

## The Vogue of France among Late-Ch'ing Chinese Revolutionaries: Metamorphosis and Interpretations

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### I. INTRODUCTION

Conrad Brandt has suggested that a romantic perception of France among Chinese students was a major impetus for the dramatic exodus of more than twelve hundred of them to France in the year of 1919. Though most were ill-prepared and failed to receive good education in France, many more followed in the next few years. This formed a hopeful but frustrated group from which many of the most prominent Chinese Communist leaders emerged who helped shaped modern Chinese history.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, historians noticed that this "sudden" and "mysterious" prominence of French culture in China was due to the propagation of some Chinese journals searching for means to lift China from her then miserable situation in late nineteenth century and who sought models for change among Western nations.<sup>2</sup> The flourishing of Western national images in patriotic Chinese journals, especially that of France, figured prominently in China's modernization efforts and thus deserves study as does the import of Western thought, theories of government and technology etc. Certainly, national images could be distorted owing to idealization, misinformation, personal preoccupations or need for justification for the advocacies of the authors. Tracing the sources of the images, however, may reveal certain hitherto unnoticed issues in Sino-Western cultural exchange. A good number of studies on national images have already been completed by historians. Especially much has been written about how China and the Chinese were perceived in the West in various times.<sup>3</sup> Yet how Chinese patriots

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<sup>1</sup>Conrad Brandt, "The French-Returned Elites in the Chinese Communist Party", in Edwin Szecepanik (ed.), *Symposium on Economics and Social Problems of the Far East* (Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong Press, 1961), pp. 229-38.

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* See also, Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement: Intellectual Revolution in Modern China, 1915-1924* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), pp. 34-42.

<sup>3</sup>For example, see Harold Issacs, *Scratches on Our Mind* (Boston: M.I.T. Press, 1958). Also published by the Capricorn Books under the title of *Images of Asia. America Views of China and India*. See also, Raymond Dawson, *The Chinese Chameleon: An Analysis of European Conceptions of Chinese Civilization* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Donald F. Lach, *China in the Eyes of Europe, the Sixteenth Century* (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1965), originally Chapter IX, Part III, Vol. I of his classic work, *Asia in the Making of*

perceived Western nations and how such views might have affected their search for modernity remain relatively little explored.

A pioneering work examining China's vision of Western nations is the book *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution, 1896-1911*<sup>4</sup> by Professor Don C. Price. The book examined how Chinese patriots perceived Russia from her days of Peter the Great through the October Revolution. Price pointed to the coexistence of a nationalist concern and a commitment to a universal struggle for progress among the Chinese at the turn of the century, and argued masterfully that it was the latter commitment that "prefigure[d] the universalism of Chinese Communism" and paved the way for the Chinese acceptance of Russian leadership when Chinese Communists came to the revolutionary scene.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the book the influence of the Russian image on the Chinese revolutionaries was strongly stressed. Yet at least two questions await answering: Firstly, throughout the book the roles of other nations as France were underplayed. Yet in some of the very few references made to France in the book, however, France, with her revolutionary tradition and ideals, seemed to have crucial influence on the Chinese, in fact, even the Russian revolutionaries.<sup>6</sup> What, if any significant role did France or its image play in the Chinese turn to revolutionism at the turn of the century? Secondly, what was this "universal struggle for progress" that the Chinese revolutionaries accepted besides the hope for national salvation? Was it, as Professor Price suggested, merely a moral struggle for the progress of humanity or something more grandiose or attractive? Perhaps a more thorough survey on the Chinese images of European nations besides Russia, at least that of France, may help answer these questions.<sup>7</sup>

*Europe* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1965); William Appleton, "A Cycle of Cathy: The Chinese Vogue in England During the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1951); Stuart Miller, "The Chinese Images in the Eastern United States, 1785-1882" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1966); John Gardner, "The Image of the Chinese in the United States, 1885-1915" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1961); Robert McClennan Jr., "The American Image of China, 1890-1905" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1964). Also published by the Ohio State University Press in 1971 under the title of *The Heathen Chinese: A Study of American Attitudes toward China, 1890-1905*; Roy Schantz, "The Image of China in the Age of Discovery" (Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, 1968). The author had seen the names of over thirty doctoral and master dissertations dealing with Chinese images in the West. For a more recent work, see Henry A. Myers (ed.), *Western Views of China and the Far East*, 2 vols. (Hong Kong: Asian Research Service, 1982-84). See also, Jerome Ch'en, *China and the West, Society and Culture, 1815-1937*, pp. 39-91. Ch'en wrote on both the Western views of China and the Chinese images of Western nations. This was, however, merely a general survey with few noteworthy observations.

<sup>4</sup> Don Price, *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution, 1896-1911* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974). Originally "The Chinese Intelligentsia's Image of Russia, 1896-1911" (a doctoral dissertation at the Harvard University, 1968).

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 210.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 144. Price noted that a newspaper in China said that the world was gradually marching forward from a barbaric state to civilization, eventually leading to the French Revolution and the American Revolution. Also, on p. 162, a Russian was recorded to have said that the Reformation and the French Revolution were "central to modern history". On p. 215, Price wrote that the Chinese revolutionaries thought that both the Chinese and Russian revolutions derived their inspiration from the universalistic ideals of the French Revolution.

<sup>7</sup> For a study on the national image of Great Britain, please see Danny S. L. Paau, "Visions of Civilization: National Images of England and France among Chinese Journalists, 1895-1919" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Georgia, 1979).

This study aims at tracing the metamorphosis of the national image of France among Chinese revolutionaries till the 1911 Revolution and to explore, besides inspirations for national salvation, what the Chinese revolutionaries sought after through emulation of a Western nation and revolution.

For the purpose of this study, national image is defined as a composite, general image of a nation which emerged from the many romanticized portraits in Chinese journals of the target state, its people, national characteristics, institutions and particularly its alleged achievement or contribution to world civilization. As the goal is to examine how Chinese patriots searched for a national example for emulation, casual remarks on contemporary reports on war, invasion and international negotiations etc are discounted except when they affected the evaluation of the target nation as a source of inspiration. Certainly, general images arrived at such may not fully comply with those of individual revolutionaries or contributors to the journals in question. Also, conflicting opinions of specific aspects of a nation or its place in the hierarchy of "civilized" states may fluctuate with the flow of time, or contradict between journals. Yet it is possible to notice, as this study will show, that a general view did emerge, alongside with a potpourri "set" of criteria with which the Chinese acquired to estimate whether a nation was on the path to "civilization".

## II. EVE OF THE EMERGENCE OF THE VOGUE OF FRANCE

Reviewing Chinese reformist writings after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War, scholars noted the development of a more differentiated treatment of Western nations and a "shifting perception of national images—both those of Western nations and China herself."<sup>8</sup> Among those few people who had the opportunity to visit Western states, admiration for individual nations, especially that of Great Britain for her economic and military prowess, political and other systems, emerged. However, their opinions only circulated among small and restricted circles and did not come to influence many.<sup>9</sup>

Early journals published by the concerned intellectuals as the *Kuo-wen Pao* (國聞報 *The National News*) and the *Chung-wai Kung-pao* (中外公報 *The Chinese and Foreign News*) etc. did not contribute much in image-making.<sup>10</sup> In Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's (梁啟超, 1873-1929) *Shih-wu Pao* (時務報 *China Progress*),<sup>11</sup> news columns

<sup>8</sup>Suzanne W. Barnett, "National Image: Missionaries and Some Conceptual Ingredients on Late Ch'ing Reform" in Paul A. Cohen *et al.* (eds.), *Reform in Nineteenth-century China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 168.

<sup>9</sup>For an account of the opinions of officials who had visited Europe and who had formed much admiration of Great Britain, please see Paau, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-26.

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21, 27-28 for a general account of these newspapers. The *Kuo-wen Pao* was published from October 1897 to December, 1898 by Yen Fu. The *Chung-wai Kung-pao* was published from May, 1895 to September the same year by K'ang Yu-wei and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.

<sup>11</sup>The *Shih-wu Pao* appeared thrice monthly from August 1896 to July 1898. For a detailed discussion of the influence of the Japanese and British press on it, please see Paau, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-37.

were translated from English and Japanese press, together with comments on the individual Western nations. Generally, the comments were about contemporary events and no nation stood out as a model for China though Great Britain, China's first victor, remained awesome and enviable.<sup>12</sup>

National images took on more noticeable shapes beginning with the journals of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao after he had fled to Japan as the Hundred Days Reform failed in 1898. In Japan, Liang eagerly learnt about things Western from the rich legacy of translations and Meiji scholarship on the West, together with their views of Western nations.

