 王陽明 (1472–1528) and, later, other education theorists in the Qing period. To the regulation makers, the purpose of the kindergarten as stated by Wang Yangming was similar to that stated by Froebel: to teach children morality through playing and singing.⁷³⁾

However, it was not the form of the kindergarten, or the idea about the importance of pre-school education that exerted a positive impact on Chinese views of children's education. Rather, it was the idea of educating children through play and through the things that children contact on a daily basis. Yu Zhuang 俞莊 in his preface to the *Primary Textbook for Moral Education* (初級蒙學修身教科書) pointed out, “Japanese elementary textbooks for moral education all used children's play and games, as well as stories which, the writers of these textbooks believed, would register in children's minds easily. The textbook follows this principle but takes things from what Chinese children are familiar with to make sixty lessons, aiming to instill moral doctrines into their minds through play. In this way moral instruction would not be boring, but would be appealing to students, and teachers would find pleasure in educating children through play.”⁷⁴⁾

Yu Zhuang also made efforts to incorporate Froebel's idea into the composition of primary textbooks. Here is an example:

In autumn there are many crickets. One can catch male ones and put them into a pot, letting them fight each other. After the fighting has ended one can see that the champion cries out happily, as if it is very proud of itself. Alas, the superior ones outperform the inferior ones—even crickets cannot escape from this rule, let alone human beings.⁷⁵⁾

The entire text contains only forty characters and cricket fighting is a common game among children. The author does not mention social Darwinism but through this game he surely explains the so-called rule of natural selection. The next lesson tells how a child gathers his friends together after purchasing a horn. He uses the horn to command his friends to practice like soldiers. They say that if anyone dares to invade our country then we boy scouts would go to war. The author praises them at the end of the text: “How brave they are!” The instruction for teachers clearly states that “the core content of this lesson is to say that ‘everybody should go to war to fight a foreign invasion of the state.’” This conveys the idea of love of country. The uniqueness of this text is the use of games or children's plays to promote patriotism to children. Also, the connection between the two lessons is evident: the social Darwinism illustrated in the cricket fighting was to awaken children to the reality that China was facing foreign aggressors. China's fate, to survive or to perish, would depend on whether Chinese people were as brave as the boy described in the text.

Japanese influence on modern Chinese textbooks is also reflected in the use of illustrations. In Japan's criteria for elementary textbooks for ethics in 1890, illustrations (插畫) were emphasized as a significant design feature which would benefit children's moral cultivation.⁷⁶⁾ For example, the *Illustrated Textbook of Moral*

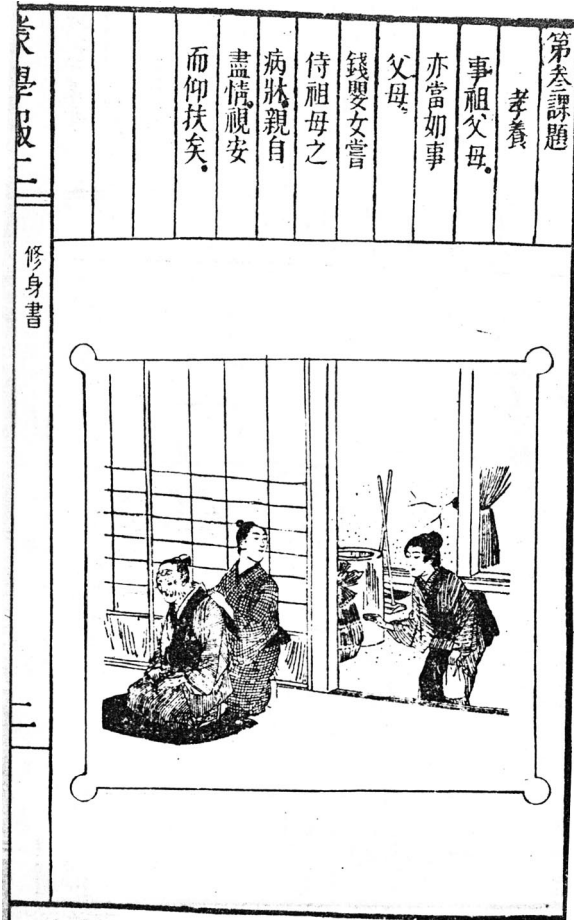


Figure 2: 小學初等修身書 (*Illustrated Textbook of Moral Education for Junior Primary School*) in *Collection of Elementary Textbooks* (蒙學叢書), vol. 13.

