

“Modernity” Comes Out of Shanghai: The Formation and Development of an Information Network in the Bakumatsu-Restoration Period

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I INTRODUCTION

Japan's awareness of world events during the last years of the Tokugawa shogunate is generally thought to have been fairly limited. Certainly, there were translated compilations of news reports brought in by Dutch traders, as well as various texts of “Dutch learning.” The only other sources of overseas news, it has been assumed, were certain Chinese introductory texts to the West, such as Wei Yuan's *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* (*Haiguo tuzhi* 海国图志). What other resources there were, were confined to edited texts relating past events in the Western countries. While these might shed some light on the history and geography of other nations, and perhaps even describe their politics and various systems, they did not give any clues as to how a modern nation was actually governed or describe the cultural ethos that formed the foundation of a people's national psyche.

There was, however, a series of translated newspapers and periodicals—called Bunkyū *shinbun* after the era-name chosen by the shogunate for the years 1861-1864—whose existence is all but forgotten today. In addition to fulfilling their original intent, which was to report on the news, these publications conveyed, through their reporting of individual events, invaluable information on Western democratic systems and industrial development, as well as the political climate of Western civilization. These concise, credible, and abundant sources of information opened the eyes of the samurai to the realities of the West and were influential in shaping their awareness of the world.

The Bunkyū *shinbun* included a number of publications which consisted of translated and re-edited articles selected from Western-language newspapers. The *Kanban Batabiya shinbun*, a Japanese version of the *Javasche Courant*, a Dutch Indonesian paper, can be cited as a representative example. The most prominent publications in this genre, however, were monthly magazines published in Chinese such as the *Liuhe cong-tan* 六合叢談, the *Zhongwai xinbao* 中外新聞, and the *Zhongwai zazhi* 中外雜誌. These periodicals were published by missionaries in places like Hong Kong, Shanghai, and Ningbo, and were produced with the help of knowledgeable Chinese assistants.

Originally targeted at Chinese readers, they were brought by traders and others to Japan, where they exerted a profound influence on readers' views of the world. At the end of the Tokugawa period, as Japanese negotiated a transition from early modern to modern ways of perceiving the world, the Chinese language in these periodicals played a role, albeit inadvertent, in an intellectual shift from Dutch to Western learning.

This paper will begin by delving into the background and production of what we can call the "five journals" (*wu zhi* 五誌) of the late Qing dynasty years, and the ways in which their contents were transmitted to Japan. I shall then examine the specific nature of the information they contained and how this affected the Japanese thinkers of the time, at the same time taking into consideration the effect the Chinese language had in shaping the information they conveyed.

II THE FORMATION OF THE SHANGHAI INFORMATION NETWORK

By the latter half of the nineteenth century, the Guangzhou region (Canton) had been enjoying a brisk traffic in trade for nearly two hundred years. Trading activity expanded after the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing provided for the opening of five ports, and Shanghai was at the center of this activity. As Shanghai evolved into a modern city, it became the focal point of a major information network. This trend becomes especially clear when we look at the activities of the Protestant missionaries in China who had been the principal transmitters of information on the West since before the Opium War. Right after the Opium War, these missionaries scattered to the five open ports of China, and by the 1850s they had converged, one after another, upon Shanghai. There they felt that conditions were relatively favorable to their missionary work. As it developed into a center for trade and traffic from all over the world, Shanghai became for the missionaries a base from which to reach out to the rest of China and East Asia.

The first Protestant missionaries to enter Shanghai were Dr. Walter Henry Medhurst (Mai Dusi 麦都思) and Dr. William Lockhart (Luo Weilin 雒魏林) of the London Missionary Society. The two arrived in Shanghai when the port opened in 1843, coming, respectively, from Guangzhou and from Dinghai. They brought with them the London Missionary Society's press, which had formerly been in Batavia, and Dr. Lockhart's clinic from Dinghai. The Society press was called the Mohai shuguan 墨海書館, and the clinic, the Renji yiguan 仁濟醫館. These two were later joined by the Tian'antang 天安堂, the London Missionary Society's Shanghai church. All three facilities were located in what is now the Shandonglu 山東路 area. They thrived and became a focal point not only for the London Missionary Society, but also for all of the Protestant sects represented in Shanghai at the time.

Medhurst had originally worked with the renowned Robert Morrison as a missionary to the South Sea Islands. After Morrison's death, Medhurst came to play a central role in the London Missionary Society's activities in China. His move to Shanghai, therefore, had great significance as a factor in Shanghai's becoming the hub of all Protestant activity in China. For more than fifteen years under his direction, the London Missionary Society Press turned out Christian publications that included nearly 250,000 copies of a Chinese translation of the Bible and 171 different kinds of religious literature and scientific books in Chinese.¹ Over thirty missionaries came to live in the area, attracted there by Medhurst himself and by the Society's press.²

These missionaries introduced a wide range of Western knowledge to China through their own writings and through their translations of works by Western scholars. A few of the most important books merit mention here. In the field of geography, there is the *Dili quanzhi* 地理全志 by William Muirhead, written between 1853 and 1854. In this work, Muirhead gives a detailed and clear explanation of modern Western geography, covering not only human geography but also physical geography. In astronomy, an important work is *Tan tian* 談天, Alexander Wylie's 1859 Chinese translation of *Outlines of Astronomy* (first published in 1849) by Sir John F. W. Herschel, the former chair of the British Astronomical Society. *Tan tian* gives a systematic introduction to modern Western astronomy, from Copernicus to Kepler to Newton, and on to the most recent studies of the time.

In history, there is Muirhead's 1856 *Dayingguo zhi* 大英国志, a Chinese translation of Thomas Milner's *The History of England: From the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Year A.D. 1852*, which covers each of the monarchies in Britain's 2000-year history. Of particular interest is the fact that this work gives concise explanations for such concepts as “parliament” (*balimen yihui* 巴力門議會), the bicameral system of the House of Lords (*Laoerde shi* 勞爾德士) and the House of Commons (*Gaomen shi* 高門士) and the leading role of the House of Commons, and election systems based on “election” (*tuixuan* 推選)—all concepts that were insufficiently covered in Wei Yuan's *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Nations*, first published in 1842.

A systematic account of America's emergence as a nation, its fight for independence, politics, economics, educational systems, and religion, as well as specific information on its individual states, is the 1861 *Lianbang zhilüe* 聯邦志略 by the American missionary Elijah Coleman Bridgman, a revised and enlarged edition of his *Meilige heshengguo zhilüe* 美理哥合省國志略 (A Short History of the United States of America, first published in 1838).

In mathematics and physics, there is Alexander Wylie's introduction of elementary Western mathematical principles, the *Shuxue qimeng* 數學啓蒙, published in 1853.

Wylie followed this with a Chinese translation of the latter half of Euclid's Elements, the *Xu jihe yuanben* 續幾何原本, in 1857, thereby completing the Chinese translation of the ancient Greek work that had been begun 250 years before by Matteo Ricci. In 1857, Wylie attempted the first Chinese-language commentary on modern Western physics, particularly mechanics, with the publication of *Zhongxue quanshuo* 重学淺說. The next year, he came out with Chinese translations of *The Elements of Algebra* by the English mathematician Augustus De Morgan (1835, translated as *Daishuxue* 代数学), and *Elements of Analytic Geometry and of the Differential and Integral Calculus* by the American mathematician Elias Loomis (1850, translated as *Dai wei ji shiji* 代微積拾級). The latter was not only China's first introduction to modern Western mathematics, it also established the Chinese terminology for many new mathematical terms such as coefficients, functions, variables, differentials, and integrals.