### III. THE PROMINENCE OF TRANSLATED NATIONAL HISTORIES OF CIVILIZATION IN MEIJI JAPAN

The Meiji Restoration was, in most respects, Japan's equivalent to China's "Self-Strengthening" attempts to face the challenge of the West. Its strive for *sonno Joi* (尊王攘夷 Honour the Emperor, Expel the Barbarians) and *fukoku kyōhei* (富國強兵 Enrich the Country, Strengthen the military) etc. could easily be understood by the Chinese. Yet Meiji Japanese differed from the Chinese fundamentally with its strive also for *bummei kaika* (文明開化 Civilization and Enlightenment)—to arrive at the civilized stage of human achievement which the leading Western nations had supposedly arrived.<sup>13</sup> For a Meiji intellectual leader as Fukuzawa Yukichi (福澤諭吉 1835-1901), civilization, national wealth and power were symbiotic; the "acquiring" of civilization would also bring wealth and might to a nation.<sup>14</sup>

The first two decades after the 1868 Restoration were generally called the period of *bummei kaika*. Details of the initial indiscriminate emulation of everything Western at the popular level need not be examined here.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, Meiji intellectuals screened through things Western to find the secrets of modernity and at the same time re-examined the traditional culture with the avowed goal to "promote enlightenment"

<sup>12</sup>For example, see "Lieh-kuo ch'u-nien ch'ing-hsing" (列國去年情形 The Conditions of the Various Nations Last Year), *Shih-wu Pao*, 19 (March 3 1897), pp. 1285-90; "Ou-ya ch'i-yun chuan-chi lun" (歐亞氣運轉機論 On the Changing Fate of Europe and Asia), *Shih-wu Pao*, 18 (March 4, 1896), pp. 1195-98.

<sup>13</sup>Kosaka Masaki (ed.), *Japanese Thought in the Meiji Era*, trans. by David Abosch (Tokyo: Pan-Pacific, 1958), p. 54. See also Hane Mikiso, "English Liberalism and the Japanese Enlightenment, 1868-1890" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Yale University, 1957), p. 5; Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan, Problem of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 148.

<sup>14</sup>Fukuzawa Yukichi, *Bummeiron no Gairyaku in Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu* (福澤諭吉全集 Complete Works of Fukuzawa Yukichi) (Tokyo: , 1969), pp. 214-15.

<sup>15</sup>See for example, Fujii Intaro (comp., ed.), *Outline of Japanese History in the Meiji Era*, trans. by H. K. Colton and K. E. Colton, (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1958), p. 2; Pyle, *New Generation in Meiji Japan*, p. 148; Kato Hiroichi (加藤浩), "Bummei kaika" (文明開化 Civilization and Enlightenment), in Yoshino Sakuzo (吉野再造) (comp., ed.), *Meiji Bunka Zenshu* (明治文化全集 Complete Collection of Meiji Culture) (Tokyo: 日本評論社, 1927-30) XX, pp. 1-47 (Hereafter as *MBZ*) For a ridicule by a Japanese contemporary, see Osatake Takeshi (尾佐竹猛), "Seiyo Zasshi kakdai" (西洋雜誌解題 Introduction to the *Seiyo Journal*), in *MBZ* XVIII, p. 2.

among the Japanese so as to "achieve civilization".<sup>16</sup> Their exploration into Western theories and thought was well studied by scholars. That their attention to individual nations, their histories, institutions, characteristics and other aspects led to an immense interest in national histories of civilization is yet a relatively unexplored field.

Unlike theoretical works such as J. S. Mill's *On Liberty* and others, translated national histories of civilization were often mentioned, referred to, but seldom discussed in depth or quoted. In fact, a tide of historiography on civilizations or national histories of civilization rolled at the influence of Western histories of civilization imported into Japan.<sup>17</sup> Among the translated histories of civilization, Henry Thomas Buckle's (1821-1862) *The History of Civilization in England* (1857-1861)<sup>18</sup> and Francois Pierre Buillaume Guizot's (1787-1874) *Histoire générale de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'Empire romain jusqu'à la Révolution française* (1829-1832)<sup>19</sup> worth particular attention. They were two of the most widely read, often referred to translations by Meiji intellectuals. For example, Fukuzawa's *Gakumon no susume* (學問のすすめ *Encouragement of Learning*) as well as his famous *Bumeiron*

<sup>16</sup> Shindai Tane (神代種完), "Meirokusha zasshi kaidai" (明六社雜誌解題 Introduction to the Journal of Meiroku Society), in *MBZ* XVIII, pp. 3-7. See also W. R. Braisted (trans.), *Meiroku Zasshi, Journal of the Japanese Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. xvii-xix. (Hereafter as *MZ*)

<sup>17</sup> Sung Ch'eng-yu (宋成有) & Shen Jen-an (沈仁安), "Ming-chih-wei-hsin yü Jih-pen chin-tai shih-hsüeh" (明治維新與日本近代史學 The Meiji Reform and Japanese Historiography), in Shih-chieh li-shih (世界歷史) (comp.), *Ming-chih-wei-hsin te tsai t'an-tao* (明治維新的再探討 *The Meiji Reform Revisited*) (Peking: 中國社會科學出版社, 1981), pp. 156-57. For a good introduction to the development of the school of historiography in civilization in Europe, see G. P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Bacon Press, 1959), pp. 523-42.

<sup>18</sup> Henry Thomas Buckle wrote only one book owing to his poor health. However, his work stirred up much controversy among historians and the religious circles in England when published as he adopted a positivist approach, relying on 'scientific generalizations' in his work. The two-volume work was meant to be the introduction to a massive work which he never started. Buckle's place in English historiography as well as his influence in social science is yet to be fully established. However, Hans Kohn had the following remark:

Henry Thomas Buckle is the author of one work only, and an unfinished work at that. Nevertheless, his place in the history of ideas, in the growth of the social sciences, is securely assured. He was one of those pioneers whose work is rarely read today but whose influence permeates all subsequent developments. (Hans Kohn, "Introduction" in H. T. Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*) Summarized and abridged by Clement Wood (New York: Frederick Ungar, 1964, p. v).

The article cited above is an excellent brief introduction of Buckle's life and writings. For a more indepth study of Buckle, see Alfred H. Huth, *The Life and Writing of Henry Thomas Buckle* (New York: Appleton & Co., 1880). To see Buckle's notes and other works see *Miscellaneous and Posthumous Works of Henry Thomas Buckle*, (comp., ed.) with a biographical notice by Helen Taylor, 3 vols. (London: Longmans & Co., 1872). The best commentary this author has seen is *A Victorian Eminence: The Life and Works of Henry Thomas Buckle* (London: Barrie Books, 1958) by Giles St. Aubyn. The author wishes to thank the British Library for allowing him to visit and use its excellent resources.

The earliest translation into Japanese appeared to be Oshima Sadamasu's (大島貞益) *Eikoku kaikashi* (英國開化史 History of English Enlightenment) published by the Translation Bureau in August, 1875.

<sup>19</sup> Guizot was most commonly known for his political career under Louis Philippe. However he was also a history professor whose lectures in the history of civilization in France and Europe were much applauded. See J. W. Thompson, *A History of Historical Writing*, 2 vols. (New York: Peter Smith, 1967; originally by MacMillan in 1942), pp. 256-63 for an introduction of his career. For an assessment of his works, see, Gooch, *op. cit.*, pp. 180-81. For a specialist's interpretation, see Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture, Voltaire, Guizot, Burckhardt, Lamprecht, Huizinga, Ortega Y. Gasset* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966).

*no gairyaku* (文明之概略 *Outline of Civilization*) were greatly indebted to both Buckle and Guizot's books.<sup>20</sup> Contributors to Fukuzawa's journal, the *Minkan zasshi* (民間雜誌 *People's Journal*) published abridged translations of the two books,<sup>21</sup> as did those to the *Meiroku zasshi* (明六雜誌 *Meiji Six Magazine*), besides debating and discussing some of Buckle's themes.<sup>22</sup> Also, Buckle's and Guizot's histories of civilization appeared on the "List of Basic Western Works" prepared by another prominent Meiji scholar Yanio Fumio (矢野文雄 1850-1931).<sup>23</sup> All these Meiji scholars had great influence either directly or through later Japanese scholars on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.<sup>24</sup> In fact, Guizot's book also appeared on Liang's own list of "basic books for Western Studies" prepared for his readers.<sup>25</sup>

The number of important Meiji scholars acquainted with the works of Buckle and Guizot are too numerous to be quoted here.<sup>26</sup> It is important to note that as the

According to Nokan Shoichi (野間省一) (comp.), *Nippon shuppan hyakunen shi nenhyo* (日本出版百年史年表 Chronology of Japanese Publication in the Recent Hundred Years) (Tokyo: 日本書籍出版協會, 1968), p. 41. Guizot's book appeared to be first translated into Japanese beginning December, 1872; completed and published in May, 1875, by the Translation Bureau and appeared under the title *Seiyo kaika shi* (西洋開化史 History of Western Enlightenment). Mr. Morita, Director, Division for Interlibrary Services of the National Diet Library of Japan, had kindly supplied information about the versions of the same book by Fujita Kisabura (1879) and Hideki Nagamine (1877).

<sup>20</sup> Fukuzawa, *Gakumon no susume*, in *Fukuzawa Yukichi Zenshu*, pp. 487-88; see also p. 44.

<sup>21</sup> See for example, Nakakamigawa Hikoiro (中山川彦次郎), abridged and trans., "Igirisu ō Jōwui Sansai zai ichū uaikoku ni kansuru seihu no shochi" (英吉利王ジョージ三世在中國ノ關スル政府ノ所置 The government under King George III of England), *Minkan Zasshi*, 2 (June, 1874), in *MBZ* XVIII, pp. 279-81. This appeared to be part of Buckle's Chapter VII. Another example is Naka Tsūsei's (那珂通世), "Kyōho ron" (教法論 On Education and Law), in *Minkan Zasshi*, 4 (July, 1874) in *MBZ*, XVIII, pp. 286-88.

