

Exotic Experiences and Cultural Identities—A Comparative Study of Yung Wing

and Joseph H. Neesima

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1. Introduction —the Grey Zone between Cultural Conflicts and Identities

In the middle of nineteenth century, China and Japan experienced periods of “Prohibited Sea Policy”, respectively, as if the two countries had experienced a hundred-year sleep and was waiting to be awakened. Two Eastern commoners were eager to become pioneers; therefore they took ships from Hong Kong and Hakodate respectively to New England. At that time the U.S. was in a state of great territorial expansion and a period of having frequent civil wars. Located in the areas of “the head of a snake,” New England, several universities were flooded with humanity lovers, with school histories mostly over one hundred years. Two Eastern youths left their homelands for foreign lands with the spirit of patriotism and great admiration for humanistic history and religious doctrines in New England. They entered high schools in New England to study English and were later admitted into two reputable universities, Yale University and Amherst College, for learning law and science.

The two youths are Yung Wing (1828-1912), who was from Kuangdong province, China, and Joseph H. Neesima (1843-1890), who was from Annaka Han, Japan. The former, the first Chinese to earn a degree from an American advanced institution, obtained his Bachelor of Arts from Yale University in 1854 while the latter, the first Japanese to receive a Master Degree in the U.S.,¹ graduated from Amherst College and

¹ In current document or information that I can see, Neesima is the first Japanese who got Master Degree in

subsequently the Degree, Master of Theology, was conferred on Neesima by Andover Theological Seminary in 1874.

Reviewing Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima's lives, we find some interesting similarities and differences when we compare their families, social backgrounds, and lives before and after going to the U.S. Since Yung was long-lived, he had a chance to see the dynastic changes from late Qing to the Republic of China. In contrast, although Neesima did not live over a half century, he experienced the greatest changes on thoughts from late shogunate to first twenty years of Meiji period (1868-1912). Being two of the first Asians who completely got rid of traditional societies of their home countries and earnestly accepting the Western education, researchers defined both as "marginal men," meaning that people encounter a discrepancy between living within an identified culture environment in a foreign land and facing cultural nostalgia toward a homeland. That is to say, on the one hand, marginal men wholeheartedly accept another culture while, on the other hand, the feeling of nationalism to motherland is increasingly strong. However, "margin" carries the meaning of anti-society or being excluded from a society, which makes the term, margin, cannot completely interpret their special situations. Thus I prefer to put more emphasis on the meanings of "inter-culture" and "gray zone," which are derived from "margin." On the one hand, the intercultural dilemma was caused from staying between the East and the West, the pre-contemporary and the contemporary, the identities of religion and nationalism, and the public and the private. On the other hand, the grey zone existed in the boundary between two cultures where space was limited based on their unclear dividing lines.

Both Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima were purely patriots in the Western eye, but were seemingly incompatible with their homelands and the local intellectuals. Yung used his Chinese name, which was spoken in Kuangdong accent, to travel the Western world while Neesima changed his original name, which was given by his parents, to a foreign name given by a westerner. Furthermore Yung Wing became an American citizen and married an American woman even though Neesima, who finally married a Japanese woman, never considered about being an American citizen. They both more or less were educated by Confucian values and consciously were baptized as Christians after being of age, but Yung was not willing to be a clergyman while Neesima was enthusiastically doing mission in his whole life. The former always thought about how to be a government official for giving full play to his ambition; great differently, the latter never took official positions and defined himself as a free missionary all his life. Although they both were Christians, Yung disagreed to mission Christianity in China based on the idea of national diversity between the West and the East. In contrast to Yung' idea, Neesima devoted himself to doing mission in Japan. Similarly they proposed that education was the only route to save nations from decline, but they practiced the proposal in different ways. Yung hoped to send Chinese youths to study overseas and learned industrial technology from the West while Neesima seeded Christian grains in Japan, hoping to import the Western thoughts into his compatriots.

With the comparisons between Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima in the aspects of experiences, education, motivations of studying overseas, cultural values towards the East and the West, and religious identities in details with corresponding Chinese and Japanese social backgrounds, this paper will analyze how individuals and nations responded to “westernization” and “modernization.” In addition, I hope to highlight

how the exotic experiences caused the situation as Yung and Neesima stayed in a grey zone and how much effort they made to find out the outlets for difficult situations with the senses of crises.

2. The Grey Zone —between the East and the West

To a certain extent, Yung and Neesima both were Westernized Asians who recognized the West in some degree and embraced sincere Christian spirits as well. “Westernization” was a following change when one culture contacts another culture. As Wang Yiju interpreted westernization,

When we say a Chinese is “Westernized,” we do not mean that he has actually become a Westerner. Rather we mean that he has deviated from the Chinese pattern as a result of his Western experiences. In other words, the result of Westernization may well be a pattern of behavior that bears some traces of both Chinese and Western culture, but that in itself is neither Chinese nor Western.²

Yung and Neesima learned Western languages and knowledge since they were young. They had a strong admiration for Christian doctrines and values, and accepted that traditional cultures were unavoidable to be partially replaced, or diminished, while Western civilization imported their motherlands. Hence they chose to leave for foreign lands. With the passing of time, they recognized the West with sense and sensibility. This section will explore how Yung and Neesima formed their thoughts in early period for the clues of that how they were educated by the Eastern learning in early age but being westernized in adult age.

2.1 From Macao to New York

² Y. C. Wang, *Chinese Intellectuals and the West 1872-1949* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), xii.

