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Abstract: In this chapter Liu examines the ways in which Chinese translations of Western works entered Japan, and describes the impact and some of the responses to these works. These works entered Japan through a variety of sources, some in the hands of Chinese traders, on the ships of Commodore Perry’s fleet, and through other ships, such as mail vessels, that frequently passed between Japan and China. The reprinting of these documents generated considerable interest among the Japanese, including a concerned response of Japanese Buddhists to the large number of translations made by Christian missionaries, and state support for the reprinting of overseas news. Liu concludes the chapter with a closer look at some of the Chinese language periodicals that were available, and their depiction of democratic governance, astronomy and geography, Western culture, and production in the West.

Demon Capital Shanghai:
The “Modern” Experience of Japanese Intellectuals¹
Liu Jianhui 劉建輝

Translated by Joshua A. Fogel

Shanghai and the Opening of Japan (Part 2)

The “West” Conveyed by Chinese Translations of Western Works

Frequent Travel between China and Japan

The Chinese translations of Western works published by the Mohai shuguan and similar institutions were intended in the first instance to open a way into China for proselytizing with the aim of enlightening Chinese intellectuals and prompting the “opening” of China. As we have seen thus far, such works were able to penetrate Chinese society to a certain limited extent and did cause a small “shock.” Unfortunately, however, more than half a century would pass before the content of these books was fully accepted and assimilated in China. There are many reasons for this, such as the continued presence of Sinocentrism militating strongly against the acceptance of things from outside China and the restraints on elite intellectuals by virtue of the examination system. While explaining this phenomenon would be extremely interesting, it takes us too far afield.

Here we shall rather examine the process by which from the mid-1850s these works came flooding into Japan on this “transportation” network we have been describing, their role in “enlightening” Japanese intellectuals, and the acceleration they fostered in the opening of Japan. When examining the transmission to Japan of Chinese translations of Western works in the late Edo period, the first problem we confront is the route by which books traveled there and the kinds and numbers of texts that made the voyage. If they were imported by Chinese traders, as they were in the past, there would be lists connected to the tasks of importation assigned to the Nagasaki Office (Nagasaki kaisho 長崎會所), such as the *Seirai shomoku* 齎來書目 (List of imported books), *Shoseki genchō* 書籍元帳 (Register of writings), and *Rakusatsu chō* 落札帳 (Register of successful bids). In a sense, then, our task would be extremely simple.

Following the arrival of Commodore Perry to Japan in 1853 and 1854, however, other routes opened up, and with the opening of Japan in 1858 by virtue of the Ansei Treaty, a kind of free trading system emerged. All manner of vessels, including mail ships, repeatedly traveled between China and Japan, making it all but impossible to specify which books, which routes, and what quantities. We can, though, categorize the routes into one of three sorts: cargo brought on Western battleships, importation by

¹ *Mato Shanhai: Nihon chishikijin no “kindai” taiken* 魔都上海：日本知識人の「近代」体験 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2000), pp. 94-127. See also the Chinese translation by Gan Huijie, *Modu Shanghai: Riben zhishiren de “jindai” tiyan* 魔都上海：日本知识人的“近代”体验 (Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2003), pp. 45-61.

Chinese or Japanese merchants, and works carried by missionaries coming to Japan. Let us now take a look at each of these three routes in turn.

Journals Brought aboard Perry's Fleet

The cargo of Western books brought on gunboats takes us back to the arrival in Japan of Perry's fleet itself. Calling in the Ryukyu Islands in January 1854 en route to Japan the second time, someone in Perry's flotilla brought along two volumes of the same Chinese-language journal *Xia'er guanzhen* 遐邇貫珍 (Rarities from near and far), which as we noted earlier were presented to Guo Songtao 郭嵩焘 (1818-91) at the Mohai shuguan, and were handed over to someone in the Ryukyus. *Xia'er guanzhen* was a monthly magazine published from September 1853 by Medhurst who was himself in Shanghai. As Guo Songtao had noted, the first half of each issue of the magazine generally centered around articles introducing Western civilization, such as science, while the latter half was occupied largely by news from home and abroad. We, of course, cannot say for certain who it was that brought the two issues of *Xia'er guanzhen* to the Ryukyus, but the only two people who could read literary Chinese aboard Perry's fleet were S. Wells Williams (Wei Sanwei 衛三畏, 1812-84), the interpreter, and Luo Sen 羅森. It would make sense to assume that it was one of them.

Williams was a missionary of the American Congregational Church who came to China in 1833. He initially worked in Guangzhou, overseeing the mission press operations. Luo Sen was a literatus living in Hong Kong. At Williams's invitation he joined Perry's fleet and later played an important role as interpreter at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Kanagawa.

The two volumes of *Xia'er guanzhen* were later transported from the Ryukyus to Satsuma domain and later still seem to have spread widely in manuscript form among influential scholars throughout the country. For example—although perhaps not limited to these two volumes—in Ansei 5 (1858), Iwase Tadanari 岩瀬忠雲 (1818-61), the administrator for foreign affairs (*gaikoku bugyō* 外國奉行), possessed a copy of *Xia'er guanzhen*, and before this both Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 (1823-99) and Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 (1830-59) had written letters to friends indicating that they had read it.² The case of the *Xia'er guanzhen* texts is, of course, an exceptional one, for in general one cannot ascertain the route of books and magazines brought on battleships. To the extent that I have been able to investigate the matter, the only comparable mention of such is in Katsu Kaishū's *Kaikoku kigen* 開國起原 (The origins of opening the country).

In a certain sense, these circumstances apply as well to importation by Chinese and Japanese merchants. That is, once the system of free trade came into being, the former structure for the investigation of imported volumes that had long been in place at the Nagasaki Hall effectively ceased operation, making it extremely difficult now to assess what works were transported along this route. From about 1858, foreign merchant

² Masuda Wataru 増田渉, *Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō*, "zassho" sakki 西学東漸と中国事情、「雑書」札記 (The eastern movement of Western learning, notes on "various books") (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1979). English translation by Joshua A. Fogel, *China and Japan: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era* (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon, 2000).

houses from Great Britain, the United States, and elsewhere set up shop in Nagasaki with increasing frequency, and numerous Chinese merchants came to Japan now as employees of these commercial houses. In competition with the official shogunal merchants, these newcomers vigorously fostered both legal and illegal trading activities,³ and for Nagasaki at this time it was Shanghai that represented the most important trading partner. Taking these factors into account, it would be reasonable to expect that a number of Chinese language translations of Western works, much in demand, would have been imported by Chinese merchants, known at the time as “unlicensed Chinese [merchants]” (*moguri Tōjin* もぐり唐人). For example—though this is not definitive proof—from 1858 to 1859, a doctor in Dutch medicine resident in Edo, Miyake Gonsai 三宅良齊 (1817-68), translated in succession three works mentioned above by Benjamin Hobson, *Xiyi lüelun*, *Fuying xinshuo*, and *Neike xinshuo*, and it appears that he “clandestinely purchased books, medicine, and the like” from Shanghai via the Nagasaki route.⁴

“Sold over One Thousand Copies”

Compared to these two transport routes for books, those brought by missionaries coming to Japan are much easier to ascertain. In most instances, we have extant records in such forms as letters to friends or diaries, and in certain cases we even have concrete data on the numbers of volumes. For example, after the opening of Japan, the first American Congregationalist missionary to come to Nagasaki from Shanghai, a man named J. Liggins (Lin Yuehan 林約翰), stated proudly in a letter to a friend that he had “sold over one thousands copies” of such “Chinese-language works” as Muirhead’s *Dili quanzhi* and *Da Yingguo zhi*, Bridgman’s *Lianbang zhilie*, Hobson’s *Xiyi lüelun* and *Bowu xinpian*, and Williamson’s *Zhiwuxue* to “members of elite Japanese society.”

