

***The Formation of Huang Tsun-hsien's Political Thought
in Japan (1877-1882)***

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烏知當是時	Do you know that during that time
東海波騰沸	A wave of changes swept the Eastern Ocean?
攘夷復尊王	In the name of "repel the barbarians and revere the emperor,"
僉議以法治	The Japanese agreed to rule according to the law.
立憲定公名	By establishing the [Meiji] Constitution to define social status,
君民同一體	The emperor and the people are united.
果遵此道行	If we follow this path,
日幾太平世	The era of grand peace will come soon. ¹

In his last poem, the bedridden poet Huang Tsun-hsien 黃尊憲 (1848-1905) expressed his dream of seeing the establishment of a constitutional monarchy in China following Meiji Japan's example. The ultimate concern of this multi-talented figure had always been politics. In a sense, his poems and books on Japan, as well as his diplomatic and administrative efforts, were all aimed at promoting political reforms in China. This article attempts to investigate the crucial but little-studied issue of when and how Huang developed his political reformism. My answer is that it was during his four-year sojourn in Japan (November 1877~January 1882) through four major channels: Japanese friends, Chinese friends, reading, and traveling.

The Road to Political Reformism

The origins of Huang's political reformism can be traced to his early years (1848-1877) in China. In his youth, Huang was a frustrated Confucian who had failed the civil service examinations at least eight times between 1867 and 1874. Condemning the examinations as useless and outdated, he found traveling and meeting people during his examination period more pleasant and stimulating. His first visit to Hong Kong after failing the provincial examinations in Canton (Guangzhou) in 1870 impressed him very much with the efficiency and superiority of Western-style administration. He was amazed to see the progress this tiny island had made during the previous three decades under

¹ "Ping-chung chi-meng shu-chi Liang Jen-fu" 病中紀夢述寄梁任父, in Ch'ien Chung-lien 錢仲聯, collator and annotator, *Jen-ching-lu shih-ts'ao chien-chu* 人境廬詩草箋注 (Hong Kong: Chung-hua shu-chü, 1963), p. 385.

British rule. Huang later became interested in international affairs and Western learning, and read the *Wan-kuo kung-pao* 萬國公報 [Journal of the World], *Chiao-hui hsing-pao* 教會新報 [Church News], and the Chinese editions of Western books translated by the T'ung-wen kuan 同文館 [Peking Translation Bureau] and the Translation Bureau of the Kiangnan Arsenal 江南製造局. From 1874 to 1876, he went to the North for the examinations. During these three years, he acquainted himself with some reform-minded officials and intellectuals who helped him understand China's political problems and the necessity of reform.² At last, he passed the provincial examinations in 1876 and acquired the *chü-jen* 舉人 (provincial graduate) status which enabled him to pursue a career in diplomacy. Huang joined the first diplomatic mission to Japan the following year and spent four years and two months in Japan as Counselor (*ts'an-tsan* 參贊).

Although Huang had some basic understanding of the West and of the urgency of reform in his early years, he had not established his own political thought and blueprint for reform until he went to Japan. His thought underwent dramatic changes during his stay there. He himself fully acknowledged his transformation while in Japan:

Most people I associated with were old-fashioned literati. Their satires and sighs filled my ears. Although I observed the principle that a diplomat should refrain from commenting on the statesmen of foreign nations, my poems reflected the conflict between old and new ideas in my mind. Later, I became more experienced and knowledgeable, and came to understand the principle of change. I was convinced that we should adopt Western methods of reform. At this juncture, I had established my own thought.³

How did Huang "become more experienced and knowledgeable?" In a letter to Liang Ch'i-ch'ao 梁啟超 (1873-1929), he provided a more detailed account of his change:

Shortly after I arrived Japan, most people I associated with were old-fashioned literati. Many were students of Yasui Sokken 安井息軒 (1799-1876). Around 1879 and 1880, the idea of "people's rights" was extremely popular. I found it strange the first time I heard of it. After a while, I read the theories of Rousseau and Montesquieu, and changed my views completely. I realized that democracy is the key to the era of grand peace. However, I did not find anyone with whom I could talk about it.⁴

During his first two years in Japan, Huang had mixed feelings about the Meiji reforms. His initial impression of Japan's political changes was that they were shocking

² Important figures he met included Li Hung-chang 李鴻章 (1823-1901, Governor-General of Chihli), Chang Yin-huan 張蔭桓 (1837-1900, Special Negotiator in Foreign Affairs, Vice-Finance Commissioner of Shanghai), and Ting Jih-ch'ang 丁日昌 (1823-1882, Governor of Fukien). Huang was particularly thankful to Chang for enlightening him about the international situation. In 1874, Huang expressed his wish to reform China for the first time in a poem dedicated to Chang. See *ibid.*, p. 64.

³ "Preface" to *Jih-pen tsa-shih-shih*, in Chung Shu-ho 鐘叔河, collator and annotator, *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih kuang-chu* 日本雜事詩廣注 (Changsha: Hunan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1981), p. 23.

⁴ *Hsin-min ts'ung-pao* 新民叢報 (Taipei reprint), August 1902, no. 13, pp. 55-56.

and puzzling. Surrounded by conservative Sinologists and having witnessed the social disorder and cultural dislocation caused by the People's Rights Movement (*jiyü minken undô* 自由民權運動), Huang expressed his doubts about the direction of political change in Japan by remarking: "[When I was in Japan], it was just the beginning of the Meiji reforms; various renovations had been made and yet they did not have a steady direction."⁵ In April of 1878, in a written conversation in Chinese with a Japanese Sinophile, Huang held: "I think we should adopt a good portion of Western methods (*hsi-fa* 西法). It seems unnecessary to give up our own cultural heritage and yield to Western methods."⁶ He found some Western political ideas incompatible with his Confucian beliefs, and worried that the movement might have gone too far to denounce the monarchy and traditional ethics. He continued: "The intellectual atmosphere has become frivolous these days. American liberalism, once advocated, receives tremendous responses. Some even go so far as to treat the emperor and father as if they were as useless as worn-out sandals. Now, we rely on you, gentlemen, to uphold the moral teachings of loyalty and righteousness."⁷ He also blamed random Westernization under the motto of "Civilization and Enlightenment" (*bunmei kaika* 文明開化) for causing the decline of traditional Japanese art and culture. Even as late as the summer of 1879, he still maintained some reservations about the Meiji reforms and wrote metaphorically in a poem: "Although the chrysanthemum [i.e., the emblem of the imperial family] is good, it cannot compare with the sunflower [i.e., the emblem of the Tokugawa house]."⁸