The total number of Chinese publications put out by the Protestant missionaries is too large to count and covered many different fields. In addition to the works noted above, there were also medical works, including, for example, *Quanti xinlun* 全体新論 (first published in Guangzhou in 1850, with a second edition issued in 1855 by the London Missionary Society Press of Shanghai); *Xiyi luelun* 西医略論 (A Brief Discourse on Western Medicine, 1857); *Fuying xinshuo* 婦嬰新說 (New Treatise on Women's and Children's Diseases, 1858); and *Neike xinshuo* 内科新說 (New Treatise on Internal Medicine, 1858). These all are credited to Benjamin Hobson (He Xin 合信), Lockhart's successor at the Renji yiguan, the clinic in Shanghai; the clinic was the publisher of the three books issued in 1857 and 1858. In natural history and biology, there were Hobson's *Bowu xinbian* 博物新編 (first published in 1855 in Guangzhou with a second edition printed in the same year by the London Missionary Society Press), and Alexander Williamson's *Zhiwuxue* 植物学 (London Missionary Society Press, 1859). This incredible activity on the part of the Protestant missionaries soon transformed Shanghai into a major source of information on the West, and by the latter half of the 1850s, Shanghai had become the focal point of a mammoth information network.

What induced the missionaries—the likes of Muirhead and Wylie—suddenly to start churning out so many Chinese translations in the 1850s? And how were they able to translate such abstract scientific writings into Chinese when most, with the exception of Muirhead, were in China for such a short time? These are questions that anyone might ask after looking over the prolific publications noted above. Clues to the answers may be found in the daily life and surroundings of the Protestant missionaries in Shanghai at the time, particularly in their work for the London Missionary Society Press.

As was already noted, this publishing organization had moved from Batavia to Shanghai in 1843. For the first two years the Press was located on the first floor of a

house rented by Medhurst just outside of Shanghai’s eastern gate. In 1846, the Press was moved to a newly constructed two-story building in the same area. Medhurst built a new residence nearby, and the Renji yiguan clinic and, a little later, a church were added. This cluster of buildings came to be called the Mai jia quan 麦家圈 (Mai family compound), after the Chinese rendering of Medhurst’s name.

Initially, the Press had a single manual printing press and one set of metal type with a lot of missing letters. A single Chinese youth operated the printing press. No text could be written without first checking to see that the required typeface was available, a tedious and difficult task. In 1847, a new twin-cylinder printing press was sent to the Press from the London Missionary Society’s headquarters in preparation for a large-volume run of Bibles. A specialist to run the new press was also sent. This was Alexander Wylie. The Press had begun printing evangelical tracts almost immediately upon its arrival in Shanghai, as early as 1844, but the kind of prolific publishing activity I have been describing was not really possible until the arrival of the new printing press and its operator. The twin-cylinder press is said to have been able to print several tens of thousands of pages per day.

Wang Tao 王韜, who worked as the Chinese editor for the missionaries, wrote about his experiences working with the Press.

The Westerner Medhurst is the head of the Press and uses a letterpress [moveable type?] to print books. He told me he had acquired a new invention, and I went to see what it was. A bamboo fence and rows of flowers enclose the building. I went inside and filled my eyes with a resplendent sight. Medhurst has two daughters. The elder is named Mary and the younger is A Lan [Ellen?]. They all came out to greet me.... Later, I was taken in and shown the new press. A cow pulls on the machine and the gears turn at an incredible speed. I am told it can print several thousand runs in one day. It is indeed remarkably quick. The study has glass windows that cast the room in an emerald glow. Bookshelves arranged in a row east to west are filled with dictionaries neatly aligned. The others here—Milne, Lockhurst, Muirhead, and Edkins—can all, like Medhurst, read and speak Chinese.³

The Chinese of the day must certainly have marveled to see a cow being used to power the printing press. In another writing, Wang Tao speaks in more detail about the steam-powered printing press.

The Westerners have established several printing facilities, but the Society Press is the most famous. There, there is a metal printing press, some ten feet long and about three feet wide. It has two heavy gears on either side and two people attend to each side to print. A cow is used to turn the gears, pushing

them in and out. Above are strung two hollow shafts connected to the machine below by a belt that feeds paper into the machine. The paper is printed on both sides at once with each revolution. It is incredibly simple and fast. More than 40,000 sheets can be printed in one day. The letters are lead cast type. The ink is a refined mixture of soot oil and gelatin. There are inkpots on either side of the cylinder, and when the cylinder is rotated, it transfers ink to a flat plate, which is pressed against the set type. In this way, the ink is applied evenly and the letters are sharp and clear. The quality is much superior to that of conventional Chinese printing. The cow that is used to power the press takes the place of a steam-driven engine.⁴

The American Robert Hoe invented the steam-powered rotary printing press in 1846, but the chances are slim that this was the kind of cylinder press delivered to the London Missionary Society Press in the autumn of 1847. Nevertheless, the new machine was in all probability of the generation immediately preceding Hoe's invention, and would have represented very advanced printing technology for the times. The superior capabilities of the new rotary printing press were immediately put to use to print Bibles and numerous other books. It is no exaggeration to say that this machine was a mainstay for the London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai throughout the 1850s.

The new rotary printing press may have been the trademark of the Society Press, but even more important was its primary purpose. That was to print Chinese versions of the Bible. It would do well here to take a look at the Bible translation work that was undertaken at the Society Press.

The first Protestant missionary to attempt a Chinese translation of the Bible was Robert Morrison, who arrived in China in 1807. By 1813, he had almost single-handedly translated the whole of the New Testament. Later, in 1819, in cooperation with William Milne of the same London Missionary Society, Morrison completed a translation of the Old Testament. The two translations were published together in 1824 as the *Shentian shengshu* 神天聖書 (also known as the *Shengshu quanshu* 聖書全書), to form the first complete Chinese translation of the Bible. There were, however, many problematic expressions in this Bible, and it is said to have been extremely difficult for Chinese to decipher.⁵

Later arrivals such as Medhurst, the German Karl Gützlaff, and Bridgman worked together on revisions of Morrison's translation. They began their collaboration with a fresh translation of the New Testament (*Xin yizhao shu* 新遺詔書) published in 1837. In 1838, Gützlaff came out with his own translation of the Old Testament (*Jiuyi zhao shu* 旧遺詔書), which completed the first revised edition of the *Shentian shengshu*. Apparently, however, Gützlaff was not satisfied, and in 1840 he published his own

revised version of the New Testament, calling it the *Jiushizhu Yesu xin yizhao shu* 救世主耶穌新遺詔書.

Not surprisingly, a Bible translated without input from an educated native speaker did not prove to be very popular. Representatives of the London Missionary Society and other missionary groups gathered together in Hong Kong in 1843 to discuss the problem, and a new translation committee was appointed, with Medhurst as its head, to produce a definitive rendition into Chinese.

The new translation committee consisted of five members, including Medhurst and Charles Milne, William’s son. The team began working in June 1847, meeting “from ten in the morning to two-thirty in the afternoon” almost every day at the Medhurst residence, polishing every word, every phrase, with the help of a Chinese assistant.⁶ Finally they achieved their goal, completing the *Xinyue quanshu* 新約全書 in 1850 (published in 1852) and the *Jiuyue quanshu* 舊約全書 in 1853 (published in 1855).

This “definitive” translation of the Bible received good reviews. The New Testament translation was especially popular, going into its eleventh printing by 1859, and it continued to be used well into the 1920s. Much of the responsibility for this success rested with one person, Wang Tao, whom I quoted earlier. His addition to the translation staff ensured a completely new and refined interpretation of the Bible in what was later referred to as a truly literary translation.⁷

Born in Jiangsu province in 1828, the highly talented and intelligent Wang Tao had a keen interest in writing from the time he was a youth. He passed the initial civil examinations for his prefecture but later failed the provincial level examinations, effectively bringing to a halt any hopes of a bureaucratic career. Upon his father’s death, he took over as head of his family of six, and in 1849 he moved to Shanghai in search of employment. Medhurst hired him as a Chinese language assistant, and for thirteen years Wang Tao lived and worked at the London Missionary Society Press.

Wang Tao’s initial assignment was to assist the translation committee with its translation of the Bible. Specifically, he corrected the translations rendered by the committee members and embellished them to read more naturally in Chinese. This was an easy task for him. His missionary employers, working closely with an educated Chinese for the first time, came to value Wang Tao highly, and later turned to him for assistance with the translation of Christian hymns. Secure in the trust of the missionaries, Wang Tao went on after the Bible translation was completed to work on other projects. These included collaborating with Joseph Edkins (Ai Yuese 艾約瑟) on the translation of *Gezhi xixue tigang* 格致西學提綱 in 1853, and working with Wylie on the magazine *Liuhe congkan*—one of the “five journals”—as well as on such scientific texts as the *Zhongxue qianshuo* 重學淺說.

