

BORROWING MODERNITY: A COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL
CHANGE IN JAPAN, CHINA, AND THAILAND FROM THE EARLY
SEVENTEENTH TO THE MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY

by

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ABSTRACT

In the pre-modern era, the Japanese, Chinese and Siamese sustained sophisticated educational systems that buttressed complex political, social, and cultural institutions. In the nineteenth century, the rise of Western imperialism threatened the survivals of all three realms. Unlike their East Asian neighbors, Japan, China, and Siam preserved a large measure of self-rule though they had to cede significant amounts of sovereignty. To defend their societies' interests, their leaders sought to modernize their political, social, and economic structures. In the process, they abandoned existing educational systems in favor of Western models and practices. The purpose of this comparative study was to better understand the motivations, methods, and results of their educational modernizations by examining their educational development from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century. The study answered four main questions: (1) What motivated these societies to modernize their educational systems using Western models and practices? (2) How did they accomplish their educational modernizations? (3) How did they adapt Western models to suit their political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances? (4) What were the broad results of their educational modernizations? Although the inquiry heavily relies on English secondary sources, some primary-source and Japanese materials were considered. The analysis employed such recognized qualitative/historical methods as constant comparison, triangulation, negative case analysis, and internal criticism. The study found that the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese made the adoption of European and American educational approaches a central component of their modernization strategies. While employing similar borrowing methods, namely textual study, foreign experts, study abroad, and external help, they incrementally rebuilt their educational systems through trial and error experimentation. In adapting Western models, all three added elements of their traditional ideologies. Although each nation recovered their full sovereignty, the political, social, and economic consequences of their educational modernizations differed. Nonetheless, educational reform was uniformly a catalyst for far-reaching change. Ultimately, their eclectic borrowing and shrewd adaption of foreign ideas and practices allowed the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais to create their own versions of modernity. Without the successful creation of modern educational systems, these three societies could not have become the strong nations they are today.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

An Overview of Educational Change in East Asia

For most of the last millennium, East Asian societies displayed an astounding degree of resilience. Despite the rise and fall of dynasties, complex political, social, and cultural traditions were sustained for centuries. Key to this resilience was their embrace of philosophical systems that simultaneously provided existential meaning to the lives of individuals and validated sociopolitical structures. As the dominant ideologies of Buddhism and Confucianism put great value on learning, East Asians developed sophisticated practices and institutions that trained political and intellectual elites and disseminated meaningful knowledge to the general populace. This, in turn, allowed their leaders to utilize education rather than coercion as a primary instrument of political and social control.

Although European traders and missionaries arrived in the region in the sixteenth century, they initially made little lasting impact on most East Asian societies beyond introducing firearms and gathering small flocks of native Christians.¹ Distrust of Western intentions eventually prompted East Asian rulers to limit interactions with Europeans.² However, the global balance of power gradually shifted in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. While East Asian societies stayed within their

¹The researcher is, of course, aware of Chinese interest in Western astronomy and Japanese *rangaku*. Yet, this influence did not appreciably affect their broader political, social, or cultural patterns.

²Obvious exceptions include Macao, the Southern Malay Peninsula, the Indonesian archipelago, and the Philippines where the Portuguese, Dutch, and Spanish maintained colonial enclaves throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

traditional institutional frameworks, the West made great strides in its political, organizational, and technological development.³ The growth of industry required capital, raw materials, and export markets, which heightened competition for trade around the world. In time, a muscular new form of European imperialism threatened virtually all non-Western societies. After seizing control of the Indian-subcontinent, Britain turned its attentions eastward. Despite their leaders' determination to preserve the status quo, the Burmese in 1826 and Chinese in 1842 were easily overcome by British forces. These victories brought far-reaching diplomatic, commercial, and territorial concessions and indisputably demonstrated the superiority of Western arms and tactics. The French and Americans joined the race to expand their economic and political clout. By the late 1850s, the Western powers firmly established their hegemony over the entire region. This unprecedented assault culminated in the total extinction or subjugation of indigenous political authority in Burma, Malaya, Cambodia, Vietnam, and Korea. Only three realms escaped the worst aspects of colonialism. Though constrained by restrictive treaty systems that forced them to relinquish control of their major ports and tariff systems, exempt Westerners from local laws, and cede extensive territories, the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais retained a substantial measure of self-rule. Put off by its vast size and population, the Western powers did not initially attempt to take direct control of China's internal administration. Sensing their own vulnerability, Japan and Thailand carefully

³This is not to imply that East Asian societies were static. Yet in relative terms, the Western world saw astonishing growth in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a result of the Scientific Revolution, Enlightenment, Industrial Revolution, French Revolution, and Napoleonic wars. For much of this period, China, Japan, and Siam were inward-looking societies. As Chapters Two, Three and Four make clear, the chronology and circumstances of their political and cultural retrenchments varied. In the mid-eighteenth century, Chinese political and economic dynamism waned due to political and demographic pressures while Japan's commercial and technological

avoided provoking the Western powers by pursuing policies of accommodation. More important in the long run, however, was their implementation of basic reforms aimed at modernizing their political, economic, and social structures. So successful were these efforts that not only were they able to prevent further diminution of their national prerogatives but by the late 1930s, all three regained their full sovereignty.⁴

Given their long-standing faith in the power of learning, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai leaders made educational reform the centerpieces of their modernization programs. Established institutions and customs were abandoned in favor of Western models and practices. Along with teaching literacy skills to an expanding portion of their citizenry, public primary and secondary schools nurtured new national identities and transmitted a pragmatic worldview. At their educational apexes, the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais founded Western-style universities to equip their elites with the knowledge needed to apply Western technological and organizational know-how to their political and economic contexts. In addition to bolstering their efforts to resist imperialist aggression, these innovations unleashed internal forces that in time reshaped the political, social, and cultural landscapes of all three realms.

Problem

Considerable scholarly attention has been focused on Japan, China, and Thailand's educational modernizations, but little attempt has been made to compare their motivations, approaches, and results. Yet, identifying developmental similarities and

development accelerated.

⁴The broad events outlined in this section are thoroughly discussed in: Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2000); Spence, Jonathan D. *The Search for*

differences among the three realms would help scholars interested in global education and East Asian development better understand how they adapted themselves to their changing geopolitical environments and, more specifically, evaluate the role education played in that process. Such comparisons can also enhance knowledge of the basic interactions among their educational, political, social, and economic institutions that helped shape their recent histories.

Purpose

The purpose of this comparative study is to better understand the motivations, methods, and results of Japan, China and Thailand's educational modernization by examining their educational development from the seventeenth to the mid-twentieth century. To strengthen the final analysis, a broad range of historical, cultural, and educational variables are considered.

Research Questions

While comparing and contrasting the educational development of Japan, China, and Thailand the study focuses on four questions: (1) What motivated these societies to modernize their educational systems using Western models and practices? (2) How did they accomplish their educational modernizations? (3) How did they adapt Western models to suit their political, social, economic, and cultural circumstances? (4) What were the broad results of their educational modernizations? Beyond illuminating the major forces that molded recent East Asian educational systems and institutions, the

above questions will facilitate an evaluation of the role education played in these nations' overall development.

The Literature

Gay and Airasian assert that historical inquiry can illuminate how existing institutions, systems, and practices have evolved as well as identify unsuccessful models and practices tried in the past.⁵ On the other hand, according to Kerr, investigating diversity among different higher-educational systems enhances both our understanding of the approaches various nations have used to address common challenges and our awareness of the versatility of the ideas and principles on which universities are founded.⁶ Niesson and Peschar add that the foremost aim of comparative research is to establish theoretical generalizations concerning the relationships between education and society and between different elements of education.⁷

A great deal of research has been carried out on the development of East Asian education; however, the bulk of it has been focused on single nations. Most comparative work done on East Asian education is narrowly focused and fails to adequately consider historical and cultural contexts in which institutions evolved.⁸ Scholars have also

⁵L. R. Gay, & Peter Airasian, *Educational Research: Competencies for Analysis and Applications, Seventh Edition*, (Columbus, OH: Merrill Prentice Hall, 2003), p. 167.

⁶Clark Kerr, "Introduction: The Evaluation of National Systems of Higher Education," *Higher Education in Nine Countries: A Comparative Study of Colleges and Universities Abroad*, Barbara B. Burn, (New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 1.

⁷Manfred Niesson & Jules Peschar, "Introduction," *Comparative Research on Education: Overview, Strategy, and Applications in Eastern and Western Europe*, Manfred Niesson, Jules Peschar, & Torsten Husen, ed., (New York: Pergamon Press, 1982), p. xiii.

⁸For example, Rodger Geiger's *Private Sectors in Higher Education: Structure, Function, and Change in Eight Countries*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1986) includes many sweeping generalizations. Notably, he asserts that Japan's private universities in the 1920s and 1930s willingly surrendered their intellectual distinctiveness and academic freedoms to attract sufficient numbers of students. Given the strong liberal orientations of many early private institutions, e.g.

neglected the influences of native traditions on recent systems.

Research Design

This study describes and compares the educational development of Japan, China, and Thailand. Although the Western powers compromised their national sovereignty, these three countries maintained meaningful indigenous political authorities. Consequently, Philip Altbach, a leading scholar of comparative higher education, classifies them as a distinct developmental group since their educational systems were created largely as a result of local initiative.⁹ Historically, they belong to a broader East Asian geopolitical, economic, and cultural realm that ensured they had regular diplomatic, commercial, and cultural contacts with each other. The three societies have consistently placed considerable stress on education. Moreover, Japan and China share many traditions including their ideographic writing systems and Confucian social values. In contrast, the Thais borrowed predominately from Indian civilization. Finally, all three cultures were to varying degrees influenced by Buddhism.

To investigate the influence of native traditions and broader ramifications of educational modernization, the study examines educational change from the seventeenth to mid-twentieth centuries. Due to the different periodizations of their histories, the starting and ending dates vary slightly. In the case of Japan, the study focuses on the Tokugawa era through its defeat in the Second World War (1600-1945). For China, the

Keio and Wasada, this explanation begs further elucidation. His discussion of Japanese student radicalism in the 1960s is similarly simplistic.

⁹In contrast, the modern educational systems of Vietnam, Burma, Malaysia, the Philippines, Indonesia, Korea, and Taiwan were originally founded by foreign colonial administrators. Philip G. Altbach, "Twisted roots: The Western impact on Asian higher education," *From Dependence to Autonomy: The Development of Asian Universities*, Altbach & Viswanathan Selvaratnam, ed., (Boston:

Qing era until the fall of the Nationalists (1644-1949) is examined. Lastly, discussion of Thailand runs from the mid-Ayudhya period to the end of Phibun's dictatorship (1590-1957).

The literature review contains three chapters, each chronicling the educational evolution of one country from a single-nation perspective. They explore what is known and how scholars have viewed the subject. The development of higher, secondary, and primary-level education, women's learning, and public and private institutions are thoroughly discussed. Since they will contain all basic data, these chapters constitute the bulk of the study. This is fully consistent with Gay and Airasian's observation that historical research's "main, though not sole, method tends to be literature review."¹⁰ Thematically organized around the four research questions, Chapter Five intertwines the data into an original synthesis. Chapter Six concludes the study with a brief discussion of the major findings and their significance in relation to the study's overarching premises.

Methodology

The study heavily relies on English materials. Although most data comes from history texts, journal articles, dissertations, and institutional publications, the inquiry utilizes such primary-sources as statistical reports, translated texts, official documents, and first-hand accounts whenever possible. Given the researcher's relationship with a capable translator (i.e. his wife), some Japanese sources are also considered. Yet, linguistic limitations unavoidably restrict access to relevant, mainly primary, sources and, therefore, stand as the study's greatest limitation. To achieve a balanced perspective, the

researcher seeks to integrate the scholarship of both Western and native historians. The trustworthiness of all data is assessed using the methods of external and internal criticism described by Best and Kahn.¹¹ The former involves authenticating primary sources by establishing their historical genuineness. Historians use the latter to appraise the accuracy, bias, and honesty of information by striving to understand the circumstances in which it was recorded.

As advocated by Lincoln and Guba, the three chapters of the literature review are written as case study reports employing thick description.¹² The principal themes relating to Japan, China, and Thailand's educational modernization and borrowing that emerge are then compared within their historical contexts. While tightly focusing on the study's four research questions, the analysis employs such recognized qualitative methods as constant comparison, triangulation, and negative case analysis.¹³ The researcher meticulously documented every source used to help readers evaluate all findings, reasoning, and interpretations.¹⁴

Key Concepts

Given the debate surrounding the terms "modern" and "modernization," they must be carefully defined. At its core, "modern" denotes something that originates in or pertains to current or recent times; however, as late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Europeans and Americans looked back at the momentous political, social,

¹⁰Gay and Airasian, p. 167.

¹¹ John W. Best & James V. Kahn, *Research in Education, Ninth Edition*, (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 2003), pp. 89-90.

¹²Yvonna S. Lincoln & Egon G. Guba, *Naturalistic Inquiry*, (Newburg Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1985), pp. 357-373.

¹³Ibid, pp. 305-313 & 339-344.

economic, and intellectual changes that had lately transformed their nations, the word took on added meaning. Early sociologists such as Max Weber and Emile Durkheim associated modernity with the rationalization and secularization of society, culture, and everyday patterns of life.¹⁵ During the 1950s and 60s, political scientists, economists, geographers, and historians widely used such premises to explain how and why the West followed a distinct developmental path relative to other civilizations. In the heyday of modernization theory, a variety of technical definitions were offered. John Whitney Hall, an American historian of Japan, suggested seven attributes of modern societies:

- A comparatively high concentration of population in urban cities and the increasingly urban-centeredness of the total society
- A relatively high degree of use of inanimate energy, the widespread circulation of commodities, and the growth of service facilities
- Extensive spatial interaction of members of a society and widespread participation of such members in economic and political affairs
- Widespread literacy accompanied by the spread of a secular, and increasingly scientific, orientation of the individual to his environment
- An extensive and penetrative network of mass communication
- The existence of large scale institutions such as government, business, industry, and the increasing bureaucratic organization of such institutions
- Increasing unification of such bodies of population under one control (nations) and the growing interaction of such units (international relations).¹⁶

Albeit identifying important elements, this and other formulations of this type are open to the charge of euro-centrism in that they reflect Western cultural values and universalize patterns and attributes that may be particular to the West. In the context of non-Western societies, the adjectives “modern” and “traditional” have often been contrasted so they

¹⁴Gay and Airasian, p. 167.

¹⁵See Jürgen Habermas, *The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity*, trans. Frederick Lawrence, (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1987), pp. 1-3.

¹⁶Quoted from John Whitney Hall, “Changing Conceptions of the Modernization of Japan.” *Changing Attitudes Toward Modernization*. Marius B. Jansen, ed., (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 19. At the time of its publication, Japan was the only non-Western nation able to

become synonymous with “indigenous” versus “Western” or “primitive” versus “advanced.” Fred W. Riggs goes so far as to define modernization as “all the processes of change, which result from the impact of more upon less advanced societies.”¹⁷ Scholars in the 1970s, 80s and 90s, recognizing a broader range of cultural virtues, especially relating to social justice, questioned the appropriateness and value of applying these concepts to Asian contexts.

In addition to anchoring a historiographic paradigm, the terms “modern” and “modernization” were also part of a historical lexicon. As Sheldon Garon, another historian of Japan, argues, they are valid at least insofar as they were meaningful to contemporary Asian leaders and thinkers who used them to explain their aims and actions.¹⁸ Indeed, the concepts were widely discussed in Japan by the 1870s, in Siam by the 1880s, and in China by the 1910s. In broad terms, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai reformers saw an idea, device, practice, or institution as modern if they believed it somehow contributed to the West’s military, political, or economic supremacy. Alternatively, modernization was generally seen as involving the adoption of such features for the purpose of enhancing their ability to compete with the imperialist powers. Differences among various modernization programs largely sprang from disagreements over what comprised the foundations of Western power and how applicable these elements were to native contexts. For the purposes of this study, these historical

meet these criteria.

¹⁷Fred W. Riggs, *Thailand: the Modernization of a Bureaucratic Polity*, (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1966), pp. 368-369. He does not attempt to create an empirical definition for “advanced;” rather, he suggests that it is a subjective evaluation made by a society in relation to another.

¹⁸Though his discussion focuses on the particularities of Japanese historiography, his reasoning is applicable to the Chinese and Thai contexts. Sheldon Garon, “Rethinking Modernization and Modernity in Japanese History: A Focus on State-Society Relations,” *Journal of Asian Studies*, 53

understandings are used as working definitions with one significant qualification. Though contemporary East Asians imbued the notions of modernity and tradition with positive and negative associations, the researcher sees them as value-neutral with neither being innately more desirable than the other. Conversely, the term “traditional” is impartially used to identify ideas, customs, or systems that are associated with existing or older patterns.

Intercultural borrowing is a process in which material, intellectual, technological, artistic, and linguistic assets are transferred from one cultural group to another. This definition does not equate a cultural group with a nation, which of course is a recent sociopolitical entity. Clearly, cultures can be examined on many levels from local communities to transnational societies. Given its generality, the model proposed below is valid for all contexts. The researcher believes intercultural borrowing can plausibly be broken down into four stages: exposure, acquisition, adaptation, and integration.

Exposure to a foreign cultural asset is an essential first condition and can take place in a variety of ways including geographic proximity, trade, migration, conquest, and cultural emissaries. At this phase, members of a borrowing culture appraise an asset in light of their beliefs, customs, tastes, and lifestyles. An asset may then be acquired based on its apparent usefulness in relation to perceived and unconscious functional needs. Both pull and push factors facilitate this critical step. In virtue of existing yet unmet needs and desires, members of a culture may be readily drawn to some foreign assets. Conversely, changing functional needs can compel individuals and groups to embrace foreign assets. As individuals adopt a new asset, they modify its form and

function to fit their specific needs and cultural norms. Once in use, an asset is integrated into its new cultural context. In doing so, the broader culture adjusts as old patterns change and new demands are created. Though the borrowing process proceeds in a roughly prescribed order, a borrowing can falter at any point; indeed, only a small portion of transfers reaches the final stage.

Although the researcher originally planned to focus exclusively on the development of higher education, the complexity of the subject matter persuaded him to broaden the study's scope. To distinguish different educational levels, the adjectives "primary," "secondary," and "tertiary" are frequently used. Due to their modern Western provenance, these designations are generally not applied to pre-modern contexts. In broad terms, primary education relates to basic instruction usually concentrating on reading, writing, and arithmetic, secondary education is the next higher level of instruction often designed to impart a foundation of general knowledge, and tertiary or higher education typically signifies advanced specialized instruction. While actual levels of learning varied within a category at different times and places, the study uses the classifications defined by each society at any given period.

Conclusion

The preceding discussion describes the background, rationale, purpose, research foci, methodology, design, and historiographic assumptions of this dissertation project. With this framework, the study should provide new insights into how and why Western educational models and practices spread across East Asia and how this borrowing contributed to the broader development of each nation as well as the region as a whole.

CHAPTER TWO

JAPANESE EDUCATION BETWEEN 1600 AND 1945

Introduction

The Japanese have long placed a high priority on education and, consequently, have realized levels of learning above most other Asian or Western nations. Indeed, educational advancement has profoundly influenced Japan's political, social, and economic development. Its higher-educational institutions' role in preparing its elite has made them particularly important agents of change. Japan's modernization in the late nineteenth century, military expansion in the early twentieth century, and economic prosperity of the late twentieth century could arguably not have happened without the support of its education system.

Given its import, historians have produced a substantial volume of scholarship on Japan's educational evolution. The following chapter surveys current research for the period from the birth of Japan's early modern polity to its defeat in the Pacific War. Though special stress is placed on detailing the formation of its higher-educational institutions, such diverse issues as the formation of intellectual elites, spread of literacy, interplay of public and private sectors, and advancement of women's education are explored. Additionally, the chapter highlights the mingling of foreign and native models that form the foundation of Japan's modern education system.

Tokugawa Education (1600-1867)

After a century and a half of civil strife, Tokugawa Ieyasu's military victory at

Sekigahara in 1600 brought peace to Japan.¹ Building on the innovations of the late sixteenth century hegemon, the Tokugawa shoguns established a feudal order that endured for over 250 years. Japanese society was rigidly divided into four basic status groups. Representing less than 10% of the population, the samurai (warriors) monopolized political life. In virtue of his vast domains and complex system of alliances, the shogun set most national policy and oversaw his many vassals. The daimyo (feudal lords), whose privileges, resources, and situations varied widely, freely ruled their fiefs provided they met their obligations to the shogun. The day-to-day business of government was conducted by samurai functionaries attached to feudal houses (*tozama*, *fudai*, and *shimpan*) and organized into hereditary ranks. In return, samurai families received guaranteed stipends. Below the samurai, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants, though basically excluded from power, economically sustained the system.

A fundamental feature of Tokugawa policy was the maintenance of severe restrictions on external contacts. In the 1540s, the Portuguese entered Japanese waters and established a mutually lucrative trade in firearms, cloth, and other Western novelties. Concurrently, Jesuit priests proselytized among the Japanese. To cement their commercial ties, a number of noble lords, notably in Kyushu, willingly converted. By 1580, 130,000 Japanese Christians worshiped in some 200 churches. Given the small number of missionaries available to work in Japan, Jesuit *Visitor* Alexandro Valignano laid plans in 1579 for a network of schools to train native clergy. A year later, two *seminario* (preparatory seminaries) were established with roughly forty male students, all

¹Following the convention of most scholarship on Japan, the names of Japanese individuals will be written in the Japanese form, i.e. family name appearing first.

of aristocratic lineage.² The Society of Jesus gradually founded several higher-level *collegio*.³ While stressing Latin and theology, their regimented programs included instruction in rhetoric, music, and philosophy.⁴ In 1601, a newly created bishop attached a diocesan seminary to the Nagasaki *collegio*.⁵ The Christian daimyo's thriving marketplaces enabled them to gain wealth and power far out of proportion with their territorial holdings. Strengthening central authority predictably brought a backlash against "barbarian" influence. In 1587, strongman Toyotomi Hideyoshi issued an edict outlawing Christianity. Though not immediately banished, the Jesuits had to reduce their activities. To redirect foreign commerce to Tokugawa ports, Ieyasu forbade daimyo from receiving foreign ships. By lessening its reliance on Portuguese traders, the arrival of the Dutch and English in 1607 and 1613 freed the regime to move against the Catholic orders. Church structures were destroyed, Christians slaughtered, Western texts burned, and Japanese prohibited from traveling abroad.⁶ After crushing a Kyushu rebellion led by native Christians in 1638, the *Bakufu* (the shogun's central administration) banned all

²They were located in Arima and Azuchi (near Kyoto). To cultivate well-placed allies, the Jesuits admitted highborn youth who showed no interest in pursuing a religious vocation. George Elison, *Deus Destroyed: The Image of Christianity in Early Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies at Harvard University, 1991), pp. 63-65.

³All were sited in Kyushu (Funai (Oita), Amakusa, and Nagasaki). Designs to set up a university in Kyoto and a network of primary schools never came to fruition. According to Elison, extravagant claims made by some historians, that over two hundred Jesuit primary schools offered a broad curriculum to Japan's illiterate masses, are not supported by mission records. Though two primary schools were set up in Nagasaki, most churches offered only informal catechetical training. *Ibid*.

⁴Carefully designed to convey a consistent doctrinal viewpoint, their curricula sidestepped most secular subjects including natural science. Elison provided a partial translation of Valignano's *Regimen for Seminaries of Japan*, pp. 65-68 & 408-410.

⁵Between 1601 and 1613, these schools trained fifteen Japanese priests (eight Jesuit and eight diocesan). Hubert Cieslik, "The Training of Japanese Clergy in the Seventeenth Century," *Studies in Japanese Culture*, Joseph Roggendolf, ed., (Tokyo: Sophia University Press, 1963), pp. 41-78.

⁶Although the Bakufu closed the last mission schools in 1614, most were destroyed much earlier. Indeed, several functioned for only a few years. *Ibid*, pp. 70-71.

Portuguese.⁷ Only the Dutch were allowed a limited trade from Deshima, an islet near Nagasaki. Commercial intercourse continued, albeit on a modest scale, with Koreans, Chinese, and Siamese.⁸

In their effort to ideologically legitimize the regime, the Tokugawa rejected Mahayana Buddhism, which had long dominated Japanese thought, due to its otherworldliness, priestly nature, and moral laxity. Neo-Confucianism, a philosophy based on the reinterpretation of ancient Chinese texts developed in Sung Dynasty China (618-906 C.E.), served as an alternative paradigm.⁹ Studied by Japanese Buddhist monks from the thirteenth century, it emerged as an independent tradition in Japan only in the late sixteenth century. The presence of Hayashi Razan as an advisor in the *Bakufu* from 1605 ensured that Neo-Confucian views were heard at the highest level. Its emphasis on loyalty, duty, and social order made it an ideal doctrine for justifying the Tokugawa system. Hayashi described the Confucian Way as “consisting of nothing else than the moral obligations between sovereign and subject, father and child, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and friend and friend.”¹⁰ Though rooted in Chinese works, especially those of Zhu Xi, Japanese Neo-Confucianism evolved into a distinct tradition.

⁷The English voluntarily quit Japan in 1623. The Spanish were banished in 1624. While most Portuguese were forced out in 1636, the *Bakufu* issued a decree in 1639 definitively declaring them as unwelcome. When the Portuguese sent a diplomatic mission a year later to protest the decision, Shogunal officials executed sixty-one of its members leaving just thirteen individuals to return to Macao to explain what had happened. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*. (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2000), pp. 78-80.

⁸Ronald P. Toby describes Tokugawa policy toward and relations with their Asian neighbors in *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984). See also Iwao Seiichi, “Reopening of the Diplomatic and Commercial Relations between Japan and Siam during the Tokugawa Period,” *Acta Asiatica*, 4 (1963), pp. 1-31.

⁹See Chapter Three for a broader discussion of Neo-Confucianism.

¹⁰Tsunoda Ryusaka, trans. “Bushu,” *Sources of Japanese Tradition*, William Theodore de Bary, ed., (New York: Columbia Press, 1958), p. 357.

Unlike in China, it was characteristically secular, rationalist, and eclectic and held that fixed social hierarchies were natural. Even after its promotion as an official ideology in the 1660s, a broad range of thought was tolerated.¹¹

Because Confucianism engendered a belief that human perfection, particularly moral perfection, could be achieved through learning, samurai education became a political concern. On the samurai virtues, Hayashi wrote:

To have the arts of peace, but not the arts of war, is to lack courage. To have the arts of war, but not the arts of peace, is to lack wisdom. Keeping both in mind, generals employ or disperse their troops and advance or retreat according to the proper time. This is the Way of the general. A general is no other than a true man. A man who is dedicated and has a mission to perform is called a samurai. A man who is of inner worth and upright conduct, who has moral principles and mastery of the arts is also called a samurai. A man who pursues learning is, too, called a samurai.¹²

In the preceding centuries, literacy had been rare among Japanese and largely limited to the aristocracy.¹³ Since book learning survived primarily in Buddhist temples, most samurai saw scholarship as a priestly preserve.¹⁴ Yet, governance in an era of peace required bureaucrats knowledgeable in civil administration, literary arts, and social ethics. As early as 1630, the shogun donated land in Edo (modern Tokyo) and a modest financial grant to assist Hayashi in founding an academy.¹⁵ At its core, the curriculum

¹¹Herman Ooms discusses the origins of Tokugawa Neo-Confucian ideology in *Tokugawa Ideology: Early Constructs, 1570-1680*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1998).

¹²Tsunoda, "Bunshi," p. 356.

¹³From the seventh to twelfth centuries, Japan's nobility and Buddhist orders maintained an array of secular and religious schools that nurtured a sophisticated cultural life. After power shifted to its military class, learning declined. By 1400, most, if not all, secular schools had disappeared.

¹⁴Until the 1690s, Confucian scholars had to shave their heads and wear priestly robes. R. P. Dore, *Education on Tokugawa Japan*, (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 1965), pp. 15, 23, 24.

¹⁵The degree, to which Hayashi and other Tokugawa scholars used Chinese educational ideas in organizing their schools, is unknown. Julia Ching shows that Chinese refugee Zhu Shunshui taught Neo-Confucian studies privately in Nagasaki and later in Edo at the request of Tokugawa Mitsukuni, the daimyo of Mito. Though she mentions Zhu's introduction of Chinese rites, architecture, and

instilled the view that the welfare of the realm depended on the moral conduct of its rulers and subjects, which involved fulfilling obligations and showing deference to superiors. In 1690, Shogun Tsunayoshi enlarged the school and made it a semi-official academy. Many daimyo established similar institutions. All but the lowest ranking samurai were urged to attend. By 1780, some fifty-eight academies were in existence.¹⁶ Over time, appointments to many official posts required a minimal level of education.

Despite local variations, domain academies fit a general model. Most accepted day and boarding students. Day-pupils as young as six learned to read classical Chinese and then began a perfunctory reading of the Neo-Confucian canon including the *Analects* (Confucius), *Great Learning* (Da Xue) and *Classic of Filial Piety* (Xiao Jing). Pedagogy relied on one-on-one tutoring, simple memorization, and verbal repetition. Only after finishing the *Four Books* did students concentrate on understanding their content. Ranging in age from their late teens to early thirties, residential students continued their textual studies through lectures, private-study, small-group discussions, and formal recitations. Those showing special promise obtained free board in exchange for instructing day-pupils and serving as school monitors. Advancing students added Chinese history and literature to their studies. Calligraphy and etiquette were taught at all levels. Training in such practical and, hence, inferior subjects as Japanese or mathematics was done separately, if at all. Personal relationships between students and instructors played a key role in the learning process. As academies' conferred no formal

costume to the Mito academy, she does not discuss his influence on the school's curriculum, teaching, or administration. "Chu Shun-Shui, 1600-1682: A Chinese Scholar in Tokugawa Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 30 (1975), pp. 177-191.

¹⁶Ibid, p. 71.

qualifications, students simply withdrew when they attained an acceptable level of learning. To encourage respect for the Way, Confucian ceremonies were periodically held. As a rule, moral conduct was stressed over intellectual achievement. Accordingly, academies strictly regulated student behavior. Unauthorized absences, drinking sake, and quarrelling were prohibited. Transgressors were given detention, extra cleaning duties, or temporary suspensions. Mirroring Tokugawa society as a whole, protocols relating to social status were carefully maintained. Instructors were often low-status samurai but included a few accomplished commoners. Though not well paid, they enjoyed the prestige of having a secure position in the official bureaucracy. School buildings included a large lecture hall, teachers' quarters, student dormitories, and a Confucian shrine. Larger academies had well-stocked libraries and even printed their own texts. The domains usually paid most salaries and facility costs. Some offered boarding scholarships to talented students.¹⁷ Young aristocrats learned similar academic content but were tutored at home by private teachers or family members. Consistent with their class origins, samurai education also included training in the military arts. Depending on the domain, this was done within or outside the academies. While use of the sword and lance was taught to all, only high-ranking students received instruction in horsemanship.

Given the overall inflexibility of Tokugawa society, education was not widely viewed as a means to ascend the social ladder.¹⁸ Yet, as the economy developed, the

¹⁷Dore, pp. 66-123.

¹⁸While social mobility between the four major classes was difficult, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants could better their economic and social positions within their respective communities. Regrettably, little research has been done on the role of education in this process. Thomas C. Smith hints at the importance of literacy in allowing peasant households to improve agricultural practices, build commercial contacts, and enhance village prestige. *The Agrarian Origins of Modern Japan*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1959), pp. 87-107 & 157-179.

desire for learning among Japan's less privileged classes grew, especially among its rising merchants. Although commoners were barred from the official academies, a few daimyo set up *gogaku* (local schools).¹⁹ Catering mainly to the sons of community elders, prosperous farmers, prominent merchants as well as local samurai, they were financed to varying degrees by public funds. Curriculum and instruction closely followed the domain academies. Their number was initially limited.²⁰ A notable officially chartered, albeit privately supported, institution devoted to the education of commoners was the Kaitokudo. Founded in 1726 by a group of Osaka merchants, this academy espoused a distinctive school of Neo-Confucianism that sought to legitimize the social role of the commercial class. Though it taught reading and writing to local sons, it was primarily a center for advanced scholarship that attracted students from all over Japan, including many samurai.²¹

Operating alongside the official establishment were numerous private schools. While individual institutions varied in their size, clientele, and facilities, two types predominated. *Terakoya* (community schools), often run by community leaders, welcomed non-samurai children between the ages of six and twelve whose families could afford their modest fees.²² Demand in urban areas was such that some generated substantial profits. In poorer areas, prominent locals occasionally opened charity schools.

¹⁹The daimyo of Bizen (Okayama) reportedly founded the earliest example in 1667. Herbert Passin, *Society and Education in Japan*, (New York: Teachers College Columbia University, 1965), pp. 37-38.

²⁰Passin, p. 14, shows 54 *gogaku* founded between 1751 and 1789 while Richard Rubinger lists nine for the period, *Private Academies of Tokugawa Japan*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982), p. 5.

²¹Najita Tetsuo's *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudo Merchant Academy of Osaka*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1987).

²²In Eastern Japan, such schools were called *tenarai-sho* (writing schools). The term *terakoya* has been translated as temple, parish, popular, or community schools. Dore believes the first of these

Since their aim was to equip pupils to succeed in their parents' respective occupations, *terakoya* focused on reading and writing Japanese, calligraphy, and sometimes arithmetic. Morality was emphasized. To promote Confucian values among the masses, feudal authorities often distributed free school texts.²³ Instruction, often conducted in local homes, utilized copying, reading in chorus, and recitation. Unruly, lazy, or disobedient pupils were sternly disciplined. The school day generally ran from eight in the morning to two-thirty in the afternoon. Local elders, low-level samurai, priests, retired merchants, and even women served as instructors.²⁴ In contrast, *shijuku* (private academies) usually centered on a single teacher. This educational model dated as far back as the Heian period (794-1185). Entirely supported by student fees, they gave instruction on all levels in an array of subjects including the Confucian classics, martial arts, fine arts, and medicine. Samurai and commoners sometimes studied side by side. Students from all over Japan flocked to leading academies to study under renowned scholars. Many *shijuku* masters experimented with innovative instructional approaches. Indeed, most major intellectual developments in the period took place within private rather than domain academies.²⁵ State officials showed little inclination to regulate *terakoya* or *shijuku*; neither required any licensure, and they typically had no meaningful governmental supervision.

Given the subordinate position held by women, educational opportunities open to

alternatives is etymologically incorrect and misleading, pp. 252-253.

²³In 1721, Shogun Yoshimune commissioned a prominent scholar Muro Kyuso to prepare an easy translation of a 1652 text issued to Chinese primary schools in by the Qing court. This and other versions of the *Rikyu engi tai-i* (Six Guiding Principles) were continually reprinted until the early 1870s. Dore, pp. 232-234.

²⁴Further details on the *terakoya* are available in Dore, Chapters 8 & 9.

²⁵See Rubinger and Marleen Kassel, *Tokugawa Confucian Education*, (Albany: State University of New

them were fewer than those of their brothers. In accordance with Confucian precepts, women, as inferior beings, were expected to serve and obey their parents, husbands, and sons. To prepare them for their roles as wives, mothers, and household managers, instruction focused on reading and writing Japanese, feminine morality, social etiquette, and such practical skills as sewing and bodily care. The daughters of samurai were generally schooled at home or in nearby households by relatives or female neighbors. The general use of didactic literature designed for women brought some educational uniformity. The most widely circulated text, *Onna daigaku*, served as both a moral guide and copybook.²⁶ Written in vernacular Japanese, it outlined a strict behavioral code. First and foremost, it instructs, “She (a woman) must look to her husband as her lord, and must serve him with all worship and reverence, not despising or thinking lightly of him. The great lifelong duty of a woman is obedience.”²⁷ Though some samurai women studied the Confucian classics, literature, or arts, female learning had limits in most samurai households as too much erudition was thought to harm a woman’s morality or marriage prospects.²⁸ The education of female commoners varied according to their economic circumstances. Families with adequate means often sent their daughters to

York Press, 1996).

²⁶This text has traditionally been attributed to the Neo-Confucian scholar Kaibara Ekiken; however, Caroline Tocco, “School Bound: Women’s Higher Education in Nineteenth-Century Japan,” (Ph.D. Dissertation, Stanford University, Feb. 1994), pp. 23-25, outlines recent scholarship suggesting that he was not its author.

²⁷Translation found in Joyce Ackroyd’s “Women in Feudal Japan,” *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, series 3, 30.7, (Nov. 1959), p. 38.

²⁸See Yamakawa Kikue’s *Women of the Mito Domain: Recollections of Samurai Family Life*, trans. Kate Wildman Nakai (Stanford California: Stanford University Press, 2001), pp. 27-28, for a description of samurai attitudes toward female education based on firsthand recollections, dairies and family records. The period, nonetheless, produced a few noteworthy women intellectuals such as Tadano Makuzu (1763-1825) whose idiosyncratic work, *Hitori Kangae* (Solitary Thoughts), offered a broad critique of Tokugawa social and intellectual norms. The daughter of a leading physician, she received her intellectual training from family and friends. Bettina Gramlich-Oka,

terakoya and *shijuku*. While a fortunate few learned poetry, music, dance, and flower arrangement, most girls were taught practical subjects. Because the wives of small business owners often assisted in their husbands' work, arithmetic, bookkeeping and the abacus were considered important. On a lower economic stratum, farm girls attended sewing schools where they learned spinning, weaving, and other domestic skills.²⁹

Although the Tokugawa era was remarkably stable, it was certainly not static. Notably, two new scholarly traditions emerged that eventually reshaped Japan's intellectual and political landscape. Neo-Confucianism's historicism naturally encouraged interest in Japan's own past. Shintoism significantly influenced early Tokugawa thought and excessive sinophilism was always condemned among samurai. In the eighteenth century, *kokugaku* (nativist studies) became an accepted area of learning within the *shijuku*. The most influential early academy run by Motoori Norinaga drew throngs of students from across Japan with his innovative interpretations of Japanese classics and unconventional teaching style.³⁰ Many *kokugaku* scholars sought to recapture a virtuous ancient Japanese Way by cleansing Japanese culture of corrupting Buddhist and Confucian influences.³¹ A growing national self-awareness prompted the *Bakufu* in 1793 to finance a school in Kyoto dedicated to maintaining Japanese traditions and preserving historical texts. In the nineteenth century, Japanese history, literature, and religion were taught in many fief academies.³² Yet, the *Bakufu* felt threatened enough by

"Tadano Makuzu and Her Hitori Kangae," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 56 (2001), pp. 1-20.

²⁹Tocco and Shuyama Chisato in "Women's Education in the Tokugawa Society" (MA Dissertation, University of Southern California, 1996), give overviews of this neglected topic.

³⁰Rubinger gives an account of nativist *shijuku* while focusing on Motoori's *Suzu no Ya*.

³¹Peter Nosco outlines the early development of nativist studies in *Remembering Paradise*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1990).

³²Dore, pp. 153-160.

radical nativist elements that in 1839 it placed Hirata Atsutane, a strident scholar and prominent *shijuku* instructor, under house arrest for intimating that the emperor in virtue of his ancient lineage should exercise real political authority.³³

With the rise of European imperialism in South Asia during the eighteenth century, it became clear to the Japanese that Western science and technology had surpassed that of the Chinese world. In 1720, reforming shogun Yoshimune eased the ban on the importation and study of Western texts. Curiosity initially focused on astronomy and medicine but gradually expanded to include geography, metallurgy, navigation, and even painting. Yet, the *Bakufu* continued to guard against subversive influences by prohibiting scholarship on topics even vaguely related to politics or ideology.³⁴ Although censorship was not systematic, officials ordered a mass arrest of *rangaku* (Dutch studies) scholars as late as 1839.³⁵ *Rangaku shijuku* thrived in Edo, Nagasaki, and Osaka from the late eighteenth century.³⁶ Their administration and instructional methods were modeled after the Confucian academies. Students were usually mature scholars already familiar with orthodox thought. Several disquieting incidents with Russian and British forces convinced Tokugawa officials of the need to keep abreast of world events.³⁷ Interest in Western military science also increased. In

³³Since the end of twelfth century, Japanese emperors had little practical power. Yet, Japan's military rulers allowed the institution to survive as a ceremonial position.

³⁴Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720-1830*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969), and Grant K. Goodman, *Japan and the Dutch 1600-1853*, (Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2000), trace the early development of Western studies.

³⁵Henry D. Smith II discusses the Tokugawa's regulation of books in "The History of the Book in Edo and Paris," *Edo and Paris: Urban Life and the State in the Early Modern Era*, James McClain, et al., ed., (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 344-345.

³⁶Otsuki Gentaku founded the earliest known *rangaku shijuku* in 1789. Prior to this date, *rangaku* scholars tutored individual apprentices. Rubinger, pp. 106-108.

³⁷As early as the 1780s, the Japanese worried about Russian raids on their northern frontier. Accordingly, the *Bakufu* directed the magistrate of Hakodate in 1802 to introduce Japanese education to the

1811, the *Bakufu* created an office of foreign translation. Nagasaki officials allowed Dutch East India Company agent Phillip Franz von Siebold to organize a *shijuku* in 1824.³⁸ While stressing practical demonstrations over textual study, the German physician taught a group of scholars current medical techniques and general science.

As the Tokugawa system matured, economic, and social reality became increasingly divorced from the regime's agrarian ideals. The steady commercialization of Japan's economy transferred a growing share of wealth to its business classes. Samurai, most of whom lived in swelling urban centers, had ever-greater difficulty living on their stipends. Feudal administrators faced persistent financial shortfalls. Unable to effectively tax mercantile enterprises, the shogun and daimyo borrowed heavily from leading merchants. In the late eighteenth century, conservative reformer Matsudaira Sadanobu attempted to revitalize the old order by cutting official expenditures, imposing commercial restrictions, and lifting samurai morale.³⁹ To promote ideological conformity, he standardized Neo-Confucian orthodoxy by banning heterodox instructors at Tokugawa schools. Most domains enacted similar policies. In Edo, the Hayashi school was reorganized, enlarged, and placed under full *Bakufu* control. Renamed the

indigenous people of Ezo (modern Hokkaido) as means of lessening their receptivity to Russian influence. Ishikawa Matsutaro. "The Meiji Restoration and Educational Reforms," *Acta Asiatica*, 54 (1988), pp. 27-28. Efforts to assimilate the Ainu continued until the end of Tokugawa era. Later in 1804, when Russian representatives were rudely turned away, Russian ships raided several Japanese northern settlements. A few years later, a British frigate sailed into Nagasaki harbor, seized Japanese hostages, and refused to depart until the Japanese provided ship supplies.

³⁸A medical graduate of the University of Wurzburg, Siebold was hired by the Dutch to learn about Japan and pass on Western knowledge to the Japanese. After Tokugawa officials found secret maps and other forbidden objects in his possession in 1828, he was banished and several of his students were executed. Rubinger gives a brief account of his school, pp. 112-118.

³⁹Matsudaira served as regent during shogun Ienari's minority (1787-93). His initiatives, now referred to as the Kansei Reforms, were partly a conservative reaction against the more open policies of shogunal Grand Chamberlain Tanuma Okitsugu (1781-1789). M. Jansen, "Japan in the Earlier Nineteenth Century," *The Cambridge History of Japan, Volume 5: The Nineteenth Century*,

Shoheiko, it functioned as a national academy attracting scholars from across the country. In response to *Bakufu* appeals, fief schools doubled in number between the 1781 and 1803.⁴⁰ To prod samurai to study hard and identify talent, the *Bakufu* organized examinations over the classics in 1792. In addition to offering prizes, officials considered candidates' scores in filling some administrative posts.⁴¹ Exams were likewise offered by many daimyo. Though the Kansei Reforms brought few tangible benefits, they influenced official policy for the next half-century.

In the 1830s, Tokugawa institutions were tested as never before. Crop failures disrupted tax revenues, caused large-scale famine, and provoked rural unrest. Economic disparities between the wealthy peasants and landless laborers heightened discontent.⁴² To uphold social stability, local elites founded numerous *terakoya*, especially in rural areas. *Gogaku* also proliferated.⁴³ To make ends meet, the *Bakufu* progressively debased Japan's currency. Efforts to cut spending and control trade did little good. Many low and middle-level samurai fell into poverty as their depreciated stipends were trimmed.

In the foreground of these domestic concerns, Japanese observed with dread a growing presence of Western vessels in nearby seas. During the 200 years Japan enforced its "maritime prohibitions," the West made great strides in its political,

Jansen, ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 51-62.

⁴⁰Jansen states that 59 fief schools were founded between 1781 and 1803, *ibid.*, p. 57, while Dore lists 58 such institutions as being created between 1620 and 1780, p. 71.

⁴¹Although the exams were inspired by the Chinese model, the role they played in official appointments was never clear or regularized. Dore, pp. 201-203.

⁴²During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Japan's rural economy and society underwent profound change. Thomas Smith shows that the spread of commercial agriculture stimulated technological innovation and increased productivity but also weakened the cooperative nature of village life, concentrated landholdings, and spawned new classes of wealthy peasants (*gōnō*) and seasonal workers (*hōkōnin*).

⁴³By all estimates the number of *terakoya* and *gogaku* rose exponentially after 1830, Passin, p. 14, and Rubinger, p. 5.

organizational, and technological development. Britain's 1842 victory over China in the Opium War graphically demonstrated the new danger. Representatives from Britain, France, and the United States made tentative attempts to open direct contacts. A growing sense of vulnerability prompted feudal officials to reappraise their military preparedness. A small group of samurai intellectuals, including Sakuma Shozan, proposed that Japan should import Western arms and defense tactics while safeguarding its Confucian ethical foundation.⁴⁴ Conservative resistance combined with a lack of funds prevented meaningful action.

Finally in 1852, the American government dispatched a naval squadron for the express purpose of ending Japan's seclusion. Seeing no viable alternative, the shogun reluctantly accepted Commodore Perry's diplomatic overtures. Though the 1854 convention was limited in scope, it set a precedent on which the United States and European powers were determined to build. Tough negotiations ensued under a tacit threat of military intervention. Despite vigorous domestic opposition, the *Bakufu* in 1858 signed treaties with the United States, Britain, France, and Russia authorizing unrestricted trade through five treaty ports. Westerners were also permitted to freely practice their faiths. Most humiliating, the Japanese had to accept extraterritorial provisions exempting Western citizens from Japanese law.⁴⁵

These events shocked the Japanese and shattered the status quo. Rising

⁴⁴A retainer of the lord of Matsushiro, Sakuma was an accomplished Chinese classics and *rangaku* scholar. After hearing of events in China, he wrote a public memorial urging the strengthening of Japan's coastal fortifications using Western techniques. In 1850, he founded a *shijuku* devoted to teaching Dutch, Western science, the Confucian classics, and such military subjects as fortification and gunnery. As many as 5000 students may have attended his school before his murder in 1864 by anti-foreign zealots. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, pp. 286-290 & Rubinger, pp. 180-182.

⁴⁵The treaties were modeled after those imposed on China following the First Opium War.

nationalist and anti-foreign sentiment stimulated widespread agitation. The traditionally compliant imperial court in Kyoto refused to sanction the treaties and the untimely death of the childless shogun divided the Tokugawa leadership as factions jostled to appoint an heir. Samurai across Japan formed groups dedicated to “expelling the barbarian” and “honoring the emperor.” Visiting foreigners, Japanese assisting them, shogunal officers, and even *rangaku* scholars were targeted for assassination. Radicals organized secret *shijuku* that trained political activists with an eclectic mix of reformulated Confucianism, Japanese history, and Western military science.⁴⁶ The opening of the treaty ports and expansion of foreign trade intensified anger. A large outflow of gold brought steep price increases.⁴⁷ The return of Christian missionaries, ostensibly to serve the foreign community, was abhorred. When the *Bakufu* proved incapable of preventing violence against foreigners, the Western powers sent naval forces to castigate daimyo sheltering those responsible. As conflicting international and domestic pressures undermined their position, Tokugawa prestige waned. In contrast, imperial influence grew when the regime attempted to unite the feudal leadership in a court-daimyo coalition.⁴⁸

Ironically, interest in Western learning deepened as officials scrambled to shore up their defenses. Several up-to-date reverberatory furnaces were constructed to cast iron cannon for Japan’s coastal fortifications and Western-style drilling and command

⁴⁶A disciple of Sakuma Shozan, Yoshida Shoin founded the best-known shijuku of this type. Rubinger, pp.187-207.

⁴⁷The Japanese valued silver and gold at a ratio of five to one. Since the international standard was fifteen to one, gold poured out of the country. Tokugawa officials were compelled to revise its currency system, which brought inflation. Western demand for such commodities as tea and silk also pushed up prices. Beasley, “The Foreign Threat and the Opening of the Treaty Ports,” *The Cambridge History of Japan*, pp. 285-287.

⁴⁸Conrad Totman details the rapid disintegration of the Tokugawa order in *The Collapse of the Tokugawa Bakufu, 1862-1868*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1980), pp. 3-147.

structures were introduced into various militias. Training in archery and other obsolete military arts was dropped. Shogunal administrators set up a Nagasaki naval school in 1855. Twenty to thirty Dutch officers, sailors, and craftsmen were hired to instruct samurai in shipbuilding, navigation, steam-engine mechanics, and gunnery. To support its ambitious program, basic science, mathematics, geography, astronomy, and engineering were taught.⁴⁹ The Dutch also oversaw the building of a large shipyard. On completing the two-year program, students demonstrated their skill by piloting a steamship from Nagasaki to Edo.⁵⁰ After four years, most Dutchmen were let go and the institute moved to Edo. In 1856, the *Bakufu* remolded its old translation bureau into the *Bansho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Investigation of Barbarian Books). It accepted students a year later. A large dormitory housed scholars and students from distant domains. Military related subjects such as metallurgy, surveying, and navigation were stressed; however, its curriculum steadily expanded to include physics, chemistry, mathematics, and mechanical engineering. A Western library was hastily amassed. Dutch remained the sole language taught until 1860 when English was added. Instruction in French and German commenced a year or two later.⁵¹ The *Bakufu* also funded schools of Western medicine in Nagasaki and Edo.⁵² Despite Confucian opposition, Western subjects were integrated into the curricula of existing academies across Japan. *Rangaku*

⁴⁹Its curriculum and texts were likely modeled after those used by a Dutch naval academy. Yukiko Fukasaku, "Foreign Influence in the Development of Shipbuilding Technology and the Education of Engineers in Japan, 1855-1940, *History and Technology*, 12 (1995), pp. 120-121.

⁵⁰Many graduates were assigned to several warships that were purchased abroad. *Ibid.*

⁵¹Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian: Japanese Travellers in America and Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 46-48, & Dore, p. 169.

⁵²Ito Gemboku founded the latter institution as a smallpox vaccination clinic in 1858. The regime officially sponsored it two years later naming it the *Seiyo Igakujo*. By 1865, it offered chemistry, anatomy, physiology, pathology, pharmacology, internal medicine, and surgery.

shijuku flourished as they attracted many of Japan's brightest students.⁵³ Meanwhile, *terakoya* and *gogaku* multiplied at an unprecedented rate as local and regional leaders struggled to reinforce traditional values.⁵⁴

As stipulated in the 1858 treaty, a Japanese delegation traveled to Washington in 1860 to formalize their relations. Due to their narrow instructions, it achieved little beyond its stated purpose. Two years later, the Tokugawa council approved a diplomatic mission to Europe to negotiate a delay in opening the Hyogo and Niigata ports. This time, however, officials had broader plans. Not only were the envoys asked to look into specific legal and commercial issues, their retainers who included *rangaku* scholars were directed to inspect military, political, and educational institutions.⁵⁵ After visiting France, Britain, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Russia, the travelers compiled a detailed report.⁵⁶ Numerous books were also procured. Later in 1862, the regime dispatched nine officials and six artisans to Holland for training. Five graduates of the new naval school and several craftsmen learned naval science or shipbuilding. Two *Bansho Shirabesho* scholars studied law, government, and economics at the University of Lieden, and two *rangaku* doctors studied military medicine. The next year, Choshu secretly sent five samurai to Britain to gain technical knowledge. Three eventually entered universities.⁵⁷

By the mid-1860s, several western domains including Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa

⁵³Ito Gemboku's Shosendo and Ogata Koan's Teki Juku were leading *rangaku shijuku* during the 1840 to 1867 period. Enrollments at both institutions jumped after 1853 and included many samurai. Fukuzawa Yukichi attended the latter. Rubinger, pp. 118-151.

⁵⁴Combined average *Terakoya* and *Gogaku* attendance between 1854 and 1867 was 56% higher than for the 1830 to 1853 period. Passin, p. 44.

⁵⁵Fukuzawa Yukichi joined them. He also served on the 1860 mission to United States. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, pp. 72-76.

⁵⁶Given its controversial nature, only a small group of officials were allowed to read the report. Ibid, p. 94.

⁵⁷The original party included Ito Hirobumi; however, he rushed home after a few months to help resolve a

openly challenged Tokugawa leadership. Disgruntled samurai flocked to their cause. While preparing for a decisive confrontation, the *Bakufu* and its foes sought to use Western contacts to their best advantage. To extend their influence, the French helped the shogun build a dockyard and ironworks. The British, on the other hand, secretly supported the rebel's efforts to buy arms. Persuaded that strength lay in acquiring wealth through trade and adopting Western technology, the shogunate and domains sent many students abroad for technical training. In 1866, the *Bakufu* legalized foreign travel.⁵⁸ The shogunal heir-apparent even traveled to Europe partly with the intention of getting a French education.⁵⁹ Large numbers of Western advisors and technical specialists were also employed with the lion's share serving the shogunate.⁶⁰ Yet, for the *Bakufu*, such efforts came too late. In 1867, anti-Tokugawa leaders seized the political center through a coup d'état. With the support of the young Meiji emperor, their forces moved against the Tokugawa. After the fall of Edo, the shogun surrendered thus ending the regime.⁶¹

In the final decades of the period, Japanese intellectuals actively participated in the debate over Japan's future. This, in turn, led to greater ideological competition. Although most Tokugawa educational institutions were swept away in the ensuing upheaval, the three philosophical orientations nurtured within them influenced Japanese thought, government, and society long after the regime's collapse.

crisis between Choshu and the treaty powers. Ibid. pp. 121-124, 129-134.