From the latter half of 1879, Huang demonstrated a considerable change in his views on Japan's modernization. Why did he become more receptive to Western political ideas during this period? It was during this period that Huang began writing his two books on Japan: *Jih-pen kuo-chih* 日本國志 [Treatises on Japan] and *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih* 日本雜事詩 [Poems on Miscellaneous Topics on Japan]. This provided him with a golden opportunity to deepen his understanding of the West through Japan

After having lived in Japan for almost two years, I had become acquainted with some Japanese scholars, read some Japanese books, and learned about Japanese manners and customs to some extent. Anticipating my compilation of *Treatises on Japan*, I had collected old stories and studied about new institutions. Selecting some miscellaneous topics, I wrote brief notes on them and put them together using my poems as connective material.⁹

⁵ "Preface" to *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih* (1890 edition), quoted in Noriko Kamachi, *Reform in China: Huang Tsun-hsien and the Japanese Model* (Cambridge: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1981), p. 177.

⁶ "Wu-yin pi-hua" 戊寅筆話 (1878), in Cheng Tzu-yü 鄭子瑜 and Sanetô Keishû 實藤惠秀, eds., *Huang Tsun-hsien yü Jih-pen yu-jen pi-t'an i-kao* 黃遵憲與日本友人筆談遺稿 (Tokyo: Waseda daigaku shuppanbu, 1968), p. 33.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

⁸ "Ying-hua ko" 櫻花歌, in *Jen-ching-lu shih-ts'ao chien-chu*, p. 83.

⁹ "Preface" to *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*, quoted in *Reform in China*, p. 50.

These two books, to a certain extent, served as a blueprint for China's reform based on Japanese experiences. He explained the purpose of these writings:

Since Japan adopted Western methods, old things have been replaced by new things. The political institutions of the past have all been dispensed with. My compilation gives more details on the present than the past and puts more emphasis on those things that happened nearby than those that occurred far away. In particular, matters concerning Western methods are described in detail. I hope they will be applicable [in China].¹⁰

During his last two years in Japan, Huang absorbed more Western influences and changed his political thinking tremendously. His primary concern was China's future political system. In his contemplation of the possibility of political reforms in China, Western ideas about liberty, democracy, constitutions, parliaments, people's rights, political parties and groups, freedom, separation of powers, and regional autonomy drew his attention. What kind of political system did Huang recommend for China? There is no easy answer. Because the discussion of an alternative form of government was a sensitive and even taboo topic, Huang refrained from disclosing his own views to anyone.¹¹ Since China was a monarchy, he seems to have been more interested in constitutional monarchy, and in his writings he discussed the Japanese parliamentary movement in detail. For instance, having witnessed the formation of elected prefectural assemblies in 1878 and the activities of political parties and various associations (*she-hui* 社會), he realized the importance of uniting and mobilizing the people through regional autonomy and political organizations.¹² He became sympathetic to the parliamentary movement in Japan and expressed his dissatisfaction with the lukewarm attitude of the Meiji government towards the establishment of a parliament. As he noted: "The only thing the government has been slow to adopt from the West is a parliament, the most important institution in Western countries. The pretexts used by the government leaders are that the national polity of

¹⁰ "Fan-li" 凡例, *Jih-pen kuo-chih* (Taipei: Wen-hai ch'u-pan-she, 1968), p. 10. Jocelyn V. Milner even speculates that Huang, in his narrative of Japanese political history in the *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, subtly encouraged the Kuang-hsü 光緒 Emperor (1875-1908) to follow the example of the Meiji Emperor (1852-1912) to retake power and carry out reforms. See Milner, "The Reform Ideas of Huang Tsun-hsien's 'History of Japan' and Its Influences on the Hundred Days' Reform," *Nan-yang hsüeh-pao* 南洋學報 17 (November 1963), pp. 67-68. I do not agree with this view. I believe that when Huang wrote the *Jih-pen kuo-chih* in the late 1870s and early 1880s, "restoration" was not on his mind. The work had no implications for restoration until the 1890s, when reformers such as Kang Yu-wei 康有為 (1858-1927) used it to encourage the Kuang-hsü Emperor to exercise his power.

¹¹ In 1897, he told the Japanese Minister to China, Yano Fumio 矢野文雄 (1850-1931) that "the political system [in China] in the twentieth century must be constitutional monarchy after the English model," and that he had kept this idea to himself for some ten years. See Wu T'ien-jen 吳天任, ed., *Ch'ing Huang Kung-tu hsien-sheng Tsun-hsien nien-p'u* 清黃公度先生遵憲年譜 (Taipei: Commercial Press, 1985), p. 113.

¹² These two later became the cornerstones of Hunan's reform in the late 1890s. For details, see Kamachi, *Reform in China*, pp. 211-35.

Japan differs from that of the West, that the people are not enlightened enough, and that the people do not want it.”¹³

Lacking first-hand experience, Huang derived his understanding of the West from his reading and from his observations of Japanese adaptations of Western practices; as a result, he came to idealize the West as the actualization of the political ideals of China's Three Dynasties of high antiquity. He exclaimed:

I have heard that when the people in the world praise the West, they agree that [in Western nations'] major political and military decisions are made at the national assembly. Actions come after consultation and consensus. The recruiting of talented people into public service is determined by election. In the whole nation, from the ruler to the people, no one has grievances that cannot be expressed, nor feelings that must be hidden. The people are good-natured and generous; they have established hospitals, free education, and gardens in the nation. Their technology and machinery are delicate and convenient; their learning is positive, practical, and progressive. Both gentlemen and “little men” worship God and concern themselves with fortune. Their legislation is precise and feasible. Militarily, they are strong, but do not go to war easily.¹⁴

He seems to treat the United States as the political model of lawfulness, morality, democracy, and peace. In the *Ch'ao-hsien ts'e-lieh* 朝鮮策略 [Korean Strategy, 1880], he praised it as follows: “The people of the country, following the moral teaching of their great founder [George Washington], have governed the country in accordance with propriety and righteousness... It is a democratic country; the government is based on republicanism... It always helps the weak, supports universal righteousness, and thus prohibits the Europeans from doing evil.”¹⁵

Huang suggested thorough reforms in China along the Japanese model. In particular, he regarded political reforms as most fundamental. His acceptance of Western political thought made him more progressive than those who advocated *Chung-t'i hsi-yung* 中體西用 (Chinese morality as essence, Western science as application). Huang attempted to accommodate Western ideas to his Confucian mode of thought by two devices. First, he had a bottom line in his thought--the immutability of Confucian ethics. Hence, he did not accept incompatible Western ideas (e.g. equality and Christianity) and superficial imitations (e.g. the Western calendar and clothing). Second, he alleged that Western ideas had Chinese origins. He argued that the basic characteristics of Western-style government, such as an open and reliable political system, annual budget and ample finances, systematization, and division of labor, could be found in the *Chou-li* 周禮 [Rites of the Chou Dynasty]. Likewise, he found the origins of Western notions of people's

¹³ *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapter 3, pp. 131-32.

