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I The Image of Russia and the West in Chinese History Textbooks, 1900–1949

Abstract. The present chapter analyzes the image of Russia and the West in Chinese history textbooks published in the period between 1900 and 1949. It is aimed at revealing possible changes, continuities, and contingencies. Both Russia and the West are described through the same categories, which define their image as either liberalists and leaders of progress or aggressors and imperialists. Chinese textbooks associate Russia with the West, but often present it as the most despotic and aggressive representative of the West. At the same time it can be said that Russia stands in a certain opposition to the rest of the Western countries. There is a duality to the image of the West. The image of the Western countries in national history due to aggression and wars is mostly negative. In world history, the Western countries are portrayed as not only the imperialists, but also act as the authors of such concepts as human rights and constitution, liberalism; they are the creators of the Industrial Revolution and proponents of the development of science and progress.

Keywords. Chinese history textbooks, late Qing, Republican China, the Image of the West, the Image of Russia.

Published in: Gotelind MÜLLER and Nikolay SAMOYLOV (eds.): *Chinese Perceptions of Russia and the West. Changes, Continuities, and Contingencies during the Twentieth Century*. Heidelberg: CrossAsia-eBooks, 2020. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.11588/xabooks.661>.

Introduction

During the period under review, China had experienced crucial changes in terms of regime, self-identification, and many other aspects including the education policy. Bearing in mind those changes in curricula that took place in turbulent years between the Xinhai Revolution (Xinhai geming 辛亥革命, 1911) and the establishment of the Nanjing regime of the Nationalist Party (Guomindang 國民黨, GMD) in 1928, and the changes that took place during WWII (1939–1945),¹ the present chapter divides this time span into three periods.² The above-mentioned historical events are considered the most crucial for identifying possible changes. The three periods include 1900–1911 (late Qing era); 1912–1928 (the establishment of the Republic of China and the Warlord Era); 1928–1949 (the Nanjing decade, Sino-Japanese War, and the time before the establishment of the PRC).

The late Qing textbooks were produced before a national school system was established and hence the authors were free to design them, but used the Japanese and Western textbooks as the model, while also integrating the Chinese tradition.³ In the early Republican Era, regulations became more detailed but were firstly related to the change of terminology. The early 1920s historiography reflects a China decentered approach to history, which “was experimental and free to a degree hardly achieved again in the coming years”.⁴

I would like to express my gratitude to all my colleagues in this project for advice and support, especially to Prof. G. MÜLLER-SAINI and Mariana MÜNNING. My sincere thanks also go to Daniel GERICHHAUSEN from the Institute of Oriental and Asian Studies (University of Bonn) for translating parts of the Japanese article on HONDA Asajirō. Finally, I would like to thank my wife Anastasiia DMITRENKO for her support and concern.

1 Since 1923, regulations became much more detailed than those produced earlier, and name the exact topics that needs to be discussed in textbooks. For the overview of curricula change in the 20th century see: Gotelind MÜLLER: “Teaching ‘the others’ history’ in Chinese schools: the state, cultural asymmetries and shifting images of Europe (from 1900 to today)”. In: *Designing History in East Asian Textbooks: Identity Politics and Transnational Aspirations*, London and New York: Routledge 2011, pp. 32–59.

2 I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Li Fan from Beijing for advising to avoid distinguishing the 1920s as a separate period, and view the period from 1912 to 1928 as a whole.

3 Gotelind MÜLLER: “Teaching ‘the others’ history” (2011), p. 34; WONG, K.C. “Chinese history textbook writing in Late Ch’ing China”, 1986, unpublished thesis, University of Hong Kong; Peter ZARROW: *Educating China: knowledge, society and textbooks in a modernizing world, 1902 – 1937*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2015, pp. 13–15; Q. Edward WANG: *Inventing China Through History: The May Fourth Approach to Historiography*, Albany: State University of New York Press 2001, p. 15.

4 Gotelind MÜLLER: “Teaching ‘the others’ history” (2011), p. 36.

The GMD's ascension to power 1927–1928 led to a more nationalistic educational policy. Nationalism and patriotism were not a new ideology for Chinese intellectuals of the 1930s; nevertheless, an educational reform took place in those years, and during that period the state was able to assert greater control over publishing houses and considerably restricted the independence of private schools.⁵ The year 1931 stands as a certain benchmark when the Nationalist Government requested the League of Nations to prepare a plan for comprehensive education reform.⁶ During the Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945) and in the subsequent period prior to the establishment of the PRC, the GMD, undoubtedly, did not exercise total control over a large part of the country, but not as much attention was paid to education during the wartime in general. Textbooks and curricula were “barely altered during these turbulent years”;⁷ hence, the textbooks produced at that time will be considered as part and product of preceding reforms.

In the choice of textbooks for analysis we first of all focus on the most influential publishing houses of the time, such as, Wenming shuju 文明書局, which contributed a lot to publishing industry and raised several famous publishers and editors before it was incorporated into Zhonghua shuju 中華書局 in 1915,⁸ Zhonghua shuju and the Commercial Press (Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館) as one of the oldest and most influential publishing houses; and Beixin shuju 北新書局 as an important textbook publishing house in the 1920s–1930s.⁹ In the choice of textbooks this chapter firstly focuses on textbooks that had several editions, but also consults less popular textbooks to reveal the scope of interpretations. The textbooks are from primary school to senior secondary school, prepared for the students from the ages of 6 to 18.

The comparison of the images of Russia and the West in national history (*ben-guoshi* 本國史) and Western (or World/Foreign) history textbooks will let us

5 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), pp. 25–28; Helen R. CHAUNCEY: *Schoolhouse Politicians: Locality and State During the Chinese Republic*, Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press 1992, pp. 144–172.

6 Suzanne PEPPER: *Radicalism and Education Reform in 20th-century China: The search for ideal development model*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1996, pp. 37–45.

7 Alisa JONES: “Changing the Past to Serve the Present: History Education in Mainland China”. In: Edward VICKERS, Alisa JONES (eds.): *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*, New York and London: Routledge. Taylor and Francis Group 2005, p. 71.

8 ZHOU Lirong, 周利榮: “Wenming shuju kao” 文明書局考 (Investigating Wenming Publishing House). In: *Chuban shiliao* 出版史料 (Publication Archives) no. 2, 2007, p. 97.

9 CHEN Shuping 陈树萍: “Beixin shuju yu Zhongguo xiandai wenxue” 北新书局与中国现代文学 (Beixin Publishing House and Contemporary Chinese Literature). PhD Thesis. East China Normal University, 2006. Most Chinese publishing houses were originally established in Shanghai. For a historical overview of the development of the printing and publishing industry in Shanghai see: Christopher A. REED: *Gutenberg in Shanghai: Chinese Print Capitalism, 1876–1937*, Vancouver: UBC Press 2004.

identify the common image and conclude on what and to what extent has changed. The very terminology “negative” or “positive” does not provide much space for discussion, and, therefore, we will also explore what exactly has changed and to what extent, how much space is devoted to particular events, countries, or figures, and finally what the main shifts in the representation of the topic are.

The methodology used in this chapter relies on the methods specified in *the UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research*. This includes a comprehensive analysis of the content and vertical analysis that helps to investigate how the presentation of a topic has changed over time, as well as qualitative and linguistic methods that provide answers to the questions: What is the general message of the text? In what context are terms placed? Is the text emotionally loaded? Are the protagonists considered to be “victims” or “perpetrators”?¹⁰

The Image of the West in Chinese History Textbooks, 1900–1911

There is a duality of the image of the West in textbooks during the whole period that I focus on in the present chapter. Western countries in general since the Portuguese coming to China in the 16th century are presented in the national history textbooks as aggressors; nonetheless, such figures as Marco POLO (1254–1324) and the Jesuit missionary Matteo RICCI (1552–1610) are not directly associated with aggression. The former is acknowledged as the traveler who praised China and was able to establish connections between China and the West, and the latter as the missionary who admired Chinese culture, spoke Chinese and brought Western Learning (*xixue* 西學) to the mainland. The two are barely mentioned in Qing times, but they became more important in early republican times. In the world history textbooks, the Western countries, on the one hand, represent imperialism, absolutism, and colonialism; on the other hand, they brought to the world ideas of freedom, equality, human rights, constitutionalism, and made a great impact on the development of arts, philosophy, and literature, scientific and technological progress. In most cases, the textbooks transmit the same interpretations, “clichés”¹¹, or provide facts, without stating any concrete interpretative angle. This

10 Falk PINGEL: *UNESCO Guidebook on Textbook Research and Textbook Revision*. 2nd revised and updated ed., Paris/Braunschweig: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization 2010, pp. 30–32; 68–71.

11 Such as the influence of the Arab countries on the Renaissance, etc.

changes during the GMD times, when the textbooks focus on imperialism, foreign aggression, nationalism, and the San-min Doctrine¹².

In the analysis of the “Western history” textbooks for the late Qing period, this chapter applies *Zhongdeng Xiyangshi jiaokeshu* (1904) edited by the Japanese author OGAWA Ginjirō 小川銀次郎. It also applies *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1905) ed. by Chinese official QIN Ruijie 秦瑞玠 (1874–?), who used to study law in Japan and was familiar with the Japanese education system. They provide a similar description despite being produced by two different authors. Remarkably, in certain cases they provide identical parts of a text. This reveals that QIN used the textbook by OGAWA while adding his own interpretations. The focus will be placed more on the textbook produced by QIN since he represents the Chinese historiographical school. Apart from that, other textbooks will also be referred to in order to provide more examples of characteristics found in the textbooks of the late Qing Era.

The textbooks were produced during the period later called by the PRC scholars “century of humiliation” (1839–1949). In the context of foreign aggression in China at that time, the duality of the image of the West in Chinese “national history” textbooks is understandable. On the one hand, the aggressor cannot be portrayed positively; on the other, China had to admit its weakness in comparison to the Great Powers (including Japan) and move away from the idea of China being the center of the civilized world. This was a new position, which China had to adapt to.¹³ As indicated by many scholars the Sino-Japanese War (1894–1895) became the turning point in the realization of one’s own weakness,¹⁴ but even before the

12 *Sanmin zhuyi* 三民主義 or the San-min Doctrine (also translated as The Three Principles of the People) is a political philosophy or ideology developed by the first president of the Republic of China SUN Yat-sen 孫中山 (1866–1925), which champions the principles of nationalism, democracy, and the People’s welfare, in order to “save the nation/country”.

13 Axel SCHNEIDER on the challenges faced by Chinese intellectuals and historians in the late 19th century: “They had a). To develop a new understanding of Chinese history as part of a coherent vision of world history, thus making it possible b). To envision China as an at least equal member in the international community. At the same time they had c). To safeguard, if necessary, to create some sort of continuity with the past in order to provide a basis for a Chinese identity. They also had to d). Conceptualize history in a way that would make it possible for China to catch up if not surpass the West, and, last but not least, this e). Had to be achieved in the context of a tradition placing the historian in an elevated political position, thus putting him under considerable pressure to come up with a viable solution.” See: Axel SCHNEIDER: “Nation, History and Ethics: The choices of Post Imperial Historiography in China”. In: V. MURTHY and A. SCHNEIDER (eds.): *The Challenge of Linear Time: Nationhood and the Politics of History in East Asia*, Leiden, Boston: Brill 2014, p. 88.

14 Marianne BASTID: *Educational Reform in Early Twentieth-Century China* (P. BAILEY, Trans.), Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan 1988, p. 7; Suzanne PEPPER: *Radicalism*

First Opium War (1839–1842) there was awareness of the possible aggression of Western powers. Q. Edward WANG remarks that GONG Zizhen 龔自珍 (1792–1841), social thinker from a traditional official scholar family, from the 1820s onward studied China's frontiers:

He hoped that the Qing rulers could fortify its northern border in order to ward off the Russian ambition. He also kept a vigilant eye on the English presence across the South China Sea. "The English," GONG noted, "are indeed very cunning. (! A.D.) [If we] refused their demand, they would knock on our door, if we agree with them, the consequence would bring harm to the entire country".¹⁵

Qing China (1644–1911) was an imperial state, but ideas of freedom, constitutionalism, as well as Social Darwinism can be found already in the late Qing textbooks. These ideas were promoted by such intellectuals and reformers as KANG Youwei 康有為 (1858–1927), LIANG Qichao 梁啟超 (1873–1929), and YAN Fu 嚴復 (1854–1921).¹⁶ The Japanese example of political reforms has inspired Chinese intellectuals, and, of course, the very structure and content of Japanese history textbooks¹⁷ was even more influential to Chinese textbooks. In the study materials analyzed in the present chapter, one can observe changes in the following areas: ideas, interpretation of events, figures, and countries.

Setting the goal of revealing the image of Russia and the West in Chinese history textbooks, this chapter will not provide an overlook of all the topics covered in textbooks, but rather mark tendencies and general topics that elucidate how the image has changed.

and *Education Reform* (1996), p. 57; Q. Edward WANG: *Inventing China Through History* (2001), p. 15.