James Hepburn (1815-1911), who first came to Japan in 1859 and worked to proselytize in Kanagawa on behalf of the Presbyterian Church, noted in a letter to a friend, dated April 7, 1860, that he had already sold “some 250 copies” of Richard Quarteman Way’s “*Diqui tushuo*.”⁵ He pointed out further that this book was turning out to be highly popular among the Japan.

The Anxiety of the Buddhists

Although in general it was the above routes by which Chinese-language translations of Western works made their way to Japan, once we have recognized this fact, we need to assess the route they traveled as they spread within Japan. In considering the issue of what impact these works had in Japan, how they circulated in Japan may be more important than how they made their way there.

³ Yamawaki Teijirō 山脇悌二郎, *Nagasaki no Tōjin bōeki* 長崎の唐人貿易 (The China trade in Nagasaki) (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, 1964).

⁴ Yoshida Tora 吉田寅, *Chūgoku Purotesutanto dendō shi kenkyū* 中国プロテスタント伝道史研究 (Studies in the history of Protestant evangelizing in China) (Tokyo: Kyūko shoin, 1997).

⁵ Takaya Michio 高谷道男, trans. and ed., *Hebon shokan shū* ヘボン書簡集 (Collection of Hepburn’s letters) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1959).

Unlike their transmission to Japan, in many instances we are unable to detail the circulation of Chinese-language translations of Western works within Japan in the late Edo period. And, needless to say, we have no clear statistics on the numbers of books involved or the overall picture of their circulation. As we have seen in the above cases, we only have data on a handful of texts that circulated, but these records do enable us to glimpse something of the situation at the time.

In 1863, Higuchi Ryūon 樋口龍温 (b. 1800), a teacher at the Kōzan'in 香山院 (a temple in the Ōtani branch of New Pure Land Buddhism), indicated his sense of anxiety from the Buddhist perspective of the “secretive circulation” (*mikkō* 密行) of countless Chinese-language translations of Western works in one of his lectures entitled “Hekija gohō saku” 闢邪護法策 (Plan to attack the heterodox and defend the faith):

Over the past two or three years, a great number of works—with such titles as *Wanguo gangjian lu* 萬國綱鑑錄 (Chronological narrative of the countries of the world), *Diqiu [shuo]lüe* 地球[說]略, *Dili [quan]zhi* 地理[全]誌, and *Tan tian* 談天—have secretly circulated [into and around Japan]. In addition, many of these have been officially reprinted [by the shogunate]. While not explicitly aimed at explaining Christianity, they are [indeed] all Christian [writings] in spite of the interdiction [in place in Japan] against that religion. Furthermore, a single issue of [the newspaper] *Zhongwai xinbao* 中外新報 (Chinese and foreign gazette [published in Ningbo from 1858]) as well as “news reports” (*fusetsugaki* 風說書) on countries overseas sell several hundred copies here and there each year.⁶

Similarly, in 1867 another teacher in the Ōtani branch of New Pure Land Buddhism, Togashi Mokue 富樫黙恵, looked back at the massive incursion of Western works in Chinese translation following the opening of Japan and was profoundly saddened by the “dangers” they had brought to Japan. In a lecture entitled “Naigai niyū roku” 内外二憂錄 (Account of two sorrows at home and abroad), he noted: “Over the past two or three years, I have personally witnessed one hundred or more of such Christian writings. The voluminous spread of this heterodox religion throughout our land is terribly sad. While lifting the strict ban in place for over 200 years may have been inevitable, the fact is that so soon after it has been lifted, serious dangers to our land are before us.”⁷

Additionally, in 1865, for example, the figure has been noted of “ninety-six items overall” of “books of the heterodox religion” (*jakyō shorui* 邪教書類) that came to Japan, but this number was not restricted to Western works in Chinese but included as well

⁶ In Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, ed., *Meiji Bukkyō zenshū*, vol. 8: *Gohō hen* 明治佛教全集・第八卷護法編 (Collected writings of Meiji Buddhism, vol. 8: On defending the faith) (Tokyo: Shun'yōdō, 1935).

⁷ Togashi Mokue, “Naigai niyū roku,” in *Meiji Bukkyō zenshū*, vol. 8: *Gohō hen*, ed. Tokiwa Daijō.

religious tracts.⁸ In his own work in literary Chinese, *Yokohama hanjō ki* 橫濱繁盛記 (Record of prosperity at Yokohama), Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三 (1832-70), who served for a time as head of the Kaiseijo 開成所 (Institute of Western learning), mentioned twenty-three works that were transported to Japan in the late Edo period. Far from a full listing, though, this figure cannot be taken at face value.

In any event, insofar as I have been able to determine from the materials examined, it seems clear that, individual items apart, over eighty percent of Western works in Chinese printed in Shanghai circulated widely in Japan, either in manuscript form or as Japanese reprints. The rate of propagation in Japan considerably outstripped that of inland China.⁹