Yung Wing was born in a small village, four miles from Macao, called Nanping, in Kuangdong province of China, in 1828. Living in a farming family, Yung Wing entered a “Western school,” founded by Rev. Karl Friedrich August Gutzlaff, in Macao³ when he was seven years old for learning English, arithmetic, painting, and the *Bible*. Studying in the school meant that he could help with livelihood in the beginning, but incidentally initiated the plan of selecting Chinese youths to study in the U.S. in Qing history at the end.

Yung Wing opened his eye to the West. However the timing was not good for him to maintain his exploration. In 1839, the Opium War I broke out. China was bombed fiercely while sleeping in the air of opium smoke. Schools suddenly announced the cancellation of all classes and Yung was forced to drop out of school. Later Dr. Hobson led Yung Wing to Hong Kong and then Yung entered Morrison Academy in 1842. He studied *Four Books* and *Five Classics*, English writing, geography, vocal music, geometry, and history.

In Nov. 1847, Yung was eighteen years old. He said goodbye to his family and took the ship, The Huntress which was fully loaded with tea, with Rev. Samuel Robbin Brown,⁴ Huang Kuan, and Huang Sheng starting from Huangpu River, passing Hong Kong and the Atlantic, to the eastern coast of the U.S. At that time the U.S. was a young nation, built up for only seventy years. New York, at the time, had a population of

³ At that time Macao was Portuguese colony. Many of Christian missions instituted schools in Macao. Sailboats from the world could be seen in the harbor and the scene that sailors and clergymen walked around the wharf was common.

⁴ Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown was born in Connecticut, U.S., in 1810. He and newly-married wife went to China in 1838 and later founded Morrison Academy. Between 1859 and 1879, He engaged in running school and mission in Japan. The plan of the first group of Japan students to successfully study in the U.S. was promoted by him; therefore he was called “A Maker of the New Orient.” Samuel died of sickness in Monson, MA, in 1880. Please see Yung Wing, Shi Ni trans. & ed : *My life in China and America* (Shanghai : Shanghai biao jia chu ban she, 2003), p.11.

250,000. The Huntress headed for Springfield, MA, and most of youths in the ship became the first arriving Chinese students in Monson Academy.

During the first year of Monson Academy, Yung Wing, Huang Kuan, and Huang Sheng were assigned to attend English classes, to learn arithmetic, physiology, and psychology. In 1949, Yung rejected financial support from the London mission and entered Yale University. The board of directors of Monson Academy asked him to go back to China for being a missionary as a requirement if Yung needed funds from the board to support his tuition and fee; however, he rejected with courtesy. As he recalled,

I wanted the utmost freedom of action to avail myself of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China.⁵

He lived frugally, got excellent grades, and joined a fraternity. All practices and efforts brought him perfect proficiency in English, even better than his classmates. He gradually understood that disaster in his homeland was resulted from a conservative attitude. He said,

I was determined that the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed; that through western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful.⁶

When he was a freshman, he had his hair in a Western style instead of plaits and wore Western style clothes instead of robes. He became a naturalized American citizen when he was a sophomore and joined Rev. Shubael Bartlett's United Church of Christ. Not until this moment, he could not sense how significant it was for an individual to help China become prosperous and strong through modernization. Hence he devoted his attention to Chinese youths with the intention to train more and more young Chinese people who were educated by modern advanced knowledge from the West.

⁵ Yung Wing, *My Life in China and America* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1909), p.35.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p.41.

In 1854, Yung Wing obtained the Degree of B.A. from Yale University. He was the first Chinese to graduate from American advanced institute. In the archive, located in Yale University, the note that Yung exchanged with graduates still remains. He wrote “The great man never forgets the heart he had when a child” to his classmates. One of his American friends responded that “I expect to hear from you about something you carry out your great career. Wish China has become a republic after your return, and you will share the joyfulness of overthrowing autocratic dynasty with your compatriots.”⁷

The young people returned to their homeland with great ambition by sailing the reverse route, but he never thought that it took him eighteen years to carry out the ideal of sending Chinese youths to study in the U.S.

2.2 From Kakodate to Boston

In the year Yung went back to China, Japan finally opened itself to the outside world. Nevertheless the removal of sailing prohibition was not applicable to overseas students and merchants in the beginning. That was why it took so long to have the first Japanese overseas student, nine years after Yung Wing returned to China. The one who stowed away on a ship for the purpose of studying overseas was Shimeda Neesima.⁸ He ignored

⁷ Boy Students: China’s Grand Cross-cultural Experiment in 1870s America (News Probe / China Central Television, CCTV) vol. The record is retained in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library of Yale University, CT.

⁸ Information about Joseph H. Neesima can be seen in books as below, Katsuya Inoue: *Koka to Kyoiku –Mori Arinori to Joseph H. Neesima no Hikakukenyu* (Kyoto, Koyo Syobou , 2000) ; Yuzou Oota : *Ryoshin no Zenshin ni Jyuman shit a ru Jyobu* (Kyoto : Mireruvia Syobou , 2005) ; Yuzo Yuasa : *Neesima Den*(Kyoto: Kaizousya ,1936) ; Syokou Morinaka : *Neesima Sensei no syougai—Kyoiku Hokoku Hen* (Tokyo: Taizanbou , 1942) ; Joseph H.Neesima : *Jinsei tokuhon* (Tokyo: Daiichi Syobou , 1938) ; Gyousaburou Negishi : *Joseph H. Neesima*(Tokyo: Keiseisya, 1923) ; Doshisha University ed : *Joseph H. Neesima : Kindai Nihonn no Senkakusya*(Tokyo: Kouyou Syobou ,1993) ; Doshisha University ed : *Joseph*

the fear of being punished by the death penalty and determinedly took a long sail to the U.S. After ten years he became the first Japanese to obtain a Master Degree from the U.S.