Education for Junior Primary School (小學初等修身書), which has fourteen lessons, was directly translated from the Japanese texts with Japanese pictures (See **Figure 2**).⁷⁷⁾

Yu Zhuang states in his preface, “Children love pictures and books with illustrations. This is their nature. Therefore, some of the Japanese primary textbooks for moral education are in pictorial format. This set of textbooks adopts the same principle and its first volume is composed of pictures based on these sixty lessons. This pictorial takes children’s interests into consideration, and makes efforts to draw vivid pictures that will attract children when they open the book.”⁷⁸⁾

Yu Zhuang’s statement indicates that illustrations became a key feature of primary Chinese textbooks in the period of 1895–1905. This can also be demonstrated by three book titles listed in *Children’s Educator*. Among the forty-six textbooks, there are three textbooks intended for moral education: *Illustrated Primer for Moral Education* (繪圖蒙學修身書), *Illustrated Elementary Textbook for Moral Education* (繪圖小學修身書), and *Illustrated Middle-level Ethics* (繪圖中倫理學). Also, *Elementary Textbook for Moral Education*, part two (小學修身書之二), published in *Children’s Educator*, contains sixty



Figure 3: 中文修身書 (Chinese Textbook for Moral Education) in *Children's Educator*, vol. 10.

lessons all of which are in the format of the text in the upper part of the page and a picture in the lower part of the page.

However, illustrated primers emerged in China as early as in the Ming dynasty, such as the famous *Riji gushi* 日記故事 (Stories for Daily Learning).⁷⁹⁾ A 1542 version, which was produced by Xiong Damu 熊大木, a teacher at the elementary level, contains nine chapters in which each example was presented with a four-character title, followed by the details.⁸⁰⁾

There were also a few editions of *Stories for Daily Learning* that were circulated and survived in Japan. For instance, a 1669 Japanese version was based on a Ming edition collated by Zhang Ruitu 張瑞圖. In this edition, the first chapter adopted the half-illustration and half-text style, and had all twenty-four examples of filial piety illustrated. From the second chapter onward, only the beginning of each chapter had a full-page illustration.⁸¹⁾

Let us compare this Japanese version of *Stories for Daily Learning* with a primer entitled *Chinese Textbook for Moral Education* 中文修身書, which was published in *Children's Educator*. The Chinese textbook was intended for children aged between 5

and 7 years old. Like most textbooks of the time, it consisted of sixty lessons. In lessons 13 to 27, the upper part of the page contains classical Chinese text, a picture is located in the middle; and at the bottom part of the page there is text in vernacular which is translated from classical Chinese. From Lesson 28 on there are only two parts: the upper page is text in vernacular, and the lower part has a picture (See **Figure 3**).

This example shows that some traditional Chinese *mengshu* 蒙書, or primers, were actually circulated and survived in Japan, and the style of illustrations might also exert an impact on the compiling of Japanese textbooks. However, when Japanese textbooks were viewed as examples of modernized teaching materials, not only their content but also their format and design were accepted by the Chinese who were so eager to learn from the Japanese that they did not even notice that illustrated primers were produced in China a long time ago. Of course, when highlighting the illustrated features of the Japanese textbooks which were associated with the introduction of western ideas of education, the Chinese writers not only claimed the fashionable features of their own textbooks but also emphasized new educational theories which had been put into practice in the West and Japan. This cannot be simply judged as a blind imitation. Rather, it was a reflection of the prevailing Chinese mentality in the late Qing period: what had worked for Japan would certainly work for China, too.