¹⁴ *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapter 32, p. 787.

¹⁵ Quoted in Kamachi, *Reform in China*, p. 126. For details on Huang's role in Korea's reform movement, see Wai-ming Ng 吳偉明, “Kô Junken no Chôsen kan ni tsuite: Chôsen sakuryaku o chûshin ni” 黃遵憲の朝鮮觀について——朝鮮策略を中心に, in *Gakkô kyôiku ronshû* 學校教育論集 8 (March 1987), pp. 2-7.

rights, autonomy, universal love, and Western science and technology in the *Mo-tzu* 墨子 [The Sayings of Master Mo].¹⁶

Although he became very interested in Western political ideas in Japan, Huang does not seem to have either fully understood their meaning or developed a mature and coherent political thought of his own. The major characteristic of his acceptance of Western political thought in Japan was that he failed to distinguish the differences among Western ideas. For instance, he was influenced by both constitutional monarchism and democracy (or republicanism), and did not realize that these two concepts were not always compatible until he had left Japan for the United States.¹⁷

In brief, Huang embraced political reformism in Japan. His experiences in Japan transformed him from an onlooker and critic into a sympathizer of Meiji reforms. We now turn to an examination of Huang's social and cultural life as a means of explaining the development of his political thought.

Japanese Friends

Huang had a busy social life in Japan. According to my count, he made the acquaintance of at least 69 Japanese: 34 conservative scholars, eleven former *daimyô* and high ranking retainers, twenty Meiji leaders and officials, and four liberal-minded intellectuals.

The conservative scholars and former nobles adopted an indifferent and even negative attitude towards the Meiji government and its reforms. They were nostalgic for the Tokugawa days and felt betrayed by the Meiji government which deprived them of prestige and power. They enjoyed Chinese scholarship and poetry, and they took Huang to be the embodiment of Chinese culture. During the first two years, Huang spent a great deal of time with them, exchanging Chinese poems and listening to their criticisms of the Meiji government.¹⁸ They exerted a considerable negative impact on Huang's early views of the *jiyû minken* and *bunmei kaika* movements.¹⁹

¹⁶ See *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapters 13 and 32.

¹⁷ Having experienced the problems of democracy in the United States from 1882 to 1885 as the Consul General in San Francisco, he concluded that China was not ready for a republic, and that it should adopt constitutional monarchy.

¹⁸ Huang later realized that he had spent too much time with such figures and began to limit his contact with them. This can be seen from the written records of Huang's interactions with his Japanese friends in the *Ôkôchi Documents*. He was a very active participant in "Wu-yin pi-hua" (1878) and "Chi-mao pi-hua" 巳卯筆話 (1879), but his involvement decreased dramatically in "Keng-ch'en pi-hua" 庚辰筆話 (1880) and "Ch'i-yuan pi-hua" 黍園筆話 (1881).

¹⁹ Perhaps it is unfair to treat these two conservative groups too negatively. At least some of them had assisted Huang in gathering and translating materials on Japan. For the role of the Japanese in the compilation of Huang's two books, see Wai-ming Ng, "Ôkôchi monjo ni mirareru Nihon taizaichû no Kô Junken" 大河内文書に見られる日本滞在中の黄遵憲, *Nihon Rekishi* 日本歴史 495 (August 1989), pp. 87-90. This article is a selection from my master's thesis

Meiji leaders and officials as well as liberal-minded intellectuals were highly influential in expanding Huang's political horizons and exemplifying the kind of modern political and social leadership that China badly needed. Huang's admiration for them was sincere and deep: "When I discuss Japan's affairs with her high officials or her learned scholars, I merely fold my hands in respect and do not voice contrary opinions."²⁰

Meiji political leaders represented the most brilliant, energetic, and pragmatic minds of modern Japan. Many of them had studied in the West and understood Western languages and culture. As Huang described them: "Many current [political leaders] like the State Counselors know Western languages. During the late Tokugawa period, various domains chose their most talented men, providing them with generous financial assistance, to study in the West. These people returned during the Meiji Restoration which favored Western methods. Hence, they have occupied prominent positions in the government."²¹ By the time they met Huang, they were still in their forties and even thirties. This was unimaginable in the Ch'ing officialdom. Being the third ranking and perhaps the most efficient bureaucrat at the Chinese Legation, Huang had established a strong relationship with Meiji leaders including Ôkubo Toshimichi 大久保利通 (1830-1878), Itô Hirobumi 伊藤博文 (1841-1909), and Soejima Tanetomi 副島種臣 (1828-1905), among others. Huang was impressed by their ability, ambition, and knowledge of the world, and enjoyed being with them both officially and privately. He regarded them as role models for Chinese political reformers. If one encounter with Mori Arinori 森有禮 (1847-1889) in 1876 could shock Li Hung-chang so much, we have no doubt that Huang must have benefited significantly from his close contacts with Meiji leaders.²²

Ôkubo Toshimichi was the most powerful statesman in the early Meiji period. He served as Home Minister and played a decisive role in the Iwakura Mission, the *hanseki hôkan* 版籍奉還 (return of domain registers), the *haihan chiken* 廢藩置縣 (abolition of domains), the land tax reform, and industrialization. He was learned in classical Chinese and seemed to have had an affection for China. When he visited China in 1874, he expressed his wish to establish a bilingual school to promote mutual understanding between the two countries. Huang met him for the first time after the ceremony of presenting credentials on December 28, 1877.²³ A few days later, they met again at an official New Year's party. Huang made a courtesy visit to Ôkubo's house the following month and asked him questions about Japanese politics.²⁴ Huang respected Ôkubo's statesmanship and achievements and praised him as a great leader and a political model for

(Tsukuba University, 1988) under the same title, which is an overall study of Huang's indebtedness to Japan.

²⁰ "Preface" to *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*, quoted in J. D. Schmidt, *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian 1848-1905* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 136.