Neesima, a son of a samurai, was born in Edo. He learned characters since he was five years old,⁹ studied Chinese Classics, Kendo, and equestrianism in a school of Annaka Han when he was ten, and held Adult Ceremony¹⁰ and served as an administrative assistant in Annaka Han when he was fourteen. As a fifteen-year-old youth, he wrote a letter in Chinese characters to the elder instructor, Naoki Ozaki and said,

Japan is going to have chaos. I am afraid that I cannot study anymore because of the coming turmoil. If I do not study now, I might lose the chance to be educated. Therefore it is my great wish, with sincere heart, to be allowed studying in a Western school.¹¹

Facing the challenge of being opened by Black Ships (1853) and the crisis of Edo Earthquake (1855), as a Japanese, Neesima holistically expressed his anxiety and worry completely in the letter.

He started to teach calligraphy in Annaka Han at sixteen, the age he intended to resist being regulated as a samurai that pushed him to study in a private Rangaku school. This act resulted in a bitter trashing by the Han Master.¹² He poured out words fluently

H. Neesima—Sono Jidai to Syougai (Kyoto: Doshisha University, 1993); Kyouko Taketa ed: *Joseph H. Neesima* (Tokyo: Chikuma Syobou, 1977); Kouhaku Motoi: *Joseph H. Neesima no Kouyu* (Kyoto: Shibunkaku, 2005); Syuji Kitagaki ed: *Joseph H. Neesima no Sekai* (Kyoto: Kouyou Syobou, 1990); Seishirou Iwamura: *Joseph H. Neesima Genkouroku* (Tokyo: Sanseitou, 1939).

⁹ Neesima's father was doing administrative assistant in Annaka Han and run a private calligraphy school at home. Please see Yuzou Oota: *Ryoshin no Zenshin ni Jyuman shit a ru Jyobu*

¹⁰ After the Adult Ceremony, Neesima's first name was changed to Takamiki.

¹¹ *Joseph H. Neesima H. Neesima Zensyu* vol.3, p.5

¹² Arthur Sherburne Hardy, *Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima*, (Boston and New York: Houghton, Company, 1902), p4.

for elaborating how important it was to study Western learning based on the strategy of “Knowing oneself as well as others thinking facilitates the making of most beneficial action ” at the moment of crisis endangered national security. Neesima was elected as a Han Master guard at seventeen. In comparison with Japanese ships, he felt surprised at the magnificence when he saw Dutch warships in Edo Bay. When he was twenty, he was highly attracted to Christian doctrines by means of reading Japanese version of *Las Aventuras de Robinson Crusoe* and *Selected Bible*.

At the age of twenty-one, under the help of the England shop’s employee, Unokichi Fukushi, Neesima took the commercial ship, The Berlin, at midnight from Kakodate to Shanghai.¹³ Before starting off, he wrote a Chinese poem to express his ambition for the future,

I wear simple robe with three-foot samurai sword for preparing for boarding. My thinking is getting complicated while I turn around to see my past. A man who has great ambition does not stop until traveling over five continents.¹⁴

He transferred from Shanghai by taking the commercial ship, The Wild Rover, stopping by East Asia for business, finally to Boston. During the period of voyage, he already wore his hair short and Western-style clothes. The Captain, Tyler, gave him the English *Bible* and a name from it as a gift. The Western name “Joe”¹⁵ encouraged him to make more efforts on what he pursued all his life.

Neesima spoke out his wish to the owner of The Berlin, Alpheas Hardy (1815-1887), about studying in the U.S. When he filled out the reasons of entering the U.S. at the

¹³ Because The Berlin was owned by Walsh in Nagasaki and needed to sail homeward, the captain, William, suggested that Neesima took The Wild Rover to Boston.

¹⁴ Doshisha University ed : *Joseph H. Neesima—Sono Jidai to Syougai*, p.19.

¹⁵ On July 11, 1864, Neesima wrote in English how he got his English name in diary. The captain Tyler said “I shall call your name Joe” to him. Later he acquired the knowledge from *Bible* that “Joe (Joseph)” was the chosen one who led his father, Jacob, and brothers to leave Israel for Egypt according to the records in *Genesis, Old Testament*. The pronunciation of “Jyou” was from Joe.

Boston Custom, he wrote “I am desirous of understanding English *Bible* and of deeply knowing Jesus.”¹⁶

In less than two years, he finished all requirements after entering the Phillips Academy.¹⁷ Afterwards he was baptized in a church affiliated with Andover Theological Seminary. Then he studied in the department of science of Amherst College,¹⁸ and usually traveled around the world during spring and summer vacations, sometimes visiting mines and collecting some of them for fun. In 1870, the Degree, Bachelor of Science, was conferred on Neesima by Amherst Collage. Sequentially he entered Andover Theological Seminary for Master study. In the first year of graduate study, he attained the admission of studying overseas from the Japanese government through Arinori Mori’s help, a Japanese envoy in the U.S. Neesima was not a stowaway anymore from that moment. He met with the diplomatic corps, led by Tomomi Iwakura (1825-1883), in Washington and incidentally got acquainted with Takayoshi Kido (1833-1877), Hirobumi Itō (1841-1909), and others, in the second year of graduate study. Accompanied by Hujimaro Tanaka (1845-1909), an official of the Department of Education in Japan, Neesima furthermore went to Europe for investigating the educational systems there. The report he wrote about the different designs in education between Japan and Europe contributed deeply to the foundation of Japan’s education system. In 1874, he obtained the Degree, Master of Theology, and later he served the Christian sacred ritual—Laying on in Mt. Vernon Church, Boston. He became a clergyman finally.