<sup>22</sup> Meirokusha or the Meiji Six Society was named for the year of its formation in 1873, the sixth year of Meiji rule. It was considered the nucleus of the *Bummei kaika* movement. Its members included many of the most influential scholars of 'Western studies' at the time. Some of them held official positions in the government. They disseminated their views through the organ of the society, the *Meiroku Zasshi*. For a brief introduction, see Joseph S. J. Pittau, *Political Thought in Early Meiji Japan, 1868-1889* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), pp. 52-65. Some *Meiroku Zasshi* articles, such as Tsuda Mamichi's "On Desiring Freedom of the Press", *MZ*, 6 (undated, 1874), pp. 72-73 discussed Buckle's theory of free speech. Mitsukuri Rinsho (abridged and trans.), "Relying on Public Opinion Rather Than on Government to Advance Civilization", *MZ*, 7 (May, 1874), pp. 91-92, appeared to be a part of Buckle's chapter V. Also Guizot's opinion that civilization appears in stages also appeared in many articles. See also Ivan P. Hall, *Mori Arinori* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973), p. 240. Tokutomi Soho (Ichiro) (徳福蘇峯 (第一郎)) who, according to Chang Hao, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Intellectual Transition in China, 1890-1907* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 144, had great influence on Liang. Tokutomi Soho was recorded to have given lectures drawing notes from Guizot. See, Kenneth B. Pyle, *The New Generation in Meiji Japan: Problems of Cultural Identity, 1885-1895* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), p. 32.

<sup>23</sup> Hane, "English Liberalism and Japanese Enlightenment", p. 317.

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of the influence of Meiji scholars and their students on Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, see Chang Hao, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-48; and Philip Huang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Modern Chinese Liberalism* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1972), pp. 45-67.

<sup>25</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Tung-chih yueh-tan" (東籍月旦. Introduction of Japanese Books), in *Yin-ping-shih ch'uan-chi* (飲冰室全集 Complete Works of the Proprietor of a Cafe (Liang Ch'i-ch'ao)) (Taipei: 文化, 1974) (Hereafter as *YPSCC*). See also Yanio Fumio's list in *MBZ*, VII, pp. 458-59. Both recommended Guizot's book.

<sup>26</sup> Shibusawa Keizo (comp., ed.), *Japanese Society in the Meiji Era*, A. H. Culbertson & Kimura Michiko (trans.), (Tokyo: Obunsha, 1958), p. 70. See also *MBZ*, VII, p. 561. See that in the list of English history books, Buckle's was considered most influential. Also, Mori Arinori, "First Essay on Enlightenment", *MZ*, 3 (n.d.), pp. 30-31; Nishimura Shigeki, "An Explanation of Twelve Western Words" *MZ*, 36 (May, 1857), pp. 446-49. Mitsukuri Rinse translated part of Buckle's work and published in *MZ*, 7 (May, 1874), pp. 91-92.

number of Western national histories of civilization translated at this time was very small the works of Buckle and Guizot exerted a disproportionately great influence on Meiji intellectuals; of particular importance are Japanese historians of civilization including Takayama Rinjiro (高山林次郎 1871-1902), and Fukumoto Makoto [Nichinan] (福本誠 [日南] 1857-1921) whose works were later translated by Chinese revolutionary journalists.<sup>27</sup>

A closer examination of the histories of civilization by Buckle and Guizot is thus necessary.

## VI. TRANSLATED HISTORIES OF CIVILIZATION AND THE NATIONAL IMAGE OF FRANCE IN MEIJI JAPAN

There were, to be sure, differences in opinions and emphases in the works of Buckle and Guizot. For example, each chose his own country as the champion or "representative nation" for modern civilization.<sup>28</sup> However, some of the underlying basic assumptions in the two works were quite similar. These reflected perhaps the general view towards modern civilization in Europe in the nineteenth century which also came to affect that in Japan, and consequently China.

Firstly, both works discussed the development of civilization mainly in only one nation. Civilization, however, was to be "universal" and a "common course for [the whole of] humanity".<sup>29</sup> The path to civilization towards a common "destiny" for all peoples<sup>30</sup> could be divided into several stages: with the "civilized" nations (mainly European) on the highest level and others on the lower ones.<sup>31</sup> To achieve civilization, one needed to "climb" or "leap" through the stages and, accordingly, follow the path along which European nations had already trodden. The linear view towards civilization might not necessarily be accepted by all Japanese but many accepted the "stages" concept, as well as the desirability to study the history of development of superior European nations.<sup>32</sup> Secondly, Guizot's belief in the "anatomy" of civilization<sup>33</sup> and Buckle's "scientific" study of human progress<sup>34</sup> meant that civilization could be

<sup>27</sup> Takayama Rinjiro (高山林次郎), *Sekai bummei shi* (世界文明史 *History of World Civilization*) (Tokyo: 博文館, 1930 c. 1900), pp. 22-33. Takayama examined the relationship between climate, geography and characteristics of races as Buckle did. Ienaga Toyokichi (家永豊吉), *Bummei shi* (文明史 *History of Civilization*) (Tokyo: 東京専門学校 n.d.), Ienaga greatly admired Guizot and Buckle. See p. 1 for his comment on Guizot's historiography. Also, see Fukumoto Makoto (福本誠), *Gen Oshu* (現歐洲 *Modern Europe*), p. 62. Fukumoto acknowledged that he had been influenced by Guizot's writing.

<sup>28</sup> Paau, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-61. See also Karl J. Weintraub, *Visions of Culture, Voltaire, Guizot, Burchkardt, Lamprecht, Huizinga, Ortega Y. Gasset* (University of Chicago Press, 1966), p. 97.

<sup>29</sup> Guizot, pp. 9-10.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13. See also, Alfred H. Huth, *The Life and Writings of Henry Thomas Buckle* (N. Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1880), p. 62.

<sup>31</sup> Guizot, pp. 12-13; Weintraub, *Visions of Culture*, p. 91.

<sup>32</sup> Ienaga, *Bummei shi*, pp. 62-63; Fukuzawa, *Bummeiron no Gairyaku*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>33</sup> Guizot, p. 10; Buckle, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> Buckle, 1-4; Guizot, pp. 9-11.

studied and its “secret” principles revealed. This pointed more to the need to study advanced nations for hints. Thirdly, though Buckle and Guizot necessarily differed in their emphases on what constituted the basic ingredients of civilization in a nation, some “national traits” or “indicative symptoms” were similar and emphatically stressed. These in turn appeared as yardsticks for the Meiji Japanese to “measure” whether a nation was civilized; or as guidelines for nations aspiring to achieve *bummei kaika*. Finally, as the following discussion will show, in sum, France seemed to measure up to more of the “indicative symptoms” of a civilized nation when the two works are taken together; though certainly outside Buckle’s intentions.

Both Buckle and Guizot stressed the importance of education. Guizot thought civilization meant “the expansion of the mind and the faculties of man”;<sup>35</sup> and Buckle considered the advancement of the “national intellect” the most important means to enlighten a nation.<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to note that neither wrote much on material achievement or national power. The emphasis on education among Meiji Japanese as Fukuzawa need little description here.<sup>37</sup>

To develop the intellect of a nation fully, both stressed on the need for liberty and toleration which guaranteed freedom from interference of spiritual and temporal authorities. Buckle naturally found no barrier to free thought in modern England and thought that the “French intellect” had unfortunately suffered at “an illiberal region” Catholicism,<sup>38</sup> a government stemmed out of a feudal system with kings and a nobility who had no use for liberty.<sup>39</sup> Guizot held the same view towards the French Church though in a less hostile manner<sup>40</sup> but argued French kings as Charlemagne and Louis XIV often spearheaded European advancement in civilization until the French people, or the “French society” in his words, were ready to lead European *bummei* in the Eighteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Buckle’s opposition to government interference in a national’s search for civilization was translated and appeared on the *Meiroke zasshi*.<sup>42</sup>

To the positivistic Buckle, only physical science constituted real knowledge. Metaphysics, theology and other speculative subjects did not.<sup>43</sup> His inclination towards scientific explanations was vivid in his “scientific” study of civilization and “geographic determinism”. To him, for example, Europeans were far more superior to Asians owing to the geographical circumstances which dictated peoples’ reactions.<sup>44</sup> It is

<sup>35</sup> Guizot, p. 15.

<sup>36</sup> Buckle, pp. 110-27.

<sup>37</sup> Fukuzawa, for example, wrote at least two books preaching education.

<sup>38</sup> Buckle, pp. 151; 346-47.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 347-53; 428-29.

<sup>40</sup> Guizot, pp. 61-62; 264-65.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 100; 267-68.

<sup>42</sup> Mitsukuri Rinso (trans.), “Relying on Public Opinion Rather Than on Government to Advance Civilization” *op. cit.* This was the section of “Influence of Government on the Progress of Society”, chapter V of Buckle’s book. See also Tsuda Mamichi, “On Desiring Freedom of the Press”, *MZ* 6 (undated), pp. 72-73.