²¹ *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapter 13, p. 381.

²² For an English summary of the historic Mori-Li dialogue, see Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), pp. 114-18.

²³ On this occasion, Huang also met Sanjô Sanetomi 三條實美 (1837-1891) and Iwakura Tomomi 岩倉具視 (1825-1883).

²⁴ *Huang Tsun-hsien yü Jih-pen yu-jen pi-t'an i-kaio*, p. 132.

China. When Ôkubo was assassinated in May that year, Huang grieved for the loss of such a statesman and attended his funeral in spite of the opposition of Ôkôchi Teruna 大河内輝聲 (1848-1882), the ex-*daimyô* of Takasaki 高崎 domain. In the *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, Huang emphasized Ôkubo's role as a forerunner of the parliamentary movement.

After Ôkubo's death, Itô Hirobumi was the most powerful statesman in Meiji Japan. He started as Ôkubo's right-hand man and as a State Counselor contributed his efforts to building a national railway network and sound fiscal system. Itô succeeded Ôkubo as the Home Minister in May of 1878. Huang met him at this time and they soon became intimate friends. Huang taught him calligraphy, and they exchanged opinions on domestic and international affairs. The closeness of their relationship can be seen from the fact that Itô was the first Japanese friend mentioned in a poem Huang dedicated to his special friends, "Hsü huai-jên shih" 續懷人詩 (In Memory of My Old Friends, Sequel). Huang added this footnote on Itô: "Mr. Itô Hirobumi of Japan knew all things from ancient to present. He was a man of wit."²⁵ After the failure of the doomed Hundred Days' Reform in 1898, Itô pressured the Ch'ing government to spare Huang's life.

Soejima Taneomi was a political reformer and *jiyû minken* leader. In 1868 he worked at the Bureau of Institutional and Executive Affairs (*Seido jimukyoku* 制度事務局) and masterminded the Meiji bureaucratic reform. He was promoted to Foreign Minister the following year and quit his post in 1873 in conflict with the Satsuma-Chôshû clique over the Korean issue. He became a leader of the People's Rights Movement to demand the formation of an elective national assembly. Having visited China several times officially and privately in the 1870s, Soejima became well known there. Huang admired his diplomacy and independence even before coming to Japan. Shortly after his arrival, he asked his Japanese acquaintances about Soejima. They first met in early 1878 and soon became close friends. They visited each other often thereafter. For instance, a written conversation recorded that Huang visited Soejima's house in November of 1878. They talked about the landscapes and peoples of the two countries, and Huang praised Soejima's cleverness and ability.²⁶ Soejima reentered the government the following year. Through his connection with Soejima, Huang was able to meet some of the brightest junior officials in the Japanese government. Being able to witness the People's Rights Movement and know its leaders stimulated Huang's political thought and altered his views of the Movement.

Government officials associated with Huang can be divided into two major categories. The first and the largest group was made up of diplomats. Many of them were in charge of Chinese or Korean affairs. They became a valuable asset for Huang as he deepened his understanding of world politics. In particular, Miyamoto Shôichi 宮本小一, a senior secretary in the Foreign Ministry, was influential. He and Huang shared their worries over Russia's threat to Asia and enjoyed some stimulating discussions on international affairs.²⁷ Other diplomat friends were Takezoe Shin'ichirô 竹添進一郎

²⁵ *Jen-ching-lu shih-ts'ao chien-chu*, p. 207.

²⁶ *Huang Tsun-hsien yü Jih-pen yu-jen pi-t'an i-kaio*, pp. 226-27.

²⁷ Neither Miyamoto nor Huang ever mentioned the embarrassing fact that Miyamoto was the main negotiator in forcing Korea to sign an unequal treaty in 1876. He was one of Huang's closest

(1842-1917, former envoy to China and consul to Korea), Shishido Tamaki 宍戸 璣 (1829-1901, consul to China), Ishihara Tôru 石原 亨 (junior official in Chinese affairs), and Narahara Nobumasa 榑原 陳政 (1863-1900, junior official in Chinese affairs).

The second group consisted of military officers. Most of them had studied in the West and contributed to the modernization of the army and navy. Huang fully recognized Japan as a new military power and was impressed by the quality and discipline of the military officers he met. Many Meiji officers were imbued with Pan-Asianist sentiments and expressed their wish to cooperate with China based on egalitarian principles to resist Western imperialism.²⁸ Huang was sympathetic to their goal of the “revival of Asia” and reiterated his wish to establish a Sino-Japanese and even Sino-Japanese-Korean alliance during his stay in Japan. Enomoto Takeaki 榑本 武陽 (1836-1905), a Dutch-trained admiral and former consul to Russia, was remembered by Huang for his enthusiasm about the *Kô-A kai* 興亞會 (Raise Asia Society), an influential pan-Asianist group. Huang attended its meetings on occasion and became familiar with Enomoto and other pan-Asianists. Ôyama Iwao 大山 巖 (1842-1916), a French-trained army chief who strove to modernize the Japanese military system, was appreciated for his tactical wit. Sano Tsunetami 佐野 常民 (1822-1902), a former scholar of Dutch learning, was a senior naval officer after the Restoration. By the time he met Huang, he was the Minister of Finance. He was well trained in classical Chinese and active in social gatherings with Chinese officials in Tokyo. Sone Toshitora 曾根 俊虎 (1847-1910) was a naval officer and a co-founder of the *Kô-A kai* with Enomoto. He had traveled to China many times to gather intelligence information for the navy. In 1880, he established a Chinese language school in Tokyo to train specialists and spies. During that time, he was introduced to Huang by Soejima and soon became Huang’s trusted friend.

Outside diplomatic and military circles, two outstanding bureaucrats are worth mentioning. Ôkuma Shigenobu 大隈 重信 (1838-1922) was in charge of early Meiji economic policy as the Finance Minister from 1873 to 1880. In 1881, he was dismissed from all government posts for advocating a British parliamentary system. Huang met him during his first months in Japan and witnessed Ôkuma’s transformation from a top bureaucrat to a *jiyû minken* leader. Miyajima Seiichirô 宮島 誠一郎 (1838-1911) was an official historian at the Bureau of Historical Compilation (*Shishikan* 修史館). In the early Meiji years, he supported a plan of gradual transition to constitutional monarchy along the lines Ôkubo’s envisioned. Miyajima was also an active member of the *Kô-A kai* and supported Sone’s project to establish a Chinese language school. He maintained an intimate relationship with Huang. Because his house was directly opposite the Chinese legation, he could meet Huang frequently. Huang’s understanding of the Meiji constitutional movement may have been influenced by officials like Miyajima and by *jiyû minken* leaders. Huang was also indebted to Miyajima for providing him with a large number of government documents.