Missionary Translations into Chinese and Reprintings in Late-Edo Period Japan

Books (author, publisher, year of publications)	Reprinter, publisher, year of publication
<i>Shuxue qimeng</i> 數學啟蒙 (Introduction to mathematics) (A. Wylie, Mohai shuguan, 1853)	Shogunal army publishers; Ansei period
<i>Hanghai jinzhen</i> 航海金針 (Navigational needle) (Daniel Jerome Macgowan 瑪高溫 [1815-93], Ningbo Huahua Shengjing shufang, 1853)	Okadaya 岡田屋, Edo; 1857
<i>Dili quanzhi</i> 地理全志 (Complete gazetteer of geography) (W. Muirhead, Mohai shuguan, 1853-54)	Shionoya Tōin 鹽谷宕陰 (1809-67), punctuator; Sōkairō 爽快樓; 1858-59
<i>Xia'er guanzhen</i> 遐邇貫珍 (Rarities from near and far) (W. Medhurst, Xianggang Ying-Hua shuyuan, 1853)	Manuscript
<i>Quanti xinlun</i> 全體新論 (A new essay on the entire body) (B. Hobson, Mohai shuguan reprint, 1855)	Fushimi Ochi 伏見越智, printer; Nishodō 二書堂, publisher; 1857
<i>Bowu xinbian</i> 博物新編 (A new essay on scientific knowledge) (B. Hobson, Mohai shuguan reprint, 1855)	Kaiseijo 開成所, punctuator (official edition); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); Bunkiyū period
<i>Diqiu shuolüe</i> 地球說略 (Illustrated discussion of the globe) (R. Way, Ningbo Huahua Shengjing shufang, 1856)	Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799-1863); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1860
<i>Da Yingguo zhi</i> 大英國志 (History of Great Britain, W. Muirhead, Mohai shuguan, 1856)	Aoki Shūhitsu 青木周弼 (1803-63), punctuator; Nagato Onchisha 長門溫知社, 1861
<i>Zhihuan qimeng</i> 智環啟蒙 (Elementary lessons in the circle of knowledge) (James Legge, Xianggang Ying-Hua shuyuan, 1856)	Yanagawa Shunsan, punctuator; Kaibutsusha 開物社 (Edo); 1862
<i>Xianggang chuantou huojia zhi</i> 香港船頭貨價紙 (News on prices for ship captains in Hong Kong) (Japanese edition: <i>Honkon shinbun</i> 香港新聞 [Hong Kong news], Daily Press, 1857)	Kaiseijo 開成所 (official edition); Bunkiyū period
<i>Xiyi luelun</i> 西醫略論 (Outlines of Western medicine) (B. Hobson, Renji yiguan, 1857)	Miyake Gonsai 三宅良齊; Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1858

⁸ Un'ei Kōyō 雲英晃曜, "Gohō sōron" 護法總論 (General statement on defending the faith), in *Meiji Bukkyō zenshū*, vol. 8: *Gohō hen*, ed. Tokiwa Daijō.

⁹ On the spread of these Chinese language translations of Western works within China, see Xiong Yuezhi 熊月之, *Xixue dongjin yu wan-Qing shehui* 西学东渐与晚清社会 (The Eastern flow of Western learning and late-Qing society) (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1994).

<i>Liuhe congtan</i> 六合叢談 (Stories from around the world) (A. Wylie, Mohai shuguan, 1857)	Bansho shirabesho 蕃書調所 (Office of barbarian books, official edition); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1860-62
<i>Zhongxue qianshuo</i> 重學淺說 (A simple theory of dynamics) (A. Wylie, Mohai shuguan, 1858)	Mr. Arai 荒井 of Yodoin 淀陰, punctuator; Mr. Kimura 木村 of Yodoyō 淀陽, reprinter; 1860
<i>Neike xinshuo</i> 内科新說 (A new theory of internal medicine) (B. Hobson, Renji yiguan, 1858)	Miyake Gonsai 三宅良齊; Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1859
<i>Fuying xinshuo</i> 婦嬰新說 (A new theory of childbirth and infant care) (B. Hobson, Renji yiguan, 1858)	Miyake Gonsai 三宅良齊; Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1859
<i>Zhongwai xinbao</i> 中外新報 (Chinese and foreign gazette) (D. J. Macgowan, Ningbo Huahua Shengjing shufang, 1854)	Bansho shirabesho 蕃書調所 (Office of barbarian books, official edition); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1860)
<i>Daishuxue</i> 代數學 (Algebra) (A. Wylie, Mohai shuguan, 1859)	Tsukamoto Akitake 塚本明毅 (1833-85, Suruga), proofreader; Shūgakujo 集學所 (Shizuoka); 1872
<i>Tan tian</i> 談天 (Outlines of astronomy) (A. Wylie, Mohai shuguan, 1859)	Fukuda Izumi 福田泉, punctuator; Kawachiya 河内屋 (Ōsaka); 1861
<i>Zhiwuxue</i> 植物學 (Botany) (A. Williamson, Mohai shuguan, 1859)	Kimura Kahei 木村嘉平; 1867
<i>Lianbang zhilüe</i> 聯邦志略 (Brief account of the United States) (E. Bridgman, 1861)	Mitsukuri Genpo 箕作阮甫 (1799-1863); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1864
<i>Zhongwai zazhi</i> 中外雜誌 (Miscellany from homes and abroad) (D. J. Macgowan, Shanghai, 1864)	Kaiseijo 開成所, punctuator (official edition); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo); 1864
<i>Wanguo gongfa</i> 萬國公法 (Elements of international law) (W. A. P. Martin [1827-1916], Chongshiguan 崇實館 [Beijing], 1864)	Kaiseijo 開成所, punctuator and reprinter (official edition); Rōsōkan 老皂館 (Edo), publisher; 1865
<i>Gewu rumen</i> 格物入門 (Introduction to science) (W. A. P. Martin, Tongwenguan 同文館 [Beijing], 1868)	Motoyama Zenkichi 本山漸吉, punctuator; Meishinkan 明親館, 1869

N.B.: Table based on various sources including Kirisutokyō shigakkai 基督教史学会 (Research group on the history of Christianity), comp., *Nihon Kirisutikyō shi kankei Wa-Kan sho mokuroku* 日本基督教史関係と漢書目録 (Listing of Japanese and Chinese books concerning the history of Christianity in Japan) (Tokyo: Bunkōdō shoten, 1954).

“Textbooks” for Domainal Schools

Given the high rate at which these Chinese-language editions of Western works circulated in Japan, let us take a look at how they were used in domainal schools throughout Japan. Reprintings of such works as *Dili quanzhi*, *Diqiu shuolüe*, *Da Yingguo zhi*, and *Lianbang zhilüe* in the early Meiji years were said to have been used as “textbooks” in many domainal schools in such places as Kanazawa, Fukui, Izushi, Tanabe, Kōbe, Yodo, Nobeoka, Takeo, and Isewatarai.¹⁰ Most popular among all such works were *Dili quanzhi* and *Zhihuan qimeng* 智環啟蒙 (Elementary lessons in the circle

¹⁰ Kaikoku hyakunen kinen bunka jigyōkai 開国百年記念文化事業会, *Sakoku jidai Nihonjin no kaigai chishiki, sekai chiri, Seiyō shi ni kansuru bunken kaidai* 鎖国時代日本人の海外知識：世界地理、西洋史に関する文献解題 (Overseas knowledge of the Japanese during the era of seclusion: Explication of documents concerning world geography and Western history) (Tokyo: Kangensha, 1953).

of knowledge) by James Legge (Liyage 理雅各, 1815-97) (Xianggang Ying-Hua shuyuan, 1856), each of which was adopted in over five schools.