Conclusion

Native Chinese Confucianism was successfully interculturalized in Japan not only to comply with Japanese culture but also to incorporate western learning, and to contextualize the foreign “otherness” into the form of Confucianism. Confucian virtues of loyalty and filial piety were intertwined to promote a family ethics in which all Japanese people were seen as children of the emperor, and then loyalty to the emperor became the foundation of codes of ethics and the core of Japanese nationalism and patriotism. The Chinese intellectuals and reformers between 1895 and 1905 only paid attention to how the Japanese bridged the gap between traditional culture and western learning, but ignored the significant alteration of Japanese Confucianism. In other words, they happily used Confucianism as the ground for borrowing from Japan and calling for reform, without knowing that Confucianism in Japan and China shared a common linguistic form but differed in content. In this sense, the Chinese imitation of the Japanese model may be labelled as “blind,” but it provided the reformers and intellectuals with fuel to address China’s own crisis and to push for political reform. The portrayal of loyalty to the emperor and patriotism in Chinese textbooks reflected not only the imitation of Japanese textbooks but also the strong impact of social Darwinism under which loyalty to the Qing emperor was linked to the survival of China, Chinese race and Chinese culture. Moreover, borrowing from Japan provided a shortcut for the Chinese to access the world outside China, which helped shorten the time taken to move towards a modern era from the past. As reflected in the textbooks, the introduction of western educational ideas and theories to China through Japan to a certain extent reshaped Chinese approaches to children, and contributed to the development of modern Chinese pedagogy and textbooks.

Notes

- 1) Kurozumi Makoto, "Tokugawa Confucianism and Its Meiji Japan Reconstruction," Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan and Herman Ooms, eds., *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 377.
- 2) *Ibid.*, 377–78.
- 3) Benjamin A. Elman, "Rethinking 'Confucianism' and 'Neo-Confucianism' in Modern Chinese History," Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan and Herman Ooms, eds., *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 520.
- 4) Keith Nathaniel Knapp, *Selfless Offspring: Filial Children and Social Order in Medieval China*, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2005), 187–88.
- 5) *Ibid.*, 188.
- 6) Ge Zhaoguang 葛兆光, *Zhongguo sixiangshi* [中国思想史 History of Chinese Thought], vol. 1, (Shanghai: Fudan University Press, 2001), 371–72. Also, see Isabelle Robinet, *Daoism: Growth of a Religion*, trans. by Phyllis Brooks, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997).
- 7) See Cynthia Brokaw, *The Ledgers of Merit and Demerit: Social Change and Moral Order in Late Imperial China*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991).
- 8) Kurozumi, "Tokugawa Confucianism and Its Meiji Japan Reconstruction," 379.
- 9) *Ibid.*, 381.
- 10) *Ibid.*, 384–85.
- 11) *Ibid.*, 385.
- 12) *Ibid.*, 382.
- 13) *Ibid.*, 383.
- 14) For an original and detailed discussion, see Daikichi Irokawa, "Freedom and the Concept of People's Rights," Irwin Scheiner, ed., *Modern Japan: An Interpretive Anthology*, (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 190–201.
- 15) Kurozumi, "Tokugawa Confucianism and Its Meiji Japan Reconstruction," 386–88.
- 16) *Ibid.*, 388–89.
- 17) Kaigo Tokiomi 海後宗臣 and Naka Arata 仲新, *Kindai Nihon kyōkasho sōsetsu—kaisetsu hen* [近代日本教科書総説—解説篇 A General Account of Modern Japanese Textbooks, Narration and Comments], (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1969), 69.
- 18) Joseph Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi (1843–1895) and the Meiji Educational System," *Modern Japan: An Interpretive Anthology*, Irwin Scheiner, ed., (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1974), 181.
- 19) Chen Weifen 陳瑋芬, "Jingshang Zhecilang duiyu 'zhong xiao' de yili xin quan—guanyu Chiyu yanyi de kaocha [井上哲次郎對於「忠孝」的義理新詮——關於《敕語衍義》的考察 Inoue Tetsujiro's Interpretation of 'Loyalty and Filial Piety': An Examination of the *Elaboration of the Imperial Rescript on Education*], *Tsing Hua Journal of Chinese Studies* vol. 33, no. 2 (December 2003), 399–437; also collected in Liu Yuebing 劉岳兵, ed., *Mingzhi ruxue yu jindai riben* [明治儒學與近代日本 Meiji Confucianism and Modern Japan], (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2005) 48–87. For a discussion of the evolution of the terms *Jukyō*, *Kangaku* and *Kokugaku*, and the role of *Jukyō* in Meiji education, see Chen Weifen, "The Changing Face of Confucian Studies in East Asia: An Investigation of Japanese Sinological Terminology," *Taiwan Journal of East Asian Studies*, vol. 1 no. 1, (June 2004), 219–23.
- 20) See *Qing Guangxu chao zhongri jiaoshe shiliao* [清光緒朝中日交涉史料 Historical Documents on Sino-Japanese Relations During the Guangxu Reign of the Qing Period, 1875–1909], 2 vols., reprint, (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), 2: 1342.
- 21) Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi (1843–1895) and the Meiji Educational System," 179.
- 22) Kaigo and Naka, *Kindai Nihon kyōkasho sōsetsu—kaisetsu hen*, 33–35.
- 23) Tongwenguan (or Tung-wen Kuan) literally means School of Combined Learning. W. A. P. Martin called it the Tung-wen College. See W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, (New York: F. H. Revell, 1897), 301. For an excellent study of the Tongwenguan in both Beijing and Shanghai, see Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1961), 94–165. Also see Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjian yu wan Qing shehui* [西學東漸與晚清社