<sup>43</sup> Buckle, pp. 19; 87-96.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-86.



interesting, however, that Buckle upheld the French rather than the English as being most outstanding in science. He believed that the French had a "particular impulse" towards science.<sup>45</sup>

Another indicator of a nation's advancement towards "civilization" was an increasingly democratic polity, both Buckle and Guizot agreed. Yet it was not sure which polity was the most fitting for a civilized nation. Buckle and Guizot both agreed that Great Britain and France advanced towards democracy in different manners. Buckle congratulated Great Britain as she advanced with no or little bloodshed, reflecting a sophisticated and tranquil political tradition in Great Britain. The French progress through the revolutions was, certainly, chaotic.<sup>46</sup> Guizot could not contest the facts but argued, perhaps not very convincingly, that political changes in France were violent because the different schools of principles took turns to completely dominate France (and Continental Europe) while Great Britain was never dominated by any single school at a time. Since only powerful (and thus worthy) ideas could cause violent and drastic takeovers in the European mind, they probably developed better:

The result [of the more violent and complete ascendancy or descendency of ideas or systems in the Continent] was that political ideas . . . and doctrines took a greater elevation, and displayed themselves with much greater vigour [when they came to the front.] Every system having, in some sort, presented itself singly and having remained a long time on the stage, people could contemplate it in its general aspect, ascend to its first principles, pursue it into its remotest consequences, and lay bare its entire theory.<sup>47</sup>

Whereas in England, Guizot contended, ideas had little theoretical attainment comparable to those in Continental Europe.<sup>48</sup> In general, most Meiji Japanese were concerned about their national security and thus favoured the British reforms over the revolutionary traditions of France.<sup>49</sup> On the other hand, France came to be identified with revolution and could easily come to the mind of the more radical when they met frustration in democratization. It should also be noted that to many Japanese, a republic came to become the best polity, one which Montesquieu most preferred.<sup>50</sup>

Yet another chief ingredient of a nation's *bunmei* was the "national character". Buckle defined the love of liberty (and consequently the love of independence) as the prime yardstick.<sup>51</sup> From Fukuzawa's advocacy for *dokuritsu jitsu* (獨立自尊 Independence and Self Respect)<sup>52</sup> to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's *Hsin Min Shuo* (新民說 Treatise[s])

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 526.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35; 343-44.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 252-55.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 254.

<sup>49</sup> Hane, "English Liberalism and Japanese Enlightenment", pp. 85-86; 231. See also, Mitsukuri Rinsho, "Liberty" *MZ*, 15 (July, 1874), pp. 180-82.

<sup>50</sup> Hane, *op. cit.*, pp. 18; 228-235.

<sup>51</sup> Buckle, p. 75.

<sup>52</sup> Fukuzawa, *Gakumon no Susume*, p. 63.

on the New Citizenry) Buckle's teaching flowed. Though Buckle intended to champion the English national character he also, perhaps unwittingly, assigned a particular importance to the French and their literature in the path to liberty. He wrote that since Louis XIV controlled French intellectual activities, French literature acted as "the last source of liberty" as they were not censored. When Itagaki Taisuke (板垣退助 1837-1919) visited Europe in 1882, he called on Victor Hugo (1802-1885) to help promote civil liberty in Japan. Hugo urged him to employ political novels. Upon return, Itagaki introduced French, mostly Hugo's novels to the Japanese. French authors inspired realist and naturalist trends in Japanese literature from the 1880s to the 1910s: French literature had thus a unique standing in Japan's path to civil liberty and this reverberated Buckle's opinions.<sup>53</sup>

The most outspoken promotion of France as the champion of civilization was from Guizot. Departing from his usually cool and reasonably objective treatment of other issues, Guizot wrote emotionally:

There is, indeed, in the genius of the French, something of a sociableness, of a sympathy something which spreads itself with more facility and energy, than in the genius of any other people: it may be in the language, or in the particular turn of the French nation; it may be in their manners, or that their ideas, being more popular, present themselves more clearly to the masses, penetrate among them with greater ease; but, in a word, clearness, sociability, sympathy, are the particular characteristics of France, of its civilization; and these qualities render it eminently qualified to march at the head of European civilization.<sup>54</sup>

Furthermore, the French had "an intellectual elasticity" which enabled them to understand, and to penetrate to the roots of principles, as well as to comprehend and examine them in all degrees. They then, energetically, clearly and powerfully spread the ideas, owing to the "contagiousness" of their civilization.<sup>55</sup> That Guizot made such bold claims for his people seemed to reflect an unusually strong conviction on his part. For example, he "could not but" "regard France as the centre, as the focus of the civilization of Europe" for he believed all important institutions and ideas, be they of French origin or others, became vitalized and widespread only through France. Guizot claimed that France "produced the greatest and most general improvement" for the world and led the world in political and scientific progress in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>56</sup>

Individual Japanese intellectuals differed in their appreciation of France and Great Britain though generally the two ranked highest in the hierarchy of civilized states envisioned. In the late 1880s, the more radical Japanese liberals fought for more

<sup>53</sup>Nobutaka Ike, *The Beginnings of Political Democracy in Japan* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1969), pp. 121-22.

<sup>54</sup>Guizot, p. 302.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 21; 256.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 256; 269.

gains in the *Jiyū Minken Undō* (自由民權運動 Movement for Freedom and People's Rights),<sup>57</sup> the French Revolution as well as her revolutionary tradition attracted a great following. At least eight histories of the great French Revolution were in circulation, flanked by the mushrooming of political novels as mentioned above.

In the 1890s, histories of civilization by Japanese authors appeared. It is important to note that besides some of the historical books of the French revolution, at least three Francophile histories of civilization written by the Japanese were translated into Chinese by publishers whose products were available to the Chinese revolutionaries. These translated works are examined below.

#### V. JAPANESE HISTORIES OF CIVILIZATION TRANSLATED INTO CHINESE: INHERITANCE OF THE IMAGE OF FRANCE

In 1903, Ienaga Toyokichi's *Bummei shi* and Fukimoto Makoto's *Gen Oshu* mentioned above were translated by the Hunan Translation Bureau formed by Chinese students from the Province of Hunan. Also, Takayama Rinjiro's *Sekai Bummei shi* was translated by the Hupeh Students Association.<sup>58</sup> They were all very respectful of the French and their civilization. Fukimoto's *Gen Oshu* was, in fact, an introduction of French culture and history and not those of Europe in general, as the name implied. Fukimoto, however, named it *Gen Oshu* for he claimed that it could represent European *bummei*.<sup>59</sup> In the Chinese translation it was named *Hsin-chin chih Fo-lan-hsi* (現今之佛蘭西 *Contemporary France*)—a more appropriate title.<sup>60</sup> Ienaga's *Bummei shi* was actually a survey of prominent historians. All of the above works acknowledged the influence of Guizot and Buckle, with the former being the more respected.<sup>61</sup> Examining these works, one finds that they viewed France in the following ways.

To begin with, all of them considered French civilization superior. Fukimoto considered France "the centre of civilization".<sup>62</sup> Takayama called Paris "the centre of world civilization."<sup>63</sup> Their views thus echoed Guizot's bold claim for France. On the other hand, Ienaga's *Bummei shi* dealt exclusively with only French historians. As could be expected, their views were warm towards French culture.

Moreover, all three historians praised France for her achievement in science and scientific methods. Takayama, for example, praised Descartes highly;<sup>64</sup> Ienaga had

<sup>57</sup> For information about the *Jiyū minken undō* please see Li Yung-chih (李永熾), *Jih-pen chin-tai ssu-hsiang lun-chi* (日本近代思想論集 *Collection of Essays on Modern Japanese Thought*) (Taipei: 牧童 1975), pp. 87-154.

<sup>58</sup> Takayama's book also appeared in the advertisement of *Tung-fang tsa-chih* (東方雜誌 *Eastern Miscellany*) a prestigious and popular journal in China. So this book was also available to the Chinese back in China.

<sup>59</sup> Fukimoto's book appeared in the advertisement of the *Yiu-hsiieh i-p'ien* (遊學譯編 *Translations by Students Abroad*), a journal which mainly translated major works from Japanese and Western sources.

<sup>60</sup> Fukimoto, *Gen Oshu*, p. 1.

<sup>61</sup> Takayama, *Sekai bummei shi*, pp. 22-20; Ienaga, *Bummei shi*, pp. 1; 57-66; Fukimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>62</sup> Fukimoto, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 262-63.

lavish praise for Auguste Comte,<sup>65</sup> while Fukumoto compiled a list of French inventions since the eighteenth century.<sup>66</sup> Buckle's claim for a "particular impulse towards science" of the French was vivid in all three works. Also, Takayama emphatically stressed that science was the manifest of modern civilization.<sup>67</sup> France, the leader in scientific achievement and methodology thus secured her status in modernity.