⁵⁸At least a hundred Japanese students went abroad between 1865 and 1867. Ibid, p. 119-121, & Watanabe Minoru "Japanese Students Abroad and the Acquisition of Scientific and Technological Knowledge," *Cahiers D'Histoire Mondiale*, 9 (1965), pp. 256-266.

⁵⁹The shogun's younger brother Akitaka headed a delegation to the 1867 Paris Exposition. He also toured several other European nations. His study plans were forestalled by events in Japan. Beasley, *Japan Encounters...*, pp. 114-118.

⁶⁰Hazel J. Jones estimates upwards of two hundred Westerners (eighty French, sixty Dutch, thirty British, and a few Americans and Germans) worked in Japan before 1868. "Bakumatsu Foreign

The Legacy of Tokugawa Education

During the Tokugawa era, Japan evolved from a largely illiterate to a broadly educated society. Following a rapid expansion in the mid-nineteenth century, its public and private educational sectors were remarkably well developed. Like the Tokugawa order as a whole, the system was decentralized and embodied significant regional and class variations. Recognizing the power of education, shoguns and daimyo established a tradition of state-sponsorship. By 1867, there were as many as 246 official academies and 122 *gogaku*. In the same year, at least 15,500 *terakoya* and 1,500 *shijuku* catered to an array of learning needs and aims.⁶² As a result, Japan achieved literacy levels that compared favorably to those of most contemporary Western nations. Intellectuals also produced a range of sophisticated scholarship. Networks of book lenders profitably circulated a variety of reading materials. In the 1840s, Edo alone supported more than 800 such enterprises.⁶³ Not surprisingly, educational levels were highest among men, samurai, and urban dwellers. Perhaps 40% of males and 10% of females received formal schooling.⁶⁴ These figures, of course, exclude the many Japanese taught at home.

Scholars examining Tokugawa education have advanced two interpretations. One view lauds the system for laying the intellectual and social foundations for Japan's later modernization. In addition to emphasizing widespread literacy and growth of institutions devoted to Western learning, they employ subtler arguments. Dore maintains that

Employees," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 29 (1974), p. 305.

⁶¹For a full account of this political struggle, see Totman, pp. 148-443.

⁶²As central records were not kept, estimates vary. The figures (all for 1867) cited for state institutions come from Passin, p. 14, while those for private schools come from Byron K. Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern: Japanese Political Discourse on Education*, (Boulder: Westview Press, 1994), pp. 15 & 18.

⁶³Henry D. Smith II, p. 347.

growing demand for men of talent at all levels of the feudal administration stretched the strictly differentiated samurai ranks and broadened opportunities for accomplished middle and low-status samurai. He also asserts the ethical focus of Neo-Confucianism fostered a sense of national purpose among the early Meiji reformers. Rubinger contends that the many students who traveled across Japan seeking instruction in *shijuku* helped break down regional isolation and facilitated the growth of a common Japanese culture and identity. Yet, as this approach focuses so much on its legacy, researchers have neglected issues relating to change within Tokugawa society itself. Revealing the relationship between the spread of learning among commoners and Japan's early commercial development would be particularly worthwhile.

An alternative perspective sees Tokugawa education more negatively because of its elitism, ideological nature, and central role in bolstering an oppressive regime. Ooms maintains, not only was the official Neo-Confucian ideology intellectually distorted, but the feudal leadership's promotion of its study among the samurai was an attempt to transform a rough warrior class into effective bureaucrats who could retain power in an era of peace. In his discussion of rural education, Platt argues that the rapid spread of *terakoya* after 1840 was chiefly a conservative response to growing disorder by local elites seeking to rejuvenate their communities and shore up their positions by reinforcing traditional social ties.⁶⁵ Such critical approaches clearly offer room for further inquiry.

⁶⁴Dore, pp. 317-322.

⁶⁵Brian Platt, *Burning and Building: Schooling and State Formation in Japan, 1750-1890*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), pp. 1-65.

The Meiji Educational System (1868-1945)

Since the sudden collapse of the *ancient régime* left no effective central administrative organs, the fledgling Meiji government was weak. It took more than a year of military and political struggle just to overcome Tokugawa resistance in eastern and northern Japan. Theoretically vested with absolute authority, the boy emperor lacked practical means to enforce his will. The breakdown of old social patterns brought widespread disorder. Peasant revolts flared in many regions. The new leadership moved to separate Buddhism from Shinto and remolded the latter into a state ideology. Gradually, political structures evolved through ad hoc experimentation. The creation of an Executive Council (*Dajokan*) in 1869 laid the foundation for Japan's transformation to a centralized state with a strong national bureaucracy. The imperial army expanded under the new Ministry of Military Affairs. In 1871, the regime eliminated the fiefs, disbanded domanial armies, and confiscated all fortifications. Like China, the country was divided into prefectures, each run by a governor selected by central officials. The Finance Ministry standardized tax rates across the nation. To remove obstacles to employment, military enlistment, and tax collection, the four-tier class system was abolished. The samurai lost their last special privilege in 1872 when an imperial edict required all males to perform three years of military service on an equal basis. Disaffected ex-samurai staged a series of ill-fated rebellions.

As political realists, Meiji leaders reassured the Western powers of their intent to abide by all treaties signed by the shogun. Yet, they were determined to reclaim their country's rights and prestige. Convinced Japan could only survive as a nation by developing its technological, economic, and military capabilities on a par with the West,

officials undertook a sweeping modernization program. The Charter Oath reveals their commitment to intercultural borrowing by declaring, “Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.”⁶⁶ Officials restructured and equipped the military along European lines. The French resumed *Bakufu* initiated projects including completing the Yokosuka naval yard and setting up an officers’ school. The building of telegraph, postal, and railroad networks commenced with the latter financed by a British loan. Japan’s currency was decimalized using the American system and a British-style mint opened in Osaka. Despite limited funds, the regime in 1871 dispatched a traveling embassy of fifty high-ranking officials from all departments, clerks, and attendants to tour fifteen Western nations.⁶⁷ In addition to spreading diplomatic goodwill, the legation led by Iwakura Tomomi was charged with studying Western political, economic, and educational systems to discover their theoretical and practical foundations.⁶⁸ Their findings and recommendations accelerated and broadened the modernization process.⁶⁹ The regime began a complete overhaul of its legal system. While its criminal and civil codes used French models, commercial law followed the German example. To realize these and other reforms, government bureaus

⁶⁶An official translation of the April 1868 proclamation appears in Tsunoda, p. 644.

⁶⁷Fifty-nine students who also accompanied the mission were placed in various schools

⁶⁸The legation examined the facilities, curricula, and administrative structures of numerous educational institutions. On his return in 1873, the mission’s educational commissioner Tanaka Fujimaro became acting head of the Ministry of Education. Beasley, *Japan Encounters the Barbarian*, pp. 157-177. Silvana De Maio lists most institutions visited including seventeen universities, nine military academies, and twenty-five primary and secondary schools. “The Development of an Educational System at the Beginning of the Meiji Era: Reference Models from Western Countries,” *Historia Scientiarum*, 12 (2003), pp. 183-198.

⁶⁹While stressing Japan’s backwardness, the mission’s five-volume final report concluded that Japan had realistic chance of catching up with the West if they moved quickly. Many mission officials went on to hold top government positions. Notably, Okubo Toshimichi became Japan’s most powerful politician from 1874 until his assassination in 1878. The career of Ito Hirobumi is discussed later.

engaged foreign experts.⁷⁰ By 1875, as many as six hundred foreigners were employed. Enthusiasm for Western culture was shared by a broad section of Japanese society; Western arts, dress, food, and entertainment became the height of fashion. Translations of Western texts and descriptions of Western ways dominated Japan's book market.

Like their Tokugawa predecessors, the Meiji founders viewed education as critical to their successful governance. Though shogunal schools were revived, efforts to reshape them began immediately.⁷¹ In 1869, the regime merged the main academies into a central university sited in Tokyo. Housing both Confucian and *kokugaku* scholars, the *Hanko Daigaku*, like the *Shoheiko*, offered instruction at all levels and oversaw ancillary schools. The *Kaiseijo* and *Igakujo* (medical school) became the Southern and Eastern Schools.⁷² Admission was opened to capable commoners. This arrangement, however, proved temporary, as disputes between Confucians and Shintoists grew so intense that the *Hanko Daigaku* was dissolved a year later.⁷³ From this conflict, Western learning emerged as a dominant force. In 1869, Guido F. Verbeck became head teacher at the Southern School.⁷⁴ The Dutch-American missionary tightened hiring guidelines for

⁷⁰During the Meiji period (1868-1912), their numbers may have totaled 4000. Though they were usually generously compensated, most worked under the close supervision of Japanese. Beasley, *The Rise of Modern Japan*, (Tokyo: Charles Tuttle, 1990), p. 88.

⁷¹Political turmoil prevented most former Shogunal schools from resuming actual operations until 1869. Motoyama Yukihiko, "The Political Background of the Early Meiji Educational Policy: The Central Government," *Proliferating Talent: Essays on Politics, Thought, and Education in the Meiji Period*. J. S. A. Elisonas & Richard Rubinger, ed., (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), pp. 84 -116.

⁷²The titles of *Bakufu* academies were all changed in 1868. To avoid confusion, this study will use the older names. The only exception is the *Bansho Shirabesho*, which was renamed the *Kaiseijo* in 1862.

⁷³Motoyama provided a thorough account of the ideological and political pressures that compelled the Executive Council to close the *Hanko Daigaku* as well as all official Confucian and *kokugaku* schools in Kyoto, pp. 132-141.

⁷⁴Verbeck, a Dutch trained engineer, was sent to Nagasaki by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1859. From 1864, he taught English, social science, and technology in a *Bakufu* school in Nagasaki where he befriended such future notables as Iwakura Tomomi, Ito Hirobumi, and Okuma Shigenobu. In Tokyo, he advised the regime on educational matters until David Murray was hired in 1873.

foreign instructors and worked to improve curriculum and teaching.⁷⁵ Admissions and scholarships were awarded on a regional basis. By 1870, it offered programs in education, law, science, and literature.⁷⁶ Discipline and learning standards were lax.

Before their abolition, numerous domains founded new schools, many offering Western-studies programs.⁷⁷ A notable example opened in Kumamoto under the direction of Leroy Janes, an American Civil-War officer.⁷⁸ The sending of students to the West also continued. Although officials ordered *Bakufu* students home, the directive was not strictly enforced and payment of their stipends resumed in 1869. The domains sponsored additional scholars and many aristocrats went abroad.⁷⁹ After conducting an inquiry of study and living conditions, the Foreign Ministry in 1870 drew up regulations requiring scholars to obtain official permits, setting age limits, and prohibiting religious conversions and changes of nationality.⁸⁰ Subsequently, central agencies, especially the Southern and Eastern Schools, dispatched a flood of students overseas.⁸¹ Officials also

Thereafter, he worked for the Ministry of Justice and Translation Bureau and retired from government service in 1876. He was one of the most influential foreign advisors employed during the Meiji era. Jones, pp. 94-98.

⁷⁵At least, forty Westerners taught at government schools between 1868 and 1873. Aso Makoto & Amano Ikuo, *Education and Japan's Modernization*. Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1972), p. 10.

⁷⁶Courses offerings included chemistry, botany, calculus, and surveying. Watanabe Minoru, p. 269.

⁷⁷This trend, of course, began in the previous era. Rubinger reports that forty-eight domain academies opened between 1868 and 1871, p. 5.

⁷⁸Verbeck recommended Janes, a West Point graduate and ardent Protestant, to run the military institute for young samurai. Janes arrived in 1871; however, when a group of thirty-five students publicly declared their allegiance to Christ in 1876, he was dismissed and the school closed. Many of his students later attended Doshisha in Kyoto. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan*, (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2000), pp. 463-464.

⁷⁹Of the 67 Japanese getting permission to study abroad by the Meiji government up to mid-1870, 59% were feudal lords or *kuge* (court nobles). Even after the abolition of the domains, the regime encouraged those of noble birth to go overseas. Thus, from 1871 to 1874, thirty-two ex-daimyo and sixteen *kuge* studied abroad. Ishizuki Minoru "Overseas Study by Japanese in the Early Meiji Period," *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, Ardath Burks, ed., (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), p. 169.

⁸⁰Watanabe Minoru, p. 266.

⁸¹According to Ishizuki, 167 students went abroad in 1870. The earliest foreign-study grants offered by the

took steps to regulate the private sector. An 1871 ordinance required instructors opening *shijuku* to obtain permission from prefectural offices. Moreover, schools were asked to keep better student records.⁸² At first, these measures were largely ineffectual due to poor policy coordination between national and local governments. Considerable experimentation also occurred on the grassroots level. Groups of civic-minded individuals working with local authorities founded thousands of schools.⁸³ Kyoto officials used the compensation they received for the loss of the city's status as Japan's official capital to set up a municipal school system.⁸⁴ Many *terakoya* updated their curricula to reflect a variety of new political, social, and cultural ideas.⁸⁵

During these years, intellectuals conducted a wide-ranging discourse concerning the proper goals and purposes of Japanese education. A leading voice for radical change, Fukuzawa Yukichi, viewed Japan as semi-civilized. Rejecting the collectivist moral emphasis of Confucianism, he believed education must serve individuals and only by enlightening and developing the abilities of a broad section of society in a diverse range of skills, especially intellectual, could Japan ever hope to catch up with the West.

In the education of the East, so often saturated in Confucian teaching, I find two things lacking; that is to say, a lack of studies in number and reason in material

Meiji regime went to eleven Southern and Eastern School scholars. Watanabe Minoru, p. 269.

⁸²Rubinger, "Education: From One Room to One System," *Japan in Transition: From Tokugawa to Meiji*, Marius Jansen & Gilbert Rozman, ed., (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 202-207.

⁸³Platt gives a detailed account of local efforts to set up schools in the Nagano region, pp. 109-130.

⁸⁴As the emperors resided in Kyoto, it remained Japan's formal capital after its administrative role ebbed in the late twelfth century. Despite opposition by nativist groups, Meiji leaders transferred the imperial throne to Tokyo in early 1869 to shore up popular support for the regime in eastern Japan. Motoyama, pp. 102-116. By January 1870, the municipality had founded sixty-four schools. Their program included such Western subjects as geography, English, and physics. Ishikawa outlines their curriculum, pp. 40, 42-43.

⁸⁵Ishikawa suggests that *terakoya* and other private schools strove to adapt themselves to new cultural and political environment. Though their instructional methods changed little, new texts proliferated after 1868, pp. 42-43.

culture, and a lack of the idea of independence in spiritual culture. But in the West I think I see why their statesmen are successful in managing their national affairs; and businessmen in theirs, and people ardent in their patriotism and happy in their family circles. I regret that in our country I have to acknowledge that people are not formed on these two principles, though I believe no one can escape the laws of number and reason, nor can anyone depend on anything but the doctrine of independence as long as nations are to exist and mankind is to thrive. (1899)⁸⁶

While running a prominent shijuku, he authored a series of influential works. His *An Encouragement of Learning* became the decade's most widely used textbook. Along with Mori Arinori, Kato Hiroyuki, and other Westernization advocates, Fukuzawa founded the Meirokusha Society. Its celebrated journal published an array of provocative essays, articles, and translations.⁸⁷

The Executive Council in 1871 created the *Monbusho* (Ministry of Education) to plan and administer a national education system.⁸⁸ Its first head, Oki Takato, described its mission:

...behind the wealth, power, security and well-being of a nation there lies invariably an advance in the talents of a civilized people. Therefore it is necessary to build schools and establish educational methods which enable us to attain similar goals. It is recommended that educational laws and regulations be uniformly established to eliminate useless miscellaneous studies. In their place, there shall be created an educational system consisting of universities, middle schools and primary schools, and a trend toward the development of arts shall be introduced. To attain these goals, we shall adopt the best educational law in the world, and take into account the facilities available in and out of the country. ... As to the order of implementation, all the existing educational systems shall be abolished, and a new law and regulations be established. New textbooks shall be issued, and new educational materials be supplied. The method of teaching as well as the regulations governing those who receive instruction shall be newly

⁸⁶Kiyooka Eiichi, trans. *The Autobiography of Yukichi Fukuzawa*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966), p. 215.

⁸⁷Begun in 1874, the *Meiroke Zasshi* was discontinued in protest against the regime's 1875 Press Law. Motoyama, "Meiroke Thinkers and Early Meiji Enlightenment Thought," *Proliferating Talent*, pp. 238-273.

⁸⁸This decision came just after the establishment of the prefectural system. Many leaders would have liked to have acted earlier but were deterred by the problems associated with working through domanial authorities. Motoyama, 135-145, & Platt, pp. 108, & 130-131.

formulated. Once the above described regulations come into effect, even village schools and private schools shall be governed by their provisions. (February 1872)⁸⁹

Most officials were appointed based on their familiarity with Western learning. It also hired Western specialists. On average, seventy-five foreign advisors, administrators, and instructors worked annually for the *Monbusho* between 1872 and 1879. Many came from the United States and Britain.⁹⁰ Despite its ambitious charge, the new ministry had few resources. Tight finances resulted in an 1872 budget that amounted to only 2% of central expenditures.⁹¹

In the fall of 1872, the regime unveiled a Fundamental Code of Education. In its overall design, the plan followed the French model by dividing the nation into convenient administrative districts and establishing a coordinated educational hierarchy. A network of elementary schools providing basic instruction served as its foundation. Attendance was made compulsory, and all children studied together regardless of gender or social background. A combination of local land taxes, donations, tuition fees, and modest *Monbusho* subsidies supported them. District middle schools offering higher-level courses to promising male students linked the pyramid's lower and upper tiers. The prefectures and individual families had to pay all costs. At its apex, eight regional universities and a national university would prepare the elite to become civil servants.⁹²

American educational thought influenced the plan's implementation. David Murray, a professor of mathematics and astronomy at Rutgers with experience in school

⁸⁹David J. Lu, trans., *Japan: A Documentary History, Volume II: The Late Tokugawa Period to the Present*, (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharp, 1997), pp. 322 & 323.

⁹⁰Jones, pp. 145-149.

⁹¹Ichikawa Shogo, "Finance of Higher Education," *Changes in the Japanese University: A Comparative Approach*, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1979), p. 44.

administration, was employed in 1873 to advise Tanaka Fujimaro, the *Monbusho*'s new head. During his three-year tenure, officials accepted many of Murray's suggestions, especially in their efforts to organize normal schools and adjust the Fundamental Code to fit local conditions.⁹³ As first principal of the Tokyo Normal School, Marion Scott introduced American pedagogical approaches to a generation of teachers. He also exercised substantial influence over the writing of elementary and middle-school texts. Some American primers were merely translated into Japanese.⁹⁴ Scott's most enduring legacy stems from his widely expressed views on assessing merit through standardized testing. To foster efficiency and raise standards, the *Monbusho* devised a system of competitive entrance exams to regulate upward movement within the educational hierarchy.⁹⁵

Because the 1872 scheme broke with so many traditions, it elicited a range of local responses. While many prefectural, district, and village leaders inspired by spirit of idealism labored to fulfill its provisions, resentment grew in some communities against what was seen as an unjustified intrusion into local affairs.⁹⁶ In a few areas, residents even burned newly built schools; discontent, however, was more typically expressed through passive resistance.⁹⁷ Some local officials simply ignored rules requiring the

⁹²Both Rubinger and Marshall outline the proposed system.

⁹³Tadashi Kaneko, "Contributions of David Murray to the Modernization of School Administration in Japan," *The Modernizers: Overseas Students, Foreign Employees, and Meiji Japan*, Ardath W. Burks, ed., (Boulder: Westview Press, 1985), pp. 301-321.

⁹⁴Mark Lincome provides additional coverage on the use of American educational approaches in *Principle, Praxis and the Politics of Educational Reform in Meiji Japan*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1995).

⁹⁵Amano details the origins of Japan's examination system, *Education and Examination in Modern Japan*, trans. William K. Cummings & Fumiko Cummings, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990).

⁹⁶See Platt for a discussion of the Fundamental Code's implement in Nagano Prefecture, pp. 144-184.

⁹⁷Between 1873 and 1877, some two hundred public schools were damaged or destroyed. Platt argues that schools, as tangible symbol of the new order, were often targeted by those unhappy or anxious

closure, inspection, and licensing of existing schools. Countless households refused to enroll their children or pay school levies. Despite these hurdles, 27,000 official primary schools operated by 1879. Participation rates rose slowly. In 1873, 28% of Japanese children attended public schools while in 1880 the figure reached 40%. Still, as most increases occurred in rural regions, disparities between rural and urban areas narrowed. The newly acquired islands of Okinawa and Hokkaido had the lowest enrollments.⁹⁸ In the cities, many parents continued to send their children to well-established *terakoya*. A paucity of money, qualified teachers, and political will delayed the opening of public middle schools. In 1877, only thirty-one such schools functioned with nineteen of thirty-eight prefectures having none; however, their number rose rapidly thereafter.⁹⁹

Deeming the Southern and Eastern Schools as insufficiently developed for university status, *Monbusho* officials strove to raise standards and broaden offerings.¹⁰⁰ Numerous foreign faculty taught at both institutions, most in science related subjects.¹⁰¹ From 1871, two Prussian physicians put the Eastern School's medical program in line

about the course of change. Many locals were also upset by the unfairness of having to support schools over which they had no control, pp. 185-214.

⁹⁸Okinawa was integrated into the Japanese polity in 1879. In the pre-modern era, the Ryukyu Islands had a less-developed education system than the rest of Japan. Despite concerted official efforts to build primary schools, only 1,854 pupils attended in 1884 out of a school-age population of 75,000. Heavy emphasis was placed on teaching standard Japanese. Tomoyose Eiichiro, "The Development of the Educational System of Okinawa, 1879-1954," (MA Thesis, Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1955), pp. 40-42. In Hokkaido, the earliest modern school for Ainu children opened in 1877. Ogawa Masahito, "The Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act and Assimilatory Education," *Indigenous Minorities and Education: Australian and Japanese Perspectives of the Indigenous Peoples, the Ainu, Aborigines, and Torres Straight Islanders*. Noel Loos & Takashi Osanai, ed., (Tokyo: Sanyusha Publishing, 1993), pp. 237-238.

⁹⁹By 1880, more than a hundred additional middle schools were opened. Rubinger, "Education," pp. 218-219, 224.

¹⁰⁰The ministry initially classified both institutions as middle schools. Okubo Toshiaki, "The Birth of the Modern University in Japan," *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale*. 10 (1967), pp. 767.

¹⁰¹From 1871 to 1876, eight American science instructors worked at the Southern School. Watanabe Masao, "American Science Teachers in early Meiji Japan," *Japanese Studies in the History of Science*, 15 (1976), p. 129.

with German practices.¹⁰² In 1873, the Southern School restructured its curricula into a general course in letters and science and three specialized courses in law, chemistry, and engineering, each lasting three years. As English became its official language of instruction, seven regional English schools were created to prepare prospective students.¹⁰³ Their facilities were progressively enlarged and improved. With academic competence serving as the sole admission criteria, students ranged in age from twelve to over forty or more. In 1877, the *Monbusho* finally merged the two schools to create Tokyo University. Its chief mission was the transmission and creation of advanced knowledge needed for Japan's modernization. Kato Hiroyuki was named president.¹⁰⁴ Western academics dominated its faculty; indeed, their salaries ate up over a third of its 1877-78 institutional budget.¹⁰⁵ The university maintained departments of law, medicine, science, and letters; a few instructors from the former Confucian and nativist academies taught in the latter.¹⁰⁶ Research institutes including an astronomical observatory and botanical garden were attached to several science divisions. Given the many foreign instructors and scarcity of texts in Japanese, most instruction was done in English or, in the case of medicine, German. Programs culminated in three-year degrees. Enrollments were kept small and selective with 340 students attending in 1880. An average of sixty-

¹⁰²Leopold Müller and Theodor Hoffman remained at the school until 1875 when they were succeeded by Albrecht Wernick and Emil August Schulze. Verbeck counseled Meiji officials concerning the superiority of German Medicine. John Z. Bowers, "The Adoption of German Medicine in Japan: The Decision and the Beginning," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. 53 (1979), pp. 57-80.

¹⁰³They were sited in Tokyo, Osaka, Nagasaki, Aichi, Hiroshima, Niigata, and Miyaji. Rubinger, "Education," p. 220.

¹⁰⁴Kato was a former German specialist at the *Bansho-shirabesho*. As a keen Germanophile, he applied many German academic ideas and practices to the new university. *Ibid*, p. 771.

¹⁰⁵In 1877, 66% percent of instructors were foreign. Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Imperial University*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 32. Out of a total budget of 282,000 yen, 98,000 went to foreigners. Foreign employees were compensated at significantly higher levels than their Japanese counterparts. Jones, *Hired Machines*, p. 13.

two students graduated yearly in the early 1880s.¹⁰⁷ Higher civil-service appointments were reserved for its alumni. The institution's prestige was enhanced by the role its faculty played in advising various ministries.¹⁰⁸ Early students typically came from lower samurai families who hoped to rise in the new order. Faculty did not concern themselves with their students' general conduct. A shortage of on-campus housing and lack of extracurricular activities forced many provincials to fend for themselves.¹⁰⁹

The *Monbusho* took charge of all overseas students, including those sponsored by the former domains. It instituted a standardized exam to eliminate weak candidates. Two types of scholarships were offered; advanced students received 1800-yen allowances for three years while lower-level learners were entitled to 1000-yen annually for five years. On their return, both took special exams and could either work for the government or repay their grants. Many students also went at their own expense. At least 514 Japanese studied abroad between 1870 and 1873 with most doing so in the United States (195), Britain (154), Germany (79), or France (57).¹¹⁰ The majority learned scientific or technological subjects. At the *Monbusho*'s behest, Japanese diplomats supervised all students and prepared annual progress reports for each. At the end of 1873, officials abruptly scaled back the program due to its high costs and unsatisfactory results.¹¹¹ Those already overseas were recalled. In any case, the new domestic schools reduced the

¹⁰⁶Okubo details its departmental structures, pp. 771-775.

¹⁰⁷Nakamura Takeshi, "The Contribution of Foreigners," *Cahiers D'Histoire*. 9 (1965), p. 297.

¹⁰⁸Marshall, *Academic Freedom...*, pp. 43-51.

¹⁰⁹Donald T. Roden, *Schooldays in Imperial Japan: A Study in the Culture of a Student Elite*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), pp. 23-29.

¹¹⁰Estimates vary. The numbers cited come from Ishizaki. The *Monbusho*'s First Annual Report indicates 373 students abroad in 1873 of which 250 were state supported. Watanabe Minoru, p. 268.

¹¹¹Jones states that 18% of the *Monbusho*'s 1873 budget went to overseas students. *Live Machines: Hired Foreigners and Meiji Japan*, (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1980), p. 22.

need to send students abroad for general instruction. Guidelines issued in 1875 removed political influence from the selection process, required returning scholars to complete a period of government service, and made degree attainment a primary objective. Between 1875 and 1881, the ministry dispatched just thirty scholars overseas.¹¹²

The need for trained professionals was so great that other ministries established their own educational facilities. Foremost among them was an engineering school set up by the Ministry of Public Works. In 1873, Vice-Minister Ito Hirobumi hired a twenty-four year old Scottish engineer, Henry Dyer, as principal of an institute that would train well-rounded technicians in a range of fields. With the generous financial support of the ministry, Dyer sought to incorporate the best elements of British, German, and Dutch technical education. The resulting institute offered a six-year course carefully blending theoretical and practical studies.¹¹³ Its faculty was entirely British except for three Italians who taught drafting, design, and fine arts.¹¹⁴ In 1877, the school was upgraded to a college. The Sapporo Agricultural College was founded in 1876 by the Hokkaido Colonization Commission with the aim of introducing modern agricultural techniques to Japan's northern frontier. The agency's head, Kuroda Kiyotaka, recruited William Clark, president of the Massachusetts Agricultural College, on the advice Mori Arinori, to organize it on the American land-grant model.¹¹⁵ The Ministries of Law and Agriculture

¹¹²Watanabe Minoru, p. 281.

¹¹³Nakamura and Graem J. N. Gooday & Morris F. Low, "Technology Transfer and Cultural Exchange: Western Scientists and Engineers Encounter Late Tokugawa and Meiji Japan," *Osiris*, 13 (1998), pp. 99-128, assert that the school was patterned after the progressive Zurich Polytechnical Institute; yet, while comparing their curricula, De Maio, pp. 193-194, found no apparent links.

¹¹⁴Dyer headed the school until Edward Divers became dean in 1881. Nakamura, pp. 296, 301, & Olive Checkland, *Britain's Encounter with Meiji Japan, 1868-1912*. (London, MacMillan Press, 1989), pp. 73-91.

¹¹⁵Horoko Willcock describes the College's early development in "Traditional Learning, Western Thought,

also built schools. Mori also initiated the 1875 founding a commercial college sponsored by the Tokyo municipality.¹¹⁶ American William Whitney helped develop an eighteen-month program stressing practical business skills.¹¹⁷ In 1876, it enrolled fifty students and its curriculum was lengthened by a year.

During these years, Japan's foreign community swelled, especially in Yokohama and Kobe. Living among the many merchants and foreign employees were Christian evangelists. Starting in 1859, the Catholic, Russian Orthodox, and several Protestant churches had set up missions in the treaty ports. Yet, the Tokugawa's renewed anti-Christian campaign impeded their efforts to win converts. Indeed, the discovery of hidden Christians in Kyushu brought a wave of arrests, incarcerations, and executions. Thus, the missions relied on indirect proselytizing methods as such offering English lessons using the Bible as a main text. Missionary women instructed a few children in their homes. The American Presbyterian Dr. James Hepburn opened a medical dispensary in Yokohama where he taught a small group of Japanese physicians. He also published the first Japanese-English dictionary. Under the Meiji, persecutions continued, particularly against Catholics. Ironically, many foreign educators hired by the regime

and the Sapporo Agricultural College," *Modern Asian Studies*, 34 (2000), pp. 977-1017. After attending the domain's *rangaku* academy, Mori was secretly sent by the Satsuma leaders to Britain to study military-related subjects. Two years later, he journeyed to the United States where remained a year before returning home. From 1871 to 1873, he served as Japan's first chargé d'affaires in Washington. (Meirokusha)

¹¹⁶Convinced national sovereignty hinged on economic strength, Mori dreamed of setting up a school that could disseminate knowledge of good business practice and general economic principles. He was impressed by several commercial colleges he saw in the United States. After the *Monbusho* rejected his idea, he turned to the Tokyo Council. Mokoto Ikema, et al, ed. *Hitotsubashi University, 1875-2000: A Hundred and Twenty-Five Years of Higher Education in Japan*, (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), pp. 23-25.

¹¹⁷Whitney was the former president of Bryant, Stratton and Whitney Business College in Newark, New Jersey. Its initial syllabus covered English the first term, mathematics, book-keeping, and business transactions the second term, and role-playing various business situations the final term.

were inspired to come to Japan by a desire to spread the Gospel.¹¹⁸ The Presbyterians managed to set up a primary school in Tokyo in 1869. Both boys and girls were admitted but after enrollments grew, the school was divided. Protestant schools opened in most treaty ports. In 1872, French padres organized a Catholic seminary in Yokohama.¹¹⁹ At the urging of the Iwakura envoys, the regime eased the ban on the “evil sect” in 1873.¹²⁰ The missions burgeoned so within a year Japan hosted thirty-seven Catholic and eighty-seven Protestant workers.¹²¹ Gradually, hostility turned to fascination as many Japanese saw Christianity as a possible source of Western supremacy. By the decade’s end, there were some 30,000 new believers. Providing education services remained a key part of most missions’ overall strategies. Christian schools multiplied with many supporting secondary programs. In 1875, an ardent convert Nijjima Jo founded Doshisha in Kyoto with funds donated by the American Congregationalists.¹²² Its broad curriculum offered courses in the liberal arts as well as theology. Other Protestant boards founded divinity schools.¹²³ Strong demand for English and other Western languages meant Christian

Ibid, 27-29.

¹¹⁸Beyond Verbeck, Janes, and William Clark, others include William E. Griffis and Edward W. Clark who taught in Fukui and Shizuoka. See Edward R. Beauchamp’s “Griffis in Japan: The Fukui Interlude, 1871,” *Monumenta Nipponica*, 30 (1975), pp. 423-452, and Ion A. Hamish’s “Edward Warren Clark and Early Meiji Japan: A Case Study of Early Cultural Contact,” *Modern Asian Studies*, 11 (1977), pp. 557-577.

¹¹⁹Otis Cary, *A History of Christianity in Japan: Roman Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant Mission*, Vol. I, (Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1976), p. 337, & Vol. II, pp. 68-76.

¹²⁰After receiving a flood of criticism regarding Japan’s anti-Christian laws, delegates concluded that the Western powers would never consider revising their unequal treaties until these policies were reversed. Their study of Western institutions may also have given them greater respect for Christian, especially Protestant, ethics.

¹²¹While most Catholics were French, Americans dominated the Protestants. Cary, Vol. 1, p. 337, & Vol. 2, p. 105.

¹²²Born in 1841 to an Edo samurai family, Nijjima illegally left Japan in 1864 to study in the United States. He quickly became a Christian. After earning a Bachelor’s degree at Amherst College and the theology degree at Andover Seminary by 1874, he returned to Japan. Cary, Vol. II, pp. 114-120.

¹²³Ira Jerry Burnstein, *The American Movement to Develop Protestant Colleges in Japan, 1868-1912*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1967), pp. 23, 27, & 31.

institutions had little trouble attracting students.

Homegrown private schools of all intellectual persuasions also flourished.¹²⁴ Overall, the regime took a hands-off attitude toward them. *Shijuku* served the hordes of students excluded from state institutions. Given the void created by the slow growth of the secondary sector, many catered to those aspiring to enter public tertiary institutions. Other *shijuku* focused on developing high-level comprehensive courses. A leading example, Keio gijuku, was originally founded in Edo by Fukuzawa in 1858. While its Western studies program compared favorably with the government schools, it kept its traditional *shijuku* spirit by fostering independent thought and close student-teacher relationships.¹²⁵ Branches were eventually set up in Kyoto, Osaka, Tokushima, and elsewhere. Specialized academies also flourished, offering vocational training in such fields as law, medicine, commerce, and agriculture.¹²⁶

In the latter 1870s, the Meiji leadership continued its quest to achieve full political unity. While samurai and peasant unrest waned, new forms of protest arose. By appealing to diverse social constituencies, dissidents were able to organize mass political associations. Notably, the Movement for Popular Rights agitated for broadening political participation and preserving local autonomy. To realize these aims, it called for the creation of a Western-style constitutional government. Under its auspices, numerous *shijuku* sprang up where young men studied Western political, legal, and economic theory as well as debated Japan's future.¹²⁷ Viewing all opposition as a source of

¹²⁴The 1870s saw some 1,100 *shijuku* officially register in Tokyo alone. Rubinger, "Education," p. 220.

¹²⁵Further details are available in Kiyooka Eiichi, *A History of Keio Gijuku through the Writings of Fukuzawa, Part One: The First Quarter Century*, (Tokyo: Hokuseido Press, 1979).

¹²⁶Rubinger, "Education," pp. 218-222.

¹²⁷Their curricula frequently included works by Spencer, Mill, Guizot, and Rousseau. Ibid, p. 221.

national weakness, officials suppressed activism by strengthening press, surveillance, and public order laws. Troubled by their involvement with progressive groups, the regime barred teachers and students from attending political meetings. At the same time, however, government reformers concluded that introducing some watered-down version of representative government might enhance political stability. While the Executive Council rejected a constitutional plan drafted by a special commission for ceding too much central power, it did authorize the creation of elected prefectural assemblies empowered to discuss local issues. Despite substantial repression, the constitutionalist movement gained momentum in the early 1880s as two new political parties vocally championed the cause.¹²⁸ Meanwhile, a clique of young regionally based ex-samurai officials tightened their hold over the central government.¹²⁹ To blunt public criticism, they prepared an imperial edict announcing that a national constitution would be put into force by decade's end. Within months, Ito Hirobumi led a fact-finding mission to Europe. Impressed by its strong monarchy, loyal populous, and bureaucratic efficiency, he spent much of his time in Germany studying political theory with leading academics.¹³⁰ The regime later employed two German experts to help write a final draft.

Unhappiness with *Monbusho* policies also grew. The slow pace of change disappointed progressive reformers. Both Oki and Tanaka became convinced the

¹²⁸While the Liberal Party (*Jiyuto*) was ideologically influenced by French radicalism, the Constitutional Progressive Party (*Kaishinto*) favored British liberalism.

¹²⁹Hailing from the former domains of Satsuma and Choshu, all participated in the military action surrounding the Restoration. Foremost among them were Ito Hirobumi, Matsukata Masayoshi, and Yamagata Aritomo. This group became the Meiji oligarchs (*genro*).

¹³⁰By the late 1870s, many Japanese intellectuals saw the up-and-coming German empire as an ideal role model for Japan. Beyond attending lectures given by Rudolf von Gneist, Ito conferred with numerous German officials. Their final effort borrowed many specific features of the Prussian Constitution. The mission also investigated the German education system. Bernd Martin, "The

Fundamental Code was flawed in its excessive centralization and disregard for local conditions.¹³¹ Similarly, Popular Rights advocates clamored for greater local control of community schools. On the opposite end of the political spectrum, traditionalists such as the emperor's personal tutor, Motoda Eifu, blamed the regime's indiscriminate promotion of ethically void Western content and practices for causing the country's moral ruin. They argued education should preserve Japanese spiritual values and foster loyalty to the emperor. This Confucian-inspired perspective was strongly focused on the needs of the state and a desire to maintain social stability.¹³² Their ultimate desire was the reintroduction of Chinese and Japanese classical studies into the public schools.

In 1879, the *Monbusho* amended its Education Law to give prefectures greater authority over local institutions, lessen the fiscal burden on localities to support primary schools, and cut the period of compulsory attendance from three years to sixteen months. Plans to set up district universities were also cancelled. However, after elementary enrollments dipped, the *Monbusho* reasserted central control. New guidelines reduced the latitude localities exercised over curricula. From 1883, school texts had to be officially approved. English, literature, natural science, economics, and ethics became obligatory middle-school subjects. Regulations required middle schools to possess well-stocked libraries and laboratories. Formal educational standards were set for teaching staff. As these rules also applied to *terakoya* and secondary-level *shijuku*, most were

German Role in the Modernization of Japan," *Oriens Extremus*, 33 (1990), pp. 77-81.

¹³¹By the late 1870's, both men became enamored of the decentralized American system. Platt asserts this change of heart was partly the result of their struggles to overcome local opposition, pp. 217-221.

¹³²Horio Teruhisa gives a critical account of this discourse in *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom*, trans. Steven Platzer, (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), pp. 24-64.

forced to close.¹³³ Across the system, the number of costly foreign instructors fell as institutions replaced them with Japanese. The regime's study-abroad program focused on training faculty to fill specific voids in expertise. Sponsored students increasingly went to German universities where they were exposed to the Humboldtian research model.¹³⁴ Germans also filled a greater share of advisory and faculty positions. Theorists such as Herbart, Fröbel, and Pestalozzi eventually dominated pedagogical thought and practice.¹³⁵ To offset Western influence, Tokyo University inaugurated a special division of Chinese and Japanese classics in 1882.¹³⁶ Two years later, the *Monbusho* advised the University that Japanese should become the primary language of instruction.¹³⁷

Educational officials formally dropped the *shijuku* designation in 1879. Although private academies offering higher instruction in such fields as law, medicine, commerce, and languages continued to attract students, their overall situations deteriorated. Wishing to guarantee Tokyo University's ascendancy, the regime denied them many privileges. Hence, their enrollees no longer received draft deferments. Unlike those finishing state programs, private school graduates had to pass licensing exams before entering their professions. Shortages of qualified instructors and the necessity of accepting lower-ability students amplified their problems. Even such outstanding schools as Keio

¹³³Between 1879 and 1884, the number of *shijuku* reclassified as private middle schools declined from 677 to two. Rubinger, "Education," p. 224

¹³⁴From 1879 to 1897, the *Monbusho* sent 138 students abroad; 102 went to Germany. Ishizaki, p. 180.

¹³⁵Herbartianism was influential during the 1890s and earlier 1900's. Herbart's five moral ideas were equated with the five Confucian virtues. His five-step teaching method was simplified and formalized. Victor N. Kobayashi in *John Dewey in Japanese Thought*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan School of Education, 1964), pp.54-59 discusses the broad influence of German educational philosophy.

¹³⁶Margaret Mehl, "Chinese Learning (kangaku) in Meiji Japan (1868-1912)," *History*, 85 (2000), p. 62.

¹³⁷Japanese did not fully become the language of instruction until early in the twentieth century. Nakayama Shigeru, "The Role Played by Universities in Scientific and Technological Development in Japan," *Cahiers D'Histoire Mondiale*, 9 (1966), p. 342.

struggled financially. Still, new institutions appeared, including the Tokyo Senmon Gakko, founded in 1882 by frustrated reformer Okuma Shigenobu.¹³⁸ Due to their outside funding, Christian institutions fared better. To broaden their appeal, several Protestant associations converted seminaries into liberal arts colleges. St. Paul's College, Union College, and Anglo-Japanese College were thus created.¹³⁹ Organized and managed like American denominational colleges, they offered courses in languages, sciences, and other Western subjects. Their faculties included mostly Americans. Along with Doshisha, their enrollments ran between one and two hundred students. Attrition rates were high as many students left on gaining admission to state institutions.¹⁴⁰ Despite many handicaps, a few privates emulated the quality and breadth of Tokyo University. Regardless, the *Monbusho* encumbered all with the inferior classification of *senmongakko* (professional school) and limited their programs to three years.¹⁴¹ The share of higher-educational students attending non-state institutions rose from 39% in 1883 to 46% in 1893.¹⁴² Barred from high government posts, graduates took positions in local government, the private professions, education, and business.

A hardening of traditional gender biases determined that the development of female education followed a distinct course. Early reformers, including Fukuzawa and Mori, regarded women's instruction as vital since the nation needed "good wives" and

¹³⁸After serving as finance minister for much of the 1870s, Okuma was thrown out of the government in 1881 for publicly advocating British-style parliamentarianism. He founded the Constitutional Progressive Party a year later. The school was renamed Wasada in 1902. For an account of its early development, see Motoyama's "The Spirit of Political Opposition: The Academic Style of the Tokyo Senmon Gakko," *Proliferating Talent*, pp. 317-353.

¹³⁹They were eventually renamed Rikkyo, Meiji, and Aoyama Gakuin. Burnstein, pp. 22-36.

¹⁴⁰*Ibid*, pp. 19-38.

¹⁴¹Rubinger, "Education," pp. 226-228.

¹⁴²This proportion stayed steady into the 1910s despite growth in the public sector. Ichikawa, pp. 45 & 53.

“wise mothers.” Some even believed that modernization required the introduction of enlightened child-rearing techniques. The Iwakura mission placed five girls in American schools.¹⁴³ The 1872 ordinance making primary attendance mandatory specifically included girls. Due to local resistance, initial compliance rates for girls were about a third of those for boys.¹⁴⁴ A handful of female students attended state secondary and tertiary institutions in the 1870s. A girls’ middle school, set up in 1872, closed five years later due to ministry belt-tightening.¹⁴⁵ Even liberal-minded private institutions such as Keio refused women. As early as 1870, missionaries founded girls’ schools using the American secondary model.¹⁴⁶ Doshisha accepted female applicants in its second year. On David Murray’s advice, *Monbusho* officials accepted that women, as natural nurturers, might serve a useful role in primary education.¹⁴⁷ A women’s normal school was organized in 1875. As additional institutions opened, the number of female schoolteachers climbed from 572 in 1875 to 4,679 in 1885. After formally banning post-primary coeducation in 1880, the *Monbusho* planned a system of higher girls’ schools.

¹⁴³In time, three earned college degrees. On her return in 1882, the youngest, Tsuda Umeko, tutored Ito Hirobumi’s children. In 1885, she received an imperial appointment to teach English at the Peeress’ School and from 1889 to 1892 studied English and science at Bryn Mawr College in Pennsylvania. She later resumed her teaching and actively promoted study abroad for women. Ann Harrington, “Women and Higher Education in the Japanese Empire (1895-1945),” *Journal of Asian History*, 21 (1987), pp. 174-175. Watanabe Minoru shows the *Monbusho* sending twelve women abroad between 1882 and 1912 but gives no details, p. 281. Two sponsored in 1882 were likely connected with the founding of the first higher girls’ school.

¹⁴⁴Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 48.

¹⁴⁵The *Tokyo Jogakko* employed at least two American women instructors, Mrs. Peter Veeder and Margaret Griffis. The 1877 decision to terminate school obviously shows the ministry’s priorities. Usui Chizuko, “Margaret C. Griffis and the Education of Women in Early Meiji Japan,” *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, Edward Beauchamp & Akira Iriye, ed., (Boulder; Westview Press, 1990), pp. 213-227.

¹⁴⁶Mary Kidder opened the Kidder School in Yokohama during the fall of 1870. With the support of the Reformed Church, the school grew. In 1875 it was reestablished as the Isaac Ferris Seminary. Dorothy Robins-Mowry, “Westernizing Influences in the Earlier Modernization of Japanese Women’s Education,” *Foreign Employees in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁴⁷Harrington, p. 173.

The first opened in 1882. While stressing feminine morality, curriculum covered academic subjects and such domestic arts as household economy, infant-care, and sewing. Women constituted a majority of their faculty from the outset.¹⁴⁸

After two decades of experimentation and debate, Japan's leaders solidified the Meiji political system. In 1884, the regime created a new peerage to include former daimyo, court nobles, blood princes, and current officials. A year later, the government was reorganized into a cabinet headed by a prime minister. Officials restructured the bureaucracy on the Prussian model. A German-inspired constitution, adopted in 1889, established the legal basis of the monarchy, cabinet, civil service, military as well as a new Diet composed of a House of Peers and a House of Representatives. Though the latter institution was elected through a restricted suffrage, its position was weak vis-à-vis other branches of government. Political parties initially had little sway. Despite his nominal command of supreme authority, the emperor, as a sacred being, stood above most practical political and administrative affairs. Real power remained in the hands of the Meiji oligarchs. Classified into four ranks, civil servants enjoyed considerable protections and autonomy within their strictly defined realms of responsibility.¹⁴⁹ To select bureaucrats based on their abilities, officials introduced higher civil-service exams in several fields.¹⁵⁰ University graduates were initially spared having to take them, and after their exemptions were revoked, they represented a large share of successful

¹⁴⁸Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 43-47, 72-80.

¹⁴⁹Fukai Shigeko N., & Fukui Haruhiro. "Elite Recruitment and Political Leadership," *Political Science and Politics*. 25 (1992), p. 26-28.

¹⁵⁰The first instituted in 1885 was used to decide judicial appointments. General administrative and diplomatic exams were established in 1888 and 1894. Robert M. Spaulding Jr., *Imperial Japan's Higher Civil Service Examinations*, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 64-110.

applicants.¹⁵¹ Answerable only to the emperor, the military had its own bureaucratic hierarchy staffed by graduates of the army and navy academies.

In 1885, Ito Hirobumi asked Mori to join the first cabinet as Minister of Education.¹⁵² Mori believed Japan could only compete with the West by establishing a strong authority able to direct the nation's modernization. Accordingly, his policies served the central state by promoting practical learning, strengthening the educational bureaucracy, and creating an affordable educational structure. His personal clout enabled him to bring most educational institutions run by other ministries under *Monbusho* authority. It also took over Tokyo's Commercial Training School.¹⁵³ To improve standards and trim costs, Mori ordered each prefecture to maintain a single middle school. The number of normal schools was, likewise, reduced. Mori introduced military drilling into normal schools and required graduates to work in the state system for at least ten years. Families were asked to pay a larger share of the system's costs, especially on the primary level. In terms of goals, Mori drew a distinction between lower and higher-level education. Elementary and secondary curricula focused on teaching the masses to read, write, do sums, and obey authority to produce useful and dutiful citizens. Though only the first three were compulsory, elementary schools offered six years of instruction. Middle-school programs lasted five years. Intellectual training was reserved for the few

¹⁵¹Tokyo University alumni took the main administrative exam from 1893. Of 2,022 non-university candidates attempting this exam between 1894 and 1900, only 126 passed. In the same years, 193 out of 450 Tokyo graduates succeeded. Despite later efforts to reduce their special privileges, Tokyo University contributed 66%, 70%, and 33% of applicants passing the administrative, diplomatic, and judicial exams in the period to 1945. A large share of the balance came other imperial universities. Because university faculty comprised the bulk of official examiners, they could teach to the exam. Ibid, pp. 123-135 & 233-272.

¹⁵²Influenced by positivism and social Darwinism, Mori had by this time adopted statist views. Other early champions of Westernization including Ito and Kato followed a similar intellectual path.

who went on to higher education. Seven national higher schools were established to sharpen the academic skills of aspiring students as well as cultivate social attitudes, especially a sense of national duty, deemed suitable for Japan's future leaders.¹⁵⁴ Tokyo University was designated as an Imperial University in 1886. Consolidating several independent institutions into its structure, including the College of Engineering, Mori reorganized it into five departments (law, literature, medicine, science, and engineering) and charged it with expanding useful knowledge and preparing the intellectual elite for state service.¹⁵⁵ Undergraduate curricula emphasized applied arts and sciences while pure theory was taught in newly created graduate programs. A university council of faculty delegates from every department chosen by the government assisted in the institution's management. The *Monbusho* made all administrative and high-level faculty appointments.¹⁵⁶ As the need to rank students increased, entrance exams gained enormous importance at all levels. The ministry also set strict age limits. Mori's streamlined system provided no more or less educational opportunity than was in the interest of the state.¹⁵⁷ So successful was this reorganization that the share of public expenditures going to education dropped from 12.1% to 8.4% between 1885 and 1890.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵³Ikema, pp. 32-35.

¹⁵⁴Several of the higher schools evolved from the special English schools set up in 1873 and 1874. Only seventeen-year old male boarding students were admitted. Although its program was initially two years in length, it was extended to three in 1894. Their graduates were virtually assured places within an Imperial University. Roden offers a full discussion of their founding and early administration, pp. 32-70.

¹⁵⁵A faculty of agriculture was added four years later when the University absorbed the Tokyo Higher Agricultural School formerly run by the Ministry of Agriculture. Nakayama, "The Role of Universities...", pp. 345-346.

¹⁵⁶Alarmed by Mori's increased meddling, Kato resigned from the university's presidency in 1886. He was reappointed in 1890. Marshall, "The Tradition of Conflict in the Governance of Japan's Imperial Universities," *History of Education Quarterly*, 17 (1977), pp. 388-389.

¹⁵⁷Ivan Hall, *Mori Arinori* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1973).

¹⁵⁸Ichikawa, p. 50. Not until 1920 did the percentage again exceed 12%.

Although Mori opposed the introduction of an imperial ideology into the curriculum, his assassination in 1889 by a Shinto fanatic cleared the way for conservatives, including Motoda, to promulgate the Imperial Rescript on Education a year later. While reaffirming the Confucian virtues and a mythological past, this proclamation set down a national doctrine to be taught in all schools. At its core was the idea that the Emperor was to be revered as the moral center of the nation and all Japanese should dedicate themselves to the national purpose.

Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and the cultivated arts, and thereby, develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourself courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth.¹⁵⁹

A copy of the Rescript was prominently hung in every Japanese classroom next to a portrait of the emperor.¹⁶⁰ The *Monbusho* banned texts judged to be in conflict with its spirit, even those by Fukuzawa. Several eminent instructors lost their positions after expressing disagreement with the new ideological status quo.¹⁶¹ Educators in Okinawa were prevented from teaching or even investigating local history and culture.¹⁶²

During the 1890s, the Japanese gained new confidence as their modernization program began to bear fruit. Its revamped bureaucracy upheld public order and faithfully

¹⁵⁹Official translation found in Tsunada, pp. 646-647.

¹⁶⁰Horio analyzes the background and implications of the Rescript, pp. 65-87.

¹⁶¹A Christian instructor at the First Higher School was forced to resign for refusing to bow before the Rescript. Moreover, a Tokyo University professor was dismissed for publishing an essay claiming the Shinto gods were fictions invented by primitive Japanese and the imperial line originated in Korea. Mehl, "Scholarship and Ideology in Conflict: The Kume Affair, 1892," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 48 (1993), pp. 337-357.

¹⁶²Tomoyose, pp. 46-47.

executed government policy. After a decade of inflation caused by unrestrained public spending followed by several years of cost cutting and deflation, Japan's economy broadly advanced. Foreign trade grew exponentially. Improvements in banking, transportation, and communications aided both traditional and modern sectors. Private business groups steadily took over loss-making state industries. Large-scale mining, textile, chemical, and engineering ventures prospered, most with the regime's financial help. Large enterprises initially employed many Western experts, but Japanese steadily took their place. Indeed, private companies absorbed a growing share of higher-educational graduates, especially in technical and commercial fields.¹⁶³ Developing arms and shipbuilding industries supported efforts to build a military capable of both defensive and offensive operations. While the imperial navy patterned itself on the British model, the army adopted German practices. After more than a decade and a half of fruitless negotiations, Britain finally agreed in 1894 to revise their bilateral treaty.¹⁶⁴ The other powers quickly followed suit. After implementing a new civil-law code in 1899, Japan freed itself of most unequal provisions. Emulating its Western rivals, the regime adopted an imperialist foreign policy. To further their interests in Korea, Meiji officials provoked a crisis with China. In the subsequent war, nationalistic feelings soared as Japanese forces trounced the Chinese. Beyond severing traditional Sino-Korean political ties, the Treaty of Shimonoseki imposed a heavy indemnity on China and transferred Taiwan to Japanese control. Diplomatic confirmation of its rising status came in 1902, when Japan

¹⁶³Yonekawa Shinich., "University Graduates in Japanese Enterprises before the Second World War," *Business History*, 26 (1984), pp. 193-218.

¹⁶⁴As early as 1879, most Western powers, including the United States, had consented to give Japan tariff autonomy; however, Britain's intransigence scuttled the deal. In the 1880s, Meiji officials' attempts to renegotiate the unequal treaties incited considerable domestic agitation and antipathy

concluded a formal alliance with Britain. With its flank protected, officials felt ready to counter Russian influence in Manchuria and Korea. Its 1905 victory over Russia enabled it to annex Korea five years later.