Wang Tao's contribution to the London Missionary Society Press did not end here. He introduced others to the Society Press, such as the mathematician Li Shanlan 李善蘭, in 1852, and literary scholar Jiang Dunfu 蔣敦復.⁸ Wylie's *Xu jihe yuanben*, *Daishuxue*, *Dai wei ji shiji*, and *Tan tian*, as well as Williamson's *Zhiwuxue*, were all produced in collaboration with Li Shanlan. Muirhead's history of England was translated as *Dayingguo zhi* 大英國志 with the assistance of Jiang Dunfu. The cooperation of these three Chinese scholars set the stage for similar collaborative projects with around a dozen other learned Chinese who worked for varying lengths of time at the London Missionary Society Press, men such as Guan Sifu 管嗣復, an authority on medicine, and Zhang Fuxi 張福禧, well-versed in astronomy.⁹ Guan Sifu not only assisted with Benjamin Hobson's *Xiyi lüelun* 西醫略論, *Fuying xinshuo* 婦嬰新說 and *Neike xinshuo* 內科新說, he also had a hand in revising the *Meilige heshengguo zhilüe* 美理哥合省國志略 by E. C. Bridgman, who was not even a member of the London Missionary Society.

All of these men had passed the first level of the civil service examinations (*sui kao* 歲考) and received the *xiucai* 秀才 degree, as had Wang Tao, but failed the next rank of the Qing civil examinations. They were scholars with no official place to apply their intellectual talents. Unable to pursue careers as bureaucrats, these men must have found the Society Press to be a reasonable alternative, and not just because of the high remuneration. Some, Li Shanlan among them, were able to make names for themselves as successful translators. Furthermore, they made their appearance at the Society Press just when the Bible translation project had been completed and the missionaries had the time to devote to translating scientific and other scholarly works of Western learning. The fortuitous convergence of these two conditions made possible the large-volume production of numerous Chinese translations of Western writings. And this is the historical background to the sudden proliferation of Chinese translations by missionaries in the 1850s.

Guo Songtao 郭嵩燾, who served under the powerful Qing official Zeng Guofan 曾國藩 during the repression of the Taiping Rebellion, was another Chinese who developed close ties with the missionary press. His job was to garner funds for military action by collecting taxes on salt, and it is believed that this is what brought him to Shanghai. He would later become China's first official emissary to England.

Later, I visited the Society Press. There is a Western missionary named Medhurst there who calls himself the Old Man of the Society Press. The front portion of his residence is a chapel, and the guest rooms in the back are filled with books. By the windows on either side, east and west, are placed globes, the one on the right, a celestial globe, and the one on the left, a globe of the earth. Medhurst is a prolific writer, and his work is being edited by Li Shan-

lan of Haiyan 海鹽 and Wang Tao of Jiangsu. Li in particular is quite a scholar and says he has been studying mathematics for a long time. Wang is a generous and elegant gentleman. He found for me a book called *Shuxue qimeng*, written by Wylie. This Wylie has rather average features and specializes in mathematics. Then there is another person called Edkins who appears to be most highly educated. Medhurst has placed him in charge of all the books. I was also given several copies of *Xiaer guanzen* 遐邇貫珍. The first portion of each of these publications has some scientific text, but the bulk of the remainder consists of domestic and foreign news excerpts—in other words, they are newspapers.... Wang lives here with his family. In his room there are hanging scrolls with lines from Du Fu and Bai Juyi... that are quite elegant. I asked him about his work. He said he spends two to three hours in the library every day, making grammatical corrections to the Westerners’ [Chinese] writing and otherwise editing the text so that it will read naturally in Chinese.¹⁰

According to one account, Guo Songtao’s experience in Shanghai, particularly his visit to the London Missionary Society Press, is what sparked his interest in Western matters and led him to become one of the enlightened bureaucrats who led the movement to reform government practices along Western lines (*yangwu yundong* 洋務運動).¹¹ This is, of course, just one author’s theory, but it is probably correct, for by this time the Society Press had become a place with significant influence upon certain of the Chinese intellectuals of the day. It was, as it were, a window on the West within Chinese society. This is clear when we look at Wang Tao’s diary, *Wang Tao riji* 王韜日記.¹²

Wang Tao records frequent, repeated contact with many elite scholars of the day. Especially noteworthy is the fact that he and others at the Society Press made a regular practice of giving “Western books” (Chinese translations of Western books) as gifts. The recipients were often just personal friends, but some were of high rank, such as Wu Jianzhang 吳建彰, the Shanghai *daotai* 道台, a high regional official. Wang Tao also notes that a number of copies of Hobson’s books on medicine were sent to Japan (25 December 1858). Much of this book-giving had evangelical motivation and was not purely for purposes of “enlightenment.” Whatever may have been on the minds of the givers, however, their presents emblemized and reinforced the role of the Society Press as a major transmitter of information on the West.

Wang Tao also takes note of the many visitors from places throughout China who came to the Society Press to see its printing equipment and facilities. Among such visitors were the likes of Xu Youren 徐有壬, provincial governor of Jiangsu, and Zhang Sigui 張斯桂, the first Chinese vice-minister to Japan. Clearly, the influence of the Soci-

ety Press had expanded to include knowledgeable Chinese in influential positions. Chinese interest was especially strong in how the novel steam-powered printing press actually worked. In his entry for 27 January 1860, Wang Tao notes: “We observe the missionary operate the engine. Water boils, there is steam, and the rotation is rapid.” There are many similar entries thereafter, suggesting that the press regularly held demonstrations for Chinese visitors. And the press was not the only Western equipment to attract Chinese interest; the camera, too, drew attention, and Wang Tao himself apparently studied “portrait” techniques and photographed his friends.

Wang Tao’s diary is a record of many kinds of Western customs and events—the eating of beef, a friend’s Western-style wedding, a violin concert by a Western lady—that give us a glimpse of life at the Society Press. He was by no means a passive observer of all of this. At one point he recounts an argument with Wylie and others in which he criticized the “major errors” of the Western governments and stressed the “ancient winds” that predominate in China. The educated Chinese response to the growing awareness of things Western was indeed complex.

For nearly two decades, from right after the first Opium War to the end of the second Opium War (Arrow War), the missionaries and Chinese scholars who assisted them at the London Missionary Society Press provided a living window on the West, not only through their translations but through their actions and words. This was at a time when there was no official institution for Western learning in China. Its original evangelical purpose aside, the Society Press functioned much like the Yōgakusho 洋学所 (Institute for Western Learning, soon renamed the Bansho Shirabesho 蕃書調所, Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books) established in 1855 by the Tokugawa government in Japan. Chinese equivalents of the official Japanese school of Western learning were not opened until the 1860s, nearly twenty years after the founding of the London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai. These were such institutions as the Jingshi tongwen-guan 京師同文館, Shanghai guangfangyanguan 上海廣方言館, and the Jiangnan zhi-zaoju fanyiguan 江南製造局翻譯館. The Society Press filled a vacuum of knowledge in China and because of this it had far-reaching influence, a power to affect people’s thinking that extended even to Japan.

With the advent of the 1860s, the missionaries argued over evangelical and translation policies, and there was a distinct decline in the activities of the Society Press.¹³ Wylie, who had been central to the Society Press’s printing and translation activities, returned to England on furlough in November 1860. After his departure, much of the Society’s printing operations were taken over by the Mei Hua shuguan 美華書館, the publishing arm of the American Presbyterian church that had recently come to Shanghai from Ningbo. (First opened in Macao in 1844, this printing operation was named the

Huahua shengjing shufang 華花聖經書房 when it was located in Ningbo.) Very soon thereafter, the Society’s printing equipment was sold to the Cilin yanghang 辭林洋行 which was then preparing to publish a newspaper, the *Shanghai xinbao*. And thus the golden era of the London Missionary Society Press came to a close.