Before returning to his homeland, Neesima attended the 65th annual conference of

¹⁶ Yuzou Oota : *Ryoshin no Zenshin ni Jyuman shit a ru Jyobu*, p90.

¹⁷ The principal, S.H. Taylor, quite looked after Neesima.

¹⁸ Mr. and Mrs. Seelye took care of Neesima greatly. Later Prof. Seelye was the principal.

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Rutland. Before attending the conference, he wrote a letter to the conference sponsor and stated his willingness to do mission. He said,

I was a Buddhist and was educated by Confucian morals. However, when I am getting older, the later dissatisfied me while the former made me feel unhappy. More than that, I embrace hopes to good and honest things. When I feel the hopes, I read the Bible History where there are descriptions about the God. I believe this directs me to receive the God's grace. Hence I leave my home county for a foreign land. This is the God's decree who guides friendly people waited for me in Boston and supported my education. No longer after arriving in the U.S., I became the God's people, praised the God's language, and asked for glory from him....The purpose I devote myself to be a missionary is from the sympathy that my homeland lacked and from the love toward my suffering compatriots. My love towards the God blesses me and confers me power especially.¹⁹

It was one of the significant documents where Neesima asserted the process of transferring from Buddhism and Confucianism to Christianity in his mind. During the conference he made a speech with the topic of "Japan's necessity for instituting Christian schools." Hundreds respond to the single call. Many participants responded to his words, and finally the conference received a donation of USD 5000. Full with ambition, he went back to Japan by taking a ship starting from San Francisco, passing the Pacific Ocean, to Yokohama, Japan. Not wishing to wait for a long time, he initiated the practice of his ideology to found a Christian school, in Japan after one year.

3 The Grey Zone— between the Pre-modern and the Modern

In the late nineteen century, East Asian countries contended with each other and the history of resistance towards being westernized caused turmoil. This turning point has attracted contemporary scholars' attention. Most researchers are eager to find out the

¹⁹ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, pp.188-191.

internal logic of changes in ideology in the Eastern world of the nineteenth century. They pointed out that the disintegration of traditional thoughts in the Eastern world at that time was not only caused by shocks from the West but also meant that a spontaneous power to push self changes had existed.

Yung and Neesima both stayed in New England for a long time, eight and ten years respectively, but immediately returned China and Japan for the purpose of making contribution to homelands after obtaining Degrees. Everything was tough and different after they went back to home. Yung Wing faced the turbulence and uneasiness caused by the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851-1864) and the Opium War I (1840-1842). Undoubtedly the Qing court was in a great trouble to handle the situations that internal and external affairs tangled. As for Joseph H. Neesima, he had no choice but to face the trend of westernization rife with the country since the Meiji Restoration (1866-1869). Instead of internal conflicts as Yung had experienced, the reformed Japanese government needed to take care of the uprising of the Satsuma rebellion (1877). The honorable title of “overseas scholar” attracted quite an admiring eye from diplomatic and political circles in China and Japan. However homeland people were unfamiliar with Yung’s and Neesima’s ambition based on the fact that the youths tore themselves away from their nations since they were little. It cost them great effort to promote their acceptability in home countries by means of making connection with the bigwig, and propagated their points of views about how to save their countries from decline as well.

Both of them coincidentally brought up that “education” was the best way to strengthen the national competitive ability. Yung Wing made a suggestion towards Zeng Guofan (1811-1872) and Li Hongzhang (1823-1901) about sending youths to study in the U.S. Finally the proposal was approved. The Qing court sent a total of one hundred and

twenty Chinese youths to New England. Most of the trained youths returning from abroad later became China's pioneers in different fields like the mining industry, railroad industry, and telecommunication industry after being internalized by European and American style of study for a long time. The earliest diplomatic corps, the first principals of Tsinghua University and Tientsin University, and the first Premier of Republic of China (R.O.C.) were all a part of the Chinese overseas youths.

Neesima founded Doshisha English School, the first Christian school in Kyoto of Japan. After he died, his wife continued his last wish to institute the Doshisha University where the school style was different from the Imperial University. The mainly difference focused on the fact that the essence of a university education was on liberal education rather than on training officials or professional researchers. Doshisha University emphasized the spirit of holistic education and students should be trained to have honest personality. This style of education nurtured countless geniuses in many years.

3.1 Yung Wing and the Chinese Youths

In 1854, twenty-year-old Yung Wing arrived in Hong Kong by taking the fast ship, The Eureka, with the appearance of short hair and Western-style clothes to return to his homeland where he had been long separated from for eight years. Nevertheless the activities of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom devastated the homeland where the wars were frequent and blood flowed like a river everywhere.

Having spent a long time studying in the U.S., Yung Wing was restricted to limited Chinese vocabulary in expressing language precisely based on leaving Chinese for the U.S. for eight years; therefore he had to pick up the language in the first six months after his return. In addition, he actively looked for jobs that could maintain his life and devoted

himself to national causes as well. However the first three jobs were not as he wished. Thus he was in business in Shanghai and Jiujiang for almost seven years. He took pity on his compatriots when seeing their suffering. Therefore he placed hope on Taiping Army. He said,

The scene I had looked upon during the day had stirred me up. I thought then that the Taiping rebels had ample grounds to justify their attempt to overthrow the Manchu regime.²⁰

After he paid a visit to the Taiping Army in winter, 1860, he was conscious of how extremely ignorant the Taiping Army was. This was completely different from what he thought about the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom whose direction was far from his.