Both Takayama and Ienaga were hostile towards religion and the latter's alleged interference with scholarship.<sup>68</sup> Ienaga congratulated his French historians as most of them, according to him, were able to rid themselves of the Church's control. Turgot, for example, was brave enough to forsake his envied professorship in theology in his pursuit of science.<sup>69</sup> Voltaire, Montesquieu and Comte were all able to study civilization without being affected by theological methods and dogma.<sup>70</sup> On the other hand, the French also stood out as the leader in the fight against control by any single religion. Fukumoto reported that the French all believed in their freedom in choosing personal faith.<sup>71</sup>

The French Revolution figured prominently in the above-mentioned *Jiyū Minken Undō* in the 1880s. To the historians of civilization in the next decade, its position in human progress was secured. Takayama glorified the French Revolution in his book. He argued, for example, that considering the great advancement it had brought, the bloodshed in the French Revolution was but a cheap price to pay.<sup>72</sup> He also emphatically elaborated the infectious influence of the great revolution in Europe.<sup>73</sup> Most important of all, the French Revolution contributed to the world by advancing noble principles which later led to the much improvement in the nineteenth-century Europe:

Such new thought [of liberty, equality and fraternity] first began among the Frenchmen Voltaire, Montesquieu and Rousseau etc. [They] advocated liberty, equality and fraternity. Furthermore, they [the French also] had to . . . [uphold] these [principles] by sacrificing themselves at the guillotine. These [noble principles] were [what] the French Revolution [was all about].<sup>74</sup>

Also, Ienaga introduced Michelet's *Histoire de la Révolution Française* which upheld France as "the principal actor in the drama of liberty".<sup>75</sup> Takayama claimed that the

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 264-70.

<sup>66</sup> Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>67</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 319-20.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 11; Ienaga, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

<sup>69</sup> Ienaga, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21; 30, 71-72.

<sup>71</sup> Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

<sup>72</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 302-303; 292-93.

<sup>73</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>75</sup> Ienaga, *op. cit.*, pp. 73-82. See also George P. Gooch, *History and Historians in the Ninth Century* (N. Y.: Longmans, Greens & Co., 1913), p. 178. Gooch believed that Michelet's book considered history as the "drama of liberty" with France as the principal actor. Also, Gordon Wright, "Introduction" in Michelet, *History of the French Revolution*, C. Cooks (trans.) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), p. xii. Wright holds similar ideas about Michelet's enthusiasm for the French Revolution.

French Revolution had abolished all inequalities in Europe.<sup>76</sup> Liberty and equality, in fact, was necessary for democracy and nationalism to Takayama, who considered that these principles, as science, were the most necessary ingredients of modern civilization. He wrote therefore of the Revolution:

The mother of the Nineteenth century was the French Revolution. The latter's offsprings were democracy and nationalism which will prosper and live on forever.<sup>77</sup>

He also wrote that the French Revolution had stirred up nationalism beyond France. He attributed the independence movements in Germany and Italy to the stimulation of the French Revolution.<sup>78</sup> The French themselves were, certainly, most patriotic in defending their soil. Fukumoto claimed that even the thrifty peasants would generously give to the nation in times of need.<sup>79</sup>

Elsewhere, Takayama wrote of democracy as a symbol of modern civilization.<sup>80</sup> The Japanese works did not fail to acknowledge French contribution to democracy through the Great French Revolution. Fukumoto noted, for example, that France became a republic. All her people were equal before the law. They elected their representatives and were the actual sovereign power of the French nation. Also, civil organizations were plentiful in France. They had taken the initiative to promote French culture and the welfare of their society. France was, thus, a nation truly belonging to her people.<sup>81</sup> France thus not only gave to the world the lofty, noble ideals through her Great Revolution but also vanguard of democracy and nationalism.

The role of French literature in advocating liberty (Buckle's claim) was again confirmed in Fukumoto and Takayama's books.<sup>82</sup> Even French historiography, with its scientific method, greatly improved the French mind.<sup>83</sup> French authors as Victor Hugo, Dumas, Lamartine and Rousseau appeared frequently in Fukumoto's book.<sup>84</sup> Science, revolution, progress, literature and things French became too entangled in the weaved vision of civilization to be distinguished from one another.

Finally, Ienaga and Fukumoto described the French national character very impressively. They were, in the author's views, the foremost advocates of freedom.<sup>85</sup> Compared with the English, the French were found to be much more egalitarian. Ienaga concluded: the English loved liberty of the individual and were therefore comparatively more "selfish" as the French love freedom for all and were thus the "real" lovers of liberty.<sup>86</sup> Fukumoto further maintained that the French were fraternal,

<sup>76</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 285-86.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 291.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 293-94; 303.

<sup>79</sup> Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1; 27. See also Takayama, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

<sup>81</sup> Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59. See also Takayama, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>84</sup> Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-73.

<sup>85</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 290-91.

<sup>86</sup> Ienaga, *op. cit.*, p. 79. See also Takayama, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-62.

universalistic, and were brave, devoted and zealous defenders of their beliefs. Their revolutionary tradition influenced the rest of Europe, and were the champions of the European civilization.<sup>87</sup>

In short, the Japanese historians of civilization not only adopted the “yardsticks” of civilization of Buckle and Guizot quite faithfully. In addition, influenced by the French Revolution, equality and fraternity joined the “indicators” collection and much more emphasis was placed on the upholding of liberty towards the path of civilization.

Few Chinese revolutionaries had the opportunity to read the works of Buckle or Guizot. Chinese translations of these three Francophile Japanese written histories of civilization, in addition to Mignet's or Michelet's histories of the French Revolution, were, however, available to the small but eager group of Chinese students in Tokyo, many of whom later became radicals. At least Takayama's book was available in China. Also, as discussed above, many of Buckle's or Guizot's opinions concerning civilization found their ways into the writings of Meiji intellectuals and their students. When the searching students and intellectuals as Liang Ch'i-ch'ao went to Japan after the abortive Hundred Days Reform, the potpourri of ideas and “yardsticks” of civilization was there.

## VI. LIANG CH'I-CH'AO'S VISION OF FRANCE

Few if any scholar doubted the influence of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his writings about things Western on the Chinese, both those in China or in Japan prior to the 1911 Revolution. Also, he was best remembered for his initial emotional propagation of revolution when he fled to Japan after the abortive Hundred Day's Reform, as well as his turn to reformism in late 1903, after having visited America and became disillusioned with revolution. Liang debated vigorously with the revolutionaries upon his return to Tokyo. The irony was that he was welcome when he preached revolution and when he argued against it, his prolific and emotional writing made revolution all the more attractive. Furthermore, throughout his career as a journalist, the underlying assumptions of his view towards civilization echoed the basic premises of Buckle, Guizot and his mentors—the Japanese authors. As it was generally agreed that, more than any single individual, Liang's writing circulated widely among the Chinese, be they revolutionaries or reformists. What he wrote of France, her people and role in modernity was certainly widely spread and should be examined.

In Liang's early advocacy of revolution, the Great French Revolution loomed large in his writings. In 1900, for example, Liang debated with K'ang Yu-wei (康有為 1859-1927). Responding to K'ang's warning that chaos might be the result as it had been after the French Revolution, Liang wrote:

<sup>87</sup>Takayama, *op. cit.*, p. 308. See also Fukumoto, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

You had warned me repeatedly of the [chaotic consequences] of the French revolution. I know very well how miserable [the days after] the French Revolution were. The Japanese detested it especially. Yet this should not deter China [from a revolution]. The Chinese national temperament was the exact opposite to that of the French. The French are active and restless at all times. The Chinese are inactive [and have been so] for thousands of years. Therefore the idea of that Rousseau [’s advocacy of revolution] led to disturbances in France will [only] improve our political [situation] in China.<sup>88</sup>

One of the most emotional article Liang had written was his article “On Destructionism”.<sup>89</sup> Liang argued that though revolutions could be destructive and could possibly kill thousands, one should adopt the French revolutionary spirit, face political violence and plan the political destruction of the corrupt Chinese government whose incompetence alone killed hundreds of thousands in plagues and robbery.<sup>90</sup>

Even in Liang’s argument against revolution, his highly emotional and inflammatory style could hardly discourage radicalism. One of his most famous writings against revolution was his biography of Madam Jeanne Manon Philipon Roland (1754-1793). He wrote, for example:

“Oh liberty! Liberty! How often crimes are committed in thy name!” These were the final words of Madam Roland, the number one French heroine.

Who was Madam Roland? She lived in liberty and died a free [person]. Who was Madam Roland? Liberty was born of her and died with her [failure]. Who was Madam Roland? She was the mother of Napoleon, Metternich, Mazzini . . . in short, all [great] people of Nineteenth-century continental Europe must call her mother. All the civilizations in Nineteenth-century continental Europe must call Madam Roland ‘mother’. Why? [It is] because the French Revolution is the mother of Nineteenth-century Europe; and Madam Roland was the mother of the great French Revolution.<sup>91</sup>

Also, Liang could hardly hide his real affection towards the French Revolution in the same article which opposed revolution. He wrote again:

The great French Revolution was the most important event in modern Europe. [In fact,] not only in modern times, there has never been [anything like this] even from the ancient days till now. Not only in Europe, but in all the nations around the world there has never been [an event like the French Revolution]. [The Revolution] abolished despotic governments which had lasted thousands of years [and] had begun democratic rule for over a hundred years. Its impact has lasted for more than eighty years [and] has affected many nations. People hundreds

<sup>88</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Yu K’ang Nan-hai fu-tzu shu” (與康南海夫子書 Letter to (My) Teacher (Mr.) K’ang Nan-hai (Yu-wei)) (April 29, 1900). Cited in Ting Wen-chiang (王文江), *Liang Jen-kung nien-p’u ch’ang-p’ien* (梁任公年譜長編 Detailed Chronology of Liang Ch’i-ch’ao) (Taipei: 世界 1972, rev. ed.), pp. 125-26.