Perhaps what we are seeing here is the temporary phenomenon of a transitional period between Edo-era Dutch Learning to Meiji-era Western Learning. The roles these works played in the transitional 1850s and 1860s, however, most certainly cannot be denied. It did not simply fill in the space between these two movements, but made it possible at the same time for this transformation to take place. And, the “impact” exerted by these Chinese translations of Western works was immense in scope.

Expectation of Informational Controls

We have expended a fair amount of space delineating a “Shanghai network” and the spread of Chinese translations of Western works in Japan on its basis. From the perspective of the history of cultural interactions, this is, of course, of great importance. Yet, for our initial theme of the relationship between Shanghai and the opening of Japan, this is not a sufficient explanation. We have only dealt thus far with preliminaries, but have yet to answer the ultimate question directly of what “impact” this “information from Shanghai” exerted on Japan. In order to understand just what “Shanghai” meant in late-Edo Japan, we need to examine a bit more closely the information contained in the cargo, especially the content of such Chinese-language periodicals as *Liuhe congtan*.

All but completely unknown today, there were series of articles translated from others journalistic sources in the late-Edo era known as “Bunkyū shinbun” 文久新聞 (newspapers of the Bunkyū era, 1861-64). They excerpted articles from a number of newspapers written in European languages, such as *Javasche Courant*, organ of the governor-general’s office of the Dutch East India Company. They then translated them more or less in the order in which they appeared. Specifically, this meant three newspapers—*Kanpan Batabiya shinbun* 官板バタビヤ新聞 (Batavia news, official printing, second lunar month, Bunkyū 2 [1862]), *Kanpan kaigai shinbun* 官板海外新聞 (Overseas news, official printing, eighth month, Bunkyū), and *Kanpan kaigai shinbun besshū* 官板海外新聞別集 (Overseas news, separate edition, official printing, eighth month, Bunkyū 2)—and five Chinese-language journals—*Kaji kanchin* 遐邇貫珍 (*Xia’er guanzhen* [official reprint]), *Kanpan rokugō sōdan* 官板六合叢談 (*Liuhe congtan*, official printing), *Kanpan chūgai shinpō* 官板中外新報 (*Zhongwai xinbao*, official printing), *Kanpan Honkon shinbun* 官板香港新聞 (*Xianggang xinwen*, official printing), and *Kanpan chūgai zasshi* 官板中外雜誌 (*Zhongwai zazhi*, official printing). As their titles indicate—namely, the term *kanpan* 官板 (official printing)—these eight newspapers and journals were all translated and/or reprinted by the shogunate’s Office of Barbarian Books or its successor institutions, the Yōsho shirabesho 洋書調所 (Office of Western books) and the Kaiseijo, and published by the bookstore, Rōsōkan 老皂館 in Edo.



Several “officially printed” periodicals of the early 1860s

It was clearly the shogunate’s aim in the Bunkiyū years to suddenly begin publishing translated newspapers and journals. Because the submission of the Dutch and Chinese *fūsetsugaki* ceased following the opening of Japan in the Ansei period, a need for an alternate source of information emerged. In addition, by selecting and deleting from the European-language press and Chinese-language journals, both Christian and those of various other strains, and publishing the “Bunkiyū newspapers” with official imprimatur (*kanpan*) the government was trying, it appears, to control information to a certain extent.

In the latter regard, the shogunate was certainly successful. Yet, by publishing the “Bunkiyū newspapers,” it was far more important that overseas sources of “fresh” news—until then still few in number—spread quickly. Not only would these supplement information transmitted in the books hitherto translated, but they influenced various subsequent trends in late-Edo society in that they provided content that was just that much more “real.”

The Impact of the “West” as Seen in Four “Chinese-Language Periodicals”

Three European-language newspapers do not fit the theme of this book, and I shall not treat them here. I would like to consider the contents of four of the Chinese-language periodicals, leaving aside the *Xia’er guanzhen* which circulated entirely in manuscript. Though *only* four periodicals, the *Kanpan rokugō sōdan* in fifteen fascicles, the *Kanpan chūgai shinpō* in twelve fascicles, the *Kanpan Honkon shinbun* in two fascicles, and the *Kanpan chūgai zasshi* in seven fascicles represent an immense body of material. I shall discuss it under the following headings: astronomy and geography, democratic governance, Western culture, and the produce of various countries.

Emphasizing the Theory of a Spherical Earth: Information on Astronomy and Geography

Perhaps because of the traditional Chinese emphasis on astronomy and calendrical science, there was an exceptionally large number of articles concerned with astronomy and geography and introductions to these subjects in these Chinese-language periodicals. In general, they appear at the beginning or near the beginning of individual issues. For example, we find this editorial practice in all fifteen volumes of *Liuhe congtan*, as well as in the first four of the seven volumes of *Zhongwai zazhi*. The missionaries stressed the theory of a spherical Earth and heliocentrism, and on occasion they introduced the theories of Copernicus (1473-1543), Galileo (1564-1642), and Newton (1642-1727). Let us take a look, by way of example, at an essay by Muirhead that appeared in the first issue of *Liuhe congtan*:

Astronomers tell us that the land on which we reside is one of a number of planets. These planets all circle the sun, and thus we say that the planets are subsidiary to the sun. The distances separating the planets from the sun are not the same. Some are greater or smaller, closer or further away, and the times they take to make a revolution [around the sun] are not all the same. They are round in shape and neither admit nor give off light. They move from West to East in an elliptical orbit.... The Earth is a planet, separated from the sun by 27,550,000 *li* and requiring 365 days, 2 [old] hours [=120 minutes], 7 *ke* 刻 [=105 minutes, at 15 minutes per *ke*], 3 minutes, and 49 seconds. One revolution [of the Earth on its axis] takes 11 [old] hours, 7 *ke*, 11 minutes, 4 seconds. Adding 3 minutes, 56 seconds, it comes to 12 hours which constitutes one day and one night.¹¹

This sort of information is now, of course, known to everyone. In China of the 1850s, however, this understanding of the universe was still relatively unknown and sufficient to “shock” most people. Heliocentric theory had been introduced to China as early as the era of Matteo Ricci, but it remained knowledge for specialists only and never penetrated the consciousness of ordinary intellectuals. For example, when Guo Songtai visited Hangzhou in 1856, he reported hearing for the first time that “the sun does not move but the Earth does” which led him to respond with “great doubts.”¹² He did not appear to comprehend the theory at first glance. If someone such as Guo, a successful examination candidate, held such a view, the understanding of heliocentric theory by ordinary scholars can easily be imagined.

Missionaries doggedly advocated both the theory of a spherical Earth and a heliocentric solar system not just to introduce the advanced theories and knowledge of the West and as a means of enlightening Chinese scholars, but they also seem to have had another objective. If they were successful in convincing the Chinese that the Earth was spherical, then there could be no center (= China) on its surface, and they would thus be

¹¹ *Liuhe congtan*, fascicle 1, in *Nihon shoki shinbun zenshū* 日本初期新聞全集 (Collected early newspaper in Japan), ed. Kitane Yutaka 北根豊 (Tokyo: Perikan sha, 1986).