During the period and the Tongzhi in Qing dynasty, although most officials were conservative and corrupt, there were a few people who had insight to consciously recognize how Western ships and weapons attacked China. They hoped to direct China to the road of modernization. Yung Wing followed the wind of modernization, and got a chance to meet with head governor of Liangjiang, Zeng Guofan. Later Yung was designated as a diplomatic councilor.

In 1870, the plan, Yung proposed, about sending Chinese youths to study in the U.S. was approved by Zeng Guofan. Zeng and Li Hongzhang jointly signed a report to the Emperor Tongzhi and purported that Westerners owned rich knowledge in geography, mathematics, astronomy, and manufacturing beyond their military power. If China wanted to emulate their success, China had no choice but to select outstanding youths to study overseas. After one month, general Yamen received an edict from the Emperor which said “to the proposed order.” The short passage was unprecedented to initiate the plan of Chinese youths studying in the U.S. That was to say that Yung Wing’s dream

²⁰ Yung Wing, p.56.

came true.

The Qing court planned to send thirty youths to foreign countries every year, a total of one hundred and twenty youths in four years, for learning military affairs, sailing, law, and architectural engineering. The main purpose of the plan was to make the Chinese familiar with Western technology and subsequently the Chinese would become stronger. The study term was fifteen years and all expenses were supported by the Chinese government.

Yung Wing contacted the principal of Yale University, Noah Porter, and the director of the Bureau of Education in Connecticut, B. G. Northrop, to ask for assistance about the youths' accommodation and study in detail. He indicated that the Chinese government had high expectations on the study that the youths engaged in, but they were not allowed to become American citizens, stay in the U.S. forever, or interrupt their study for individual profit.

In 1872, the first group of Chinese youths started their voyage. They spent twenty-five days at sea by taking a ship, from China, passing the Pacific Ocean, to San Francisco. After landing, they took a train towards Springfield and arrived there in seven days. In three sequent years, four groups, a total of one hundred and twenty youths, came to the U.S. The difference between Yung Wing and these youths was that they did not need to worry about finances, but were unavoidably monitored by the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. The Bureau asked all host families to strictly supervise the youths' Chinese learning every day and it was the youths' obligation to visit the Bureau for learning Confucian classics every three months. In addition, during Chinese holidays, supervisor and associate supervisor would lecture the youths about "Amplified instructions of the Sacred edict" (sheng-yu-kuang-xun), a regulation that the Qing

Emperor instructed the populace on how to act, conforming with the purpose of respecting elders. That way, youths would not be restricted by foreign study and could still observe Chinese tradition.

Yung took an open attitude to regulate the youths' Chinese learning and about whether to keep Chinese customs. However the open attitude toward Western learning was not compatible with Chen Lanbin's idea, the supervisor of the Bureau; sometimes discord arose. On the one hand, youths crossed the language barrier in an amazing speed and most of them graduated from language schools after one year, then went on to high schools. On the other hand, they performed well in all kinds of sports, but it was hard for them to stretch out because of the obstruction resulting from robes and plaits. Some of them started to make changes, like wearing Western-style clothes because of the inconvenience in movement, feeling ashamed of doing kowtow, or attending worship with host families.

The Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. believed that the students had rebelled against Chinese customs and disregarded all elders and betters, which might lead to the worry of being changed by foreigners. The new supervisor, Wu Zideng, strictly demanded that students should stick by "the sacred edict" and work on reviewing the *Four Books*. He did not allow the youths to forget national manners. If there was anyone who resisted the regulations or detracted from them, the person would be forced to drop out of school and would be sent back to China. But since youths' thoughts and behaviors of being westernized could not be controlled effectively, Chen Lanbin reported to the Qing court that all youths should be sent back to China in 1881 without respect to Yung Wing's opposition. Afterwards the proposal was approved. The Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. was cancelled. Yung Wing returned China with youths since the assistant envoy's

term of office had come to an end.

It looked like the plan of sending Chinese youths to study in the U.S. was suspended, but it made a great influence on China's modernization later on. While the world wholeheartedly embraced the Industrial Revolution, Chinese youths were sent to the center spot. They accepted a six-year American education on average, which made them a unique group, unable to be replaced. In addition to playing the role of pushing hands and helmsman, Yung took responsibility for a great quantity of diplomatic affairs. He served the post of Qing's assistant envoy, stationed among the U.S., Spain, and Peru. Furthermore Yung married Mary Louisa Kellogg²¹ and had two sons, Morrison Brown Yung (1876-1934) and Bartlett Gutzlaff Yung (1879-1942).²²

In the year following the youths returning to China, Yung Wing came back to the U.S. due to his wife's illness. This time he stayed in the U.S. for thirteen years until the First Sino-Japanese War. After going back to china, Yung suggested that China should practice a new policy, but was entirely rejected by Qing court. Fully disappointment with the rejection, Yung diverted his attention to supporting reforms. After the failure of the Hundred Days' Reform, he fled from Beijing in 1898. In 1900, Yung organized the *China Parliament* in Shanghai but fled away again from China to Japan after being discovered his position as a revolutionist. Taking the same ship with Dr. Sun Yat-sen on the way Japan, he subsequently took refuge in Hong Kong and started to incline to the revolutionist school. In 1911, the Revolution succeeded. Dr. Sun Yat-sen took up the post

²¹ Yung Wing was single until he married one of teachers, Mary Louisa Kellogg, who taught Chinese youths at the time. He thought "there is no single Chinese woman he can marry and there is not American woman who is willing to marry him." However, he overcame the difficulty of racial discrimination in Kellogg's family and married Marry in 1875.