After the Rescript, Japan's educational patterns were largely fixed. Lagging female primary school enrollments prompted the *Monbusho* in 1896 to phase out primary school fees. The period of compulsory attendance was lengthened to four years in 1893 and finally six in 1907. Virtually all children complied by 1905. In the same year, 20% of primary teachers were female. A proponent of practical education, Education Minister Inoue Kowashi founded a network of post-primary vocational schools.¹⁶⁵ Competition for secondary and higher education intensified.¹⁶⁶ By the turn of the century, complaints that entrance exams imposed needless stress on pupils grew so loud that the *Monbusho* abandoned the practice below the secondary level. A push to build middle schools allowed some 170,000 boys to receive secondary instruction in 1905; ten years later, the figure stood at 700,000.¹⁶⁷ The vocational sector saw similar increases. Female participation rates climbed even faster. While 32,400 girls attended secondary schools in 1905, the number reached 300,000 by 1915.¹⁶⁸

At Inoue's request, Tokyo University restructured its departments around

toward Britain. Beasley, *The Rise of Modern Japan*, pp. 142-146.

¹⁶⁵Joseph Pittau, "Inoue Kowashi, 1843-1895 and the Formation of Modern Japan," *Monumenta Nipponica* 20 (1965), pp. 276-278.

¹⁶⁶The ratio of applicants to admissions for those taking higher-school entrance exams rose from 3.5 to 6.9 between 1906 and 1920. At the middle school level, the proportion increased from 1.8 to 2.6. Aso & Amano, p. 44.

¹⁶⁷The number of public middle schools rose from 55 to 302 between 1890 and 1910. Roden, p. 40. These student totals include normal schools and private middle schools. Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 93-95.

¹⁶⁸At late as 1895, seven public higher girl's schools enrolled only about 2000 students. After the *monbusho* issued rules in 1899 requiring prefectures to maintain at least one such school, their number jumped to eighty-nine by 1905. A few private schools also offered secondary instruction.

academic chairs in 1894. Like their German counterparts, each was led by a full professor who oversaw a team of junior faculty and graduate students. By 1896, there were 127 chairs: eighteen in science, twenty-four in engineering, twenty-three in medicine, twenty in agriculture, twenty in letters, and twenty in law.¹⁶⁹ Wishing to preserve Tokyo University's exclusivity, *Monbusho* officials opposed the creation of new universities. Yet, the Diet, hoping to encourage greater productivity through inter-institutional rivalry, authorized the 1897 founding of a second imperial university in Kyoto. By 1910, additional institutions were created in Kyushu and Tohoku with the help of private and local funds. The number of university students swelled from 1,312 in 1890 to 7,239 in 1910.¹⁷⁰ Tohoku Imperial University admitted women in 1913. Heightened demand for qualified instructors, fostered by this expansion, compelled the *Monbusho* to boost efforts to send scholars abroad. Between 1897 and 1912, an average of thirty-six official students departed annually with a majority heading to Germany.¹⁷¹ Foreigners retained a small share of academic posts.¹⁷²

Given their special role, university faculty commanded great respect and earned substantial salaries.¹⁷³ Moreover, they exerted a strong influence over the ministries in

Ibid, pp. 74-75 & 94-95.

¹⁶⁹The relative distribution of disciplines was largely maintained across the expanding imperial university system until the 1920s. James R. Bartholomew, "Japanese Modernization and the Imperial University, 1876-1920," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 37 (1978), pp. 252-253 & 255-256.

¹⁷⁰Ikema, p. 22. Tokyo University alone enrolled 5,223 in 1913. Marshall, *Academic Freedom...*, p. 83.

¹⁷¹In contrast, the yearly average for the 1875 to 1896 period was only six. After 1896, the ministry often opted to have students visit multiple countries; indeed, from 1897 to 1912, 66% of scholarship recipients did so. Watanabe Minoru, pp. 276-291. Many Japanese studied abroad at their own expense, but figures are not readily available.

¹⁷²As late as 1890, Westerners made up 25% of university faculty. Marshall, *Academic Freedom...*, p. 32.

¹⁷³While departmental chairmen held the second highest civil-service rank (*chokunin*), full and associate professors were placed in the third highest echelon (*sorin*). This put university faculty in the upper 8% of the bureaucratic hierarchy. Marshall, *Academic Freedom*, pp. 42-43.

virtue of their having taught top bureaucrats and holding important advisory positions.¹⁷⁴ Indeed, the government relied heavily on Tokyo University men to fill key *Monbusho* posts, especially dealing with higher education.¹⁷⁵ Their political weight was further enhanced by the appointment of fifteen university academics to the House of Peers in 1890 and 1891.¹⁷⁶ Inspired by German notions of academic freedom, professors used their clout to secure greater institutional autonomy. After much lobbying, they won the right in 1892 to elect to half of the university council's delegates. A year later, the ministry widened their control over departmental curriculum and procedure.¹⁷⁷ A major confrontation occurred in 1905 between Tokyo University and the cabinet. When a group of professors publicly criticized the government's peace terms for Russia, the cabinet attempted to have them dismissed. The ensuing quarrel came to a head with both imperial universities going on full strike and mass faculty resignations. In the end, the government backed down.¹⁷⁸

Other types of higher-educational facilities also grew. *Monbusho* and local officials set up numerous technical colleges offering programs in commerce, agriculture, engineering, and other subjects. Since instruction was held in Japanese, entrance requirements were considerably lower than at universities. By 1908, sixty-five such

¹⁷⁴Their clout was particularly strong in legal affairs. In 1890, Tokyo law faculty led the effort to block the Ministry of Justice's proposed law code. Ultimately, three academics rewrote a compromise draft that was implemented in 1898. Ibid, pp. 48-50.

¹⁷⁵Between 1886 and 1905, Tokyo professors or administrator headed the bureau responsible for higher-educational policy for a total of seventeen years. During the same period, three Tokyo academic served as Minister of Education in three separate cabinets. University presidents and departmental chairmen dominated the Council for Higher Education established in 1896. Ibid, pp. 45-48.

¹⁷⁶Ibid, p. 44.

¹⁷⁷Marshall, "The Tradition of Conflict...", pp. 388-390.

¹⁷⁸Marshall, *Academic Freedom...*, pp. 53-79.

institutions matriculated 33,500 students.¹⁷⁹ Although financial difficulties still plagued many privates, the sector advanced.¹⁸⁰ In 1903, the *Monbusho* allowed better *senmongakko* to provide a fourth year of “university division” courses. The first years of the new century saw the founding of several pioneering private higher-educational schools for women, including a medical school and two special colleges. All three quickly attained *senmongakko* status.¹⁸¹ In 1909, women became eligible to take higher civil-service exams but it took decades for female applicants to actually pass.¹⁸² Non-state institutions enrolled 42% of higher-educational students in 1910.¹⁸³

In the early 1890s, Christian colleges endured significant losses of students due to rising nationalist sentiment and tightening regulations. With the expiration of the foreign evangelists’ extraterritorial privileges in 1899, the *Monbusho* required teachers to speak Japanese and forbid non-Shinto religious instruction at recognized schools. Rather than comply, most mission schools gave up state certification, prompting further enrollment drops. Though all four Protestant colleges survived, twenty-one lower-level institutions closed.¹⁸⁴ After extensive negotiations aided by the good offices of the American ambassador, the ministry softened its stance. From 1904, the latter rule was not

¹⁷⁹All single-faculty institutions were formally classified as *senmongakko*. Roden, pp. 255-256.

¹⁸⁰In 1910, per-student expenditures in private higher education were 27% of national institutions. Ichikawa, p. 46. While Waseda’s regular enrollment reached 2,367 in 1902, the number of students taking its correspondence courses peaked at 12,556 two years earlier. Motoyama, pp. 333-336.

¹⁸¹Harrington outlines the founding of Yoshioka Yayoi’s Tokyo Women’s Medical School, Tsuda Umeko’s Women’s English College, and Naruse Jinzo’s Japan Women’s College, pp. 174-177.

¹⁸²The first women to pass the judicial and administrative exams came in 1938 and 1941. Fukai & Fukui, p. 28.

¹⁸³Ichikawa, p. 46.

¹⁸⁴Burnstein states this number represented about 10% of all church schools in Japan. Meiji Gakuin lost sixty-one of its 167 students. As no new Protestant colleges were founded after 1883, Doshisha, Meiji Gakuin, Rikkyo Gakuin, and Aoyama Gakuin completed the sector. For 1900, Cary lists 133 non-theological Protestant schools (74 day, 15 girls’ boarding, and 44 boys’ boarding)

enforced.¹⁸⁵ Given the good reputations of their programs, enrollments rebounded.¹⁸⁶

Japanese Christians progressively assumed larger roles in teaching and administration at most institutions. In 1913, the Catholic Church established its first higher-educational institution in Japan offering non-theological programs.¹⁸⁷

Under the Taisho Emperor (1912-1926), the aging Meiji oligarchs' grip on power weakened. A variety of interests in and outside the regime vied for influence over policy. Leading players included the civil-bureaucracy, military, *zaibatsu* (conglomerates), and large landowners. Additionally, rapid growth of Japan's popular press fostered by rising literacy heightened public awareness of political affairs. A new middle class of highly educated urban professionals vocally pushed for progressive social reforms.¹⁸⁸ Obligated by its treaty with Britain, Japan entered the First World War soon after its start in 1914. Their forces quickly seized German territories in China and the Pacific. Demand for munitions and supplies abroad and the disruption of Western imports greatly stimulated its economy. Industrial manufacturing displaced agriculture as the country's most important economic sector. While a small group of *zaibatsu* saw unprecedented growth, laborers suffered low wages, poor working conditions, and other hardships. In the end, excessive demand triggered inflation. Pressed by rocketing prices for food and other

teaching 10,000 pupils, p. 296.

¹⁸⁵Burnstein, pp. 62-97.

¹⁸⁶The aggregate number of students in college-level courses stayed small totaling 321 in 1912. Ibid. pp. 136-137.

¹⁸⁷Jochi Gakuen later became Sophia University. Two years later, they founded Sacred Heart College for women.

¹⁸⁸From the mid-1890s, liberal-minded doctors, lawyers, civil servants, journalists, educators, and other white-collar professionals, fearing a class struggle, organized various civil associations dedicated to remedying the many social evils caused by Japan's industrialization. Many were influenced by Christian thought. Most of the 40,000 Japanese who converted in the years between 1894 and 1909 belonged to this emerging class. David R. Ambaras, "Social Knowledge, Cultural Capital, and the New Middle Class," *Journal of Japanese Studies*. 24 (1998), pp. 1-33.

necessities, the urban masses in 1918 rioted across Japan. To restore calm, senior officials tapped conservative dietman Hara Takashi to form a party cabinet. On taking office, he ordered a heavy police crackdown.¹⁸⁹

To deal with new political, economic, and educational pressures created by the war, the conservative cabinet in 1917 convened an Extraordinary Council for Education made up of forty members representing various political and business interests.¹⁹⁰ During its two-year existence, it formulated a long list of recommendations. Most were implemented. Notably, the suggestion to increase compulsory school attendance to eight years was rejected as too costly. The council called for broadening secondary curriculum to allow pupils to specialize and raising the status of vocational programs. For higher education, they advised creating additional preparatory higher schools. Thus, the system grew from eight to fifteen institutions by 1920. They also advocated allowing technical and private colleges to evolve up the educational hierarchy. The enactment of the 1918 University Ordinance transformed Japan's institutional network. Sapporo Agricultural College was upgraded and renamed Hokkaido Imperial University. The Tokyo Higher Commercial School attained university status despite having a single faculty. The advent of party government facilitated additional changes. Given the large presence of private-*senmongakko* alumni in Hara's Seiyukai Party, his cabinet endeavored to lessen the

¹⁸⁹Sheldon Garon, *The State and Labor in Modern Japan*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 39-72.

¹⁹⁰Unfortunately, little literature is available about the council, especially regarding its deliberations. While Ikeda Susumu demonstrates the conservative nature of its initial agenda and membership, he fails to discuss how it evolved after time, "Rinji kyoiku kaigi o megutte," *Taisho no Kyoiku*. Susumu Ikeda & Yukihiro Motoyama, ed., (Tokyo: Daiichi Hoki Shuppan, 1978), pp. 163-176. Aso and Amano outline its recommendations, pp. 42-47.

special privileges enjoyed by state institutions.¹⁹¹ In 1918, the Diet passed a bill requiring Imperial University graduates to take the civil-service qualifying exams.¹⁹² In the same year, the *Monbusho* was authorized to reclassify such leading privates as Keio, Waseda, and Doshisha as full universities.¹⁹³ All set up three-year preparatory courses to precede their three-year degree programs. By 1920, sixteen universities enrolled 22,000 students, while another 40,000 attended lower-level colleges.¹⁹⁴

The war's end in late 1918 brought opportunities but greater challenges. At the Paris Conference, the Western Allies awarded Japan control of Germany's former holdings in China and the northern Pacific as well as accepted many of its demands in China.¹⁹⁵ As exports to Europe's devastated economies plummeted, commodity prices collapsed, economic growth stalled, and unemployment rose. Even university graduates had difficulty finding jobs. The spread of popular government in Central Europe and the Russian Revolution inspired hopes of greater democracy and social justice. The call for universal manhood suffrage provoked widespread agitation. Workers in several industries formed unions and struck for better pay and conditions. More worrisome to officials, socialism emerged as a sustainable political force. To check the spread of radicalism, the regime zealously enforced existing press and public-order laws. As the

¹⁹¹By 1917, nearly a third of the members of House of Representatives had graduated from private schools whereas Imperial University alumni comprised only 15% of the body. Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 97.

¹⁹²The deliberation of this bill prompted large student demonstrations outside the Diet building. Imperial graduates also lost their exemption from judicial examinations in 1923. Spaulding, pp. 135-165.

¹⁹³In 1919 and 1920, eight privates institutions were elevated to university status. By 1925, the number rose to nineteen. Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 98.

¹⁹⁴Ikema, p. 22.

¹⁹⁵The Paris Peace Conference also dealt Japan some significant setbacks, e.g. its territorial gains were made temporary and its demand for special treaty rights in China was rejected. Nationalist resentment, especially in the military, against the Western powers was further exacerbated by the Washington Conference where Japan had to agree to limit its naval forces at a three-to-five parity

economic downturn persisted into the 1920s, so did the political turmoil. Even after Hara's murder in 1921 by a rightwing extremist, political parties continued to play a central role in the nation's governance; however, frequent turnover of cabinets left bureaucrats and military men ample room to maneuver. Extending the franchise to all males over twenty-five years of age brought little change. Ironically, passage of this 1925 measure was accompanied by another giving police sweeping powers to surveil and move against any group or individual suspected of threatening the national polity.

Japan's centers of learning were deeply involved in this tumult. Though imperial university faculty were permitted to select their institutional presidents and departmental chairmen after 1919, their scholarly freedoms came under fire.¹⁹⁶ To circumvent the academic hierarchy, justice officials charged two left-leaning Tokyo professors with sedition in 1919. Owing to ideological divisions among faculty, the university could not block their convictions. Concurrently, students organized societies to support leftist causes and study socialist theory. The most influential of them, Shinjinkai, was founded at Tokyo University.¹⁹⁷ Professors often lent intellectual guidance. Memberships began small, but the creation of a national student federation in 1922 prompted a rapid expansion. Small rightist associations also appeared at some institutions. To extend their influence, activists took over campus-sponsored organs, especially those relating to student government, dormitories, and extracurricular activities. They also rallied students against such unpopular issues as the 1924 introduction of military training into middle

with Britain and the United States.

¹⁹⁶Faculty-elected representatives also held a two-thirds majority in the newly enlarged university councils. Marshall, "The Tradition of Conflict...", pp. 397-399.

¹⁹⁷Other examples include the Peoples League at Waseda and Labor-Student Society at Kyoto University. Henry D. Smith, "The Origins of Student Radicalism in Japan," *Journal of Contemporary History*,

and higher schools. Authorities treated students, given their prestige, with special leniency; however, as the movement radicalized, concerns grew. Enactment of the 1925 Peace Preservation Law facilitated the arrest of scores of militants. Many received long prison terms. Most universities reluctantly cooperated with this suppression. After the *Monbusho* ordered the dissolution of left-leaning campus groups in 1928, most went underground. Finally in late 1929, student leaders merged their federation into the Communist Youth League.¹⁹⁸

The first independent teachers' union formed in 1919. Beyond working to improve teachers' salaries and status, the Keimeikai (Enlightenment Association) championed a broad liberal agenda.¹⁹⁹ Politically, they called for expanding democratic rule, respecting the human and economic rights of all citizens, and supporting the League of Nations. Influenced by John Dewey, Maria Montessori, and other progressives, its leadership believed that education should nurture the individual talents and spirit of every child and all youth with an ability and desire to learn should receive post-primary instruction at public expense. While advocating giving teachers greater professional autonomy, they sought to limit bureaucratic interference by setting up locally elected school boards.²⁰⁰ The association unsuccessfully petitioned the League of Nations to establish an international education congress that would promote peace through

5 (1970), p. 91.

¹⁹⁸Ibid, pp. 87-103, and Shimbori Michiya, "Comparisons between Pre- and Post-War Student Movements in Japan," *Sociology of Education*, 37 (1963), pp. 59-70, offer further details and analysis.

¹⁹⁹Its full name was the Japan Teachers' Union Enlightenment Association. Shimonaka Yasuburo was among its principal organizers and leaders. Nakano Akira, "Shimonaka Yasuburo," *Ten Great Educators of Modern Japan: A Japanese Perspective*, Benjamin C. Duke, ed., (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1990), pp. 176-178.

²⁰⁰Nakano provided a translation of the association's 1920 four-point declaration, pp. 178-179.

international cooperation. By the mid-1920s, it boasted 1,500 members.²⁰¹ The founding of other educational organizations encouraged a lively debate over basic principles and practices.²⁰² Putting ideas into action, several innovators set up experimental schools employing a variety of novel pedagogical approaches.²⁰³

Throughout the decade, rising public spending on education facilitated continued growth.²⁰⁴ Counting those in academic and vocational programs, the secondary student population nearly doubled between 1920 and 1931.²⁰⁵ Despite a chronic oversupply of graduates in relation to jobs, many tertiary institutions were enlarged and upgraded. Colonial administrators opened imperial universities in Seoul (1924) and Taipei (1928). Japanese constituted the bulk of their enrollments. Osaka Imperial University was inaugurated in 1931. By 1930, forty-six universities matriculated 70,000 students while another 90,000 attended 161 *senmongakko*.²⁰⁶ Privates attracted almost 60% of those seeking higher education.²⁰⁷ Substantial numbers of Japanese also studied abroad.²⁰⁸

Though Japan's economy recovered somewhat in the mid-1920s, the advent of the Great Depression in 1929 brought renewed distress and heightened political tensions. Hostility within the armed forces against party politicians mounted as result of the latter's signing of several arms control treaties with the Western powers. Army officers killed

²⁰¹ Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 106

²⁰² Mark Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth Century Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 58 (1999), pp. 338-360.

²⁰³ Most of these institutions were private; yet, some public-school principals promoted the use of new instructional methods. Kobayashi describes several progressive institutions, pp. 68-111.

²⁰⁴ Educational spending as a share of public expenditures increased from 12.3% to 14.4%. Ichikawa, p. 51.

²⁰⁵ Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 95.

²⁰⁶ Moreover, thirty-two higher schools instructed 25,500 students. Ikema, p. 22.

²⁰⁷ Ichikawa, pp. 53.

²⁰⁸ Little attention has been focused on post-Meiji study-abroad. Yet, according to the Institute of Pacific Relations, between 532 and 987 Japanese studied annually at American colleges and universities from 1921 to 1932. "Memorandum of Chinese Students in the United States," *Memorandum*, 3, n.

two civilian prime ministers in a period of two years. Against the cabinet's instructions, the military staged an international incident in 1931 that precipitated its seizure of Manchuria. By 1933, military ultra-nationalists succeeded in placing supporters in all key positions of power. Following this takeover, political repression intensified as the regime smashed all opposition. Hoping to preserve their broader prerogatives, academic leaders sacrificed individual faculty at the urging of the Ministries of Justice and Education. The process ended with the wholesale purging of leftist and liberal faculty across Japanese higher education. Even Kyoto University's prestigious department of law was gutted in 1933 to placate right-wing officials. The *kempeï* (thought police) relentlessly pursued leftist students. Primary and secondary schools were similarly cleansed of staff displaying unsuitable political orientations.²⁰⁹ Christian institutions of all types were harassed due to their association with a subversive alien ideology.²¹⁰

Driven by a desire to control its vast resources, ultra-nationalists ordered a military offensive in China in 1937 that put most of its western provinces in Japanese hands. Unsatisfied, they planned further thrusts into South East Asia and the Pacific. After concluding a military pact with Nazi Germany and fascist Italy, Japan swiftly occupied the East Asian possessions of France, Britain, the Netherlands, and the United States. While consolidating their conquests into a supposed Greater Asian co-prosperity sphere, the regime battled American, British, and Chinese forces. Like other Japanese institutions, its educational system was almost completely subverted to serve the war

7, (1934), p. 1.

²⁰⁹Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 129-131.

²¹⁰Saburo Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-45: A Critical Perspective on Japan's Role in World War II*, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), p. 109.

effort. Spreading propaganda, supplying disciplined recruits, and providing technological support became primary tasks. School texts issued in 1941 taught that because Japanese institutions were spiritually superior to those of other nations in virtue of their being authorized by the emperor, the direct descendant of the sun goddess, Japan had a right and even a moral obligation to conquer other Asian lands. Students were exhorted to give up their individual desires and interests to advance the national struggle.²¹¹ A rabidly jingoistic and militaristic mood permeated virtually all class activities. Military drilling augmented upper-elementary curriculum. Despite cuts in nonessential functions, higher education expanded as new technical and medical colleges were started, normal schools became colleges, and enrollments climbed. Nagoya Imperial University was launched in 1939. Although nationalist ideology stressed traditional women's roles, participation of women in higher education jumped from 15,500 to 58,500 between 1935 and 1945.²¹² The number of female medical students reached 10,000, twice that of ten years earlier. While scientific research was directed toward military needs, most scholarship became an exercise in discrediting such alien heresies as liberalism and democracy. Given the huge increases in military outlays, the share of public expenditures going to education plunged from 14.4% to 5.2% between 1930 and 1940.²¹³

As the war turned against Japan, the system began to strain. In 1943, the regime canceled draft deferments for university students except for those studying medicine, science, or engineering. Not only were plans announced in 1941 to extend compulsory

²¹¹Harold Wray "A study in Contrasts: Japanese School Textbooks of 1903 and 1941-5," *Monumenta Nipponica*, 28 (1973), pp. 69-86.

²¹²Ben-Ami Shillony, "Universities and Students in Wartime Japan," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 45 (1986), p. 777.

²¹³Higher education's share of the public education budget dropped from 10.4% and 8.9%, Ichikawa, p. 51.

education to eight years left unrealized, but the government shortened academic terms and programs. Students above the age of ten were required to work in factories, hospitals and on farms. Finally in February 1945, officials suspended most educational operations.²¹⁴ After breaking through Japan's defensive perimeter, American forces unleashed a massive aerial bombing campaign that leveled Japan's major cities and killed thousands of civilians. Like its opening to the West ninety years earlier, Japan's subsequent surrender to United States heralded far-reaching change for Japanese politics, society, and education.

The Legacy of Meiji Education

Japan's educational development between 1868 and 1945 can be divided into two stages: a formative phase running to about 1890 and an expansion phase lasting until the end of the Second World War. After the swift collapse of the Tokugawa regime, education gained new importance as Meiji leaders sought to modernize the nation. Viewing the existing system as fundamentally flawed, the new government undertook radical reforms. Given the West's apparent political, economic, and technological superiority, Japanese esteemed Western educational practices. In the 1870s and 1880s, modern public and private primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions were created using Western models and administered by a central bureaucracy. The regime devoted considerable resources to its initiatives; indeed, per-student expenditures at Tokyo University in 1890 were sixteen times the per-capita national income.²¹⁵ The new fully-integrated educational hierarchy effectively served the Meiji state in its struggle against

²¹⁴Marshall, *Learning to be Modern*, pp. 137-142.

Western imperialism by bolstering the nation's bureaucratic, military, and economic development. Still, as opposition to foreign borrowing grew in the 1880s, education policy increasingly reflected traditional priorities. In 1890, officials ordered a Confucian-inspired national ideology be taught in all classrooms.

Despite a high birthrate, educational opportunity broadened so that by 1905 nearly all boys and girls received basic instruction. Yet, participation in post-primary education lagged. Higher education remained a privilege for the elite. Until 1897, Japan had just one university. While 42% of Japan's working-age population completed elementary school in 1905, only .3% received post-primary education. The percentage of college-age Japanese enrolled in higher education rose only from .4% in 1875 to .9% in 1900.²¹⁶ In the new century, numerous public and private secondary and higher educational institutions were founded or allowed to move up the hierarchy. By 1935, 82%, 9.2% and 1.6% of Japan's working age population completed primary, secondary, and higher education. Though the Second World War ultimately resulted in the system's destruction, it also encouraged a last spurt of growth. The number of higher educational students in 1945 reached 400,000, a two-fold increase in five years.²¹⁷

Scholars examining Meiji education, like those studying Tokugawa education, offer two contrasting interpretations. Significantly, their differences philosophically echo back to the great educational debates in the early Meiji period. A perspective that prevailed during Japan's booming 1960s, 70s and 80s, stresses the contribution Meiji education made to the country's rapid economic growth. Historians such as Rubinger

²¹⁵Ichikawa, p. 46.

²¹⁶Ibid, p. 50.

and Marshall see educational advancement as an essential condition underlying Japan's transformation from a vulnerable feudal society to a competitive modern nation. Specifically, they argue Meiji education policies enabled Japan to gain vital Western knowledge, build a capable state bureaucracy, and prepare its workforce for industrialization. Consequently, Japan's economic achievements are placed in the context of rising education levels. Marshall shows that throughout the nineteenth century Japanese primary enrollments for males exceeded those of Europe.²¹⁸ The Meiji education system's efficiency, meritocratic nature, and high standards are also highlighted. Hall argues that Mori's affinity for regimentation came from his desire to promote efficiency rather than from authoritarian tendencies. Marshall and Shillony credit ultra-nationalist policy for expanding science and technical education and widening of opportunities for women. Though they convincingly demonstrate Meiji education's role in fostering economic development, their narrow focus blinds them to a wide range of significant issues. Modernization, especially industrialization, is considered a greater good; thus, its high human costs are overshadowed by Japan's national success.

An alternate approach born within the leftist intellectual tradition has gained favor in the post-bubble era. Its supporters, including Horio and Amano, argue that the education system was designed by the Meiji elite to further their narrow political, social, and economic agenda at the expense of ordinary Japanese. Because it denies the rights, needs, and interests of individuals, Meiji educational policy is viewed as manipulative, callous, rigid, and elitist. Amano asserts that the examination system, albeit efficient,

²¹⁷Shillony, p. 777.

²¹⁸Marshall, *Learning to Be Modern*, p. 98.

caused profound psychological, intellectual, and social harm to students. The Imperial Rescript is portrayed by Horio as a deliberate attempt to ideologically control the masses to counterbalance legal reforms adopted for the purpose of enhancing Japan's efforts to renegotiate its foreign treaties. Because of its role in bolstering Japan's authoritarianism, militarism, and ultra-nationalism, Japanese education is regarded as an indirect cause for the nation's brutal overseas aggression and costly defeat. Though this perspective's proponents identify a host of profound faults, some of which continue to plague Japan today, they often miss the obvious reality that despite its disregard for individual rights, the system transformed Japan into a broadly educated society, which, in turn, brought material, cultural, and intellectual benefits for all Japanese.

Conclusion

Following Japan's coerced opening to the West, many factors allowed the Japanese to reshape their educational structures. A firm belief in the power of education fostered a tradition of advanced learning and widespread literacy. The Japanese were adept intercultural borrowers. For most of their history, they emulated the Chinese, but after 1800 their attention turned westward. Interest initially focused on science and technology, but in the mid-nineteenth century the Japanese embraced a wide range of Western practices relating to government, education, and commerce. Still, its leadership strove with some success to mitigate what they judged as the potentially negative outcomes of modernization. As government officials redesigned Japan's educational system using Western patterns, they consistently modified them to suit their needs. While its primary and secondary schools played a critical role in promoting political

solidarity by disseminating a traditionalist inspired ideology, its institutions of higher learning facilitated the strengthening of its state bureaucracy, military, and economy. In the end, Japan emerged as the first non-Western nation in the modern era to successfully compete with the Western powers. Sadly, its modern political, economic, and educational apparatus became effective weapons in the hands of nationalist zealots who ultimately brought widespread destruction to Japan and the rest of East Asia.

CHAPTER THREE

CHINESE EDUCATION BETWEEN 1644 AND 1949

Introduction

During the last millennium, education served as a primary pillar of Chinese civilization. In addition to being a main instrument of political and social control, it sustained sophisticated commercial and cultural practices and pulled diverse peoples into the Han mainstream. Few other pre-modern societies spent a comparable amount of state and private resources to promote higher learning. Given its vast size, large population, and long history, it is not surprising China's educational system was extremely complicated. Consequently, Asian and Western researchers have produced an immense volume of literature over the topic. Together the subject's complexity and superabundance of source materials create hurdles for anyone wishing to understand China's recent educational evolution.

This chapter reviews the available research on Chinese education from the founding of the Qing dynasty in 1644 to the fall of Chinese republic in 1949. To help the reader make sense of a convoluted narrative, the discussion is divided into four sections. The first examines the early and mid-Qing system centering on the imperial examinations (1644-1860). The second covers self-strengthening education with its tentative promotion of Western technical learning (1860-1900). The third outlines China's chaotic educational modernization that occurred during the collapse of the Qing regime and rise of regional warlords (1900-1926). And the fourth looks at the Nationalist's efforts to reassert central control (1926-1949). In each, a wide array of public, private, and

missionary institutions is described. The topics of literacy, social mobility, and women's education are also addressed. Finally, the chapter details Chinese efforts to adapt Western educational ideas and practices for their own purposes.

Education in the Early and Mid-Qing (1644-1860)

As the Ming state weakened in the early seventeenth century due to inept leadership, corruption, and internal dissension, several threats to the dynasty's existence emerged. Although domestic insurrection spread, ultimately it was the descendants of Jürchen tribesmen who became the new masters of China. Having built a powerful state on China's northeastern border, the Manchus were well placed to take advantage of China's turmoil. After seizing Beijing with the aid of Mongolian and Chinese allies in 1644, Manchu leaders declared a new dynasty. While its armies extended its authority to the south and east, the regime solidified its position by reestablishing most traditional political, social, and cultural structures. Like in the Ming period, Qing society was divided into three groups: nobles, civil officials, and commoners. Although the imperial clan and high bannermen replaced the Ming aristocracy, this semi-hereditary class was small and mostly performed military roles.¹ A class of scholarly bureaucrats assisted the emperor in administering his vast realm. Organized into ranks, they received generous salaries, held considerable clout, and commanded great respect. Commoners were further classified in descending order as scholars, agriculturalists, artisans, and merchants. The second group, which included both landless peasants and rich landlords, represented a

¹The Manchu military was organized into divisions called banners. Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese veterans of the conquest and their descendants enjoyed substantial privileges. A few were ennobled; however, such rank degraded over successive generations. Jonathan D. Spence, *The*

majority of the populace and contributed the bulk of state revenues. Despite their low status, many members of its business classes grew wealthy participating in the realm's large and productive commercial system.

Under the Qing, Confucianism continued to serve as China's intellectual and ideological foundation. Writing in a period of political chaos, Confucius (551-479 B.C.E.) sought to devise a stable socio-political system that was in harmony with the heavens. Given humans' differing intelligences, abilities and moral capacities, he argued that hierarchies of men are natural, proper, and beneficial. Only if individuals behave rightly according to their stations can the social and celestial order be upheld. Moral conduct is defined by social relationships and ancient ritual. While social superiors, e.g. rulers, parents, and men, should act benevolently, inferiors, e.g. subjects, children, and women, should be obedient and reverential. Given its utility in justifying nascent bureaucratic structures, Confucianism gradually eclipsed other philosophical schools in influence after China was politically consolidated in the late third century B.C.E. Finally in the 130s B.C.E., the Han regime (206 B.C.E. - 221 C.E.) recognized it as an imperial ideology.² Confucian thought and practice proved so effective at promoting social cohesion and grew so deeply ingrained into China's social fabric that it shaped the political discourse of every dynasty that followed. Of course, doctrine evolved as it adjusted to new political and social realities. Notably, the Sung period (960-1279) saw the development of Neo-Confucianism. Wishing to return to ancient tenets and counter

Search for Modern China, (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 1990), pp. 27-30, 38-41.

²After the fall of the Qin (221-210 B.C.E.), legalism, which had dominated political thought, was rejected due to its harshness and political inadequacy. Still, Han Confucianism incorporated elements of other traditions.

Buddhist influence, the Sung masters, especially Zhu Xi and Zheng Yi, restructured the classical canon and formulated a broad philosophical framework clearly defining individuals' position in the cosmos.³ During the subsequent Yuan and Ming dynasties, Neo-Confucianism dominated intellectual life and became official orthodoxy. Like previous foreign conquerors, the Manchus eagerly borrowed Chinese ideological constructs. Even as rulers of a small peripheral state, they sponsored Confucian rites and practices. Cloaking himself in the mantle of a sage-king, Emperor Kangxi (1661-1722) succeeded in legitimizing the dynasty and gaining the support of most Chinese.

Within the Confucian tradition, education was a matter of central importance. Many leading thinkers, including Confucius himself, were teachers. Since they believed people were morally educable, study became a primary means of improving human character. Intellectual self-cultivation was seen as a distinguishing trait of true gentlemen. In contrast, those ignorant of the way were thought to be ruled by selfish passions and naturally inferior. Following its embrace of Confucianism, Han emperors actively promoted study of the *Five Classics* among the elite and in 124 B.C.E founded an Imperial College. By the beginning of the first millennium C.E., this institution enrolled over 3000 students, many of whom entered the imperial bureaucracy. Because social hierarchies should be based on individuals' capacities and merits, rather than hereditary status, a recommendation system was developed to recruit officials. Nominees were required to take competitive oral or written examinations for certain appointments. As established bureaucrats favored their own clansmen, the system failed to serve

³Arriving from India in the second century, Mahayana Buddhism flourished from the fifth to ninth centuries.

imperial interests. To establish a more objective measure of talent, the Sui and Tang regimes (581-906 C.E.) expanded the written exams. Six qualifications were initially offered, but the number was reduced until two remained.⁴ The lower *mingjing* mainly tested candidates' memorization of the classics, while the higher *jinshi* assessed their ability to interpret texts, discuss administrative issues, and write creatively. Given the difficulty of passing the latter, it was esteemed even among the highborn. Wishing to offset the power of aristocratic cliques, emperors increasingly relied on exams to fill civil-service posts so by the Sung (960-1279) other recruiting methods largely fell into disuse. The Mongol conquest brought only a brief hiatus; the Yuan regime (1279-1368) held competitive exams from 1315. Unlike the broad, practically oriented learning stressed earlier, Yuan examinations reflected a narrow Neo-Confucian orthodoxy tailored to bolster the loyalty of the bureaucratic elite.⁵

After China's return to native rule under the Ming (1368-1644), the system took its mature form. The examinations again became the primary means of selecting officials. Most males regardless of social background were free to take them. As in previous periods, the powerful Ministry of Rites planned, administered, and graded them. Great care was taken to safeguard their secrecy, honesty, and impartiality.⁶ In addition to being versed in the *Four Books* (*The Analects*, *Mencius*, *Greater Learning*, and *Doctrine*

⁴Early exams covered such subjects as law, calligraphy and mathematics. Ping-Ti Ho, *The Ladder of Success in Imperial China: Aspects of Social Mobility, 1368-1911*, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 11-16.

⁵Benjamin A. Elman, "The Evolution of the Civil Service Examination in Late Imperial China," *Newsletter for Modern Chinese History*, 11 (1991), pp. 68-69.

⁶Questions were locked in a special box until just before being distributed to exam-takers. Candidates were cloistered while composing their answers. Proctors strictly enforced a conduct code. Secretaries copied answers in red ink so graders could not identify the calligraphy. Ichisada Miyazaki, *China's Examination Hell: The Civil Service Examinations of Imperial China*, trans. Conrad

of the Mean), *Five Classics* (*Changes, History, Songs, Rites, and Spring and Autumn Annals*), and dynastic histories, candidates were expected to know the Zhu Xi and Zheng Yi commentaries. The system had three basic stages. After working through a series of examinations offered twice every three years on the district and provincial levels, young aspirants became *shengyuan*. Though this degree did not guarantee its holder a government position, it entitled him to take the next exam. To gain *juren* status, candidates had to pass a provincial examination administered every three years by officials sent out from the capital. Being qualified for only minor posts, most *juren* traveled to Beijing to attempt the metropolitan examination also offered triennially. Like the provincial exams, it included three sessions written on different days.⁷ Grading stressed doctrinal conformity, literary style, and calligraphy. Those successful advanced to the palace examination. Held under the supervision of the emperor, it served as a final check of candidates' worthiness and loyalty. The fortunate few who survived received the exalted *jinshi* degree and were assured of high office. Entry into prestigious ministries was limited to graduates receiving high marks. Since it took years of preparation, most new *jinshi* were middle-aged or elderly. All degree-holders were regarded as superior men and exempted from labor service and ordinary penal law. Due to surpluses of applicants, quotas were set at the two higher levels.⁸ Still, many graduates

Schirokauer, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).

⁷The first session covered the *Fours Books* and *Five Classics*, the second philology and law, and the third public policy. Officials set strict guidelines for the length and style of answers. The so-called eight-legged essay, which required candidates to balance their sentences in parallel, became the accepted form. In term of grading, the first and second sessions played such a disproportionate role that the third became largely a formality. Despite a short-lived experiment in 1663, the overall format was little changed under the Qing. Elman, pp. 73-75, 80-83.

⁸Ho, p. 189, calculates on average 288 *jinshi* degrees were awarded for each Ming exam offering. The number dropped to 239 in the Qing. Annual averages for the 1644 to 1795 period equaled those of

waited years before getting an official post. The Manchus adopted Ming exam practices and curriculum almost wholesale. Indeed, its leaders initiated exams on the Chinese model ten years prior to the conquest.

In the Tang era, educational opportunities were few and targeted the aristocracy. To realize the Confucian ideal of social meritocracy, Sung officials set up schools in large provincial centers. *Shuyuan* (private academies) were also founded. Given its authority over the exams, the Ministry of Rites managed most educational affairs. In the Ming, educational expansion accelerated when the government directed local officials to set up prefectural and county schools with community resources. *Shuyuan* proliferated as local elites sought to strengthen ties with central officials. Elementary schools of various types provided basic instruction to a cross-section of young males. By the Manchu conquest, China arguably had the world's most advanced educational system and most widely educated populace.

The education system bequeathed to the Qing had several distinct components. State-supported academies located in most provinces attracted throngs of students. Run by local education officials, most provided little actual instruction. Rather, their main task was offering practice exams designed to hone test-taking skills. They also granted students small living stipends. Most *shengyuan* of decent standing were accepted; however, sons of notable families were given automatic access. Since finishing a course of study meant nothing without exam success, some enrollees spent decades as official students. Since learning content was governed by exams, curricula varied little. The Imperial College instructed nominees from provincial academies, *juren* candidates who

the Ming due to frequent special exams.

failed due to quotas, and sons of high officials.⁹ Entry could also be secured with a substantial gift to the imperial treasury. Enrollments averaged 150 residential and 120 non-residential students.¹⁰ Contingent on a student's status, a course of study lasted six to twenty-four months. This was lengthened to three years in 1737 when the school was reorganized. While senior staff members were usually veteran bureaucrats of some literary renown, education officials promoted from the provinces and new *juren* and *jinshi* graduates made up the junior faculty. Except for its head, staff held mid-level civil-service ranks. Facilities comprised six lecture halls, two rooms of study cubicles, and a vast library. During the dynasty's first decades, the college offered a rigorous study program that included formal lectures, recitations, tutorials, and calligraphy exercises. To track student progress, tests were regularly given. Students devised self-study plans that were checked bimonthly. Laziness, cheating, and nonattendance were punishable with dismissal. In some years, the college offered practical courses in political administration for weaker students. After passing special exams, such graduates were eligible for minor posts. Educational standards fluctuated depending on the ability and interest of its executive head.¹¹ At China's educational apex was the Hanlin Academy, which was originally founded in the Tang. Admitting only outstanding *jinshi* graduates, it taught promising bureaucrats official protocol and Manchu script. In

⁹Set up in 1644, this Imperial College had little connection with the Han institution.

¹⁰The former received annual bursaries of twenty-four taels. Since this sum did not allow a comfortable living, students supplemented their incomes with family funds, high-interest loans, or by working as private teachers or secretaries. In 1730, Emperor Yongzheng increased their stipends to forty taels. Adam Lui, "The Imperial College (Kuo-Tzu-Chien) in the Early Ch'ing (1644-1795)," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 10 (1974), p. 155.

¹¹Ibid. pp. 147-166.

practice, however, the Hanlin served primarily as the emperor's personal secretariat.¹²

Shuyuan functioned across China but were particularly common in areas with strong scholarly traditions such as the Yangzi Delta. Organized by resident officials or prominent gentry, these learning centers were typically supported with endowments of land, cash, and other property collected in local subscription drives. Successful alumni were also expected to donate a portion of their state salaries. Unlike the Ming regime, the Qing kept a close eye on non-official scholarly associations.¹³ Since *shuyuan* involving themselves in political controversy were closed, they focused their energies on educating hopeful bureaucrats. Buildings contained space for large lectures and small-group lessons. Many had large libraries to which the regime frequently contributed books. Larger academies maintained printing facilities.¹⁴ Lecturers were usually degree-holders retired from government service or on official leave. Compensation was generous. Larger *shuyuan* offered large salaries to engage eminent academics. Students over the age of fourteen were admitted at various levels; however, *shengyuan* and *juren* predominated. Exams often scored by local officials determined admission. Apart from a few residential scholars, students lived at home. Formal fees were not charged, but students made occasional monetary gifts to instructors. Indeed, most enrollees received material support ranging from ample stipends at urban academies to meals and stationary

¹²Benjamin A. Elman discusses the Hanlin's historical evolution in "Imperial Politics and Confucian Societies in Late Imperial China: the Hanlin and Donglin Academies," *Modern China*, 15 (1989), pp. 383-386.

¹³Ming officials tolerated considerable debate within the *shuyuan*; however, in the sixteenth century, they became centers of political activism. Ultimately, networks of *shuyuan* served as the cores of several bureaucratic factions advocating giving greater power to China's scholarly elite. After this precedent, the Qing regime chose to strictly regulate them from the onset. Indeed, the founding of new *shuyuan* was banned until 1733. *Ibid.* pp. 379-418.

¹⁴Ho, p. 214.

at those in villages. *Shuyuan* often subsidized candidates' journeys to take higher-level exams. Adhering to elaborate timetables some dating back to the Sung, students attended structured tutorials and lectures.¹⁵ The latter were often open to the public. School officials regularly held oral and written exams. While those earning high marks received cash prizes, students showing no progress were expelled. *Shuyuan* supervised student conduct in accordance with Confucian precepts. To instill discipline and correct manners, the *Sacred Edicts of the Emperors* and *Official Regulations for Students* were conspicuously inscribed on school buildings. Institutions also enforced their own behavioral codes. Those authored by Zhu Xi were widely used:

1. The Five Observances of Students:
 - a. Maintain cordial relationship between father and son.
 - b. Maintain mutual trust between officials and emperor.
 - c. Maintain correct behavior between husband and wife.
 - d. Maintain correct behaviors between elders and the young.
 - e. Maintain mutual confidence between friends.
2. The Proper Procedure of Study:
First read widely, then investigate things, then think deeply and understand the subjects, then take action.
3. Training of Character:
Talk and act confidently but politely, suppress anger and lust and make repentance for any wrongdoings.
4. Ways of Dealing with Problems:
Help put things right but do not seek profit out of them; try to know the meaning of things but do not count on them for advancement.
5. Ways of Getting on with People:
Do unto others as you would like others to do unto you. When things cannot be worked out smoothly, do not rely on others but on yourself.¹⁶

¹⁵Adam Lui, "The Academies (*shu-yüan*) under the Ch'ing," *Journal of Asian History*, 7 (1973), pp. 58-61.

¹⁶Translation by Lui, *ibid.* pp. 63-64. Other schools adopted more specific guidelines developed by Yuan scholars.

To encourage worship of the sages, students routinely observed various rites.

Since students were expected to be literate in classical Chinese and familiar with the ancient texts before entering an academy, they acquired basic learning elsewhere. Though personal tutors taught the sons of officials and wealthy merchants, the mass of pupils studied in private schools, which operated in most localities. Yet, even families unable to afford modest fees had options. Poor boys belonging to important lineages could attend clan schools financed from common lands, endowments, and donations from well-to-do members. District officials were urged by imperial decree to found schools for the poor using local funds. In frontier provinces like Yunnan, the central government even allocated funds.¹⁷ Community leaders also organized charitable schools.¹⁸ While the facilities of some schools included as many as thirty rooms, most were smaller. Many met in Buddhist temples. Typically, teachers were local *shengyuan* of good character seeking to support themselves while preparing for exams. Most schools had a single instructor. Compensation was modest and could be paid in grain, copper, or silver.¹⁹ School managers chosen from the local literati drew nominal salaries. Enrollments ranged from ten to as many as forty pupils including boarding and day

¹⁷Alexander Woodside & Elman, "The Expansion of Education in Ch'ing China," *Education and Society in Late Imperial China, 1600-1900*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), discuss government efforts to integrate ethnic and religious minorities into the cultural mainstream by maintaining free schools, pp. 527-528. William T. Rowe shows officials tried to make state-sponsored childhood education universal for males in Yunnan. "Education and Empire in Southwest China: Ch'en Hung-mou in Yunnan, 1733-38," *Education and Society...*, pp. 417-457.

¹⁸While schools founded by officials and community groups were sometimes differentiated as *shexue* and *yixue*, the distinction was blurry. Neither charged regular fees; however, parents might be asked to make small gifts or pay incidentals. Most offered free texts and served simple meals during the school day. Pupils were occasionally given small cash stipends or prizes, especially at clan schools. Evelyn Sakakida Rawski, *Education and Popular Literacy in Ch'ing China*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1979), pp. 33-36 & 64-65.

¹⁹Teacher salaries were considerably larger than average academic stipends. See Rawski for a detailed analysis of teacher salaries in terms of their buying power and historical trends, pp. 42-43, 54-60,

students. Sons of respectable families were accepted at six or seven years of age.²⁰

While schools discharged the inept after a few years, promising scholars transferred to academies on reaching fifteen or sixteen. The school year ran for eleven months with a break around New Year's. Once enrolled, attendance was obligatory except in cases of illness or family hardship. The quality of instruction varied but curriculum was remarkably uniform. As at the academies, morality was stressed.²¹ Beyond maintaining school discipline and honoring the ancients, teachers told stories illustrating proper filial piety to provide concrete moral guidelines. The reading of popular literature deemed licentious was strictly prohibited. Corporal punishment was common but was normally used with restraint and directed at older pupils. Students were first taught to read basic characters and brush various strokes. After completing the standard primers, the *Trimetrical Classic*, *Hundred Name Classic*, and *Thousand Character Classic* often within a year, pupils could recognize about two thousand ideograms and were ready to tackle the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*.²² Given the philosophical nature of the texts, progress was slow and involved little conceptual understanding. As the language used by the sages differed from every-day speech, pupils concurrently learned classical Chinese. They also studied arithmetic including addition, multiplication, and sometimes the extraction of square roots. Rote memorization, repetition, and recitation were dominant

& 99-100.

²⁰Most charitable schools excluded the sons of actors, bonded servants, prostitutes, and the like. Ibid, pp. 37-38.

²¹Instilling Confucian values in the poor was a principal motivation for establishing charitable schools. Angela Ki Che Leung, "Elementary Education in the Lower Yangtze Region in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," *Education and Society...*, pp. 396-400.

²²While the *Thousand Character Classic* dated back to the sixth century, the *Trimetrical Classic* was written during the Sung. All three texts organized characters into easy to remember couplets. Rawski, pp. 47-49.

pedagogical methods. Teachers let students work at their own pace.

Wishing to train loyalists to oversee the Chinese bureaucracy while preserving their distinctive identity, the Qing regime operated separate exam and education systems for imperial clansmen and bannermen. Though they were eligible to sit for civil-service exams in Chinese or Manchu, initially a tiny minority elected to do so and their efforts often proved mediocre.²³ In 1722, translation degrees were introduced at the *shengyuan*, *juren*, and *jinshi* levels. Candidates could translate from Manchu into Chinese or the reverse. Authorities later added an essay question on the classics and a Mongolian option. Applicants from military divisions also had to demonstrate proficiency in horsemanship and archery. To promote classical learning, the court created an assortment of academies.²⁴ Manchus were required to study both Chinese and their native tongue. The Palace School instructed princes and sons of eminent Manchu aristocrats.²⁵ Lower nobles and high-ranking martials attended the National Academy, a department of the Imperial College. At the lowest level, common bannerman flocked to the Eight Banners School to prepare for state exams.²⁶ The regime made no provisions relating to primary education for the privileged classes; hence, families engaged private tutors or enrolled their sons in regular Chinese schools.

²³Provincial exams for bannermen were held in Shuntian prefecture. Martials were exempted from the qualifying exams. Quotas were relatively liberal; fifty Manchus and Chinese plus twenty Mongolians were usually permitted to pass. Pamela Kyle Crossley, "Manchu Education," *Education and Society...*, pp. 349-351.

²⁴Since the Jurchens had no tradition of emperorship prior to the seventeenth century, the early Manchu court actively promoted the study of Neo-Confucianism among Manchus to help legitimize the new order. *Ibid*, p. 346.

²⁵For an account of the education of imperial scions, see Harold Kahn "The Education of a Prince: The Emperor Learns his Roles," *Readings in Modern Chinese History*, Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, ed., (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 38-57.

²⁶Unlike at other noble and banner academies, the number of applicants at this institution far exceeded its capacity. Quotas and competitive exams determined admission. Crossley also describes other

Given their subservient position within the Confucian system, the education of women followed a different pattern. Since girls were barred from formal schools, learning took place at home. While it was universally believed that women belonged in the domestic domain, Qing contemporaries disagreed over the proper goals of female education. Seeing erudition as incompatible with feminine virtue, some families refused to teach daughters reading or writing and instead focused on the practical arts of cooking, spinning, weaving, and needlework. A more orthodox Neo-Confucian view held women, like men, best appreciate their responsibilities by becoming familiar with the classical teachings that defined them; thus, female education was beneficial in that it made good daughters, wives, and mothers. Across China, girls learned to read and write using texts targeted for women. Although such didactic literature dated back the Han dynasty, the genre flourished in the Qing. Two forms prevailed: compilations of biographies, histories, and quotes from the classics illustrating womanly virtues and practical guidebooks detailing proper female roles and deportment.²⁷ Most were short, composed in simple characters, and calculated not to broaden girls' perspectives beyond household concerns. Still, there was a reluctance in most households to invest too much effort in raising daughters since they left the family after marrying. A scholarly minority argued women should be given opportunities to develop their higher talents. Hence, a few girls got excellent educations usually emphasizing the literary arts. Relatives provided most instruction, but some girls studied under private tutors or in literary circles. Educated

schools, pp. 349-358.

²⁷Details relating to specific texts are available in Tienchi Martin-Liao, "Traditional Handbooks of Women's Education," *Women and Literature in China*, Anna Gerstlacker et al, ed., (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1985), pp 165-189.

mothers often played instrumental roles in determining their sons' academic success.²⁸

Chinese Emperors, as holders of the Mandate of Heaven, viewed themselves as universal sovereigns whose realm encompassed the entire civilized world.²⁹ Chinese typically dismissed peoples living beyond the Confucian sphere as primitive or even animal-like.³⁰ Despite this disdain, the Ming in the early fifteenth century dispatched several fleets as far as East Africa in search of diplomatic and commercial contacts. However, fiscal and political pressures interrupted these efforts. By 1479, the imperial establishment became so inward-looking that Chinese merchants were barred from doing business overseas.³¹ When the Portuguese reached Canton in the 1510s, they were promptly expelled. Given the demand in Europe for Chinese silk, porcelain, and other luxuries, the new arrivals persisted trading clandestinely where possible and looting where not. To contain this nuisance, officials agreed to let the small port of Macao to the Portuguese. Their commercial relations subsequently prospered under the pretense of paying tribute. The Dutch and English entered the Chinese market the following century. The Catholic Church also took an interest in China. In 1601, Matteo Ricci, a gifted Jesuit priest, was given permission to reside and preach in Beijing where he earned the respect

²⁸Articles on this topic include Clara Wing-Chung Ho's "The Cultivation of Female Talent: Views on Women's Education in China During the Early and Late Qing Periods," *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, 38 (1995), pp. 191-223, & Dorothy Ko's "Pursuing Talent and Virtue: Education and Women's Culture in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century China," *Late Imperial China*, 13 (1992), pp. 9-39.

²⁹This ethnocentric fiction was tenable given Korea, Vietnam, and other Southeast Asian kingdoms' nominal tributary status. Japan was conveniently ignored. All visiting emissaries were expected to kowtow to the emperor. The Chinese sense of self-importance is evident in the characters they use to represent their own country, which translate as "middle" and "realm."

³⁰Immanuel C. Y. Hsü, "The Meeting of the Western and Eastern Families of Nations," *Readings in Modern Chinese History*, pp. 79-89.

³¹This contempt for commerce was to a large extent a product of the Confucian mind-set, which viewed profit making as selfish and ignoble. This also explains the low status assigned to merchants.

of many officials.³² Intrigued by several clocks presented to the emperor, the imperial court consulted the missionaries on technological and scientific matters. Jesuit scholars, supported by imperial stipends, translated Western treatises on astronomy, mathematics, cartography, and mechanics. When the old Chinese calendar proved inadequate, the regime entrusted its revision to Ricci's successor Adam Schall. The Society of Jesus aided the flagging Ming cause by introducing Western cannon and constructing a foundry for their manufacture.