15 Q. Edward WANG: *Inventing China Through History* (2001), p. 30.

16 James Reeve PUSEY: *China and Charles Darwin*, Cambridge, Mass. [u.a.]: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University 1983; Jonathan D. SPENCE: *The Search for Modern China*, New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company 1991, pp. 300–302.

17 For the history of education and development of history textbooks in Japan in the Meiji Era (1868–1912) see: Benjamin DUKE: *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872–1890*, New Brunswick, New Jersey, London: Rutgers University Press 2009; James C. BAXTER: "Shaping National Historical Consciousness: Japanese History Textbooks in Meiji-Era Elementary Schools." In: James C. BAXTER and Joshua A. FOGEL (eds.): *Writing Histories in Japan: Texts and Their Transformations from Ancient Times through the Meiji Era*, Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies 2007, pp. 317–350.

One of such tendencies in the late Qing textbooks was the discussion of the origin and development of races (*zhongzu yuanliu* 種族源流).¹⁸ As indicated by ZARROW in discussing the late Qing geographies, “racial distinctions were fundamental to textbooks.”¹⁹ This will change to a certain degree in the Republican era.

As already mentioned, the textbooks of that time represented a kind of mixture of Chinese and Western traditions. This is particularly seen with the causal interpretation as the fall of a state, which is a significant “concept” explained in a traditional way in Chinese historiography: decrease of state power; outer aggression; and corruption/decay of inner political power. This pattern is followed in explaining such events as the fall of the Roman Empire, the Partition of Poland, and the French Revolution etc. The monarch is usually referred to as a tyrant/despot who, by a despotic rule and by levying high taxes, lost “people’s hearts” (*shi minxin* 失民心). For instance, in the section on the constitution in England entitled “The germs/seeds of the constitution” King John is claimed to be very tyrannical (*duo nüezheng* 多虐政) and having lost people’s hearts, and in the 13th century all dukes rallied together (*qunqi* 羣起) and forced the king to establish a constitution.²⁰

QIN, while using the same pictures as from OGAWA’s textbook, not only provides the name of a historical figure but also comments on what this figure was famous for. In most cases, the comments bear positive associations. For instance, “Jesus Christ who advocated universal love”,²¹ Constantine the Great is mentioned as the “Constantine who recovered Rome”²² etc.

A large amount of pages are devoted to the Roman Pope and papal power. Notably, in the textbook by QIN, none of the Popes are named; hence, the figure of the Pope represents power or function. The Pope is described as a despotic ruler, whose power was limitless,²³ and the Catholic Church is presented as the power that obstructed people from progressive development in science. The concept of the “dark ages” is explained by the statement that people’s knowledge decreased because Greek/Latin culture was completely brushed away (*saodi wuyu* 掃地無餘). Hence, people had superstitious beliefs and people deep down in their hearts trusted the Pope (*jiaohuang zui wei renxin suoxin* 教皇最為人心所信).²⁴

18 QIN Ruijie 秦瑞玠 (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi jiaokeshu, juanshang*, 高等小學西洋歷史教科書, 卷上 (Senior Primary School Textbook on the History of the West, vol. 1), Shanghai: Shanghai wenming shuju 1905, pp. 22, 29, 30.

19 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 227.

20 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 35.

21 Ibid., p. 20; OGAWA Ginjirō 小川銀次郎 (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi jiaokeshu, juanyi*, 中等西洋史教科書, 卷一 (Secondary School Textbook on the History of the West, vol. 1), Shanghai: Wenming shuju 1904, p. 18.

22 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 20, 21.

23 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1–2 (1905).

24 Ibid., vol. 1 (1905), p. 32.

The Japanese author in particular talks about the collaboration of Charles the Great and the Roman Pope, and states that Charles the Great very much supported people's education. At the same time, he talks about collisions between them.²⁵ One of the more confusing and unequivocal topics is the role of the Mongols in China and their relations with the outside world. The Mongols are named as an independent race (distinct from the Chinese) and the Song (960–1279) as the dynasty conquered by them.²⁶ The textbooks talk specifically about the Mongol empire, not associating the Mongols only with the Yuan dynasty (1271–1368, fig. 1-1). Nonetheless, both textbooks discuss the relations of the Pope and the Yuan dynasty, and provide different interpretations. OGAWA states that the Pope sent representatives to Yuan China because he had heard of the military glory of the Yuan (*wen Yuan zhi weiming* 聞元之威名)²⁷ while QIN states he was shaken by or afraid of Yuan military glory (*zhen qi weiming* 震其威名).²⁸



Figure 1-1: Map of “The Mongol Empire”²⁹

25 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1904), pp. 4, 5, 7, 8.

26 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 38, 39; OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1904), p. 10.

27 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1904), p. 10.

28 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 39.

29 Source: QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 39.

In many aspects Chinese textbooks reflect the knowledge conveyed in Western textbooks. For instance, the result of the Crusades is associated with the end of feudalism, getting rid of the trammels of dukes and the Church, development of the city-states, trade, and gaining knowledge from the Muslim/Arab countries, which contributed to the scientific and academic development.³⁰ This is quite general knowledge, which is in a sense typical of western textbooks.

The East-West contacts are not as emphasized, but there is an attempt to reveal these connections. QIN indicates that the Xiongnu (ca. 3 BC – 3 AD) nomadic peoples who, according to Chinese sources, used to inhabit territories to the North of China; were suppressed by the Chinese, and went to the West and invaded Europe.³¹ It suggests that by mentioning this the author is attempting to integrate China into world history and reveal the influence of the events taking place in China upon the world.

The Reformation is explained via two main claims: firstly that the Church was corrupt (*fubai* 腐敗) and thus revealing the despotism of the Pope (“the Pope kept doing evil things without a sense of repentance” (*hu’e bu quan* 怙惡不悛); secondly the increase in knowledge (“recovery of the ancient knowledge” (*xueshu fugu* 學術復古)).³² At the same time, the Reformation is viewed as closely connected to political affairs, and consequently, several wars and independence of states are discussed in this context. For instance, the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), the independence of the Netherlands, the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), etc.

The French Revolution (1789), on the one hand, seems to be associated by some textbooks (but not all) with a riot and chaos because the character *luan* 亂 can be found in the titles of the chapter or sections on the French Revolution (Falaxi geming zhi luan 法蘭西革命之亂).³³ On the other hand, naming it the Great French Revolution (Faguo dageming 法國大革命) bears positive connotations. What can be said undoubtedly, the authors definitely stand in solidarity with those who opposed “the cruel and despotic reign” of the French kings. They stress that the French scholars (*ru* 儒) studied the English constitution. One can find a picture of ROUSSEAU (1712–1778) with a subtitle “Rousseau who glorified civil rights” (*changqi minquan zhi Lusao* 唱起民權之盧騷).³⁴ Only one textbook talks of the French

30 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1904), pp. 10–12; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 34, 35.

31 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), pp. 22, 23.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 37.

33 Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 321.

34 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 19. ROUSSEAU with his ideas of equality and social contract was a particularly popular figure among Chinese intellectuals of the time, such as LIU Shipai 劉師培 (1884–1919) and LIANG Qichao. See: Peter

Revolution as a warning, but, again, it says that the great countries changed their policy (obviously, despotic policy) taking the French Revolution as a warning (*guijian* 龜鑒).³⁵ It also states that the French led Europe to republicanism.³⁶

The USA as the country that opposed absolutism and proclaimed a constitution, as well as abolished slavery, has quite a positive image. The USA is also presented as the country, which helped Mexico to attain independence, with the help of the Monroe Doctrine which opposed the European colonialism in the Americas.³⁷

Poland and “Turkey” (i.e. the Ottoman Empire, 1299–1922) are viewed as the warning for future generations, of what can happen to the Qing Empire. For instance, one of the textbooks views “Turkey” as the victim of Russian aggression and states that “only the Sultan’s mistreatment of Christians is a cultural disgrace, suggesting that the diplomatic problems were born out of that. Our country’s people can do nothing but take it as an example/warning for future generations (*guijian* 龜鑒).”³⁸

The textbooks also pay attention to the topic of European aggression in Africa and Asia but do not discuss it in detail. Nonetheless, by providing separate sections on Russo-British interactions in Central Asia, Sino-Russian relations and Sino-French relations, the authors highlight these relations as the most important for them. Having provided a general overview of the situation in the World, in the next chapter the authors finally talk about the development of civilization, science and technology, as well as improvements in education, the military sphere and even politics.³⁹ Such a positive view seems to be aimed at revealing to students how well the government is dealing with the ongoing situation and how the world is becoming a better place to live in.

The Renaissance as an important cultural phenomenon is discussed in all textbooks, but the interpretations and the very terminologies vary from textbook to textbook. Different textbooks refer to it as *guxue fuxing* 古學復興 (“the revival of the ancient learning”) or *wenyun fuxing* 文運復興 (“the revival of the fate of

ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 96; Peter ZARROW: *After Empire: The Conceptual Transformation of the Chinese State, 1884–1924*, Stanford: Stanford University Press 2012, pp. 104–110.

35 Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 321.

36 Ibid.

37 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 15, 16; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), pp. 38, 39.

38 Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 405.

39 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 22–24; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), pp. 42–44.

culture”) or even *guxue changming* 古學昌明 (“thriving of the ancient learning”).⁴⁰ While QIN explains the emergence of the Renaissance by connections with the Arab countries and getting rid of the Church’s authority, other textbooks talk about the Renaissance as a kind of natural phenomenon of the time.⁴¹ The trade and influence of the Arab culture are acknowledged, but not as the most crucial factors for the Renaissance. A more complicated explanation of the Renaissance phenomenon seems to be neglected later, and a more simplified explanation as in the textbook by QIN became widespread in the Republican Era. Remarkably, none of the textbooks mentions the printing press as the Chinese invention, but rather name Johannes GUTENBERG (c. 1400–1468) as the inventor.⁴² This reveals the overwhelming influence of western textbooks.

The main countries mentioned in the textbooks are the Holy Roman Empire (800–1806, Germany), France, Britain⁴³, Spain, Portugal, Italy, “Turkey”, Austria, Prussia, Sweden, Russia, Poland, the USA, Italy, Greece, Belgium, and the Netherlands.⁴⁴ The Great Powers associated with imperialism or colonialism are Britain, France, Prussia, Austria, Russia, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands. France is also associated with ideas of liberty (freedom), the fight for a constitution, and the republic. Britain is also associated with the constitution, parliament, and scientific progress. “Turkey” and Poland in contrast to these states are presented as victims of aggression. Greece, Belgium, and the USA are associated with the fight for independence and freedom.

In terms of the “national history” (*benguoshi* 本國史), Western countries are associated with aggression. Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands are seen as the main European powers that created colonies in Asia before the 19th century and were fighting for trade rights in China. The Portuguese as the first and main representatives of European power in China are described as invaders who rent the territory.⁴⁵ Britain, France, and Russia are mentioned in the context of the Opium

40 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 41; OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1904), p. 15; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 1 (1906), p. 181.

41 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1904), p. 15; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 1 (1906), pp. 181–192.

42 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1904), p. 15; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 1 (1905), p. 42; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 1 (1906), p. 188.

43 All textbooks use the term Yingguo 英國 or Ying 英, which, depending on the time discussed in the textbook, is translated in this chapter as either Britain or England.

44 Textbooks normally do not indicate historical names of the countries they discuss, but refer to them as nation-states.

45 *Putong xin lishi duben* (1901), p. 111; YAO Zuyi (ed.): *Zuixin gaodeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi*, vol. 4 (1906), pp. 33, 34.

Wars (1839–42; 1856–60), the Sino-French War (1884–1885), and border as well as trade treaties.

The textbooks name China's and India's richness (*furao* 富饒), which was admired or longed for (*mu* 慕) by Europeans, as the reason for the Europeans coming to Asia.⁴⁶ The British are described as the one who swallowed the whole of India (*bingtun qi quantu* 并吞其全土), and then reached China at a gallop (*qinqin* 駉駉).⁴⁷ This definitely indicates that the Chinese viewed India as a warning for what might be/or is already happening to China.

The Catholic Church coming to China in turn is claimed to be the result of its loss of power in Western Europe.⁴⁸ Normally, no specific figures are mentioned in the context of the East-West contacts. Only one textbook mentions Matteo RICCI as an Italian missionary,⁴⁹ but later discusses the prohibition of the Catholic Church in China. The text also states that every country (meaning European countries) demanded, by force, reimbursement, claiming that it was in the name of “religious protection” (*hujiao* 護教). This led to clashes and the revolt called *quanfei zhi luan* 拳匪之亂, commonly known nowadays as the Boxer Rebellion (1899–1901).⁵⁰ In this context, the name of Matteo RICCI can hardly be associated with anything positive. Another textbook indicates his impact on science (astronomy and calendar system/science, *lifa* 曆法), but it is hard to state if he is viewed as a positive or negative figure.⁵¹ Among the study materials analyzed in this chapter, only one mentions the Ming time (1368–1644) seafarer ZHENG He 鄭和 (1371–1433) and contends that 30 countries became China's vassal states in the result of his travel.⁵² The unpopularity of ZHENG He in textbooks can be explained by the fact

46 YAO Zuyi 姚祖義 (ed.): *Zuixin gaodeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu, di si ce* 最新高等小學中國歷史教科書, 第四冊 (The Most Recent Senior Primary School Textbook on Chinese History, vol. 4), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1906, pp. 33, 34. The same in *Putong xin lishi duben* 普通新歷史讀本 (Ordinary New History Reader), n.p., 1901, p. 111 with the only difference that the author uses the term Zhina 支那 for “China”, which was used by the Japanese at the time.