Japanese friends. In the *Ôkôchi Documents*, Huang praised Miyamoto’s mastery of the Chinese classics and his writing skill. *Ibid.*, p. 135. Huang recalled in a poem the good time they had spent together drinking *sake* beneath the cherry blossoms. *Jen-ching-lu shih-t’sao chien-chu*, p. 208.

²⁸ For changes in the nature of Pan-Asianism from Meiji to Shôwa times, see Marius Jansen, *The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954).

Liberal-minded intellectual-friends, despite being small in number, were extremely helpful and thought-provoking to Huang. Having an in-depth understanding of Chinese and Western learning, they contributed to the modernization of Japan through education, publishing, and journalism.

Oka Senjin 岡千仞 (1832-1914) enjoyed a reputation as a historian and Sinologue. He had been a professor, curator, and official historian in Meiji Japan. His historical trilogy, *Sonnō kiji* 尊皇記事 [Records of the Meiji Restoration], *Furansu shi* 法蘭西史 [History of France], and *Amerika shi* 亞美利加史 [History of America], represented his efforts to justify political revolution and reform by examining the “three most significant political revolutions” in world history---the French Revolution, the American War for Independence, and the Meiji Restoration. In his analysis of international affairs, he stressed that because of the impending threat from Russia and Western nations, Japan should put a higher priority on military modernization than on economic development. Oka supported the reform movement in China and regarded it as the crucial way to survive Western imperialism. He proofread Huang’s manuscript of the *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*.

Shigeno Yasutsugu 重野安繹 (1827-1910) was Vice-Minister of the Bureau of Historical Compilation. In 1879, he convinced the Meiji government to send a special mission to Europe to study Western historiography. He was one of Huang’s closest friends. They gathered often in a literary group, *Reitakusha* 麗澤社 (Society of Mutual Benefit), founded by Shigeno. While Huang was working on his two books on Japan, Shigeno helped him gather materials and proofread the manuscript of the *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*. During the same period, Shigeno was writing an important work, *Dai Nippon hennen shi* 大日本編年史 [Annals of Great Japan, 1886]. Shigeno’s views on Japanese history and the Meiji Restoration seem to have had a considerable impact on Huang.²⁹

Nakamura Masanao 中村正直 (1832-1891) was a famous enlightenment thinker and “Westernizer.” Influenced by both British moral philosophy and Confucianism, he strove to modernize the intellectual and ethical aspects of modern Japan. He believed that Christianity and Confucianism were compatible, and he used Confucian terminology to explicate Christianity. He suggested the adoption of Christianity as the national religion of Japan and volunteered to serve as the first bishop if it happened. He translated Samuel Smiles’s *Self Help* as *Seikoku risshi hen* 西國立志編 [Stories of Self-Made Men in the West, 1871] and John Stuart Mill’s *On Liberty* as *Jiyū no ri* 自由之理 (1872) to promote Western morality. Nakamura was an enthusiastic advocate of Western-style education and of women’s education. In 1873, he established a private school, *Dōjinsha* 同人社, at which foreign instructors were employed to teach various subjects, and in 1875 he became the president of the Normal School for Women (now Ochanomizu University). He also founded a literary society bearing the same name as his private school. Huang attended its meetings often and even contributed an essay to its journal, *Dōjinsha bungaku zasshi* 同人社文學雜誌 [Journal of Dōjinsha Literature]. Huang also visited the Normal School

²⁹ Huang’s indebtedness to Meiji historians, like Shigeno, Oka, Miyajima, Gamō Shigeaki 蒲生重章 (1833-1901), and Aoyama Nobutoshi 青山延壽 (1820-1906), in writing his two books on Japan deserves further study.

for Women at Nakamura's invitation. He learned a great deal from Nakamura about Western learning through frequent exchange of ideas.³⁰

Kurimoto Joun 栗本鋤雲 (1822-1897) was a pioneer in Japanese journalism. In late Tokugawa times, he had been an attendant physician, naval officer, and diplomat, and he had suggested building Western warships and learning Western medicine. After the Restoration, he decided to use the newspaper as a medium to enlighten the ordinary Japanese. In 1874, he became the editor of the *Yūbin hōchi* 郵便報知 newspaper and gained a reputation as a formidable journalist. He advocated military, economic, religious, diplomatic, and educational reforms through his articles in the press. Huang knew him from meetings of the Dōjinsha of which they were both members. The examples of Kurimoto and other Japanese who sought to perform national service while pursuing careers in the public sector impressed Huang very much.

Chinese Friends

During his stay in Japan, Huang came to know certain Chinese who seem to have played a role in shaping his political thought. The most important Chinese friend he made in Japan was Wang T'ao 王韜 (1828-1897). Wang made his reputation as a reformer and liberal scholar in Japan as well as in China mainly through his Hong Kong-based newspaper, *Hsün-huan jih-pao* 循環日報 [Circulation Daily, established in 1874] and the *P'u-fa chan-chi* 普法戰紀 [Records of the Franco-Prussian War]. In his newspaper, Wang stressed that the West was not only superior to China in science and technology, but also in political and economic systems. He was among the earliest Chinese to advocate a parliamentary government, and he regarded the British constitutional monarchy as the best model for China. Wang came to Japan on a private visit in April of 1879 and soon became an intimate friend of Huang's.³¹ Wang was both a teacher and a friend to Huang. Under Wang's guidance, Huang read books on Western political reforms, world history, and Western science. In the preface he wrote for the *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*, Wang recalled his happy days with Huang in Japan:

When I traveled to Tokyo to heal my diarrhea in May last year, I was able to know Huang at the Chinese Legation. From that occasion on, we spent time together composing poems in the countryside, drawing pictures on the wall of the restaurant and pleasure quarter, stopping our car to see the flowers in Shinooka, and rowing down the Sumida River to watch the moon. We accompanied each other to different places, and did not waste a day [apart]. Although Huang and I were new friends, we understood

³⁰ Kamachi, *Reform in China*, pp. 94-100. Huang's interest in normal and women's education may have been influenced by Nakamura. However, Huang did not accept Christianity and disagreed with Nakamura's effort to fuse Christianity and Confucianism to form a new morality. Nakamura, in a poem dedicated to Huang, described how they discussed Western learning and Christianity, and how surprised he was to hear Huang's idea of the Chinese origins of Western learning.