Yet, the change of dynasty left the Jesuits' favored position unaltered. The missionaries continued to run the Imperial Board of Astronomy.³³ As its head, Ferdinand Verbeist took charge of the Astronomical College, which trained Chinese officials to maintain the regime's newly adopted calendar. Some two hundred Chinese and Manchu officials attended lectures in Western math and science and participated in direct observations. The bureau also collaborated with a special division of the Imperial College to compile a new corpus of scientific knowledge.³⁴ Under Kangxi, Verbeist and his successors were permitted to teach Western philosophy, especially logic and physics, at court including the Emperor himself.³⁵ The Emperor also asked the Jesuits to create the first comprehensive atlas of the empire. Although Kangxi issued an edict of toleration in 1692, the Catholic missions achieved only modest numbers of converts

³²Ricci was knowledgeable in mathematics and astronomy and, after living in Macao, he also spoke and wrote excellent Chinese. By relating Christian theology to Confucian concepts, he overcame considerable Chinese resistance. Isabel Pina, "The Jesuit Missions in Japan and in China: Two Distinct Realities," *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies*, 2 (2001), pp. 62-67.

³³The Qing adopted Schall's calendar in 1644. In 1668, Kangxi ordered a public test to determine the practical merits of Western and Chinese astronomy. After Verbeist unequivocally demonstrated that Western systems could more accurately predict planetary motion, the Emperor appointed him to run the bureau. Catherine Jami, "Learning Mathematical Science during the Early and Mid-Qing," *Education and Society in Late Imperial China*, pp. 223-256.

which totaled around 200,000 in the early eighteenth century. Due to the Church's reluctance to ordain native clergy, a seminary was not built.³⁶

Unhappy with the Jesuits' theological compromises, Dominican and Franciscan friars who proselytized among China's underprivileged, complained to the Holy See. A papal legate sent to Beijing in 1705 declared that ritualistically honoring Confucius and ancestors was blasphemy. Offended by the Church's presumption, Kangxi expelled Western clergy refusing to sign a statement affirming the compatibility of Confucian practice and Christian belief. These events ignited a long-simmering backlash against Christianity among Confucian scholars, who condemned it as intellectually perverted and a ploy to weaken the Celestial Empire. Other elements of Western thought including much science were similarly rejected. Finally in 1724, Emperor Yongzheng outlawed Christianity as a heterodox sect. Though there were waves of persecution, the ban was not zealously enforced. Since the faithful came predominantly from the less educated classes, they were derided as ignorant, superstitious, and potentially subversive. The imperial court continued to employ a few Jesuits until the order was dissolved in 1773.³⁷ A small band of European priests worked underground; however, given the dangers, the Jesuits in 1731 opened the College of Saint Joseph in Macao to train Chinese clergy. Its eight-year program contained two levels. Students excelling in a European-style primary course taught in Portuguese went on to study Latin and moral philosophy as full-fledged

³⁴Ibid, 236-241.

³⁵The Jesuits modeled their teaching methods and content after those used in Jesuit colleges. Ibid, pp. 239.

³⁶A few Chinese did become priests, though most were trained in Europe, Manila, or Ayudhya. C. R. Boxer, "European Missionaries and the Chinese Clergy, 1654-1810," *The Age of Partnership: Europeans in Asia before Dominion*, Blair B. Kling & M. N. Pearson ed., (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1979), pp. 97-121.

³⁷In the mid-1700s, the Emperor Qianlong patronized the Jesuit painter Giuseppe Castiglione and had

novices.³⁸ The institution produced few graduates, as the Portuguese forced its closure during their suppression of the order around 1760.

Although the realm reached its greatest territorial extent under Emperor Qianlong (1736-1799), its political, social, economic, and educational structures began to decay. As the inner court lost touch with local affairs, the bureaucracy grew inefficient and corrupt. China's exploding population fostered poverty and landlessness that in turn stimulated numerous rebellions.³⁹ As competition for degrees increased so did the legions of disillusioned academics. In the face of criticism that exams put too little emphasis on practical statecraft, the regime merely reshuffled the question layout.⁴⁰ Academic standards at the Imperial College and other state academies fell. In 1788, a tutor at the Imperial College was even accused of taking bribes in exchange for passing grades on internal tests.⁴¹

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, China's situation went from bad to worse. Endemic corruption, bureaucratic infighting, economic privation, and lawlessness overwhelmed authorities. The cost of fielding armies to put down regional revolts placed great strain on imperial coffers. As financial difficulties mounted, officials embraced a range of dubious practices. Minor posts and titles were routinely sold. Admissions to the Imperial College were peddled on a vast scale.⁴² With so many unqualified students, it

European-style palace built.

³⁸In 1732, the Church founded a Chinese college in Naples that functioned until 1888. Boxer, pp. 110-111.

³⁹Between 1685 and 1793, the number of imperial subjects tripled to over 300,000,000. Spence, p. 94.

⁴⁰These minor changes were implemented in 1757 and 1782. Elman, "The Evolution of..." pp. 85-87.

⁴¹Alexander Woodside, "The Divorce between the Political Center and Educational Creativity in Late Imperial China," *Education and Society...*, pp. 477-478.

⁴²From 1821 to 1850, 315,825 studentships were sold and the total between 1799 and 1820 was at least as large. The majority of buyers never actually attended the College. Yet, admission conferred prestige and served as a prerequisite for the purchase of additional titles. Ho, p. 34,

ceased to play an appreciable educational role. Lower degrees could also be purchased.⁴³ In 1833, a *juren* degree was even sold; yet, the outcry this provoked discouraged the regime from making it a common procedure.⁴⁴

Qianlong's successors also had to deal with new concerns. The spread of opium addiction afflicted all social strata from coolies to palace officials. Portuguese merchants searching for a commodity Chinese would accept in lieu of silver introduced the drug early in the eighteenth century. By the 1820s, the volume of incoming opium was enough to sustain the habits of a million users. To no avail, the Emperor outlawed its sale and use in 1800 and 1813. As silver poured out of the country, prices for all goods spiraled upward. These evils heightened the regime's desire to block Western advances. Following strict regulations, European agents sustained a profitable commerce in silk, porcelain, and tea from Macao and Canton. Seeking to augment political and economic ties, the British repeatedly sent envoys to Beijing; however, the Qing flatly rejected all initiatives. Chinese officials' harsh handling of criminal cases involving Westerners exacerbated British frustration. Tensions came to head in 1839 when Emperor Daoguang ordered a rigorous crackdown on opium trafficking. In addition to rounding up native dealers, a special imperial commissioner suspended all overseas trade, blockaded foreign business facilities, and destroyed 20,000 chests of the contraband. Incensed, the British dispatched a fleet, which promptly seized China's coastal cities. A stunned imperial court quickly sued for peace. The Treaty of Nanjing forced the Chinese to make sweeping concessions including opening five ports to British trade, ceding Hong Kong

⁴³According to Ho, 22.4% of local officials in 1764 began their careers with purchased degrees or titles. While the percentage grew to 29.3% by 1840, it reached 51.2 in 1871, pp. 30, 31, 48, & 49.

island, paying a huge indemnity, and fixing trade tariffs. Within a few years, the British, Americans, and French bullied the Chinese into signing new treaties that gave extraterritorial rights to their nationals and formalized their most-favored-nation statuses.⁴⁵

The Legacy of Qing Education

Education was an issue of critical importance in late imperial China. Thus, the government, communities, clans, and families spent vast resources supporting networks of schools stretching across the empire. The hub of this complex system was the civil-service examinations. Because proving one's mastery of Neo-Confucian doctrine became the only reliable means of attaining high office, the exams homogenized political thought among the civil bureaucracy. Loyalty and obedience, especially toward the Qing emperors, became ethical absolutes. By giving most Chinese males a theoretical chance of ascending the social ladder, the system induced a broad cross-section of society including local elites to support the status quo. Likewise, special exams compelled the Manchu military class to embrace Neo-Confucian constructs. Since all schools had essentially the same goal, namely preparing students for the imperial exams, curriculum and pedagogy was remarkably uniform across the empire. As overseers of both the civil-service exams and academies, the Ministry of Rites was among the most powerful segments of the bureaucracy.

Not only did the system provide China with scholarly officials, it fostered learning among the broader populace. A significant portion of Chinese males received some schooling. In spite of regional differences, male literacy was remarkably

⁴⁴Woodside, "The Divorce between...", pp. 474 -475.

widespread.⁴⁶ Education also pulled minority groups into the cultural mainstream. On the other hand, the system neglected half the population, namely girls and women who consequently knew little beyond the realm of home and family.

Today, the Qing education system has both admirers and critics. A small group of scholars laud Qing schools as a complementary component of an exam system that promoted talent and fostered social mobility. Ho illustrates that 35% of Qing *jinshi* came from commoner families. Even with their many educational advantages, prominent clans were only able to produce on average one degree-holder for eight generations over the Ming/Qing era.⁴⁷ Finally, he details incidents of gifted boys of humble origin who worked their way through charity schools and academies to earn high degrees. Looking at the broader populous, Rawski argues that widespread literacy cultivated by the various primary schools supported highly-developed cultural, economic, and administrative systems. Notably, book publishers, sellers, and lenders prospered across China catering to ordinary Chinese.⁴⁸

Most historians characterize Qing education as narrow, impractical, manipulative, and intellectually stifling. While concluding the examination system reached its zenith in terms of its social and political utility during the Sung, Miyazaki argues it steadily declined so that by the mid-Qing it was distorted, inefficient, and corrupt. On the other hand, Elman asserts that the official curriculum was designed to indoctrinate the bureaucratic elite to serve an autocratic dynasty. Hence, adherence to an incongruent

⁴⁵Hence, any new right or privilege granted to one nation automatically applied to others.

⁴⁶Rawski cites estimates of male literacy ranging from 90% for Canton city to 40% for village Guangdong, pp. 10-17.

⁴⁷This includes *shengyuan* degrees. Ho, pp. 106-107 & 121.

⁴⁸Rawski, pp. 109-124.

Neo-Confucian orthodoxy that justified imperial authority was stressed above all else. Moreover, he contends that despite rare cases, the exam requirements excluded all but the culturally advantaged.

Education in the Self-Strengthening Period (1860-1900)

Believing their defeat in the First Opium War as analogous to earlier losses to other alien conquerors, most Chinese steadfastly held that China possessed the ideal socio-political system. Though a few officials argued China should acquire barbarian technology to repel the intruders, the vast majority was convinced that if the regime successfully dealt with its internal problems, China's external difficulties could be easily solved.⁴⁹ Investigating the mechanics of such cunning contrivances as modern guns or steamships was regarded as demeaning and a waste of effort since China could only move forward by cultivating Confucian virtues.

Meanwhile, several revolts seriously imperiled the dynasty. In the late 1840s, the Taiping Rebellion engulfed a huge swath of China's central heartland. Its instigator, Hong Xiuquan, had repeatedly failed his *shengyuan* exams. Disheartened, he traveled to Canton where he met an American missionary. After familiarizing himself with Christian doctrine, he founded a sect that became the core of the revolt. On capturing Nanjing, Hong proclaimed a new kingdom and imposed a radical social reordering. An exam system based on his biblical interpretations was even created. Flush with fervent recruits and large stocks of cash, the rebels sent out massive armies to confront the Qing.

⁴⁹Ironically, Lin Zexu, the commissioner whose actions precipitated the First Opium War, was an early advocate of importing Western technology. He interviewed many Westerners and read many translated Western texts. Immanuel Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China, Sixth Edition*, (New York,

Nien and Moslem uprisings also raged in the northeast and west. The beleaguered Manchu regime survived only with luck, the loyalty of its military, and foreign assistance. Although the Taiping were crushed in 1864, it took Qing forces another five years to fully restore peace.

Capitalizing on the tumult, the British in 1854 sought to renegotiate their treaty. When the imperial court refused, the British used a minor shipping incident as a pretext for war. The British with French help occupied most coastal centers as well as Beijing. Ending the hostilities, the Beijing Convention opened additional treaty ports, legalized the opium trade, and permitted Christian missionaries to preach throughout the empire. Concerned a Taiping victory might jeopardize their favorable agreements, the British lent steamships, guns, and military expertise to the Qing to quell the insurgency.

This second rout brought a new willingness to change. A cohort of pragmatic officials including Zeng Guofan and Li Hongzhang rose to prominence while suppressing China's domestic disturbances. Although all were traditionally trained *jinshi*, their military experiences compelled them to question old assumptions. They concluded China needed to import Western know-how while promoting Confucian morality. Its superior wisdom and intellect would inevitably allow China to surpass Western learning and re-establish its rightful ascendance. In 1861, Zeng built with imperial consent a modern weapons factory and shipyard in Anhui. He hired Western specialists as technical and administrative advisors. Additional arsenals were built in Shanghai, Nanjing, and Tianjin. A dockyard founded in Fuzhou in 1866 included facilities to teach shipbuilding and naval science. Two French naval officers ran it for the first five years. French

engineers and craftsmen taught ship design and trained apprentices to do the construction. In a separate program, English nautical specialists instructed naval officers in navigation and ship engineering. All students, except the apprentices, studied a European language, mathematics, science, as well as the Confucian classics. Enrollments were modest and attrition rates high.⁵⁰

The imperial court created an agency to manage foreign affairs. Formed in 1861, the Zongli Yamen was the first major institutional innovation in over a century. Under the de facto control of reform-minded Prince Gong, it tried to deal with Westerners according to the rules of Western diplomacy. To alleviate an acute shortage of linguists, the regime also founded a Western language school.⁵¹ After a failed search for competent native instructors, a British missionary was employed to teach English. The Tongwen Guan opened in 1862 with ten students.⁵² A defunct Russian language school was revived and attached to the school.⁵³ With the appointment of additional faculty, a Frenchman and Russian, its enrollment grew to thirty a year later. Smaller language schools were set up in Shanghai and Canton. Young bannermen proficient in Manchu were admitted. Chinese instructors also taught traditional subjects. When students did poorly on the first triennial exams, regulations were tightened. Enrollees received small

⁵⁰Of 105 students accepted into the shipbuilding program by 1873, sixty were expelled and six died by the year's end. The first two graduating classes together numbered only fourteen. Twenty-three students finished the naval officer program in 1871. Knight Biggerstaff, *The Earliest Modern Government Schools in China*, (Port Washington, NJ: Kennikat Press, 1961), pp. 211, 212.

⁵¹Two Zongli Yamen officials, one Chinese and one Manchu, served as school proctors. For its maintenance, 30% of tonnage customs dues were set aside. Ibid. pp. 97, 104.

⁵²Most early language instructors were missionaries fluent in Chinese. All were strictly forbidden from teaching religion in or outside the classroom. Their salaries were large by Chinese standards. Ibid, pp. 98-103.

⁵³This small school was founded in 1757 to prepare bannerman for service on China's northeast border. By the mid-nineteenth century, it functioned only in name. Still, it was an important precedent and, thus, the Tongwen Guan adopted many of its operational features. Ibid, pp. 96, 97, 102.

stipends and cash incentives were offered for high scores on periodic tests graded by Zongli Yamen functionaries. Better students occasionally served as official interpreters and translators. Despite protests by senior bureaucrats, the imperial court in 1867 approved a proposal to establish a department of mathematics and astronomy.⁵⁴ At the school's behest, Robert Hart, the inspector-general of the Imperial Maritime Customs, recruited European faculty.⁵⁵ Instructors in astronomy, mathematics, military science, chemistry, English, and French were contracted, but only the latter three took up their duties. Having distinguished himself as an English instructor since 1864, William Martin was assigned to teach political economy and international law and was sent the United States for advanced instruction.⁵⁶ Officials planned that only degree holders between twenty and thirty years of age would be accepted; however, conservatives thwarted attempts to attract such students. Thus, the first class of thirty students contained many older failed officials lured by the large stipends. The school resorted to taking three-year graduates of the Shanghai and Canton schools. Predictably, academic progress was minimal and within a year, two-thirds of its students were dismissed. Unhappy Zongli Yamen officials lost interest in the project and contemplated its closure. Alarmed, Martin rushed back to Beijing. With a promise of financial support, he became president in late 1869. In the same year, the Shanghai school was merged with a local arsenal to create a

⁵⁴Though all sciences were taught, the terms mathematics and astronomy were used as they conformed to existing intellectual categories. Its first director, Xu Jiyu, was an admirer of American culture who had learned about the West from missionaries in Fujian. Ibid, 108-109.

⁵⁵The Imperial Maritime Customs was created in the early 1860s. Hart who resided in Beijing from 1865 urged Zongli Yamen officials to broaden the Tongwen Guan's curriculum. He looked for instructors while visiting Europe in 1866. Biggerstaff, pp. 108-109.

⁵⁶Martin, an American Presbyterian, came to Ningbo in 1850. Dissatisfied with his fellow missionaries' inflexibility, he involved himself in other endeavors. Proficient in Chinese, he translated Wheaton's *International Law* for the Zongli Yamen. Ibid, p. 121.

new training center. Foreign faculty also served in its translation department.⁵⁷

The presence of Christian missionaries increased in tandem with the West's expanding economic and political involvement. The earliest Protestant evangelist, Robert Morrison, arrived in 1803 in Canton where he translated the Bible and worked as an interpreter for the British East India Company. While negotiating with the French, the Qing agreed in 1844 to allow Catholic and Protestant missions to operate in the newly established treaty ports. Along with setting up hospitals and printing facilities, opening schools was among their highest priorities. However, few parents willingly sent their children. Even with inducements of free room, board, clothing, and cash subsidies, enrollments were small and drawn mostly from the needy. Protestants also established girls' schools.⁵⁸ The lifting of restrictions in 1860 prompted a surge in activity. By 1865, over thirty Church groups operated in China with the majority coming from America, Britain, and France. Most stations hosted primary schools while secondary schools were erected in larger mission centers.⁵⁹ Religion, languages, science, mathematics, and geography were taught using Western pedagogical approaches.⁶⁰ To attract students, most Protestant schools offered lessons in Chinese and the Confucian classics.⁶¹ Mission

⁵⁷Ibid, pp. 165-176.

⁵⁸The earliest was founded in 1844 in Hong Kong. Two years later, Scottish Baptists opened another in Canton. In time, various denominations established girls' schools in most treaty ports. Mary Raleigh Anderson, *A Cycle in the Celestial Kingdom*. (Mobile, AL: Heiter-Starke Printing, 1943), pp. 88, 94, & 124.

⁵⁹For a detailed account of an early missionary boys' school, see Irwin T. Hyatt Jr., *Our Ordered Lives Confess: Three Nineteenth-Century American Missionaries in East Shantung*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), pp. 159-190. The American Presbyterians Calvin and Julia Mateer founded the Dengzhou School in 1864. It took twelve years of ceaseless struggle before the school produced its first graduates. Enrollments grew slowly from six to forty-two by 1880.

⁶⁰The Mateers used a range of teaching approaches including lectures, question-and-answer sessions, debates, and scientific and mathematical demonstrations. Ibid.

⁶¹At the Dengzhou School, students spent half their class time learning Chinese and classical studies. Several accomplished local scholars taught at the school using traditional Chinese instructional

boards even published Christian versions of the *Trimetrical Classic* and other traditional primers.⁶² Curricula for girls covered reading, writing, and domestic arts. In 1862, the revived Jesuits opened a seminary near Shanghai.⁶³ Despite official tolerance, widespread enmity fostered sporadic violence against missionaries and their converts.⁶⁴ Buying land often proved a major hurdle. Still, an estimated 16,000 Chinese attended mission schools by 1889.⁶⁵ Though these proselytizing efforts initially produced few converts, the number of native Christians rose in the last two decades of the century.

In the 1870s and 1880s, efforts to “self-strengthen” China continued. Arsenalns were enlarged and updated. To reduce China’s economic dependency on the West, officials and merchants cooperatively established a steamship company, constructed a modern cotton mill, and expanded coalmining. China’s new educational sector grew. The Tongwen Guan took its final form under Martin who ran it like an American college. Two curricular options were offered.⁶⁶ While a five-year course taught in Chinese emphasized such subjects as mathematics, sciences, and political economy, an eight-year course covering similar material added in-depth study of a foreign language. Instruction in the classics was obligatory. Enrollments averaged just over a hundred students.⁶⁷ Since elite families refused to send their sons to such an unorthodox institution, students

methods. To enhance the school’s reputation, Calvin Mateer selected better students to take the civil-service qualifying exams. Of the eighteen who attempted it between 1873 and 1889, seventeen passed; none went on to take higher-levels exams. Ibid.

⁶²These were published in 1850s under the direction of Andrew Happer. This American Presbyterian later taught at the Canton Tongwen Guan. Loren Crabtree, “Andrew P. Happer and the Presbyterian Missions in China, 1844-1891,” *Journal of Presbyterian History*, 6 (1984), p. 24.

⁶³Ruth Hayhoe, “Towards the Forging of a Chinese University Ethos: Zhendan and Fudan, 1903-1919,” *China Quarterly*, 94 (1983), pp. 327.

⁶⁴The worst incident occurred in 1870 when sixteen French Catholics were murdered in Tianjin. Under French pressure, the Qing punished several perpetrators and paid monetary compensation.

⁶⁵Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 358.

⁶⁶The Canton Tongwen Guan also had a foreign head teacher by 1874. Biggerstaff, p. 37.

were drafted from banner schools. With so many apathetic and inept scholars, academic progress was slow and a large share was expelled. Seeing an easy road to government service, the number of Chinese applicants slowly rose so that by the late 1880s admission required an official recommendation. Later, entrance exams were introduced. Still, a lack of able students continued to plague the school. Many graduates worked at the school as tutors or translators in its publishing department. When the regime set up permanent diplomatic missions from 1876, Tongwen Guan alumni figured prominently among their staffs; indeed, several eventually held important ambassadorships. The arsenal schools in Fuzhou and Shanghai continued to prepare technical specialists. In the mid-1870s, trained natives gradually replaced foreign employees. Additional shipbuilding and naval schools on the Fuzhou model operated in Tianjin and Canton by 1881. The launching of a telegraph system in 1880 brought a telegraph school.⁶⁷ In 1881, officials built a modern hospital in Tianjin offering training in Western medicine. Finally in 1890, a mining and engineering school was set up in Wuchang to support China's nascent coal and iron industries. Like their earlier counterparts, these institutions utilized foreign experts and had small enrollments.

To augment their institution building, reformers advocated sending students to the West. In a memorial submitted to the throne in early 1871, Zeng and Li wrote:

It is the practice of foreign nations that those who have studied abroad and have learned some superior techniques are immediately invited upon their return by academic institutions to teach the various subjects and develop their fields. Military administration and shipping are considered as important as the learning that deals with the mind and body, and nature and destiny of man. Now that the

⁶⁷Ibid, pp. 126-129.

⁶⁸This school was staffed by Danish instructors. The Tianjin schools including the military academy and medical school were planned by Li Hongzhang. Ibid, pp. 31-70.

eyes of the people have been opened, if China wishes to adopt Western ideas and excel in Western methods, we should immediately select intelligent young men and send them to study in foreign countries.⁶⁹

The Imperial court promptly authorized the dispatch of 120 young males to the United States. Selected based on their exposure to Western learning, most came from coastal areas or attended mission schools. On their arrival in Connecticut, they were placed in local homes and enrolled in a public high school. To ensure they mastered traditional subjects, the youth studied with Chinese instructors who accompanied the mission. Though it was initially envisioned they would remain abroad for fifteen years so they could earn university degrees, their sojourns were cut short in 1881 due to fears they were becoming too Americanized.⁷⁰ Many students later excelled in the technical institutes. This failure did not dash all such efforts. After fruitfully sending thirty-five Fuzhou graduates to Europe for three years of advanced training in 1877, the regime sponsored groups in 1881, 1886 and 1897.⁷¹ Returnees filled posts in China's new navy and technical schools. Impressed by its new education system, officials sent thirteen students to Japan in 1896.⁷² With its lower costs and greater cultural affinity, Japan became a

⁶⁹Translation found in Wm. Theodore de Bary & Richard Lufrano, ed., *Sources of Chinese Tradition, Vol. II, Second Edition*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000), p. 241.

⁷⁰Yung Wing, who proposed the mission to Zeng, attended Yale after studying at mission schools and became the first Chinese to earn an American B.A. As co-commissioner, he clashed with conservative colleagues who wanted to shelter students from undesirable influences. Faced with conflicting reports, the Zongli Yamen recalled the mission. Several notable Americans including Mark Twain and former President Grant sent letters urging Chinese officials to reconsider the decision. Edwin Pak-Wah Leung's "China's Quest from the West: The Chinese Educational Mission to the United States, 1872-1881," *Asian Profile*, 11 (1983), pp. 527-534.

⁷¹In the earliest dispatch, twelve naval and twenty-three shipbuilding students studied in Britain and France. On their return in 1880, eleven participants were rated as outstanding. The 1881 group had only ten members. In 1886, thirty-three were sent including nine Tianjin naval cadets. Under Li's command, seven army officers also sent to Germany in 1876. Biggerstaff, pp. 61, 228-241.

⁷²They took the standard three-year course at the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1992), p. 34.

preferred destination. Missionary groups also sponsored students. With their support, several young women managed to study in the United States.⁷³ Gradually, self-funded students, chiefly sons of rising comprador families, ventured overseas.

With the expansion of Christian primary and secondary schools, Protestant evangelists sought to offer higher-level instruction, especially to train native churchmen. In the late 1870s, the Episcopalians established St. Johns College in Shanghai. Due to shortages of qualified instructors and students, it functioned for years as a secondary institution. Evolving from a Presbyterian secondary school, Dengzhou College offered a uniform six-year liberal-arts curriculum from 1881 that included some college-level work.⁷⁴ Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists organized their own colleges.⁷⁵ As fees were not initially charged, all costs were borne by missionary boards and direct appeals. Accordingly, home trustees held most administrative power. Having no formal status in China, most institutions were chartered in the United States or Canada. Like at the lower-level Christian schools, the bulk of students came from the poorer classes or had other mission connections. Preparatory enrollments dwarfed those in degree programs. Only a fraction of students graduated. Operating on shoestring budgets, they were poorly equipped and staffed. Curricula were narrow and standards low. Chinese tutors were hired to cover traditional subjects. All students were exposed to Christian theology and

⁷³Before 1900, four Chinese women, all Christians, graduated from American medical schools. “‘Nu Luixuesheng’: The Story of American-Educated Chinese Women, 1880s-1920s,” *Modern China*, 20 (1994), pp. 318-320.

⁷⁴Calvin Mateer renamed his school Dengzhou College in 1882 chiefly to boost his fundraising efforts. Hyatt, pp. 182-185.

⁷⁵Except the Qingzhou schools in Shandong run by English Baptists, these early colleges were founded by Americans. In *China and the Christian Colleges, 1850-1950*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1971), pp. 36-37, Jessie Lutz suggests Americans were more apt to set up higher-educational institutions because denominational colleges were so common in the North America, unlike in

ritual. From the outset, Methodist and Episcopalian colleges emphasized English as a field of study and medium of instruction. In contrast, Presbyterians and Congregationalists taught solely in Chinese lest a flood of vocationally oriented students would diminish their institution's Christian character.⁷⁶ However, these latter colleges gradually modified their policy as families eagerly paid for English instruction. Totalling more than ten, Christian higher-educational institutions operated in most major cities by the century's end.

Although the regime's reforms were viewed by many Chinese as major departures from tradition, they brought few tangible benefits. The bureaucracy dominated by conservatives dismissed any idea or initiative not fitting squarely within the Confucian paradigm. Few officials considered borrowing anything from the West beyond its science and technology. The imperial court grew increasingly anti-foreign, ill informed, and remote. Provincial governors kept the lion's share of taxes. Economic conditions deteriorated as foreigners took control of key sectors. Rising imports of opium, textiles, and other manufactured goods disrupted commercial, agrarian, and social patterns. Inflation was rampant and the regime borrowed ever-larger sums abroad to make ends meet. All but a tiny minority of less-promising students attended traditional institutions and learned the same content as a century earlier. The bulk of degree-holders fearing the loss their privileges vehemently opposed change, especially in the examination system. The sole attempt to revise the exams by adding a mathematics option in 1887 allowed for

Europe, that their maintenance seemed a normal church function. Most American missionaries graduated from such institutions.

⁷⁶This difference reflected divergent aims. While Presbyterians and Congregationalists narrowly focused on training Christian workers, Methodists and Episcopalians also wished to help Chinese enjoy benefits of Western knowledge. Kwang-Ching Liu, "Early Christian Colleges in China," *Journal*

three math specialists degrees among the thousands reaching *juren* status.⁷⁷

Concurrently, the Middle Kingdom had to defend itself against external pressure in every direction. The Russians annexed territories to the north and west. The British and French ran their coastal concessions to their exclusive profit. After crushing China's army and sinking its new navy, the French in 1884 forced the regime to renounce its claims over Vietnam. Most galling, however, was the 1895 defeat to the Japanese who took Taiwan and rights over Korea. Frustrated by the government's impotence, a group of zealous xenophobes in 1898 attacked anyone or anything associated with the West. As the insurgency spread, the Empress Dowager Cixi, China's de facto ruler, declared war on the imperialist powers. Before being put down by an international force, the so-called Boxers killed hundreds of foreigners and destroyed vast amounts of property. In retribution, the Allies imposed a draconian treaty that not only set enormous reparations but also gave them considerable control of China's internal affairs.

By discrediting the old order, this final humiliation persuaded most Chinese of the necessity of fundamental reform. In a short period, this impetus revolutionized China's political and social institutions. Although Confucianism was eventually jettisoned in favor of Western ideas, the Chinese continued to view education as a tool of transformation and control. Accordingly, it played a critical role in China's torturous path to modernity.

of Asian Studies, 20 (1960), pp. 73-75.

⁷⁷This was implemented on the *shengyuan* and *juren* levels. Though candidates choosing this option were given greater latitude, they had to show mastery of traditional curriculum. Zongli Yamen officials graded the mathematical essays. Biggerstaff, pp. 28-29.

The Educational Legacy of Self-Strengthening Era

Although the system was a source of strength in the early Qing, its narrowness became a liability as China's internal and external circumstances evolved. Rather, the accelerating decay reinforced desires to revert back to time-honored patterns. The Chinese continued to believe that Westerners, like earlier foreign invaders, would eventually see the superiority of the Chinese intellectual models. As officials spurned applied knowledge in favor of philosophical abstractions, practical arts were left to clerks and artisans. Despite this conservatism, pragmatic officials launched several educational institutions embracing Western science and technology. However, these cautious measures were too limited in scope and scale to halt China's decline. Their curricular programs were narrow and contradictory. Because their graduates faced uncertain futures, promising young men preferred to remain in the traditional system, which continued to function as it had for centuries. At the same time, the vast majority of Chinese disdained the new Christian schools that were set up against their wishes. Yet, the special training centers and mission institutions facilitated later reforms by familiarizing an expanding pool of Chinese and especially potential officials with Western thought.

The Advent of Modern Education (1901-1926)

From the mid-1880s, the shortcomings of the Self-Strengthening movement became obvious to a swelling number of Chinese. Various associations and publications publicly urged broader reform. Just after China's defeat to Japan in 1895, a group of 603 *jinshi* candidates signed a petition authored by Kang Youwei calling for a thorough

overhaul of China's political and economic structures.⁷⁸ Although their proposals touched on such issues as the military, banking, agriculture, and emigration, educational reform lay at the heart of their program. Their suggestions for updating the examinations included abandoning the eight-legged essay format, creating special exams for practical subjects, stressing intellectual content over literary style, adding questions dealing with foreign countries, and eliminating quotas. They also hoped that state academies would offer degrees.⁷⁹ During the next years, other reform advocates, notably Zhang Zhidong and Liang Qichao, circulated their own plans.⁸⁰ Within the imperial court, these ideas fell on deaf ears. Still, provincial officials sponsored semi-official schools offering modernized general education.⁸¹ In some cases, missionary educators assisted these efforts.⁸² Many *shuyuan* sought to broaden their curricula to include Western learning.⁸³

Distressed by the prospect of China's eminent dismemberment, Emperor Guangxu moved to assert his personal authority.⁸⁴ While promoting progressive officials

⁷⁸A gifted scholar, Kang had already written influential tracts calling for a fundamental reinterpretation of the classics. After opening a school in Guangdong, he taught a group of promising scholars including Liang Qichao. Kang saw the progress that came from using Western approaches as both necessary for China's survival and inherently positive. He earned his *jinshi* degree later that year. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 361-369.

⁷⁹Wolfgang Franke, *The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination System*, (Cambridge, MA: Center for East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1960), pp. 33-37.

⁸⁰With the waning influence of Li Hongzhang, Zhang, the governor-general of Hunan and Hubei, maneuvered to lead the moderate-reform faction. Unlike Kang, he advocated grafting Western elements onto Chinese foundations. Compared to the Self-Strengtheners, Zhang had a broader concept of what was practical. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 358-361.

⁸¹Examples include the Self-Strengthening School in Wuchang, School of Western Studies in Tianjin, and Southern Public School in Shanghai. Established by Zhang in 1896, the first of these catered to the sons of local merchants. William Ayers, *Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), pp. 124-130. The director-general of the Imperial Railroad founded the latter two. Biggerstaff, pp. 76-77.

⁸²John Ferguson, President of Methodist Nanjing University worked as a foreign administrator for the Southern Public School. Lutz, p. 84.

⁸³Barry C. Keenan, *Imperial China's Last Classical Academies: Social Change in the Lower Yangzi, 1864-1911*, (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California, 1994), pp 97-100.

⁸⁴In 1875, Guangxu became Emperor at the age of four. This allowed the Dowager to continue her

including Kang and Liang, he issued a series of decrees in 1898 aimed at restructuring China's bureaucracy, economy, and education system. Study abroad, especially in Japan, was encouraged. For the civil-service exams, his initiatives following Kang's early proposals; however, provisions relating to schools went further. An Imperial University in Beijing was authorized. Modern high, middle, and primary schools were to be created across China by converting *shuyuan*.⁸⁵ Drafted by Liang, the university's charter proclaimed the goal of impartially employing Chinese and foreign knowledge based its utility. The adoption of Western culture was declared a means of expanding understanding, not an end in itself.⁸⁶ A moderate reformer became chief executive and William Martin dean of the Western faculty. Nonetheless, most provincial governors simply ignored the edicts. After just a hundred days, the Dowager seeing a threat to her power orchestrated a coup. On the pretext of his being ill, the Emperor was secluded in the palace. Virtually all initiatives were canceled. When several radical reformers were executed, Kang, Liang, and others fled abroad. Though not dissolved, the university languished with one college and few motivated students.⁸⁷ It suspended operations in 1900 as a result of the Boxer Rebellion.

Blamed by the international Allies and many Chinese for encouraging attacks on

regency. His tutor, the moderate reformer Weng Tinghe, exposed the young Emperor to various reform ideas. He read numerous Western translations and learned English with two Tongwen Guan graduates. Though the Dowager officially retired in 1889, she kept firm control through bureaucratic allies. Guangxu meet Kang in early 1898.

⁸⁵The scheme borrowed heavily from the Japanese system. Indeed, the ideograms selected to represent different levels of schools were the same as those used in Japan. Franke, pp. 45-46.

⁸⁶Richard A. Hartnett, *The Saga of Chinese Higher Education from the Tongzhi Restoration to Tiananmen Square: Revolution and Reform*, (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen Press, 1998), p.23.

⁸⁷Its sole college, School for Officials, offered a program similar to the Tongwen Guan. Its faculty of eight Westerners, two Japanese, and twelve Chinese taught English, French, Russian, German, and Japanese as well as physical and social sciences. Most of its two hundred students neglected their studies and instead focused on preparing for the civil-service exams. Ibid, pp. 23-24.

foreigners, conservatives were purged from the government. Wishing to redeem her reputation, the Dowager accepted a measure of responsibility for China's plight and declared her readiness to carry out broad reform. After soliciting proposals from all bureaucratic agencies, she sanctioned a series of initiatives resembling the program dismissed three years earlier. The government revamped China's civil administration, military, tax structure, and social policy. Given the urgent need for officials capable of dealing with the country's many problems, educational renewal was given a high priority. Among those submitting memorials, Zhang Zhidong and Yuan Shikai exerted the greatest influence over actual policy.⁸⁸ The form and content of civil-service exams were modified to test some practical knowledge and skills. While the military exams ceased, special high-level exams were instituted in political economy. Quotas were lowered so a national network of schools modeled after the Japanese system could confer degrees.⁸⁹ From the age of thirteen, boys entered upper-elementary schools. After four years, students passing internal exams became *shengyuan* and went on to a five-year middle-school course. Reaching *gongsheng* status, graduates transferred to provincial colleges where they worked three years for *juren* degrees. An array of normal, language, and vocational schools completed the scheme. To create these institutions, the central government directed provincial authorities to transform existing academies, chiefly *shuyuan*. Regulations standardized administrative procedures, academic calendar,

⁸⁸Despite his involvement in the "Hundred Days Reforms," Zhang survived the 1898 coup due to his moderation. Yuan, a military man, was governor of Shandong. Both joined the new reform council. Ibid, pp. 408-409.

⁸⁹The newly appointed Superintendent of Educational Affairs Zhang Baixi sent his deputy Wu Rulun to Japan to examine its schools and speak with leading educators regarding such issues as budgeting, curricula, and womens' education. Paula Harrell, *Sowing the Seeds of Change: Chinese Students, Japanese Teachers, 1895-1905*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992), pp. 43, 48-49.

teacher conduct, exams, and textbooks. While all taught traditional and Western subjects, lower-level schools focused on general learning and higher-level institutions provided specialized instruction. Moral instruction was still heavily stressed. Physical and military training was added to official syllabi. Lower-level curricula emphasized colloquial over classical Chinese. Basic primary education was left to local communities.

Crowning the hierarchy was a restructured Imperial University, which admitted *jinshi* needing practical training and outstanding *juren* seeking *jinshi* degrees. At its reopening in January 1902, two colleges, one for officials and the other for teachers, enrolled about 135 students. To save money, Western faculty were dismissed and Japanese hired to teach modern content. Two Japanese held deanships. The chancellor organized a graduate school, a preparatory school, and a university proper with seven departments.⁹⁰ The Tongwen Guan was merged into its structure in 1903.⁹¹ Given the reformers' conservative instincts, it favored traditional over Western learning. Science, engineering, and commerce remained secondary subjects to history and literature. Memorization and language skills continued to be emphasized. Between 1903 and 1911, about a thousand students attended with 330 completing programs. Separate law and language colleges were also established.⁹²

Many provincial officials were initially hesitant to comply with the reform edicts fearing another conservative backlash. The central government also lacked resources to

⁹⁰Zhang Baixi served as Chancellor until the 1904. Timothy B. Weston, *The Power of Position: Beijing University, Intellectuals, and Chinese Political Culture, 1898-1929*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), pp. 43-52.

⁹¹Biggerstaff, p. 139.

⁹²Continuing its traditional priority of training officials, the regime heavily promoted legal studies. In 1911, the Law College in Beijing had nearly six hundred students, three times the number attending the Imperial University. As many as 75% of higher-educational students, excluding

assist local authorities. Offering special honors, authorities encouraged the wealthy to contribute funds to establish new schools. Charity and clan schools, especially in urban areas, were converted into modern primary schools. Finding qualified teachers was problematic. Japanese teachers and administrators filled key positions across the system. In 1905-06, roughly 460 Japanese taught in Chinese schools.⁹³ By 1904, reformers recognized that the continued offering of the civil-service exams impeded the growth of the modern sector, as most students preferred the old route to degrees. Moreover, results of the 1902 and 1904 revised exams were disappointing. Thus, the regime abolished the exams in 1905. Within a year, the Imperial College and Hanlin Academy closed. Seeking to strengthen central control, the regime created a Board of Education in 1905. In declaring its aims, the agency highlighted the importance of primary education as a means of instilling devotion to the emperor, Confucius, nation, and practical study; however, it made clear the state would not fund such facilities.⁹⁴

Central officials authorized regional higher-educational institutions including the Beiyang Engineering College in Tianjin and Higher Practical College in Shanghai.⁹⁵ Provinces also sponsored law, science, medical, engineering, and teacher training schools. By 1909, China had eighty-eight reformed higher-educational institutions with the majority sited near the capital or coastal cities.⁹⁶ As public debate over education increased, numerous associations formed on the local and national levels. Progressive

those attending normal schools, studied law. Ibid, p. 37.

⁹³In 1909, Japanese accounted for 311 of 356 foreign teachers. Harrell, p.35.

⁹⁴Bailey, Paul, *Reform the People: Changing Attitudes toward Popular Education in Early Twentieth Century China*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), pp. 36-41.

⁹⁵These two institutions evolved from the School of Western Studies and the Southern Public School. The latter operated under a new Ministry of Commerce. Hartnett, pp. 28-29.

⁹⁶This total does not include normal schools, of which 415 enrolled 27,500 students by 1911. Ibid, p. 38.

scholars established private colleges such as Nankai and Fudan.⁹⁷ In 1907, a group of resident Germans and local officials opened Tongji Medical College in Shanghai.⁹⁸ Funded primarily by donations from German business concerns, it included a German-language preparatory school.

The regime repeatedly ordered provincial officials to send students abroad. In 1901, 680 students left for Japan. Most entered specially tailored higher-secondary programs.⁹⁹ Of the 15% of students pursuing higher education in 1903, half enrolled in universities and half in vocational institutes. From 1905, returnees became eligible for special degrees corresponding with those conferred by domestic institutions. Japan's surprising victory over Russia in 1905 increased its appeal. In 1906, 7000 young men arrived; however, a large portion took short courses lasting less than an academic year.¹⁰⁰ A slight majority of those abroad received state grants mostly from provincial agencies. Administrative, legal, technical, and military subjects were emphasized. A few students studied in Europe and North America.¹⁰¹ After the American decision in 1908 to fund scholarships from its share of the Boxer indemnity, the flow of Chinese heading to American universities increased.¹⁰² Official supervisors were appointed to look after

⁹⁷Fudan was located in Shanghai. Hayhoe, "Towards the Forging...", pp. 336-337.

⁹⁸Although the director was German, its administrative council contained both Germans and Chinese. Françoise Kreissler, "Technical Education as a Key to Cultural Cooperation: The Sino-German Experience," *China's Education and the Industrialized World: Studies in Cultural Transfer*. Ruth Hayhoe & Marianna Bastid, ed., (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 1987), pp. 91-92.

⁹⁹About twelve schools or programs, including the Seika School and Tokyo Dobun Academy, were set up for Chinese some of which were privately operated. Many Japanese saw educational cooperation as a way of extending their influence. Harrell, pp. 29-34, 69-71.

¹⁰⁰An estimated 25,000 Chinese studied in Japan between 1898 and 1911. Hartnett, p. 13.

¹⁰¹Britain, Germany, France, Russia, and Belgium hosted students. Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West, 1872-1949*, (Chapel Hill, NC: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1966), pp. 51-73.

¹⁰²In 1905, Yale, Cornell, and Wellesley promised scholarships for Chinese. The first group of ten boys and three girls arrived in 1907. Wang, p. 71. This generosity was partly an attempt to assuage anti-America sentiment.

overseas students.¹⁰³ After passing exams, 1388 returnees earned degrees by 1911.¹⁰⁴

One of the more striking shifts in practice occurred in the area of female education. Influenced by the Japanese, reformers saw value in educating girls to be “good wives and wise mothers.” Their motivation came chiefly from a desire to benefit future generations of men rather than uplift women. Although educational schemes developed early in the decade sought to contain female education within the family realm, several provincial governors promoted the founding of girls’ primary schools. The wives of Chinese and Manchu officials also established private schools. Many were small, located in family compounds, and accepted friends and relatives.¹⁰⁵ The Dowager aided the movement by pressing regional authorities to collect funds for schools. At her urging, a princess organized a palace school for noble daughters that employed an American woman to teach English.¹⁰⁶ Hoping to control this development, the Board of Education in 1907 issued a blueprint for an educational system for females. On its lower tier, elementary schools offered eight-year programs. While junior students learned ethics, Chinese, math, needlework, and gymnastics, senior curriculum added geography, physics, history, painting, and music. Teaching foreign languages, classics, and business was prohibited. Capable graduates were eligible to enter normal schools offering a four-

¹⁰³ Although at first an ad hoc set of officials and foreign advisors took charge of students, the regime gradually regularized this function. In 1902, an educational commissioner was appointed to watch students in Japan. Harrell, pp. 122-123. Five years later, a general supervisor was assigned to manage those in Europe, Wang, pp. 55-57.

¹⁰⁴ For the 90% of degree-recipients who went to Japan, 65% studied law or administration, 12% commerce, 10% engineering, and 6% agriculture. About 68% of these degrees were awarded in 1910 and 1911. Fu-Ch’ing Huang, *Chinese Students in Japan in the Late Ch’ing Period*, trans. Katherine P. K. Whitaker, (Tokyo: Center for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1982), pp. 57, & 61.

¹⁰⁵ One of the earliest larger institutions was founded in Shanghai in 1898. Initiated by pro-reform Chinese, it was modeled after a leading Methodist girls’ school. Two missionary women and several female Chinese graduates of denominational schools served as teachers. Lutz, pp. 84-85.

¹⁰⁶ Weikun Cheng, “Going Public Through Education: Female Reformers and Girls’ Schools in Late Qing

year program. By 1909, the system enrolled about 13,000 girls. Small numbers of young women went abroad for instruction with a few obtaining provincial grants. In 1907, a hundred female students attended schools in Tokyo.¹⁰⁷ Women continued to be excluded from regular schools and barred from receiving degrees; indeed, co-education remained an anathema to the bulk of Chinese. Regulations required all teachers and administrators working in girls' schools to be female.¹⁰⁸

The Christian sector also expanded. Although the Boxer violence devastated many missions, churchmen quickly restarted educational operations.¹⁰⁹ Amidst the cultural and educational tumult, Christian schools enjoyed a new popularity. Students wishing to learn English flocked to their programs. By 1905, applicants exceeded spaces at most colleges. Hence, Christian educators founded new institutions, extended programs, and raised standards.¹¹⁰ In 1903, a Chinese Catholic established a Jesuit university in Shanghai.¹¹¹ Several girls' secondary schools developed higher-educational programs. The North China Union College for Women opened in 1906 and granted its first degrees three years later.¹¹² To reduce costs, various denominations began to cooperate. In 1904, English and American Congregationalists together with American

Beijing," *Late Imperial China*, 21 (2000), pp. 119-124.

¹⁰⁷Harrell, p. 73.

¹⁰⁸Cheng, pp. 116-119.

¹⁰⁹While upwards of 230 Western evangelists and dependents were killed, casualties among Chinese Christians may have totaled 30,000.

¹¹⁰Increased giving by home congregations was also critical to this growth. Lutz, pp. 98-99.

¹¹¹Its founder, Ma Siang-pei, was an official, teacher, and former Jesuit. Meddling by French clergymen obliged Ma to resign in 1905 and set up Fudan. Thereafter, Aurora's preparatory course was modeled after the French baccalauréat and degree program after the licentiate. Jon W. Huebner, "L'Université L'Aurore, Shanghai, 1903-1952," *Papers on Far Eastern History*, 40 (1989), pp. 133-135.

¹¹²It eventually joined North China Educational Union in 1904. Lutz, pp. 132-133.

Presbyterians created a medical college.¹¹³ Not only did other missionary groups later join the effort, the Dowager, Chinese officials, and foreign residents contributed funds. The Beijing Union Medical College became the only Christian school to confer degrees recognized by the regime.¹¹⁴ Many partnerships evolved into full-fledged institutional unions. The number of students taking college level courses jumped from about two to nine hundred over the decade. Though Christians were favored, entrance exams determined admission. As in the 19th century, denominational schools and colleges interacted little with the state sector. Their degrees were not accepted for civil-service appointments. Still, many graduates taught in state schools.

Following the disastrous Boxer Rebellion, yearning to save China turned into a popular nationalist movement. In addition to opposing Western imperialism, many Chinese scorned the Manchus for causing China's ruin and oppressing Chinese. Provocative texts and translations circulated widely. Political-action associations formed at home and abroad. Growing contempt for authority encouraged protests against a variety of perceived evils. At the forefront of agitation were Chinese students who resented the restrictive rules of the new schools.¹¹⁵ In 1903, Imperial University students publicly demonstrated against the regime's granting of new concessions to Russia.¹¹⁶ In response, officials barred students from striking, holding meetings, reading seditious

¹¹³Medical missionaries had long offered informal training in Western medicine. The Methodists and Episcopalians set up early programs but lack of funds and staff hampered their efforts. Ibid, pp. 31, 138-145, & 152.

¹¹⁴Its five-year course was taught in Mandarin. Sixteen students graduated in 1911. Ibid, 108, 146, & 147.

¹¹⁵Accustomed to being loosely supervised, students at the new schools chafed at the myriad of regulations governing their conduct. Also, prospects of getting official appointments seemed increasingly remote. In the late 1800s, an average of 1,500 candidates became *juren* every three years, but in 1907 21,000 students were enrolled in programs which if completed would have entitled them to the same degree. Sally Borthworth, "Students and Revolutionary Culture in Late Qing Schools,"

literature, or joining political parties. Disputes, nonetheless, flared at schools across China. Radical scholars founded revolutionary schools dedicated to overthrowing the regime. The Patriotic School organized by Cai Yuanpei in 1902 provided a mix of political and military training.¹¹⁷ Other subjects were taught but it was unable to offer a cohesive program due to intense political debate and constant threat of closure.¹¹⁸ Overseas students, chiefly in Japan, were even more inclined to radicalism. They organized political associations and published periodicals.¹¹⁹ At the request of Qing officials, the Japanese tried to enforce regulations governing student eligibility, behavior, and academic programs.¹²⁰ In 1905, most militant student groups came under the umbrella of Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary Alliance.¹²¹ Alarmed, the regime imposed new academic and age restrictions in 1907 and the number of students in Japan fell.¹²² In China, protests grew larger and better coordinated. A boycott targeting America's exclusionary immigration policies halted trade in American goods at most Chinese ports

Papers on Far Eastern History. 19 (1979), pp. 93-94.

¹¹⁶Hartnett, p. 26.

¹¹⁷A distinguished 1890 *jinshi* graduate and former Hanlin academic, Cai worked as an education official in Zhejiang before getting involved in revolutionary politics. William Duiker, *Ts'ai Yuan-p'ei: Educator of Modern China*, (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1977), pp. 4-14.

¹¹⁸Typically, students democratically controlled such institutions. Most faculty taught as volunteers. Many schools published radical journals. Hayhoe, "Toward the Forging....," pp. 225-226.

¹¹⁹Early anti-Manchu foreign student groups include the Independence Society and Educational Association for a Militant Citizenry. Daniel H. Bays, "Chinese Government Policies Toward the Revolutionary Students in Japan after 1900: A Reassessment and Implications," *Journal of Asian History*, 7 (1973), pp. 157-158, 162-167. Later, such organizations recruited in China. Harrell, pp. 145-163.

¹²⁰Wang, pp. pp. 60-63. The Chinese regime also provided incentives for students to concentrate on their studies. The most important was making returnees with clean records eligible for state degrees.

¹²¹Formed in Tokyo, this organization (Tongmenghui) united a variety of dissident groups. Its chairman, Sun drafted its revolutionary plans and raised money among overseas Chinese. Sun was educated in mission schools in China, Hawaii, and Hong Kong. He was baptized a Christian by 1885. Though he completed a medical degree, he dedicated himself to the anti-Qing cause. His program, an eclectic mixture of Western and native ideas, revolved around his Three People's Principles: bringing an end to Manchu and imperialist bondage; implementing democratic rule; and regulating capital and equalizing landholding. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, pp. 454-465.

during the summer of 1905.

Hoping to placate criticism, Qing leaders explored the option of promulgating a constitution. After sending officials abroad to investigate various political systems, the Dowager in 1906 approved a vague plan patterned after the Japanese model. While moderate elements were initially heartened, bitterness rose after it became known the proposed constitution would reinforce Manchus power. Moreover, the scheme was to be phased in over nine years. The 1908 deaths of the Dowager and Emperor brought little change. The Manchu regent of the three-year old Emperor Puyi authorized the creation of provincial assemblies; however, once elected, he disregarded their petitions to convene a national parliament. Instead, a consultative council dominated by Manchus was formed. As frustration mounted, large segments of the populace turned against the regime. Finally in 1911, the government's attempt to nationalize provincial railroads triggered widespread rebellion. When several army units mutinied, a provisional government was established. After securing the support of the Western powers, Sun Yet-sen hurried back to China and was quickly elected president by the delegates of sixteen provincial assemblies. The struggle between loyalists and revolutionaries continued until Yuan Shikai sided with the insurrection in exchange for being named president. In early 1912, the Manchu court announced the abdication of Puyi.

The new republic faced innumerable challenges. The loyalty of the bureaucracy and military was doubtful. Besides having an empty treasury, it inherited a crushing foreign debt. Dissatisfaction with the old regime kindled strong hopes for political, social, and economic progress. From the beginning, relations between the newly

¹²²While 15,000 students were in Japan in the fall of 1906, four years later 4,000 remained. Hartnett, p. 13.

installed president and revolutionary leadership were strained. While Yuan consolidated his control over the cabinet, the provisional council approved a constitution providing for a bicameral legislature. In the ensuing elections, the Revolutionary Alliance, renamed the Nationalist Party, won the largest block of seats.¹²³ Once in Beijing, delegates led by Sun tried to limit Yuan's power and authorize a popular presidential ballot. In retaliation, the president ordered his troops to attack the Nationalist southern stronghold. Sun and other Nationalist leaders again went into exile. Despite his treachery, President Yuan promoted many reforms.¹²⁴ To persuade the foreign powers to scrap the extraterritorial system, he worked to establish an independent judiciary. A new civil-service exam was devised requiring applicants to prove their competency in practical fields.¹²⁵ Deluded by his dictatorial powers, Yuan plotted to have himself declared emperor. As most of his followers deserted him, regional leaders promptly declared their independence. While a series of military regimes pretended to rule China, warlords ran their territories as personal fiefs. Commanders in the north nominally allied themselves with Beijing; many in the south identified with the Nationalists.

On becoming head of a new Ministry of Education in early 1912, Cai Yuanpei called a national education conference.¹²⁶ Convening in July, provincial delegates

¹²³Only males over twenty-one years of age who had completed primary school and meet certain property qualifications were eligible to vote. Spence, *The Search for...*, p. 280.