47 YAO Zuyi (ed.): *Zuixin gaodeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi*, vol. 4 (1906), p. 34.

48 Putong xin lishi duben (1901), p. 112.

49 ZHANG Zhaotong 張肇桐 (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue guoshi jiaokeshu* 高等小學國史教科書 (Senior Primary School National History Textbook), Shanghai: Wenming shuju 1904, p. 67.

50 This is again quite a negative description of the Boxers. Here they are named as kind of “bandits” (the Boxer rebels), and the whole event is associated with unrest/rebellion. This will change in the republican era, when Yihetuan will be associated with a “movement” (*yihetuan yundong* 義和團運動) against foreigners.

51 *Putong xin lishi duben* (1901), pp. 112, 113.

52 QIAN Zonghan 錢宗翰 (ed.): *Chudeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu, di san ce* 初等小學中國歷史教科書, 第三冊 (Junior Primary School Chinese history textbook, vol. 3), Shanghai: Biaomeng shushi 1907, p. 5.

that his name was quite unknown before LIANG Qichao's publication "Biography of Our Homeland's Great Navigator, Zheng He" in 1904.⁵³

The Image of Russia, 1900–1911

The multiplicity of voices is one of the issues in the study of the image of both Russia and the West. This lies in the fact that different authors and publishing houses provide slightly different interpretations or ways of approaching a topic. For instance, the textbook by the Institute of Translation and Compilation of Commercial Press (1906)⁵⁴ stays highly critical in assessing Russia's role in both national and world history, which can be observed in the negative wording used to describe Russia and in representation of Russia as the biggest aggressor and "troublemaker" that causes *fear* even among other European states. In the section on "the Eastern Question", which was related to the policy of the European Great Powers toward the Ottoman Empire, it is said that Russia and Austria wanted to expand their territory by annexing the European part of "Turkey", and, therefore, "all European countries *were afraid* these two countries would unexpectedly expand" (*Ouzhou geguo kong er guo quanli zhouzhang* 歐洲各國恐二國權力驟張).⁵⁵ In the section on the Crimean War (1853–1856), the text states: "Britain and France *were afraid* Russia would succeed in moving South" (*Ying-Fa zhuguo kong Eluosi dezhi yu nan* 英法諸國恐俄羅斯得志於南).⁵⁶ In the Russo-Turkish relations, Russia is labeled as the forerunner of aggression toward the Ottoman Empire (*Ouzhou zhi xiandao* 歐洲之先導).⁵⁷

Countries coming into conflict with Russia are depicted as victims of Russia's aggression: "Sweden *resists* to Russia" (*Ruidian yu E* 瑞典禦俄)⁵⁸, "Russia *again invades* Turkey" (*Eluosi zai qin Tujue* 俄羅斯再侵突厥), while "Turkey" resisted *utterly bravely* (*Tujue yu zhi yonghanmopi* 突厥禦之勇悍無匹)⁵⁹. In discussing

53 HUI Chun Hing 許振興: "Huangming zuxun yu Zheng He xia Xiyang" 《皇明祖訓》與鄭和下西洋 (Huangming zuxun and Zheng He's voyages to the Western Oceans). In: *Zhongguo wenhua yanjiusuo xuebao* 中國文化研究所學報 *Journal of Chinese Studies*, no. 51, 2010, pp. 67–85.

54 Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906).

55 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

56 *Ibid.*, p. 384.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 301.

58 *Ibid.*, p. 287.

59 *Ibid.*, pp. 387–390.

Russia's domestic policy the textbook talks of a successive generation of Emperors as despotic rulers: even Alexander II, who promoted liberalism (*ziyouzhuyi* 自由主義), later came to accept an extreme form of tyrannical rule (*dayu zhuanzhi zhi ji* 達於專制之極); Alexander III abolished the already set constitution (*fei yi ding zhi xianfa* 廢已定之憲法) and specialized in suppression (*zhuanshi yazhi* 專事壓制) and abusing Jews (*nüedai youtairen* 虐待猶太人) etc.⁶⁰

Here are some more examples from other teaching materials, which, seemingly being slightly less critical of Russia, stay largely the same as the above-mentioned textbook in their major interpretive angle. In certain cases, the textbooks provide slightly different interpretations of certain events. Sometimes there are discrepancies in assessing some historical figures or Russia's role in concrete historical events. For instance, some textbooks refer to the king of Sweden Charles XII as a cruel, despotic ruler, who was later called "the Northern Napoleon", and this is claimed to be the reason why Peter the Great started the Great Northern War (1700–1721) against Sweden.⁶¹ Another textbook also mentions Charles XII as the "Northern Napoleon" but suggests that it was the original plan of Peter the Great to expand the territory of Russia to the Baltic Sea, which was part of Sweden, hence he made an alliance with Poland and Denmark to attack Sweden and divided it (*fenge* 分割). Nonetheless, the text does not apply any negative wording to describing the actions of Peter the Great. His actions are interpreted not as aggression toward Sweden but rather as necessity in order to establish a navy, renovate the army and bring Western civilization to Russia.⁶²

Not much attention is devoted to Russia in general. The emergence of Russia is often viewed together with the establishment of Prussia. These two represent Eastern Europe. Russia is mentioned for the first time in the discussion of modern European history, after such historic events as the Crusades and the Reformation.

While the textbook compiled by the Institute of Translation and Compilation of Commercial Press (1906) provides a general description of the history of Russia before Peter the Great,⁶³ QIN and OGAWA devote only a few sentences to the history of that period. The historic figures mentioned at that period are Ivan III (sometimes omitted) and Ivan IV, during whose reign the country started

60 Ibid., p. 399.

61 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 14; OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 3 (1904), p. 17.

62 HUANG Chaojian 黃朝鑾 (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi jiaokeshu, juan xia* 高等小學西洋歷史教科書, 卷下 (Senior Primary School Textbook on the History of the West, vol. 2), Shanghai: Zhendong xueshe 1906, pp. 29, 30.

63 Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906), pp. 285, 286.

expanding to Siberia.⁶⁴ In general, Russia is described as a quite weak, small and undeveloped (barbarous) country. Peter the Great is viewed as the leading figure in the entire transformation of the state. Russia is mentioned in the context of the Partitions of Poland (1772; 1793; 1795), and in chapters on the Eastern Question, the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), the Holy Alliance, the Crimean War, the Russo-Turkish Wars (textbooks mostly discuss 18th–19th century conflicts), the Congress of Berlin (1878) after the Russo-Turkish War (1877–1878), the general situation in the world.

It should be noted that in Qing times, just as in the 1910s, textbooks devote much attention to the Great Northern War and Russia's role in this war, while starting with the late 1920s they only briefly mention it. The textbooks claim suppression to be the core ideology of the Russian Emperor Alexander I and his suggested Holy Alliance. They also assure that this was the reason why many European states entered this alliance (only the Roman Pope, Britain and “Turkey” did not support it). One of the textbooks indicates that in Germany (Deyizhi 德意志, obviously the German Confederation) “students suggested returning to freedom and unification”.⁶⁵ The very mention of this fact again stresses that the educated persons opposed this ideology and any kind of suppression. According to the text, after the meeting of Prussia, Russia, and all the German states (*Deyizhi zhu zhou* 德意志诸州), it was decided that universities had to be strictly supervised, textbooks had to undergo strict censorship, and the will and spirit of the people were not to expand (*minqi yu bu de shen* 民氣愈不得伸).⁶⁶

Another textbook, while defining the ideology of the Holy Alliance as suppression (*yiya zhuyi* 抑壓主義), indicates that during the Greek War of Independence (1821–1829) from “Turkey”, the Russian Emperor (Alexander I) not only did not support them despite claiming to support Christians but also being frightened by the Austrian side blamed them for this revolt (*yan ze zhi* 嚴責之).⁶⁷ Nonetheless, the new emperor later supported the Greeks, and the textbook mentions the Russo-Turkish War (1828–1829) in the context of the Greek War of Independence.⁶⁸

In the discussion of the Russo-Turkish wars, the textbooks always depict Russia as the aggressor even though they mention other reasons for the wars, i.e., the reasons for starting the Crimean War: the old plan to annex “Turkey”, making

64 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 3 (1904), pp. 16, 17; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 13.

65 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 4 (1904), p. 7.

66 Ibid.

67 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 28.

68 Ibid., pp. 28, 29.

Bulgaria independent, defense of the Holy Land and the Orthodox Greeks living in “Turkey”.⁶⁹

The textbooks also provide a short description of the “national”, i.e., “Chinese history”. Russia is often viewed as the main opponent of Britain in the fight for influence. The textbooks indicate their collisions in Central Asia, Persia, Afghanistan, and the Caucasus in general. In the same context, they talk about Sino-Russian relations and Sino-British relations in the 19th century. Hence the actions of Russia in China are regarded as equal/or compared to the actions of Britain in China. The textbooks mention the invasion of Yili (1871), the Treaty of Aigun (1858), the loss of territories after the Convention of Peking (1860).⁷⁰ QIN also claims that the Russians occupied Sakhalin Island in order to spy (*kui* 窺) on Japan and Korea.⁷¹

Such a description of Russia creates an image of this country as not only aggressive toward “Turkey” but also toward China. Its actions are compared to the actions of the British in China, and hence it is depicted as one of the main enemies of China. It states that Russia claimed to fight for the rights of Christians but it looks as if the main reason behind this claim was the will to expand the territory and annex the European part of “Turkey”. Russia’s main ideology and strategy are often presented as oppression and aggression.

Remarkably, such an image of Russia is totally in line with the image of Russia spread in the Chinese press of the time. KANG Youwei and YAN Fu suggested Peter the Great as a model for China, but his figure was viewed only as a good example of exercising the autocratic power to modernize the state, and none of them seems to have regarded Russia as a stable country.⁷² Some reformers were very critical toward Russia, like WANG Tao 王韜 (1828–1897), who called for alignment with Britain and Japan against the Russian threat, or ZHANG Zhidong 張之洞 (1837–1909) and LIU Kunyi 劉坤一 (1830–1902) who “came to be strong proponents of a Sino-British-Japanese alliance against Russia by the end of 1897”.⁷³ In the late 19th, early 20th century, Russia was viewed by the Chinese intellectuals and reformers as an autocratic state that was never fully Europeanized. But what was the actual reason for such perceptions of Russia? It was partly because of anti-Russian propaganda by the Anglo-American missionaries’

69 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 14, 15; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), pp. 32, 33.

70 OGAWA Ginjirō (ed.): *Zhongdeng xiyangshi*, vol. 4 (1904), pp. 21, 22; QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), pp. 41, 42.

71 QIN Ruijie (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue xiyang lishi*, vol. 2 (1905), p. 42.

72 Don C. PRICE: *Russia and the Roots of the Chinese Revolution*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1974, pp. 32, 45.

73 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

journal, *Wanguo gongbao* 萬國公報 (The Review of the Times) and by the reform press, which was heavily dependent on British and Japanese articles.⁷⁴ It was also in equal parts due to Russia's own policies in the Far East during the late 19th century (Yili Crisis, 1871–1881); the fact that the Liaodong Peninsula was leased to Russia (1898); Russia's intervention into China during the Boxer rebellion (1899–1901).

The image of Russia in Chinese “national history” textbooks is even less disputable, but the description also ranges from being very concise and cautious to very harsh and more detailed. Nevertheless, none of the textbooks presents Russia as a partner and friendly neighbor. For instance, *Putong xin lishi duben* provides a quite aggressive image of Russia. This can be seen from the language (the Russians “frequently spy on Heilongjiang” (*pin kui Heilongjiang* 頻窺黑龍江) and “glare like a tiger eyeing its prey” (*you hushi dandan zhi shi* 有虎視眈眈之勢) and the very interpretation of historical events. All mentions of Russia are put in one separate chapter, which provides a quite detailed narrative. In the discussion of the Treaty of Aigun (1858), the author seems to be searching for an excuse for ceding the territory to Russia. The text claims that the Chinese Emperor asked Russians to help with the border defense while the Russians seized the opportunity and made (*po* 迫) China discuss the border. The cession of the land to Russia in accordance with the Convention of Peking is explained with gratitude for mediation (*tiaoting* 調停) between the two parties (Britain/France - China) after the Second Opium War.⁷⁵

The textbook by the Chinese educator CHEN Maozhi is even harsher in the description of relations with Russia. The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) is explained as the treaty between Russia and China in which China regained the territory once occupied by Russia.⁷⁶ According to Chinese historiography, the Russians invaded the Qing territory, and thus, after the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed and the Russians have left these territories, China has regained what was once occupied by the Russians. In the chapter on Sino-Russian relations, it says that when the Treaty of Nerchinsk was signed, Russians could be suppressed by power (*li yi E* 力抑俄), but later they continued moving East.⁷⁷

Russia is described as an aggressor toward any territory. The text indicates that in 1690 Russia seized Kamchatka and was seeking to occupy Alaska (*canshi* 蠶食, just as how silkworms nibble away at leaves). Russia also forced/urged (*lü*

74 *Ibid.*, pp. 67–69.