III OUT OF SHANGHAI: THE IMPACT OF THE WEST AND THE VALUE OF THE INFORMATION IN NEW CHINESE TRANSLATIONS OF WESTERN WRITINGS INTRODUCED INTO JAPAN

The translations produced by the London Missionary Society Press were intended to help Christian missions in China by enlightening the educated elite and promoting the opening of the country. The Western learning presented by the Society Press did filter into Chinese society to a certain extent, but its impact was small. It would take more than a half-century for the Chinese to really assimilate and make this Western learning their own. There are several reasons why it took so long. Traditional Chinese aversion to things foreign is one; restrictions placed on the intellectual elite by the civil service examination system is another. This is in itself a fascinating topic that has occupied many writers, but I will refrain from going into it any further. More relevant to this inquiry into the impact on Japan of Chinese and Western writing is to examine how the translated books were carried to Japan through the transportation network that had emerged by the latter half of the 1850s, how they affected Japanese thought, and how they contributed to the process that stimulated the opening of Japan.

In examining the transmission of Chinese translations of Western books to Japan, the first questions that come to mind are: How many and what types of books were brought into Japan and by what route? These would be easy questions to answer if we were speaking purely of imports brought into Japan by Chinese ships, for example, because there exist various import records in Nagasaki, such as lists of imported books and tender notices. But after the arrival of Perry and his Black Ships, new trading routes were opened, and the commercial treaties of 1858 (Ansei treaties) launched free trade of a sort. There was frequent traffic between China and Japan of a wide variety of ships, including mail packets, and this makes the research difficult. Nevertheless, broadly speaking there appear to have been three major routes for the entry of Chinese translations of Western books into Japan: warships, Chinese and Japanese merchants, and missionaries to Japan. Let us examine each of these routes.

The transport of writings on the West by warships goes back to Perry’s fleet. In January 1854, on his second trip to Japan, Commodore Perry stopped in the Ryukyus. At that time, someone from one of his ships gave a local resident two copies of a Chinese-

language magazine called *Xiaer guanzhen*, the periodical that had been presented to Guo Songtao on his visit to the London Missionary Society Press in Shanghai. *Xiaer guanzhen*, a monthly, first came out in the ninth month of 1853; it was published in Hong Kong by Medhurst, who was based in Shanghai. The first half of the magazine was generally devoted to introductions to various aspects of Western learning, such as science, while the second half covered news, both domestic and international. We do not know exactly who brought the two issues of this magazine to the Ryukyus, but the only people in Perry's contingent who could read Chinese were the interpreters Samuel Wells Williams (Wei Sanwei 衛三畏) and Luo Sen 羅森, and it must have been one of these two.

Williams was an American Methodist missionary who had first gone to China in 1833; he oversaw the mission press in Guangzhou. Luo Sen was a scholar based in Hong Kong who joined Commodore Perry's fleet at Williams' behest.¹⁴ He was later to play a significant role as the Chinese interpreter at the signing of the Kanagawa Treaty.

The two copies of *Xiaer guanzhen* made their way from the Ryukyus to Satsuma domain, and from there copies were distributed to samurai leaders throughout the country. Iwase Tadanari 岩瀬忠震, a Tokugawa official assisting in the negotiations with the West, owned a copy, and Katsu Kaishū 勝海舟 and Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰 both mention in letters to friends that they had read the magazine.¹⁵ Of course, this is a special case, since it is generally impossible to trace the transport of books and periodicals by warships. The only other reference that I can find is in Katsu Kaishū's *Kaikoku kigen* 開國起原.

It is almost equally difficult to trace the transport of books and other texts by Chinese and Japanese merchant ships because with the advent of free trade, the Nagasaki import authority did not function as it had in the past to keep records of what was brought into Japan. From around 1858, however, British and American merchant ships made frequent entry into Japanese ports, and they brought with them large numbers of Chinese servants who were active traders in their own right and who provided stiff competition, both legal and illegal, to local and Japanese government-designated merchants.¹⁶ This, and the fact that Shanghai was the most important trading partner for Nagasaki, makes it highly probable that these "underground" Chinese merchants brought into Japan an assortment of Chinese translations of Western writings for which there was a high demand. For example, a Japanese physician practicing Dutch medicine in Edo, Miyake Gonsai 三宅良齋, produced reprints of Hobson's *Xiyi lüelun*, *Fuying xinshuo*, and *Neike xinshuo* in quick succession from 1858 to 1859. Although there is no absolute proof, it is believed that Miyake made frequent and regular purchases of medical books and medicines from the Chinese merchants in Nagasaki who came from Shanghai.

Unlike the above two examples, the transport of books by the missionaries to Japan is more easily traced. In many cases, the missionaries write of these books in their correspondence and journals, often not only mentioning the type of books but actually listing their specific titles. For example, Riggins (Lin Yuehan 林約翰), an Anglican missionary who had come to Nagasaki from Shanghai, boasts in a letter to a friend of having sold “to the elite of Japanese society” more than one thousand copies of such “Chinese” books as Muirhead’s *Dili quanzhi* and *Dayingguo zhi*, Bridgman’s *Lianbang zhilüe*, Wylie’s *Diqiu ditu shuo* 地球地圀說, Hobson’s *Xiyi lüelun* and *Bowu xinbian*, and Williamson’s *Zhiwuxue*. The American Presbyterian missionary J. C. Hepburn, who arrived in Japan in 1859 and was stationed in Kanagawa, mentions in a letter to a friend dated 7 April 1860, that he had already sold “some 250 copies” of Wylie’s *Diqiu ditu shuo*,¹⁷ and that the book was proving to be most popular among the Japanese.

These were thus the three major means by which Chinese works on Western learning were brought into Japan. The next thing we need to look into is how these books and periodicals were circulated once they arrived in Japan. When it comes to judging the impact of these works on Japan, their circulation is perhaps even more important than the question of how they were first brought into the country.

There are no clear statistics on the circulation of Chinese books on Western learning in Japan at the end of the Tokugawa period. It is not possible to give a complete overview here, but nevertheless, a glimpse of what was happening can be had through the records, meager as they are, left by the likes of Riggins and Hepburn noted above.

Higuchi Ryūon 樋口龍温, the abbot of Kōzan’in 香山院 (a temple of the Ōtani branch of Shinshū), in 1863 expressed his reservations as a Buddhist over the proliferation of the imported Chinese texts:¹⁸

For the past two or three years, there has been a steady infiltration of texts with such names as *Bankoku mōkanroku* [*Wanguo gangjianlu* 万国綱鑑錄], *Chikyū ryaku* [*Diqiu lüe* 地球略], *Chiri shi* [*Dili zhi* 地理誌], and *Dan ten* [*Tan tian*]. Many of these have been officially reprinted by the bakufu. Although they are not exclusively devoted to expositions of Christianity, they are, despite the prohibition of that religion in Japan, all Christian works. In addition there are the *Chūgai shinpō* [*Zhongwai xinbao*] and reports on conditions in overseas countries, and every year several hundred more of these are being sold.

Another priest of the same Buddhist sect, Togashi Mokue 富樫黙恵, in 1867 bemoaned the massive influx of Western books written in Chinese that flooded Japan after the treaty ports were opened, going so far as to blame them for nearly all of Japan’s ills thereafter. “These past two or three years, I have seen with my own eyes at least one

hundred of these Christian writings. It is a sad thing to have such a proliferation of heretical texts. There is no denying the trend, but it is indeed a pity that over two hundred years of strict prohibition should end in this way. This is a national crisis.”¹⁹

In 1865, it is recorded that “a total of ninety-six heretical works” were brought into Japan.²⁰ These were not only Western subjects presented in Chinese, but also included tracts and other religious material. Yanagawa Shunsan 柳河春三, once head of the Tokugawa regime’s institute for the study of Western learning, lists twenty-three imported works in his *Yokohama hanjō ki* 横浜繁盛記 (A Record of Prospering Yokohama, written in Chinese). This number, however, is clearly inaccurate and cannot be taken at face value. From the materials and records that I have gone through thus far, I estimate that more than eighty percent of the Chinese works published in Shanghai were either copied or reprinted in Japan, and they circulated widely. The degree of dissemination in Japan exceeded that in inland China.