¹²⁴Yuan hired several foreign advisors to guide his reform agenda. As only a small share of taxes reached the center, these and other efforts had limited success. Indeed, Yuan relied on funds borrowed to abroad just keep his regime going.

¹²⁵The planned "upper civil service exams" included a general section covering history, composition, and document handling as well as specialized sections in such subjects as law, government, shipbuilding, and agronomy. Exams based on this model were not held until after Yuan's death in 1916. Though various Beijing regimes sporadically offered such exams into the 1920s, their hiring needs were very limited. Julia C. Strauss, "Symbol and Reflection of the Reconstituting State: The Examination Yuan in the 1930s," *Modern China*, 20 (1994), pp. 215-216.

¹²⁶Sun named Cai to his provisional government in January. After Sun stepped down in March, he was

debated a range of issues and devised a new system blueprint. Primary education was shortened to seven years with the first four being compulsory. Children six to ten were to attend lower primary schools that for the first time admitted boys and girls. Local authorities and private associations were sanctioned to run such schools. Their programs dropped Confucian studies and made vocational training mandatory. Tuition fees were strictly limited. Pupils completing the course could enter higher vocational, lower normal, or middle schools. The course of the latter was cut to three years and stressed general education. English and handicrafts figured prominently in the middle-school curricula for both sexes. The lower normal school program was similar though it included some Confucian studies. District and provincial governments as well as private groups were authorized to found middle and lower normal schools.¹²⁷ The 1912 scheme also gave the central government sole administrative and financial responsibility over universities, colleges, higher-normal schools, and specialized schools. Traditional degrees were abandoned in favor of Western Bachelor's and Master's degrees.¹²⁸

Given the political turbulence, this ambitious plan proved unachievable. Cai along with other Nationalist ministers resigned from the cabinet in protest of the President's financial dealings. To bolster his imperial designs, Yuan ordered the reintroduction of Confucian studies at primary and middle schools.¹²⁹ As fiscal

one of four Revolutionary Alliance members to serve in Yuan's cabinet. Most ministry personnel came from the defunct Education Board. Prior to his appointment, Cai studied philosophy in Germany. Duiker, pp. 42-52.

¹²⁷Bailey, pp. 141, 154 & 155.

¹²⁸Cai wished to close provincial higher-educational institutions due to their low quality. Rather, he envisioned five national universities each offering a broad range of subjects. Hartnett, pp. 44-45.

¹²⁹Zheng Yuan, "The Status of Confucianism in Modern Chinese Education, 1901-1949: A Curricular Study," *Education, Culture and Identity in Twentieth Century China*, Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, & Yongling Lu, ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), p. 205.

exigencies undermined his leadership, provinces pursued their own policies. By late 1915, the central regime contributed just 3.5% and 11.5% of funds spent on schools and higher education.¹³⁰ Through 1915, the number of schools and enrollments rose except in high-education, which saw notable declines.¹³¹ The official sector had eleven universities, twenty-one colleges, seven technical schools, and three medical schools. In the capital, the University of Beijing president Yan Fu persuaded officials to maintain fairly stable funding levels.¹³² Most faculty continued to be drawn from the bureaucracy. In contrast, the non-official sector grew. Native private colleges operated in Beijing, Wuchang, Hangkou, and elsewhere. Fudan and Nankai became full universities by 1918.¹³³ In virtue of their outside funding, Christian institutions thrived. Enrollments nearly doubled over the decade.¹³⁴ Three colleges opened in 1914 and 1915 including one for women. Beijing Union Medical College received a boost in 1915 when the Rockefeller Foundation took responsibility for its management. With such generous backing, its facilities and standards quickly equaled those in the West. The scarcity of Chinese-speaking instructors and medical literature in Chinese dictated that English replace Mandarin as the language of instruction. Small numbers of students entered its updated program from 1919. Tongji College added an engineering program in 1912. Its

¹³⁰Bailey, p. 158.

¹³¹In 1912, 122 higher schools had 41,716 students; by 1916 19,921 students attended 84 institutions. *Ibid*, p. 159.

¹³²The Imperial University was renamed the National University of Beijing in 1912. Yan Fu served as chancellor from 1912 to 1916. An early graduate of the Fuzhou naval academy, Yan studied in England. In the 1890s and 1900s, he translated many Western works including those by John Stuart Mill, Adam Smith, and Herbert Spencer.

¹³³In 1912, the Ministry of Education stipulated that universities must have a faculty of arts and sciences, or a combination of arts and law and/or business, or science and/or medicine, agriculture or engineering. Hartnett, p. 43.

¹³⁴Lutz, p.161.

curriculum was modeled after that of the German higher technical schools.¹³⁵

With the collapse of Yuan's presidency, educational growth came to a halt. As the country plunged into civil war, schools in some provinces closed. Enrollment rates dropped at all levels. Despite the disorder, the inauguration of Cai as president of Beijing University in 1917 signaled a turning point for the institution, which remained a stagnant and backward-looking home for idle and dissolute students. Seeking to build a modern university for serious study and research, he rationalized its administration, had faculty oversee curricula, set up research institutes, and expanded language offerings. An admirer of the German idea of pure scholarship, Cai shifted departments devoted to applied learning to other institutions.¹³⁶ To raise moral standards, he sponsored the Society of the Promotion of Virtue, which urged members to forgo visiting prostitutes, gambling, drinking, smoking, and even eating meat. Finally, he introduced the concepts of academic freedom and intellectual tolerance. Gifted scholars of all orientations eagerly joined its faculty. An array of journals came under its auspices, some espousing radical change. The university quickly became China's most vibrant institution of higher learning. Enrollments jumped from 1,503 in 1916 to 2,565 just four years later.¹³⁷

Following the 1911 revolution, external pressure intensified as foreigners sought to extend their privileges. Initially, the Western powers adopted a policy of neutrality in relation to China's internal disputes; however, in late 1913 they recognized Yuan's regime after he granted key concessions including acknowledging Tibet and Mongolia's

¹³⁵Resident Germans also planned lower-level technical schools until the First World War intervened. Tongji was closed in 1917 but reopened in 1919. Kreissler, pp. 89-93.

¹³⁶Thus, he moved its engineering school to Beiyang University. Ruth Hayhoe, "A Comparative Approach to the Cultural Dynamics of Sino-Western Educational Co-operation," *China Quarterly*, 104, (1985), pp. 679-680.

autonomy. Given the regime's inability to defend Chinese interests, the West's economic stranglehold tightened. While China's economy was in many respects semi-colonial in character, foreign involvement expanded its infrastructure and business expertise.

Although the outbreak of the First World War lessened Western pressure, the Japanese seized the moment by capturing Germany's enclave in Shandong. To enlist Japan's support for his monarchical schemes, Yuan acceded to its Twenty-one Demands.¹³⁸

Finally in early 1917, the Beijing regime declared war on the Central Powers in an effort to gain diplomatic leverage and new loans. Unable to spare its own troops, it encouraged laborers to volunteer for service in Allied docks and construction sites. With the signing of the Armistice, Chinese hopes soared. Yet, ignoring the pleas of the Chinese delegation, the victors supported many of Japan's claims. Not only did Japan keep its Shandong conquests, it acquired new rights in northeastern China such as stationing troops in Manchuria. When news of these decisions reached China in early May 1919, demonstrations erupted across the country. In the end, Chinese representatives were ordered not to sign the Versailles Treaty.

Disillusionment with the revolution prompted a search for new ways to reverse China's decline. Sun struggled to update his Nationalist ideology by formulating a plan detailing how his program could still be achieved. A new generation of intellectuals condemned traditional culture, especially Confucianism, which they accused of making a

¹³⁷Hartnett, pp. 65-69. Cai had the support of the Minister of Education Fan Yuanlian.

¹³⁸The Twenty-one Demands were an attempt by the Japanese to establish their primacy in China among the foreign powers. Given Japanese diplomatic coercion, Yuan had little choice but accept them, albeit he did manage to modify some of the most egregious provisions. The demands gave Japan sweeping new political rights over Manchuria and Shandong, a free hand in building railroads and developing China's coal deposits, and prohibited China from granting similar privileges to other foreign nations. Spence, pp. 285-286.

docile populace, promoting social inequity, and smothering freedom of thought. A burgeoning array of periodicals championed Western liberalism, feminism, democracy, and scientific pragmatism. After the 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia, Marxism attracted a broad following. Encouraged by the fact Russia, like China, had not attained the prerequisite historical stage for a true proletarian revolution, Chinese thinkers began adapting socialist theory to the Chinese context. Beijing University was in the vanguard of this ideological ferment.¹³⁹ Shocked by the Allies hypocritical sellout of their own professed ideals, 5,000 college and university students marched through the capital on May 4, 1919 denouncing the foreign powers and China's spineless leadership. The arrest of ten protesters sparked a student strike.¹⁴⁰ In sympathy, thousands of merchants and workers boycotted Japanese goods and staged work stoppages. Representatives of Beijing's higher-educational institutions organized a student union that even welcomed women. Similar associations formed in other cities and a month later delegates founded a national union. These events profoundly altered China's intellectual landscape. Young Chinese looked west for inspiration albeit with a new critical spirit. John Dewey, Bertrand Russell, and other Western visitors spoke to enthusiastic audiences across China.¹⁴¹ "Down with the old, up with the new" became the slogan of the age.

Increasingly, educated Chinese embraced one of two political perspectives.

Those eschewing ideological paradigms favored an evolutionary approach to national

¹³⁹The university employed many luminaries of the "New Cultural Movement" including Chen Duxiu, Hu Shi, and Li Dazhao. The latter hired a young Mao-Zedong to assist him manage the library.

¹⁴⁰Cai also resigned from his post at Beijing University in protest; however, after the officials dropped the charges against the students, he resumed his duties. Hartnett, p. 54.

¹⁴¹Dewey came to China in April 1919 at the invitation of several former students. During his two-year stay, he also taught at Beijing University. Barry C. Keenan, *The Dewey Experiment in China: Educational Reform and Political Power in the Early Republic*, (Cambridge, MA: Council on East

salvation. Such pragmatists gravitated toward the Nationalist Party. Alternatively, Marxists believed the only effective path to social regeneration was through a class struggle that would sweep away the “feudal” and imperialist order. With the aid of Comintern agents, party organizations were set up in Beijing and Shanghai in 1920. Meeting in the French concession at Shanghai, delegates secretly founded the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) a year later. Its membership grew slowly. Numerous schools were established to spread the communist message. Despite differences, the Nationalists and Communists cooperated to overcome the twin evils of foreign domination and warlordism. Soviet advisors even assisted Sun in his overhaul of the Nationalist Party.

In the wake of the May Fourth protests came demands for further educational change. Meeting in October 1919, a congress of provincial educational associations proposed a new system. The narrow 1912 aims focusing on morality and utilitarian skills were revised to include cultivating a democratic spirit, encouraging individuality, and improving the material welfare of all citizens.¹⁴² Following the American model, they called for cutting elementary programs to six years, reorganizing secondary schooling into two three-year courses, and limiting higher education to six years. The Ministry of Education adopted the system in 1922. Many colleges and universities, thus, eliminated their preparatory programs. The ministry also stipulated that elementary and secondary texts be written in vernacular Chinese. This enthusiasm for “plain speech” encouraged colleges and universities to use less English in teaching scientific subjects. Attendance rates rose across the system.

Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1977), pp. 9-30.

¹⁴²This emphasis on meeting the needs of individual students reflects Dewey’s influence. Ibid. pp. 65-66.

In the realm of higher education, thirty national institutions including seven universities had 10,535 students in 1923. Provincial and private schools enrolled an additional 20,325.¹⁴³ At the urging of student unions, Beijing and Nankai universities admitted women in 1920. Although other institutions followed suit, female participation remained low. Only 2.5% of students in 1923 were women. Beijing and Shanghai hosted 60% of China's colleges and universities. In the south, the Nationalist Party supported several facilities, chiefly Guangdong University and the Whampoa Military academy.¹⁴⁴ The University of Shanghai attracted left-wing instructors and students from across China.¹⁴⁵ Its innovative curricula blended scholarly and vocational learning with revolutionary activism. Despite this overall growth, most institutions struggled. Student strikes and other political disturbances frequently closed whole institutions. Feeling empowered, students targeted any administrator or instructor who displeased them. Even worse, warlord cabinets withheld funds to quell student opposition.

A ceaseless stream of students journeyed overseas. Despite financial disarray, official provincial governments funded many. Only in the 1920s did the number of scholarships sharply fall. In 1916, the Ministry of Education required recipients to be college graduates or veteran college instructors. Deeming all Western learning as superior, officials let students study a broad range of subjects. As official supervision waned, many pursued their own interests. A surge in self-funded students made up for

¹⁴³This figure excludes students attending Christian higher-educational institutions. Hartnett, p. 60.

¹⁴⁴Both were founded in 1923. Wen-hsin Yeh, *The Alienated Academy: Culture and Politics in Republican China, 1919-1937*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990), p. 140.

¹⁴⁵It was organized in 1922 by a group of disaffected normal-school students. Its faculty experimented with unconventional academic practices. Marxist theory was vigorously taught. Although it received a tiny subsidy from the Nationalist Party, student fees covered most operating expenses. Despite financial problems, the university offered free instruction for local workers. Ibid, pp. 129-165.

the reduced awards. Engineering and social sciences remained the most common majors. With the last offering of exams for returned students in 1915, foreign diplomas became the key to success.¹⁴⁶ Better official positions, notably in the Ministry of Education, were reserved for overseas graduates.¹⁴⁷ Foreign trained faculty dominated Chinese academe. Despite several exoduses in protest of its China policies, Japan still hosted the largest share of students.¹⁴⁸ To maintain this influx, Japanese officials in 1923 reverted part of their Boxer indemnity to fund 320 fellowships.¹⁴⁹ Numbers of students at American higher-educational institutions swelled.¹⁵⁰ Many receiving grants first attended the Qinghua Preparatory School that was founded in 1911 with American Boxer indemnity funds.¹⁵¹ Attracted to the austere lifestyle, hundreds of radicals joined a French work-study program until its termination in 1921.¹⁵² Its backers set up provincial schools to prepare applicants in French, mathematics, and science.¹⁵³ When the Soviets created a university in Moscow to train foreign revolutionaries in 1921, thirty-five Chinese

¹⁴⁶American and European degrees were favored over those from Japan. Wang “Western Impact and Social Mobility in China,” *American Sociological Review*. 25 (1960), pp. 845-846.

¹⁴⁷While in 1915, 42% (five of twelve) ministry heads in the central government were educated abroad, the proportion rose to 58% in 1923 and 78% in 1932. Ibid, p. 849.

¹⁴⁸From 1914 to 1919, students in Japan numbered between 3,796 and 2,790. Abe, Hiroshi, “Borrowing From Japan: China’s First Modern Education System,” *China’s Education and the Industrialized World*, p. 75.

¹⁴⁹This was the largest of several measures the Japanese used to entice Chinese scholars. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals...*, pp. 116-120.

¹⁵⁰Chinese enrollments in America averaged over 1,250 during the 1920s. Ibid, p. 510.

¹⁵¹By 1929, Qinghua prepared 1,209 students for study in America. Initially, half its instructors were Americans who with embassy support were able to dictate policy. It founded a university division with seventeen departments in 1925. Hartnett, pp. 86-87.

¹⁵²The program was set up during the war as France suffered labor shortages. By 1921, 1580 students participated among them Zhou Enlai and Deng Xiaoping. A few stayed as late as 1926. Bailey, pp. 227-262.

¹⁵³Nineteen such schools functioned in 1919-1920. Ruth Hayhoe, “Catholics and Socialists: The Paradox of French Educational Interaction with China,” *China’s Education and the Industrialized World*, pp. 109-110. In 1920, a coterie of Francophile academics founded Zhongfa University, which emulated French patterns of scholarship and administration. While receiving some money from the French Boxer indemnity, it was mainly funded by Chinese. Ruth Hayhoe, “A Comparative...,”

enrolled.¹⁵⁴ A separate branch was later set up solely for Chinese. A Canton committee dispatched 310 students in 1925.¹⁵⁵

In 1923, 4,020 students attended Christian colleges and universities, twice that of 1919.¹⁵⁶ As in previous decades, most were graduates of mission secondary schools. Student fees played a growing role in their financing.¹⁵⁷ At some institutions, high tuitions effectively excluded lower-class students. As many institutions secured greater autonomy from home boards, native Christians held a growing proportion of teaching and administrative posts. Curricula at many colleges were adapted to local needs by de-emphasizing the liberal arts and expanding vocational and professional programs. External forces gradually necessitated greater change. Viewing Christianity as illogical, unscientific, and exploitive, left-wing students launched a campaign in 1922 to block Christian students from holding an international conference in Beijing. A coalition of nationalist and anti-traditionalist intellectuals released a flurry of anti-Christian rhetoric.¹⁵⁸ Although the conference went forward, the movement won wide support. The struggle was reenergized in 1924 with the call to restore China's educational rights. While radicals demanded the government take full control of Christian facilities and expel unwanted foreigners, moderate educators wanted to curb religious influence and bring mission schools under official oversight. Demonstrations, strikes, and mass

pp. 677-699.

¹⁵⁴Alexander Pantsov, "From Students to Dissidents: The Chinese Trotskyists in Soviet Russia (Part 1)," trans. John Sexton, *Issues and Studies*, 30 (1994), pp. 101-107.

¹⁵⁵A majority were CCP members, though some Nationalists were included. Ibid, p. 107.

¹⁵⁶Hartnett, p. 60. Protestant colleges admitted a higher proportion of women than Chinese-run institutions. In 1925-26, female students accounted for 15% of their total enrollments. Lutz, pp. 137.

¹⁵⁷In 1923, Christian colleges' per-student expenditures were twice those of national, five times those of provincial, and ten times those of other private higher-educational institutions. Hartnett, p. 60.

¹⁵⁸Many prominent intellectuals joined the movement including Cai. Their arguments borrowed heavily

withdrawals beleaguered many institutions. Convinced international treaties shielded them, Christian educators stood firm. In 1925, the Ministry of Education required mission schools to officially register, shift managerial control to Chinese, and make religious instruction voluntary. An inter-denominational commission failed to negotiate a compromise. Though the Beijing regime was too feeble to enforce the regulations, some institutions, seeing advantages in gaining official recognition, began preparing for their eventual compliance.¹⁵⁹

The Legacy of China's Early Educational Modernization

As the Qing regime crumbled, the Chinese rejected traditional educational practices as obsolete and impractical. Using Western ideas and models frequently reinterpreted by the Japanese, progressives hastily established new systems and institutions including China's first university, but these innovations were too limited in scope to quickly improve China's international position and came too late to save the dynasty. The abolition of the civil-service examinations and erosion of Confucian orthodoxy deprived the regime of its ideological foundation and lessened its ability to manipulate local elites. Throngs of Chinese went abroad to gain Western expertise. Despite their association with Western imperialist policy, Christian schools drew growing numbers of students wishing to learn practical skills and knowledge.

As political authority devolved in the early Republic, educational change became dependant on local initiative and resources. This, in turn, fostered considerable local experimentation and variation. It also meant institutions of higher learning were

from contemporary Western thought. Lutz, pp. 221-223.

concentrated in the eastern urban centers. In their efforts to build effective schools, Chinese educationalists employed an eclectic array of American, German, French, and Russian theories and practices. While earning a foreign degree became the surest path to social and economic success, patriotic Chinese chafed at the continued proliferation of foreign controlled schools. Though modest advances were made in modernizing curricula and extending opportunities for girls, primary and secondary attendance rates remained low. Relative to China's population, higher-educational enrollments were also minuscule. Yet, as Chinese universities flourished intellectually, they profoundly influenced China's political, social, and cultural development. Despite under-funding and unremitting political pressure, Beijing University became China's most prominent national institution as well as a chief breeding-ground for radical thought. Led by students and foreign-educated faculty, the May Fourth Movement served as a decisive cultural turning point and propelled China toward an uncertain modernity.

Education in the Nationalist Period (1927-1949)

Despite Sun's death in 1925, Nationalist and Communist forces in Canton were set to militarily reunify the country. With the aid of sympathetic warlords, the National Revolutionary Army commanded by Chiang Kai-shek brought most of southern and central China under its control by early 1927. During the fighting, tensions, however, mounted within the coalition. In the Nanjing and Shanghai region, conservative officers loyal to Chiang purged Marxists from their ranks and encouraged paramilitary groups to crush leftist labor and peasant organizations. The radical University of Shanghai was

¹⁵⁹Ibid, pp. 237-254.

forcibly closed with several students being arrested, tried, and executed. These actions alienated left-wing Nationalist leaders headquartered in Wuhan. The resulting rift split the party into two competing regimes.

To enhance their prestige, the right-wing faction invited Cai Yuanpei to head the Ministry of Education in Nanjing. Once appointed, Cai overhauled the educational bureaucracy including abolishing provincial bureaus. Following the French model, he set up semiautonomous university committees to manage schools in regional districts. A university council made up of district chairmen set national policy. Not only did these changes transfer authority away from corrupt bureaucrats, he believed they would promote higher standards by strengthening ties between universities and lower-level schools.¹⁶⁰ To encourage advanced research, a German-inspired national research academy was created. As head of the University Council, Cai became director of the Academic Sinica, which oversaw research institutes in such fields as physics, chemistry, engineering, and social science.¹⁶¹

After Communist organizers orchestrated several doomed uprisings, the Wuhan Nationalists broke with the CCP. In early 1928, Nationalist right and left wings jointly backed Chiang's reappointment as commander-in-chief. The restarted Northern Expedition ended in late 1928 when the warlord controlling Beijing acknowledged the Nationalist's primacy. Just prior to this triumph, party leaders approved an interim constitution, named Chiang as president of the republic, and made Nanjing the formal

¹⁶⁰Since the area under Nanjing's control was limited, only three education districts were established. Allen B. Linden, "Politics and Education in Nationalist China: The Case of the University Council, 1927-1928," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 27 (1968), pp. 763-776.

¹⁶¹It later contained ten research units each attached to a university department. With the exception of history, psychology, social science, and engineering, all were devoted to the hard sciences.

capital. Following Sun's ideas, the government was divided into five branches all run by party stalwarts.¹⁶² The regime also launched new civil-service exams. Though the system retained many traditional symbols, processes, and even some learning content, it was tailored to verify candidates' party loyalty and practical expertise in such fields as administration, education, or foreign affairs.¹⁶³

Despite its supporters' pledges to infuse the spirit of Sun's ideas into all instruction, the university councils aroused suspicion by those wishing to use education as a propaganda platform. Given Cai's diminished leverage within the party, hardliners were able to convince the Central Executive Committee in the summer of 1928 to dump the new system. Cai promptly resigned from all official posts except his directorship of Academia Sinica.¹⁶⁴ After criticizing educators for aping fashionable Western theories and practices and failing to champion a coherent ideology, a party congress called for full party control of educational affairs.¹⁶⁵ The People's Three Principles were made the system's guiding philosophy. Influenced by elements of Confucian paternalism, Japanese authoritarianism, and Soviet single-party rule, Chiang's protégés in the Ministry

Hartnett, pp. 101-102.

¹⁶² The Executive Yuan, which ran most ministries, was solely responsible to the president and the party's standing committee. The Legislative Yuan drafted laws based on party directives. The Judiciary Yuan interpreted law and coordinated the court system while the Censorial Yuan supervised all government operations. Finally, the Examination Yuan conducted the civil-service exams and managed bureaucratic personnel.

¹⁶³ The Examination Yuan held its first exams in 1931. Exams included a written a section testing applicants' knowledge of traditional Chinese thought, ability to write Chinese including its classical form, and adherence to party principles. Initially, candidates could select one of five subject-area exams; however, over the decade options broadened to include accounting, statistics, judicial administration and public health. Only a hundred out of several thousand examinees passed. Due to the bureau's lack of clout, some early candidates earning good marks failed to receive posts. Indeed, personal and party connections determined 99% of official appointments during the Nationalist period. Strauss, pp. 216-224,

¹⁶⁴ Linden, pp. 772-775.

¹⁶⁵ In many respects, this decision was a return to policies maintained by the Nationalists from 1924 to 1926 in Guangdong where school staff and students were required to join the party. Yuan, p. 207.

of Education worked out a mass of regulations. Although the basic 1922 structure was not altered, learning content, schedules, and expected outcomes were standardized. To foster party loyalty, curricula glorified Sun's life and ideas. Nationalism, group discipline, and respect for tradition were promoted by exposing students to Confucian and anti-foreign rhetoric. Only texts approved by the ministry could be used. To advance China's material progress, practical work skills were taught in primary and secondary schools. At the secondary level, optional courses were eliminated and six-years of English became mandatory.¹⁶⁶ Officials required junior and senior secondary graduates to pass qualifying exams designed partly to test their ideological correctness.

Through its control of funding and accreditation, the regime centralized a chaotic higher-education system. Weaker schools were shut down and state institutions reshuffled and expanded.¹⁶⁷ Qinghua and Tongji, re-designated as national universities, grew rapidly, whereas the left-leaning National Labor University in Shanghai closed in 1932.¹⁶⁸ Party cadres filled many institutional posts and faculty deemed unreliable were dismissed.¹⁶⁹ The ministry issued uniform rules governing entrance requirements and exams. As law, humanities, and social science departments shrank and natural science, technical, and professional offerings broadened. All students took courses in political

¹⁶⁶Colin Mackerras' "Education in the Guomindang Period, 1928-1949," *Ideal and Reality: Social and Political Change in Modern China, 1860-1949*, David Pong & Edmund S. K. Fung, ed., (New York: University Press of America, 1985), pp. 156 & 157.

¹⁶⁷The government closed seven universities between 1927 and 1930. Yeh, p. 358.

¹⁶⁸Despite protests from the American embassy, Nationalist officials took full charge of Qinghua. During its reorganization, American faculty were discharged and its study-abroad preparation division closed. Hongshan Li. "An Administrative Success and a Political Failure: The Nationalist Policy Toward Study Abroad, 1928-49," *Twentieth Century China*, 23 (1997), pp. 66-68. Cai selected a German-educated Chinese academic as new Tongji's chancellor. Kreissler, pp. 94-95.

¹⁶⁹Even the distinguished Beijing University professor Hu Shi, a leading moderate in the New Cultural Movement, was formally warned by education officials in 1929 not to express heterodox interpretations of Sun's writings and speeches. Linden, pp. 775-776.

philosophy. Officials cut electives and regularized syllabi. On most campuses, students were bombarded with party propaganda and ritual. While exhorting students to study hard and not concern themselves with politics, Chiang issued a decree in 1930 forbidding them from striking or holding rallies without authorization. The party opened institutional offices to monitor students. Independent unions were banned and party-sponsored associations were organized in their stead.¹⁷⁰ State funding was generous. Average spending per college student was 200 times greater than for primary pupils.¹⁷¹ Overall enrollments jumped from 21,786 in 1928 to 46,758 in 1933. Women comprised over 10% of the latter total.¹⁷² The regime also sustained higher-technical schools in engineering, agriculture, commerce, and other practical fields.

Although official guidelines for post-graduate education were developed, the sector was neglected. Rather, the regime maintained the practice of sending advanced students abroad. Numerous self-sponsored undergraduates also went overseas. In 1930, 5000 Chinese studied in Japan, America, and elsewhere.¹⁷³ The Ministry of Education moved to increase the number of students studying scientific and technical subjects by restricting the majors of sponsored scholars and offering subsidies to the privately funded. Only established professionals with university degrees, especially college instructors, received scholarships. Officials attempted, albeit with limited success, to require self-sponsored students to have minimum academic credentials.¹⁷⁴ From 1933,

¹⁷⁰Hartnett, pp. 126 & 127.

¹⁷¹The ratio in most Western nations runs around one to eight or one to ten. Mackerras, p. 161.

¹⁷²Hartnett, pp. 98 & 99.

¹⁷³Ibid, p. 105.

¹⁷⁴These regulations were similar to those ineffectively enacted in 1924 by the Beijing regime. To qualify for special study-abroad certificates, students had to complete at least three years of secondary school and possess reasonable language skills. Those going abroad without permission were

recipients of state grants had to pass an exam that included questions over party principles. Once abroad, they were obliged to regularly demonstrate their academic progress and register with the ministry on their return.¹⁷⁵

From the outset, the regime was plagued by a myriad of problems. Wishing to preserve their autonomy, allied warlords restricted the Nationalist's authority in many regions and withheld needed resources. Their main domestic foe remained the Communists who operated underground in urban centers and in isolated areas beyond the Nationalist's reach. The CCP organized revolutionary governments, called soviets, in several regions. Mao Zedong led the largest located in Jiangxi province. Just as the Western powers began to relinquish some privileges and concessions, Japanese belligerence increased.¹⁷⁶ In 1931, a clique of army officers stationed in the northeastern Chinese city of Mukden engineered a major incident. After blowing up a section of railroad track and accusing the Chinese of firing on their troops, the Japanese invaded Manchuria in supposed retaliation. Within months, the aggressors set up the puppet state of Manchuko and installed former Emperor Puyi as its figurehead.

Believing China was neither militarily nor politically ready, Chiang avoided a direct clash with Japanese forces. To no avail, he appealed to the League of Nations to resolve the situation.¹⁷⁷ Despite a mass departure of students from Japan in 1931, many

theoretically denied passports, subsidies, and official recognition of their degrees; however, in practice many continued to skirt the rules. Wang, 127-129.

¹⁷⁵Li, pp. 68-69.

¹⁷⁶In 1928, the Western powers agreed to grant China tariff autonomy. The British also give up their municipal concessions in Hankou (1927), Jiujiang (1927), Zhenjiang (1929), and Xiamen (1930). Other Western nations felt compelled to do the same. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 567.

¹⁷⁷After a lengthy investigation, a commission issued a mildly worded report in 1933 concluding that Japan's conquests should not be diplomatically recognized. All League members, except Siam, approved the recommendation. Japan immediately withdrew from the League.

returned.¹⁷⁸ The regime focused on building up its internal strength including upgrading its industrial, transportation, and communication infrastructure. With German help, its army was reorganized and modern munitions factories were built.¹⁷⁹ New universities were organized in the interior away from possible Japanese attack. All male and female students enrolled in senior-secondary and higher-educational programs received military or first-aid training. To win over the urban and educated classes, Chiang launched the New Life Movement in 1934. Blending elements of Confucianism, Social Darwinism, and fascism with Sun's ideas, its doctrine sought to inspire Chinese to strive selflessly for the common good and shun ideological perversion. Party Blueshirts bullied anyone expressing or displaying alternative beliefs.¹⁸⁰ At the same time, the regime made little effort to relieve the stark poverty of the rural and urban masses who were suffering from the effects of the global depression.

To restore national unity, Chiang placed his highest priority on defeating the CCP. Party members and sympathizers were relentlessly hunted down. His military directed unremitting assaults against the rural soviets. Employing hit and run tactics, several enclaves stubbornly hung on. Within the CCP, friction grew between Russian-trained urban cadres who controlled the party apparatus and Mao's rural partisans. After much maneuvering, the Politburo sidelined Mao and ordered their guerrillas to directly engage Nationalist units. Heavy losses resulted. Blockaded and exhausted, 100,000 CCP

¹⁷⁸A sharp depreciation of the Japanese yen against the Chinese dollar encouraged a large inflow of Chinese students. Between June 1932 and November 1935, the number of Chinese studying in Japan spiked from 1,421 to 8,000. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals...*, p. 155.

¹⁷⁹In 1934, Chiang signed an exclusive contract with Nazi Germany agreeing to provide it with strategic minerals in exchange for advanced arms-manufacturing machinery. Spence, p. 401.

¹⁸⁰Organized by Chiang's core supporters, the Blueshirts served as political enforcers and secret police. They were directly inspired by Mussolini's Blackshirts. Spence, pp. 416-418.

soldiers and functionaries retreated westward in the fall of 1934. As a result, Mao took full control of the party's military and political affairs. The Long March concluded a year later as Mao's depleted forces arrived in a mountainous section of Shaanxi province. Protected by its rugged geography, the city of Yan'an became the center of a new soviet.

The Nationalist regime struggled to rein in the student activism. Officially approved curricula were designed to keep students so busy with required courses and exams that they had no time to demonstrate.¹⁸¹ Along with other mass media, academic publications were censored. Those daring to speak out were arrested. Police conducted raids at numerous universities. Driven by fervent nationalism, students held numerous rallies in reaction to Japan's actions in Manchuria. Twenty-two Beijing students were killed, 471 arrested, and 131 expelled in 1932 alone.¹⁸² Frustration with the regime's cowardice boiled over in late 1935 when 8,000 Beijing students tried to force the foreign ministry to justify its policy toward Japan. Though the protest was brutally disbanded, demonstrations erupted in thirty-two other cities.¹⁸³

A mood of disillusionment, resignation, and alienation reigned on most campuses. A lack of jobs for graduates caused by the world economic downturn also fueled pessimism.¹⁸⁴ Immersed in an academic environment dominated by Western ideas and practices, students felt cut off from their cultural roots. While a minority of students was politically active, many quietly embraced leftist ideology.¹⁸⁵ Works by Marx, Lenin,

¹⁸¹Ironically, students were staunch supporters of the Nationalist's crusade against the warlords in 1926.

¹⁸²Chinese students also spearheaded boycotts and strikes against Japanese businesses. Ibid, pp. 413 & 414.

¹⁸³The December Ninth Movement was the largest and best-organized student campaign up to that time.

¹⁸⁴Some 15% of higher-educational graduates in 1933 failed to find jobs. Law and humanities majors were most affected (21.8%) and engineering majors (3%) the least. Yeh, p. 183.

¹⁸⁵Hartnett, p. 128, cites a national survey conducted in 1937 by Olga Lang that found roughly a third of college students were pro-Communist. While those attending state institutions were most likely to

Gorky, and an array of native social critics were widely read. Others turned to the scientific methodology as an avenue for finding truth. Despite the curbs on academic freedoms, research flourished and scholarly journals multiplied. Funded by the government, returned Boxer indemnities, and external agencies like the Rockefeller Foundation, Academia Sinica and other research institutes sponsored studies of practical and theoretical subjects, especially in the natural and social sciences. Striking advances were made in the fields of archeology, paleography, and economics.¹⁸⁶

Non-official colleges and universities had to cope with new pressures. Reversing a long-standing laissez-faire policy, the Ministry of Education mandated that privates meet standards relating to financing, administration, faculty credentials, and library holdings. They also had to follow many curricular guidelines used in the state sector, especially those aimed at politically indoctrinating students. Officials conducted regular inspections. Christian institutions were required to have Chinese dominated governing boards, appoint Chinese presidents, and close theology departments. Only St. John's University refused to comply preferring to keep its unregistered status.¹⁸⁷ As most privates suffered financially on account of the depression and escalating costs, the regime offered subsidies to those sustaining strong science and professional programs.¹⁸⁸ With student fees covering as much as 80% of institutional costs, administrators had little

have such sympathies, students at Christian colleges were least inclined.

¹⁸⁶E-tu Zen Sun, "The Growth of the Academic Community 1912-1949," *The Cambridge History of China, Vol. 13: Republican China 1912-1949, Part 2*. John K. Fairbank & Albert Feuerwerker, ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 396-411.

¹⁸⁷During 1926-27 fighting, both leftist and patriotic groups targeted Christian educational institutions causing considerable property damage and a number of deaths. Thereafter, most institutions willingly abided with the 1925 registration rules in order to gain official recognition and protection. As regulations tightened after 1928, most Christian educators, exhausted by incessant conflict, resigned themselves to the new status quo. Lutz, pp. 258-266.

choice but raise tuitions.¹⁸⁹ Forgetting their original missions, many secular and denominational colleges evolved into vocational training centers for middle-class students.¹⁹⁰ Across the sector, academic standards were typically quite low.

Although the Nationalist regime extolled the goals of compulsory education and equal educational opportunity for both sexes, there was a large discrepancy between its rhetoric and practical reality. Only a tiny fraction of school-aged children received state-sponsored instruction. State regulated private primary and secondary schools, many Christian affiliated, modestly boosted student totals.¹⁹¹ Regional enrollment rates varied widely. In Yunnan, pupils attending officially recognized primary schools amounted to 27.7% of the age cohort while in Jiangsu the figure came to 12.6%.¹⁹² Nationally, girls accounted for 15% of primary enrollments in 1932.¹⁹³ This proportion rose slightly over the decade. Inefficient administration and lack of resources hampered the system's expansion. With over 60% of the national budget going to the military and debt serving, little was left for education.¹⁹⁴ Given the lack of official village schools, many rural children, especially boys, continued to attend traditional schools organized around a

¹⁸⁸In 1934-35, the regime distributed 720,000 Chinese dollars to private universities. Half went to Christian institutions. Students studying certain practical fields also received grants. *Ibid*, pp. 306-309.

¹⁸⁹In contrast, the fees collected by state institutions dropped after 1928. Yeh, pp. 195-205.

¹⁹⁰Fudan, Nanyang, and China College followed this pattern. Hartnett, p. 128.

¹⁹¹After 1928, denominational primary and secondary institutions were forced to follow a multitude of rules and requirements. A few that resisted were shut down. Thus, the ratio of foreign to Chinese teachers rose from one to one in the mid-1920s to one to four in 1936. In 1933, 134,562 children attended 3,497 Catholic lower and higher primary schools. Overall, they enrolled 1.7% of all recorded Chinese lower-primary pupils. In 1937, 2,795 Protestant primary schools instructed 173,222 students or 2.5% of the national total. Mackerras, pp. 164-165.

¹⁹²Interestingly, Yunnan was a backward inland region and Jiangsu a relatively developed coastal area. It is likely other provinces had attendance rates higher or lower than those listed here. *Ibid*, 167-169.

¹⁹³As in earlier periods, Christian schools enrolled a disproportionate number of girls. Over a third of their primary students were female. *Ibid*, p. 171.

¹⁹⁴The central government's spending on education and culture peaked at 4.5% of expenditures in 1934. Sun, p. 392.

single teacher. While many borrowed curricula from the modern sector, others used centuries-old texts and pedagogy. Distrustful of their independence and local influence, the regime did its best to eradicate them.¹⁹⁵

As Japan solidified its hold over northeastern China, doubts grew regarding the regime's priorities. At Moscow's urging, Mao pushed the idea of forming a united front. Renewed Japanese aggression convinced several of Chiang's allies of the need to suspend the civil war and direct their combined forces against the alien invader. Demanding the creation of a coalition government, a leading commander abducted Chiang as he visited Xian in late 1936. Fearing a long internecine conflict, the CCP sent its number-two man, Zhou Enlai, to mediate. After several weeks, Chiang was allowed to fly back to Nanjing where he announced the CCP would be welcome to participate in the coming war against Japan if they affirmed Sun's Three People's Principles.¹⁹⁶ When the Japanese subsequently occupied a city near Beijing, Chiang declared an all-out war of resistance. In the face of Japan's material, organizational, and tactical superiority, Chinese troops were, however, overwhelmed. Beijing and Nanjing fell within six months. Preoccupied with their own troubles, the Western powers took no meaningful action. Chiang's depleted units retreated westward. To minimize the costs of their occupation, the Japanese set up several puppet regimes.

Meanwhile, Chiang established a new capital in Chongqing. Government agencies, factories, and higher-level schools were hastily relocated. Thousands of patriotic Chinese, especially students and faculty, migrated to the interior. Given the

¹⁹⁵Mackerras, pp. 162-164.

¹⁹⁶Though Chiang called off his anti-communist offensive, Nationalist forces continued to blockade the

poverty and isolation of their new geographic base, the Nationalists faced critical shortages of food and supplies.¹⁹⁷ To stay fiscally afloat, the regime simply printed paper currency. Sympathetic Western governments, notably the United States and Soviet Union, offered some limited aid.¹⁹⁸ Despite massive casualties and lack of equipment, the Nationalist army expanded using unpaid peasant conscripts.

The fighting devastated China's educational facilities. After securing their hegemony in the east, the Japanese tried to reopen schools. To revive Confucianism, pupils and students were made to study the *Four Books* and *Five Classics*.¹⁹⁹ At the tertiary level, technical learning was emphasized.²⁰⁰ In Nationalist areas, officials tailored education policy to mobilize the nation. Anti-Japanese and pro-Nationalist propaganda was interwoven into all instruction. Primary and secondary programs were revised to stress traditional ethics and disseminate defense-related skills. The regime saw education as so vital a tool of war that it dedicated substantial resources to set up village schools. Overall enrollments rose, especially for girls.²⁰¹

Evacuated educational institutions were hastily reestablished. The Ministry of Education resettled Beijing, Qinghua, and Nankai Universities on a single campus in

CCP stronghold.

¹⁹⁷For most of the war, the hurriedly built Burma Road was the regime's only conduit to the outside world.

¹⁹⁸Stalin sent weapons, equipment, advisors, and even fighter pilots; however, this support faded after signing his 1939 non-aggression pact with Hitler. From 1937 to 1939, the United States provided \$263 worth of economic aid. Britain and France also offered some limited financial assistance. p. Hsü, *The Rise of Modern China*, p. 600.

¹⁹⁹This promotion of Confucianism is understandably given its cultural rather than nationalist orientation. Like the Manchus, the Japanese hoped to legitimize their rule using Confucian constructs.

²⁰⁰Yutaka Otsuka, "Japan's Involvement with Higher Education in Manchuria: Some Historical Lessons from an Imposed Cooperation," *Education, Culture and Identity in Twentieth Century China*. Glen Peterson, Ruth Hayhoe, & Yongling Lu, ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001), pp. 54-81.

²⁰¹A large influx of educated urbanites fleeing Japanese controlled areas greatly facilitated the extension of educational services into previously neglected rural communities. Mackerras, pp. 173-176.

Kunming.²⁰² Named the National Southwestern Associated University, it resumed teaching with nearly a thousand of their original faculty and students. Entrance exams were held and its student body swelled to 3000 by 1940. Other institutions were scattered across the Chinese interior. Many Christian colleges moved to the safety of the international settlements, but others migrated west. The regime created new institutions to train students in critical fields. The numbers of higher-educational schools and students rebounded so that by 1940 they exceeded those of 1936.²⁰³ Female enrollments rose modestly from 15.2% to 19.5% of the total. Instructional and living facilities were Spartan. As it took years to replace texts, teaching materials, and libraries, instructional standards dropped, especially in scientific and technical subjects. Salaries and stipends were continually eroded by inflation. To weed out weaker students, the ministry required colleges and universities to use common entrance exams from 1938. Regulations relating to faculty appointments and curricula tightened.²⁰⁴ To save foreign currency, officials sharply cut the number overseas scholars. In 1938, scholarship and self-sponsored students who had been abroad for three years were ordered home. The ministry even offered grants to fund their return journeys. In 1939, only fifty-nine students left China, all of whom majored in military science, engineering, medicine, or other defense related

²⁰²The three universities initially reopened in Changsha but the Japanese advance forced them to move further west. Given these institutions' past uneasy relations with the Nationalists, the ministry assigned them to remote Yunnan. John Israel, "Southwest Associated University: Preservation as an Ultimate Value," *Nationalist China during the Sino-Japanese War, 1937-1945*, Paul K. T. Sih, ed., (Hickville, NY: Exposition Press, 1977), pp. 131-166.

²⁰³In 1936-1937, 41,922 students attended 108 higher-educational institutions. Four years later, China had 113 institutions and 52,378 students. Hartnett, p. 142. By 1944, there were 78,909 students. Mackerras, p. 172.

²⁰⁴*Ibid*, pp. 145-146.

subjects. Officials required outgoing scholars to complete a political training course.²⁰⁵

The Communists jointly strove to resist the Japanese. Two Red Army divisions fought nominally under Nationalist command. From their Shaanxi stronghold, guerrilla units attacked Japanese installations across the northern military frontier. With the continued Nationalist blockade, CCP leaders devised self-sufficiency schemes to help locals increase manufacturing and agricultural output and distribute scarce resources. As the territory under its control expanded, so did the number of its adherents. To support their military and political activities, the CCP created a profusion of educational institutions. Party schools focused on preparing cadre to fill military, political, and party positions. The Anti-Japanese Military and Political University was founded in early 1937. Enrollments reached 8,000 by 1938. Students not only raised their own food but also dug living quarters into a Yan'an hillside. To build up discipline, students abided by military conduct codes. Programs lasted about a year and included political and practical subjects. Lectures, discussions, group study, and hands-on exercises were dominant learning methods. Due to the small number of instructors, students were encouraged to teach each other. Books were shared as a circulating library.²⁰⁶ In contrast, specialist schools offered practical instruction to non-party members. Despite their supposed utilitarian orientation, political indoctrination played a central role in their curricula. The North Shaanxi Public School maintained short-term military-training programs before the

²⁰⁵Li, 69-71, 75-76.

²⁰⁶Another institution fitting this pattern, the Central Party School, trained middle and high-level party officials. Mao supervised its operations and served as its chief lecturer on doctrine and party history. By 1944, its enrollment grew to 5,000. Jane L. Price, "Revolution, Nation-building, and Chinese Communist Leadership Education during the Sino-Japanese War," *Perspectives on a Changing China: Essays in Honor of Professor C. Martin Wilbur on the Occasion of his Retirement*, Joshua A. Fogel & William T. Rowe, ed., (Boulder CO: Westview Press, 1979), pp.

Nationalists choked off the flow of students. The Natural Science Research Institute, Lu Xun Arts Academy, and Yan'an University prepared specialists in fields needed for the economic and cultural reconstruction of the CCP's territorial sphere.²⁰⁷

Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and the United States' entry in the war in late 1941 profoundly altered China's situation. American supplies, equipment, advisors, and air forces poured in. Roosevelt's recognition of China as a principal ally greatly enhanced Chiang's international standing. The United States and Britain renounced all unequal treaty provisions including their extraterritorial rights. While the Chinese pinned down millions of Japanese troops, American forces steadily crushed Japan's defensive perimeter. Devastating aerial bombings and looming threat of full invasion compelled Japan's leaders to surrender in August in 1945.

This sudden victory caught Chiang unprepared. Still, the Nationalists rushed to regain control of Eastern China; however, their inept, self-serving handling of political and economic affairs prolonged the nation's distress. Officials plundered Japanese and Chinese assets alike. The printing of huge quantities of currency sparked hyperinflation. Hunger, unemployment, and corruption were effectively ignored. In the chaos, officials struggled to rebuild the nation's education system. Displaced higher-educational faculty and students gradually returned to their ruined campuses. Those who had remained in Japanese occupied areas first had to take political reeducation courses. A flood of applicants inundated colleges and universities. Enrollments jumped from 80,646 in 1946

198-205, 209-210.

²⁰⁷Ibid, pp. 205-212.

to 154,612 in 1947.²⁰⁸ With staff and facilities stretched beyond reasonable capacity, institutions strained. Like other salaried professionals, faculty living standards plunged. Receiving infusions of outside cash, Christian colleges fared better financially but had greater difficulty keeping discipline. Campus frustrations inevitably turned to political agitation. Beyond protesting educational conditions, students loudly opposed the regime's renewed hostility to the CCP. Branding demonstrators as CCP agents, officials conducted a harsh clampdown.²⁰⁹ Hundreds of students were arrested and a few were killed. A wave of students also went abroad. As the Ministry of Education revived its scholarship program, the United States offered to train 1,200 Chinese.²¹⁰ Scholars heading abroad had to pass an exam and complete a political education course. By 1949, 4,000 Chinese students were in America alone.

During the conflict with Japan, distrust grew within the United Front. Skirmishes regularly occurred between Nationalist and Communist units. The war's end brought a renewed civil conflict. Having worked to relieve peasant suffering during the Japanese war, the CCP had networks of supporters across rural northern China. As disgust with the Nationalists' incompetence and greed spread, fewer individuals willingly fought for them. After 1947, Communist victories came in rapid succession. Many Nationalist units defected or simply melted away. In late 1949, Mao announced the founding of the

²⁰⁸This rapid increase was partly a result of minimal tuitions and reluctance of institutions to turn away young people who had served in the struggle against Japan. Hartnett, pp. 157-158.

²⁰⁹Jessie Lutz, "The Chinese Student Movement of 1945-1949," *Journal of Asian Studies*, 31 (1971), pp. 89-110.

²¹⁰As the prospects for victory against Japan brightened, Chiang ordered the Ministry of Education to increase the number of overseas students. In 1943, officials certified 326 students. The number rose to 1,163 by late 1945. Interestingly, the regime refused for most of 1944 to send students to the United States in response to criticism by American academics of its authoritarian study-abroad policies. Li, pp. 70-71, 75-77.

People's Republic of China while Chiang and other Nationalist diehards fled to Taiwan. The Communist triumph quickly transformed China's political, social, and economic landscape and, in the process, its educational structures were fundamentally reshaped.

The Legacy of Nationalist Education

After the Nationalists took power, conservative reform prevailed. As in the Qing period, education became first and foremost an instrument of political control. Emphasis was once again placed on preparing students for state service. Officials standardized primary, secondary and parts of tertiary curricula to promote their political agenda. Elements of Confucianism were reintroduced. Foreign run institutions were brought under Chinese control. A lopsided share of its meager educational budgets went to universities and colleges serving the elite. While rationalizing China's haphazard higher-educational system, officials "partified" institutions. Opposition was not tolerated and ideological correctness took precedence over intellectual freedom. In Communist areas, education was similarly cooped. Though the war with Japan intensified the Nationalist's conservative impulses, it pushed them to raise primary and secondary attendance. Still, a significant portion of Chinese, mainly villagers and women, remained illiterate.²¹¹ On the positive side, higher educational enrollments grew eight-fold and academic research flourished. Yet, the Nationalists' heavy-handed educational policies contributed to their losing the ideological contest with the Communists. Throughout the period, China's universities and colleges continued to nurture large numbers of left-wing activists and sympathizers. In the end, the educated classes who should have been their staunchest

²¹¹While Nationalist records suggest as many as 66% of Chinese could read in 1944, Communist sources

allies turned their back on the regime.

Conclusion

After sustaining a sophisticated educational system for nearly a thousand years, the Chinese in the early twentieth century chose to abandon traditional practices. In the face of overwhelming international pressure, they gradually devised new systems that they hoped would help revitalize a newly acknowledged Chinese nation. The first phase of this modernization, lasting from 1901 to 1927, was characterized by weakening central control and ad hoc experimentation with foreign models while the second, running until 1949, saw a renewed statist orientation. This educational transformation fostered sweeping political, social, economic, and cultural change. Nurtured within the new higher-educational institutions, intellectuals formulated several competing visions of Chinese modernity. Although the Chinese had by 1945 successfully recovered their sovereign rights and held off a massive Japanese attack, profound ideological conflict continued to divide them. In the end, the Communists won this struggle against the Nationalists due to the latter's gross disregard for the interests and needs of ordinary Chinese.

CHAPTER FOUR

THAI EDUCATION BETWEEN 1600 AND 1957

Introduction

Early Siamese education developed organically with the spread of Theravada Buddhism. To promote the well being of both individuals and society as a whole, monks offered basic instruction to boys in Buddhist doctrine as well as transmitted higher learning in an array of intellectual, artistic, and practical fields. Besides anchoring the socio-political status quo, their educational practices supported a rich cultural life. In the nineteenth century, however, the Siamese, in their efforts to resist Western pressure, sought to modernize. Bringing it under the direct control of secular officials, the monarchy overhauled educational system using Western models. While educational modernization allowed the Siamese to strengthen their central state and consolidate their diverse population, it also fostered far-reaching political, social, and cultural change. Indeed, the kingdom's evolving leadership spent most of the twentieth century trying to resolve the internal and external contradictions created by its rush to modernity.

While reviewing the literature, this chapter outlines and discussed the events and issues surrounding Thailand's educational development from the reestablishment of the Ayudhyan state in 1593 and the fall of the second Phibun dictatorship in 1958. Unfortunately, a paucity of recent scholarly interest has produced some gaps in current knowledge. Despite this limitation, most basic topics highlighted in the previous chapters are explored.

Education in the Later Ayudhya and Early Bangkok Periods (1590-1868)

In the sixteenth century, the kings of Ayudhya governed most of the area comprising modern-day Thailand. Originally founded in the fourteenth century, this realm reemerged as a regional power under the remarkable leadership of King Naresuan who decisively defeated the Burmese in 1593.¹ Wedged among four rival states, they had to remain ever-vigilant against external attack.² The renewed kingdom largely followed the traditions of their ancestors. As a father figure and owner of everything within the realm, the king possessed absolute political authority; however, in practice civil and military officials wielded considerable power. Organized around four principal ministries, the bureaucratic elite made up of princes and nobles administered the army, courts, and provinces as well as managed state resources. Ayudhya's politics and culture were focused around the capital. Since the kingdom had abundant land but a small population, the key to Siamese strength lay in its effective control of manpower. Free peasants, the majority of Siamese, were each year obliged to provide six-months of labor to the state. Numerous slaves, mostly debtors, criminals, or war captives, also made significant economic contributions. Though there was considerable mobility within the two major classes, commoners rarely entered the ruling elite except in time of war.³

Like the cultures that dominated the region prior to the Tai's arrival, the Siamese

¹A massive Burmese assault shattered the Ayudhya realm in 1569. Given the near total collapse of local institutions, it took the Siamese decades to fully recover. David K. Wyatt, *Thailand: A Short History*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), pp. 100-105.

²Throughout most of late Ayudhya period, the Burmese ruled the east, the Tai kingdoms of Lan Na and Lan Sang lay to the north and west, and Cambodia occupied the region to the southeast.

³Akin Rabibhadana's *The Organization of Thai Society in the Early Bangkok Period, 1782-1873*, (Ithaca, NY: Department of Asian Studies Cornell University, 1969).

were deeply influenced by Indian civilization.⁴ Most notably, Theravada Buddhism spread among the Tai peoples in the twelfth century by way of Ceylon. This rationalist belief-system maintains that since everything in the world is transient, sensory experience is illusionary. Ignorance of this truth leads to craving and suffering. Only through understanding and developing higher insight can suffering be extinguished. The Dharma (Buddhist teaching or virtue) containing the Noble Eightfold Path offers a way to salvation.⁵ Moreover, sentient creatures suffer to varying degrees according to a five-tier hierarchy of being in which gods and humans are the highest manifestations. An individual's circumstances are controlled by reincarnation and karma, which ensure all actions, whether good or bad, inexorably bring just consequences. Karma is also seen as impacting current lives. Given the strict vows required by the Dharma, only an elite monkhood could practically strive to escape the karmic cycle by attaining nirvana (enlightenment). In contrast, laymen focused on accruing *bun* (positive merit) to improve their worldly situations.⁶

Since the formation of the earliest Siamese kingdoms, Theravada doctrine, combined with aspects of Brahmanism, provided an ideological foundation for all authority. As a living symbol of the Dharma and embodiment of the gods Shiva and Vishnu, the king was seen as a repository of *bun* and a vital link between kingdom and cosmos. Since humans karmically deserve their positions, the king naturally had

⁴Tai-speaking peoples migrated southward into Khmer and Mon lands from the eleventh century. Other Tai languages include Lao, Shan, and Yunnan Tai. Though "Siam" originally referred to the Tai inhabited Chao Phraya valley, the term was later applied to the state centered there. The country's name was changed to Thailand in 1939. This dissertation follows historical usage.