75 *Putong xin lishi duben* (1901), pp. 128–130.

76 CHEN Maozhi 陳懋治 (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 高等小學中國歷史教科書, 第五編 (Senior Primary School Textbook on Chinese history, Part 5), Shanghai: Wenming shuju 1906, p. 79.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 84.

po 屢迫) China several times to sign the Treaty of Kyakhta (Kĭākhta, 1728), but no explanation is given as to how this was done.⁷⁸ The author claims that since that time, Russia gradually had been invading the East, but again no additional information is provided on how and what exactly was invaded. CHEN Maozhi, just like the author of *Putong xin lishi duben*, claims that Emperor Nicholas I seized the opportunity of the Chinese soldiers neglecting their duty and established the city of Nikolayevsk (Nikolaevsk) on the outlet of the River Heilongjiang. He was also seeking to “nibble away at” (*canshi* 蠶食) Sakhalin island and used the unrests/revolt in China and foreign aggression to make China change the border and sign the Treaty of Aigun.⁷⁹

Another author, namely QIAN Zonghan, in the textbook for Lower Primary School provides a very concise description of the contacts with Russia. He remains very cautious about describing the 17th century border conflict and does not call the Russians “invaders” directly, but states that the Qing Emperor was “seeking to regain the territory taken away by force earlier”.⁸⁰ In the description of Russia’s role in the Second Opium War, the text indicates that the territory to the East from the Ussuri River was handed to Russia in gratitude for mediating. At the same time, the text indicates that Russians established a trading port at Haishenwei 海參威, i.e. Vladivostok.⁸¹

1912–1928: The Image of the West

The present chapter does not break down this period into smaller ones, but primarily focuses on two textbooks from two decades, one from 1914, and the other from 1923 to reveal, more specifically, the tendencies of the time. Additionally, the textbook by JIN Zhaozi 金兆梓 (1889–1975)⁸² will be consulted to supplement these examples.

78 Ibid.

79 Ibid., p. 85.

80 QIAN Zonghan 錢宗翰 (ed.): *Chudeng xiaoxue Zhongguo lishi jiaokeshu* 初等小學中國歷史教科書，第三冊 (Junior Primary School Chinese history textbook, vol. 3), Shanghai: Biaomeng shushi 1907, p. 14.

81 Ibid., p. 20.

82 JIN Zhaozi was a Chinese historian, who first of all focused on writing and editing history textbooks. He was a student of ZHANG Xiang, who worked at the Zhonghua Shuju. According to JIN, he compiled his first textbooks under guidance and motivation of ZHANG. He first entered Zhonghua Shuju in 1922 and has worked for around a year. His textbook on

The main aspects that change in textbooks are related to the interpretation of East–West relations; the understanding of “Our country” (China); the style of dating the events; maps; the 1054 East–West schism (or the Great Schism); the “new heroes” of the East–West contact; and the image of the USA.

One of the new features emerging in this period is that textbooks focus specifically on maps. The textbook of 1914 by the Chinese linguist and philologist ZHANG Xiang 張相 (1877–1945), who was in charge of the division of teaching materials and for 30 years was the associate director for the Institute of Compilation at the Zhonghua Shuju⁸³, does not have a single picture of any historical figure while it contains a huge amount of maps of different territories. All the maps are in black and white, embedded into the text and take up the size of half a page or one third of a page. Of 50 pages in the first volume, 13 have a map; of 78 pages in the second volume, 18 have a map. Hence, approximately every fourth page has a map. FU Yunlin’s textbook of 1923 has only 10 maps in two volumes, but they are in color and placed on separate pages (not numbered), while the pictures of some historical figures are in black and white and quite small in size. This could indicate that for China the territorial issues were much more important at that time than concrete historical figures. In the preface, FU Yunlin indicates that the main idea (*yaozhi* 要旨) is to impart to the students the change of situation in the world, the rise and fall of famous countries, the development of humanity, and, furthermore, relations with China.⁸⁴ Both authors, however, do not explain what the main function of the maps in the textbooks should be.

The textbook by the Chinese scholar ZHONG Yulong 鍾毓龍 (1880–1970) on “National history” also has many maps. There one can find, in particular, a quite exaggerated map of Qing China at its prime, where western frontiers of the Qing empire almost reach Europe (fig. 1-2).⁸⁵ This looks like an attempt to show China’s greatness as of an enormously huge country. At the same time, this again reveals the importance of the territorial issues for China of the time. The Qing dynasty was definitely considered to be a foreign, oppressive dynasty, but the perfected

Chinese history (*benguoshi* 本國史) produced at that period was very popular and the number of sales in half a year has reached a number of 25 000 copies. See: LI Zhiming 李志茗: “Jin Zhaozi ji qi shixue” 金兆梓及其史学 (Jin Zhaozi and His Historiography). In: *Shi Lin* 史林 (Historical Review) no. 6, 2012, pp. 130–138.

83 ZHANG Xiang 張相. Available online: <https://baike.baidu.com/item/%E5%BC%A0%E7%9B%B8/2507523> (last access 2020, April 2).

84 FU Yunlin 傅運林 (ed.): *Zhongxuexiao yong Gongheguo jiaokeshu xiyang shi, juan shang* 中學校用共和國教科書西洋史, 卷上 (Secondary School Republican Textbook on the Western History, vol. 1), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1923, p. 1.

85 ZHONG Yulong 鍾毓龍 (ed.): *Zhongxuexiao shiyong Xinzhi Benguoshi jiaoben, san* 中學校適用新制本國史教本, 三 (Secondary School New-Style Textbook on the History of Our Country, vol. 3), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1914, p. 75.

territory of Qing China, as indicated in ZHAO Yusen's teacher's manual in Commercial Press from 1913–1914, had to be preserved by “the citizens of the Republic”.⁸⁶ As indicated by ZARROW in discussing the textbooks produced after 1928, while Qing was treated as a conquest and foreign dynasty, the Qing “got high marks for territorial expansion”.⁸⁷ Regarding the territorial issues, this was also true for textbooks produced just after the establishment of the Republic. Borders were often not delineated clearly. ZARROW suggests that this was due to the question of whether or not the Qing had become Chinese enough so that Han Chinese “should take pride in its imperial reach and lay claims to its territories”,⁸⁸ and concludes that for most Republican elites “aside from any questions of national pride, strategic necessity meant that they needed to claim as much of the Qing territory as possible”.⁸⁹ Illustrations became less important in comparison to the late Qing textbooks. For instance, the textbooks talk about Jesus Christ and the spread of Christianity, but they show no pictures of Jesus Christ.⁹⁰



Figure 1-2: Map of the Qing dominion at its prime⁹¹

86 Quoted from: Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 186.

87 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 194.

88 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

89 *Ibid.*, p. 195.

90 ZHANG Xiang 張相 (ed.): *Zhongxue xiao shiyong Xinzhi xiyangshi jiaoben, shang* 中學校適用新制西洋史教本, 上 (Secondary School New-Style Textbook on the Western History, vol. 1, Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1914, p. 22; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 27.

91 Source: ZHONG Yulong (ed.): *Xinzhi Benguoshi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1914), p. 75.

In indicating the specific year, the textbook of ZHANG Xiang (1914) uses the Gregorian calendar, but FU Yunlin's textbook (1923) indicates time in a more GMD way: the Gregorian calendar, in *minguo (qian)* 民國(前) ((before) the Republic)⁹² and in classical Chinese style with the reign title.

The Xiongnu are mentioned but no connection to China is attributed to them. ZHANG Xiang's textbook (1914) merely indicates that they attacked the Goths and later attacked many other nations and established their own state.⁹³ FU Yunlin's textbook (1923) talks about Huns (*Fenren* 芬人) describing them as the descendants of the Xiongnu (*Xiongnu yizu* 匈奴遺族), who came from Asia.⁹⁴

Both textbooks mention the East-West Schism in Christianity of 1054, when the Eastern and Western Christian Churches broke communion; something that was not discussed in the late Qing textbooks for example.⁹⁵ Both textbooks discuss the relations between the state and the Church: first, the collaborations of the Pope and Charles the Great; then the collision between the state and the Church. Generally speaking, the image of the Pope is still quite negative, because that is the figure that, according to textbooks, wanted to control world Empires.⁹⁶

The Crusades continue to be described through the same categories as in the late Qing textbooks. The "Turkish" invasion in Jerusalem and the mistreatment of Christians are revealed to be the main reason for the Crusades. FU Yunlin's textbook (1923) provides quite emotional descriptions of the Christians who were "wildly excited" (*kuangfen* 狂奮) and could hardly wait to conquer the Turks and overtake Jerusalem.⁹⁷ The result of the Crusades named by the authors is the same as the ones mentioned in the Qing textbooks.⁹⁸

The concept of races (*zhongzu* 種族) is less discussed even though it does not disappear altogether. Most likely because the idea of the nation was much more important for the San-min Doctrine. The concept seems to become more general. For instance, the textbook of FU Yunlin (1923) uses the concept of the "Asian race", and thus claims that "the 'Turkish Empire' was established by an Asian race, and that all European states originally hated it (*su xian e zhi* 素嫌惡之)."⁹⁹ The

92 The Republic of China calendar or Minguo calendar indicates the date since the establishment of the Republic (1912) or, consequently, before the Republic.

93 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1914), pp. 25–27.

94 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 28.

95 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 30; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 33, 34.

96 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1914), pp. 30–35; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), pp. 47, 48.

97 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 40.

98 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 36; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 41.

99 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 51.

textbooks mostly talk about nationality or ethnic groups (*zu* 族).¹⁰⁰ The Mongols again are viewed as a separate ethnicity/nationality, different from the Chinese.

Disagreement appears between different authors about the interpretation of events and the role of the Mongols. The textbook by ZHANG Xiang (1914) devotes only one page to the Mongols and states that the Germanic people fled to the Roman Pope and asked to send the Crusades to defend them from “the Mongols”. He did not respond.¹⁰¹ FU Yunlin’s textbook (1923) states that the Pope saw the power of the Mongols and wanted to preach Christianity to them, and also with the help of them wanted to attack the Muslims from both sides (*jiaji* 夾擊).¹⁰²

The authors stress the impact of the Mongols on the East-West contact, which is revealed in the collaboration between the former and the Europeans to suppress the Muslims. At the same time, the new concept of the “Chinese Mongols” (*Zhongguo mengguzu* 中國蒙古族) appears. The Chinese historian JIN Zhaozi speaks of the Mongol Western military campaign as the land operation to the West completed by “the people of our country”.¹⁰³

In the discussion of the Renaissance (*wenyi fuxing* 文藝復興, “the revival of literature and art”), the Church continues to be represented as the power that impeded the development of sciences and progress. At the same time, the textbooks indicate that philosophy was used for scholasticism, and thus was not completely

100 In discussing the Origin myths in republican-period textbooks Peter ZARROW indicates that early Republican textbooks continued to speak of Huaren in racial terms, but I could not find such extensive use of the term race (*renzhong* 人種/ *zhongzu* 種族) in the textbooks discussing Western history, as it was in the late Qing textbooks. See: Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), pp. 164, 165. Here the term “nationality” will be applied, because the textbooks do not talk specifically about White, Black or Yellow races, but about specific nations/nationalities of China. For discussion of the use of the concept of race in China see: Gotelind MÜLLER: “Are We ‘Yellow’ and Who is ‘Us’? China’s Problems with Globalising the Concept of ‘Race’” (around 1900), in: BJOAF 2008, pp. 153–180. LEIBOLD prefers not to translate the term “*minzu*”, and sometimes applies the term “*zhongzu*” only with a translation in brackets as “race”. He indicates that several Chinese intellectuals employed both terms interchangeably. See: James LEIBOLD: “Competing Narratives of Racial Unity in Republican China: From the Yellow Emperor to Peking Man”, in: *Modern China* no. 2, April 2006, pp. 208, 212, 213 fn. 1. Hyung Il PAI indicates that the same way the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) publications “frequently do not distinguish between concepts such as race, tribe, clan, ethnic group, and ethnic state.” Hyung Il PAI: “Japanese Anthropology and The Discovery of Prehistoric ‘Korea’”, in: *Journal of East Asian Archaeology*, vol. 1, 1–4, 1999, p. 354, fn. 3.

101 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 37.

102 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshì*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 47.