³¹ Wang was a fugitive for his link with the Taiping Rebellion. He fled to Japan under the invitation of Kurimoto Joun and was introduced to Huang by Kurimoto. Because of Huang's efforts, Wang was pardoned by Li Hung-chang and was able to return to China.

each other well. If we did not see each other for three days, we sent letters. When we were reddened by wine, we discussed anything in the world. Our sighs were deeper than those of Ch'ü Yüan 屈原; our passion was stronger than that of Tu Fu 杜甫. Huang is a man of exceptional talents in today's China. Whatever I suggested, he was always the first person to approve.³²

Wang returned to China in August after a four-month sojourn in Japan. He concluded that knowing Huang was the most important accomplishment of his trip. In 1880, he published Huang's *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih* in Shanghai. During the same year, Wang also published the *Fu-sang yu-chi* 扶桑游記 [My Travel Records of Japan] to share his experiences and the success stories of Meiji Japan. Perhaps Huang was more indebted to Wang than to anyone else in the formation of his political reformism.

Huang was lucky to have had two open-minded intellectuals as his senior diplomatic officers. Ho Ju-chang 何如璋 (b. 1837), the first Chinese Minister to Japan, was a capable diplomat and was sympathetic to reforms in China and Japan.³³ Ho and Huang were excellent partners; Ho relied heavily on Huang's opinions and secretarial ability. Huang learned from Ho's extensive knowledge of foreign affairs. Ho praised the progress Meiji Japan had made in political, financial, military, and educational systems in the *Shih-tung shu-lüeh* 使東述略 [A Brief Description of My Mission to Japan] and the *Shih-tung tsa-yung* 使東雜詠 [Miscellaneous Poems on My Mission to Japan], and urged timely reforms in China. Freely able to express his reform ideas to a broad-minded Ho, Huang once wrote: "When I was in Japan, I said to our ambassador, He Ruzhang [Ho Ju-chang], that China must reform its laws in the Western way. China's legal reform may resemble the Self-strengthening Movement of Japan, or we may be forced to reform, like Egypt. It is possible we will be governed by others, like India, or partitioned, like Poland."³⁴

Vice-Minister Chang Ssu-kuei 張斯桂 (b. 1816) made his name in China and Japan with his lengthy preface to the Chinese translation of Henry Wheaton's *Elements of International Law* (published in China by the T'ung-wen kuan as *Wan-kuo kung-fa* 萬國公法 in 1864, reprinted in Japan in 1865). He was a modern entrepreneur who made his fortune by using steamships in business. He later became a member of the secretarial staff of Tseng Kuo-fan 曾國藩 (1811-1872) and assisted Tseng in promoting the Self-Strengthening Movement. Because of his age, he was not active in Japan. His impression of Meiji Japan was generally positive. In particular, he was impressed by its modern educational system. In the *Shih-tung shih-lu* 使東詩錄 [Collections of Poems on My Mission to Japan], he praised the normal schools, women's colleges, and military academies that he had visited.

³² *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih kuang-chu*, p. 27.

³³ It is unfair to criticize him, as some historians have, for being inefficient in his job, indifferent to reform, and ignorant of Japan based on some unreliable information provided by Huang's relatives to underscore Huang's achievement at Ho's expense.

³⁴ "Chi-hai tsa-shih" 己亥雜詩, in scroll 9 of *Jen-ching-lu shih-ts'ao*, quoted in *Within the Human Realm: The Poetry of Huang Zunxian 1848-1905*, p. 207.

During his tenure, Huang was able to meet some brilliant envoys and visitors from China. One of them was General Wang Chih-ch'un 王之春, sent by Shen Pao-chen 沈葆楨 (1820-1879, governor of Liang-chiang) to investigate military and economic developments in Japan. He met Huang soon after his arrival in Japan in 1879. In the *T'an ying-lu* 談瀛錄 [Records of My Discussions of Japan, 1880] and the *Tung-yu jih-chi* 東游日記 [Diary of My Trip to Japan], he applauded Japan's modernization efforts in communications, transportation, power-supply, and education. His report on Japan's naval development was published as *Ying-hai chih-yen* 瀛海志言 [Discussions of the Japanese Navy, 1884]. Like Huang, Wang also related Western military technology to the Chinese classics.

The positive attitude towards Meiji reforms and the knowledge of international affairs exhibited by these men exerted a considerable influence on Huang. Moreover, Chinese immigrants and merchants in Japan provided Huang with another means by which to improve his understanding of Japan. Huang went to Yokohama frequently and kept in close contact with its Chinese residents, from whom he obtained information on the Japanese economy. Huang praised them for setting a successful example of modern entrepreneurship. Equipped with experience and skill, they prospered by serving as the middlemen between Western and Japanese businessmen. "If the Chinese could contribute to modernization in Japan, why not in China?" Huang could not help asking this kind of question.

Reading

Huang was a bibliophile and read a large number of books, magazines, newspapers, and other publications in Japan. Although he spoke no Japanese, he managed to achieve some understanding of written Japanese, which in the Meiji period included many Chinese characters. When he came across important texts, he asked his Japanese friends to explain and even to translate them for him. For instance, realizing that criminal codes had not been fully developed in China, he had his Japanese friends translate the entire Meiji criminal law of 1881 into Chinese. His readings focused on the Meiji Restoration and international affairs. K'ang Yu-wei remarked: "As a member of Minister Ho Ju-chang's staff, Huang read history books on the Meiji Restoration and investigated political reforms and intellectual developments of the world to compile the *Jih-pen kuo-chih*. In particular, he learned tremendously from world politics."³⁵

Western works in the humanities and social sciences were seldom translated into Chinese because of the Ch'ing's cultural policy. Huang, though, was able to read the Japanese editions of some important Western books on political philosophy, and four books seem to have been particularly stimulating to him. The first book was Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712-1778) *Social Contract* (in the edition translated by Hattori Atsushi 服

³⁵ "Preface," *Jen-ching-lu shih-ts'ao chien-chu*, p. 2.