⁵The Eightfold Path involves cultivating correct view, attitude, speech, action, livelihood, effort, mindfulness, and meditation.

⁶For a lucid account of popular Buddhist beliefs in Siam, see Yoneo Ishii, *Sangha, State, and Society: Thai*

acquired considerable *bun* to reach such a high status. Conversely, sovereigns violating the Dharma by disregarding the ten kingly virtues risked losing their legitimacy.⁷ Next to the monarchy, Siam's most important institution was the *Sangha* (Buddhist orders). As the defender of religion, the king oversaw an extensive network of monasteries that reached into nearly every village. While the crown sponsored large urban complexes, most *wat* (temples or monasteries) were sustained by local communities. Indeed, supporting holy mendicants was viewed as a rich source of *bun*-making. The *Sangha* was hierarchically organized with learned monks holding higher posts. Ecclesiastics springing from aristocratic families normally served as Supreme Patriarch. Selected by local brethren, layman and, in some cases, the king, abbots functioned with considerable autonomy.⁸ In addition to managing *wat* daily affairs, including maintaining discipline and directing ceremonies, they planned building projects, set standards of ordination, and encouraged scholarly specialization. In accordance with scriptures, members were expected to lead lives of piety, poverty, and celibacy. Living outside the secular order, monks were exempted from the corvee system and other taxes as well. Monks, regardless of background, were treated with respect. Not only did *wat* minister to the kingdom's moral and spiritual needs, they served as hospitals, courts, and centers for the arts, sciences, and scholarship. Much of public life, especially in villages, took place in and around local *wat*.

Buddhism in History, trans. Peter Hawkes, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986).

⁷The ten rules of kingship, laid down in the *Phra Thammasat*, the core of ancient Siamese law, were based on Buddhist codes compiled by the Mon. They include alms-giving, morality, liberality, straightness, gentleness, self-restriction, non-anger, non-hurtfulness, forbearance, and non-opposition. Ibid, pp. 45-46.

⁸Craig Reynolds's "The Buddhist Monkhood in the Nineteenth Century Thailand," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1973), pp. 6-28 & 194-233, outlines traditional Sangha organization and

One of the *Sangha's* central functions lay in the realm of education. Within the Theravada tradition, understanding the Dharma precedes correct practice as a necessary step toward nirvana. Spreading knowledge of the Dharma was also thought to be vital to the kingdom's welfare. The *Anāgatavamsa* (Chronicle of Future Events) warns:

As time goes on there will be base-born kings, not Dhamma-men; their ministers and so on will not be Dhamma-men, and consequently the inhabitants of the kingdom and so on will not be Dhamma-men. Because they are not Dhamma-men, it will not rain properly. Therefore the crops will not flourish well, and in consequence the donors of requisites to the community of monks will not be able to give them the requisites. Not receiving the requisites, the monks will not receive pupils. As time goes on learning will decay.⁹

To avoid this fate, the Dharma had to be kept alive and effectively taught throughout the country. Both teaching and learning were seen as important avenues for gaining *bun*.

Families across the kingdom brought their sons to local *wat* for instruction. Boys around the ages of six or seven could start their studies on any Thursday during the year. Students were assigned to an individual monk, often a family friend or relative, who became responsible for the child's moral and academic education. The bond between student and teacher was regarded as a fundamental social relationship and was often life-long and intimate.¹⁰ Younger pupils were usually attached to junior monks while the

administration.

⁹Translation from Pali by I.B. Horner found in *Buddhist Texts Through the Ages*, Edward Conze, ed., (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1964), p. 48. Dharma is referred to as Dhamma in Pali texts.

¹⁰The Sigalavada Sutta, which outlines Buddhist ethics, depicts six social relationships: child to parent, pupil to teacher, wife to husband, friend to friend, noble to servant, and householder to mendicant.

In five ways should pupils minister to their teachers as the southern quarter: by rising from their seats in salutation, by waiting upon them, by eagerness to learn, by personal service, and by attention when receiving their teaching.

And in five ways do teachers, thus ministered to as the south quarter by their pupils, love their pupils: they train him in that wherein he has been well trained; they make him hold fast that which is well held; they thoroughly instruct him in the lore of every art; they speak well of him among his friends and companions. They provide for him safety in every quarter.

Translation by Rhys Davids found in *The Buddha's Philosophy of Man: Early Indian Buddhist Dialogues*, Trevor Ling, ed., (Toronto: Everyman's Library, 1981), p. 136.

more senior guided higher-level students. Teaching monks generally took charge of between one and twelve pupils. Most students lived within the *wat*. Although they paid no fees, families donated what food and other basics they could afford, thereby accruing additional *bun*. Students helped their teachers by doing such tasks as cooking meals, fetching water, or running errands. There was no standard curriculum; however, most students began their studies learning how to read and write the phonetic Siamese script and acquiring a general understanding of the Dharma. Lessons, held in any convenient space in the *wat*, ran from about six to nine in the morning and two to five in the afternoon, but students were encouraged to study on their own during breaks and evenings. Speaking in chorus, copying, memorizing and reciting were dominant instructional methods. Vernacular accounts of the Buddha's life, cosmologies, and edifying poetry were commonly used. The only known textbook, the *Chindamani* (Gems of Thought), outlined the rules of Siamese spelling, grammar, and usage.¹¹ Monks used physical discipline such as a few strokes with a stick to modify the behavior of unruly or lazy students. Pupils progressed at their own pace, as there were no formal exams or grades. If a competent monk were available, advancing students might also learn rudimentary mathematics. After achieving a basic level of literacy and religious awareness, most boys returned to work on their fathers' farms or, if the family had connections, secured a minor government post. Although the male scions of royals and nobles were not generally sent to *wat*, they learned similar content plus etiquette under

¹¹Written by King Narai's court astrologer in the 1670s or 80s, this text, though possibly inspired by exposure to Western primers brought by the French, closely followed Indian conventions. It was used in urban *wat* and among the elite for some two hundred years. David K. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform in Thailand in Thailand: Education in the Reign of Chulalongkorn*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969), pp. 21-22.

the tutelage of family members or retainers.

A small share of young men temporarily entered the *Sangha*. Ordination as a novice, the most meritorious act a male could perform, generally took place in early puberty. From this point, boys of all social backgrounds were taught together. Under the direction of individual monks, novices gained additional knowledge of religious doctrine, learned the *Sangha's* rules of conduct, and were briefly introduced to some specialized subject matter. This period of religious devotion usually lasted no longer than a single monsoon season.¹² During some reigns, a short stay in the *Sangha* became a prerequisite for court appointments.¹³

The return to secular life marked the end of a youth's academic training and the beginning of his vocational education. The sons of farmers and craftsmen learned their future occupations by helping their fathers. Officials arranged apprenticeships for their male offspring frequently in their own offices. Highborn boys were often turned over to the royal palace where they learned official protocol while serving as pages. The system provided future bureaucrats with the practical skills needed by the ministries and helped families maintain their social positions. Once completed, most were ready to fill government posts.

With the consent of their instructors, a few talented novices continued their formal studies. A mentor was selected within the *wat* to guide and teach aspiring students. Those aiming for full ordination acquired the skills of monastic practice

¹²Wyatt, *ibid*, pp. 1-35, and Keith Watson *Educational Development in Thailand*, (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1980), pp. 69-76, sketch traditional Buddhist education.

¹³Swat Chongkol, "A Historical Sketch of Thai Education Administration: Evolution of the Administrative Organization," *Education in Thailand*, (Bangkok: Ministry of Education, 1970), p. 64.

including meditation and chanting by emulating older monks. Since little of the Theravada Canon was translated into Thai, most monks undertook the study of Pali. In addition to serving as a springboard for understanding the scriptures, the ability to read Pali secured their ecclesiastical statuses. To distinguish sincere clergy from those simply evading their civic responsibilities, the government periodically tested their ability to translate religious texts. The exams set three levels of mastery and individuals who failed were often disrobed. Monks possessing in-depth knowledge of the scriptures often became advanced instructors or even abbots. The course and quality of instruction varied according to the available expertise and facilities. Many rural *wat* had neither a copy of the scriptures nor members able to read them. The lack of printing made texts precious. In large urban *wat* having libraries and a diverse range of specialists, students could study history, astrology, astronomy, medicine, mathematics, literature, law, art and other subjects. Some *wat* near the capital even offered such practical disciplines as accounting and official correspondence. If a *wat* lacked a qualified teacher, a mentor might arrange for a student wishing to study a specific field to travel to another possibly distant *wat* where instruction was available. Teaching was done in intimate groups.¹⁴ Studies could last for years and reach a high level of scholarly sophistication. On completing their educations, some students left the *wat* to take official appointments. Though the main ministries excluded non-nobles, erudite commoners were welcomed within the Royal Scribes, Pundits, and ecclesiastical department. In some reigns, advanced instruction was organized for the elite in the palace or homes of court scholars.

¹⁴Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 17-19 & Stephen J. Zack, "Buddhist Education under Prince Wachirayan Warorot," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1977), pp. 47-50.

Due to doctrinal restrictions against the mixing of sexes, girls were not allowed to study within the *wat*. In any case, since women could not be ordained or participate in religious ceremonies, it was thought that they needed no education.¹⁵ Thus, few female commoners ever got the chance to learn anything beyond the practical arts of housekeeping and fieldwork. In some upper-class families, girls received some instruction at home from family members or servants. High nobles sent their daughters into royal service so they could secure advantageous marriages. In the palace, girls learned etiquette, traditional crafts, and basic literacy.¹⁶

The kingdom contained a significant measure of cultural diversity. Notably, its southern peninsular provinces were inhabited largely by Malay-speaking Moslems.¹⁷ Although the educational customs of this population sprang from a different tradition, their methods and emphases were strikingly similar to those of Siamese Buddhists. As elsewhere in the Islamic world, young children were taught to read the Koran in small prayer houses attached to local mosques or in the homes of teachers. Others studied with family members. Those seeking higher-level instruction entered *pondok* located in larger mosques. Under the direction of respected teachers, students learned such subjects as Islamic law, theology, textual interpretation, ethics, logic, rhetoric, and etymology using

¹⁵Though female orders existed elsewhere in the Theravada world, the Thai *Sangha* was until very recently entirely male. Chatsumarn Kabil Singh, "Buddhism and the Status of Women," *The South East Asia Review*, 7 (1982), pp. 63-74.

¹⁶For broader discussion of this topic, see Darunee Tantiwiramanond and Shashi Pandey, "The Status and Role of Thai Women in the Pre-Modern Period: A Historical and Cultural Perspective," *Sojourn*, 2 (1987), pp. 125-149.

¹⁷The Siamese subjugated the region in the fifteenth century. Mons, Khmers, and Burmans also lived in the kingdom; however, being Theravada Buddhists, their educational patterns differed little from those of the Siamese.

Arabic and Malay.¹⁸ Accomplished scholars became eligible for positions in the local Ulema (Islamic leadership).¹⁹ Since the realm was chronically under-populated, the Siamese adopted a tolerant and often encouraging attitude toward immigration. Several Persian, Indian, and Chinese families even rose in the bureaucratic elite after serving as official advisors. The Chinese were by far the largest foreign minority. Spared the duty of providing corvee labor, they prospered in the realm of commerce to such a degree that they were able to control most internal trade. Though the crown monopolized external trade after 1662, Chinese agents and seaman handled the bulk of Siamese exports, especially to other Asian markets. The profits from these activities allowed many Chinese to buy their way into the Siamese upper classes. Like other foreign groups, the Chinese selected their own officials who after receiving the King's sanction ran their residential quarter in the capital. A few small schools offered traditional Chinese education.²⁰ Their rarity was partly a result of a general eagerness to assimilate into Thai society and a high rate of intermarriage. Some wealthy Chinese merchants employed private instructors to teach their sons the Confucian classics.

Soon after seizing Malacca in 1511, the Portuguese sent the first Western envoy to Siam to negotiate a political and commercial treaty. In return for guaranteed supplies

¹⁸Since *pondok* could not offer in-depth study of all areas, most specialized. Students, thus, traveled from school to school to broaden their educations. Like in the *wat*, there were no examinations or degrees. Hasan Madmarn, "The Pondok and Change in Southern Thailand," *Aspects of Development: Islamic Education in Thailand and Malaysia*, Raymond Scupin, ed., (Bangi, Selangor: Institute of Malay Language, Literature and Culture, Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, 1989), pp. 61-62.

¹⁹See Madmarn for a detailed account of traditional Islamic education in Siam's Malay community. *Ibid*, pp. 45-92.

²⁰G. William Skinner in *Chinese Society in Thailand: An Analytical History*, (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1957), p. 135, argues that in this period education played little role in determining social status among overseas Chinese. Accomplished instructors seldom left China and there was little demand for classical trained scholars.

of firearms, the Siamese gave Portuguese the privilege of residing and practicing their religion in Siam as well as special trading privileges. During the next century, Portuguese mercenaries served in Ayudhya's armies teaching the Siamese the Western arts of cannon-making and fortification. Eventually, treaties were signed with the Spanish, Dutch, English, and French. By the 1630s, relations with the Dutch broadened to include some military cooperation. To finance its endless wars, the Siamese crown imposed a royal monopoly on all external trade. Though Portuguese and Spanish Jesuits had operated in Siam since the mid-sixteenth century, the arrival of French priests in 1662 signaled a more concerted effort to introduce Christianity. Hoping to gain useful technical knowledge, King Narai tolerated their activities.²¹ In 1665, the king gave the mission a plot of land in the capital and sent ten male subjects to receive instruction. The clerics established a Collège Général containing a preparatory school and seminary to train native priests. Instruction, held in Latin, incorporated theology, philosophy, science, math, and the humanities. Lower-level schools were organized wherever churches were erected. An order of French nuns even founded several girls' schools and a convent. At the urging of his pro-Catholic chief minister, Constantine Phaulkon, the King, in the mid-1680s, sent several emissaries to the French court to conclude an alliance.²² Fulfilling a diplomatic request, Narai formalized the missionaries' freedoms in 1685. Beyond confirming their right to preach openly, the royal memorandum stated:

²¹During his reign, King Narai eagerly collected Western clocks, telescopes, globes, and other technological apparatus. Ian Hodges asserts that the Siamese, in spite of this interest, failed to appreciate Western science. "Western Science in Siam: A tale of Two Kings," *Osiris*, 13 (1998), pp. 87-92.

²²Phaulkon was a Greek adventurer who came to Siam in the employ of the English East India Company. After mastering Thai, he became an interpreter for the Siamese court. He quickly rose in influence to become one of Narai's most trusted advisors. Wyatt, *Thailand*, pp. 112-113.

The King of Siam permits the Apostolic Missionaries to instruct any of his natural-born subjects in any of the sciences, and to receive them into any of their monasteries, schools, and dwellings with similar privileges to those enjoyed in the other monasteries of Siam, and without constraint from anyone. The said Missionaries are allowed to teach science, law, and any other subjects that are compatible with the Government and Laws of the Realm.²³

After moving to a more central location, the college attracted as many as 700 students.

Small numbers of Siamese went to France to study theology and other subjects.²⁴

Despite these efforts, the missionaries failed to convert any appreciable number of Siamese. Indeed, Thais represented a minority of those attending their educational institutions. With the King's death in 1688 came Phaulkon's swift downfall as well as a strong backlash against Western, but especially French, influence. French troops were forced to leave Siam, missionaries were imprisoned, and the college was burnt to the ground. After these events, officials suspended political contacts with the West and enforced a series of laws designed to deter Siamese from becoming Christians. Yet, the college, reopened in 1690 two miles outside the city, was allowed to operate at a low level until the end of the Ayudhya period.²⁵ Small numbers of private English, Dutch, and Portuguese traders were allowed to live in the kingdom.

The so-called "revolution of 1688" brought a new royal line. Accusing Narai's heirs of pro-French plotting, Phra Phetracha, Phaulkon's bureaucratic adversary, had

²³An English version of this document translated by Joseph Nguyen-van-Khoi is available in "A Study of the Impact of Christian Missionaries on Education in Thailand," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Saint Louis University, 1972).

²⁴The mission sent several talented Siamese scholars to the Sorbonne to finish their religious training. The King also dispatched students to attend French vocational institutes. Ibid, pp. 99-100, 120-121.

²⁵Most missionaries were released in 1689. In the eighteenth century, enrollments were small and included few Siamese. In 1718, it had fifty students of which fourteen were Siamese. Its low point came in 1707 when only twelve students attended. During the siege of Ayudhya, the college was moved to southern Vietnam and later to India. A new college was established in Bangkok in 1775. Ibid, pp. 71-114.

himself crowned king. After a fifteen-year struggle to secure the dynasty, Siam entered a period of relative peace and stability. As in previous centuries, royal secessions remained a source of uncertainty and violence. To lessen the danger, King Borommakot shifted resources from princes to noble bureaucrats. His death in 1758, nonetheless, triggered a major crisis. While winning the throne, King Suriyamarin angered high officials who backed a younger brother. The discord only increased with time. Opportunistically, the Burmese dispatched several large armies, which in 1767 succeeded in sacking the capital and destroying the Ayudhya regime. Within a year, however, the Siamese regrouped under a former provincial governor to expel the invaders. The turmoil continued when the new King, Taksin, alienated his followers by making heretical claims. Finally in 1782, local rebel bands seized him and offered the throne to a top military commander. Once crowned, King Rama I quickly moved to restore stability. After repelling new Burmese thrusts and building a new capital at Bangkok, he revitalized the monarchy by reaffirming its traditional symbols and rituals and initiated a review of Siamese law. Rama I also reestablished discipline within the *Sangha*, which had degenerated into heresy, immorality, and ignorance during the years of disorder. Learned monks were raised in the ecclesiastic hierarchy and a definitive version of the Pali scriptures was created under royal patronage.²⁶ By the end of Rama I's extraordinary reign, Siam, though still shaken by recent events, had recaptured much of its former glory. Indeed, when the king died in 1809, the territory under Siamese control was vaster than any former Ayudhya realm. Besides subjugating the northern Tai states of Lan Na and Lan

²⁶A detailed account of ecclesiastical reform under Rama I is available in Reynolds, pp. 29-62.

Sang, he conquered most of Cambodia as well as several Malay sultanates.²⁷

In many respects, the early Bangkok period was the zenith of traditional Thai culture. Literature, drama, and other arts flourished. Rama I and his successor were gifted poets in their own rights. The Buddhist leadership strove to enhance orthodoxy by cleansing the *Sangha* of animistic beliefs and practices. Numerous *wat* were constructed or expanded. Kings and nobles financed the salaries of accomplished laymen to teach Pali in major ecclesiastical centers.²⁸ King Rama II made the ecclesiastical exams more frequent and expanded their levels from three to twelve.²⁹ The growing cultural confidence encouraged greater openness toward foreign civilizations. Indian, Persian, Javanese, and Chinese classics were translated into vernacular Siamese. At the same time, the kingdom conducted a thriving trade with its Asian neighbors, especially China.³⁰ Thai educational practices continued as they had for centuries.

At the same time, the West began to exert greater influence over Siamese affairs. After accepting several diplomatic missions, Siamese officials in 1820 concluded a trade agreement with Portugal.³¹ After Britain defeated Burma and annexed its southeastern

²⁷Lan Na and Lan Sang were centered on Chiang Mai and Vientiane. Most newly acquired regions were not integrated into Siam's central administrative structures and, thus, retained considerable autonomy.

²⁸Ibid, pp. 156-162. The practice existed in earlier centuries, but more research is needed to gauge its scale.

²⁹A thorough discussion of ecclesiastical reform under Rama II can be found in Zack, pp. 27-29.

³⁰Throughout the seventeenth century, the Siamese periodically sent diplomatic missions to China where they ritually kowtowed before the emperor and offered symbolic tribute. In return, the Chinese presented the Siamese legation with an array of goods and allowed its envoys to freely trade with Chinese merchants. The volume of Sino-Siamese trade increased substantially in the late eighteenth century.

³¹Portugal even sent a mission in the reign of Rama I. Unlike their powerful Western competitors, the Portuguese accepted local diplomatic conventions and commercial regulations. The reciprocal treaty allowed the Portuguese to trade in Siam and Siamese in Macao. As earlier, the Siamese were mainly interested in acquiring firearms. In the early 1820s, as many as 2,000 Portuguese lived privately in the kingdom including many born there. Constance Wilson, "State and Society in the Reign of Mongkut, 1851-1868: Thailand on the Eve of Modernization," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Cornell University, 1970), pp. 167-171.

provinces in 1826, King Rama III agreed to negotiate a treaty of friendship with his menacing new neighbor.³² While the British conceded most Siamese claims in the Malay south, the Siamese made commercial concessions that included lowering ship duties and ending discriminatory trade practices. Still, the Siamese adamantly refused to allow a permanent British diplomatic presence or sanction cross-border exchanges. To offset British power, Rama III signed to a commercial treaty with the United States in 1833.³³ Although Siam's trade with the West expanded in the 1830s, the trend reversed itself the following decade as the royal agents circumvented treaty provisions and build up Siam's merchant fleet.³⁴ Preoccupied with quelling a series of regional revolts, the King was unwilling to make further compromises with the West that could upset Siam's internal balance. News of events elsewhere in Asia only heightened the King's suspicions and reinforced his determination to resist Western pressure.

These contacts stirred interest in Siam by Christian groups. After keeping a low profile for well over a century, the Catholic Church renewed its efforts in the late 1820s. By mid-century, the kingdom hosted a bishop, eight European priests, and a few nuns. Ten Catholic schools offered reading, writing, arithmetic, and catechism to boys and girls in Latin.³⁵ In 1828, the first Protestant missionaries arrived in Siam.³⁶ Though

³²Five years earlier, King Rama II rebuffed a similar British initiative. Amidst the Anglo-Burmese War, the British again approached the Siamese to secure their assistance; however, the talks went nowhere until news of the British victory reached Bangkok. Fearing British aggression, Rama III consented to enter into an agreement. Walter F. Vella, *Siam Under Rama III, 1824-51*, (Locust Valley, NY: J. J. Augustin, 1957), pp. 116-118.

³³Its terms mirrored those of the 1826 Anglo-Siamese treaty. The French declined a Siamese offer to open commercial relations. *Ibid*, pp. 122-124.

³⁴In 1835, the Siamese began constructing Western-style square-rigged sailing ships. By the end of the reign, the King and high nobles possessed nearly twenty such vessels. *Ibid*, p. 128.

³⁵The bulk of their early pupils were Chinese. Watson, p. 79.

³⁶The earliest, German Carl Gutzlaff and Englishman Jacob Tomlin, came ostensibly to work among the Chinese. Though they stayed only a short time, their favorable reports brought additional

authorities reluctantly permitted them to stay, the King prohibited them from distributing Christian materials.³⁷ Several denominations vainly tried to open schools.³⁸ Like their Catholic counterparts, their labors attracted few converts. Of greater impact was Dr. Dan B. Bradley's work in preventing smallpox, which earned him a financial grant from the King.³⁹ The American Presbyterian also set up the first printing press with Thai script. He printed a royal proclamation banning trade in opium and later opened Siam's first newspaper.⁴⁰ A small group of aristocrats saw the missionaries' presence as an opportunity to learn about the West. Prince Chuthamani actively pursued English lessons. His relations with resident Westerners enabled him to construct Siam's first steamship and introduce English military drilling and uniforms into the army.⁴¹ Another prince who oversaw the Department of Royal Physicians studied Western medicine seriously enough to receive a correspondence diploma from a Philadelphia medical school. A talented commoner was even sponsored by a high nobleman to travel to

missionaries within a few years. George McFarland, ed., *Historical Sketch of the Protestant Mission in Siam 1828-1928*, (Bangkok: White Lotus Press, 1999), pp. 1-9.

³⁷The ban was eased in the 1830s. Kenneth E. Wells, *History of Protestant Work in Thailand, 1828-1958*, (Bangkok: Church of Christ in Thailand, 1958), p. 12.

³⁸The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions dispatched a Miss E. M. Pierce in 1840 to found a primary school; however, her efforts came to nothing due the reluctance of native families to send their children and her premature death in 1844. After this failure, missionary families brought individual boys and girls into their homes where they provided Christian educations. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 69 & 210-211.

³⁹Arriving in 1835 in Bangkok, the doctor maintained a free medical clinic. Alarmed by the prevalence of smallpox, Bradley tried to slow its spread. In 1838, he successfully inoculated several Thais and published a treatise in Thai explaining the procedure for Thai physicians. Rama III was so impressed that he presented Bradley with a gift of a hundred and forty five dollars in silver. William L. Bradley, *Siam Then: The Foreign Colony in Bangkok Before and After Anna*, (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981), pp. 57-62.

⁴⁰This document was the first ever printed by the Siamese government. McFarland, p. 16. The evangelists played an important role in keeping the Siamese abreast of broader world events by translating English language articles into Thai and obtaining Western publications. Occasionally, they were also asked by Siamese officials to serve as interpreters when foreign (non-American) envoys visited Bangkok. Wilson, p. 233.

⁴¹William L. Cowan, "The Role of Prince Chuthamani in the Modernizing of Siam," *The Journal of the*

England to earn a navigation certificate.⁴²

The accession of King Mongkut in 1851 marked a turning point. When his father King Rama II died twenty-seven years earlier, young Mongkut entered the *Sangha* to protect himself from court intrigue. A gifted scholar, he quickly passed his ecclesiastical exams. His study of Pali texts persuaded him many *Sangha* practices were at odds with scriptural tenets. This conclusion led him to found the Thammayut order borrowing heavily from the strict Mon sect. In 1837, the King made Mongkut abbot of a royal *wat* in Bangkok so he could exert greater influence over the kingdom's ecclesiastical affairs. After his *wat*'s candidates succeeded in earning higher Pali degrees, he was put in charge of the exams in the capital. Living in Bangkok, the inquisitive prince was able to meet such missionaries as Bishop Pallegoix and Dr. Bradley. From these contacts, Mongkut familiarized himself with Western languages, sciences, mathematics, history, and religion.⁴³ Under his leadership, *Wat Bowon* became a hub of Western learning.⁴⁴ His rejection of supernatural elements in the Buddhist cosmology was likely influenced by his encounter with the Western scientific worldview.⁴⁵

Despite his association with unorthodox Buddhism and foreign ideas, Mongkut

Siam Society 55, (1967), pp. 41-59.

⁴²On his return, he became a retainer for the future regent Somdet Chaophraya Si Suriyawong. Speaking fluent English, he accompanied Siamese emissaries to London in 1857. Ratchaworin (pseud.). "Nakrian thai nai tangprathet khon raek," *Chao krung*, 12 (1963), pp. 35-39.

⁴³Jesse Caswell, a colleague of Bradley, was invited to teach English at Wat Bowon in 1845. Mongkut was his most eager student. The lessons lasted about a year and a half before Caswell's sudden death. William L. Bradley, "Prince Mongkut and Jesse Caswell," *The Journal of the Siam Society*, 54 (1966), pp. 30-41.

⁴⁴Reynolds provides the most complete account of Mongkut's early career, pp. 63-112.

⁴⁵Mongkut was in the intellectual vanguard. See Reynolds's, "Buddhist Cosmography in Thai History, with Special Reference to Nineteenth Century Culture Change," *Journal of Asia Studies*, 35 (1976), pp. 203-220.

was chosen as Rama III's successor.⁴⁶ After consolidating his position, the King initiated a policy of cautious reform. Most urgently, he had to deal with growing British pressure for broader political and economic relations. Being aware of Britain's victories in Burma and China as well as its material and technological superiority, Mongkut adopted a strategy of conciliation and accommodation. When in 1855 the British Governor of Hong Kong visited Bangkok to negotiate a new treaty, Siamese officials acquiesced on almost every demand.⁴⁷ The Bowring Treaty required Siam to allow unrestricted trade, abolish most royal monopolies, limit import and export duties, and gave British subjects extraterritorial rights. Within a decade, agreements were signed with other Western nations, including France and the United States. Goodwill missions were sent to London and Paris. The volume of trade quickly rose, as did the number of Westerners visiting the kingdom. To support this exchange, Mongkut reformed Siam's currency and constructed a modern mint. Likewise, Bangkok's port and commercial facilities were upgraded. The government also moved to acquire up-to-date military technology, establish its own printing facilities, and utilize foreign advisers.⁴⁸ Greater tolerance of Christianity enabled missionaries to expand their operations. Presbyterians founded a boarding school in 1852 in Bangkok with twenty-seven male pupils.⁴⁹ Additional Protestant schools were

⁴⁶Rama III's illness in 1850 triggered a major political struggle, especially as the dying King refused to name a successor. Civil war was averted when the accession council passed over the old King's sons and appointed his younger brother. This outcome was a significant defeat for conservatives. Wyatt, *Thailand*, pp. 179-180.

⁴⁷Initiating a correspondence with Bowring, Mongkut deftly avoided having to negotiate with representatives of the hostile India or Straits-Settlement colonial offices. He similarly sidelined colonial officials in Saigon by cultivating contacts in Paris. Ibid. pp. 183-185.

⁴⁸During the reign, the Siamese government employed eight-two Europeans including military officers, a customhouse director, harbormaster, and police chief. Walter F. Vella, *The Impact of the West on Government in Thailand*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 334.

⁴⁹Since a Chinese convert served as its main teacher, Chinese was the language of instruction until 1860. In 1857, it was moved a larger site. Reading, composition, arithmetic, geography, astronomy, and

subsequently opened in the capital and regional centers.⁵⁰ The King even asked three female missionaries to teach English to the royal princesses and concubines.⁵¹ When his numerous progeny became of school age, a British teacher, Anna Leonowens, was engaged to instruct them in English, science, and other Western subjects.⁵² Forced to manage Siam's opening to the West, Mongkut could not or would not initiate broader reform. Traditional administrative, social, and cultural patterns, thus, persisted. Western influence remained superficial, but forces were already in motion that would ultimately transform the kingdom.

The Legacy of Traditional Thai Education

Although it incorporated ideas and practices developed in India, traditional Thai education took shape within the context of Siam's historical formation. Once established, monastic and practical education practices functioned largely unchanged for nearly six hundred years. In addition to promoting religious devotion and political loyalty, it equipped the elite to fulfill their administrative roles and perpetuated the *Sangha*. Its systems of higher learning sustained a vibrant cultural and intellectual environment around the royal court; however, the personal and individualized nature of advanced instruction meant only a limited number of students could be accommodated. Although

theology were taught. A few girls entered after 1859. Students were initially paid for their attendance. McFarland, pp. 50, 60, 61, & 211.

⁵⁰Schools were organized at new stations in Chantaburi (1854), Petchaburi (1865), and Chiangmai (1867).

Despite this forbearance, the King made it clear that he rejected their religion. Watson, pp. 81.

⁵¹The American women who included Mrs. Bradley taught within the female quarters for about three years before concern about Christian influence and lack of interest ended the lessons. William Bradley, *Siam Then: The Foreign Colony in Bangkok Before and After Anna*, (Pasadena, CA: William Carey Library, 1981), pp. 101-02.

⁵²Before coming to Siam, the widow taught at an elite school in Singapore. Her contract barred her from teaching Christianity to anyone attached to the palace. Her service lasted from 1862 and 1867. Ibid, pp. 103-04.

functional literacy and in-depth learning remained rare among Siamese, men failing to spend time as *wat* pupils were seen as uncultured. Although Christian missionary schools functioned for many years, they had negligible influence over Siam's overall educational development.

Most historians approach traditional Siamese education from a non-critical, culturally relativistic viewpoint. They stress that it met the needs of Siamese society by imparting useful and meaningful knowledge and supported its cultural and political institutions. Both Wyatt and Watson laud the system's inclusiveness, informality, and low cost. They see its emphasis on individuals and reliance on personal relationships as positive reflections of broader Siamese cultural patterns. Finally, Wyatt argues that traditional education laid the intellectual foundation for later political, social and cultural modernization by promoting a rationalist worldview that was inherent in the Buddhist/Brahmanist philosophical tradition.

In contrast, Zack, while setting the background for later reforms in ecclesiastical education, finds numerous defects within the system, which he suggests limited its ability to fully realize basic Buddhist learning objectives. He contends that many educational activities were exercises of empty *bun* making. Instructors often taught above the heads of their pupils and students. Ritual was promoted at the expense of understanding. Although instructors attempted to stimulate pupils' interest, there was little pressure for pupils to excel. And, since what was learned, including the ability to read, was of little practical value to most Thais, it was likely forgotten. Lastly, he points out since traditional Siamese society held little regard for academic learning, its hierarchy could absorb only a small number of accomplished individuals.

Obviously, more work is required. Few details are known about the nature and course of higher-level and specialized curriculum. The number and size of *wat* offering such instruction has not even been estimated. Palace education also deserves more attention. Other under-researched topics include traditional education among Siam's female population and Chinese community. Sadly, a scarcity of written sources will limit historians' ability to answer many questions; thus, period estimates for school attendance and general literacy will always be doubtful, given the poor records kept by *wat*. Finally, there is a need to reexamine the entire subject using fresh historiographic approaches.

The Modernization of Thai Education (1868-1957)

Mongkut's abrupt death in 1868 brought fifteen year-old Prince Chulalongkorn to the throne. As he completed his education and toured the British and Dutch possessions of Singapore, Java, Burma, and India, a regent continued the cautious policies of the previous reign.⁵³ Within his limited sphere of authority, the King sponsored a school in the Royal Page Corps in 1871 to train young nobles aspiring to court positions. Its curriculum stressed reading, writing, arithmetic, and official procedure. The school was housed on palace grounds. Instructors were chosen among the Royal Scribes. Although its head teacher wrote a series of practical textbooks, instruction followed traditional practices.⁵⁴ A year later, a palace English school also was founded with an Englishman

⁵³Mongkut carefully planned the prince's education to include instruction in Siamese and Western learning as well as a practical internship in government administration. His years of study under Western tutors, including Anna, enabled him to speak fluent English. He also spent time as a Buddhist novice. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform*, pp. 65-69.

⁵⁴The Palace School survived until 1887 offering lower-level instruction. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 65-69, 122-23.

serving as main instructor.⁵⁵

On taking the reins of power, the young King initiated a series of reforms including the gradual abolition of slavery, centralization of government finance, and creation of State and Privy Councils. His enthusiasm for change was shared by a group of princes and nobles who saw Siam as backwards and vulnerable. In 1873, they founded the Young Siam Society and began publishing a newspaper espousing radical reform. The King appointed many members to his new councils. However, the ex-regent and other conservatives opposed the King's policies.⁵⁶ In late 1874, these forces provoked a crisis that endangered the crown and threatened to entangle Britain and France in Siam's domestic politics.⁵⁷ To save himself, Chulalongkorn worked out a compromise that forced him to scale back his reform plans and reverse some earlier measures. Yet, a few months later, he issued a decree calling for the extension of public primary education in the royal monasteries. It was never implemented. An 1878 royal proclamation declaring religious toleration advanced missionary education by allaying local opposition, particularly in the north.⁵⁸ The King also asked Samuel McFarland, a Protestant missionary, to organize and run a school. From 1879, Suan Anand School offered a

⁵⁵Its enrollments steadily declined so in its last year it had only three students. In 1875 it closed when its instructor, Francis Patterson, returned to England. Yet, the school had lasting influence as it allowed such key future reformers as Prince Damrong and Wachirayan to strengthen their English skills. Ibid, pp. 70-72

⁵⁶Wyatt identifies three political perspectives or factions in this period. In addition to Young Siam, there were the conservatives represented by the regent and other veterans of Mongkut's reign and Old Siam, which included many lower-level officials whose vested interests were threatened by reform. Ibid, pp. 45-50

⁵⁷In the so-called Front Palace Incident, the *Uparaja* (second king) attempted to storm to the main palace. When the plan failed, he escaped to the British Consulate. Given the *Uparaja*'s popularity with conservatives, there was a real risk of civil war. When the British treated the affair as a domestic matter, the *Uparaja* backed down after receiving promises that his supporters would be given more authority. Ibid, pp. 57-61.

⁵⁸The Prince of Chiangmai had long obstructed missionary work among the Lao. McFarland, pp. 113-122.

program taught in Thai and English. Its faculty included three Americans and four Thais. Students performed well on Siam's first qualifying examinations held at the end of its first year.⁵⁹ In addition to language arts, the curriculum covered mathematics, science, history, geography, and military drill.

Over the next decade, the balance of power gradually tipped in the King's favor as older officials retired or died. In 1881, a new royal school was established under the guidance of Prince Damrong. Because of its exclusive admissions policy and high standards, Suankulap became the preferred school among the elite. Reading, writing, penmanship, composition, math, and English were taught. One foreign instructor augmented its otherwise Thai staff.⁶⁰ In 1884, Prince Damrong at the King's request devised a plan to create state-supported public primary schools in the *wat*. By 1886, thirty-five such schools provided free instruction to almost two thousand pupils.⁶¹ Although monks performed most instruction, pupils met in formal classes, used standardized texts, and took common exams. This expansion slowed later in the decade due to lack of demand. To control their quality, officials created a corps of inspectors to examine all school operations. Qualifying exams administered in official schools were divided into Standards One and Two.⁶² In 1888, the government distributed Western-

⁵⁹Having lived in Siam since 1861, McFarland was fluent in Thai and had already organized mission schools in Phetburi. His appointment explicitly prohibited him from teaching Christianity. Though it initially enrolled noble or royal pupils on royal scholarships, the school increasingly admitted commoners, especially the sons of Chinese merchants who could afford its fees. Wyatt, "Samuel McFarland and Early Educational Modernization in Thailand, 1877-95," *Felicitation Volumes of Southeast-Asian Studies*, (Bangkok: The Siam Society, 1965), pp. 1-13.

⁶⁰Originally intended as academy for the Royal Pages' Bodyguard Regiment, it initially had a military character. However, its was quickly transformed into a general school for the elite. An Indian was hired to teach English. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 103-110.

⁶¹Twenty-one were based in *wat* sited in Bangkok. Watson, pp. 92-93.

⁶²The Standard One curriculum covered reading, writing, and basic arithmetic. Since Standard Two was closely tied to the needs of the bureaucracy, it included penmanship, official composition, and

inspired primers designed to engage the interest of young readers. The textbook bureau also published texts in other subjects.⁶³ To manage these endeavors, the King in 1887 legally authorized the Department of Education with Prince Damrong as its head.⁶⁴ Two years later, the Department was transformed into the Ministry of Public Instruction whose jurisdiction extended over hospitals, museums, religious affairs, and the Royal Pundits.

With the government's blessing, the founding of Christian schools accelerated. In 1885, Catholic Bishop Jean-Louis Vey opened Assumption College in Bangkok. After the secondary institution outgrew its facilities, a large new building was constructed in 1887 with funds donated by the King, nobles, and foreign residents.⁶⁵ By 1896, forty-eight Catholic schools enrolled some 3,017 boys and girls.⁶⁶ The establishment of Protestant missions in the northern provinces brought numerous new primary schools.⁶⁷ Moreover, the Presbyterians launched the Bangkok Christian High School in 1890.⁶⁸

punctuation. Officials planned a Standard Three but it was never taught. Instruction in science, history, geography, or religion was not proscribed at any curricular level. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 130-133.

⁶³Until 1892, texts were given free of charge to both official and private school. Robert Morant, the British tutor of the crown prince, prepared an English text for the Department. Ibid, pp. 128-130.

⁶⁴The department had effectively functioned since 1885 out of Damrong's office in the Royal Pages' Bodyguard Regiment. This military association discouraged many families from sending their sons to the new *wat* schools. The King finally issued a decree declaring that the goal of these schools was to improve the people's welfare rather than train soldiers. Ibid, pp. 114-116.

⁶⁵The number of pupils grew from thirty-three to 130 in a year. The school taught Siamese, French, and English. Soon after its relocation in 1889, limited space again became a problem. During the 1890s, its staff comprised three French priests who ran the school, nine faculty (likely Westerners), and two Siamese instructors. By 1896, it enrolled 390 students. The school maintained a reputation as one of Siam's best. Nguyen-van-Khoi, pp. 134-137, & Surachai Chumsriphan, "Great Role of Jean-Louis Vey, Apostolic Vicar of Siam (1875-1909), in the Church History of Thailand during the Reformation Period of King Rama V., the Great (1868-1910)," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Pontifical Gregorian University, 1990), pp. 157-160.

⁶⁶A slight majority (54%) were boys. Watson, p. 79.

⁶⁷Presbyterians started stations in Lampang (1885), Ratchaburi (1889), Prae (1893), Nan (1894), Chengrai (1897), and elsewhere. Constantly, a high priority was placed on organizing schools. George MacFarland, pp. 129-182.

⁶⁸It was created by merging two older institutions. It thrived to such a degree that a second high school was built in 1900 to accommodate boys living on the other side of Menam Chaophya River. Ibid, pp. 60, 61, 213, 214.

After building a hospital in Bangkok, the King decided to create a medical school. Dr. T. H. Hays, an American Presbyterian missionary, was engaged by the Education Department to organize a school to train doctors in Western medicine. It opened in 1889 with a three-year course. In return for stipends, its forty students were initially expected to care for hospital patients. Although all students could read, write, and do sums, none were familiar with English or Western science. Linguistic difficulties combined with the rigors of the program resulted in a high rate of attrition.⁶⁹ When the number of students fell to fifteen in 1891, Dr. Hays closed the school. The following year, the government hired a new head proficient in Thai. Under Dr. George McFarland, the reorganized school endured poor funding and inadequate facilities to produce its first fifteen graduates in 1895.⁷⁰ The curriculum was limited and required students to learn traditional medicine.⁷¹ Most alumni took official posts, particularly in the newly created Department of Public Health.

Although the treaties signed in the 1850s lessened Western pressure, new dangers soon emerged. As early as 1867, Mongkut was forced to surrender his suzerain rights over much of Cambodia to the French. By the late 1880s, Siam was virtually encircled by Western colonial empires.⁷² In this threatening environment, the government sought

⁶⁹Having arrived in the country in 1886, Dr. Hays spoke little Thai at that time. Moreover, there were no Western medical texts available in Thai. Bertha Blount McFarland, *McFarland of Siam: The Life of George Bradley McFarland, MD., D.D.S.* (New York: Vantage Press, 1958), pp. 69-70.

⁷⁰George was the son of Samuel McFarland and a former instructor at the Suan Anand School. Having recently completed degrees at several American Medical and Dental Colleges, he possessed a broad and up-to-date medical education. As there were no texts in Thai, McFarland wrote out the students' lessons. Later, he prepared a simple text, which he first published at his own expense. Hays continued to serve as an instructor. *Ibid.*, pp. 69, 70, 86-90.

⁷¹At first, students' study of Western medicine included physiology, anatomy, pharmacy, and bedside treatment. Obstetrics and gynecology were added in 1894 when Dr. H. Anderson, a Baptist missionary, joined the staff. *Ibid.*

⁷²France annexed Northern Vietnam in 1885 and Britain Upper Burma in 1886.

to ally itself with the British hoping they would protect its interests against the more aggressive French. To strengthen the kingdom, officials reorganized the military, established railroad, telegraph, and postal systems, and built defensive fortifications. The ministries employed many Western advisors and experts. Although they came from a variety of countries, certain nationalities concentrated in certain fields, such as Belgians in legal affairs or British in finance and education.⁷³ Frustrated by the slow pace of change and continued bureaucratic inefficiency, the King in 1888 began to remold the central administration into a Western-style cabinet. By 1892, the bureaucracy was organized into twelve functionally defined ministries headed by ministers who met regularly to set overall policy. Siam's confrontation with the West reached a crescendo in 1893 when France demanded all territories east of the Mekong River (present-day Laos). After a prolonged crisis, Siam finally acquiesced fearing a military conflict that could end its independence.

Just prior to and after this setback, official interest in education lessened in the face of more pressing issues such as legal reform and tightening provincial administration. In 1892, Prince Damrong, on returning from a trip to Europe, was transferred to the Ministry of Interior. In the prince's place, the King appointed Chaophraya Phatsakorawong, an experienced, albeit less effective, bureaucrat, as the new Minister of Public Instruction.⁷⁴ The new appointee immediately encountered difficulties

⁷³Overall, British hires predominated. William Siffin calculates at least 549 foreigners served the government during the reign with most doing so after 1890. In 1909, Siam had over three hundred foreign officials. *The Thai Bureaucracy: Institutional Change and Development*, (Honolulu: East-West Center Press, 1966), pp. 95-99.

⁷⁴Damrong inspected many European educational institutions. Phatsakorawong was a son of the late regent and an early ally of Chulalongkorn. Despite his long relationship with the King, the minister had little leverage in a cabinet dominated by princes. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 143-149,

in getting the cabinet's approval of the Ministry's annual budget. In the end, he had to accept a reduced sum forcing him to end subsidies to most *wat* schools, close the Ministry's printing house, downsize the Textbook Bureau, and trim religious and English instruction. Despite surpluses in the national budget, the Ministry was under-funded for the rest of the decade. The Department of Education's 1895-96 budget was half that of 1888-89 and amounted to only .7% of government expenditures.⁷⁵ As a result, the Ministry could not realize its goals, especially those relating to the expansion of primary education. Between 1892 and 1897, overall enrollments in official schools remained largely static.⁷⁶ Ironically, the number of expensive Western advisors, administrators, and instructors working for the Ministry increased.

Progress, nonetheless, continued to be made. In late 1892, the Ministry opened a normal school under the direction of British educator G. H. Grindrod to train primary teachers in modern pedagogy.⁷⁷ Even with a well-qualified staff and generous financial inducements, it failed to attract many students.⁷⁸ As few teachers completed its two-year program during its first decade, the institution contributed little toward raising school standards. In 1892, private schools, including those run by missionaries, were required to register with the Ministry. Their pupils were gradually allowed to participate in the Ministry's examinations. Adapting to the paucity of funds, the Ministry revised the official curriculum. The *wat* schools continued to teach basic literacy and math skills and a new lower-level examination was administered yearly. A few higher primary schools

⁷⁵The national budget ran an average surplus of 13% between 1892 and 1898. Ibid, pp. 148-152 & 389.

⁷⁶The Ministry counted 2,425 and 2,620 students in 1891/2 and 1896/7 respectively. Ibid, p. 387.

⁷⁷After organizing the school on the British model, the experienced normal school instructor served as headmaster until 1894 when Ernest Young took over the post. Ibid, pp. 150, 151 & 180.

⁷⁸To increase its enrollments, the government permitted monks to enter the school from 1898. By 1901,

broadened their offerings to include composition, history, geography, and science. The Standard Two curriculum was offered only at elite institutions.⁷⁹

Since state institutions barred girls, missionaries offered the only formal instruction open to them. Indeed, most Christian schools accepted children of both sexes. The earliest Protestant schools exclusively for girls were founded in the 1860s. Most were oriented toward practical learning. The Christian Vocational School established in 1865 instructed girls in sewing, needlework and homemaking.⁸⁰ From 1875, the Wang Lang School taught reading, writing, arithmetic, English, and some domestic arts.⁸¹ In 1885, a Catholic convent school was opened in Bangkok.⁸² Officials contemplated starting a royal girls' school but a suitable headmistress could not be secured. Finally in 1893, a special school for girls was created at the urging of Queen Saowapha. Catering to daughters of the nobility who could afford its high tuition fees, Sunanthalai offered an academic curriculum including English under the direction of a British headmistress. From 1896, its students did well on government exams. The school was enlarged in 1897 to accommodate fifty boarding students.⁸³

Despite the successes of the new schools, the elite increasingly sent their sons

thirty-eight provincial monks or novices received pedagogical training. Ibid, pp. 242, 253.

⁷⁹The lower-level examination was called Practice Standard. Although the Ministry originally planned to make the broadened curriculum universal, in 1892 it was taught in only seven schools. Ibid, pp. 121, 152-160, & 171-173.

⁸⁰Its founder, Mrs. McFarland, wanted to found an academically oriented institution, but she was unable to attract students. Even with the vocational program, she was forced to pay students for their time. Reading and writing were taught as secondary subjects. The school was expanded in 1877 with the help of a thousand dollar donation from the King. George McFarland, pp. 94-95 & 98-99.

⁸¹Located in Bangkok, this boarding school was founded by American Presbyterians. A similar school was established in Chiang Mai four years later. Many Wang Lang graduates worked as teachers in the later Christian and government girls' schools. See George McFarland, pp. 71-91,

⁸²In the 1890s, the school enrolled about 160 girls. Chumsriphan, pp. 158 & 160.

⁸³A short-lived school for the King's daughters was also organized in 1893. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform.*, pp. 163-166.

abroad for instruction.⁸⁴ Leading the way were fourteen princes who attended the Raffles Institute in Singapore from 1871. The King supported numerous overseas students from the Privy Purse including nineteen of his own offspring. Although some went to Germany, the United States, and Russia, Britain was the favored destination hosting over fifty Siamese students in 1897. Cabinet officials founded King's College in 1896 primarily to prepare highborn boys for foreign study.⁸⁵ Its four to six-year program taught by European and Thai instructors combined British and Siamese curricula. The school offered an additional two to four-year course tailored to help students enter European universities. Seeking to extend study-abroad opportunities to more talented students, the King in 1898 awarded competitive scholarships based on examination scores. Students received \$1,500 for four years to study any subject provided they agreed to work for the government on their return.⁸⁶ From 1896, the Department of Education funded promising graduates of its normal school to go abroad for training.⁸⁷ Queen Saowapha in 1903 sponsored four young women to go to Japan to learn handicrafts and manners.⁸⁸ Gradually, systems evolved to ensure students progressed in their programs.

⁸⁴Wyatt hints a few Siamese studied abroad in Mongkut's reign but gives no details. Ibid, pp. 200-201.

⁸⁵Some students spent as many as twelve years abroad before earning university degrees. Given the high costs of maintaining such students, officials wished to eliminate the need for post-departure lower-level instruction. A second reason for its establishment was a growing demand for trained civil servants. Ibid, pp. 182-186.

⁸⁶Two scholarships were offered the first year, but their number steadily increased. By 1907, thirty-eight recipients had completed their studies. Siffin, p. 107. Graduates of mission schools, notably Assumption College, won a large portion of early awards. Nguyen-van-Khoi, pp. 136 & 137.

⁸⁷Early on one or two students were sent annually; however, by 1907 the number rose to three. The Ministry of Public Instruction's 1910/11 budget shows that 9% of its funds were used to train staff abroad. J. G. D. Campbell, *Siam in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Edward Arnold, 1902), p. 261, & Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform*, pp.352-4 & 363.

⁸⁸They were enrolled in a special course at the Tokyo Higher Normal School. After their return in 1907, three of the four taught at the Rachini Girl's School in Bangkok. Saowapha likely sponsored additional female students. Chilida Buawonpon, "Meiji-ki Shamu-kuni Nihon Haken Ryugakusei ni Tsuite," *Hosei Shigaku*, 42 (1990), pp. 84-103.

By 1921, the government maintained Superintendents of Foreign Students at its London, Paris, and Washington embassies.

From mid-decade, criticism mounted in and outside the government about the slow pace of educational change. Of greatest concern was a shortage of civil servants able to carry out the cabinet's modernization initiatives.⁸⁹ In 1896, the King decided to found a civil service school. Reluctantly, he assigned the task of organizing it to the head of the Department of Education who proposed creating a school offering an extended version of the standard curriculum. The cabinet, however, refused to authorize funds.⁹⁰ The King then turned to Prince Damrong who devised a workable plan. Siam's minister in London was made director and the Civil Service Training School opened in 1900 under the Ministry of Interior. Only males between fifteen and twenty who were eligible to become royal pages were admitted. Before starting the three-year program, students had to pass exams in such subjects as penmanship, composition, and mathematics. Its curriculum balanced academic and practical learning. Assured of receiving posts in the Ministry of Interior, scores of young men enrolled.⁹¹ In 1902, it was reorganized, placed under a special committee, and renamed the Royal Pages' School in recognition of the service second-year students provided as part-time pages.⁹² Lower-level civil service

⁸⁹Siffin, p.94, estimates that the bureaucracy doubled in size between 1892 and 1899 and probably doubled again by 1905. Records show just over 25,000 civil officials in 1900 and 80,000 in 1918.

⁹⁰The plan's author, Prince Kittiyakon, made a serious political error by failing to consult with the other ministries. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform*, pp.187-192.

⁹¹The school was already overcrowded in its second year. Larger facilities were built for 1902. Ibid.

⁹²Using students as palace pages was an attempt to strengthen their allegiance to the throne. Despite requests by other bureaucratic agencies for an expansion of its program, shortages of funds and qualified instructors permitted the school only to meet the needs of the Ministry of Interior. First year students studied clerical procedure, Thai, Pali, English, history, geography, health, ethics, mathematics, and royal page reporting. The second year covered administrative procedure, record keeping, and correspondence. Students spent their final year learning horse riding and care, camping, firearms use, and cartography. Suchit Bunbongkarn, "Higher Education and Political

schools were set up in regional centers to prepare local elites for posts in the provincial bureaucracy.⁹³ In 1897, the King made Prince Rabi the Minister of Justice. The Oxford graduate established a law school to prepare judges for the newly reformed courts.⁹⁴ Given the many foreign advisors working in the ministry, an unknown number served as part-time instructors.⁹⁵

Although the Anglo-French Agreement of 1896 guaranteed Siam's independence, regions beyond the Chao Phraya lowlands were still vulnerable. Hence, Chulalongkorn made an eight-month trip to Europe in 1897 to garner international support for Siam's regional sovereignty. After considering all he saw, the King was firmly convinced that Siam could only escape Western domination by modernizing and that it could be accomplished without abandoning its cultural traditions.⁹⁶ His renewed interest in education and disappointment with the Ministry of Public Instruction prompted him to give control of provincial education to Prince Wachirayan and the Ministry of Interior. Given his knowledge of Western learning and prominent position in the *Sangha*,

Development in Thailand," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, 1968), pp. 32-35.