103 JIN Zhaozi 金兆梓 (ed.): *Xin xuezhì shiyong Xin xiaoxue jiaokeshu Lishi keben jiaoshoushu*, *Gaoji di san ce* 新小學教科書: 歷史課本教授書, 高級 第三冊 (Teacher’s manual for New Educational System. Historical Readers for Higher Primary Schools, vol. 3), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1923, p. 97.

neglected. The influence of the Arab civilization is still mentioned, but the focus has shifted to Italian schools, artists, and writers. Besides that, the authors mention Oxford and Bologna Universities, where people studied different disciplines. Textbooks continue the discussion regarding the printing press as GUTENBERG’s invention and, surprisingly for some, paper as an Italian invention. The section on the Renaissance is followed by a rather short section on geographic discoveries.¹⁰⁴

While naming the reign of Elisabeth (1558–1603) as “prosperous times” in England, ZHANG Xiang also talks about the Western powers invading the East. According to the text, the Mongols lost their power in India,¹⁰⁵ while Portugal, the Netherlands, Spain, Britain, and France focused on America and Asia.¹⁰⁶ Consequently, these countries are represented as the main colonizers. The textbooks have sections on the European colonies and vassal states, including those in Africa. For the description of the colonies in Africa, the authors use the sensitive term for the Chinese – *guafen* 瓜分 “to cut apart like a melon” (i.e. to dismember); which is often used for China. ZHANG Xiang’s textbook also has a map of the colonies in Africa managed by such Great Powers as Britain, France, Germany, Italy, and Portugal (fig. 1-3).¹⁰⁷



Figure 1-3: Map of the European colonies in Africa¹⁰⁸

104 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1914), pp. 47–50; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1923), pp. 56–59.

105 In the context of “five races under one union” this sounds like “our country’s people” lost the power in India.

106 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 6–11.

107 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 126–130; ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi* vol. 2 (1914), pp. 70–73.

108 Source: ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 71.

The image of the USA changes at this period. The Puritans, who opposed the kind of tyrannical rule exhibited by the King of England and migrated to North America, have a more positive image, as the victims of the despotic reign. The image of the USA is consequently also quite positive in this context.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, in discussing a modern USA the textbooks pinpoint its aggression and fight for influence in the Pacific Ocean. The textbooks mention the war with Spain (1898) and state that the USA used the mistreatment of the Filipinos as an excuse (*koushi* 口實) to start the war. Hence, the USA also seized Cuba, and, in 1900, furthermore used the revolt in Hawaii to annex the latter. In 1900, together with Germany, it also separated Samoa. In this regard, the USA is also represented as the superpower that colonizes/annexes territories and, together with other Great Powers, participated in cutting apart states and islands.¹¹⁰

The image of the French Revolution stays more or less the same as in the late Qing textbooks. The authors name the following causes: the despotism of the ruler and mistreatment of the people; high taxes; the clergy and aristocracy's exemption from paying taxes; new ideas of freedom and equality; independence of the USA and constitution. The textbooks devote more than 10 pages to this topic, which again reveals the importance of it to the Chinese authors.¹¹¹

Surprisingly enough, despite the fact of WWI (1914–1918, as the “Great European War”, *Ouzhou dazhan* 歐洲大戰) standing in the 1923s curricula outline,¹¹² there is no separate chapter on WWI in the textbook by FU Yunlin. The war is even barely mentioned in the chapter on the recent situation in some Western countries, including the USA.¹¹³

The Industrial Revolution is not separately discussed either, even though it is named in the curricula outline (1923) as *gongye gexin* 工業革新.¹¹⁴ There are separate sections on culture and science: the authors discuss different achievements in culture and science, but the very Industrial Revolution is not yet represented as the main turning point. However, this changes in the 1930s.

The textbook thus seems to barely correspond to many points indicated in the course outline. Besides the aforementioned discrepancies with the curricula outline, there are many others. For instance, the Chinese printing press is not

109 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 14–16, 33, 34; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 1–15, 26–27.

110 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 72, 73; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 120, 121.

111 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), pp. 37–48; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 28–41.

112 Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (comp.): *20 shiji. Lishijuan* (2001), p. 20.

113 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 108–129.

114 Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (comp.): *20 shiji. Lishijuan* (2001), p. 19.

mentioned (instead, the printing press is mentioned as GUTENBERG's invention); the textbook uses the term *wenyi fuxing* 文藝復興 for the Renaissance, and not *fugu yundong* 復古運動 (“the movement for the return to the ancients”) as in the outline; and the textbook does not discuss any aspects of socialism in the context of the Industrial Revolution; neither does it touch upon concepts such as Romanticism, or Rationalism, and has many other discrepancies with the outline.¹¹⁵ In discussing the 1923 curricula ZARROW, with reference to Robert CULP, states “it is not clear if any history textbooks were actually written along these lines”.¹¹⁶

The “National” or “Chinese history” textbooks rather chose to elaborate on the topic of the Mongols. ZHONG Yulong states that the Yuan's military power came to the West, and opened a new way to exchange and trade. The Europeans were fighting with the Muslims and were astonished by the Yuan military power; they wanted to form an alliance to suppress Muslims and for that reason sent representatives to the Mongols to negotiate.¹¹⁷ At the same time, in the introduction the author defines the Mongols as a separate nationality that conquered the Chinese, but later five nationalities, including the Mongols, became “one family”.¹¹⁸ Here one can see the principle commonly known as “Five Races Under One Union” (*wuzugonghe* 五族共和) proclaimed by the Beiyang government (1912–1928).

Some “new” historical figures appear in the textbooks on both “the national history” and “the history of the West”. ZHANG Xiang does not mention Marco POLO, but he appears in the textbook on “national history” by ZHONG Yulong as well as in the textbook on “the history of the West” by FU Yunlin. ZHONG Yulong states that POLO served in China and in his book described the richness (*fuli* 富麗) of China; it was thus that the name of the Khitan became widespread (*zao* 噪) in Europe.¹¹⁹ FU only mentions the fact that Marco POLO came from Venice, and was treated as a favorite (*chongyu* 寵遇) for 12 years by the Yuan.¹²⁰ JIN Zhaozi provides a whole section on Marco POLO with the map of his journey, a story of him coming with his father to China, and writing a book about China after his return, which has raised the interest of Europeans for China and influenced the discovery of the new sea route as well as the “New World” (*Xin dalu* 新大陸).¹²¹ To a certain degree, such interpretation made China a kind of contributor to the discovery of the “New World” and partly to the development of the world. This, in particular,

115 See: *Ibid.*, pp. 17–20.

116 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 153.

117 ZHONG Yulong (ed.): *Xin-zhi Benguoshi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1914), p. 6.

118 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

119 ZHONG Yulong (ed.): *Xin-zhi Benguoshi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1914), p. 6.

120 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1923), p. 47.

121 JIN Zhaozi (ed.): *Lishi keben jiaoshou*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 1, 2.

corresponds with the 1923 curricula, which discusses the development of the world cultures, as well as the relations between China and Europe.¹²²

Another historical figure, namely Matteo RICCI, is very briefly mentioned by ZHONG Yulong as a missionary.¹²³ PAN Wu mentions him, together with the Chinese scholar and Catholic convert XU Guangqi 徐光啓 (1562–1633), as the missionary who not only preached but also brought Western learning to China and who contributed, among others, to the development of guns. Nonetheless, the technique was not perfect, and the Ming have consequently lost out to the Qing Manchus.¹²⁴ JIN Zhaozi is much more positive about Matteo RICCI and Christianity in general, but this is rather an exception to the huge amount of other textbooks. He indicates that nowadays the Church builds schools, hospitals, and improves preaching techniques. RICCI learned Chinese, wore Confucian clothes, preached Christianity and brought with him the attributes of Western learning, with the help of which he preached Christianity to intellectuals. At the same time, the text points out that XU Guangqi has edited RICCI's books and made improvements where he has made mistakes. Thus, the text might indicate some kind of superiority of the Chinese over Europeans.¹²⁵ Talking about the image of the Western countries in the “national history” textbooks in general, it barely changes, and the aggressive nature of their arrival in China continue to be discussed.

The figure of ZHENG He became much more popular than in the Qing period. His journey is described in detail. It is indicated that 30 states paid tribute to the Ming and that consequently mutual trade continued. The map of his journey is also embedded in the text.¹²⁶

1912–1928: The Image of Russia

The textbooks produced in the 1910s are less negative in the assessment of Russia and its actions in the international arena. These textbooks definitely inherited certain features of the textbooks from the Qing era, for instance, a more detailed

122 Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (comp.): *20 shiji. Lishijuan* (2001), pp. 16–19.

123 ZHONG Yulong (ed.): *Xin-zhi Benguoshi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1914), p. 64.

124 PAN Wu 潘武 (ed.): *Gaodeng xiaoxuexiao yong Xinbian Zhonghua lishi jiaokeshu, si* 高等小學校用新編中華歷史教科書, 四 (New Chinese Historical Readers for Senior Primary School, vol. 4), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1915, p. 2.

125 JIN Zhaozi (ed.): *Lishi keben jiaoshoushu*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 25–30.

126 ZHONG Yulong (ed.): *Xin-zhi Benguoshi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1914), p. 38; JIN Zhaozi (ed.): *Lishi keben jiaoshoushu*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 97–103.

description of the Great Northern War. Russia before Peter the Great is not depicted as barbarous, and Tsar Ivan III is portrayed as a brave and powerful ruler. The textbooks also remark that Russia's expansion to Siberia started during the reign of Ivan IV.¹²⁷

In the case of FU Yunlin, the description of Russia before Peter the Great does not differ much from that of the Japanese historian and educator HONDA Asajirō (1867–1939)¹²⁸ and ZHANG Xiang. Nevertheless, FU specifically points out that Peter turned Russia from a barbarous into a civilized country.¹²⁹

The most important difference between the textbooks from the 1910s and 1920s concerning Russia before Peter is that in the 1910s the textbooks indicate the bonds of Russia with the Eastern Roman Empire (E.R.E., 395–1453), stressing that the Tsar viewed Russia as the successor of the E.R.E. and has married the niece of the last Emperor of the E.R.E.¹³⁰ In the 1910s this was a topic, but later this was not discussed at all.

What changes dramatically in comparison to the late Qing textbooks is the interpretation of Russia's role in the Holy Alliance. In this period the textbooks define the ideology of this alliance as suppression but also state that the Russian Emperor Alexander I suggested this alliance as the Christian Alliance, where all the state rulers are viewed as brothers and citizens of states as one family. Mutual support and love in the name of peace were proclaimed as the core of this alliance. The Austrian Chancellor METTERNICH (1773–1859) is claimed to be the one who used the opportunity and made “suppression” (*yazhi* 壓制) the core of the ideology behind the Holy Alliance.¹³¹ FU Yunlin states that “the meaning of this alliance

127 HONDA Asajirō 本多淺治郎 (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* 西洋歷史教科書 (Textbook on Western history), Shanghai: Qunyi shushe 1912, p. 262; ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 21.

128 HONDA Asajirō graduated from the Department of History of the Imperial University [now: Tokyo University] in July 1893. He was a well-known and productive history educator, who specialized in writing history textbooks and focused on methods of education. The most important characteristic of HONDA's method of historical education was *sanbun hōron* 三分法論 [i. e. splitting chapters, explanations etc. into three parts, to make them easier to understand and remember, for example introducing a thought, developing it, and then drawing a conclusion]. See: SUZUKI Masahiro 鈴木 正弘: “Honda Asajirō no ‘seiyōshi’ kyōju kōsō to kyōkasho, sankō shorui” 本多淺治郎の「西洋史」教授構想と教科書・参考書類 (HONDA Asajirō's “Western history” teaching concept and textbooks, reference books). In: *Sōgō rekishi kyōiku* 総合歴史教育 (Comprehensive history education) no. 41, July 2005, pp. 10–32.

129 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), p. 18.

130 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshi*, vol. 1 (1914), p. 47; HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), p. 262.

131 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhì xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 49; HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), p. 357.

was quite unclear (*po wei kongmo* 頗為空漠) and METTERNICH got the real power of this alliance to carry out his conservative policy of suppressing liberal movements”.¹³²

In terms of the Greek War of Independence, the textbooks of that period merely interpret it as the opposition to the Holy Alliance (despite the fact that the Ottoman Empire did not support this alliance), and the very independence is associated with the end of the Holy Alliance. METTERNICH is viewed as the only supporter of the ideology of suppression, while Nicholas I is described as the one who stood in opposition to METTERNICH.¹³³ Nevertheless, the whole Greek War of Independence is discussed within the context of the opposition of the conservative policy pursued by the world empires and liberal movements that appeared in the 19th century.

Regarding Russo-Turkish relations, the textbooks continue to talk about Russia’s ambitions to invade “Turkey”. At the same time, the textbooks indicate that Christians in Jerusalem were abused by the Turkish and complained (*su* 訴) to the Russian Emperor. Nicholas I seized the opportunity, and thus the Crimean War started.¹³⁴ Another textbook states that Napoleon III ordered “Turkey” to admit protectorate rights of the Catholic Church over Jerusalem, and the Russian Emperor Nicholas I used this as an excuse to invade “Turkey”. Nonetheless, in the preceding subchapter, the textbook indicates that the French Napoleon III had close ties with the Pope and “wanted to enhance national prestige to strengthen his position and therefore the Crimean War started”.¹³⁵

With such a statement, the textbook claims that at least one of the reasons, or probably the main reason, for the outbreak of the Crimean War was the ambitions of Napoleon III. At the same time, in the description of the war, the text states that the Russian army “defended itself to the utmost” (*jieli fangyu* 竭力防禦),¹³⁶ which in a certain sense describes Russia as “a victim” who gave all its power to defend the state.