<sup>89</sup> Kato Hiroyuki (加藤弘之), “Shih-chiu shih-chi ssu-hsiang pien-ch’ien lun” (十九世紀思想變遷論 On the Changes of Nineteenth-century Thought) *Ch’ing-i Pao* (清議報) 52 (July 26, 1900), pp. 3373-376. (Hereafter as *CIP*)

<sup>90</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Lun Chung-kuo kuo-min chih p’in-ke” (論中國國民之品格 On the Chinese National Character) in *Hsin-min Ts’ung-pao* (新民叢報) 27 (March 3, 1903) 35-36. (Hereafter as *HMTP*)

<sup>91</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Chin-shih ti-i nü-chieh Lo-lan fu-chen chuan” (近世第一女傑羅蘭夫人傳 Biography of Madam Roland, the Foremost Heroine of the Modern World), *HMTP* 18 (October 17, 1902), pp. 52-53.

of years from now will consider it [the Revolution] a milestone in human history. How great it is! Yet it was led only by a feeble lady [Madam Roland].<sup>92</sup>

Liang considered Great Britain the example par excellence for achieving national power and salvation and consciously advocated emulating the British.<sup>93</sup> Yet he in his writings a picture of France emerged with more “indicators” of civilization than that of Great Britain. Often, France appeared as the vanguard of civilization. In one article, he contended that liberty in thought and expression was the “mother of all civilizations” and that the French Revolution its product.<sup>94</sup> Elsewhere, Liang claimed that the French Revolution was proof that people who insisted on their liberty and rights would ultimately achieve democracy; and urged the Chinese to follow the French.<sup>95</sup> To cap his admiration of the French Revolution, he called it the “chief impetus for the [progress of] the whole Nineteenth-century [modern] world.”<sup>96</sup> Liang’s description of the French Revolution was not unlike that of Takayama’s.<sup>97</sup>

Furthermore, the French Revolution manifested to Liang the “soul of France”, comprised of bravery, devotion and the love of liberty, and which had made the civilization of France possible and enabled her to achieve tremendous advancement.<sup>98</sup> Liang thus urged the Chinese to abandon their “slavish Asian habits” and to establish a “spirit of civilization”, learning from the “spirit of the French Revolution”.<sup>99</sup> Liang did react momentarily to the Russian uprisings in 1905 but quickly he noted that the uprisings did not lead to the downfall of the despotic government as did the French Revolution.<sup>100</sup> Nor did the Russian uprisings carry the colourful and lofty universal ideas or inspire other revolutions as the latter.<sup>101</sup> In fact, in Liang’s attention to the Russian uprisings it was the French who emerged as the supreme vanguard for liberty. In Liang’s report, the French protested the bloody suppression of the Russian government with boycotts, demonstrations and even bombs. With characters three times bigger than the normal print, Liang wrote that the French reaction towards Russian suppression was especially vigorous, well beyond those of other nations.<sup>102</sup> Also, Liang contended that the French were especially committed to freedom. Their love of liberty was much more emotional than those of other peoples’:

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>93</sup> Paau Shiu-lam, “Visions of Civilization”, pp. 101-125.

<sup>94</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Ch’ing-i Pao i-pai-ts’e chu-tz’u ping lun pao-kuan chih tse-jen chi pen-kuan chih ching-li” (請議報一百冊祝詞並論報館之責任及本館之經歷 Congratulations to the Hundredth Issue of *Ch’ing-i Pao* and Comments on the Duties of Journal Publishers and the History of Our Journal), in *Ch’ing-i Pao Ch’uan-p’ien* (請議報全編 Complete Collection of *Ch’ing-i Pao*), I:1, p. 3. (Hereafter as *CIPCP*)

<sup>95</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Kuo-ch’uan yü min-ch’uan” (國權與民權 Power of the State and the Power of the People) *CIP* 30 (October 15, 1899), pp. 1935-37.

<sup>96</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Lu-sao hsüeh-an (盧騷學案 On Rousseau), *CIP* 98 (November 21, 1901), pp. 6175-80.

<sup>97</sup> Takayama, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

<sup>98</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Kuo-min wen-ming chih ching-shen” (國民文明之精神 The National Spirit of Civilization) in *CIPCP*, I:1, p. 82.

<sup>99</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “P’o-huai chu-i” (破壞主義 On Destructionism), *CIPCP*, II:6, pp. 43-44.

<sup>100</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Lun O-lo-ssu hsü-wu-tang” (論俄羅斯虛無黨 On Russian Nihilists), *HMTF* 40-41 (Combined) (November 2, 1903), pp. 73.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> Liang Ch’i-ch’ao, “Tzu-yu hu? ssu hu?” (自由乎? 死乎? Liberty? Death?) *HMTF* 61 (January 2, 1905), 47.



The English love liberty as they do their wives. The French love liberty as they love their mistresses, [while] the Germans love liberty as they do their grandmother.<sup>103</sup>

In contrast, Liang paid little attention to the American Revolution, apparently affected by the Meiji conviction that the United States was just an offshoot of English civilization. Also, reports that America maltreated and banned Chinese labourers did not establish her as a model of civilization.<sup>104</sup>

France also fared well in another "indicators" of national civilization—her republican polity,<sup>105</sup> her dissociation of state education from church influence,<sup>106</sup> and her often quoted contribution to the development of science.<sup>107</sup>

In general, Liang's journals presented a very positive portrait of France in his early years in Japan. France clearly emerged as the champion of revolution and the French Revolution was accredited with most of the progress in nineteenth-century Europe. Liang's descriptions of France, her people, her revolutions, her history and her place in world civilization matched those of Meiji intellectuals; especially those of the more Francophile historians of civilization. Regardless of his later wish to recant from advocating revolution and subsequently his denigration of the French, his emotional attachment to the lofty ideals associated with the French Revolution, as well as his habit of using inflammatory words, phraseology and sensational style, all contributed to a grandiose image of France which was more palatable to the student radicals; whose own journals further romanticized France as the champion of revolution and civilization. Also, as true heir to the Meiji legacy, Liang followed the collection of "indicators" of civilization faithfully. His "Hsin min shuo" and other advocacies could thus be seen in the light of the Meiji tradition, seeking to cultivate a new national character, to elevate the national intellect, as well as the acquisition of other "basic" requirements for attaining civilization for a nation.

## VII. REVOLUTION AND CIVILIZATION: THE VISION OF FRANCE AMONG CHINESE REVOLUTIONARIES

In 1903, radical periodicals by the students in Japan bloomed as the number of Chinese students increased from 270 in 1902 to almost a thousand the next year.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>103</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "T'ai-hsi ke-yen, i yü ch'ien-chin" (泰西格言一語千金 Western Proverbs, Precious Sayings), *HMTP* 2 (February 22, 1902), p. 90.

<sup>104</sup> N. A. "Hai-wai hui-pao" (海外彙報 Overseas News), *HMTP* 7 (May 8, 1902), pp. 103-104.

<sup>105</sup> See Chang P'eng Yuang, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao yü Ching-chi ke-ming* (梁啟超與清季革命 Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and Late-Ching Revolutions) Taipei: 近代史研究所, 1964) pp. 39-40.

<sup>106</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Fa-kuo cheng chiao fen-li an" (法國政教分離案 Separation of State and Church in France), *HMTP* 74 (February 8, 1902), pp. 84-85.

<sup>107</sup> Liang Ch'i-ch'ao, "Chin-shih wen-ming ch'u-tsu erh ta hsueh-chia shuo" (近世文明初祖二大學家說 Teaching of Two Great Scholars Who Began Modern Civilization), *HMTP* 1 (February 8, 1902), pp. 11-19.

<sup>108</sup> Robert Scalapino, "Prelude to Marxism: The Chinese Student Movement in Japan, 1900-1910" in *Approaches to Modern Chinese History*, edited by Albert Feuerwerker, et al. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p. 192.

The French Revolution was often quoted as their example in their meetings and publications. Also, most of the more prominent student radicals, especially those involved in the publication of journals, had one time or another been associated with or influenced by Liang Ch'i-ch'ao.<sup>109</sup> Also, as mentioned above, the three histories of civilization written by the Japanese were translated into Chinese by the publishers of some of these radical journals. Unlike Liang who more tirelessly sought for alternate paths to national salvation and civilization, the student radicals were eagerly receptive, more romanticized in image-making and was much more flamboyant in their writings. Also, they preferred a straightforward and simplistic search for modern civilization. They readily accepted the association of civilization with France and revolution, as well as other "fashionable" terms as nationalism, universal justice etc. Few cared to define what constituted modern civilization and whether issues as revolution, national *bummei* and salvation were necessarily symbiotic.