⁹³The earliest such school was founded in Chiangmai in 1893. Given its authority over provincial administration, the Ministry of Interior naturally directed this effort. Vachara Sindhuprana, "Modern Education and Socio-cultural Change in Northern Thailand, 1898-1942," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1988), pp. 66-68, 88-90.

⁹⁴Legal reform was initiated by Belgian Gustave Rolin-Jaequemyns who served as chief counsel from 1892 to 1900. He strongly advised founding a law school. Prince Rabi served as an instructor in the new school. Malee Pruekpongsawalee, "Thammasat Clinical Education and the Delivery of Legal Services: A Historical and Personal Perspective," *Educating for Justice Around the World: Legal Education, Legal Practice, and the Community*. Louise G. Trubek & Jeremy Cooper, ed., (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 1999), p. 120.

⁹⁵Details regarding their numbers, identities, and influence are lacking. The only available reference to a specific instructor is an M. Laydeker who taught French and law from 1917 (possibly earlier) to 1920. Vichitvong Pombhejara, *Pridi Banomyong and the Making of Thailand's Modern History*, (Bangkok, 1979), pp. 37-38. Baron Robert de Lapomarede, a French military attaché in Bangkok during the early 1930s, states the school had a French head for at least some period of time. "The Setting of the Revolution," *Pacific Affairs*, 7 (1934), pp. 251-259.

⁹⁶Siam, nonetheless, suffered three more territorial losses before 1909. *Ibid*, pp. 196-198.

Wachirayan was well placed to introduce new educational practices to *wat* throughout the kingdom.⁹⁷ Not only was the *Sangha* seen as a low-cost provider, the King feared it would lose its social relevance if it ceased to perform its educational role. A royal decree declared that all *wat* would become places of study. The number of provincial boys attending state recognized *wat* schools climbed from 1,990 in 1897 to 14,106 in 1901.⁹⁸

In light of the Ministry's obvious failures, an exasperated King forced the Minister of Public Instruction to resign in 1902 and appointed a protégé of Prince Damrong in his place.⁹⁹ The Ministry was reorganized and its authority over provincial education restored.¹⁰⁰ Within months, it unveiled a scheme to reorganize existing institutions into an integrated system capable of eventually providing modern education to all Siamese.¹⁰¹ Raising standards was another key goal. While the Ministry took charge of general education, various bureaucratic units would offer specialized instruction. Though the Ministry continued to fund model schools, distribute textbooks, and conduct inspections, primary education became the responsibility of the *Sangha* and local communities.¹⁰² The handful of Ministry-supported secondary schools was obliged to offer a uniform curriculum. Since officials believed the system was insufficiently

⁹⁷As head of the Thammayut sect, Wachirayan had already revamped ecclesiastical education by organizing the Mahamakut Academy. Reynolds, *The Buddhist Monkhood...*, pp.169-193.

⁹⁸The number of provincial *wat* schools teaching the official curriculum and subject to Ministry supervision rose from 99 to 429 during the period. In each province, a model school was maintained with central funds. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 235-255, 389.

⁹⁹Damrong was officially made a consultant to the Ministry. Ibid, pp. 299-302

¹⁰⁰It was financially restructured, administratively centralized, and shaped into functionally defined units. As a result, its inspectorate was enlarged and strengthened and the Royal Pundits were given full control over the development, publishing and distribution of textbooks. Ibid, pp. 302-304.

¹⁰¹The Ministry devised an overall education scheme in 1898 that called for the founding of a university, but did little to implement it. To facilitate the Ministry's planning, three senior officials traveled to Japan in 1902 to examine its system. Their findings clearly influenced features of the final plan. Chongkol, p. 70.

¹⁰²The royal decree that formalized the *Sangha's* role in the new primary system specifically exempted the

developed, the plan included no provisions for higher education.¹⁰³

This scheme combined with larger budgets allowed the Ministry to preside over a rapid educational expansion. The number of public schools rose from 376 in 1902 to 3,115 in 1910, as enrollments jumped from 22,117 to 83,966.¹⁰⁴ Changing social patterns greatly facilitated this growth. The collapse of old political and economic systems freed peasants from the control of local elites, broadening the prospects of many Siamese.¹⁰⁵ Although many commoners were initially doubtful, the value of modern education was widely recognized by 1902. Schools filled with students as soon as they opened. In 1911, 29% of males between the ages of seven and fourteen received instruction.¹⁰⁶ Since girls were excluded from *wat* schools, their attendance rates were far lower. In 1907, the Ministry issued a plan for educating girls on the primary and secondary levels using a separate curriculum.¹⁰⁷ A year later, the Ministry began setting up girls' schools. While Bangkok afforded a range of opportunities, few rural children had access to modern education.¹⁰⁸ Authority over provincial schools was again shifted in 1909 to the Ministry of Interior whose ties with local officials could be used to spur communities into action.

southern Moslem provinces. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, p. 234.

¹⁰³Ibid, pp. 306-307.

¹⁰⁴The Department of Education's budgets ran about 1.6% of government outlays throughout the decade. Most growth took place after 1907. Ibid, p. 387.

¹⁰⁵The corvee system was abolished in 1905, and in its place a head tax was levied by the central government. This change greatly reduced the clout of local aristocrats, as they no longer served as intermediaries between the populace and central administration. Wyatt, *Thailand*, pp. 214-216.

¹⁰⁶Of the 294,300 boys getting instruction, 28% attended modern schools. The balance received a largely traditional *wat* education. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, pp. 373-375.

¹⁰⁷The girls' curriculum emphasized home economics, hygiene, ethics and arts and included no English and little math instruction. Chongkol, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸Still, the majority of new schools were located in the provinces. Bangkok had 75 school in 1902 and 179 in 1910. In the provinces, the number increased from 300 to 2,936. Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, p. 387.

Specialized education also advanced. The Royal Medical College, so named in 1900, gradually upgraded its facilities and enlarged its staff.¹⁰⁹ After its reorganization into a four-year program in 1903, enrollments grew from twenty-eight to 109 five years later.¹¹⁰ The Normal School also attracted more students. By 1907, sixty attended; however, low teachers' salaries pushed many graduates into bureaucratic careers in the Education Department. The Royal Page School in 1908 trained 111 aspiring civil servants. The swelling coterie of law graduates posted across the kingdom enabled the Ministry of Justice in 1908 to implement a new legal code based on the French model. In 1907, the Ministry of Lands and Agriculture founded an agricultural college that enrolled thirty-two students a year later.¹¹¹

In October 1910, King Chulalongkorn suddenly died. Within weeks, a stunned nation crowned a new monarch. Having studied law and history at Oxford University, King Vajiravudh shared his father's enthusiasm for Western-inspired progress. In broadest terms, the new monarch saw educating Siam to modernity and full nationhood as his primary goal. Besides revising Siam's national symbols and decreeing the use of surnames, he championed monogamy, equal status for women, organized sport, and modern dress. Vajiravudh patronized numerous schools including a secondary institution designed after an English public school.¹¹² The King went so far as to issue a declaration

¹⁰⁹The King built larger quarters for the school on his return from Europe. After its graduates performed well during a cholera epidemic in 1900, the government financed a well-equipped laboratory. In 1903, four Western doctors, all missionaries, and three Thais made up the faculty. Over ninety students completed the program by 1903. Bertha McFarland, pp. 139-142.

¹¹⁰Siffin, p. 107.

¹¹¹The premature death of its European educated minister caused the school to languish for the next decade. Ibid.

¹¹²Walter & Dorothy Vella, *Chaiyo!: King Vajiravudh and the Development of Thai Nationalism*, (Honolulu: University of Press of Hawaii, 1978), pp. 162-164.

asserting that building schools produced more *bun* than enhancing *wat*. Soon after his enthronement, he announced the creation of a Civil Service College. The plan called for merging the Royal Pages' School, Royal Medical College, law school, agricultural college, and Normal School into a single institution able to prepare officials for all bureaucratic units. Additional departments would be set up as needed. To finance the project, the King allocated unspent funds donated to build a monument to the late King. He also contributed a palace that eventually housed the school of engineering founded in 1913. In time, the college contained eight departments located on five campuses.¹¹³ A college council that included many cabinet ministers oversaw the institution.¹¹⁴ Prince Damrong became its first chairman.¹¹⁵ Three types of students attended: those receiving fellowships from the college council; those funded by various ministries; and those paying their own fees. Students were admitted at two levels. After passing a preliminary exam, senior secondary level students worked their way through basic curricula until earning a certificate. More advanced students took undergraduate-level courses leading to a vocational certificate. Degrees were not initially awarded due to a lack of qualified instructors and adequately prepared students. Graduates, nonetheless, were allowed to enter the civil service without taking any further exams. Most programs lasted about three years with the notable exception of medicine, which was lengthened to five years in

¹¹³They included government, diplomacy, law, engineering, medicine, agriculture, commerce and education. *A Pillar of the Kingdom: The Birth of Chulalongkorn University*, (Bangkok: Chulalongkorn University, 1994), p.13.

¹¹⁴The Ministries of Justice, Education and Agriculture retained some supervisory authority over their law, normal, medical and agricultural schools. Essay by Chaophraya Dhammask found in *A Pillar of the Kingdom*, pp. 77-88.

¹¹⁵Phraya Sriworawongse served as principal until Chaophraya Dhammasak took the post in 1914. After completing the normal school program in 1896, Dhammasak studied education at Burrough Road College in Britain. He later became Minister of Education. *A pillar of the Kingdom*, pp. 75.

1911. Pleased with the College's progress, the King in 1917 decreed:

At present H. M. the King considers it appropriate to expand the curriculum of this college. It should not solely educate those who will become civil servants. Anyone who wants to receive higher education should also be allowed to enroll at this college. Therefore, the college should be established as a university to suit the requirements of this period. H.M. the King thus commands the establishment of the Civil Service College of H. M. King Chulalongkorn as a university and bestows upon it the name "Chulalongkorn University" in commemoration of the late King. The university is to be affiliated to the Minister of Education under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education as of this day. Members of the former College Council have been appointed advisors of Chulalongkorn University.¹¹⁶

The university was organized into faculties on the British model. Although the law, normal, and agricultural schools were returned to their founding ministries, a faculty of arts and sciences was established. As budget constraints prohibited the hiring of foreign instructors, the faculty consisted mostly of officials from various ministries, especially those educated abroad. Most instruction was conducted in Thai. In its first year, 380 students enrolled. Existing policies relating to students and curriculum were maintained in the short-term.¹¹⁷

Meanwhile, the government pressed on with its campaign to improve and extend public education. In 1913, primary and secondary programs were restructured and lengthened to five and eight years respectively.¹¹⁸ Divided into three-year general and two-year vocational courses, primary curriculum gradually incorporated such subjects as physical education, general science, economics, and agriculture. Enrollments rose so by 1918 over 3,000 government primary schools taught 150,000 pupils, of which about 6%

¹¹⁶Translation of royal announcement issued on March 26, 1917 found in *A Pillar of the Kingdom*, p.55.

¹¹⁷Further details are available on the Civil Service College and early years of Chulalongkorn University in *A Pillar of the Kingdom*. pp. 11-15, 27, 39-55, & 75-88.

¹¹⁸The Ministry expected that most children would receive only primary instruction. The primary scheme called for three years of general (ages 8-10) and two years of vocational (ages 11-12) learning. Watson, p. 100.

were female.¹¹⁹ A teacher training school for women was opened in 1913. Despite this growth, a majority of boys continued to learn in *wat* many using traditional methods. The proportion of *wat* offering instruction reached 94%.¹²⁰ Although the official secondary curriculum called for two equal lower and upper courses, few students undertook the latter. Admission to the university required just a lower-secondary certificate. By 1919, 11,000 students attended government secondary schools.

Although the threat of further territorial seizures receded after 1910, Siam still had to live with an array of unequal treaties that severely diminished its international and domestic sovereignty. With the outbreak of the First World War, the kingdom stayed neutral. However, when the United States entered the conflict on the side of Britain and France in 1917, Siamese officials felt compelled to follow suit. In 1926, the Western powers rewarded Siam by striking extraterritorial provisions from their bilateral treaties.¹²¹ In the struggle against foreign domination, King Vajiravudh promoted the growth of Siamese nationalism focusing on the crown, Buddhism, and Siamese culture. Challenging this effort was the large Chinese minority. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Chinese immigration accelerated and China's political disintegration after 1911 exacerbated the trend. After 1900, Chinese began to organize civil associations; founding schools was among their highest priorities. Unlike their traditional Chinese counterparts, these new schools emphasized practical learning. By 1920, thirty Chinese primary schools were in operation. To encourage assimilation, officials

¹¹⁹Constance M. Wilson, *Thailand: A Handbook of Historical Statistics*. Boston, MA: G. K. Hall & Company, 1983), p. 65. This figure is approximately double that of 1910-11, Wyatt, *The Politics...*, p. 374.

¹²⁰This percentage from 1918 compares with 49% in 1908. In 1918, 239,000 boys received instruction at *wat*; nonetheless, this represented a 44% decline from 1912. *Ibid*, p. 101.

approved the 1919 Private School Act. In addition to requiring private schools to register with the Ministry and follow official curricular guidelines, teachers had to pass a Thai language exam, non-native principals had to meet specific educational standards, and they had to offer at least three hours of Thai language instruction per week.¹²² Despite the growth of anti-Chinese sentiment, officials continued to tolerate Chinese commercial, civic, and educational endeavors. Indeed, the 1919 act was laxly enforced. By 1932, two hundred schools instructed nearly 8,000 Chinese students. Christian educational institutions continued to prosper. By 1925, fifty-three Protestant schools, four at the secondary-level, instructed 3,217 pupils of which about 44% were girls.¹²³

At the King's urging, officials decided primary education could practicably be made universal. The cabinet passed the Primary Education Act of 1920 requiring boys and girls between the ages of seven and fourteen to attend school.¹²⁴ Given the country's uneven development, the law was implemented in stages. In 1921, the law affected 46% of districts including the capital; by 1930 the proportion reached 83%. Despite some resistance from the poor, official enrollments rose from 241,500 to nearly 800,000 in eleven years. The number of girls in school leapt from 17,000 to 316,000 between 1921 and 1932.¹²⁵ Many *wat* schools were upgraded to official status.¹²⁶ Since state schools could charge no fees, officials levied an education tax of one to three baht on every

¹²¹Siamese officials also had to demonstrate the efficacy of the new legal system. Wyatt, *Thailand*, p. 231.

¹²²The law was also aimed at bringing mission schools in line with official standards. Watson, p. 101.

¹²³This represented a 27% increase over 1916. George McFarland, p. 374, & Watson, p. 81.

¹²⁴The law also stipulated that children fourteen years of age who were still illiterate had to remain in school. Only the disabled were given permanent exemptions. Watson, pp. 105-106.

¹²⁵*Ibid*, p.107.

¹²⁶In 1922, 80.5% of government schools were located in *wat*. This figure only dropped to 71% by 1932. Given the shortage of qualified teachers, monks must have done much of the instruction. *Ibid*, pp. 106-107.

citizen. Still, educational spending remained steady averaging 3.4% of official outlays during the 1920s.¹²⁷ Attendance in secondary programs increased slowly.¹²⁸

In 1924, Chulalongkorn University opened its first degree program. A few years earlier, an inspector for the Rockefeller Foundation wrote a scathing report after visiting the Faculty of Medicine. When officials asked the Foundation for help, it agreed to provide funds for six years to improve the school's facilities and send professors and staff abroad for scientific and practical training. American professors were brought to the university with the grant covering 25% of their salaries. In return, the government agreed to a set of preconditions that gave the Foundation full control of the program's curriculum, faculty, and admissions.¹²⁹ Dr. A. G. Ellis was appointed dean. The upgraded Faculty awarded its first eighteen degrees in 1930.¹³⁰ Other faculties started degree programs within a few years. Significantly, the university admitted women from 1927. Five years later, 14% of students were female. Still, enrollments were kept level due to reduced demand for civil servants.¹³¹ Officials began worrying about unemployment among secondary school and university graduates.

¹²⁷This average was only .4% higher than for the previous decade. Wilson, *Thailand*, pp. 247 & 276.

¹²⁸In 1921, secondary curriculum was reshuffled into three-year junior, three-year intermediate and two-year senior courses. Chongkol, p.75. Enrollments at state secondary schools changed little between 1921 and 1929 but grew after 1930 reaching 22,000 in 1932. Wilson, *Thailand*, p. 65.

¹²⁹The grant also required the government to provide a specific level of funding, reform secondary and premed education, raise doctors' salaries, create a medical licensing program under professional control, and retrain practicing physicians. The Foundation urged the creation of a lower-level practical medical program but only supported "Class A" medical education. Michael S. Goldstein & Peter J. Donaldson. "Exporting Professionalism: A Case Study of Medical Education," *Journal of Health and Social Behavior*, 20 (1979), pp. 326-327.

¹³⁰For a detailed account of this collaboration, see Wariya Siwariyanon, "The Transfer of Medical Technology for the First World to the Third World: A Case Study of the Rockefeller Foundation's Role in a Thai Medical College, 1923-35," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Hawaii, 1984).

¹³¹The university matriculated 263, 386, and 369 students respectively in 1920-21, 1925-26, and 1930-31. Wilson, p. 72 & *World Survey of Education, IV, Higher Education*, (Paris: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1966), p. 1090.

A widening cross-section of the populous came into contact with new modes of thought. By 1924, four hundred Siamese attended overseas educational institutions on state scholarships. Three-quarters of them studied in Britain.¹³² Recipients came from a broad social spectrum. Women even became eligible for the prestigious King's scholarships. Additional students went abroad at their own expense. After the accession of King Prajadhipok in 1925, study abroad programs were cut back in an effort to balance the national budget.¹³³ In the excited political milieu of post-war Europe, a few students came to resent the paternalistic supervision of embassy staff. Siamese student associations formed in France and Britain.¹³⁴ Officials grew concerned about possible student radicalism, especially in France where Marxism flourished among academics. Suspicion was justified as a group of sponsored students in Paris began plotting the overthrow of royal rule in 1927.¹³⁵ In Siam, periodicals, magazines, and newspapers proliferated. Freed from the confines of official patronage, a new generation of writers reshaped Siamese letters by probing current social issues. With the regime's forbearance, the press grew increasingly critical of state policy.¹³⁶

¹³²The United States and France, which prior to World War I had been avoided due to their republican ideologies, hosted 47 and 24 students respectively. Conversely, the government stopped sending any to Germany or Russia. Benjamin A. Batson, *The End of Absolute Monarchy in Siam*, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 78.

¹³³The number of Siamese studying in Britain was nearly halved between 1924 and 1928. Ibid, pp.71-72. Like his brother Vajiravudh, Prajadhipok attended Eton and Woolwich Military Academy in England as well as the École Supérieure de Guerre in France. Wyatt, *Thailand*, p. 235.

¹³⁴The "association Siamoise d'intellectualite et d'assistance mutuelle" was organized in Paris in 1924 by a group of forty-six students. Following this lead, students in Britain founded a similar association by 1926. Pombhejara, pp. 39-40. The older organization showed its independence in 1926 by submitting a petition asking for larger stipends. Not only did the Siamese Minister in Paris rebuff the request, he tried to revoke the scholarship of the association's president, Phanomyong Pridi, who was then completing a doctorate in law at the Sorbonne. Judith A. Stowe, *Siam Becomes Thailand: A Story of Intrigue*, (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1991), pp. 9-10.

¹³⁵The main conspirators included Pridi and Luang Phibun. The later attended a French artillery school. Ibid, p. 11.

¹³⁶Batson, pp. 71-77.

Like a century earlier, the cultivation of rice remained the backbone of Siam's economy. After 1854, exports of rice and other raw materials burgeoned giving the kingdom positive cash inflows, which funded its modernization. Nonetheless, competition from Western manufactured goods ravaged Siam's handicraft sector.¹³⁷ Despite its modernized administrative, legal, and educational structures, new industries failed to emerge, leaving Siam dependent on the sale of a narrow range of goods on international markets.¹³⁸ The global decline in commodity prices in the early 1930s hit the country hard.¹³⁹ Many Siamese, notably small farmers, were simply unable to pay their taxes. With huge revenue shortfalls, the cabinet drastically cut expenditures by reducing the number and salaries of state employees. The King abolished the education poll tax in 1930. Yet, after he contributed 3 million baht from the Royal Treasury, educational appropriations nearly doubled.¹⁴⁰ Diminished demand for civil service personnel prompted a 31% drop in Chulalongkorn University's student body between 1930 and 1931.¹⁴¹ Hoping to reduce tensions, the King in early 1932 attempted to promulgate a democratic constitution, but the plan stalled due to opposition from influential princes.

Gaining the support of less than a hundred civil and military officials, the cabal formed in France struggled to devise a feasible plan. They finally staged a coup d'état in

¹³⁷Siam's foreign treaties prevented the regime from raising import duties; however, Siamese officials achieved some flexibility with the 1926 treaty revisions. James C. Ingram, *Economic Change in Thailand, 1850-1970*, (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971), pp. 113-118, 190.

¹³⁸Rice, tin, teak, and rubber together made up 84% of all exports during the 1925-29 period. This percentage, excluding rubber, which became important only after 1920, was largely unchanged since 1890. Ibid, p. 94.

¹³⁹The price per picul of rice averaged 7.20 baht in 1925-29 and 3.50 baht in 1930-34. As export volumes stayed steady, earnings from rice, which accounted for 65% of foreign sales, were nearly halved. Ibid, pp. 38, 94.

June 1932 while the King vacationed outside Bangkok. After temporarily immobilizing military units around the capital and detaining senior ministers, the plotters bluffed the King into accepting their demands. To minimize domestic dissent and lessen the danger of foreign intervention, the coup promoters proclaimed a provisional constitution outlining a staged transition to democratic rule. Assembly elections were held the next year but less than 10% of voters bothered to participate. In any case, real power lay in a state council dominated by several factions. Conflicts within the ruling coalition quickly erupted, prompting several counter-coups and considerable bloodshed. In 1935, the King abdicated in dismay leaving the throne to his ten-year old nephew who was studying in Switzerland. As groups jockeyed for power, two forceful personalities emerged: Phanomyong Pridi, a quasi-socialist intellectual popular with civilians and Luang Phibun, leader of the junior military officers.¹⁴² Because veteran bureaucrats managed the country's day-to-day affairs, governance stayed remarkably steady. Yet, there were important policy shifts. Royal spending sank as military outlays rose. Special privileges enjoyed by princes and nobles were abolished.

In these political struggles, education became an issue of serious contention. Pridi and other "radicals" thought the Siamese people to be politically immature and, thus, in need of education to prepare them for eventual democracy.¹⁴³ Alternatively, militarists saw education as a tool for cultivating nationalist feeling, which, in turn, could be used to legitimize the new order. The constitution of 1932 explicitly defined the educational

¹⁴⁰Spending on education reached 7.2% of the national budget in 1930-31. Wilson, pp. 247 & 276.

¹⁴¹*World Survey*..., p. 1090.

¹⁴²The educational levels of chief bureaucrats rose after the coup. While 70% of cabinet ministers were university educated just prior to the coup, it was universal in 1938. Laurence D. Stifel, "Technocrats and Modernization in Thailand," *Asian Survey*, 16 (1976), p. 1185.

rights and obligations of both the state and individuals. Liberal reformers initially dominated the Ministry of Education; yet, their plans to nurture independent thought among the populous and foster greater social equitability through learning alarmed conservatives.¹⁴⁴ As power shifted rightward, military men were able to enact policies designed to reinforce traditional values and instill respect for authority. Accordingly, the Ministry of Education formally integrated the teaching of Buddhist ethics into the standard school curricula.¹⁴⁵

In 1935, the government promulgated a new Primary Education Law making the completion of a revised four-year general primary course compulsory for all eight to fifteen year-olds across the country.¹⁴⁶ Parents failing to comply were liable for fines and even short prison terms. Two years later, the Ministry of Education gave the task of running primary schools to local authorities. The number of village schools burgeoned.¹⁴⁷ After the secondary curriculum was reduced to six years in 1936 to include three-year junior and senior courses, enrollments climbed.¹⁴⁸ Secondary vocational programs also expanded. Qualifying exams administered by the ministry at

¹⁴³Stowe, pp. 12, 26.

¹⁴⁴After the coup, the democratically oriented former Minister of Education Chaophyra Dhammasak and a Pridi ally Pramuan Wichabun were appointed to the Ministry's two highest posts. Within a couple of years, both were forced out of the government. By 1936, a navy admiral headed the ministry. Terry Grandstaff, "Thai Government Policy Toward Primary Education," *Anuson Walter Vella*, Ronald D. Renard, ed., (Honolulu: Center for Asian and Pacific Studies, 1986), pp. 280-290.

¹⁴⁵S. J. Tambiah, *World Conqueror and World Renouncer: A Study of Buddhism and Polity in Thailand Against a Historical Background*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976, p. 409.

¹⁴⁶Between 1932, and 1938, overall primary enrollments doubled to 1,400,000. Wilson, *Thailand*, p. 65.

¹⁴⁷Interestingly, rural *Sangha* officials sometimes urged locals to contribute cash or other resources to school building projects by explaining that making such gifts accrued a similar amount of *bun* as donating to *wat*. Charles F. Keyes, "The Proposed World of the School: Thai Villagers' Entry into the A Bureaucratic State System," *Reshaping Local Worlds: Formal Education and Cultural Change in Southeast Asia*, Charles F. Keyes, ed., (New Haven: Yale Center for International and Area Studies, 1991), pp. 97-98.

¹⁴⁸Nearly tripling from 1932, general secondary enrollments reached 87,880 in 1939. The number of students attending vocational secondary programs rose even faster but then declined after 1936.

the end of each of the three tiers ensured learning standards were met and determined student placement in higher-level courses. The government implemented other measures to broaden access, raise standards, and improve administration. Decisively, the new leadership allocated larger sums to realize its goals. In 1935, educational expenditures consumed 11% of the national budget.¹⁴⁹ The government even began subsidizing qualified private schools.¹⁵⁰

The new regime founded a second university to infuse bureaucrats with a new political ideology. To do so, officials remolded Chulalongkorn's Faculty of Law and Political Science into a separate institution.¹⁵¹ With Pridi, a former law professor, serving as rector, the University of Moral and Political Science opened in 1934.¹⁵² Although it was attached to the Ministry of Education, a university council composed of government ministers oversaw its operations. Initially, it offered only a three-year bachelor of law degree. Required courses in such fields as legal theory, international law, and political economy were designed to stimulate students' political interest.¹⁵³ A few French and Belgian law professors taught alongside Siamese faculty.¹⁵⁴ All interested persons

World Survey of Education, III: Secondary Education, (UNESCO, 1961), p. 1078.

¹⁴⁹In 1929-30 and 1931-32 the percentages were 3.5% and 7.7%. Wilson, *Thailand*, p. 247. This increased funding was, nevertheless, insufficient to realize the regime's declared goals. Thus, teacher salaries remained meager. Fearing French and British intentions, officials boosted military spending at a considerably faster rate. This, of course, also enhanced the military's political position. Grandstaff, pp. 283, 285-286, & 288-291.

¹⁵⁰By 1949, 786 private schools received official funds. Watson, p. 111.

¹⁵¹This Faculty was created a year earlier by merging the Ministry of Justice's law school with the old Faculty of Public Administration. *A Pillar of the Kingdom*. p. 17.

¹⁵²Pridi was the prime mover behind this project. Arong Suthasasna, "Ruling Elite, Higher Education, and Thai Society," (Ph.D. Dissertation: University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1973), p.69. As a Ministry of Justice official, Pridi lectured at the Law School from 1927 to 1932. Stowe, p. 13. He headed the university until 1947.

¹⁵³The university also held regular obligatory meetings for students to maintain their discipline and cultivated their loyalty its goals and leadership. Annual retreats were also organized for graduating classes. Pridi often spoke at these events. Bunbongkarn, pp. 62, 71-73.

¹⁵⁴Again, the particulars are sketchy. Pruekpongsawallee, p.122.

having a secondary certificate were admitted. It even allowed students to attend on a part-time or evening basis. Due to its limited instructional facilities, class attendance was not required. Students had to pass semesterly exams.¹⁵⁵ Degrees were conferred after students earned a required set of credits. Registration fees were kept low. Enrollments surged as junior-level bureaucrats and teachers flocked to the institution. By its second year, nearly 10,000 students ranging in age from twenty to fifty matriculated.¹⁵⁶ In 1939, it produced 228 graduates compared with eighty-one for Chulalongkorn.¹⁵⁷ The Rockefeller Foundation's support of Chulalongkorn's medical program ended in 1935 after several extensions.¹⁵⁸ When Dr. Ellis chose to remain, he became the university's acting chief executive from 1936 to 1938. Striving to outshine Pridi, Phibun took the formal title of rector in 1936. Though it maintained rigid admission requirements including competitive entrance exams, Chulalongkorn's enrollments increased from 442 to 1,294 between 1932 and 1940.¹⁵⁹ In 1939, a new faculty of commerce and accounting was created. Given their different characters, a keen rivalry developed between the two universities. To promote economic development, the government set up higher level schools to provide training in the fine arts, forestry, and irrigation. Efforts to send students abroad were also redoubled. In 1937, 720 Thais studied overseas with many

¹⁵⁵While students could take written exams at several regional centers, oral exams were offered only in Bangkok. Since all lectures were published and sold at low cost, students could study on their own. Bunbongkarn, pp. 63-64.

¹⁵⁶Wilson, *Thailand*, p. 72.

¹⁵⁷Suthasasna, pp. 69-71 & 94. Given the small number of graduates in relation to the large student body, instructors apparently graded exams strictly to block the progress of weaker students. Bunbongkarn, p. 64.

¹⁵⁸Between 1923 and 1935, the foundation spent \$780,000 on salaries and expenses for twenty foreign professors (45% of total), two new buildings and upgrading existing facilities (31%), fellowships to train forty Chulalongkorn faculty abroad (22%), and equipment, books and supplies (2%). Siwariyanon, pp. 195-197.

¹⁵⁹Wilson, *Thailand*, p. 72.

doing so in Britain and Japan.¹⁶⁰

The events of 1932 brought a new approach toward minority education. The leadership believed Chinese separateness threatened their goal of creating a unified nation bound by a common culture and language. Officials zealously enforced existing laws dealing with private schools. Despite protests by the Chinese community, the regime tightened regulations to ensure that all children learned Siamese. From 1933, the number of instructional hours offered in foreign languages was limited and all teachers had to meet tough language requirements. Authorities promptly closed any school found ignoring the rules.¹⁶¹ In 1936, schools were not allowed to use foreign languages to teach subjects beyond the language itself. The Ministry of Education banned Chinese texts judged sympathetic to communism or insulting to Siamese patriotism. Yet, a steady inflow of immigrants meant that Chinese schools continued to grow.¹⁶² Southern Moslems were prohibited from learning Malay and Islamic subjects in state schools.¹⁶³ By relying on native Christian teachers and administrators, mission schools were able to comply with new regulations and minimize nationalist criticism. The number of students

¹⁶⁰Landon reports that during 1937-38 year there were 100 students in Britain, 200 in Japan, 50 in France, 50 in the United States, 20 in Germany, 200 in the Philippines and a few in India, French Indo-China, and elsewhere. He also states the government budgeted 482,800 baht to support a hundred students, pp. 111 & 112. Kawaji Yuki Yoshi details Japanese efforts attract Siamese students. From 1934, the Japanese government maintained a succession of institutes to help Siamese students find housing, learn Japanese, and secure admission to Japanese higher-educational institutions. The Japanese ran a Japanese language institute in Bangkok from 1939. "Kokusai gakuyukai no setsuritsu to zainichi Tai-jin ryugakusei -1932-1945 no Nichi Tai kankei to sono Nippon ni okeru ryugakusei kyoiku eno hanei," *Hitotsubashi Ronso*, 129 (2003), pp. 301-313.

¹⁶¹If inspectors found that a school's pupils could not read Thai, it was generally terminated. Between March 1933 and August 1935, nearly eighty Chinese schools were forced out of existence. Watson, p. 125.

¹⁶²Between 1929 and 1937, some 10,000 Chinese arrived annually in Siam. *Ibid.* p. 120

¹⁶³As a result, primary attendance rates in the southern provinces were among the lowest in the country. *Ibid.*, p.113.

in their care jumped from 3729 in 1932 to over 5000 in 1940.¹⁶⁴

On becoming Prime Minister in late 1938, Phibun formed a government dominated by a right-wing military clique. An admirer of Hitler and Mussolini, he ruthlessly silenced potential opposition, squelched democratic processes, and pushed a nationalist agenda. Hundreds were arrested including princes and assembly members. Fearing royalist influence on overseas students, his deputies notified London that Siamese would be barred from studying in Britain, if they did not expel the ex-King.¹⁶⁵ Under tight official control, the media promoted a personality cult around the Prime Minister. Catering to the peasant majority, he cut poll and agricultural taxes. To highlight ethnic links with Tai-speaking peoples in Laos and Burma, the regime in 1939 changed the country's official name from Siam to Thailand. Officials attacked Chinese cultural and political institutions. By 1941, only three schools functioned compared with 230 just four years earlier.¹⁶⁶ Ironically, Phibun dictated that Thais dress in modern fashions, perform a Western workday, and use the Gregorian calendar. As war loomed across East Asia, the regime mobilized the population. Before the Japanese could move into the area, the Thai army seized parts of French Laos and Cambodia in 1940.¹⁶⁷ After the Japanese agreed to uphold these Thai conquests, Phibun concluded an alliance with Japan. Convinced Japanese forces would triumph, Thailand declared war on Britain and the United States in January 1942.

¹⁶⁴Most Protestant groups united in 1934 to become the Church of Christ in Thailand. Ibid, pp. 83-84.

¹⁶⁵The threat was not carried out after the British and Prajadhipok promised he would have no further contacts with students. Stowe, p. 117.

¹⁶⁶Officials closed all Chinese schools outside Bangkok in 1940 and all secondary schools in 1941. Watson, p. 125.

¹⁶⁷The attack came just after France fell to Hitler. Revenge was an important motive since the French had earlier taken this territory from the Thais.

As a result of the hostilities, Thai education naturally suffered. Its share of the national budget was halved between 1940 and 1945.¹⁶⁸ Shortages of books, paper, furniture, and chalk appeared within months of Thailand's entry in the war. Many schools were taken over by the Japanese. Still, new initiatives were undertaken. Since a majority of adults remained illiterate, the Ministry of Education set up a new Adult Education Division. Special schools were founded; however, poor results prompted officials to make attendance mandatory for the illiterate between the ages of twenty-five and forty-five.¹⁶⁹ Demand for technical specialists encouraged further higher educational development. In 1941, Chulalongkorn launched its first graduate programs and conferred master's degrees in science and engineering within two years. To meet the demand for pre-university instruction, state and private secondary schools were authorized to offer two-year college preparatory courses.¹⁷⁰ In 1942, the government made Chulalongkorn's Faculty of Medicine a separate institution under the Ministry of Public Health. Besides training physicians, the University of Medical Science taught dentistry, nursing, and pharmacy. The following year, schools teaching advanced agricultural or natural resource related subjects were amalgamated to create Kasetsart University.¹⁷¹ The Department of Fine Arts simultaneously upgraded its art school to become a university. Silpakorn University provided programs in painting, sculpture, and graphic arts.

¹⁶⁸The proportion fell from 10% to 5%. Though the sums spent on education rose by 23% in absolute terms, inflation caused by military spending more than wiped out the gain. Ingram, p.192.

¹⁶⁹Officials estimated in 1937 that only 69% of adults could not read and write. In 1943, all adults who had not received some primary education were annually fined five baht. Adult literacy classes were taught in government offices, police stations, and even prisons. Watson, p. 112.

¹⁷⁰This also enabled the universities to spin off their preparatory programs as separate institutions. By 1943, Chulalongkorn's pre-university program became Triam Udomsuksa School. Over the next decade, such programs became the standard general course for grades eleven and twelve. *World Survey of Education, III, Secondary Education*, (UNESCO, 1961), p. 1072.

Significant numbers of Thais continued to receive high-level training in Japan.¹⁷²

With Allied victories in Burma and the Pacific, relations between Thailand and Japan soured. As the Japanese could not supply essential imports, scarcity, rationing, and the black market became integral parts of Thai life. Malnutrition, disease, and other privations forced many schools to close, especially in rural areas. Allied bombing destroyed others. In 1944, Chulalongkorn University suspended classes. The Free Thai Movement led by a former minister to Washington freely worked against the Japanese. Finally in July 1944, the National Assembly dismissed Phibun and elected a new Prime Minister who could effectively negotiate with the Allies. In talks with the Americans, the Free Thai argued that Thailand's involvement in the war was coerced, illegal, and supported only by a narrow clique. After Japan's sudden surrender, the Thais moved to restore the old status quo. The organizer of the Free Thai Movement was offered the job of Prime Minister. With American diplomatic help, the government came to terms with the British and French.¹⁷³

Democratic elections in early 1946 brought an alliance of civilian parties to power. As Prime Minister, Pridi initiated a new constitution authorizing a bicameral legislature. To limit military participation, delegates were required to be well-educated and over forty years of age. Tainted by allegations surrounding the June 1946 murder of King Ananda Mahidol, Pridi resigned a few months later. With the continued economic

¹⁷¹Attached to the Ministry of Agriculture, Kasetsart was launched with four faculties: agriculture, economics and business, fisheries, and forestry. Sathasana, pp. 78-81, traces its beginnings.

¹⁷²From 1938 to 1945, at 111 Thais studied in Japan. Though both the Thai and Japanese regimes offered many scholarships, some were privately funded. Kawaji, p. 306.

¹⁷³The Americans pressured both powers to soften their demands. With the British, Thailand had to give full restitution for all property lost and sell its rice stockpiles at favorable terms. Reluctantly, the Thais relinquished their 1940 territorial gains to France. Wyatt, *Thailand*, p. 262.

distress, the coalition limped along. To restore a semblance of peacetime normalcy, officials reopened schools and rebuilt facilities. Renewed tolerance enabled hundreds of Chinese schools to be reestablished and public schools in four southern provinces to teach Malay and Islamic subjects.¹⁷⁴ The Thammayut Buddhist academy in 1947 attained university status though its enrollments were minuscule.¹⁷⁵

Finally in late 1947, a group of army officers seized power. Pridi escaped into exile. Within a year, Phibun reinstated as Prime Minister imposed a military dictatorship. Politicians and intellectuals suspected of having leftist sympathies were rounded up and often murdered. To maintain the facade of democratic rule, sham elections were held. In virtue of his anti-communist credentials, the United States recognized the regime. With Mao's victory in China and the growing conflict in Vietnam, Thailand became a key ally in America's effort to contain communism. The outbreak of insurgencies in Thailand's Lao northeast and Malay south amplified American concerns. Accordingly, the United States government dispersed \$371 million worth of economic and military aid between 1951 and 1957. Viewing all Chinese as potential subversives, the regime curbed Chinese immigration and restricted their economic and cultural activities. Draconian regulations were issued to reduce the number of Chinese schools.¹⁷⁶ Chinese secondary schools were outright banned. At the

¹⁷⁴By 1947, some 490 Chinese schools were in operation. Watson, pp. 112, 113, 126, & 127.

¹⁷⁵Mahamakut Buddhist University and Machulalongkorn Buddhist University founded in 1950 played little role in the nation's overall education system beyond training the Sangha elite. Though the regime provided some funds, most expenses were covered by donations. Most faculty, being monks, taught without salaries. J. K. Johnson, *Thailand: A Study of the Educational System of Thailand and Guide to the Academic Placement of Students from Thailand in Educational Institutions of the United States*, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers, 1978), pp. 85-86.

¹⁷⁶The schools that remained open were scrutinized to ensure their ideological and patriotic reliability.

same time, public schools discontinued Malay and Islamic instruction, deepening Malay resentment.¹⁷⁷ Still, the regime allowed Islamic groups in 1950 to establish a special college in Bangkok to teach Arabic and Koranic studies under the supervision of the Ministry of Education.

Thailand's gradual economic recovery permitted its education system to resume its expansion. Funding for schools as a percentage of official spending again reached 11% in 1949.¹⁷⁸ Over the next decade, the figure rose to 17.5%.¹⁷⁹ Priority was placed on primary education.¹⁸⁰ Despite severe shortages of qualified teachers, hundreds of rural schools were constructed. By 1950, female primary school attendance rates approached those of males.¹⁸¹ A new educational plan approved in 1951 declared the goal of extending compulsory education to seven years and gave more emphasis to vocational training. Wishing to prevent the growth of a disruptive class of educated unemployed, officials limited secondary education. In 1950, the country had 724 general high schools plus another 186 secondary-level vocational institutes.¹⁸² Some 80% of districts had none. Although secondary enrolments nearly doubled by 1958, much of this growth took place in the private sector. The proportion of female secondary pupils grew marginally

Those teaching fewer than six hours of Chinese per week received special subsidies. Ibid, p.127.

¹⁷⁷Uthai Dulyakasem, "Education and Ethnic Nationalism: The Case of the Muslim-Malays in Southern Thailand," *Reshaping Local Worlds*, p. 143.

¹⁷⁸Ingram, p. 192.

¹⁷⁹Percentage for 1959, Watson, p. 259.

¹⁸⁰In 1954, 74% of public educational expenditures went to primary schools. General secondary schools received 10% and universities 2.3%. *World Survey of Education, II, Primary Education*, (UNESCO, 1958), p. 976.

¹⁸¹Female pupils made up 47% of primary enrolments throughout the 1950s and 1960s. Watson, p. 264.

¹⁸²Some high schools counted offered mainly vocational programs; however, there is no way of knowing how many as the Ministry of Education did not distinguish between general and vocational secondary schools until 1958. *World Survey of Education, II, Primary Education*, p. 975.

from 30% to 33% between 1950 and 1958.¹⁸³ In accordance with the 1954 Private Schools Act, the Thai Christian church took charge of the last school run by a foreign mission three years later.¹⁸⁴ Though free to offer religious instruction, Christian institutions had to otherwise meet all official curricular requirements.

Higher educational growth was also carefully managed. Private institutions were not tolerated. The 1948 Civil Service Act, which brought teachers into the civil service, encouraged young Thais to pursue educational careers. Thus, the Ministry of Education founded a model teacher-training institute with a five-year post-secondary course. After being upgraded to a college of education with American financial and technical aid in 1954, it offered Thailand's first bachelor's degree in education.¹⁸⁵ As enrollments rose, two branch campuses were established, one outside Bangkok. Set up in 1952 again with American help, the Bangkok Technical College offered advanced certificates in such fields as photography, printing, surveying, mechanics, and accounting.¹⁸⁶ Two additional colleges opened by 1957.¹⁸⁷ The regime stepped up efforts to send students abroad;

¹⁸³In 1957, 71% of secondary schools (general and vocational) were private. *World Survey of Education, 11, Secondary Education*, (UNESCO, 1961), p. 1077.

¹⁸⁴Watson, p. 84.

¹⁸⁵The United States Operations Mission (USOM) arranged for Indiana University to provide technical advice and faculty training for the new college. While the Thai government paid about \$11 million toward the project, USOM gave \$2.8 in cash support. From 1954 to 1962, about a hundred and fifty Thais went to Indiana for training with fifteen receiving doctorates and ninety master's degrees. Alexander J Caldwell, *American Economic Aid to Thailand*, (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1974), pp. 97-101. A comprehensive account of this institution's early years is available in Willis P. Porter's *The College of Education Bangkok, Thailand: A Case Study of Institution Building*, (Inter-University Program on Institution Building Research, Pittsburgh University, 1967).

¹⁸⁶Under a 1954 contract funded by the USOM, Wayne State University offered the college with on-site technical assistants and faculty training. Carl G. F. Franzen, *Guide to the Academic Placement of Students from the Kingdom of Thailand in United States Educational Institutions*, (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers, 1959), pp. 21. See also Robert J. Muscat's *Thailand and the United States: Development, Security, and Foreign Aid*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990), pp. 114 & 115.

¹⁸⁷*World Survey of Education, VI, Higher Education*, p. 1083.

however, in contrast to the prewar era, the United States became a major destination. While America hosted 234 Thai students in 1950, the number reached 1,006 nine years later.¹⁸⁸ The United States offered scholarships from 1951 through its Fulbright program.¹⁸⁹ Many returnees filled positions in Thai academe. As in earlier decades, Western educations conferred considerable prestige. Starting government salaries for foreign degree holders were 50% higher than for those with domestic degrees.¹⁹⁰

As manpower needs of the bureaucracy evolved, the five established universities added new curricular programs.¹⁹¹ Under a program run by the United States Operational Mission, American universities were contracted to provide expertise to upgrade existing faculties.¹⁹² Chulalongkorn and the University of Morals and Political Science offered doctoral courses. Though enrollments fluctuated, the overall trend was upwards as degrees became a requirement for civil service posts.¹⁹³ The regime took firm steps to insure their institutional loyalty. Phibun again assumed the post of rector at Chulalongkorn. Fearing Pridi's legacy, officials targeted the University of Morals and

¹⁸⁸Muscat, p. 60. UNESCO lists 268, ninety-two, and nineteen Thais studying respectively in the U.S.A., Britain, and France in 1951. For 1958, it reports 933 students in U.S.A., 149 in Britain, 119 in Australia, seventy-three in France, sixty-two in Japan, and 105 elsewhere. *Basic Facts and Figures*, (Paris, UNESCO, 1954 & 1961).

¹⁸⁹From 1951 to 1955, 142 fellowships were awarded to Thais. The total dropped to 113 for the 1956-1960 period. Significant numbers of American Fulbright scholars taught and conducted research at Thai universities. *Ibid*, p. 57.

¹⁹⁰This practice started earlier probably in the 1930s. *Ibid*. p. 62.

¹⁹¹For example, in 1948 faculties of political science and public health were founded respectively at Chulalongkorn and the University of Medical Sciences. J. K. Johnson dates the start of most higher-educational programs.

¹⁹²In 1954, the University of Texas designed lab facilities and provided professors for Chulalongkorn engineering program. Moreover, its library program was begun between 1951 and 1954 with American Fulbright instructors. Franzen, pp. 41, 44, & 45. From 1955 to 1964, the University of Indiana supported Thammasat's Institute of Public Administration. USOM covered \$2 million of the \$3.4 million project. Caldwell, pp. 101-107. Finally, USOM equipped Kasertart University's new physical plant in 1952 and contracted Oregon State College to train its faculty and develop its agricultural research capabilities from 1955 to 1959. Muscat, pp. 113, 114, 117, & 118.

¹⁹³Thai higher-educational institutions had 23,555 students in 1950 and 48,109 in 1958. The number of

Political Science. While Phibun served as honorary president, its curriculum was reorganized into four separate programs.¹⁹⁴ Enrollments were capped and even its name changed to Thammasat University. Suspicion of Pridi's involvement in a failed coup prompted the government to confiscate university property and rescind special privileges its alumni enjoyed in the civil service. In the end, student demonstrations persuaded officials to return the campus. Across the system, university councils controlled by ranking politicians selected senior administrators, reviewed faculty appointments, and set institutional policy.¹⁹⁵ Because this oversight reinforced ties between government ministries and academic departments, curricula was tailored to fit the needs of specific bureaucratic units. Research played a minor role in faculty careers. Reward systems revolved around individuals' ability to maintain positive relations with administrators. Having no incentive to update course content, instructors often used the same texts and lecture notes over many years. Universities continued to offer three-year diplomas in addition to bachelor and graduate degrees. Given the lack of well-paying jobs in private business, most students aspired to enter the civil service.¹⁹⁶ Law and social sciences were by far the commonest majors.¹⁹⁷ Students predominantly came from families belonging to the bureaucratic, business, or professional elites.¹⁹⁸ Rigorous entrance standards and

students at Thammasat dipped after 1952. *World Survey of Education*, VI, p. 1090.

¹⁹⁴They included law, commerce and accounting, political science and diplomacy, and economics. In this restructuring, many courses were dropped for political reasons. Pruekpongsawalee, p. 123.

¹⁹⁵From the 1930s, the Prime Minister chaired all university councils. Their membership also included institutional executives and occasionally senior faculty. Suthasana, pp. 45-49.

¹⁹⁶Medical and law students who could later establish private practices were notable exceptions. As in earlier periods, bureaucrats commanded considerable social prestige. *Ibid*, pp. 93-97.

¹⁹⁷In 1959, 25,776 (72%) of 35,631 higher educational students studied law or a social science. *Basic Facts and Figures*, (UNESCO, 1961), p. 60.

¹⁹⁸The occupations of the parents of new Chulalongkorn students in 1956 were: 26.6% in civil or military services; 52% in private business; 10.5% in the professions; and only 5.6% in farming. Equivalent percentages for Thammasat were: 25.3%; 37.4%; 8.8%; and 16.7%. Chinese students made up

exams ensured only graduates from the finest secondary schools were admitted.¹⁹⁹

Moreover, the substantial fees and expenses incurred by students were beyond the means of average Thais. Like ideal civil servants, students were expected to be passive, obedient, and decorous. Material presented by professors was unquestioningly copied down and memorized. As academic demands were light, students devoted much time to extra-curricular activities organized by campus clubs such as soccer, drama, debate, and outdoor sports.²⁰⁰

Despite the tight controls, the universities produced many left-leaning intellectuals who disliked the existing order. Following blatantly rigged elections, university students in 1957 organized large protest rallies. In response, Phibun declared a national emergency and asked Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat to restore order. Unexpectedly, Sarit publicly sided with the students and prevented the army from interfering. Intense criticism of the government led to calls for Phibun's resignation. Finally in September, the army staged a bloodless coup. As Phibun fled the country, an ally of Sarit was made Prime Minister. Although the military dominated the government for another decade and a half, the new leadership undertook a cautious program of reform, which gave Thais greater freedoms and eventually culminated in the country's political, economic, and social transformation. Having been built on a solid foundation, Thailand's educational institutions strengthened. Universities ultimately played a leading role in determining the course the Thailand's overall development.

only 6.3% of both incoming classes. The overall figures for 1950 are very similar. Bunbongkarn, pp. 158 & 164.

¹⁹⁹In 1956, Chulalongkorn received only 2200 applications of which 1500 were accepted. Franzen, p. 43.

²⁰⁰Bunbongkarn, pp. 116-118.

The Legacy of Thailand's Educational Modernization

The early modernization of Siamese education was directed from above and was focused on preparing bureaucrats who could effectively deal with Siam's new challenges. Given the importance of personal relationships in traditional Siamese governance, educational change depended on the interests, skills, and clout of the King and his ministers. The process was, therefore, incremental, unsteady, and not driven by institutional or ideological forces. Missionary educators were permitted to play key roles in developing both the private and public sectors. Since traditional education was so informal and religiously oriented, modernizers had to build the new system from the bottom-up. Primary education was initially emphasized over higher-level instruction. The creation of modern schools for the elite and the sending of young aristocrats abroad facilitated the regime's revamping of its bureaucracy. In 1892, 17% of chief ministers had studied abroad with about half having attended universities; by 1910, the proportion rose to 36%, three-quarters of which held university degrees.²⁰¹ The government's limited forays into the realm of higher education produced a few small institutions, which despite their narrowness and low standards, prepared needed personnel for key government ministries.²⁰² For the first time, educational qualifications became a main factor determining an individual's position in the administrative hierarchy. This overall transformation helped Siam preserve its political independence in the face of Western imperialist pressure. Indeed, Siam was the only Southeast Asian nation to do so. At the same time, there was little commitment to bringing modern education to the broader

²⁰¹Stifel, p.1185.

²⁰²Between 1900 and 1914, only 608 students graduated at the certificate-level from the medical (231), law

populous. Only a small share of the meager sums the government spent on education went toward public schools. The provinces were particularly underserved. Literacy rates remained low and at the end of King Chulalongkorn's reign, no more than 15% of Thai children attended school.²⁰³ Still, officials created a skeletal public school system using the *wat* as a foundation.

During the reigns of Siam's last two absolute kings, its educational pyramid grew in width and height. Primary school enrollments surged when officials allocated funds for new schools and enacted a compulsory education law. By 1932, 59% of children received primary instruction.²⁰⁴ The monarchy sponsored Siam's first university. Consistent with earlier reforms, it was designed to serve the needs and interests of the bureaucracy. Enrollments were modest. Only with the help of the Rockefeller Foundation was Chulalongkorn University able to launch its first degree-granting program. The small numbers of certificate or degree graduates were widely respected and enjoyed excellent career opportunities in the civil service.²⁰⁵ Though Siam succeeded in restoring most of its domestic and international sovereignty, its economy continued to depend on agriculture and extractive industries.

The change of leadership in 1932 brought greater commitment to public education. Official expenditures rapidly increased. Except during the war, enrollments climbed as new schools were built. Consequently, the proportion of adults having completed four years of schooling rose from 20% in 1937 to 33% in 1960.²⁰⁶ Despite

(157), and Royal Page's (140) schools. Bunbongkarn, pp. 43-44.

²⁰³Wyatt, *The Politics of Reform...*, p. 374.

²⁰⁴Watson, p. 107.

²⁰⁵Chulalongkorn produced 771 graduates between 1915 and 1928. Bunbongkarn, pp. 44 & 45.

²⁰⁶Wyatt, *Thailand*, p. 291.

regional disparities, 71% of Thais could read and write at least at a basic level by 1960.²⁰⁷

The regime was careful to ensure that education served its goals. The whole system was tightly controlled by bureaucrats. A growing network of Chinese schools was smashed because they were perceived as being in conflict with Thai nationalism. To safeguard social and political stability, secondary education was neglected. Between 1947 and 1960, the percentage of high school graduates among the adult population stayed practically constant.²⁰⁸ Officials strictly regulated universities, all of which were located in Bangkok. Academic standards remained low. With American assistance, Thai higher-educational institutions expanded their curricular and degree offerings. On average twenty-one of every 10,000 Thais attended such schools between 1955 and 1959.²⁰⁹ Only .6% of adults in 1960 had university degrees.²¹⁰ Despite rising educational levels, the economy remained heavily agricultural. While farming supported 74% of households in 1960, manufacturing employed 3.6% of the labor force and accounted for 13% of the Gross National Product.²¹¹ Only small percentages of higher-educational students were enrolled in science, engineering, commerce, or agricultural programs.²¹²

Most scholars have viewed Siam's educational modernization as an outcome of

²⁰⁷Literacy rates were significantly lower in the Muslim south. For example, 67% of the population in the Pattani region was illiterate. Dulyakasem, p. 143. Figures in the north and east were also well below the national average.