¹² *Guo Songtao riji* 郭嵩燾日記 (Diary of Guo Songtao), entry for January 25, 1856.

implanting among the Chinese as a whole the concept that all nations in the world were equal.

The same motivation appears to have underlain Medhurst's purposeful placement of a globe in his guestroom. We see here fleetingly the strenuous efforts of the missionaries to break down "Sinocentrism." And, they seem to have been successful in this regard, for by the latter half of the 1850s, we find that the word *tianxia* 天下, long the term representing a Chinese view of the world, was replaced by the more neutral, fairer terms: *yinghuan* 瀛環 (world), *wanguo* 萬國 (all nations), and *diqu* 地球 (globe). Although only a small beginning, nonetheless Sinocentric consciousness was being relativized.

"Study Astronomy"

How were the theories of a spherical Earth and a heliocentric solar system, conveyed in such periodicals as *Liuhe congkan*, responded to in Japan where earlier on the theory of a revolving Earth had filtered in by virtue of the accumulation of Dutch Learning? Although thus more attuned, to be sure, than were the Chinese, the "impact" appears to have been no less forceful.

Aside from the monks and practitioners who believe and study Buddhism, nowadays the Confucians and Shintoists have turned their backs on our ancient ways and are unaware of the harm they are doing to our ways. Whenever they open their mouths, all they talk about are the five continents of the Earth. Over thirty years ago, I saw people selling maps of the globe in the markets of Edo. Although I frowned then, nowadays such maps have flooded the streets.

There is a man from a domain in the west who has studied astronomy. When he returned to his home domain, he sought a scholar of the True Pure Land sect, and raucously argued in support of the spherical Earth while denouncing the world of Buddhism. This scholar [i.e., the latter one] knew only religion and had no knowledge of other matters. He was deeply embarrassed and said not a word. It is appalling that similarly perplexing things may happen to our adherents in many places.

A great calamity has arisen for our Buddhist tradition with these theories of astronomy and geography which pose a mighty foe for our uninitiated scholars. Ever since the commencement of trade with foreign states, such works as *Diqu shuolüe*, *Dili quanzhi*, and *Tan tian* had flowed [into Japan]. We must all now study and get to know them well.¹³

These words of Higuchi Ryūon were written in 1863. While he did not explicitly mention the journal title *Liuhe congkan*, he clearly conveyed a genuine vista, albeit a negative one, on the rapid "spread" of Chinese translations of Western works (including, of course, those cited) and the recent influx of Western astronomical and geographical

¹³ "Kyūsaku bun" 急策文 (Emergency measures), in *Meiji Bukkyō zenshū*, vol. 8: *Gohō hen*, ed. Tokiwa Daijō.

knowledge based on them. One may detect as well that the reception of this knowledge was much more rapid in Japan, with its basis in Dutch Learning, than in China.

In connection with astronomy and geography, news of the Suez and Panama Canals, then under construction, was carried in a string of Chinese-language serials. *Zhongwai xinbao*, in particular, enthusiastically followed the progress in the building of the Suez Canal, indicating that it was an item of international interest at the time. Because these were monthly magazines, not books, they conveyed the most current news. While it is hard to determine the extent to which this information was understood, not only did they provide vivid proof that the Earth was a sphere, but the dream of traveling around the world by ship acquired a sense of possibility.

News Reports of the American Presidential Election Campaign: Democracy Conveyed in Chinese Periodicals

Works such as Wei Yuan's 魏源 (1794-1857) *Haiguo tuzhi* 海國圖志 (Illustrated gazetteer of the maritime countries), Muirhead's *Da Yingguo zhi*, and Bridgman's *Lianbang zhiliue* had already introduced to a certain extent political conditions in the West. These were all primarily explanations of political institutions and rarely went beyond clarifying certain concepts. In this sense, these Chinese-language journals not only offered insight into how these concepts worked in practice, but as was the nature of a journal, they frequently conveyed the detailed operations of such institutions and a sense of democratic governance in action.

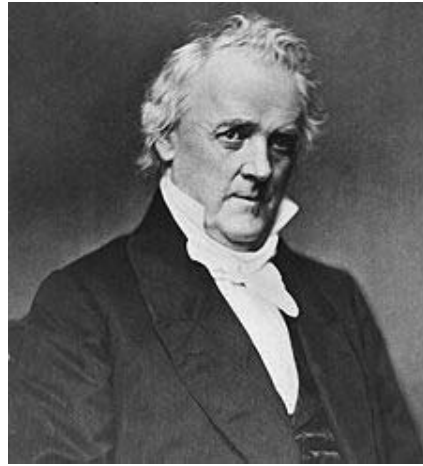
For example, *Liuhe congkan* published its inaugural issue in 1857, the year after an American election in which three candidates vigorously debated the issue of the continuation of slavery. The periodical covered this topic from its first issue; it also described the election in detail including candidate James Buchanan's (1791-1868) promise to build a transcontinental railroad. While simplified, it nonetheless followed the popular electoral process for the presidency. As the following citation indicates, this string of "reports" concluded with a summary of the outgoing president's state of the union address and conveyed a realistic sense of the actual operations of government in a presidential system.

President Buchanan (Bujianan 簿家南) of the United States has recently been elected by the people, as of November 6, *bingchen* 兵辰 year [1856]. The gentlemen in Congress have convened. Outgoing President [Franklin] Pierce (Biersi 庇爾思 [1804-69]) finished his term of four years, left political office forthwith, and shall return to his hometown. Following past customary practice, he appeared before Congress and addressed the assembled people about national affairs in great detail. In a word, he spoke on behalf of having a strong, united land and mentioned the election of the gentlemen [in Congress]. He also spoke about taxes. As of May 29, 1856, tax revenues for the previous year had been collected to the sum of \$76,918,141. Together with the surplus from 1855, it totaled \$92,250,117.... On the whole, expenditures for the past five years have roughly averaged \$48,000,000, and for the next five years this amount should be sufficient. Customs revenues for the past year amounted to \$64,000,000, and new laws were needed to insure that they do not exceed \$50,000,000. This past

year [the U.S.] faced great difficulty sending our soldiers to fight against red men [Indians] in the Washington and Oregon territories, and that fighting continues. He was now hopeful that [U.S.] troops would be able to return to civilian life, bring calm to the populace, and enjoy peace together.... He also said that the United States enjoyed friendly ties with foreign powers, a peace treaty had recently been concluded at the British capital [London] with the expectation of harmoniousness on both sides, and Central America was now quiet.... Pierce spoke in detail, and these were his main points.¹⁴



Franklin Pierce



James Buchanan

This was, of course, prior to Abraham Lincoln's (1809-65) famous phrase, "government of the people, by the people, and for the people," which would be enunciated six years later and set off a flood of emotion throughout the world. The very fact that the president would report to each and every citizen on the financial matters, domestic governance, and diplomatic affairs in this way certainly was an expression of the basic spirit of democracy, "government for the people." Thus, the reportage in the Chinese-language periodical must have been revelatory to people at the time. *Liuhe congtan*, the serial that reported these events, began to circulate widely in Japan around the time of the arrival of the delegation across the Pacific Ocean to America aboard the *Kanrinmaru* 咸臨丸 in 1860. It is fascinating to contemplate the fact that samurai in Japan may have read of such things in these periodicals.