To begin with, most of the student journals claimed to be in pursuit of civilization, as did Liang's.<sup>110</sup> They repeatedly called France the "centre of civilization" or the leader of it.<sup>111</sup> A nostalgic patriot hoped that Hunan, his home province, could progress first to be "a little Japan", and ultimately "a little France".<sup>112</sup>

In their views, since the French Revolution had propelled Europe to progress, revolution was a direct means to civilization. This attitude is best illustrated in an advertisement of a book on the history of the French Revolution in one of the radical journals:

France is the mother of European civilization. The [series of] French revolutions is the mother of French civilization; and the first French Revolution is especially [undeniably] the mother of all mothers [of civilization].<sup>113</sup>

This was because the dramatic French Revolution had "destroyed the corpse of the old civilization with the blood of the [French] people", and had manifested the ideals of "liberty, equality and fraternity".<sup>114</sup> These ideals later steered the whole Europe towards great changes and, ultimately, towards civilization.<sup>115</sup> The temperament and wording of the cited advertisement was, in fact, quite reminiscent of those of the

<sup>109</sup> Paau Shiu-lam, "Visions of Civilization", pp. 149-162.

<sup>110</sup> "Pen-she chien-chang" (本社簡章 Brief Statements of Our Association) *Erh-shih-shih-chi chih Chih-na* (二十世紀之支那 *Twentieth-century China*), 1 (June 13, 1905), pp. 1-15. See also, "Chieh-chiang ch'ao fa-k'an-tz'u" (浙江潮發刊詞 Publication Statement of *Chieh-chiang-ch'ao*), p. 2; "Fa-k'an-tz'u" (發刊詞 Publication Statement) *Yun-nan* (雲南 *Yunnan Journal*) 1 (October 15, 1906), p. 3. In all these opening statements the journals claimed to pursue civilization as their chief goals.

<sup>111</sup> Ma Chun-wu (馬君武), "Shih-chieh ti-i ai-kuo-che Fa-lan-hsi-kung-he kuo chien-tsoo-che Kan-pi-ta chuan" (世界第一愛國者法蘭西共和國建造者甘必大傳 Biography of Gambetta, the World's Foremost Patriot and Founder of the French Republic) *Min Pao* (民報 *People's Journal*) 1 (September 5, 1905), pp. 59-67.

<sup>112</sup> T'ieh Lang (鐵郎), "Erh-shih-shih-chi chih Hu-nan" (二十世紀之湖南 *Twentieth-century Hunan*), in Ts'ai Te-ken (柴德庚) (ed.), *Hsin-hai ke-ming* (辛亥革命 *The 1911 Revolution*), 4 vols., (Shanghai: 上海 1957) I, pp. 195-208.

<sup>113</sup> "Hsin-shu chieh-shao" (新書介紹 Introduction of New Books), *Su Pao* (蘇報 *Journal of Soochow*), 2499 (June 13, 1903) 1.

Japanese cultural historians and Liang.

What then did the French Revolution and the path to civilization it opened meant for the Chinese? The student radicals believed that the French Revolution had proven that it was possible to overthrow a monarchy in spite of all difficulties. For the more oppressive the monarch was, the more rebellious the people would be. "Did the Parisians not hasten to revolt when the gallows were being built?" They asked.<sup>116</sup> The Chinese could be expected to react the same way. Moreover, the French Revolution set off an unstoppable trend of liberation in the world which China should not neglect, or "the line of civilization of the world" would stop short of China:

If we [Chinese] revolt [against monarchy], then [we] would be the equal of France in our worth. If we do not, then we cannot match even the Poles [whose country was partitioned].<sup>117</sup>

It is important to note that their wish to ride with the universal tide of revolution was highly superficial. It was rather their wish to join the forerunners in civilization—those had already launched revolutions after the French—and their belief that civilization came with revolution that saw them giving lip-service to the "universal struggle towards progress" of humanity which Professor Price found interesting. The underlying motive or stimulus for their advocacy of revolution was their fear that China might be left behind rather than a noble commitment to a universal struggle.

Furthermore, not only was the worth of a nation dependent on whether it followed the French example, but civilization itself could only be bought with blood, the student radicals maintained:

No less than millions of lives . . . and billions of dollars vanished [in European revolutions]. The price [for civilization] was indeed high. [Europe had] bought civilization with her blood, that was why the Nineteenth-century [Europe] ended up civilized. Since the white people had paid generously for the blessing [of civilization], how can we yellow people, we Chinese, let the opportunity pass?<sup>118</sup>

They reminded those who "rather be free citizens and not slaves" that the history of the French Revolution demonstrated that a bloody struggle could not be avoided.<sup>119</sup> On the other hand, in spite of the bloodshed, the French Revolution demonstrated that destruction is only transitional. The progress after the French Revolution was witnessed

<sup>114</sup> n.a. "Shih-chiu-shih-chih Ou-chou li-shih chih chuang-kuan" (十九世紀歐洲歷史之壯觀 The Splendour of Nineteenth-century European History), *Yu-hsueh i-p'ien* 12 (November 3, 1903) 12.

<sup>115</sup> Ch'uan Liang (權量) [pseud.], "Hsien-cheng p'ing-i" (憲政平議 On Constitutional Rule) *Hu-pei hsüeh-sheng-chieh* (湖南學生界 *Hupei Students*), 2 (March 25, 1903) 189. See also Ta-lu-chih-min (大陸之民) [pseud.], "Tsui-chin san-shih-chi ta-shih pien-ch'ien shih" (最近三世紀大勢變遷史 History of Changes in the Recent Three Centuries) *Chien-chiang Ch'iao*, 6 (August, 1903) 18.

<sup>116</sup> T'ieh Lang, "Lun ke-sheng i su hsiang-ying Hsiang Kan ke-ming-chün" (論各省迅速響應湘贛革命軍 The Provinces Should Support Revolutionary Armies in Hunan and Chiangsi), *Han chih* (漢幟 Han Flag Journal) 1 (January 1907) 239.

<sup>117</sup> "Shih-chiu-shih-chi", p. 12.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1326.

<sup>119</sup> "Advertisement", *Chiang-su* (江蘇 *Journal of Chiang-su*) 4 (July 24, 1903) 706.

by the development of “a beautiful Paris” and an “awesome France” then.<sup>120</sup> Other quotes on the French Revolution are numerous and need not be discussed further.

In their anxiety to arouse the fighting spirit, or to “awaken the Chinese soul”, the student radicals praised the French national character. They shared Liang Ch'i-ch'ao's opinion that the French were and “feverishly addicted to liberty”<sup>121</sup> French people, including the young, women and old, were capable of the most dramatic heroics in defense of their freedom.<sup>122</sup> They were considered as courageous, persistent, determined, and “most inclined towards revolutions”.<sup>123</sup> They were the true vanguard of revolution as the student radicals noted French assistance in the American Revolution and believed they also contributed to the Italian unification and even some Chinese uprisings. In a local Chinese riot, for example, France reportedly voiced her support much more vigorously and “earlier than any other nation”.<sup>124</sup> The French soldiers had allegedly helped other people to fight for liberty. They were the “most beneficial army to the world.”<sup>125</sup> The student radicals hoped that China could one day become “the France of Asia” and help Philippines and Turkey in their struggle for independence and civilization.<sup>126</sup>

In general the student radicals were preoccupied with anti-Manchu activities. Their journals were primarily for propaganda and not patient discussions of the secrets of modernity. Also, unlike Liang Ch'i-ch'ao who had more direct contact with Japanese and Western (translated) works, their knowledge of things Western was indirect and more piecemeal. Also, though the translated histories of civilization written by the Japanese were available to some of them, it was difficult to ascertain whether their image of France came more from Liang's earlier, emotional writings or simply, their bent on accepting a Western idol who had been championed as the vanguard of revolution and civilization. They idolized France and advocated revolution as the path towards civilization but did not discuss equally laboriously on all the “yardsticks” of modern civilization as did Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and his Meiji mentors. They sought to improve the national character and the national intellect with the emphasis on education<sup>127</sup> and discussions of the French national character. They advocated liberty in addition to equality and fraternity. However, it could be said that they generally accepted also the other “requirements” of modern civilization including science though proportionally

<sup>120</sup> *Ta-lu-chih-min*, “Hsin-shih-chi” (新世紀 New Era) *Chieh-chiang ch'ao* 3 (April 17, 1902), pp. 87-88.

<sup>121</sup> n.a. “Chün-shih yü kuo-chia chih kuan-hsi” (軍事與國家之關係 Relation between Military Affairs and the State), *Hu-pei hsueh-shang-chieh*, 4 (May 1903) 511.

<sup>122</sup> “Fa-kuo-ke-ming i-shih ssu tse” (法國革命遺事四則 Four Legends in the French Revolution) *Kuo-min jih-jih pao* (國民日日報 *Citizen Daily*) 1 (August 1903), pp. 286-88.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 289.

<sup>124</sup> T'ieh Lang, “Hsiang Kan ke-ming-chun”, pp. 241-42.

<sup>125</sup> “Chün-shih yü kuo-chia”, p. 511.

<sup>126</sup> T'ieh Lang, “Hsiang Kan ke-ming-chün”, p. 247.