FU indicates that Russia had its own ambitions. “Turkey’s” decay is explained by the growth of Russia. Russia is portrayed as an aggressor toward “Turkey” that was willing to conquer it and even engaged in the defense of Christians in order to inflict hardship on “Turkey” (*yu yi ku Tuerqi* 欲以苦土耳其). Subsequently, “Turkey” is described as the victim of the Crimean War. The text states that the

132 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 44, 45.

133 HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), pp. 360, 361; ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhongguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 51; FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 51–53.

134 HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), pp. 373, 374.

135 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xinzhongguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 57.

136 Ibid.

Ottoman statesman and diplomat Reshid PASHA (1800–1858) assisted the ruler with all his heart and allowed religious freedom.¹³⁷

In the discussion of the Russian policy in the East and China, in particular, Russia is described as the aggressor, and its actions are compared to the action of other imperialist powers. The textbooks pay due attention to the Anglo-Russian competition and collisions in Afghanistan and Pakistan. They are presented as competitors for the influence in Central Asia and in the Far East.¹³⁸ In this context, they also briefly mention Sino-Russian relations in the 19th century and indicate that Russia used the British-French invasion of China (Zhina 支那) to seize (*duo* 奪) the left bank of the River Heilongjiang. During China's peace discussion with Britain and France, Russia seized the opportunity and acted as an intermediary, later demanding the territory to the East from the Ussuri River as a reward for mediation.¹³⁹ In the domestic policy Russia is also depicted as an authoritarian state. Alexander II, in particular, is described as an original adherent of liberalism who allowed freedom of speech and in 1861 proclaimed emancipation (peasant reform) but later restored despotism.¹⁴⁰ Alexander III is mentioned as a despotic ruler who abused the Jews and forced Finland to submit. Nicholas II is suggested to be an adherent of liberalism, who reduced the land tax and granted amnesty to political criminals. After the loss in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), he proclaimed the constitution. However, Russia, as an initially despotic state, could not design a good constitution besides that WWI (“European War”) influenced the situation in the country, and therefore, the revolt ensued in 1917.¹⁴¹ Such a depiction of the last three emperors is very close to what we could see in *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906) from the late Qing period. The October Revolution, however, is not discussed in detail. The text says that the House of Representatives formed the government and made the Emperor resign. He was brought to Siberia as a prisoner and was killed along with his entire family the next year. The whole state was seemingly in disorder (*yunrao* 雲擾) and fell apart (*sifen wulie* 四分五裂).¹⁴²

In the textbooks concerning “national history” or “the history of China”, Russia continues to be presented as the aggressor. In the discussion of the border conflict of the 17th century and the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689), the textbooks state that

137 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), p. 75.

138 ZHANG Xiang (ed.): *Xin-zhi xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1914), p. 69; HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), pp. 402–404.

139 HONDA Asajirō (ed.): *Xiyang lishi jiaokeshu* (1912), p. 405.

140 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 102–116.

141 *Ibid.*, pp. 116–118.

142 *Ibid.*, p. 118.

Russian Cossacks invaded the Qing Empire.¹⁴³ The same image stays in the discussion of the Treaty of Aigun and Convention of Peking. Some authors portray Russia as an even greater aggressor than Britain and France. The textbooks state that Britain, France, and the USA received satisfactory treaties and some reward while Russia's wish was the most exceptional (*E ze xuwang youshe* 俄則蓄望尤奢).¹⁴⁴

To sum up, the reign of Peter the Great is depicted as a prosperous period of time wherein Western civilization entered the country, and all the great and useful reforms took place. At the same time, the idea of expansion, the invasion of Poland and especially the policy toward "Turkey" are associated with the name and will of Peter the Great. Russia's role in the Partition of Poland and interpretation of it stays more or less the same. FU also adds ideas of patriotism and states that people blamed their government and were not patriotic (*yuan qi zhengfu, haowu aiguo zhi xin* 怨其政府，毫無愛國之心).¹⁴⁵ Alexander I is not viewed as a tyrant, but the ideology of his suggested alliance was changed to suppression. In the description of the relationship between "Turkey" and Russia, Russia continues to be regarded as the aggressor, which uses the mistreatment of the Orthodox Christians in "Turkey" as an excuse to achieve its ambitions i.e., to invade and annex parts of "Turkey". The three lost Russian emperors: Alexander II, Alexander III and, to some extent, Nicholas II are claimed to be despots, and Russia is claimed to be a despotic state.

143 ZHU Wenshu 朱文叔 (ed.): *Xin jiaoyu jiaokeshu lishi gaodeng xiaoxue xiaoyong* 新教育教科書歷史六高等小學校用 (New Educational Historical Readers For Higher Primary Schools, vol. 6), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1922, p. 1; LI Yuerui 李岳瑞 (ed.): *Xin xuezhi zhongdeng xuexiao shiyong Pingzhu guoshi duben, shiyi ce* 新學制中等學校適用評注國史讀本，十一冊 (New Educational System Secondary School Annotated State History Reader, vol. 11), Shanghai: Shijie shuju 1926, pp. 76–80.

144 See: ZHAO Yulin 趙玉林 (ed.): *Zhongxuexiao yong Gongheguo jiaokeshu Benguoshi, juan xia* 中學校用共和國教科書本國史，卷下 (Secondary School Republican Textbook on the History of China, vol. 2), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1915, pp. 56, 57; LI Yuerui (ed.): *Pingzhu guoshi duben*, vol. 11 (1926), pp. 102, 103.

145 FU Yunlin (ed.): *Gongheguo xiyangshi*, vol. 2 (1923), p. 24.

1928–1949: The Image of the West

Already in the early 1920s textbooks where “national history” was integrated into “world history” started to appear. Such textbooks continued to appear in the 1930s–1940s. This shift to integrate all kinds of history was revolutionary, but it did not hold for a long time. In discussing this period, the present chapter first of all focuses on such textbooks. Nonetheless, other textbooks will also be used to provide more examples and reveal interpretive tendencies.

The curricular goals for 1932 and 1936 are identical; therefore, we cannot speak of any fundamental changes in textbooks throughout the 1930s. The objectives for 1940 and 1941 are also similar and do not differ much from those indicated in the curricula for the 1930s.¹⁴⁶

During this period, the curricula first of all focus on the development of imperialism. The 1932 curriculum for senior high school sets the goal: “to describe the development of modern imperialism, the general status of national movements and the origin of important contemporary international problems”.¹⁴⁷

In the curriculum, the commissions have set the goal to arouse students’ patriotism, to cultivate self-confidence, to teach them to take pride in their nation, to provide a general knowledge of the states and nations which in their view are “important”, to highlight the history of national movements and to show the importance of the fight for independence.¹⁴⁸ It should be noted that throughout the history textbooks (*Lishi keben* 歷史課本) one can sense a negative attitude toward monarchy and imperialism on the one hand, and praise for revolutions and liberal movements on the other. The image of Western countries in terms of national history does not change much in this period. Still, there are some changes related first of all to the new ideas or patterns. The presence of such ideas as “capitalist imperialism” or “class struggle” in the textbooks reveals the influence of Marxism-Leninism. Another significant change is in the interpretation of the place of China in the world. The authors often point out that China has contributed a lot to

146 Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (comp.): *20 shiji. Lishijuan* (2001), pp. 43–88.

147 Ibid., p. 50.

148 Ibid., pp. 43, 50.

Western scientific development.¹⁴⁹ The “3 great inventions of China” i.e., gunpowder, the printing press¹⁵⁰ and the compass¹⁵¹ are specifically mentioned. The Great Western Powers and nations in the “national history” are generally shown as ambitious, cunning and cruel; nations who came to China for their own profit, mainly for the extraction of resources, for trade, and also Christian preaching. The textbook for higher primary school education of 1948 states that the main purpose for the arrival of the Europeans was trade, while Christian preaching and “Western learning” came next in importance.¹⁵² The textbook also indicates that the contacts with the West gradually developed since the Han (206 BC–220 AD) and Tang (618–907) times and during the Yuan dynasty while communication especially developed due to the extension of the state territory.¹⁵³ Hence, the authors not only stress the early development of the Sino-West contacts but also might imply that it was Yuan China that conquered some Western States including Russia.¹⁵⁴ ZARROW also remarks that the Yuan dynasty was, according to the

149 This objective is also indicated in the curriculum for junior secondary school students in 1932: “to explain what the contribution of Chinese culture to world culture was so that students are aware of the great deeds of our ancestors in order to develop noble aspirations and self-improvement spirit in them”. See: *Ibid.*, p. 43. The goals for the senior secondary school curriculum indicate that “the above-mentioned goals complement the goals specified in the junior secondary school curriculum”. The goals for the senior secondary school contain a similar item: “to show the contribution of every nation to the world culture”. See: *Ibid.*, p. 50.

150 With regard to the printing press (printing technique), it is said that this invention came to Europe from China and made a great contribution to the dissemination of culture. See: CHU Hui 儲禕 (ed.): *Beixin lishi jiaoben - Gaoji xiaoxue yong, di si ce* 北新歷史教本—高級小學用，第四冊 (Senior Primary school history textbook, vol. 4), Shanghai: Beixin shuju 1932, p. 22.

151 According to CHU Hui, the Europeans admired Chinese culture, and after discovering these “3 Chinese treasures”, they desired to bring the Chinese their greatest learning/science (*xueshu* 學術), namely, Christianity. See: CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 2 (1932), p. 36. The compass is repeatedly referred to as a Chinese invention, which gave a huge impetus to the development of the shipping industry and, accordingly, the discovery of new lands. See: CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 22, 23. The textbook published in 1948 says that the Europeans used the “compass that came from China and the knowledge of geography that came to them from the Arab Empire, and thus maritime navigation developed”. See: Guoli bianyiguan 國立編譯館 (ed.): *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi keben, di san ce* 高級小學歷史課本，第三冊 (Senior Primary school history textbook, vol. 3), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1948, p. 1.

152 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), p. 5.

153 *Ibid.*

154 Cf. Similar idea by CHU Hui: “[Russia] got divided into small many states, the *Chinese Mongols* have risen, expanded to the West, and many small states surrender to the Golden Horde.” CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 28. On p. 23 the textbook states

textbooks, an oppressive dynasty, but Khubilai is acknowledged as the ruler who “unified China.”¹⁵⁵ Although Chinese authors of textbooks distinguished between the Chinese and outer territory (rest of Asia and eastern Europe), the Yuan were considered by them to be the dynasty “under which the extent of Chinese territory was at its greatest”.¹⁵⁶

Marco POLO and Matteo RICCI are briefly mentioned in the context of Sino-Western contacts. The textbooks provide the same set of information as in the previous period; POLO’s book raised European interest for the East and after the discovery of the new sea route the European presence in the East increased. RICCI preached Christianity and used the following method: following Chinese customs and introducing Western learning.¹⁵⁷

In discussing the migration period in Europe (375–568 AD), characterized by the widespread invasions of peoples, CHU Hui states that there was a tyranny of warlords (*junfa hengxing* 軍閥橫行) in Rome, and Germanic tribes started expanding. This could serve as a reference to warlordism in China and the connotations about the comparable situation in the unstable China at that time in order to raise students’ concern. By stating that there was a northern expedition (*bei zheng* 北征) of the military general WEI Qing 衛青 (?–106BC) against the Xiongnu, the result of which saw the Xiongnu invading Europe, he showed the connection between China and the West.¹⁵⁸

The textbooks always pay due attention to England or Britain. The “Magna Carta” of the 13th century England is referred to as the starting point (foundation) of constitutions of all countries in the whole world.¹⁵⁹ The authors praise the Industrial Revolution that came from Britain and has changed the entire world, especially, in terms of the development of material culture and improvement in the quality of life.¹⁶⁰ According to their interpretation, the Industrial Revolution not

more clearly that the Chinese Yuan dynasty made a military campaign to the West (Zhongguo Yuanchao juxing xiqin 中國元朝舉行西侵).

155 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 191.

156 *Ibid.*, pp. 191, 192.

157 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), p. 5.

158 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 9.

159 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), p. 10; Jiaoyubu bianshen weiyuanhui 教育部編審委員會 (ed.): *Gaoxiao lishi, di san ce* 高小歷史, 第三冊 (Senior Primary school history textbook, vol. 3), Beijing: Zhongguo lianhe chuban gongsi 1944, pp. 14–16.

160 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), pp. 17, 18.

only led to improving the standard of living and the development of science but also contributed to the development of imperialism and colonial expansion.¹⁶¹

Highlighting the negative aspect of the Industrial Revolution, CHU expresses to a moderate extent a utopian idea of assistance to “small nations”. Assistance had to be provided by the Great Powers while extracting minerals in other countries. The textbook reads as follows: “However, they did not act upon the principle of mutual assistance to help small nations develop but used the method of occupation to suppress them”, and this struggle for resources led to wars.¹⁶² Remarkably, the chapters dedicated to larger wars as the First Opium War¹⁶³ or even the WWI¹⁶⁴ usually come directly after the description of the Industrial Revolution and its influence on imperialism.