An Eventuality Impossible to Comprehend

The year 1857 was but one year after the eruption of the *Arrow* incident in China. In the process of diplomatic negotiations in the aftermath of this incident which arose from a minor clash, Sino-British opposition intensified until the two countries entered into a state of war, the Second Opium War, by year's end. The Chinese-language periodicals covered the two nations' movement until war broke out, and because the editors were themselves caught up in the events, they followed it with even greater assiduity than they did the American presidential election. In virtually every issue, there

¹⁴ *Liuhe congtan*, fascicle 3.

was something about debates in the British Parliament about whether or not to declare war.

The *Formosa* 福摩沙 postal ship reached Shanghai on the twelfth. What follows is the news they brought. Because of the incident in Guangzhou [i.e., Qing officials boarded the *Arrow* which they suspected of smuggling and made arrests], the British convened in Parliament to discuss the matter. Everyone in the bureaucracy and aristocracy is concerned about this important matter, and public opinion surely is as well. At present, though, they are divided between those who favor war and those who favor peace. The British prime minister has called for war; members of the upper house have supported him by a majority of twenty-six votes, while members of the lower house by a majority of sixteen do not want war and have called for peace. The prime minister's intentions have been set, and he does not wish to cede his post and leave [government]. He is about to submit the issue to the populace at large. In the latter part of March, he rebuked the gentlemen of the lower house and dispersed them back to their home constituencies [to stand for election]. They will hash out with the people the propriety of peace or war in the Guangdong matter. The people may wish to elect new members of Parliament and reconvene to discuss the matter in May. The major commercial interest in London and elsewhere are assembling there to discuss the matter as well, as they do not agree with the lower house. Some of them have submitted a document to the prime minister, urging him to send an emissary to China to conclude a new treaty and take up residence in the Chinese capital to insure there will be no prohibition on commerce or trade at the ports along the river routes, nor on the coming and going of commercial vessels. Surveying all of this, it is expected that the newly elected gentlemen shall come to agree with the prime minister when they reconvene.¹⁵

This news then conveyed the story that commencement of the “Second Opium War” was becoming increasingly certain. While this report was itself shocking, to be sure, at the same time the process leading up to the start of war, as reported here, may have had an even greater impact on people at the time. The fact that the decision whether or not to launch a war in which the nation's fate hung in the balance belonged neither to the sovereign nor to the prime minister but was reached through “compromise” with the “people” must have been an eventuality nearly impossible to comprehend for Chinese and Japanese in the 1850s. In this sense, the reportage in the Chinese-language periodicals functioned like a “commentary” on the Western parliamentary system which was only then beginning to be recognized. The genuine quality of their content helped immensely in explaining the operations of a democratic government with which readers were still unfamiliar.

There were as well many and sundry other reports concerned with the operations of political institutions—such as diplomatic negotiations between Western nations or the British taxation and health care systems. They offered an image of the Western capitalist state from a variety of different perspectives.

¹⁵ *Liuhe congkan*, fascicle 5.

Criticism of Polygamy: Western Culture and Its Fundamental Spirit

Western works in Chinese translation from the *Haiguo tuzhi* forward primarily explained the national conditions of various states around the world. These, of course, introduced those people's customs, although in many cases merely describing their distinctiveness, while the cultural conditions in the West linked to the modern nation-states were sharply downplayed. The cultural underpinnings of Western culture were effectively ignored. Not only, then, did the Chinese-language periodicals much more actively introduce Western conditions in a more abstract, conceptual manner, but at the same time they stressed in a series of articles superior aspects of the value system underlying that culture.

Heaven gives birth to both males and females, all entirely different. There are some families with many boys and some with many girls. Overall, their numbers are roughly equal. Perhaps this was heaven's intention in the creation of humanity. One female was allocated to each male, and thus there came about a natural combination. In China there is the practice of purchasing concubines. In extreme cases, one man may even have several concubines. Less well known is the fact that some men have no wives as a result. How does this differ from stealing another man's wife and raping another man's wife....

I have heard it said that people from Jinhua 金華 [in Zhejiang Province] not only take many wives and concubines, but they have a practice of drowning [unwanted baby] girls, which has brought an imbalance with more boys than girls. Hence, roughly thirty percent of men [there] have no wife. Without a wife, they find themselves in and out of criminal custody. Soon they are engaged in the commission of evil deeds and crimes. The local parlance describes this as: a wanderer becomes a hoodlum, *youtou guanggun* 遊頭光棍.¹⁶

The foregoing appeared in an article entitled "Fufu lun" 夫婦論 (On husbands and wives) carried in *Zhongwai xinbao* (no. 3). The author was severely critical of the evil practice of polygamy. He was most certainly foregrounding the value system, born of the more "rational" spirit of modern Europe, associated with Christian monogamy. In this sense, the critique of polygamy was but a breach, and the author's aim from the very start was to promote the modern "rational" spirit.

The Emphasis on Humanitarianism

I am unsure just how conscious of all this the missionary-authors were, but there were indeed numerous articles espousing this modern "spirit." These articles thus produced a somewhat different view of the West which corrected the earlier biased introductions to Western political institutions.

¹⁶ *Zhongwai xinbao*, no. 3, in *Nihon shoki shinbun zenshū*.

At the time of the bloody fighting between the powerful nations of Europe and Russia [i.e., the Crimean War, 1853-56], there was a woman from a wealthy family in Great Britain named [Florence] Nightingale 奈丁該勒 [1820-1910]. She herself traveled to the army's front lines, caring for the wounded and healing the sick. She worked hard of her own volition to cure them. Many of the sick and wounded improved daily and greatly enjoyed the benefits accorded them. When the war came to an end, she returned home. The British all commended her. Money was collected from them to repay her. As she had no need for the money herself, she established a charitable institution [i.e., a hospital], gathered together a group of women, and worked to cure the ill. Soon they began keeping accounts and raised 176,156 pounds. One-fifth of this money was donated by soldiers.¹⁷

Florence Nightingale is well known for having laid the foundations for the Red Cross. Introducing her here was a way of introducing modern European "humanitarianism," and thus promoting the modern spirit to which she gave corporeal form. This article was, of course, extremely brief and the deeper meaning it wished to convey may not have been completely understood by readers. At a time, however, when the perception of Westerners as ignorant of "justice" (*yi* 義) and only interested in "profit" (*li* 利) was rampant, such an image of Florence Nightingale was highly effective counter-propaganda. It demonstrated that Westerners were not simply brutal colonizers, but also "humanitarians" who cared for others.