<sup>127</sup> For example, see “Chung-kuo tang chung kuo-min chiao-yü” (中國當重國民教育 China Should Emphasize National Education), *Hu-pei Hsueh-sheng-chieh* 2 (1903), pp. 27-29. Articles advocating education can be found in almost every revolutionary article.

they wrote much less on these issues. There was few, if any, questions on the validity of any of the collection of "yardsticks of civilization."<sup>128</sup>

As discussed above, it is doubtless that many of them visualized France through the writings of Liang Ch'i-ch'ao as well as Japanese writings and translations. Liang perceived France, to be sure, through the Japanese prism and the Meiji legacy further owed their perceptions to the histories of civilization imported directly from Europe. The close association of revolution with the path towards modern civilization, as discussed above, flourished with the Japanese *Jiyū Minken Undō* and found its way through the Japanese-written histories of civilization into Liang and the Chinese revolutionaries. Though the further romanticization of the national image of France, the growingly unquestioned faith in revolution, and the indiscriminate association of civilization with anything French were those of their own.

From Buckle and Guizot, through the Meiji illuminists to the Japanese native historians of civilization to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and finally to the revolutionaries, the metamorphosis of the national image of France took a long and zigzag path lasting approximately half a century. The European historians tried to explain the superior advancement of their nations; the Japanese adopted a series of "yardsticks" of modernity; and the Chinese merged it with romantic revolutionism to form their visions of civilization.

On the other hand, though the assumption of adopting revolution as a simultaneous pursuit of both national salvation and civilization of the Chinese revolutionaries appeared too simplistic, their commitment in searching for modernity was genuine if naive. Throughout their writings their quest to modern civilization appeared repeatedly and emotionally.<sup>129</sup> Their alleged commitment to a "universal struggle for human progress" which Professor Price observed, should be seen in light of their genuine concern for national enlightenment (and hopefully salvation), or a fear of being "left behind", as argued above, more than their lip service to cosmopolitanism.

<sup>128</sup> Most revolutionary journals included sections introducing scientific knowledge. See for example the introduction of the contents of *Hu-peh Hsüeh-sheng-chieh* in Ting Sou-ho (丁守和) (ed.), *Hsin-hai-ke-ming shih-chi chi-k'an chieh-shao* (辛亥革命時期期刊介紹 *Introduction to Journals of the 1911 Revolution Period*), 3 vols. (Peking: 人民, 1982) I, p. 239. Also, some advocated the use of literature not only to promote political change but also the improvement of Chinese folklore, thus elevating Chinese culture. See, "Chih-na feng-su kai-ke lun" (支那風俗改革論 *On Changing Chinese Folklore*), *Ta-lu* (大陸 *The Continent*) (1902), originally quoted in Ting Sou-ho, *op. cit.*, II, p. 127.

<sup>129</sup> Some journals including the *I-shu hui-pien* and the *Chih shuo* (直說 *Strictforward Statements*) put the advancement of civilization as their chief goals. See, Ting Sau-ho, *op. cit.*, I, p. 56 and p. 499. The bent towards acquiring civilization was so strong that one of the revolutionaries wrote:

Manchurians [are] barbarian aliens [whileas] Westerners are civilized aliens. Judging from their qualifications, [it is] better that [we are conquered by] the civilized [aliens] rather than the barbarian [aliens].

See, Ch'u Hun (屈魂) [pseud.], "Chou Man heng-i" (仇滿橫議 *On Anti-Manchurians*), *Tung-t'ing-po* (洞庭波 *Tides of Tung T'ing Lake*), I (October 18, 1906), p. 47. The article was written to refute the reformists' warning that fighting against the Manchus might cause partition by the Western powers.

## VII. PROLOGUE

In the midst of the emotional advocacy for revolution, a smaller but extremely active group, the anarchists, found more in the vogue of France as they advocated studying in France, the "heart of civilization". Their efforts had been the mainstay of other research.<sup>130</sup> Suffice it to quote here the summary made by Professor Robert Scalapino regarding why they advocated so:

First, French education, they [the Chinese anarchists] asserted, had long been separated from the superstitions of monarchy and religion. In France, the monarchy had vanished and the French Revolution stood as a monument to human liberty. Moreover, the required study of religion had been abolished in 1886, with a further separation of Church and state being initiated in 1907. Also . . . the pre-eminence of French science was illustrated by the nearly universal use of French measurement and the large roster of famous French scientists. But French achievements were equally noted in the humanities, where else could one find men like Montesquieu and Rousseau?<sup>131</sup>

Their advocacy of studying in France drew little immediate response as most were concerned with action—revolution as a direct step towards civilization and national salvation, and not other gradual measures. Such view about going to the heart of civilization to study, were never given up by the anarchists and left its imprint among some revolutionaries, including Ch'en Tu-hsiu (陳獨秀 1879-1942) who had been closely associated with the early student radicals and their publications.<sup>132</sup> The image of France did not lead to any actual action and her vogue, as well as the superficial quests for civilization faded when the Revolution in 1911 succeeded in overthrowing the Ch'ing monarchy.

Yet, the young Chinese republic was far from the satisfaction of the more idealistic revolutionaries. When the First World War broke out the vogue of France secretly revived in some journals and again, the French were seen as defenders of liberty and justice.<sup>133</sup> In the early 1910s Ch'en Tu-hsiu and contributors to his *Hsin Ching-nien* brought the revival of the vogue of France and her civilization,<sup>134</sup> paving the way to the dramatic exodus of Chinese students in the late 1900s as mentioned in the beginning of this monograph.

<sup>130</sup> Robert Scalapino, *The Chinese Anarchist Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1961).

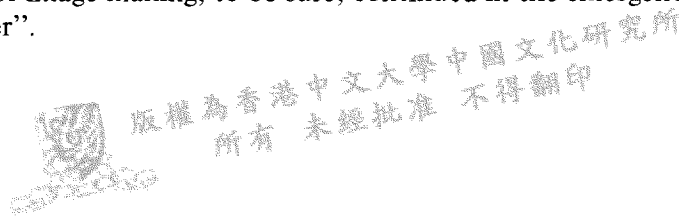
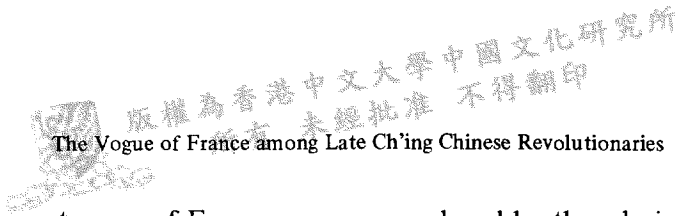
<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>132</sup> For a detailed description of Ch'en Tu-hsiu's acquaintance with the revolutionaries please see Chan Man-hung (陳萬雄), *Hsin-wen-hua-yün-tung ch'ien chih Ch'en Tu-hsiu* (新文化運動前之陳獨秀 *Ch'en Tu-hsiu before the New Cultural Movement*) (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 1979), pp. 34-108.

<sup>133</sup> For a romanticized report on French people fighting in the First World War, see Chang P'u-pai (張溥白), "Letter to Chia-yin", in *Chia-yin* (甲寅 *Tiger Magazine*), I:5 (May 10, 1915), pp. 14-15. The French were seen as fighting for justice and humanity.

<sup>134</sup> Pau Shiu-lam, "Visions of Civilization", pp. 210-20.

The evanescent vogue of France was soon replaced by the admiration of the Soviet Union with the rise of socialism in China. The period of romantic image-making and pursuit of civilization discussed above, however, may have left its imprints on the path of modern Chinese history. The persistence of revolutionism (till perhaps only recently), the culturalistic bent of major change-oriented movements including the May Fourth Movement and the Great Cultural Revolution, the importance placed on education, science and liberty etc. are too reminiscent of some of the calls of this romantic phase. The tradition of image-making, to be sure, continued in the emergence of such terms as the "paper tiger".



# 論清末革命論者對法國形象的形成、蛻變及其意義

(中文摘要)

鮑紹霖

在文化交流的過程中，通常較落後國家的志士對其欽羨的國家，常懷有特殊的印象，惟治史者多認為這僅屬個人的思想傾向，而未予以重視。當納·白禮士教授對這問題的研究，首啓端緒。他的《俄國與中國革命之根源》書中以俄國為例，闡述俄國及若干西方國家在近代中國志士心目中的特殊形象、其啓迪作用及於中西文化交流之重要。

本文旨於探索清末時中國愛國志士眼中法國之形象，此形象所給予他們的啓示，其孕育的根源、發展及影響。主要論點有三：第一、富革命傳統之法國較其他西方國家對中國清末革命更有激勸作用。第二、清末中國志士心目中的法國，不單為革命導師，亦為近世文明前驅；他們認為法國革命更是西方發展近世文明的重要動力。其時持論較急進的人更認為革命是近代文明的形成不可或缺的因素。此觀念對中國現代謀求改革過程中有深遠影響。第三、文中提出的中國志士對法國形象、文明與革命之關係等觀念，並非純粹是他們對文明之憧憬或想像之產物。其成因是由於日本在明治期間至十九世紀初接受歐洲的思潮，轉而影響中國。是以近代西方諸國在華形象，在中西文化交流史中，是一項不容忽視的研究課題。