²² Their names were from missionaries, Rev. Morrison and Rev. Shubael Bartlett, respectively. Both brothers graduated from Yale University and married Chinese women as well after returning to China. Morrison Brown Yung died in Beijing in 1934. Bartlett Gutzlaff Yung, a famous engineer, settled down in Shanghai later.

of provisional president of the Republic of China and invited Yung to join China's national construction, but Yung was not able to come back to China because of serious illness and advanced age at that time. In April, 1912, Yung died at home and was later buried in Cedar Hill Cemetery, Hartford, U.S.A.

3.2. Joseph H. Neesima and Doshisha Schools

In comparison to the fully conservative air Yung Wing breathed after returning to China, Neesima experienced a different phenomenon. A Westernized Japanese society was itself before his eyes ten years after his departure for the U.S. That year he was thirty-one years old. Christian churches stood in Yokohama, railroads were built for steam trains between Yokohama and Shinbashi, Tokyo, the prohibition towards Christianity was abolished, Western schools were founded everywhere, and students who were prepared for studying overseas appeared group after group. Even so, Neesima's return did not derive from the nostalgia toward home country, but from a sense to be a missionary.²³ He said "I cannot understand myself why I am so cold when I have a view of going home."²⁴ U.S. was the homeland in his heart rather than Japan.

Neesima met his parents and did missionary work in preliminary schools and temples of his hometown after returning. His parents and villagers gave the mission a great response; the parents even burned Buddhist tablets and amulets in order to profess Christianity. Nevertheless he could not get used to certain customs in the homeland, so he still insisted on living an American life style —everything was to be Westernized in his life.²⁵ People thought that he not only changed his religious belief to Christianity, but also converted his cultural belief to the U.S. Such an inclination to American culture brought

²³ Yuzou Oota : *Ryoshin no Zenshin ni Jyuman shit a ru Jyobu* , p.188.

²⁴ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, p.179.

²⁵ Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrine of Nikkô*, II (London: J. Murray, 1911), p. 238.

the feeling of enmity between him and Christians in Japan. Masahiki Uemora (1858-1925) was disappointed that Neesima disagreed on experiencing Christianity by means of formalism;²⁶ Kajinosuke Ibuka (1854-1935) and Youichi Honda (1848-1912) ...,etc, disapproved that Neesima solicited funds from American Board.²⁷

Faced with criticism from certain circles, Neesima never stopped campaigning for the institution of Christian schools. Since he got a non-positive response from Osaka, Neesima tried to seek other ways, and finally asked the councilor of Kyoto Prefecture, Kakuma Yamamoto, for help. City councilors of Kyoto intended to do something worthwhile since the Japanese government moved the capital to Tokyo after the Meiji Restoration. Therefore Neesima's ideas of instituting the Doshisha English School to teach Christian doctrines and modern science, were greatly approved by the government, but were strongly opposed by Buddhists, which resulted in losing support from officials like Kido Takayoshi and Hujimaro Tanaka. After experiencing difficulties, Neesima's application was approved by the Kyoto Prefecture on conditions that teaching the Bible and lecturing theology were not allowed at school.

In 1875, Doshisha English School was founded. There were only two teachers, Joseph H. Neesima and Jerome Dean Davis, and eight students. In the next year, the number of students rose to seventy. Neesima bought a pre-owned house for providing a place to lecture the Bible and enrolled top students from Kumamoto Foreign School to the pre-divinity program of Doshisha English School.

Shortly thereafter, Neesima married Kakuma Yamamoto's younger sister, Yae

²⁶ Hisashi Saba: *Masahiki Uemora to sono Jidai* vol3 (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1976), p.647.

²⁷ *Cyuousouronn* Nov 1907 , p.84.

Yamamoto (1845-1932). It was the first Christian wedding in Kyoto's history. Following her husband's ideas after marriage, Mrs. Neesima founded Doshisha Girls' School.

In 1876, the first Christian church appeared in Kyoto. Later Annaka, Ehime, Kobe, and Okayama instituted Christian churches as well. The domain that Neesima missionized was gradually expanded so he asked all churches to govern themselves, to practice the spirit of freedom and autonomy of modernization into church's administration. Neesima's final wish was to institute a Christian advanced school. His ideas were

First, to exert all his strength to offer Christian clergymen the most advanced education.

Second, to especially offer Christian doctors the holistic education.

Third, to open lecture classes in science of law, political science, philosophy, history, and literature; to attract most excellent students to enter the school and to be influenced by Christian doctrines.²⁸

He prepared to institute three schools, divinity, medicine, and law, for nurturing highly knowledgeable clergymen. And he believed that by broadly establishing various departments and programs and giving consideration to the needs of diversification, it might allure more students to come and be influenced by Christianity.

In 1882, Doshisha Divinity School was smoothly founded. Neesima continually announced the "Plans of University Constitution" and the "Constitution of Doshisha University" to propagate his ideas of running the school. In 1884, when he paid a visit to Europe, he suddenly felt uncomfortable. His health got worse. Therefore he wrote posthumous papers in a hilltop hotel. Fortunately he got improved later and stayed in Hardy's home waiting for convalescence until the end of the following year.

²⁸ *Joseph H. Neesima Zensyu* vol10.

Even though Neesima had been alarmed by a sudden bout of illness, he still worked hard on behalf of Christian education. In 1886, he founded Miyagi English School (Touka School now) in Sendai, Doshisha Hospital, and Nursing School in Kyoto. That is to say that he continuously overdrew his energy. In April, when Neesima talked school institution with influential personages, he was taken down with cerebral anemia. The same year, “Constitution of Doshisha University,” drafted by Tokutomi Soho, was propagated *Kokumin no Tomo (Nationals Friend)* .