- 會 Western Learning and Late Qing Society], (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1995), 301–49.
- 24) Marius Jansen, “Japan and the Chinese Revolution of 1911,” John K. Fairbank and Liu Kwang-ching Liu, eds., *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 11: Late Ch’ing, 1800–1911, Part 2, (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 343–47.
 - 25) Zhang Zhidong 張之洞, *Zhang Wenxianggong quanji* [張文襄公全集 The Complete Works of Zhang Zhidong], 6 vols., (Beijing: Chuxue jinglu, 1937; reprint, Taipei: Wenhai, 1963), 6: 3731.
 - 26) See Wang Jianjun 王建軍, *Zhongguo jindai jiaokeshu fazhan yanjiu* [中國近代教科書發展研究 A Study of the Development of Modern Chinese Textbooks], (Guangdong: Jiaoyu chubanshe, 1996), 60–71.
 - 27) William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 226.
 - 28) For a detailed description of the journal *Jiaoyu shijie* [Educational World] and related collections of educational works *Jiaoyu congshu* [教育叢書], see Lü Shunchang 呂順長, *Qingmo Zhejiang yu Riben* [清末浙江與日本 Zhejiang and Japan in the Late Qing Period], (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 2001), section four in Chapter 6. Also see Douglas R. Reynolds, *China, 1898–1912, The Xinzheng Revolution and Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1993), 135–8. For a study of Luo’s educational thought, see Zheng Aihua 鄭愛華, “Luo Zhenyu jiaoyusixiang chutan [羅振玉教育思想初探 A Preliminary Study of Luo Zhengyu’s Ideas of Education],” *Riben wenti yanjiu* [日本問題研究 Japan Problem Studies], no. 4 (2004), 55–61.
 - 29) See Wang Zhonglin’s report which served as a preface to the collection.
 - 30) See Zhou Yutong 周予同, *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyushi* [中國現代教育史 History of Modern Chinese Education], (Shanghai: Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi 良友圖書印刷公司, 1934), 134. Also, Wu Yanyin 吳研因 and Weng Zhida 翁之達, *Zhongguo zhi xiaoxue jiaoyu* [中國之小學教育 China’s Elementary Education], (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934), 1–2; Ding Zhipin 丁綴聘, *Zhongguo jin qishinian lai jiaoyu jishi* [中國近七十年來教育記事 Chronology of China’s Education in the Recent Seventy Years], (Nanjing: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館, 1935), 8, 11.
 - 31) Yu Fu and staff from the Wuxi Sandeng School, *Mengxue duben quanshu* [蒙學讀本全書 Textbook for Elementary Education], (Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1902), preface to vol. 3.
 - 32) Jiang Fu 蔣黼, *Mengxue chuji xiushenshu* [蒙學初級修身書 Junior Primer for Moral Education], in *Mengxue bao* [蒙學報 Children’s Educator], vol. 12.
 - 33) Jiang Fu, “Preface [例言 *Liyan*],” *ibid.*, 1a.
 - 34) Kate Wildman Nakai, “Chinese Ritual and Native Identity in Tokugawa Confucianism,” Benjamin A. Elman, John B. Duncan and Herman Ooms, eds., *Rethinking Confucianism: Past and Present in China, Japan, Korea, and Vietnam*, UCLA Asian Pacific Monograph Series, (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002), 261.
 - 35) Kurozumi, “Tokugawa Confucianism and Its Meiji Japan Reconstruction,” 379–80. Also see Chen Weifen, “Jingshang Zhecilang duiyu ‘zhong xiao’ de yili xin quan,” 399–437.
 - 36) Jiang Fu, *Mengxue chuji xiushenshu*, book 6, Lesson 22, 11b.
 - 37) Liang Qichao, *Bianfa tongyi* [變法通議 A General Discussion of Reform], in *Yinbingshi heji, wenji* [飲冰室合集—文集 Collected Works and Essays from the Ice Drinker’s Studio, Collected Essays], 16 ce. reprint, (Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936), 1: 2–3.
 - 38) Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, wenji*, 1: 3.
 - 39) In 1855 Japan and the United States signed the Treaty of Shimoda.
 - 40) In 1861 Prussia and Japan signed a treaty of amity and commerce.
 - 41) In 1853, Commodore Matthew C. Perry of the United States appeared in Tokyo Bay with a fleet of four warships. In 1854 the United States-Japan Treaty of Peace and Amity was signed, which marked the abolishment of the policy of isolation which was adopted by the Tokugawa government.
 - 42) Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, wenji*, 1: 3.
 - 43) *Ibid.*, 1: 8.
 - 44) *Ibid.*, 1: 2.
 - 45) *Ibid.*, 1: 5.
 - 46) *Ibid.*, 1: 8–10.
 - 47) *Ibid.*, 2: 11.
 - 48) For a detailed discussion of Kang’s list of Japanese books, see Shen Guowei 沈國威, “Kang Youwei