Another source of data confirming the extent to which Chinese editions of Western books had infiltrated Japan is the frequency with which these books were used in schools throughout Japan. Muirhead’s *Dili quanzhi*, *Diqiu shuolüe* 地球說略, and *Dayingguo zhi*, Bridgman’s *Lianban zhilüe*, and James Legge’s *Zhihuan qimeng* 智環啓蒙²¹ were used as textbooks in many of the domain schools, including those in Kanazawa, Fukui, Izushi, Tanabe, Kobe, Yodo, Nobeoka, Takeo, and Isewatarai.²² *Dili quanzhi* and *Zhihuan qimeng* appear to have been the most popular, each being used in more than five schools. This can be interpreted as a temporary phenomenon in the shift from the Dutch learning of the late Tokugawa period to the Western learning of the Meiji era. Still, there is no denying the important role of these texts in the transition period of the 1850s and 1860s. These books not only filled in the gap between Dutch and Western learning, they also facilitated the changeover from one to the other, and the scope of their impact on Japan was extensive.

I have devoted considerable space to describing the formation of an information network in Shanghai and the extensive circulation in Japan of Chinese books on Western learning. These are certainly worthy subjects from the perspective of historical intercultural exchange. But I do not believe these two aspects alone are sufficient to convey the extent and depth of the relationship between Shanghai and the opening of Japan. At this point, I have only gotten as far as filling in the outline and have yet to tackle the main issue, which is: What, specifically, was the impact on Japan of the information from Shanghai? For this purpose, I will take a closer look at the value placed on so-called “Shanghai information” by examining the contents of *Liuhe congtan* and other Chinese periodicals of the time.

At the beginning of this essay, I remarked on the Bunkiyū newspapers, compila-

tions of translated articles from other sources that appeared in the 1860s. There were three Japanese-language Bunkyū papers—the *Kanban Batabia shinbun* (second month, 1862), which consisted of translated articles from such Western papers as the Dutch East India Company’s *Javasche Courant*; the *Kanban kaigai shinbun* (eighth month, 1862); and the *Kanban kaigai shinbun besshū* (eighth month, 1862)—and five Chinese-language periodicals—best known by the Japanese pronunciations of their names as *Kaji kanchin* 遐邇貫珍, *Kanban rokugō sōdan* 官板六合叢談, *Kanban chūgai shinpō* 官板中外新報, *Kanban Honkon shinbun* 官板香港新聞, and *Kanban chūgai zasshi* 官板中外雜誌. As indicated by the word *kanban* (“officially printed”) in most of their names, all eight of these publications were reprinted by government officials at the Bansho shirabesho (or, as that institute was successively renamed, the Yōsho shirabesho 洋書調所 and Kaiseijo 開成所) and published by an Edo bookseller called the Rōkyūkan 老皂館.

There were obvious reasons for the Tokugawa government to suddenly start publishing translated newspapers and periodicals in the Bunkyū era. For one thing, the Dutch and Chinese publications that had once been the major source of information for the government went out of print following the Ansei treaties and new sources were needed. Secondly, a certain degree of censorship could be achieved by selectively translating the Christian-oriented Western texts and Chinese periodicals. This second motive was certainly fulfilled to a degree. But more than anything else, the Bunkyū *shinbun* could provide a source of up-to-date overseas news to supplement the books that had previously been the only source of information on things foreign. In the reality of their reporting, these papers were to have a profound influence upon later events in the Japanese society of the late Tokugawa period.

As my concern here is with the influence of Chinese sources, I will set aside the Japanese-language Bunkyū *shinbun* and focus instead on the contents of four of the five Chinese-language periodicals. (I will omit *Kaji kanchin*, which circulated in handwritten copies.) The four periodicals in question contain a sizable amount of material—there are fifteen volumes of *Kanban rokugō sōdan*, twelve volumes of *Kanban chūgai shinpō*, two volumes of *Kanban Honkon shinbun*, and seven volumes of *Kanban chūgai zasshi*. Let us look at their contents in several categories.

1. Astronomy and Geography

Perhaps due to China’s traditional preoccupation with astronomy and calendars, numerous essays on astronomy and geography were published. Most are presented at the beginning of the periodical, or very near the beginning. This is true, for example, of all fifteen volumes of *Liuhe congtao*, and the *Zhongwai zazhi* is edited in this manner for

the first four of its seven volumes. The missionaries repeatedly stressed the fact that the world is a sphere revolving in a heliocentric solar system. They also used every chance they had to introduce the theories of Copernicus, Galileo, and Newton.

The astronomers tell us that this land we stand upon is one of the planets that orbit the sun. These planets are at varying distances from the sun, of varying sizes, and each rotates on its own axis at various speeds. Some are clustered, some are far apart. Their orbits also vary. They are round and neither admit nor expel light, but only reflect the light of the sun. They move from west to east, and their orbit is an ellipse.... The earth is a planet located 27,550,000 *li* from the sun. It takes slightly over 365 days, two hours, to orbit the sun, and this is called one year. It takes the earth twice twelve hours or a full day and night to rotate on its own axis.²³

Today, needless to say, even an elementary school child knows this much. But in the China of the 1850s, these were novel ideas and a whole new perspective on the universe. The heliocentric theory had already been introduced into China in the time of Matteo Ricci, but it was knowledge confined to specialists and did not filter down to the general public. Even the well-known Guo Songtao expressed doubt when he first heard about this theory during an excursion to Hangzhou in 1856.²⁴ This being the case for an elite member of the civil service, it is no wonder that the common people had no inkling of these modern theories.

The missionaries did not place so much emphasis on these ideas simply because they wanted to enlighten the Chinese. It is likely that they had another motive. By stressing that the world was a sphere, they were challenging the long-entrenched idea that China was at the center of the world. The reality, they wanted to point out, was that all countries were equal. This is also probably why Medhurst made certain to have a globe in the guestroom of his house. We glimpse here the missionaries' endeavor to overcome traditional Chinese thinking. Indeed, their efforts bore fruit, for by the latter half of the 1850s, the term *tianxia* 天下, expressive of traditional perceptions, was being replaced by more neutral and impartial terms to refer to the earth, words such as *yingshuan* 瀛環, *wanguo* 万国, and *diqu* 地球. Slowly but surely, the Chinese perception of the world was becoming more relative.

How then were the theories presented in *Liuhe congkan* received in Japan, where the accumulation of Dutch learning had led to the earlier introduction and acceptance of the heliocentric theory? It would seem that the impact was nearly as profound as it had been in China, despite the fact that the Japanese were more aware of the theory being presented.

Those of Confucian faith and of Shinto faith, and those who turn their back

on the ancient teachings without realizing the harm they do to themselves, all, except for the monks of Buddhist faith, speak of nothing but the five continents. Some thirty years ago, it was with much consternation that I saw maps of the world being sold in Edo. Now these maps of the world can be found anywhere along the wayside. There is a person of a certain domain in the west who has studied astronomy in Edo. Upon returning to his home domain, he visited a certain scholar of the Shinshū sect and commenced to ridicule the Buddhist universe, insisting on the validity of the [new] interpretation of a planet earth. This scholar knew only religion and had no knowledge of other matters. He had no words to counter [the assault] and could only blush in shame. Now, it is to be deplored that our adherents may be confounded in the same way. It is no exaggeration to say that this [new] astronomy may lead to great calamity. It is, indeed, a formidable foe. Since foreign trade began, books such as *Diqiu shuolie*, *Dili quanzhi*, and *Tan tian* have appeared in this country, and we must now study them closely.²⁵

This passage, written in 1863 by Higuchi Ryūon, does not specifically mention *Liuhe congfan*, but it offers a vivid—albeit severely disapproving—commentary on the rapid dissemination of the Chinese translations of Western texts and their presentations on astronomy and geography. Probably the new knowledge was assimilated quickly in Japan precisely because of the groundwork that had already been laid by the previously introduced Dutch learning.