部德 as *Minyaku ron* 民約論 in 1877).³⁶ Huang was electrified by its ideas of natural rights, freedom, equality, people's rights, and revolution. Although sympathetic to people's rights and freedom, he found natural rights and equality incompatible with Confucian ethics. His view of revolution was subtle, accepting its principle but disapproving of it as a possible political solution for Ch'ing China.³⁷ The second book was Charles de Montesquieu's (1689-1755) *The Spirit of the Laws* (translated as *Banpô seiri* 萬法精理, translator unknown). Montesquieu attacked all forms of feudalism and despotism. According to him, an ideal type of government would be a constitutional monarchy which obeyed the principle of the "separation of powers" among executive, legislative, and judicial bodies. The book reinforced Huang's lifelong faith in constitutional monarchy by strengthening its theoretical underpinnings. The third book was Samuel Smiles's (1802-1904) *Self Help* (translated by Nakamura Masanao). Smiles emphasized that success should be determined by personal qualities and virtues and not by inherent privileges and inherited wealth. Honesty, sincerity, diligence, endurance, and independence were the keys to success, whereas extravagance and laziness brought failure. This book of Western morality was used to promote the spirit of capitalism and the modern work mentality in Meiji Japan. The fourth book was John Stuart Mill's (1806-1873) *On Liberty* (also translated by Nakamura Masanao). It became a "fountainhead of liberalism" for the Meiji generation and the guidebook for the People's Rights Movement.³⁸ It stressed the importance of individual liberty and treated it as an end in itself. It rationalized the pursuit of individual happiness and the protection of individual freedom. It had a liberalizing effect on Huang and made him understand the need to keep a balance between the state and the people (or the individual).³⁹ Indeed, he might have been the first to introduce the concept of liberty into China.⁴⁰ Huang himself admitted his indebtedness to Western political works, and concluded that the balance between people's

³⁶ The famous Chinese translation of the *Social Contract* by Nakae Chômin 中江兆民 (1882) appeared several months after Huang's departure. Hence, Huang only read the Japanese edition in Japan.

³⁷ However, toward the end of his life, Huang began to consider revolution as historically inevitable in the twentieth century.

³⁸ For a brief review of the Japanese editions of *Self Help* and *On Liberty*, see Hirakawa Sukehiro, "Japan's Turn to the West," in Marius Jansen, ed., *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 5, *The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 480-83.

³⁹ *On Liberty* and *The Spirit of the Laws* were translated into Chinese by Yen Fu 嚴復 (1853-1921) in 1903 and 1909, respectively. Two Chinese editions of *Self Help* appeared in the early 1900s by Lin Wen-ch'ien 林文潛 and Yang Kao 羊羔, respectively; both were translated from Japanese. Nakae Chômin's Chinese translation of the *Social Contract* was reprinted by the T'ung Meng Hui 同盟會 in Tokyo in 1910. Huang was among the earliest Chinese to read these books.

⁴⁰ Cheng Hai-lin supports this view and points out that the definition of liberty in the *Jih-pen kuo-chih* was based on Huang's reading of the *Social Contract* and *On Liberty*. See Cheng Hai-lin 鄭海麟, *Huang Tsun-hsien yü chin-tai Chung-kuo* 黃遵憲與近代中國 (Beijing: San-lien shu-chü, 1988), pp. 221-22.

rights and regulations was the ultimate principle in Western politics, a wonderful device which even the Chinese sages had not known. He wrote:

I have heard that Westerners like to discuss these two terms, right and regulation. Recently I have been reading Western books on law, and I found out that what they repeatedly explain are indeed no more than right and regulation. Human beings, no matter how high or low, big or small, are given rights so that they will not feel oppressed. Regulations are also laid down so that they will not abuse [their rights]. The people of the whole nation, regardless of their class, are under the same legislation... Alas! These are the things that neither our ancient sages thought about nor the Legalists of the later generations knew.⁴¹

It is likely that Huang also read Herbert Spencer's (1820-1903) *Social Statics* (translated by Suzuki Yoshimune 鈴木義宗 as *Giseitai ron* 議政體論 in 1878), inasmuch as the *Jih-pen kuo-chih* contains obvious traces of influence from Social Darwinism.⁴²

Besides these now-classic Western works, another useful reference was Fukuzawa Yukichi's 福澤諭吉 (1834-1901) *Seiyō jijō* 西洋事情 [Conditions in the West], a series of translated Western materials published between 1866 to 1870. It covered a large area, from political, economic, and military systems to social relationships, ethics, and religion. It had a wide circulation, and some copies were even brought to China, providing excellent references for Meiji and Ch'ing reformers. Huang may have been the first person to introduce Fukuzawa and his works to the Chinese. He remarked: "In regard to foreign affairs, Fukuzawa Yukichi was the first person in Japan to publish Japanese translations of English materials, in his *Seiyō jijō*. The people scrambled to buy it."⁴³ "[Fukuzawa] has written dozens of books. His main objective is to import Western culture and thought. The Japanese know Western learning only through Fukuzawa Yukichi."⁴⁴

Not only the Japanese editions of Western books, but also Japanese writings helped to enlighten Huang. For example, his knowledge of the West was enhanced by the careful reading of Okamoto Kansuke's 岡本監輔 (1839-1904) *Bankoku shiki* 萬國史記 [World History, written in literary Chinese, reprinted in China in 1895]. Okamoto, a historian and adventurer, wrote extensively on world history and contemporary East Asian affairs. Highlighting political revolutions in modern world history, his *Bankoku shiki* had a great impact on both Japan and China. Before Huang came to Japan, he had read the book and relied much on it in developing a general understanding of foreign affairs. Upon Wang T'ao's recommendation, Huang reread it in Japan. In addition, Huang read some of the writings of Katō Hiroyuki 加藤弘之 (1836-1916) who espoused the theory of

⁴¹ *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapter 27, p. 684.

⁴² See Cheng, *Huang Tsun-hsien yü chin-tai Chung-kuo*, p. 229. Cheng also alleges that Huang read Adam Smith's (1723-1790) *The Wealth of Nations*. See *ibid.*, p. 241; see also Kamachi, *Reform in China*, pp. 157-58.

⁴³ *Jih-pen kuo-chih*, chapter 32, p. 806.

⁴⁴ "Lun hsüeh-shu tso-yu shih-chieh ta-shih" 論學術左右世界大勢, quoted in Sheng Pang-ho 盛邦和, *Huang Tsun-hsien shih-hsüeh yen-chiu* 黃遵憲史學研究 (Chiang-su: Chiang-su ku-chi ch'u-pan-she, 1987), p. 25

evolution and a gradual transition to constitutional government. Katô ideas may have influenced Huang's political thought and historiography.⁴⁵ Huang's reading also included reports, gazettes, and booklets issued by various government departments, Japanese legal codes and ordinances, archives, newspapers, magazines, statistics, and textbooks, among other material.