- jiqi *Riben shumuzhi* [康有爲及其日本書目志 Kang Youwei and His Catalogue of Japanese Books],” *Wakumon* [或問], vol. 51, no. 5 (2003), 51–68.
- 49) This “five hundred years” period referred to the achievements of the West since Francis Bacon (1561–1626).
- 50) Kang Youwei, “Riben shumuzhi,” in *Kang Youwei quanji* [康有爲全集 Complete Collection of Kang Youwei], (Shanghai: Guji chubanshe, 1982–1987), vol. 3, 585.
- 51) Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, wenji*, 2: 53. See Peter Zarrow, “Late Qing Reformism and the Meiji Model: Kang Youwei, Liang Qichao and the Japanese Emperor,” Joshua A. Fogel, ed., *The Role of Japan in Liang Qichao’s Introduction of Modern Western Civilization to China*, (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies, 2004), 40–67, for detailed discussions.
- 52) Jiang Fu, *Mengxue chujī xiushenshu*, book 5, Lesson 22, 11b.
- 53) Pittau, “Inoue Kowashi (1843–1895) and the Meiji Educational System,” 182.
- 54) Jiang Fu, *Mengxue chujī xiushenshu*, book 5, Lesson 22, 11b.
- 55) Yu Fu and others, *Mengxue duben quanshu*, vol. 3, 19a–b.
- 56) Yu Fu and others, *Mengxue duben quanshu*, vol. 3, 22b–23a.
- 57) Liang Qichao, *Yinbingshi heji, wenji*, 1: 8.
- 58) Chen Xulu 陳旭麓, *Jindai Zhongguo shehui de xinchen daixie* [近代中國社會的新陳代謝 Changes in Modern Chinese Society], (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1992), 162. Also see Sanetō Keishū 實藤惠秀, *Chūgokujin Nihon ryūgakushi, zōho* [中國人留學日本史 增補 History of Chinese Students in Japan], (Tokyo: Kuroshio shuppan, 1970), Chinese translation by Tan Ruqian and Lin Qiyan, (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 1982).
- 59) Yu Fu and others, *Mengxue duben quanshu*, vol. 3, Lesson 2, 1b.
- 60) Yu Fu and others, “Preface [編輯終旨],” *Mengxue duben quanshu*, vol. 3.
- 61) Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System*, (Cambridge, MA: Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1960), 65; Abe Hiroshi, “Borrowing from Japan: China’s First Modern Educational System,” Ruth Hayhoe and Marianne Bastid, eds., *China’s Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*, (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1987), 62.
- 62) Jiang Fu, “Preface,” *Mengxue chujī xiushenshu*, 1a.
- 63) Kaigo and Naka, *Kindai Nihon kyōkasho sōsetsu —kaisetsu hen*, 69–70, 83.
- 64) Kaigo and Naka, *ibid.*, 80.
- 65) Jiang Fu, “Preface,” *Mengxue chujī xiushenshu*, 1a.
- 66) Yu Fu and others, “Preface [編輯約旨],” *Mengxue duben quanshu*, vol. 1, 1a.