At this time, Chinese periodicals were also reporting on the building of the Suez and Panama canals. The *Zhongwai xinbao*, in particular, followed the building of the Suez Canal in detail with serialized reports, reflecting the worldwide keen interest in the project. The periodic updates were possible because this was a monthly magazine rather than a book. It is not known how well the contents of the articles were understood, but the news reinforced the fact that the world is round and hinted at the possibility of ships circumnavigating the globe.

2. The Management of Democratic Government

Wei Yuan's *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries*, Muirhead's *Daying-guo zhi*, and Bridgman's *Lianbang zhiliue* all introduced to a certain extent the political state of affairs in the West. But in most cases, these did not go beyond simple descriptions of the various political systems to be found in the West. The periodicals, on the other hand, in on-site reports on the actual management of these political systems, gave much more detail about democratic government.

For example, the first issue of *Liuhe congfan* came out in 1857, the year after a

presidential election in the United States. The three candidates in this election had heated debates about slavery and whether the practice should be continued or not. The *Liuhe congkan* took up the issue, reporting on the candidates' promises to the American public, including James Buchanan's vow to build a transcontinental railway. The magazine summarized the outgoing president's State of the Union message, delivered shortly before he left office, and thereby gave its readers considerable information about the management of government in the presidential system.

A new president has been selected in the United States, as of the sixth of November 1856. Now the gentlemen of the Congress gather together. The outgoing President Franklin Pierce, having completed his four-year term, expressed appreciation to those in his administration and prepared to return to his hometown. In accordance with established practice, he appeared before Congress to speak in detail about affairs of state. His main theme was the need for national unity before all else, and he commented on the election in light of that. He went on to talk about taxes. As of 29 May 1856, revenue from taxes for the past year amounted to \$76,918,141; when added to the surplus left at the end of 1855, that brought the amount on hand to \$92,250,117.... Expenditures for the past five years have averaged about \$48,000,000, and the average expenditure for the next five years should not exceed that amount.... Considering that tax revenue in the previous fiscal year had been \$64,000,000, new regulations should be enacted providing that taxes not exceed \$50,000,000 in the new year. During the past year, the army had been constantly employed against hostile Indians in the territories of Washington and Oregon, and battles continued to be waged there.... It was hoped that these conflicts would soon be resolved so that the people might breathe easily and work together for peace and prosperity.... The United States continued to enjoy amicable relations with all foreign powers. A new treaty had been concluded in London, with both parties stating their expectations of harmonious relations, and the disputes in Central America were resolved.... These were the main points set forth by Pierce.²⁶

Of course, at this point in time, Lincoln had not yet uttered his famous epigram about American government being "of the people, by the people, and for the people." It would be another six years before these words reverberated around the globe and stirred the minds of people everywhere. But the thorough coverage of the electoral process must surely have been a stunning revelation for the readers of this Chinese periodical. The fact that a president would report to the people on national finances, internal disputes, and diplomatic issues was in and of itself a dramatic demonstration of democracy in action, a

true government “for the people.” It is worth noting that *Liuhe congtan* began to be widely read in Japan just around the time the first Japanese mission was crossing the Pacific on its way to the United States on the *Kanrinmaru* (1860), and it is intriguing to think that the samurai of the day were reading these articles on the American election.

The year 1857 was only one year after the Arrow Incident, which sparked the second Opium War in China. What began as a minor dispute escalated into a major confrontation between China and Britain and erupted into war at the end of the year. The string of events leading up to war were reported on in faithful detail by the missionaries in their periodicals, perhaps because, unlike the American presidential election, these were matters of immediate, life-threatening concern to them. The heated debate in the British Parliament over the issue of whether or not to go to war was also faithfully covered in every issue.

The *Formosa* post ship 福摩沙駁船 arrived in Shanghai on the 12th and brought news of recent events. In England, the Parliament gathered to decide what to do about the incident in Guangdong. In the House of Lords, it is necessary for all to agree, but at the time the House was divided between those who called for war and those who advocated peace. The Prime Minister called for war. By a majority of twenty-six, the upper house supported the Prime Minister, but in the lower house, those who did not want war and insisted on peace obtained a majority of sixteen. The Prime Minister decided to take the issue before the people. In late March, he dispersed the lower house to their respective constituencies to stand before the people, campaigning for peace or for war. In actuality the people wanted to choose members who would then reassemble in Parliament in May to continue deliberations. The great merchants of London and other cities gathered to debate the issue that was before the lower house, but they did not come to agreement. One group presented a petition to the Prime Minister urging a dispatch of an envoy to make a new treaty with China providing that there be no prohibitions placed on trade routes or the entry and exit of commercial vessels. Observing these happenings, we think that many of the newly elected members will agree with the Prime Minister’s position when Parliament reconvenes.²⁷

The outbreak of war was certainly newsworthy, but the reportage on the process by which the decision was made to go to war must certainly have been equally shocking to Chinese and Japanese of the 1850s. For them, it must have been nearly impossible to understand that the decision to make war was not made by a nation’s ruler, nor its ministers, but by a process of compromise in which the nation’s people themselves had a part.

The articles in the missionary periodicals served to reinforce the Chinese and Japanese people's emerging awareness of Western parliamentary systems, their vivid descriptions of the on-going process making it much easier to understand the systems and their procedures.

The periodicals also reported on other aspects of Western political systems, such as diplomatic negotiations, tax collection in Britain, insurance policies, and the like, thereby offering images of the modern Western state from a variety of different perspectives.

3. Western Culture and Its Underlying Values

In general, the books published by the missionaries after Wei Yuan's *Illustrated Gazetteer of the Maritime Countries* focused on describing the systems and state of affairs in other countries. In the process, they provided descriptions of the customs and practices of other cultures, but there was little attempt at explaining the concept of a modern state, nor was there in-depth analysis of the spiritual and intellectual climate out of which Western culture had emerged. The missionaries' Chinese periodicals and magazines, on the other hand, focused on these kinds of abstract concepts, often adding special essays to explain the cultural values and ethos behind Western ways of thinking.

God has divided all people into men and women. For every household with several sons, there is always a household with several daughters. Add them all up, and the numbers will be found to be even. This was surely heaven's plan in creating humanity. For every man there is a woman. This is the natural way of things. In China, however, it is not unusual to have concubines, and some men in extraordinary cases will have several of them. But for every man who has one too many wives, there is a man with no wife. Is this any different from taking away another man's wife and sexually assaulting her?... Rich Chinese have even been known not only to take many wives and concubines but to drown their [unwanted] daughters as well. Thus do they ensure that there will be many men and few women. The result is that of one hundred men, roughly thirty will have no wife. Having nowhere to go they turn to evil deeds. This is what is commonly called "a wandering head turns to roguishness" 遊頭光棍.

This is an excerpt from an article on marriage in the third issue of the *Zhongwai xinbao*. The writer harshly criticizes China's practice of polygamy. Clearly evident behind his reasoning is the "rational" European value, rooted in Christianity, of monogamy. In this respect, the attack on polygamy is really just one facet of the author's true intent, which is to exalt the modern spirit of rationality. It is not clear how far the missionaries were

aware of this, but there are many similar articles in support of the modern “spirit,” almost as if to balance out the almost equally numerous writings on conventional political systems and the like. The total effect is to portray a whole different kind of image of the West.

At the time [of the Crimean War between Russian and Turkey] when the European powers fought a bloody war against Russia, there was an English woman of a wealthy household named Nightingale. She went of her own accord to the frontlines and there treated the wounded. Thus were many wounded saved, and after the war she returned to her country. The British praised her highly. Money was collected and sent to her, and not wanting for herself, she used it to build a hospital. She gathered together other women, and together they devoted themselves to the treatment of the sick and wounded. Some 176,156 pounds was collected, one-fifth of which was contributed by soldiers.²⁸

As is well known, Florence Nightingale established the foundations of today’s Red Cross. Her story was both an introduction to and promotion of European humanitarianism. Of course, the *Liuhe congtan* article on her is quite brief and it may be overreaching to try to find so much significance in its contents. Nevertheless, Nightingale’s story was good propaganda to refute the prevalent idea at the time that Westerners had no morals and were interested only in personal gain. The message was that Westerners were just and humane people, not tyrannical colonialists.