²⁰⁸While in 1947, 1.8% of Thais over twenty-four years of age had finished secondary school; the proportion was 1.9% in 1960. Ibid.

²⁰⁹This compares with 174 for the U.S.A., sixty-nine for Japan, thirty-two for Italy, twenty-two for India, and seven for China. *World Survey of Education, IV*, p. 67.

²¹⁰In 1937 and 1947, the proportions were .1% and .3% respectively. Wyatt, *Thailand*, p. 291. Bunbongkarn found that of the 442 Chulalongkarn and Thammasat graduates in 1955 whose careers could be tracked, 78% were in government service two years after graduating. Another 7% worked in state enterprises. Only 14% were employed by private businesses. p. 175. Note the total number of graduates was 938.

²¹¹Ibid & Ingram, p. 285-6.

²¹²In 1959, 5%, 4%, and 3% of higher educational students in Thailand respectively studied natural science,

its deepening interaction with the West. Many historians depict the relations between the Siamese and Christian missionaries as cordial and constructive. Wyatt argues that King Chulalongkorn and other reformers of his generation were initially motivated by their admiration for the West, but after about 1890 they felt compelled to modernize on account of Western criticism and political intimidation. He also asserts that Siam's cultural borrowing was a creative process that was significantly shaped by a desire to preserve a distinct Siamese cultural identity. Wyatt, Siffin, and others working in the 1960s and 1970s stress Siam's educational modernization was part of a broad strategy to withstand Western pressure. The Siamese leadership's early emphasis on providing quality educational opportunities to the elite at the expense of public education is regarded as a necessary step in the kingdom's modernization. On the other hand, Goldstein and Donaldson portray the Rockefeller Foundation's involvement in Siam's medical education as a heavy-handed attempt to impose ill-suited Western professional standards. Within the context of nation-state building, Sindhuprana suggests that modernizing provincial education for local elite and the broader population was critical to the government's effort to integrate outlying regions into Siam's central administrative, cultural, and economic systems.²¹³

Another area of scholarly interest surrounds the lack of economic development during the period. Jacobs and Suthasasna address the issue by arguing that Siam's education system was primarily oriented toward maintaining the patrimonial elite's

engineering, and agriculture. *Basic Facts and Figures*, 1961, p. 60.

²¹³Sindhuprana shows that central officials introduced modern education into northern Thailand in two phases. The first, which focused on training personal for the provincial bureaucracy, was primarily aimed at winning the support of local elites. The second involved founding public schools that instilled a new national identity.

control over Thailand's government, society, and economy.²¹⁴ Since most well-educated Thais were co-opted into government service, there were few entrepreneurs capable of introducing technical or organizational innovation into the Thai economy. Thus, traditional agricultural, manufacturing, and business patterns persisted into the 1960s. While admitting that village schools fostered some improvements in rural economic practices, Keyes concludes they were far more efficacious at preparing children to accept a subservient role within Thailand's prevailing political and social order.²¹⁵

Though many questions remain unanswered, little new research has been done over the last twenty years. In light of Thailand's recent political transformation and rapid economic growth, the relationship between Thai education and national development must be reexamined. More research is also needed regarding Thai universities; for example, little is known about the backgrounds, privileges, and broader influence of their faculty. While several historians have touched on the importance of Thai students abroad, the topic awaits a systematic assessment. Moreover, the expansion of non-Christian, non-Chinese private schools, especially on the secondary level, deserves attention. Hopefully, greater interest in these topics will develop in coming years.

Conclusion

Siam's modernization program focused on strengthening central authority and building an effective state bureaucracy. The overhaul of its basic educational patterns

²¹⁴Norman Jacobs, *Modernization Without Development: Thailand as an Asian Case Study*, (Washington: Praeger, 1971). Robert Krause, William E. Maxwell, and Reeve D. Vanneman argue that Thai bureaucrats, if compared with their Chinese and Indian counterparts, were particularly successful at protecting their patrimonial interests against other groups through their control of higher-educational credentialing. "The Interest of Bureaucrats: Implications of the Asian Experience for Recent Theories of Development," *American Journal of Sociology*, 85 (1979), pp. 135-155.

played a key role in realizing these objectives. Under King Chulalongkorn, the government established Siam's first secular public schools. In doing so, the Siamese adopted a range of Western ideas, practices, and models. As Siam moved from feudal realm to a central state, local allegiances were transferred to a broader Thai nation. While modern-educated officials successfully defended Thailand's full sovereignty against the Western imperialism, they were also able to consolidate their ascendant position within the new political and social order. After 1932, access to higher-level learning was controlled by political interests while mass education focused primarily on assimilating the kingdom's diverse population and fostering obedience for authority. Despite their leaders' authoritarian motives, the expansion of learning facilitated the gradual overhaul of Thailand's political, social, and economic structures that began in 1957.

²¹⁵Keyes, pp. 89-122.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

The preceding accounts of Japan, China, and Thailand's educational histories offer many developmental parallels but also some notable variations. Sharing a common external challenge caused by the unprecedented escalation of Western aggression, the three nations made the borrowing of European and American educational approaches and models a vital component in their broader strategies to modernize and defend their political, cultural, and economic autonomy. Analogies also abound on the level of specific policies, practices, and institutions.

This chapter explores these commonalities and divergences using the four research questions defined in Chapter One. To broaden the analysis, differences between the interests, actions, and fortunes of state elites and ordinary citizens are highlighted.

Motivations for Modernizing and Borrowing Western Models

Before examining the forces that spurred the Japanese, Thais, and Chinese to revamp their educational systems, it is useful to identify barriers to change. Above all, the three societies had well-established educational traditions that on the whole served the interests of their elites and, to lesser degree, their broader populace. Despite some apparent flaws, native practices sustained complex political, cultural, and economic systems. Thus, as long as they retained their internal and external stability, these societies had little functional need to borrow Western educational customs. While the

Catholic orders brought European-style schools, curricula, and pedagogy to these realms during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, neither their leaders nor substantial numbers of private individuals showed much interest in them.

These societies viewed Western intellectual assets through Confucian or Buddhist prisms. Convinced of the primacy of moral cultivation, most Qing literati regarded Western practical learning as contemptible and fit only for artisans and clerks. Such attitudes also prevailed in Japan's domain academies. Given Buddhist premises concerning the physical world's transitory nature, the Siamese had little appreciation for theoretical science. Another obstacle came from Western culture's close association with Christianity. As a monistic and monotheistic religion, Christianity denies the validity of other worldviews.¹ This ideological incompatibility bred ill will and distrust. The loyalties of native converts were widely doubted. The Tokugawa saw Christianity as a clear and present danger to their political order while mid-Qing writers portrayed it as a depraved ruse intended to undermine Chinese strength. Similar suspicions compelled the usually tolerant Siamese to suppress the Catholic orders following the 1688 royal coup. This hostility was frequently generalized to other facets of European, especially Iberian and French, culture. Moreover, East Asians had no belief of human progress; rather, Confucians and Buddhists looked to an idealized past for inspiration in setting their political, social, and intellectual norms.² The conviction, that the future would be no

¹Most East Asian ideological systems are non-exclusive. Hence, the Japanese, Thais, and Chinese have tended to be eclectic in their beliefs. Many Japanese consider themselves both Shintoist and Buddhist. Likewise, Chinese often simultaneously embrace Confucian and Taoist notions. In Thailand, Buddhism absorbed numerous Brahman and shamanist elements.

²The Western idea of progress sprang from the Judeo-Christian worldview that regards time as linear and history as goal-directed. This teleological mindset was eventually embraced by secular thinkers. David Spadafora, "Progress," *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment, Vol 3*, (New York: Oxford

better and possibly worse than the present, deterred innovation and encouraged them to eschew unfamiliar ideas despite their potential practical utility.

While Japan and Siam had long traditions of intercultural borrowing, this was less true for China. Seeing themselves the center of the civilized world, the Chinese viewed people living beyond their borders as subordinate vassals or barbarians. This chauvinism naturally increased their resistance to acquiring foreign cultural assets. Yet, this point can easily be overstressed as its adoption of Indian Buddhism illustrates. Though it flourished as a dominant philosophical school for only a few centuries, Buddhism profoundly influenced Chinese culture. While geographic and political isolation nurtured xenophobic tendencies among the Japanese, Siam's constant struggles with Burma, Vietnam, and northern Tai states instilled a sense of political and cultural humility.

A variety of pull and push factors were also present. Though their first contacts with European voyagers were unplanned and unexpected, the Japanese and Siamese were quite welcoming. In line with an established imperial policy prohibiting overseas commerce, Chinese officials tried to banish the new arrivals; however, failing to achieve this end, they reluctantly accepted some limited interaction. The Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese were drawn to an array of Western cultural assets. Such commodities as glassware, fabrics, foods, and tobacco were appreciated for their novelty, especially among the Japanese. Immediately seeing the military value of Western firearms, all three realms eagerly acquired the know-how to manufacture their own.³ Their elites cherished

University Press, 2003), pp. 367-368. In contrast, Asian philosophical traditions, especially Buddhism, see time as cyclical.

³The borrowing of Western firearms might also be seen as motivated by push rather than pull factors. For example, the Siamese would have been driven to purchase Portuguese and Dutch arms as soon as

mechanical clocks as amusing toys.⁴ While Japanese and Chinese esteemed Western artistic technique, they dismissed its subject matter. Overall, the Chinese had less affinity toward Western material culture; indeed, lack of demand for Western goods forced European traders to pay Chinese merchants with silver specie. Ultimately to China's detriment, this led to the introduction of opium as a trade item.

The tireless efforts of the Catholic orders ensured that Christianity gained a wide exposure. Over time, significant numbers of Japanese and Chinese embraced this ideological asset. Although in Japan economic inducements played a role in the conversion of some feudal leaders, pervasive vice and hypocrisy within the Buddhist orders encouraged Japanese to question old beliefs and explore new ideologies. In China, Jesuits adapted Church doctrine to the Chinese context by translating Christian ideas to fit native patterns of thought. Christianity's stress on individual salvation may have appealed to those frustrated with the intellectual and social norms upheld by the imperial establishment. In both countries, the underprivileged were possibly drawn to its equalitarian view of human spiritual worth. Given the flourishing state of its Sangha as well as Theravada Buddhism's concern for the fate of individuals, few Siamese converted.⁵ In any case, Japan and China's Christian communities remained small

their Burmese foes possessed them. This highlights a gray area between the two forces.

⁴Western political, church, and merchant envoys routinely presented clocks to Asian rulers as a way of currying favor. Carlo M. Cipolla argues that, even in the early nineteenth century, the Chinese did not see practical utility of most Western technology including clocks, lens, and various machines. *Clocks and Culture, 1300-1700*, (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1978), pp. 76-102.

⁵In the pre-modern and modern eras, most Christian converts in Siam/Thailand came from either its foreign or tribal populations. Charles F. Keyes suggests that the missionaries' failure to translate Christian terms into recognizable concepts encouraged the Siamese to consider Christianity as something utterly foreign. More fundamentally, he argues Christianity did not offer a more "rationalized" worldview than did Theravada Buddhism. In light of the Japanese and Chinese examples, his explanations appear inadequate. "Why the Thai are not Christians: Buddhism and Christian Conversion in Thailand." *Conversion to Christianity: Historical and Anthropological*

minorities within their broader populations; indeed, there was never a realistic chance of this belief system becoming universally accepted. Suspicions regarding missionary intentions and divided loyalties of native believers eventually prompted political leaders to take repressive measures that persuaded most adherents to abandon the faith. This also brought a state enforced narrowing of interaction between East Asians and Europeans.

Finally, a narrow segment of Western scientific learning found receptive audiences in all three societies. Chinese and Siamese leaders actively solicited Jesuit knowledge of astronomy while early Japanese *rangaku* scholarship focused on the study of Dutch physics.⁶ This curiosity sprang largely from existing traditions of astronomical and astrological inquiry. Such knowledge was also regarded as useful in updating their calendars.⁷ Given their trust in astrology, they also saw practical benefits in being able to precisely predict planetary motion. Impressed by the accuracy of Dutch anatomy texts, the Japanese were drawn to Dutch medicine.⁸ By the 1820s, the *Bakufu* even permitted a German to open a medical academy. To improve the defense and management of their vast empire, the early Qing regime embraced Western surveying and cartography.

Perspectives on a Great Transformation, Robert Hefner, ed., (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 259-283.

⁶Interestingly, the difference in their exposures meant that the Japanese studied the Copernican system while the Chinese and Siamese learned the more complex non-Copernican model.

⁷Asian rulers saw it as their duty to provide their subjects with the best possible calendars. Shogun Yoshimune's 1720 easing of regulations against the importation of Western books was primarily motivated by a desire to improve the Japanese calendar. Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discover of Europe, 1720-1830*. (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1969), pp. 13-14, 85-90. See also Ian Hodges, "Western Science in Siam: A Tale of Two Kings." *Osisis*. 13 (1998), pp. 88-92.

⁸Keene, pp. 20-24. Until the mid-nineteenth, Western medicine was not on the whole more effective than Eastern practices; yet, in select areas such as anatomy and surgery European doctors outshined their East Asian counterparts. The Chinese rejection of Western medicine was the result of a basic incompatibility in their intellectual premises. Based on Taoist notions of chi, ying-yang, and the five elements (wood, fire, earth, metal, and water), Chinese physicians saw the human body holistically. As it conflicted with this view, surgery was taboo. Chen Bao-xing & Garé LeComte, "Medicine, Traditional – China," *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia, Vol. 4*, David Levinson & Karen Christiansen, ed., (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2002), pp. 121-122.

Overall, early borrowing from the West did not affect the customs, beliefs, or lifestyles of the vast majority of Japanese, Chinese, or Siamese. European political, social, and humanist thought was rejected. Though the societies had some exposure to Catholic education, they adopted virtually none of its practices. As education played a critical role in maintaining their political, social, and ideological status quos, they were disinclined to modify efficacious systems using ideas and approaches associated with a detested alien heresy. In the pre-modern era, East Asians simply had no reason to judge Western methods, structures, or goals as superior to their own.

In the early-nineteenth century, the nature of East-West relations profoundly changed. The rise of a predatory Western imperialism backed by Europe's rapidly developing political, military, and economic structures posed a fundamental challenge to virtually every East Asian society. This shift in their external circumstances created new functional needs relating to the defense of their sovereign rights. The Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese became aware of the threat differently. For the Chinese, it came with little warning and much disbelief. Even after their startling defeat in the First Opium War, most officials and intellectuals failed to grasp its meaning. Rather, they preferred to attribute their predicament to moral drift. In the end, it took a second trouncing by Britain and France to convince them of the true peril. In contrast, the Japanese and Siamese learned from the bitter experiences of their neighbors. Earlier political meddling by the Portuguese in Japan and French in Siam combined with their countries' strategic vulnerability also gave them greater wariness. For the Siamese, Britain's conquest of Burma cogently demonstrated the danger. The Japanese watched British moves in China with much anxiety. To forestall military conflicts from which they might never recover,

their leaders agreed to sign unequal treaties modeled after those imposed on China.

Given the unprecedented nature of the danger, there was naturally a great deal of doubt and discord among the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese regarding their best course of action. While powerful factions stubbornly refused to admit that their situations warranted breaching traditional ways, pragmatic officials, notably Sakuma Shozan, Li Hongzhang, and Prince Chuthmani, concluded that they could only safeguard their security by turning Western practical know-how against the imperialist powers. Most of their attention was initially focused on enhancing their military preparedness. They adopted British and French training, command, and tactical approaches and strengthened defensive fortifications using European designs. Not only did they procure Western weaponry and equipment, they built facilities to manufacture them. Their governments also upgraded their transportation and communication infrastructure using Western technology. As existing schools could not meet the educational needs fostered by these efforts, institutions devoted to the study and teaching of Western learning were established. In this context, Japan's Nagasaki naval school and the *Shirabesho* and China's Fuzhou arsenal school and Tongwen Guan are analogous. Given their informal educational traditions, the Siamese did not establish formal schools but instead created forums where individuals could learn one-on-one or in small groups. Their study of navigation, engineering, gunnery, and other military related subjects broadened interest in pure science and mathematics. As linguistic skills provided access to this knowledge, the teaching of European languages was stressed. In any case, their governments required capable translators and interpreters. To further their negotiations with the imperialist powers, they cultivated native expertise in Western law and diplomacy. Yet, these

educational initiatives were limited. The number of participants was small and those getting instruction were already steeped in traditional learning or expected to concurrently progress in standard curricula. Lastly, these programs relied on traditional pedagogical, administrative, and organizational practices and were not programmatically integrated into their overall educational systems.

In this transitional period, pull factors were also at work. Advances in Western medical techniques, especially in dealing with infectious disease, heightened Japanese admiration and peaked Siamese interest. Despite their antipathy toward Christianity, authorities encouraged missionary physicians to practice and teach within their realms. Shogunal authorities sponsored a medical academy. Schools established by Protestant and Catholic evangelists attracted growing numbers of students. Although the missions in Siam and China initially had to offer enticements of food, clothing, and even cash, families willingly enrolled their children as social and economic opportunities expanded for citizens familiar with Western languages and thought. Since church schools reappeared in Japan later relative to its broader political and cultural adjustment, they had no trouble finding students from the outset.

In all three societies, perceptions of the external challenge evolved as Western interference grew more pervasive. Though worries initially focused on political and military matters, imperialism was quickly seen as a threat to their social and cultural survivals. Indeed, their leaderships were overwhelmed by the practical consequences of the unequal treaties. Their inability to regulate external commerce allowed Western interests to dominate their markets; that in turn brought economic dislocation and social turmoil. Political institutions strained as disputes intensified over how they could best

preserve their societal well-being.⁹ Widening exposure to Western political, economic, and educational systems fostered respect for their utilitarian efficiency. They also came to realize that Western power depended on a complex array of economic, organizational, and intellectual factors. Their countries' obvious military and economic weakness spawned feelings of cultural inferiority. Accordingly, many Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese began to view their own institutions more critically. By casting doubt on prevailing assumptions, new intellectual movements such as Sakuma's defense theories, Kang's interpreted Confucianism, and Mongkut's Thammayut sect encouraged change.

Together, these needs and attitudes motivated Japan, China, and Siam's leaders to modernize their counties by selectively borrowing Western practices, institutions, and ideas they believed would enhance their ability to politically and economically compete with the imperialist powers. Owing to their greater familiarity with Western thought and weaker attachment to existing systems, young intellectuals were among the earliest and most enthusiastic champions of modernization. The *Meirokeisha*, 1895 Reform Memorialists, Young Siam, and other pro-reform groups played significant roles in setting reform agendas and broadening public support for change. Unlike the more proactive Japanese and Siamese, the Chinese had to endure repeated military losses before they mustered the necessary political will to act. Both the Meiji founders and Chakri kings recognized that promoting centrally directed modernization programs would enhance their positions vis-à-vis other political groups, especially the entrenched nobility. In China, conservatives controlling the imperial court feared basic reform, especially

⁹Unlike in Japan and China, political discord in Siam focused exclusively on their domestic response. As all other Southeast Asian realms were swallowed up by the colonial powers, few Siamese second-guessed the government's policy of accommodation.

affecting the civil-service exams, would undermine the ideological and institutional foundations of imperial rule. Only after they were utterly discredited by the Boxer debacle did Manchu leaders embrace modernization as a means of redeeming their authority.

Though Japan, China, and Siam's efforts to modernize varied in their pace and priorities, they were similarly ambitious in their scope. While attempting to centralize political and administrative power, reformers reshaped bureaucratic institutions. The Japanese and Siamese replaced feudal structures with functionally specialized European-style ministries. Their financial and tax systems were also overhauled. Unlike in Japan where Meiji founders quickly restored order after the Restoration, the prolonged upheaval that followed the messy collapse of Manchu state delayed efforts to modernize China's political structures. Their desire to rid themselves of the hated extraterritorial system impelled officials in all three countries to revamp legal codes and procedures in conformance with European and chiefly French practices. Embryonic railroad, telegraph, shipping, and postal networks expanded though in China the building of infrastructure was often sponsored by foreign concerns. To secure their frontiers, they stepped up efforts to politically and culturally assimilate populations living in outlying regions.

Given their faith in the power of education, the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais naturally put educational reform in the forefront of their modernization programs. To implement their reform initiatives, political and commercial leaders urgently needed competent specialists in a broad range of fields including law, diplomacy, engineering, accounting, and medicine. Indeed, the lack of native expertise forced them hire expensive foreign professionals. Their general populace also had to learn the practical

and intellectual skills that would enable them to participate in the new political, social, and economic systems. The waning of traditional worldviews necessitated the promotion of new ideological constructs that could foster political, social, and cultural cohesion. Wishing to make a decisive break with the past, officials in all three realms sought to completely revamp existing practices. Obsolete institutions were closed or merged into new structures. Following British, American, German, and French organizational blueprints, public primary, secondary, and tertiary institutions were founded with Western languages and science figuring prominently in their higher-level curricula. They cultivated new socio-cultural identities expressed in terms of nationalism. To enhance learning efficiency and instill a modern mindset, schools utilized Western pedagogical approaches. While primarily training bureaucratic elites, Western-style universities served as outward symbols of their new modernity. Realizing that catching up with the West, particularly in technical fields, was a moving target, the Japanese and Chinese promoted research within their higher institutions. Due to their weaker scholarly traditions, the Siamese put less emphasis on new inquiry. Seeing chances for personal advancement, private citizens flocked to these schools. Demand for modern education was so strong that many private institutions flourished. As foreign Christian educationists tailored curricula to fit local needs, their enrollments climbed. Hoping to influence their countries' transformations, progressive scholars in Japan and China established schools offering innovative programs.

After the threat of full colonial takeover eased, the struggle to regain their political and economic autonomy intensified. Despite the growth of nationalist feeling, their arts, fashions, and lifestyles increasingly reflected Western influence. Popular

participation in education expanded and learning standards rose. Politicians and bureaucrats constantly adjusted their educational systems to fit their evolving political, social, and economic circumstances. Borrowing continued at a reduced pace. The human hardships that came as an indirect result of modernization prompted intellectuals and ordinary citizens to consider alternative social philosophies. Those embracing Western liberal and radical ideas sought to use novel educational approaches as means of realizing their social and political visions. At the same time, political elites subverted educational systems to advance their narrow goals and interests. Beyond cloaking self-serving policies with a mantle of nationalism, they strove to contain intellectual borrowing chiefly to technical fields.

Modernization Approaches and Borrowing Methods

Once the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais chose to modernize, they immediately faced obstacles. In the pre-modern era, since Europeans initiated all East-West interaction, they controlled East Asians' exposure to Western cultural assets. Given their limited shipbuilding and navigation skills, the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese had no practical means of reaching Europe on their own. Though they could restrict contacts, they had little facility to change their basic nature. In the nineteenth century, as the European powers flexed their growing political, military, and economic muscle across the region, East Asians quickly lost all control over their relations with them. Indeed, the unequal treaties imposed on the three realms were specifically designed to force them to interact with Western nations on the latter's terms. Accordingly, Japan, China, and Siam's borrowing of Western cultural assets continued to require the cooperation of

Westerners. Fortunately, competition among European and American interests for influence and profits was such that modernizers in all three nations had little trouble finding eager facilitators. A missionary-like zeal to spread “civilization” spurred Western governments and individuals to help them, albeit in a blatantly self-interested manner. Such motivations were widely used to justify Western global hegemony.

In the pre-modern era, East Asians made almost no effort to learn Portuguese, Spanish, French, or other European languages. In Japan and China, contempt for the Western “barbarians” dampened interest. Only in Japan did a few scholars master written Dutch to further their textual studies. Conversely, European visitors had to accommodate themselves to local conditions to succeed in their commercial and religious endeavors. While merchants required only a limited vocabulary, Catholic missionaries needed a thorough grasp of native languages to engage the interest of potential converts and communicate the basic tenants of their faith. As their diplomatic relations with the West broadened in the nineteenth century, Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese officials found their use of incompetent native or unreliable foreign translators put them at a serious disadvantage. Their lack of linguists also limited their ability to acquire useful knowledge. By necessity, their early Western studies schools emphasized language instruction. In virtue of Britain’s commanding presence in the region, English became the second language of choice. Not only did linguistic constraints slow the borrowing process, they reduced the exposure that Western intellectual assets received. The time and effort needed to become linguistically proficient meant only a small educated elite had direct access to Western ideas. The lack of translated texts and qualified native instructors necessitated that much higher-level instruction was conducted in English or

other European languages well into the twentieth century.

Modernizing a country is unquestionably an expensive undertaking. In the area of education alone, it entailed constructing new schools, hiring foreign experts, training native staff, producing texts, and creating an administrative apparatus. And, the three realms had to concurrently rebuild their political, military, and economic systems. For these primarily agricultural societies, bearing such costs would have been onerous even in an era of prosperity. Yet, as Western economic penetration disrupted established commercial patterns, their economies were far from flourishing. The Chinese and Siamese resorted to the risky practice of taking foreign loans. Obviously, it took a strong commitment to allocate the resources required to realize their educational goals. Still, there was usually a wide discrepancy between their proposed plans and available funds. Economic constraints clearly hampered efforts to raise learning standards and bring modern education to their rural masses.

In formulating their modernization programs, these societies had few precedents to guide them. None of them had in their recent histories undertaken so many far-reaching changes in such a short period. Though China and Siam had the external example of Japan, the Japanese had to wholly improvise. Trial and error experimentation and piecemeal change became their primary means of moving forward. Efforts to reshape their education systems brought numerous false starts and aborted initiatives. As their external and internal circumstances changed over time, their commitment to reform vacillated. Thus, their modernizations occurred in cycles of reform and consolidation.

The formidable task of selecting among different Western models added to their uncertainty. In the longer run, however, the diversity that existed within the British,

American, German, and other European systems expanded their choices and helped them find models and practices they believed would fit their purposes. Indeed, they made concerted efforts to discover the merits and shortcomings of different educational systems. Accordingly, early Meiji officials concurrently adopted German standards to upgrade their medical school, British engineering to develop a technical institute, and the American land-grant model to establish an agricultural college. While Chinese reformers in the early Republican era organized their primary and secondary educational systems following American notions, they embraced the German ideals of academic freedom and pure research to strengthen their universities. Similarly, the Chakri Kings used British and French patterns respectively in setting up Siam's first university and law school. On the whole, modernizers in all three realms were very eclectic in their borrowing.

The methods the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese used to modernize were remarkably similar; however, the degree to which they relied on each approach varied. Given the availability of Western books, textual study became an important avenue for acquiring Western knowledge. They eagerly collected a wide array of written materials. Official translation bureaus were established in Japan and China. Yet, this relatively low-cost strategy had limits. While books effectively transmitted general concepts and ideas, they were less useful in conveying practical know-how pertinent to their specific situations. A lack of background knowledge combined with linguistic problems occasionally brought errors in understanding. In the realm of education, textual study facilitated efforts to broaden learning content but did little to acquaint them with new pedagogical, organizational, or administrative practices.

Numerous individuals also journeyed abroad to study Western assets first hand.

Official delegations dispatched from the three countries served both diplomatic and investigative functions. Western governments gladly allowed them to examine their political, military, commercial, and educational institutions. Due to the limited amount of knowledge that could be gathered and digested during a short visit, Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese officials arranged for individuals to attend Western educational facilities. Beyond gaining in-depth knowledge in vital fields, they were able to experience life in the West for an extended period, which in turn gave them a more complete picture of Western societies. The last Shogun and Chakri kings even sent their heirs-apparent to receive French and British educations. Despite the high costs, their governments sponsored thousands of students. Returnees were usually obliged to work as civil servants. Many individuals also went abroad using private funds. While only a few studied education related subjects, all overseas students became familiar with Western academic practices. As their modern school system developed, study-abroad goals became more focused. To train higher-educational faculty in a widening range of fields, numerous scholars were enrolled in post-graduate programs. Their new academic elites were largely foreign educated.

Given the diversity of ideas accessible overseas, authorities worried about their overseas students' political reliability. The early Meiji regime explicitly forbade its students in Europe and American from converting to Christianity. Not only did officials usually politically vet scholarship recipients, they also sought to control outflows of independent scholars. Study-abroad programs were usually tailored to limit participants' exposure to unwelcome ideas. Fearing republican influences, King Chulalongkorn refrained from sending Siamese scholars to France or the United States. The spread of

anti-Qing agitation in Japan compelled Manchu officials to reduce the number Chinese studying there. Systems were also set up whereby diplomatic attachés monitored students' general conduct and academic progress. In their struggle to combat Communist subversion, Chiang's Nationalists even required departing scholars to pass exams over party ideology and complete political indoctrination courses.

To fill voids in expertise, the governments of all three countries hired large numbers of foreign advisors and technicians. They were especially prominent in such fields as law, engineering, and military science. Many also worked as instructors, school administrators, curriculum developers, and teacher trainers. Those doing other practical work usually trained native apprentices. While the Japanese contracted mostly Westerners, the Chinese and Siamese employed many Western-educated Asians as well as Japanese. The difficulty of engaging competent foreign specialists compelled their governments to pay generous salaries. Even by their home standards, Western workers were well remunerated. Due to their uncertain loyalties and potential conflicts of interest, most foreign personnel performed a narrow range of duties under the close supervision of native officials. Yet, a few advisors, notably Verbeck, Hart, and Rolin-Jaequemyns, who proved their reliability through years of faithful service, played appreciable roles in deciding policy. Given their ignorance of local culture, institutions, and conditions, many non-native experts offered unsuitable advice. Together these costs and limitations prompted officials in the three countries to replace foreign experts with native workers as soon as the latter could be trained. Once newly founded higher-educational schools and study-abroad programs started to churn out qualified graduates, the number of expatriates in their employ quickly fell.

The Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese also took advantage of outside help. While altruism may sometimes have been a factor, Christian evangelists and other aid providers transmitted ideological and intellectual assets primarily for self-interested reasons. Hoping to attract new converts, church organizations dispatched workers to all three countries. Their eagerness to interact with natives and learn local language well suited them to serve as a bridge to the West. In the pre-modern era, Catholic orders facilitated the transfer of many intellectual assets. Later, reforming officials willingly accepted missionary help despite ideological reservations. A significant portion of early foreign personnel took up their duties with the ulterior aim of spreading the Gospel. Still, their contracts normally prevented them from preaching openly. Missionaries provided noteworthy service as language, science, and medical instructors in official schools. Rising demand for Western learning persuaded Christian groups to make opening schools a key component in their overall proselytizing strategies. Christian institutions provided easily accessible examples of Western-style education and provided natives with the skills and knowledge they needed to work in the modernized schools. Convinced of the absolute superiority of American technical approaches, the Rockefeller Foundation sought to uplift Chinese and Siamese medicine by offering funds, expertise, and guidance. Even though its goals were largely inappropriate for their situations, the Chinese and Siamese welcomed this help. Foreign governments also provided aid. To extend their political influence, the Japanese supported several Chinese and Thai educational initiatives. The American government used part of its Boxer indemnity to fund Chinese study-abroad efforts and the Qinghua preparatory school to appease popular anger over its immigration policies. During the Cold War, the United States gave

considerable assistance to the Thai regime so it could forestall a possible communist takeover. Fiscal and political pressures pushed the Chinese and Thais to accept this aid strings and all. Given its early modernization successes, the Japanese were not offered such assistance in the period under discussion.¹⁰

Their individual circumstances fostered important variations in their approaches. Since the Japanese and Siamese maintained strong central authorities throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, their educational modernizations were tightly managed from the center. Neither local officials nor ordinary citizens had much influence over the overall process. Provincial and private schools had to comply with central directives and regulations. Non-official post-secondary institutions were entirely prohibited in Siam.¹¹ In China where power devolved to regional players in the early twentieth century, change depended more on local initiative. This, in turn, facilitated grassroots experimentation and regional diversity. Still, after coming to power in 1927, the Nationalist regime made reestablishing central control over Chinese education one of its primary goals.

Due to their dissimilar starting points, modernizers in the three countries had different priorities. Consistent with earlier policies, Japanese and Chinese officials emphasized higher education. A disproportionate share of central resources went toward developing universities. Lacking a tradition of secular education, the Siamese had to work from the ground up. Creating effective primary schools, thus, took precedence. As the growth of their secondary-educational sectors uniformly lagged, they all struggled to

¹⁰Of course, the Americans later provided extensive aid to rebuild Japan after its defeat in World War II.

¹¹The Thai government did not relax this ban until the late 1960s. Keith Watson, *Educational Development in Thailand*, (Hong Kong: Heinemann Asia, 1980). p. 200.

link the tops and bottoms of educational pyramids.

Adaptation of Western Models

As these societies borrowed Western cultural assets, they naturally modified them to fit their political, social, cultural, and economic situations and in so doing they created their own versions of modernity. In reshaping their political structures, the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese blended native traditions and Western concepts to form their own distinctive systems. Meiji governmental institutions reflected both Shinto and German influences. The political agenda of Chinese Nationalists took ideas from such disparate sources as Confucianism, Bolshevism, and Christianity. While the Siamese monarchy embraced British and French administrative practices, they continued to justify their rule using Buddhist constructs.

This process of adaptation was no less apparent within the context of education. Economic exigencies prompted numerous compromises. Forced to set strict priorities, their governments designed their educational systems to meet immediate needs. As educational administrators struggled to stretch inadequate budgets, they dropped functions and features they deemed dispensable. Thus, their educational pyramids were broadly based but sharply peaked. New higher-educational institutions were consistently sited in major urban centers where they could utilize existing infrastructure and share scarce expertise. Whereas Japanese university faculty were frequently asked to advise government ministries, senior Thai bureaucrats served as academic instructors. Central officials also leveraged local and private funds. In all three countries, authorities required communities to support primary schools. Non-official institutions including Christian

schools, though regulated to ensure they advanced state goals, were eventually given secure positions within their educational hierarchies.

Their new educational systems also retained elements of their old ideological systems. In all three countries, leaders sought to foster social and political stability by reinforcing traditional morality among the masses. In promulgating the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Meiji regime hoped to foster respect for the emperor using Shinto constructs and instill the Confucian values of obedience and deference. The Chinese Nationalists mandated that all primary and secondary pupils learn the basic tenets of Confucianism. Since most public schools were erected on *Sangha* lands and monks comprised the bulk of instructors, Siamese pupils naturally learned Buddhist principles. As primary education became more secular and professional, the Thai government added Buddhist subjects to the official curriculum. Yet, traditional learning was largely ignored in their new higher-educational sectors. Though Western universities typically possessed faculties of theology, law, arts, and sciences, Japanese, Chinese, and Thai institutions maintained only the later three. While they naturally refrained from creating theology departments, they could have set up Buddhist or Confucian studies programs in their place. Only the Thais opted, albeit belatedly, to establish single-faculty Buddhist universities.

The most far-reaching adaptation involved the promotion of a state-oriented collectivism. Because their decisions to modernize were prompted by an external threat, the leaders of all three countries naturally stressed political and social cohesion over the individual interests of citizens. Given their Confucian traditions, the Japanese and Chinese already had strong preferences for order and a sense of the common good.

Though they experimented with American pedagogical theories and methods that emphasized the needs and desires of individual students, such approaches were ultimately rejected by state officials who favored rote memorization, discipline, and uniform learning standards. Seeing the cultivation of individual talents and abilities as a source of Western strength, many intellectuals such as Fukuzawa and Cai dissented; however, given their lack of resources and political clout, they were eventually compelled to submit to the new status quo. Political authorities used primary and secondary schools to transmit collectivist ideologies that encouraged students to devote themselves to their national struggles. The spread of nationalist attitudes often enabled state officials, especially in Japan and Siam, to deflect resentment caused by painful reforms toward their foreign adversaries. As their higher-educational sectors were likewise designed to meet state needs, the preponderance of graduates served in official bureaucracies. Unlike their British, German, and American counterparts, officials in all three countries tried to tightly control their universities. Japanese and Chinese academics temporarily wrested a measure of scholarly and administrative freedom but were quickly brought to heel as political pressure intensified in the late 1920s and 1930s. Being micro-managed by leading politicians, Thai universities remained unassertive. Student activism was also vigorously suppressed.

Broad Results of their Educational Modernizations

To keep the analysis within reasonable bounds, the discussion of outcomes will confine itself to four main issues, namely their educational modernization's impact on their political, social, cultural, and economic development. Its political legacy is plainly

mixed. On the one hand, educational reforms were key to their efforts to free themselves of Western political domination. By giving political leaders and civil servants knowledge, expertise, and skills needed to transform their political and bureaucratic structures and practices, their new higher-educational institutions helped promote greater administrative efficacy and extend governmental capabilities. The establishment of Western-style legal systems staffed by trained jurists served as a necessary precondition in their renegotiation of the unequal treaties. Modern schools also contributed to the strengthening of their armed forces. Besides intellectually preparing prospective military officers, they cultivated a sense of discipline among the citizenry from which ordinary soldiers and sailors were drawn. In Japan and Siam, regional networks of primary and secondary schools facilitated the geographic integration of their political realms. By the early 1940s, all three countries had fully regained their national sovereignty whereas it took most other East Asian nations another ten to twenty years of struggle to achieve political independence. In the case of China, the United States and Britain relinquished their treaty rights based more on China's commitment to wage war against their common enemy Japan than its ability to meet acceptable legal and administrative standards.

On the other hand, educational reforms were less successful in fostering long-term political stability. Internally, all three countries experienced great upheaval. While China's troubles were more unrelenting, events in Japan and Thailand were no less destructive. Advances in learning unleashed new political forces. The spread of literacy among their populations brought a proliferation of newspapers and periodicals. Despite intermittent censorship, their popular presses broadened public debate of political issues. In addition to nurturing democratic ideals, journalists and writers transmitted radical

viewpoints. Alternative ideologies appealed most strongly to their new intelligentsias. Students, academics, and schoolteachers were usually in the vanguard of popular political movements. In the early and mid-twentieth century, growing leftist agitation triggered reactionary backlashes by conservative nationalists many of whom were educated in military academies. On seizing power, right-wing officials co-opted their educational systems to advance their narrow agendas. Yet, these authoritarian regimes also proved insecure. Blinded by their own fervor, Japan's ultra-nationalists undertook a reckless imperial expansion. Though its population was effectively mobilized with the assistance of its educational institutions, the island nation could not withstand the combined military might of the United States, Britain, and China. After its defeat, Japan temporarily lost all self-government under the American occupation. Due to wartime collaboration with Japan, Thailand might have suffered a similar fate had the United States not intervened on its behalf. Ultimately, American aid allowed a restored military dictatorship to endure several decades before student protests forced the generals to relinquish control. After surviving a merciless Japanese invasion, the Chinese Nationalist regime collapsed due to its own greed, ineptitude, and refusal to address fundamental social problems. Its clumsy efforts to indoctrinate pupils, students, and teachers alienated educated Chinese and encouraged them to sympathize with the communist cause.

During the modern era, these realms experienced unparalleled social change. The spread of modern education played a vital role in bringing down their old orders and shaping new systems. Though the pace and sequence of their societal transformations varied, they followed a roughly similar path. As their leaders struggled in the nineteenth century to resist Western pressure, a new generation of progressives, who better

understood the nature of Western strength, grew frustrated with the feebleness of their countries' responses. On taking power, ambitious young men progressively undermined the position of established elites. The social systems that emerged were more flexible albeit scarcely more egalitarian. Knowledge of Western learning became the key to social mobility while traditional erudition lost its political, social, and economic value. Foreign degree holders quickly filled the upper echelons of their nascent bureaucratic and academic hierarchies. As their universities matured, graduates enjoyed ever-greater opportunities for social advancement. Still, access to higher education was granted to a fortunate few. Only those with political connections, financial resources, or well-educated families had a reasonable chance of earning higher-academic qualifications. Given the collapse of their hereditary class systems, individual talents and abilities played a greater role in determining status in Japan and Siam. Conversely, the end of the imperial examinations and widening political chaos conspired to make China less meritocratic. From the late 1920s, wealth and political loyalty became essential for those wishing to ascend the Chinese social ladder.

The extension of modern education across their geographic realms was critical to breaking down social barriers between regions. Public schools used central dialects as a medium of instruction reducing linguistic obstacles to national integration. As their governments made education a primary agent of cultural assimilation, ethnic minorities were pulled into their cultural mainstreams. Schools fostered new socio-cultural identities by instilling common values and beliefs. Though educational development lagged in rural areas, the growth of national networks reduced regional disparities especially in relation to literacy. The expansion of educational opportunities to

provincial elites allayed discontent over their loss of local prerogatives by offering them a clear avenue to move up in the new social orders. Indeed, all males, regardless of where they lived, had a theoretical chance to achieve educational success. In reality, however, since higher-level institutions were concentrated in major cities, urbanites had clear advantages. Finally, the skimming off of local talent weakened rural community structures and contributed to the urbanization of their broader societies.

The status of women also underwent significant change. In their attempts to strengthen their countries, early modernizers hoped to improve the wifely and motherly skills of their female populations. Hence, they opened the first public schools for girls. Given the infeasibility of maintaining two systems segregated by sex, co-education was introduced at the primary level. Opportunities for advanced education were initially very limited. Yet, the spread of literacy encouraged growing numbers of young women to seek broader social roles. While Christian schools accommodated many female aspirants, native institutions both private and public were gradually founded to serve them.¹² Considerable numbers of women were allowed to work as schoolteachers. Although universities eventually admitted a few female students, only a tiny minority went on to pursue meaningful careers. Notably, Western women in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries had significantly fewer educational and professional opportunities than their male counterparts. While the positions of Japanese, Chinese, and Thai women undeniably improved in the early twentieth century, it was their daughters and granddaughters who reaped the main benefits of their educational advancement.

¹²Interestingly, many early women missionaries who worked in Asia were among the best-educated Western women of their day. Many attended denominational colleges. Thus, the personal examples they provided to their congregations were unrepresentative.

Educational change helped transform their cultural environments. Old forms and patterns of intellectual expression disappeared, as traditionally trained scholars could no longer support themselves through teaching. Facilitated by an ever-expanding reading public, new media, especially newspapers and periodicals, blossomed. Broadening exposure to Western cultural products prompted basic shifts in the artistic and literary tastes of their cultural elites and wider citizenry. Practical worldviews that embraced science and affirmed the possibility of societal progress spread in all three countries. Even their languages were impacted as their vocabularies swelled and their colloquial and written forms converged.

In contrast, the economic results of their educational modernizations differed widely. While all three countries upgraded their financial, transportation, and communication infrastructure, only Japan made the transition from an agricultural to an industrial society. Of course, it already possessed highly-developed commercial systems prior to its opening to the West. Given its relative lack of natural resources, the Japanese recognized early on that they could only prosper in the world market place by selling manufactured products. To realize this strategy, officials established a system of vocational secondary and tertiary schools offering practical business and technical training. Many college and university graduates also worked in the private sector. Because China lost a greater share of its economic sovereignty, foreign business interests were able to dominate its economy. Moreover, its protracted political crisis gave Chinese leaders little time or incentive to implement long-term economic initiatives. Indeed, the Communists were the only faction to formulate a coherent plan. Accordingly, vocational education was neglected, especially at the higher-educational level. The business class

that developed serving as intermediaries for international concerns was typically educated abroad or in denominational colleges. The Siamese showed a similar lack of interest in business and technical education, albeit, for different reasons. Thailand's abundant resources provided its elite a comfortable existence through the export of raw materials. Chinese merchants managed most foreign and domestic commerce. Manpower development was tightly focused on meeting the needs of the burgeoning state bureaucracy.¹³ Only after the status quo crumbled in the 1930s world depression did the Thai leadership begin to promote broader vocational learning. Since talented students continued to seek bureaucratic careers, it took decades for these efforts to bear fruit.

Conclusion

Education has long played vital social and political roles in Japan, China, and Thailand. During the pre-modern era, all three countries developed sophisticated systems to meet a range of functional needs. Although their early contacts with the West prompted some intercultural borrowing motivated primarily by pull factors, they showed virtually no interest in Western educational thought or practice. However, in the mid-nineteenth century, these realm's international situations profoundly changed. Owing to their rapidly developing technological, organizational, and economic superstructures, the Western powers became a forceful political and economic presence in East Asia. Despite fundamental obstacles, the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese opted to safeguard their

¹³Focusing the Chulalongkorn and Meiji eras, Sukanya Nitungkorn contrasts Siam and Japan's commitment to popular education arguing that the Meiji government's earlier and more concerted efforts hastened Japan's economic development. His discussion touches other factors including Japan's educational head start. "Education and Economic Development during the Modernization Period: A comparison between Thailand and Japan," *Southeast Asian Studies*, 38 (2000), pp. 142-164.

independence by restructuring their political, social, and economic systems following Western examples. These efforts, in turn, created a multiplicity of new functional needs. Despite logistical, cultural, and financial limitations, Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese modernizers were adept intercultural borrowers. As in previous eras, their leaders used education as a tool of political and social engineering. While the pace and priorities of their educational modernizations varied, the three realms employed strikingly similar methods in their educational borrowing. Though each was able to recover their lost political and economic sovereignty, the broad consequences of their modernizations differed. Unquestionably, educational reform became a catalyst for basic political, social, and cultural change. In the end, their eclectic borrowing and shrewd adaptation of foreign ideas and practices allowed the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais to create their own versions of modernity. Without their determined efforts to develop modern educational systems, the three societies would almost surely not have become the successful nations they are today.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

Introduction

While comparing Japan, China, and Thailand's educational borrowing and modernizations, the study uncovered a remarkable number of similarities and a few notable differences. These findings, in turn, prompt a few additional questions: What are the underlying reasons for these developmental parallels? What is their potential significance to other scholars? What are their implications for further research? This chapter will explore these topics as well as offer a final synopsis of the study's overall findings and conclusions.

Factors Fostering Similarities in Japan, China, and Thailand's Development

Clearly, the motivations, approaches, and consequences associated with Japan, China, and Thailand's educational borrowing and modernizations are strikingly analogous. A number of underlying factors can clearly be seen as contributing to this overall similarity. First, though their cultural backgrounds differed, their traditional societies shared many common values and traits. While Confucian and Mahayana Buddhist thought pervaded Japanese and Chinese civilization to varying degrees, Japan was also influenced by Shinto and China by Taoism. Alternatively, Theravada Buddhist, Brahmanist, and animist ideas helped shaped Siamese culture. Despite this variation, all three societies viewed education and higher learning as vital concerns to their political and cultural well-being. Accordingly, as their political and cultural institutions fell into

crisis in the mid-nineteenth century, their governmental and intellectual leaders naturally concluded that revitalizing their educational systems was an essential step in regaining their strength and stability. Moreover, their similar gender biases uniformly slowed the development of women's education. Since these societies were accustomed to accommodating diverse cultural influences, they were readily able to intellectually synthesize the array of new ideas that originated in the West.¹

Their ongoing political, economic, and cultural relations were also important. Since the leaders of each realm had at least a general idea of events occurring across East Asia, they were able to learn from them. Hearing of Great Britain's military successes in China and Burma, the Japanese and Siamese chose appeasement rather than obstinacy in their own confrontations with the West. They also watched each other's internal responses. After the Japanese successfully implemented their modernization program, they offered the Chinese and Siamese a compelling example. After sending official missions to Japan to study its new educational structures and practices, both the Chinese and Siamese employed Japanese ideas in designing their own systems. Significant numbers of Chinese and Siamese studied in Japan. Conversely, the Japanese were eager to assist their fellow East Asians in order to expand their regional influence.

The three realms had to deal with a nearly identical external challenge. Facing Western aggressors with overwhelming technological, organizational, and economic advantages, all East Asian peoples had a similar range of options. Unlike their neighbors who chose to maintain a futile resistance to preserve traditional systems, the Japanese,

¹This ideological tolerance and eclecticism may help explain why East Asia's modernization approach differed significantly from that of the Islamic world where a narrow Koranic interpretation has dominated intellectual activity since the fourteenth century.

Siamese and, somewhat belatedly, the Chinese decided to modernize using Western cultural assets. The shared nature of the threat also gave them similar functional needs. Upgrading military capabilities, building economic infrastructure, securing frontier regions, and Westernizing legal systems became priorities in all three realms. To realize these and other goals, they were, in turn, compelled to develop their human capital and find new ways of promoting social and political cohesion. The unequal treaties uniformly limited their range of action, especially in managing their economies. Lastly, their efforts to borrow Western intellectual assets were equally dependent on the cooperation of Westerners.

Several universal factors were also at play. While all three countries made use of textual study, foreign experts, fact-finding missions, and foreign-educated natives in setting up their modern school systems, it is hard to imagine what other means they might have employed. Any society wishing to adopt such a complex foreign cultural asset as a university would unavoidably have to select from these four basic borrowing methods.

Some of the socio-political impacts of rapid educational change may also be global. Everywhere, the emergence of new educated classes endangers existing power structures. The strength of Japan, China, and Siam's pre-modern political systems lay in their leaderships' ability to co-opt their intellectual elites. The advent of modern schooling altered this pattern. A rising class of urban professionals who had access to new ideas increasingly demanded a greater say in local and national affairs. The spread of literacy also heightened the political consciousness of urban and rural masses. During the twentieth century, these same forces likely influenced the political evolution of many modernizing countries.

Significance of the Study

The findings and conclusions of this study are of primary interest to comparative and historical educationalists, East Asian specialists, and scholars examining intercultural borrowing, modernization, and globalization. Educational researchers seeking to understand why and how Western educational ideas, practices, and institutions were disseminated around the world can gain an array of new insights. Obviously, other non-Western countries who were able to maintain a significant degree of self-government during the colonial era, e.g. Turkey, Iran, Saudi Arabia or Ethiopia, may have adopted this institutional model for similar reasons using similar methods. Although European colonial rulers created universities in most of their dominions without considering the wishes of local inhabitants, the same pressures of international competition and desires to modernize likely motivated many, if not most, post-colonial regimes to keep and expand their Western-style higher-educational institutions. Like Japan, China, and Thailand, numerous newly independent countries used state-controlled primary schools to cultivate nationalist loyalties and assimilate minority populations. Lastly, the Japanese, Chinese, and Thai cases proved to be ideal subjects in which to observe the social, political, and economic impacts of rapid educational change.

The study can also encourage scholars of East Asia to transcend the narrow single-nation perspectives that influences so much research today. The recognition of shared values, concerns, and inclinations is a first step in defining a broader East Asian cultural realm. This, in turn, can facilitate the identification of particularistic factors and traits among the various cultures. Despite ideological differences, the Japanese, Chinese, and Siamese uniformly viewed education as critical to their personal and societal welfare.

Relative to the pre-modern West, they devoted a significant proportion of individual and state resources to learning.² Their attitudes regarding women's education were strikingly similar. Given their embrace of Confucianism and/or Buddhism, it is plausible to assume that Korea, Vietnam, and Burma held similar beliefs. In the modern era, every East Asian culture was shaped by their interactions with the Western powers. Though their initial reactions varied, in the end all used Western cultural assets to resist Western imperialism. Arguably, the careful blending of indigenous and Western elements forms the basis of East Asia's current prosperity and strength.

Those interested in the broad topics of modernization and globalization will also find relevance in the study. Intercultural borrowing is clearly a major force of change in human history. Since earliest times, the development of new technologies and economic strategies has facilitated greater contact among different cultural groups. As the pace of cross-cultural interaction quickened, the struggle for natural and human resources gradually affected the political, social, and economic circumstances of every society. During the last two centuries, the desire to protect their political and economic interests on the world stage compelled many societies to modernize using Western cultural assets. The adoption of Western educational practices appears to have been a key component of this strategy in many places. European-inspired universities have, thus, proliferated around the world. Today, the accelerating forces of international competition, intercultural borrowing, and modernization continue to drive the process of globalization.

²Until the early nineteenth century, most European and American schools were sponsored by churches or private interests. Accordingly, peasants, small farmers, urban labors, and the poor had little or no access to formal education. Tertiary enrollments in all Western countries remained tiny well into the nineteenth century. Harry G. Good, & James D. Teller, *A History of Western Education*, 3rd Edition, (London: Macmillan Co., 1969), pp. 295-468.

Recommendations for Further Research

The findings and conclusions of the study suggest a range of new inquiry. First, more primary research is needed regarding the internal operations of Japan, China, and Thailand's modern schools. Though some excellent work has been done in this area, most scholarship has focused on educational politics, intellectual or ideological change, the creation and growth of various educational structures, and social and economic results. While these issues are of broad historical interest, they shed little light on what it was like to study, teach, or work in their newly modernized institutions of learning. Without understanding classroom pedagogy, curricula, internal reward systems, administrative styles, academic cultures, and everyday interactions between students, faculty, and administrators, it is difficult to appraise the depth of their educational borrowing. The general topic of intercultural borrowing also deserves more attention. Though the framework created for the study appears applicable to the East Asian context, the theoretical model must be further developed, refined, and validated before researchers can systematically consider this historical force on a global scale.

Lastly, any number of parallel studies could be performed. In East Asia, it would certainly be worthwhile to compare the educational development of Vietnam, Burma, and Korea. In addition to highlighting their cultural reactions to creation of colonial schools, it would help scholars fully assess the role that educational modernization played in enabling Japan, China, and Thailand to avoid direct colonial rule. Beyond East Asia, Turkey, Persia, and Saudi Arabia would serve as ideal subjects to investigate the recent development of Middle Eastern education.

Conclusion

In light of the study, it is obvious that educational change has been a major force in Japanese, Chinese, and Thai history. In the pre-modern era, education was used to ideologically justify socio-political orders as well as develop talent. As the rise of Western imperialism in the nineteenth century threatened their political, social, economic, and cultural survival, each sought to strengthen itself by borrowing Western cultural assets. To facilitate this process, they transformed their educational systems using European and American ideas, practices, and models. While other factors, namely Japan and Siam's conciliatory diplomacy and China's great size, initially saved the three realms from the worst aspects of colonialism, it was their efforts to modernize that allowed them to recover their full sovereignty by 1940. Despite their far-reaching political, social, and economic transformations, they managed to preserve their cultural integrity. Ultimately, the Japanese, Chinese, and Thais successfully created their own versions of modernity.

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