That year, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Shigenobu Okuma (1838-1922), who greatly assisted Neesima’s plan, was maimed in right leg by bombs from the member of Genyousya. The following February, while enacting “The Constitution of the Empire of Japan,” Neesima’s best friend, the Minister of Education, Arinori Mori, was assassinated by the supporter of traditional culture, Buntarou Nishino. Neesima felt disappointed about the political situation inasmuch as those miserable things happened. He said,

Due to the political disorder, I deeply feel that the society lacks sincere and honest persons. It is my best wish that such kinds of persons would do something for the society.²⁹

In 1889, Neesima moved to Kanagawa Prefecture for health recuperation. In this period, he still frequently wrote a great number of letters to his wife, his friends, and his students to discuss how to disseminate Christian Gospel to more populace. In Jan., 1890, He wrote a Han poem to express his ambition.

Saw off the last year and stopped feeling sad, I am weak because of sickness.
However, crowing of cocks informs the good time coming already. I do not have good aptitude or strategy to serve people; even so, I still embrace great intention to welcome the spring.

Although he knew he might not live for a long time based on his illness, his heart was full

²⁹ Doshisha University ed: *Joseph H. Neesima Seitann 150 years Kinennsyashinsyu* (Kyoto: Kouyousyobou , 1993), p.112-113.

of great aspiration to help people. On Jan. 23, Neesima died of acute peritonitis. His remains were buried in Wakaoshi cemetery. He had an eternal rest there. His remaining wishes were carried out by Mrs. Neesima step by step, like instituting “Doshisha Normal High school” (1896), “Doshisha Girls’ Professional School”(1902), “Doshisha Professional School”(1905), “Doshisha Girls’ Professional University ”(1912), and “Doshisha University”(1920). Mrs. Neesima died at an advanced age of 86 in 1932.

Yung Wing wrote the sentence “The great man never forgets the heart he had when a child” (1854); coincidentally, Joseph H. Neesima expressed “It is my great wish with sincere heart” (1856) before taking a far sailing for a foreign land. Similarly both used “the heart one had when a child” or “a sincere heart” to state their enthusiasm toward Western learning and homeland. Comprehensively reviewing the later half of their lives, they indeed never forgot the wishes they made as youths. With the heart “one had when a child” and behaving patriotism through “education,” they pulled hard their Eastern home countries to head-on catch up with the Western foot.

4. The Cultural Identity in “Marginal Men”

Yung Wing was like a stranger in his appearance when entering the U.S. In less than a few years, he had his plaits cut and changes his clothes. His spoken English was even better than his classmates, which eventually led him to become an American citizen and marry American woman. After his wife died, he stayed in Hartford rather than his return to China. In 1854, the year of returning China, he “almost forgot his mother language” and deviated from Confucianism on thoughts of becoming baptized as a sincere Christian. He did his utmost to disseminate the “Western points of views” to his compatriots.

In foreigners' points of views, Yung was a patriot who loved to devote himself to the nation, but it was not exactly so in Chinese society, especially when Yung became involved in the political circle. He kept staying on an awkward position where he endeavored to promote modernization in late Qing society. The Qing court relied on his knowledge in foreign affairs, but discriminated him from people who were educated by tradition Chinese culture, for example, pure Confucians like Chen Lanbin possessed higher positions than overseas scholars like Yung Wing. In the case of dealing with affairs about the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S and envoys of U.S., Spain, and Peru, pure Confucians had the advantage of making essential decisions, which made it hard for him to stretch his aspirations out.

On the contrary, Neesima changed his appearance to a Western style look before entering the U.S. However English was his second or third foreign language³⁰ which he dabbled in for short time. When the officer of American Custom asked him "Why do you come to the U.S.?" he could not answer it fluently in English.³¹ The language barrier was expected in the beginning but he could write all kinds of writings and make an English speech after he got his Master Degree. He got the English name, Joe, from a Captain and used this name to change his original one given by his parents. In addition he kept being a Japanese citizen throughout his life. As a clergyman, he spiritually identified more with the Western culture. The insistence on maintaining everything in the American style and bad acceptability on the part of the Japanese culture showed that he was westernized in both aspects of faith and culture.

³⁰ Comparing to Yung Wing who laid the groundwork for English since he was educated by Western education since he was young, Neesima started to learn English after he learned Dutch and German already.

³¹ Doushisha University ed : *Joseph H. Neesima—Sono Jidai to Syougai* , p.37

Japan did not select officials from imperial examination nor did Neesima play a part in politics. He chose to be a missionary and educator all his life. The background of studying overseas should seemingly offer him advantages when facing the trend of westernization; however, he was excluded by local Christians because of his westernized behaviors. It became more difficult to institute schools due to the objection and questions from Buddhists and Shintoists, not to mention having to gain endorsement and support from governors.

These two Asians who admired Western culture were hard to avoid the struggle in their changing minds when returning homelands. They coincidentally depended on the Christian power to encourage themselves when feeling frustrated and met predicament in the process of practicing ideals into reality.

When thinking about faith and his future after returning to China, Yung Wing did have his own misgivings. One of his American friends said that “Westernized people like Yung must be discriminated and excluded by people in his own country. It is a tough road to walk on. The idea of going back to the homeland is as an idea of roaming over a foreign land. Yung is eager to stay in the U.S., but the sentence in the Bible acted as if God’s voice was vibrating around his ear.”³² The sentence Yung truly believed was.

But if any provide not for his own, and specially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel (Timothy 5:8).