Other topics covered in these periodicals included: the debate in the British Parliament over Jewish suffrage (*Liuhe congatan*, j. 10); the establishment of a bootblack company for indigent youngsters and the welfare circumstances in London to help them gain autonomy (*Liuhe congatan*, j. 13); the practice of honoring women among the Anglo-Saxon people (*Zhongwai zazhi*, no. 4); and the collection of donations for British workers in the spinning industry who had lost their jobs in large numbers because of the American Civil War (*Zhongwai zazhi*, no. 5). The list of such topics is virtually endless, and as a result of these mass introductions gradually the true value of "Western culture" came to be recognized.

Reports were also carried about the actual cultural institutions in Western countries—such as the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, the London Music Hall, and zoos—but most of these were covered in just a few words. For people with no existing concept of them, their reality would have been difficult to grasp.

Reports of the London Exhibition: Industry and Trade in the West

The first half of the nineteenth century was the era of the Industrial Revolution, first in Britain and then in the other countries of Europe. In these years the capitalist mode of production advanced substantially, and with it urbanization proceeded rapidly and a free trading system began to take shape. Although early history and geography texts did mention various directions industry was taking in Europe, they did so sparingly, giving little sense of the conditions of industrialization.

¹⁷ *Liuhe congatan*, fascicle 9.

By comparison, the Chinese-language periodicals which first emerged in the 1850s were monthly, and by their very nature as such reported compellingly from the start about the results of the industrial and transportation revolutions, information which for the most part had not as yet reached East Asia. Take, for example, the steam engine, arguably the symbol of the revolution in power. Following the aforementioned performances in the Mohai shuguan, in order now to spread news widely of the “advantages to be gained in using such an extraordinary machine,” they carried an extensive explanation of its basic principles in *Zhongwai zazhi* (no. 5) and conveyed in great detail the “intricate and minute rules of operation” of the steam engine. In the area of transportation as well, numerous reports appeared on such themes as railway construction at sites around the globe (just then at the end of the “era of the railway craze”), the opening of new sea lanes with the emergence on the scene of steamships, and the opening of electrical communication between countries by virtue of such events as the laying of the underwater cable between the United States and Great Britain. The vitality of these pieces closely resembled magazine articles and covers in our time.

Amid these numerous industrial reports, perhaps most impressive were articles concerned with the Second London Exhibition of 1862. The shogunate sent a delegation to observe, and no doubt many people at the time were concerned and read articles about it. Let me cite one article about it from one of these periodicals:

In Xianfeng 1 [1851] Great Britain built an immense glass structure supported by steel and wood. They have set up there for all to see wonderful and well-crafted objects from countries around the world, as well as antiques and finely made objects of everyday use, large and small. Everyone leaves there overawed. Later, in Xianfeng 11 [1862], another structure was built even larger than the earlier one. It was completed in the second [lunar] month of this year. On the first three days of the fourth month, high officials from around the country, men of considered reputations gathered, and delegations sent from overseas attended the opening. The most unusual of all were the emissaries sent by the Japanese emperor....

The visitors pass through in methodical and orderly fashion. They observe the items on exhibit that have been assembled from the home country [Great Britain] and other lands. Those items have been divided into three overall sections: the first for the materials from which the items are constructed; the second for the tools used to build the items; and the third for finished items themselves....

On the whole everyone would find the items to be well-made and beneficial. Visitors all sigh that these are items beyond comparison.¹⁸

This piece is too long to cite in full, but indeed the items on display that had been divided into three sections were further divided under thirty-six rubrics, such as “items unearthed,” “medicines,” and “foodstuffs,” with simple descriptions attached to each of them. Among the displays were such things as “instruments to construct a train” and “electrical wiring for telegraphy”—namely, things made with the leading edge of technology at the time. Although the simple explanations may not have been clearly

¹⁸ *Zhongwai zazhi*, no. 1, *Nihon shoki shinbun zenshū*, vol. 2.

understood, they offered visitors a glimpse of the advanced industry in the West at that time. Altogether roughly 29,000 enterprises from around the world participated in the Second London Exhibition, displaying the results of industrialization in the countries of the West far more than at the First London Exhibition (1851) or the Paris Exposition (1855).

We noted earlier a delegation sent by the Japanese emperor. This group was none other than European embassy led by Takeuchi Yasunori 竹内保徳 (1807-67), administrator for foreign affairs, which arrived in London the day before the London Exhibition opened. They received a formidable welcome and caused quite a sensation at the exhibition itself with their exotic topknots (*chonmage* 丁髷) and formal divided skirts (*hakama* 袴). Fukuzawa Yukichi 福澤諭吉 (1835-1901) served as interpreter for the delegation, and he observed the exhibition from precisely the opposite line of vision of those scrutinizing the Japanese, evincing considerable concern for the apparent success of the exhibition: “Some 40,000-50,000 people view the exhibition each day. The kings, princes, aristocrats, and wealthy merchants from the various European countries have all visited.”¹⁹

The Impact of “Civilization’s Conveniences”

The London Exhibition was conveyed in missionary periodicals as a showcase of the achievements sustained since the Industrial Revolution. There were many other pieces as well introducing the prosperity in the West brought about by industrialization, and each of these articles, confirming from various perspectives, formed a kind of “demonstration” displaying the great power of the capitalist mode of production. For example, one article in *Zhongwai zazhi* raised the issue of the extraordinary urbanization of London in the 1850s with its sharp increase in population:

London is not only an enormous place, but it has as well residences and especially large factories. Everyone knows that it is a rich and booming city. With the coming and going of merchants and their clients, the city continues to grow ever more prosperous. People from every country come there. It measures some forty *li* in length and twenty *li* in breadth, and its avenues are several times wider than those in Chinese cities, and this facilitates the movement of horse-drawn carriages....

From 1857, London had 305,933 residences—not counting empty houses—for a registered population of roughly 3,000,000....

The number of ships in London in 1855 was 750. On average British vessels call at ports here some 20,000 times annually, and this figure does not include those sailing to other countries. Business thus thrives exceptionally well here. Exported produce amounts to roughly 77,898,000 taels of silver per annum, and customs receipts come to roughly 40,000,000 taels. These goods flow to many places—China, India, south, and north—every country....

¹⁹ Fukuzawa Yukichi, “Seikō ki” 西航記 (Chronicle of a trip to the West), in *Fukuzawa Yukichi zenshū* 福澤諭吉全集 (Collected works of Fukuzawa Yukichi) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1962), vol. 19.