There were many other topics in the magazines that served to introduce and explain the true values of Western culture and the Western cultural ethos. These included: the debate in the British Parliament over the issue of granting voting rights to Jews (*Liuhe congtan*, vol. 10); the founding of a shoe-shining company in London to provide work for impoverished children (*Liuhe congtan*, vol. 13); customs of respect for women in Anglo-Saxon society (*Zhongwai zazhi*, issue 4); call for contributions of money to aid the many British spinning mill workers who had lost their jobs due to the American Civil War (*Zhongwai zazhi*, issue 5); and more—the list is almost endless.

Various cultural institutions were also introduced in these articles, such as the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris, London music halls, and even zoos, but these were so sketchily described and such alien concepts to begin with that it is doubtful that they could be envisioned by the Chinese and Japanese readers.

4. Industry and Trade in the West

The Industrial Revolution was sweeping through Britain and Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century and a system of capitalistic industrial production was in

the process of developing. Urbanization was taking place at a rapid pace and structures of free trade were beginning to take form. These trends were touched on in the early history and geography books on the West, but the volume of information was insufficient to give a clear picture of the major transformation that was taking place. In contrast, the monthly periodicals that appeared in the 1850s painted a more timely and compelling portrait of the rapid changes taking place, introducing many of the innovations in industry and transport that had been unknown in China and Japan up to that time.

For example, the “sophisticated methodology” of the steam engine, symbol of the revolution in power systems, was explained in considerable detail in the fifth issue of *Zhongwai zazhi*, in an article promoting the benefits of using new and “curious” machinery. Transport was another well-covered area, with articles on the railway construction underway in various places around the world, on the advent of the steamship and new shipping routes, and on the laying of underwater electric communication cables between the United States and Britain.

In the context of all this industrial information, the articles on the Second London Exhibition of 1862 had particular impact, especially because of the appearance of the Tokugawa mission to Britain. Undoubtedly, these articles were avidly read by the Japanese of the day.

In 1851, a great glass pavilion supported by steel and wood was built in England. Inside were displayed strange and wonderful machinery from different countries, as well as older tools and objects of daily use, large and small, for all people to see and marvel at. Later, in 1861, another great pavilion was built, even larger than before, and this has been open [to the public] since February of this year [1862]. During the first three days of April, the exposition was visited by leaders of the country, well-known personages, and the emissaries of various countries. Most unusual were the envoys of the Japanese ruler.... Those attending the exposition pass through the exhibits in an orderly fashion. The items on display have been collected from within England and from other countries. The displays are divided into three major sections: one for the materials with which objects are made; one for the tools of manufacture; and one for the objects themselves.... All are practical objects that benefit mankind, and none are merely for display. All the more reason for the attentiveness of the people who come to see the exposition.²⁹

This passage is too long to quote in its entirety, but its three major sections were further sub-divided into thirty-six categories, including “Things from underground,” “Medicines,” and “Food,” with brief descriptions for each. Some of the items, such as a “tools for casting a locomotive” and “steel wiring for electric transmission,” repre-

sented state-of-the-art technology. Readers may not always have understood the short explanations, but they certainly must have sensed how rapidly industrialization was advancing in the West. Some 29,000 companies from around the world participated in the Second London Exhibition, making it an even more vibrant and significant showcase of Western industrialization than the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London (the Crystal Palace Exhibition) or the Paris Exposition of 1855.

The Japanese mission mentioned in the articles on the Second London Exhibition was the group led by Takeuchi Yasunori 竹内保徳, the Tokugawa government’s commissioner of foreign affairs at the time. The Japanese were quite a sensation at this fair, with their exotic dress and hairstyles, and they were warmly welcomed by the Europeans. Fukuzawa Yukichi, an interpreter for the delegation, was as keenly intrigued by the Europeans as they were by him and his fellow Japanese. He later wrote of the Exposition that it attracted “an average of 40,000 to 50,000 people each day, from the nobility to merchants.”³⁰

The missionaries presented the London Exhibition to their Chinese readers as the fruit of the Industrial Revolution that had taken place in the West. Many other aspects of the prosperity resulting from the Industrial Revolution were described as well, each article presenting as it were a mini-exposition of Western success and the power of capitalistic manufacturing processes. In one article, for example, London’s rapid growth and increasing urbanization are described in detail in *Zhongwai zazhi*.

London is not only large in its territorial dimensions, but it has many residential buildings and great factories. People everywhere know that it is a thriving city. Merchants and their customers come and go, and it becomes even more prosperous. From all over the world, people come to London. The city measures forty *li* in length and twenty *li* in breadth. Its roads are several times as wide as those of China, facilitating the traffic of horse carriages.... As of 1857, London had approximately 305,933 residences, excluding those that are unoccupied, and its population was about 3,000,000.... In 1855, London had more than 750 ships. In an average year British vessels enter port here some 20,000 times, excluding those those going to other countries, making life even more prosperous. Exports each year come to approximately 77,898,000 pounds sterling, and customs receipts come to about 40,000,000 pounds. These exports flow to such places as China and India—to the South and to the North, to every land....

There are great banks in London, and there are more than 800 lawyers whose annual income is about 600,000 pounds. There is a giant post office, and in 1855, it handled approximately 45,000,000 pieces of mail. In 1857,

there were 464 newspapers.... Objects produced in London are extremely well-made and refined. Consequently its clocks and watches are the best in the world, as are its horse carriages. Although its length is forty *li*, there are trains that keep things coming and going.³¹

The many figures given in this article reflect London's standing of the day as the "world's factory," the sheer size of which must surely have astonished Chinese and Japanese readers. Many of the conveniences and instruments of nineteenth-century industrial society are also introduced in these articles. These include banks, post offices, newspapers, clocks, horse carriages, and train engines. These articles on "Western matters" must have not only opened the eyes of their Chinese and Japanese readers, but also helped to reshape their concepts of the modern city.

IV CONCLUSION: THE MISSIONARIES' PROMOTION OF A NATION-STATE

When one examines the magazines published by the missionaries in Shanghai and looks at their contents from the four perspectives cited above, it is clear that they provided a wealth of information on the West and must have had a profound impact on their readership. In making this study, I have discovered a concealed theme common to all the magazines. Whether it was hidden by intent on the part of the missionaries, I do not know, and I doubt if I am the only one who has perceived this subtle undercurrent. The theme I refer to is the attempt to revolutionize the traditional Chinese order and replace it with the Western model of the nation-state.

The first half of the nineteenth century, following the Industrial Revolution in England and the French Revolution, was the era in which the superiority of the "nation-state" system was validated. Reorganization of political units on the nation-state model was occurring in many places around the world. Any reporting on this trend was automatically a kind of promotion of the nation-state concept. The magazines in question, however, report the trend and its related events with much more frequency and detail than would seem absolutely necessary. The missionaries' preoccupation with the subject can be seen by taking a look at the table of contents for the second issue of *Liuhe cong-tan*.

Volume Two

Geography

Foreign biographies (the Kaiser)

Chinese & British commercial records: History of Sino-British trade at the end

of the Ming and the beginning of the Qing periods

Recent events in the West

- British prime minister visits Manchester, a spinning mill town, and gives words of encouragement to the workers
- A new electric company is established to lay an undersea cable between the United States and Britain
- The Russian Emperor orders a new company to be established to build a nationwide railroad network
- Australia publicizes its gold production and export figures
- Greek minister of civil administration presents reports on parliamentary elections, laws, finances, and education
- Update on the U.S. presidential elections: Buchanan leads, promises transcontinental railway
- A 2,480-mile railway completed in Canada; celebration parade in Montreal

Recent events in India: British forces stationed in India to take part in British-Iran War

Recent events in eastern Guandong: Bulletin on the fighting in Guangzhou between the Chinese and British armies

Miscellaneous articles

- An introduction to Muirhead's *Dayingguo zhi*
- Outline of Edkins's *Zhongxi tongshu* 中西通書
- An introduction to the workings of a new type of calculator invented by the French scientist Thomas de Colmar

What appears at first glance to be a random selection, can be seen upon closer reflection to cover topics related to concepts of the modern nation-state and its forms of government. Now these kinds of topics are reported in the news every day and attract no special attention, but for nineteenth-century Chinese and Japanese who knew only their own traditional systems, the information in these articles was revolutionary and stimulated whole new ideas. The consistent reporting in every issue helped to form a model for a modern nation-state in Chinese and Japanese minds. This did not happen by coincidence, for the missionaries took every opportunity to explain and promote the experiences of Western modernization.