Traveling

"Confucians should not comment on current affairs without going out [to have first-hand experiences]!"--Huang noted when he was only seventeen.⁴⁶ In Japan Huang did not confine himself to his comfortable room at the Chinese Legation, but left his footprints in many places there. Huang's inaugural trip to Tokyo was quite an experience for this thirty-year-old man who had never left China. In November of 1877, he departed from Shanghai, stopped over in Nagasaki, and reached Kôbe in December. From Kôbe, he took a short return trip to Osaka and Kyoto by train. He retook the ship, via Ôshima, to Yokohama. Huang was sent by Ho Ju-chang to Tokyo twice to look for a location for the Chinese Legation, and he thus became familiar with Tokyo shortly after his arrival.

Having settled down in Tokyo, Huang visited many places in the capital both officially and in a private capacity. Some left strong impressions on him. In December of 1877, he accompanied Ho and Chang to the palace to present their credentials to the Meiji Emperor. Huang was impressed by its modern architecture and the Westernized rituals. In 1879, he was present at the opening ceremony of the Japanese Army Officers' Training School. The school used Western training methods; the army followed French and German models, whereas the navy imitated the British style. Huang was amazed by the progress of Japan's military development during the first decade after the Restoration, and he expressed his wish for a Sino-Japanese alliance to protect East Asia from Russia's territorial ambitions.⁴⁷ He was equally astonished to learn how clean, tidy, pleasant, and advanced a hospital in Tokyo was. Everything was placed in good order; small plants and decorations made the atmosphere relaxing. Western machines and tools were used to perform operations.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Cheng Hai-lin alleges that the theory of evolution in Katô's *Jinken shinsetsu* 人權新說 (1882) influenced Huang's historiography in writing the *Jih-pen kuo-chih*. See Cheng, *Huang Tsun-hsien yü chin-tai Chung-kuo*, pp. 182-84. However, the book came out several months after Huang's departure, and was not translated into Chinese until 1903 by Chin Shou-k'ang 金壽康. Hence, if Huang had ever read the book, he must have done it in the 1880s or 1890s in the original edition. Undoubtedly, Huang had some understanding of Katô's ideas. In November of 1902, Huang told Liang Ch'i-ch'ao that like Katô in 1880s Japan, he believed that it was still too early to establish the parliamentary system in China.

⁴⁶ *Jen-ching-lu shih-t'sao chien-chu*, p. 1.

⁴⁷ *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*, pp. 105-06.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-9.

Huang paid special attention to economic developments and wanted to understand the secret of its success. He visited different factories and was particularly impressed by two modern enterprises: the Tomioka Silk Company and the Maebashi Silk-yarn Company. They demonstrated the advantage of joint ventures. The former received technological transfers from the French; the latter combined local capital and Italian technology. Huang also appreciated the Meiji government's effort to promote trade and commerce by providing various conveniences and facilities for private investors.

Culturally, Meiji Japan was baptized by Western institutions and customs. Sometimes Huang felt it strange or overdone, but he applauded many cultural changes. He accompanied several high-ranking visiting Chinese officers on a visit to the Tokyo Normal School for Women and its affiliated kindergarten, both of which demonstrated a new educational spirit--an attempt to keep the balance between discipline and creativity, and usefulness and interest. Huang was particularly impressed by their orderliness and practicality. The Normal School employed some American teachers to teach modern subjects and Western teaching methods. The kindergarten used different teaching tools to enhance the interest of the pupils.⁴⁹ Huang's interest in normal schools, women's education, and modern teaching methods was likely inspired by this kind of experience. He found newspapers and museums excellent media to educate the people. In June of 1879, he visited the *Yûbin hôchi* newspaper in Nihonbashi with Wang T'ao.⁵⁰ Huang understood the importance of the newspaper in enlightening the people, and acquired the know-how to run newspapers and journals from people like Kurimoto and Wang.⁵¹ Huang went to the National Museum in Ueno, finding plants, animals, metals, minerals, relics, and many other interesting things inside. His visits to a fire station, police station, post office, telegraph company, public library, and train station, among other modern establishments, also widened his knowledge and reinforced his belief in a wide range of reforms.⁵²

Not only was Huang in "old Tokyo," but he also traveled extensively from Hokkaidô to Kagoshima. In a letter to Wang T'ao, he described his unusual trip:

I visited Mt. Hakone for two weeks and went to seven hot springs... After Nikkô, I went to northern Honshû where I took a ship to Hakodate. When I returned, I reached Kyoto by land, and then moved southward along the coastal provinces to Kumamoto, and all the way to Kagoshima. On the way back to Tokyo, I stopped over in Enoshima in the Kamakura region, and Atami on the Izu Peninsula. I stayed two weeks in each place... I

⁴⁹ *Jih-pen tsa-shih shih*, pp. 107-08.

⁵⁰ Wang T'ao, *Fu-sang yu-chi* (Changsha reprint: Hunan jen-min ch'u-pan-she, 1982), p. 220.

⁵¹ He ran the *Shih-wu pao* 時務報 [Post of Current Affairs] with Liang Ch'i-ch'ao in Shanghai in 1896.

⁵² In particular, Huang is remembered for establishing the Police Bureau in Hunan in 1898 based on the Japanese model. The police system survived into modern China and was expanded into a nationwide organization.

visited a silk factory in Tomioka, a brewery in Kai, and a paper-manufacturing factory in Hachijōji.⁵³

This mysterious tour was not known until recent years. It seems to have been a well-planned assignment from the Chinese Legation rather than a personal venture of Huang's. Sight-seeing was obviously not the main purpose. I believe it was both a study trip and a spying mission. He paid special attention to various modern establishments and geography during this trip. No matter what his real intentions were, this trip undoubtedly provided him with valuable first-hand knowledge, helping him become an outstanding Japanologist and important political reformer in late Ch'ing China.

Huang's indebtedness to Japan in the formation of his political thought is undeniable. The question left for us is how and to what extent he benefited from his experiences in Japan. This article is designed to unlock the first part of the question. I have traced the development of Huang's political thought in Japan and demonstrated how these four external factors--Japanese friends, Chinese friends, reading, and traveling--influenced him. It is beyond the scope of this short article to cover some important related issues, such as the "internal logic" in the development of Huang's thought and the relationship between his experiences in Japan and the later reforms in Hunan province.

⁵³ "Huang Kung-tu kuan-ch'a ch'ih su" 黃公度觀察尺素 (unpublished manuscript in the Provincial Library of Chekiang Province), quoted in *Huang Tsun-hsien shih-hsüeh yen-chiu*, p. 13.