London has great banking houses employing over 800 clerks whose salaries amount to some 600,000 taels. It also has an immense post office (*xinju* 信局), which in the single year of 1855 processed 45,000,000 pieces of mail. In 1857 there were 464 newspapers.... Things that are made in London are highly crafted and well made. It thus produces the best bells and clocks in the world, and its carriages are as well. Although the city is forty *li* across in length, it has trains moving things back and forth. Its time has come.²⁰

As a guide to London at the time, I have cited this passage at some length to convey the image in detail. These many and sundry figures provided evidence of Britain's advanced industry—"the world's factory"—in the language of the day, and the size of its scope undoubtedly stunned readers of this Chinese periodical. In addition, the banks, post office, newspapers, "bells and clocks," carriages, trains, and the like—civilization's conveniences in the nineteenth century—emerged on these pages and must have transformed the past image of the city, much as had the impact of other articles on "conditions in the West."

Hidden Motive

We have now expended considerable space examining these four Chinese-language periodicals edited by missionaries. Under four headings outlined above, clearly these periodicals conveyed a wealth of information about the West and exerted a great impact by virtue of that information. I doubt I am alone in this, but I believe that there was a shared motive hidden in these periodicals—whether the missionaries were aware of it or not is beside the point. By "motive" I mean that the missionaries hoped to get Chinese readers to relativize the Chinese world order and have them accept the new "modern state" system on the model of the West.

The first half of the nineteenth century was the era in which the superiority of the "nation-state" system was being confirmed by the earlier Industrial Revolution in Britain and the French Revolution, and a reorganization into "states" was taking place throughout the world. Conveying information about these events was in its way promotion of the "nation-state" system. Yet, the way in which the Chinese-language periodicals conveyed this development seems almost excessively persistent and extremely detailed. Take, for example, the list of principal articles from the second issue of *Liuhe congkan* as evidence of the obsession of the missionaries with this theme:

Issue Two

Geography

Biography of a Foreigner (the Kaiser 該撒)

Summary of Sino-British Commerce (history of Sino-British trade in the late Ming and early Qing)

Summary of Recent Events in the West

²⁰ "Yingguo cheng shuo: Lundun" 英國城說·倫敦 (On the capital of Great Britain: London), *Zhongwai zazhi*, no. 1.

- British prime minister pays a visit to the textile city of Manchester and offers words of encouragement to laborers there
- Birth of a new electrical company to lay an undersea cable between Great Britain and the United States
- The Russian Tsar orders the establishment of a new company to construct a railway network throughout the nation
- Australia announces its gold yield and exports
- Greece's minister of civil affairs issues a statement of the political state of affairs and reports on parliamentary elections, the law, finances, and the contemporary state of education
- Update on the presidential election in the United States; Buchanan in the lead and commits to a transcontinental railway
- Canada completes "2,480 li" railroad; holds celebratory parade in Montreal

Recent Events in India (British army stationed in India to join the British-Iran war)

Recent Events in Eastern Guangdong (urgent report on the fighting between British and Chinese forces in Guangzhou)

Miscellaneous Reports:

Introduction to the Contents of Muirhead's *Da Yingguo zhi*

Summary of Edkins's *Zhong-Xi tongshu* 中西通書 (Sino-Western interactions)

Introduction to the Efficacy of a New-Style Calculator Invented by the French Scientist [Francis Xavier] Thomas de Colmar [1785-1870]

While these articles may appear at first glance to be a random listing, a close look at their content reveals that the bulk of them concern the "modern nation" and its proper form of government, reported on from a host of different perspectives.

A Missionary Version of *An Encouragement of Learning*

If reports of this sort were now to appear in the newspaper virtually every day, we would hardly find it in the least unusual. However, for Chinese and Japanese intellectuals of that time, who from experience only knew the traditional Chinese world order and the feudal system of the Tokugawa shogunate, this was all stunning information directly linked to the formation of new views of the state and government. One can easily imagine that reports of this sort in virtually every issue of the missionary periodicals might have functioned to help form a "model" for a kind of modern nation-state. The missionaries consistently encouraged study of the "experience" of Western modernization:

The strength and prosperity of a nation reside in the people, the strength and prosperity of the people reside in their minds, and the strength and prosperity of their minds reside in the investigation of things and the plumbing of principle.... In our view, the knowledge of the Chinese people is no less than that of the West. Yet, their industry is mediocre and their incapacity to produce anything

of surpassing value stems from not daring to use their minds. Their leaders have not encouraged them to acquire scientific knowledge. It was the same a century ago in the West: people only read the books of the ancients and dared not use their minds to investigate things. They thus had none of the modern conveniences we now have. Over the past one hundred years, people have used their minds scientifically, and through testing they have come up with principles and laws. Farmers have used their minds in the production of agricultural tools, and artisans have used their minds to build tools as well. Thus, with every passing day, people have grown in knowledge, their implements have become ever more sophisticated, and today they are at the cutting edge. The more knowledge they acquire, the deeper this knowledge becomes. New principles emerge with every passing month, and they are printed in the newspapers and circulate in this manner.

Knowledge increases daily and has no limitations. Yet mediocre men still expend their useful thoughts buried in the useless eight-legged essays [of the examination system]. Those with a modicum of will know how to compose poetry and ancient-style prose. They boast of their talent, but offer nothing to enhance their empty words. Should they one day choose carefully, use their minds to investigate things thoroughly, adopt the known principles from the West and follow their lead, and thereby grow ever more refined, their learning will grow steadily and they will prosper. The nation will become richer, the army stronger, and prosperity will be considerable.²¹

The expression “investigation of things and plumbing of principle” (*gewu qiongli* 格物窮理) means science or scientific knowledge. Thus, this article may be read primarily as an encouragement to science. Probably out of concern for the Chinese authorities, it limited its discussion to “investigating things thoroughly” and sought to encourage many of the “known principles from the West.” The missionaries knew better than anyone that “investigating things thoroughly” by itself would never be sufficient for a nation to realize wealthy and prosperity. In this sense, “investigation of things and plumbing of principle” was merely a breach in the wall. From their perspective, the institutions which forged scientific thinking and the “spirit” behind them were key here. Following on this article, the missionaries strongly encouraged state support for scientific research and a patent system as in the West, as well as the introduction of newspapers. These concerns would indicate that the missionaries’ ardor went beyond simply scientific knowledge.

Thus, this article with its “reports” on a series of modern nation-states was a vehicle for the missionaries to transmit their “hidden motive.” This might be seen as a kind of missionary version of Fukuzawa Yukichi’s *Gakumon no susume* 學問のすすめ (An encouragement to learning, 1872). The missionary periodicals were just as advanced and in no way inferior to Fukuzawa’s later work in late-Edo-period Japan.

²¹ “Gewu qiongli lun” 格物窮理論 (On investigating things and plumbing principle), *Liuhue congtao*, no. 6.