The strength and prosperity of a nation rest in its people; the strength and prosperity of a people rest in their minds; and the strength and prosperity of their minds rest in scientific knowledge.... It is our opinion that Chinese learning is not inferior to that of the West. However, their inability to make

extraordinary products is a result of their not daring to use their minds. Those who lead the people have not been industrious with scientific knowledge. A century ago, our western nations, like the Chinese, just read the books of the ancients, and did not endeavor to investigate things on our own. Because of this, we invented no novel instruments. Over the course of the past century, people have used their minds scientifically and learned from the things they have done. Those who farm concentrate on making farm implements, and those who manufacture have set their minds on producing tools. Day by day, their knowledge has grown, and the products of their manufacture become increasingly refined. The refinement continues even today. And the more who learn, the more profound this knowledge becomes. A new theory emerges every month, and these are reported on in the newspapers and the knowledge is carried far and wide. This accumulation of daily knowledge appears to have no boundaries. For the average person useful ideas are buried in the useless eight-legged essays [of the civil service examinations]. Even those with some intellect devote themselves to poetry and ancient-style prose, taking pride in their knowledge, but with nothing to augment their empty words. But should they study the knowledge of the Western countries, and follow their lead in search of true prosperity, their knowledge will grow day by day and take shape. The nation shall grow, its armies will be strengthened, and it will enjoy no small prosperity.³²

The title of this article in the sixth issue of the *Liuhe congkan*, “Gewu qiongli” 格物窮理 refers to science, specifically “scientific knowledge.” Clearly the article promotes science as a good thing, though it is conservative in its presentation, probably in deference to the Chinese authorities. Most likely, the authors wanted to encourage the active application of as much Western knowledge as possible. The missionaries knew better than anyone that science alone would not make a nation strong and prosperous. Articles such as this were really meant to open the door onto the cultural ethos and national systems that made this kind of knowledge possible. As a matter of fact, the article in question is followed by descriptions of the Western practice of offering grants to scientists for their research; the patent system; and the introduction of newspapers. Clearly, the missionaries’ zeal extended to much more than just scientific knowledge.

It can be concluded that there was a hidden “agenda” in the articles on scientific knowledge and their juxtaposition with the series of introductions to the modern nation-state. These magazines were, in essence, the missionary version of Fukuzawa Yukichi’s *Gakumon no susume* (An Encouragement of Learning). They were just as forward-looking and had as much impact as Fukuzawa’s work, which has been heralded as the fore-

runner of Japan's modernization. *Gakumon no susume* was published to wide acclaim in 1872. Notably, this was a full decade after the missionary magazines made their first appearance in Japan.

NOTES

- 1 Yuan Renze 阮仁沢 and Gao Zhennong 高振農, eds., *Shanghai zongjiao shi* 上海宗教史 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1992).
- 2 Zhang Zhongli 張仲礼, ed., *Dongnan yanhai chengshi yu Zhongguo jindaihua* 東南沿海城市与中国近代化 (Shanghai: Shanghai renmin chubanshe, 1996).
- 3 Wang Tao, *Wanyu suilu* 漫遊隨錄, 1887. Milne was William C. Milne 美魏茶.
- 4 Wang Tao, *Yingruan zazhi* 瀛壖雜誌, 1875.
- 5 Yoshida Tora 吉田寅, *Chūgoku Purotesutanto dendō shi kenkyū* 中国プロテスタント伝道史研究 (Kyūko shoin, 1997).
- 6 Paul A Cohen, *Zai chuantong yu xiandaixing zhi jian: Wang Tao yu wan-Qing geming* 在伝統与現代性之間—王韜与晚清革命—, trans. Lei Yi 雷頤 and Luo Jianqiu 羅檢秋 (Nanjing: Jiangsu renmin chubanshe, 1994). The original is *Between Tradition and Modernity: Wang Tao and Reform in Late Ching China* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1974).
- 7 Paul Cohen.
- 8 Zhang Zhichun 張志春, ed., *Wang Tao nianpu* 王韜年譜, (Hebei jiaoyu chubanshe, 1994).
- 9 Wang Jiarong 汪家榕, *Shangwu yinshuguan shi ji qita* 商務印書館史及其他 (Beijing: Zhongguo shuji chubanshe, 1998).
- 10 *Guo Songtao riji* 郭嵩燾日記 15 March 1856. Medhurst's sobriquet Mohai laoren 墨海老人 (Old Man of the Black Sea) punned on the name of the London Missionary Society Press.
- 11 Zeng Yongling 曾永鈴, *Guo Songtao dazhuan* 郭嵩燾大伝 (Shenyang: Liaoning renmin chubanshe, 1989).
- 12 *Wang Tao riji* 王韜日記, ed. Fang Xing 方行 and Tang Zhijun 湯志均 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1987).
- 13 Shin Kokui [Shen Guowei] 沈国威, ed., *Rikugō sōdan no gakusaiteki kenkyū* 「六合叢談」の学際的研究 (Hakuteisha, 1999).
- 14 On Luo Sen, see the paper by Tao De-min, "Chinese as a Medium in Early U.S.-Japan Interchanges: Lo Sem's Journal of Perry's 1854 Visit to Japan," presented at the conference "The Making of Historiography through the Meiji Period" organized by the International Research Center for Japanese Studies and the Center for

Japanese Studies of the University of Hawai'i, 8-12 November 2000.

- 15 Masuda Wataru 増田 渉, *Seigaku tōzen to Chūgoku jijō* 西学東漸と中国事情 (Iwanami Shoten, 1979), translated by Joshua A. Fogel as *Japan and China: Mutual Representations in the Modern Era* (Richmond: Curzon, 2000).
- 16 Yamawaki Teijirō 山脇 悌次郎, *Nagasaki no tōjin bōeki* 長崎の唐人貿易 (Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1964).
- 17 Takaya Michio 高谷道男, ed. and tr., *Hebon shokanshū* へボン書簡集 (Iwanami Shoten, 1959).
- 18 Higuchi Ryūon, *Hekija gohōsaku* 闢邪護法策 (1863). See Tokiwa Daijō 常盤大定, ed., *Meiji Bukkyō zenshū dai 8-kan gohō-hen* 明治仏教全集第八卷護法篇 (Shun'yō-dō, 1935).
- 19 Togashi, *Naigai niyū roku* 内外二憂祿.
- 20 “Shinshū tōha gikō Ankyūji Un’ei Kōyō ‘kōhō sōron’” 真宗東派擬講安休寺雲英晃曜「講法総論」(1869), in *Meiji bukkyō zenshū dai 8-kan gohō-hen*.
- 21 James Legge (Li Yage 理雅各), *Zhihuan qimeng* 智環啓蒙 (Hong Kong: Ying-Hua shuyuan chuban, 1856).
- 22 Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 開国百年記念文化事業会, ed., *Sakoku jidai Nihonjin no kaigai chishiki* 鎖国時代日本人の海外知識 (Kengensha, 1953).
- 23 *Diqiu xingshi dashuailun* 地球形勢大率論.
- 24 *Guo Songtao riji* 郭嵩燾日記, 25 January 1856.
- 25 Higuchi Ryūon, “Kyūsakubun” 急策文, in Tokiwa, ed., *Meiji bukkyō zenshū dai 8-kan gohō-hen*.
- 26 *Liuhe congtao*, vol. 3.
- 27 *Liuhe congtao*, vol. 5.
- 28 *Liuhe congtao*, vol. 9.
- 29 *Zhongwai zazhi*, vol. 1.
- 30 From the *Seikōki* 西航記.
- 31 *Zhongwai zazhi*, vol. 1.
- 32 “Gewe qiongli,” *Liuhe congtao*, vol. 6.