The textbooks remain negative about the Pope and Christianity. CHU Hui states that before the Crusades, the Pope promised people that those who took part in the battle would atone for their sins (*shu zui* 贖罪) and those who were in debt would be forgiven. This made Christians very excited, and all joined the Crusades because they were looking for their own benefit.¹⁶⁵ Such negative depiction of the Catholic Church might reveal the influence of Protestantism as well as British or American teaching materials. At the same time, Christian leaders often shared many diagnoses of China’s ills such as corrupt politics. Many Chinese intellectuals considered Christianity to be superstition while there was belief in “science”. There was also a widespread conviction that capitalism and imperialism influenced China’s weakness, and Christian missionaries, since they actively collaborated with the Western imperialist, were associated with it.¹⁶⁶

In describing scientific progress, observation and experiment as the main research methods are set against conservatism and implicit faith in what is said in the books. The authors focus on DARWIN’s theory of evolution and state that “after the evolutionary theory was developed, the statement that everything had been created by God was rejected, and human thought could develop freely”.¹⁶⁷ CHU Hui also claims that before the Renaissance all people were intellectually tied by Christianity, and no matter what the Pope said to be true was simply true. The

161 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 38–40; JIN Zhaozi 金兆梓 (ed.): *Xinbian gaozhong waiguoshi, xia ce* 新編高中外國史，下冊 (New Edition Senior Secondary school Foreign History, vol. 3), Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju 1941, p. 20.

162 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 19.

163 Jiaoyubu bianshen weiyuanhui: *Gaoxiao lishi*, vol. 3 (1944), p. 31.

164 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 45.

165 *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

166 Daniel BAYS: *A New History of Christianity in China*, Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell 2012, pp. 107–109.

167 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), p. 21.

Crusades, which introduced Arabian culture and knowledge to Europe, are mentioned in the text, but the text also discusses the development of national languages, and the influence of the Renaissance on liberation and rationalism.¹⁶⁸ This scope of discussion was included already in the 1923 curricula but not yet directly mentioned and dealt with in the textbooks.

According to the textbooks, all Western imperialist powers, (just like the people during the Crusades) were fighting for their own benefit. The outbreak of WWI is claimed to be the result of a conflict of interests/profits (*liyi* 利益/*lihai* 利害) of the Great Imperialist Powers.¹⁶⁹ The main Western imperialist countries mentioned in the textbooks are Britain, Germany, Russia, the USA, and France.¹⁷⁰ CHU Hui devotes a section to French imperialism mentioning its colonies in Africa, fight for the influence in India and “swallowing China’s vassal state Annam”.¹⁷¹ Japan, while not being a “Western state” geographically, bears all the most important “attributes” of Western imperialistic states i.e., aggression (participating in splitting up China) and technological progress, which proves it to be an imperialistic state.¹⁷² Portugal, Spain and the Netherlands stay as representatives of colonialism, but not as the representatives of modern imperialism. CHU Hui says, “their policy of colonization was considered by the government only a means of gaining wealth, and not the modern imperialism having a far-reaching plan, that’s why they have lost (everything).”¹⁷³

In the late Qing textbooks, the USA is mentioned as the country that helped Mexico to gain independence; in the 1930s it is mentioned as the state that “took advantage of the United Mexican States’ civil strife to gain many economic rights (privileges).”¹⁷⁴ Nonetheless, it is difficult to define the image of the USA and its role between WWI and WWII (1939–1945). The image changes most likely due to the improvements in the relations between China and the USA: in 1941, the USA took part in WWII and fought against Japan; and in 1943, the USA and China then sign the Sino-American New Equal Treaty. In the textbook from 1948, while discussing the Paris Peace Conference (1919–1920), after which Shandong was not returned to China, the role of the USA is more negative. The USA is mentioned as

168 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 20–22.

169 Ibid., p. 45; Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 10. Similar interpretation in JIN Zhaozi: *Waiguoshi*, vol. 3 (1941), pp. 95, 96.

170 JIN Zhaozi: *Waiguoshi*, vol. 3 (1941), pp. 95, 96.

171 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 42.

172 Ibid., p. 43; JIN Zhaozi: *Waiguoshi*, vol. 3 (1941), pp. 237–246.

173 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 25.

174 Ibid., p. 43.

one of the five countries that conducted (*chi* 持) this conference,¹⁷⁵ while Britain, France, and the USA “had the power superiority” (*zuizhan shili* 最占勢力). Yet, in describing the Washington Naval Conference (1921–1922), after which Shandong was reverted to China, the USA is portrayed as an advocate of peace and democracy that supported China’s sovereign rights and state’s integrity.¹⁷⁶ In comparison, CHU Hui in 1932 talks of this conference as no different from the Paris Conference, after which the five Great Powers (including the USA) continued to fight.¹⁷⁷ JIN Zhaozi in 1941 talked of president WILSON, who suggested the Fourteen Points (for peace negotiations to end WWI) before the Paris Conference, as of an idealist.¹⁷⁸ At the same time, the USA is portrayed as the imperialist country, which, after WWI, wanted to control all countries of the world by means of their dollar.¹⁷⁹

While the interpretation of the French Revolution (1789) remains unchanged, the interpretation of Napoleon is different. CHU Hui in 1932 says that Napoleon “grasped (*zhangwo* 掌握) military and political power”, “had big ambitions and unexpectedly proclaimed himself emperor”, and “attacked all countries”.¹⁸⁰ The authors of the textbook from 1944 state that all European Empires with absolutism wanted to suppress the French Revolution and hence attacked France. Napoleon is called “the big hero of France” (*Faquo dayingxiong* 法國大英雄), and it is claimed that he was chosen (*bei xuan* 被選) to be the Emperor.¹⁸¹ JIN Zhaozi talks of him as of the possible savior of France, whom people trusted and supported (*yonghu* 擁護).¹⁸² The authors of the textbook from 1948 state that he “took up his post ‘to keep the reign’ (*churen zhizheng* 出任執政), and monopolized power; and he exploited the opportunity to restore the imperial system”.¹⁸³ Surprisingly, the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815) are not discussed in the last textbook.

To sum up, the causes of the French Revolution do not differ, but the figure of Napoleon, him coming to power and his role in the history of France and Europe seem to be contested and controversial.

In this period such terms as “capitalism” and “working class” start to appear. While explaining how the Industrial Revolution influenced imperialism, CHU Hui

175 Including Britain, the USA, France, Italy, Japan. See: Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 15.

176 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 16.

177 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 47, 48.

178 JIN Zhaozi: *Waiguoshi*, vol. 3 (1941), p. 119.

179 *Ibid.*, p. 232.

180 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 32.

181 Jiaoyubu bianshen weiyuanhui: *Gaoxiao lishi*, vol. 3 (1944), pp. 22, 23.

182 JIN Zhaozi: *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1946), pp. 244–250.

183 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), pp. 15, 16.

uses the term “capitalist imperialism” (*ziben diguozhuyi* 資本帝國主義). According to the text, it came from Britain and influenced European countries and Japan. Capitalism creates inequality between the capitalists and the working class. Socialists, such as Robert OWEN (1771–1858), come up with peaceful measures on how to improve the circumstances of the workers (utopian socialism and cooperative movement); Marxists demand that means of production not be the private property of capitalists but belong to society. The teaching of SUN Yat-sen is presented as the perfect method to save the economy because it harmonizes the collaboration of both classes.¹⁸⁴ As ZARROW puts it, SUN’s San-min Doctrine became “the heart of the Nationalist ideology”¹⁸⁵ and hence it was implemented in the education system. The very first goal of the curricula standards for the 1932 senior secondary school calls for “elucidation of the historical foundation of the San-min Doctrine.”¹⁸⁶ With the split between the GMD and Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 1927 in mind, the presentation of socialist (and in particular Marxist) ideas in a textbook seems astounding. Nonetheless, here the author does not present them as right, but describes the problem, shows how other ideologies suggest dealing with it, and presents the San-min Doctrine as the best of all.

In the “national history”, i.e., “Chinese history”, the narrative of the Portuguese bribing Chinese official appears for the first time. This narrative mockingly shows Chinese officials and bureaucracy as corrupted and unpatriotic. The Chinese side is represented in this narrative as partly responsible for the boldness of the Portuguese. The Portuguese are portrayed as cunning in their demands for territory and privileges, and the Chinese as powerless to reject these demands, all of which let the Europeans fulfill their ambitions of occupying China.¹⁸⁷

Some textbooks also indicate that the general diplomatic policy of China was not always correct; the existing domestic problems caused conflicts and defeats in both diplomacy and wars.¹⁸⁸ In general, China is depicted as a “victim” of the imperialist powers. Furthermore, the textbooks provide several interrelated aspects: the defeat in both Opium Wars, the introduction of the term “unequal treaties” in traditional Chinese historiography,¹⁸⁹ the agendas of the Western Great Powers to

184 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 38–40.

185 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 35.

186 Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo (comp.): *20 shiji. Lishijuan* (2001), p. 50.

187 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben* vol. 2 (1932), pp. 34–35; Jiaoyu zongshu bianshenhui 教育總署編審會 (ed.): *Chuzhong benguoshi* 初中本國史, 第三冊 (Junior Secondary school China’s history textbook, vol. 3), Beijing: Xinminyin shuguan 1939, p. 2.

188 Jiaoyu zongshu bianshenhui (ed.): *Chuzhong benguoshi*, vol. 3 (1939), pp. 30–33.

189 According to the definition given in the textbook published in 1948 regarding the Treaty of Nanking, this treaty is unequal, because Britain gained rights in China, while China gained no rights in Britain. See: Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 3 (1948), pp. 23, 24.

dismember China and finally the outbreak of the Boxer Rebellion. The Boxers are described as courageous and faithful sons of the homeland rebelling against the arbitrary actions of the imperialist states.¹⁹⁰

1928 – 1949: The image of Russia

Textbooks of this period of time focus even more than those of previous years on the development of the imperialistic states, and Russia is mentioned as one of the main representatives of the imperialistic powers. Some textbooks only focus on the history of the West; others talk about world history with the focus on China. Hence most of the countries are only mentioned in the context of relations with China and the development of imperialism; in this case, the history of Russia is not described in detail, but we can still analyze its image and the interpretation of its role in certain historical events.

Russia is named as the country that was established by Rurik, a representative of the Slavic tribes in the 9th century. The country was invaded by Mongols or even by the *Chinese Mongols* in the 13th century.¹⁹¹ The backward nature of Russia before Peter the Great continues to be stressed by the authors. While one textbook says that “the king of the Muscovite Russia stood out, but Russia was not a model”,¹⁹² another claims that Russia’s underdevelopment at that time stemmed from the underdeveloped policy and culture of the Mongol state, which Russia seemed to have adopted.¹⁹³ Here one can see that the Mongols were considered to be foreign (in race and culture) even though the Yuan dynasty was treated as a Chinese dynasty.¹⁹⁴

Peter the Great, just like in previous textbooks, is given a very positive image. He is described as talented and bold, a reformer of the state policy, navy, and

190 The Boxers (Yihetuan 義和團) are shown as bold (*haowu weiju* 毫無畏懼 “absolutely fearless”) and faithful (*qian pu hou ji* 前仆後繼 “one falls, the next follows”) fighters, while the actions of joint forces are not viewed as heroic. When they invaded Beijing, they killed and plundered, “making thousand-year-old jewels their souvenirs”. See: CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 3 (1932), pp. 18, 19.

191 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 28.

192 Ibid.

193 HE Bingsong 何炳松 (ed.): *Fuxing gaoji zhongxue jiaokeshu waiguo shi, xia ce* 復興高級中學教科書外國史，下冊 (Fuxing Senior Secondary school textbook on Foreign History, vol. 2), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1935, p. 23.