- 67) Chen Zibao 陳子褒, “Lun xunmeng yiyong qianbai duben [論訓蒙宜用淺白讀本 Children’s Textbooks should be in Vernacular],” Chen Xuexun 陳學恂 ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi jiaoxue cankao ziliao* [中國近代教育史教學參考資料 Reference Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Education], 3 vols., (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1986), 1: 657–59.
- 68) Yu Fu and others, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 1a.
- 69) For a detailed study of vernacular language education and textbooks, see Zheng Guomin 鄭國民, *Cong wenyanwen jiaoxue dao baihuawen jiaoxue —woguo jin-xiandai yuwen jiaoyu de biange guocheng* [從文言文教學到白話文教學—我國近現代語文教育的變革過程 Language Teaching from Classical Chinese to Vernacular: The Transformation of Our Country’s Language Education in Modern and Contemporary Periods], (Beijing: Shifan daxue chubanshe, 2000), 80–89.
- 70) For example, the article entitled “Hai’erbatu pai zhi xingwei lun [海爾巴圖派之興味論 Herbart on the Interests and Education]” was published in issue 75 of Luo Zhenyu’s *Jiaoyu shijie* (*Educational World*), and another article entitled “Fei’erbatu pai zhi jiaoyu [費爾巴圖派之教育 Herbart on Education],” in volume 3 of *Jiaoyu congshu* [Collection of Educational Works].
- 71) Kaigo and Naka, *Kindai Nihon kyōkasho sōsetsu —kaisetsu hen*, 94, 98.
- 72) Chen Zibao, “Lun xunmeng yiyong qianbai duben,” 658.
- 73) Shu Xincheng 舒新城, *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi ziliao* [中國近代教育史資料 Materials on the History of Modern Chinese Education], 2nd ed., 3 vols., (Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1981), 1: 195. Also, see Limin Bai, “The Chinese Kindergarten Movement, 1903–1927,” Roberta Wollons ed.,

Kindergartens and Cultures: The Global Diffusion of an Idea, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 138–47.

- 74) Yu Zhuang 俞莊 *Chuji mengxue xiushen jiaokeshu* [初級蒙學修身教科書 Primary Textbook for Moral Education], (Shanghai: Wenming shuju 上海文明書局, 1903), 1a.
- 75) Yu Zhuang, *Chuji mengxue xiushen jiaokeshu*, 5a.
- 76) Kaigo and Naka, *Kindai Nihon kyōkasho sōsetsu —kaisetsu hen*, 80.
- 77) *Mengxue congshu* [蒙學叢書 Collection of Elementary Textbooks], vol. 13.
- 78) Yu Zhuang, *Chuji mengxue xiushen jiaokeshu*, 1b–2a.
- 79) According to the *Qianqing tang shumu* [千頃堂書目 The Book Catalogue of Qianqing Hall], the earliest version of this primer was written by Yu Shao 虞韶 during the Yuan period. However, the various versions passed down to the present were all produced in the Ming period and later.
- 80) Limin Bai, *Shaping the Ideal Child: Children and Their Primers in Late Imperial China*, (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2005), 64–65, 107–08.
- 81) *Ibid.*, 64–65.