194 See: Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), pp. 191, 192.

customs. His victory over Sweden is mentioned as something positive that helped Russia to develop.¹⁹⁵

The Partition of Poland is briefly mentioned or if not, mentioned as something natural as a result of domestic problems (differences in religions, the ruler without real power, hard life of the common people) and ambitions of the neighboring rulers, among which Catherine II is even entitled the cleverest woman (*zui jing-ming de nüren* 最聪明的女人) by the Chinese historian HE Bingsong 何炳松 (1890–1946).¹⁹⁶ In the Napoleonic Wars, Russia is described as the country that did not submit to Napoleon, and that was the reason for his military campaign against it.¹⁹⁷ HE Bingsong claims that after the Congress of Vienna (1814–1815) Alexander I, together with METTERNICH, became very vigilant (*jiexin* 戒心) toward the revolution and changed his mind to despotism (*zhuanzhi* 專制).¹⁹⁸ His successor – Nicholas I is entitled “the most despotic ruler in the world” (*shijie shang zui zhuanheng baonüe de junzhu* 世界上最專橫暴虐的君主); his reign is described as the despotic time of strict censorship.¹⁹⁹ It also states that during the reign of Alexander II, peasants were abused and as the result of the Emancipation Reform (1861), they achieved nothing because they simply had no rights. People’s anxiety and discontent led to revolts of peasants and terrorism, and finally Alexander II was killed during a terrorist attack.²⁰⁰ Alexander III is also described as the ruler who practiced despotism, and even the rule of Nicholas II is associated with despotism and tyranny, during whose reign an anti-Jewish riot arose in Kishinev (1903). HE Bingsong also mentions “Bloody Sunday” (1905), when unarmed demonstrators were fired upon by soldiers, and this led to the 1905 Revolution and made the Emperor Nicholas II declare a constitution.²⁰¹ Thus Russia is represented as a state despotic in its essence, and it is even called “the most despotic country of Europe” (*Ouzhou zui zhuanzhi de guojia* 歐洲最專制的國家),²⁰² where “successive generations of emperors act despotically”,²⁰³ where even positive reforms result in nothing positive. Even the Trans-Siberian railway, the biggest railway in the world spreading from Saint Petersburg to Vladivostok, is claimed to be built

195 Ibid., pp. 25, 26.

196 HE Bingsong (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1935), p. 32. Also: CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben* vol. 4 (1932), p. 35; FU Binran, TAN Bitao 傅彬然, 覃必陶 (ed.): *Waiguoshi, shang ce* 外國史, 上冊 (Foreign History, vol. 1), Shanghai: Kaiming shudian 1948, p. 122.

197 HE Bingsong (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1935), pp. 114, 115.

198 Ibid., p. 229.

199 Ibid., pp. 229, 230.

200 Ibid., pp. 233–236.

201 Ibid., pp. 238–243.

202 FU Binran, TAN Bitao (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1948), p. 66.

203 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 13. CHU Hui also talks of the Russian Emperors as of despots: CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 46.

from 1891 to 1916 for military reasons in order to reach the Pacific Ocean and to annex Manchuria and Mongolia.²⁰⁴

The interpretations of the Russo-Turkish relations remain unchanged. HE Bingsong even claims that Britain, France and Austria did not let Russia occupy “Turkey”, and this fight for the territory became the main reason for “the Great European War” (WWI).²⁰⁵

The Russian Revolution of 1917 (with the start in February followed by the seizure of political power by LENIN’s Communist Party in October) is generally viewed as positive because LENIN promoted self-determination, and the revolution led to the independence of small nations.²⁰⁶ The same way the establishment of the USSR is generally viewed as positive. After the overthrow of the regime of the Russian Emperors, the Soviet government immediately proclaimed armistice and made peace with Germany. One of the textbooks indicates that since the revolution was the result of socialism, it caused many difficulties, but after the New Economic Policy (NEP) was carried out, the economic situation improved.²⁰⁷ LENIN proclaimed that the land be returned to the peasants, and that sovereignty belong to the craftsmen, peasants, and soldiers. In 1928 STALIN started implementing a five-year plan, which was actually achieved in four years.²⁰⁸ As far as the difficult relations between the GMD’s Republic of China and the USSR in late 1920s until early 1930s as well as the situation after WWII are concerned, it seems unusual (to say the least) that textbooks provide generally positive image of the USSR as opposed to other “imperialist powers”. Nevertheless, the Republic of China was waiting for help from the USSR after Japan’s attack in 1931; from 1937 until 1941, the USSR provided military support; in August 1945, it carried out the Manchurian Operation. Without question, it is not easy to determine which factors could or could not influence the attitudes of the authors toward the USSR. The textbook from 1932 strictly follows the curricular guidelines, where topics such as the “fight against imperialism” and “movements for independence” are emphasized. In this sense, LENIN was fighting directly against imperialism, and the revolution led to the independence of small nations. The 1948 curricula do not specify how the development of international relations should be interpreted. The textbooks tend to explain how the USSR became a powerful state, improved its own economic situation and gained the victory over Nazi Germany. Still, another textbook produced

204 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), pp. 42, 43; HE Bingsong (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1935), p. 238.

205 HE Bingsong (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1935), p. 231.

206 CHU Hui: *Beixin lishi jiaoben*, vol. 4 (1932), p. 46.

207 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), p. 14

208 Guoli bianyiguan: *Gaoji xiaoxue lishi*, vol. 4 (1948), pp. 13, 14; FU Binran, TAN Bitao (ed.): *Waiguoshi*, vol. 2 (1948), p. 68.

at the early stage of the Nanjing decade is extremely negative in assessing Russia and even the Russian Revolution. It calls Russia, together with Britain, the most outstanding among the European imperialistic powers which oppress small and weak nations of the world.²⁰⁹ Regarding the Russian Revolution of 1917, the text says that it is totally different from all the other revolutions because they were pro-democratic while the Russian Revolution is a socialist revolution.²¹⁰

In the “National history” textbooks, Russia continues to be presented as the aggressor both in the 17th century, when according to the textbooks, the Russians invaded the Qing, and in the 19th century, when, as noted, the Russians “seized the opportunity” and “made” China discuss the border as well as grant the territory in gratitude for the mediation.²¹¹

Conclusion

Both Russia and the West are described through the use of the same categories. Certain ideas continue to be interpreted as either positive or negative. At the same time, there is a multiplicity of voices. Before the GMD came to power in 1928, textbooks were shaped by different forces, including publishing houses, individual authors, teachers, etc. Although it must be pointed out that textbooks certainly tried to meet the official curricular objectives.²¹² In contrast to some articles from the Chinese reformist press of the late 19th and early 20th century, history textbooks do not state clearly that Russia “had never been fully Europeanized” or even that the Russians are “half-Asian themselves”.²¹³ However, certain topics or ideas that were expressed in the reformist press are found in the textbooks such as: “Russia’s southward expansionism due to her need for ice-free ports”,²¹⁴ the “autocratic nature of Russia’s emperors and Russia’s expansion”, “Russia’s expansionism as

209 FU Linyi 傅林一 (ed.): *Xin shidai lishi jiaokeshu, si ce* 新時代歷史教科書，四冊 (New Era History Textbooks, vol. 4), Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan 1928–1932, p. 35.

210 *Ibid.*, p. 41.

211 CHEN Dengyuan 陳登原: *Chen shi gaozhong benguoshi, xia ce* 陳氏高中本國史，下冊 (Chen shi Senior Secondary School National History), Shanghai: Shijie shuju 1935, pp. 149, 254, 256; YING Gongjiu 應功九 (ed.): *Chuzhong Benguoshi, di san ce* 初中本國史，第三冊 (Junior Secondary School National history textbook, vol. 3), Shanghai: Zhengzhong shuju 1936, pp. 48–50, 92–96.

212 Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), pp. 6, 7.

213 Don C. PRICE: *Russia and the Roots* (1974), p. 173.

214 Cf. Don C. PRICE: *Russia and the Roots* (1974), pp. 68, 168; Shangwu yinshuguan bianyisuo (ed.): *Zuixin zhongxue jiaokeshu*, vol. 2 (1906), p. 287.

the legacy of Peter the Great”, and “Russia’s exploitation of an opportunity to protect her own interests”.²¹⁵ While some textbooks contrast Russia with the West to a certain degree, it can be said on the basis of the structure of textbooks and the content of chapters that Chinese textbooks certainly *associate* Russia with the West. At the same time, it also plays a quite specific role as the most despotic and most aggressive representative of the West. The textbooks do not discuss precisely when Russia became part of the West, but they describe the country as barbarous prior to the times of Peter the Great. With this historical figure, “western civilization” entered Russia and make the country thus become “civilized.” It is often portrayed as the main opponent of Britain in the fight for influence and the biggest “troublemaker” in Europe. In this context, Russia stands in a certain opposition to the West. At the same time, Russia is regarded as an East European state, and thus different from the West European states. Defining whether Russia is the West or not is a difficult task because it is a matter of interpretation. None of the textbooks states a clear answer. There is this opposition of Russia to Europe or the West. As in modern days, especially in mass media, Russia is opposed to Europe or the West, so was it in history textbooks. If Russia is not part of the West or part of Europe, then is it called with as part of Asia? Not really. In the textbooks of that time, Russia is part of the history of the West and is *associated* with the West, but it is not *equal* to the West. Otherwise, why would “western civilization” have entered Russia? In this sense, Russia stands apart.

Through all the periods analyzed in this chapter, one can see a very negative attitude toward Christianity in the textbooks.²¹⁶ It is viewed as an obstacle to the development of science and education. Textbooks stress that educated people always opposed despotism. Both in the case of Russia and the West, religion is associated with backwardness and blindness while the decrease of religious influence, as it is portrayed in the textbooks, enables people to develop science, education and a sense of constitutionalism.

Positive “attributes” of the West are the constitution, civil rights, liberalism, education and scientific progress. Since the 1930s the Industrial Revolution has played a central role in explaining the Western scientific and technological progress as well as the development of western “capitalist imperialism”. From the Republican era onward, the textbooks stress the importance of the republic and independence; Russia in this context bears only negative attributes of the West. It is seen to have no constitution apart from absolute monarchy and to have no civil rights and

215 For details on the image of Russia in the Chinese press: see chapter 6 of Don C. PRICE: *Russia and the Roots* (1974), pp. 164–192.

216 There are few exceptions. For example, JIN Zhaozi (ed.): *Lishi keben jiaoshouhu*, vol. 2 (1923), pp. 25–30.

no liberalism, but only despotic rule; it is an aggressor as well as an imperialist state. The “Western civilization”, which, thanks to Peter the Great, helped Russia to become one of the Great Powers, which is good in general but on the other hand, allow Russia to carry out aggressive policy toward neighboring countries.

The Western countries, as opposed to Russia, created a constitution; got rid of the influence of religion; contributed to the Renaissance (and all cultural and scientific developments associated with it) and scientific progress; dismissed absolutism and got rid of despotic rule; and established republics and constitutional monarchies. Almost none of these is attributed to Russia, and hence, until the beginning of the Russian Revolution, all the most negative aspects of the West are presented in this state.

Absolute monarchy is always criticized, in the discussion of both Russia and the West. Even the image of Peter the Great has two opposing sides: he introduced Western civilization and helped the state to develop, but the aggressive policy toward “Turkey” and Asia in general as well as toward Poland, is associated with his name. Similarly in vein, Charles the Great cared for education and established schools, but also fought with the Pope for power.

In the later textbooks when they discuss the Russian Revolution and the establishment of the USSR, the image of these historical events is generally positive. Russia finally got rid of the “despotic monarch”; people could attain land as well as human rights. The USSR exited WWI, made peace with Germany, and thus made significant progress.

Certain ideas that appear in the early Republic textbooks are present in the discussions of both Russia and the West. For instance, the East-West Schism of 1054 in Christianity is mentioned, and the story of Ivan III marrying the niece of the last emperor of the E. R. E. is described in textbooks of the same period. The statement that the Chinese Mongols conquered certain Western states appears in that period, and hence, it was the Chinese Mongols who conquered Russia.

While being diverse before 1928, textbooks followed curricular guidelines and a very concrete interpretive angle since the time of the GMD. The late Qing textbooks sometimes (but not always) talk of the revolutions as a source of unrest (*luan* 亂),²¹⁷ but in general support the opposition to “despotic rule”. The late Qing textbooks focus on constitutionalism and the opposition to absolutism. The West is associated with aggression and colonialism, but also with progress and development. The early Republican textbooks do not change much in the interpretation of

217 As indicated by ZARROW in discussing the Taiping rebellion, the textbooks of the Zhonghua Shuju regarded the Taipings as a source of “chaos” (*luan* 亂), and that “by using this term, they delegitimized the rebels”. See: Peter ZARROW: *Educating China* (2015), p. 185.

the West, but some new ideas and heroes come in. The whole interpretation of history is first of all related to self-identification, the understanding of oneself and one's role in society; those are the things that more obviously change. The textbooks provide many visualizations of territories; nonetheless, in many cases, the borders of China on the maps are quite vague or indistinct. The Mongols are now presented as "our country's people", and hence it is the Chinese Mongols who made a military campaign to the West in the times of the Mongol Empire. What changes in the image of the West, however, is the image of the USA since the 1910s, which is also presented as an aggressor and colonizer in the description of the modern state.

Since the 1930s textbooks have become extremely nationalistic. They stress China's contribution to world culture, stating that many inventions came from China and helped Europe develop. They detail more about the Sino-West contacts. ZHENG He is now mentioned as the Chinese traveler who made geographical discoveries before the Western travelers did so, which stresses the superiority of China over the West. The focus is on ideas such as the Western capitalist imperialism, movements for independence and republicanism. The Industrial Revolution is now presented as the central event in the history of the West. On the one hand, it is said to have facilitated scientific and technological progress. On the other hand, it led to a form of capitalist imperialism. Given such an interpretation, many wars are explained as the result of the fight of imperialistic powers for their own profit. In discussing the world order and political philosophies, the San-min Doctrine is presented as the most advantageous of all ideologies. The Yihetuan Movement is presented as the movement of Chinese patriots who stood against the Western imperialists, and hence they are praised as national heroes. In the end, the textbooks stress the necessity for China to stay unified, fight against foreign aggression and lead China to a better future.