In Yung’s mind, “his own” and “his own house” meant his motherland. This sentence occupied his entire mind at that moment. As if he was the chosen one, with the sense of

³² Yung Wing wrote the letter to Wei Sanwei on Dec. 30, 1852 (unpublished English manuscript. It is stored in Beinecke Rare Book & Manuscript Library of Yale University)The document was offered by Mr. Gao Zognlu in C.T. quoted from Shi Ni: *Guan nian yu bei ju* (Shanghai : Shanghai ren min chu ban she, 2000) , p.58.

justice and the heart to pay gratitude to the homeland, he decided to go back to his home country.³³

Neesima was sentimentally attached more to the U.S. than Japan. When he took a rest because of catching a cold in the period of studying in Amherst College, he said “I have serious nostalgia toward the home in Andover rather than the one in Annaka.”³⁴ When faced with the decision whether to go back to Japan or not, he thought that to leave the U.S. for Japan was harder at the moment than to leave Japan for the U.S. He said,

I have my bosom filled with enthusiasm, but hard to speak it out. When I come to think about to say goodbye to my friends here, the pain in my mind is unable to describe. The feeling is as the extremely transition going from a radiant land to a dark one; I am sad for leaving. However, what I can do is to encourage myself in terms of the redemption that the God heavenly came to rescue me from earthly Jerusalem. Since the God did so, I must follow his route. From now on, I would never cry.³⁵

Christianity played a decisive role in the period of developing thinking. Yung Wing realized how amiable Mrs. Gutzlaff was in her Western School and regarded her as his own mother, feeling the charming personality of cordialness from this great woman. He was baptized in the period of studying in Monson Academy and later joined United Church of Christ in the period of University study. Neesima intimately knew *Selected Bible* and the Chinese version of the Bible history in boyhood, believing that he could find the comfort that he could not get from Buddhist and Confucian doctrines. Eager for God’s grace, he decided to tear himself away from Japan.³⁶ As a theology major, he became a clergyman.

³³ Shi Ni: *Guan nian yu bei ju*, p.58-59.

³⁴ A letter of Nov. 22, 1876. *Joseph H. Neesima Zensyu* Vol.6, p.24.

³⁵ Neesima’s interview in Rutland. The paragraph was recorded by a reporter and was published in Rutland Weekly Herald , Japanese translation was published in *Doushisya Hyakunen Syu: Shiryousyuu Ni* , p. 64.

³⁶ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, p.188-191.

Although Yung and Neesima both were baptized, with sincere beliefs, they had different points of views on the issue of devoting themselves to be clergymen or not.

When the board of directors of Monson Academy showed a willingness to support Yung's college tuition and fee on condition that he had to go back to China to be a missionary after graduation, Yung declined with courtesy,

The calling of a missionary is not the only sphere in life where one can do the most good in China or elsewhere. In such a vast empire, there can be hardly any limit put upon one's ambition to do good, if one is possessed of the Christ-spirit; on the other hand, if one has not such a spirit, no pledge in the world could melt his ice-bound soul.³⁷

He thought that Christian doctrines never completely fused with the Chinese culture; therefore the Chinese did not profess Christianity. To missionize Chinese was like allowing a useful body to become useless.

The decision caused him to make a clean break with charitable funds. However based on a real understanding of the motherland culture, he thought that the best way in reality to save China from decline was science rather than religion, He said,

I wanted the utmost freedom of action to avail myself of every opportunity to do the greatest good in China...the calling of a missionary is not the only sphere in life where one can do the most good in China or elsewhere. In such a vast empire, there can be hardly any limit put upon one's ambition to do good, if one is possessed of the Christ-spirit; on the other hand, if one has not such a spirit, no pledge in the world could melt his ice-bound soul...To be sure, I was poor, but I would not allow my poverty to gain the upper hand and compel me to barter away my inward convictions of duty for a temporary mess of pottage.³⁸

In order to keep the freedom of choosing occupations and to choose a real career that he could devote himself to serving his home country and compatriots, he was not willing to be restricted because of poorness.

³⁷ Yung Wing, p.36

³⁸ Ibid., p.35-36

Everything Neesima did in college and graduate study was for to prepare being a missionary. When Tomomi Iwakura's diplomatic corps headed to the U.S., Arinori Mori voluntarily proposed that the Japanese government paid for all tuition and fee that Neesima had paid for in the past years if his guardian applied to the Meiji government. Neesima responded to Arinori Mori and said that he would be restricted by the government's mission and could not be "a free Japanese citizen"³⁹ and focus on Master's business if he took the funds. Hardy eventually did not apply for government subsidies. Neesima stated his willingness to assist in foreign affairs to the diplomatic corps when the corps invited him to Europe for being an interpreter. But he was not willing to be restricted by money and contract. He said,

I would not go home concealing my Christian faith like a trembling thief goes in a dark night under the fear of discovery, but go there as a Christian man walking in a Christian love and doing things according to the light of my conscience.⁴⁰

Therefore he continued to accept Hardy family's financial support based on the same reason.⁴¹

In contrast to Yung Wing, Neesima thought that Japanese needed Christianity. He said,

What American professed is the only *Veritas* from the only God. Followers like me are invisible soul. If we can believe that the God is the Creator who created the Universe, to worship him, to believe him, and to love him, the concern about fate of the nation must arise, single-mindedly to make our country rich and to build up its military power. If people profess Christianity, there is no difference between richness and poorness in the nation. The rich would give relief to the poor. The rich will not regard themselves as a rich one, vice versa. In this way, there is no way to destroy this nation. . . . After returning to Japan, I

³⁹ Arthur Sherburne Hardy, p.102.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p103.

⁴¹ Ibid.

intend to disseminate the grace from the God, saving compatriots from misery.⁴²

Hence he argued that the faith might lead to unity and patriotism and might overrun all fortifications.

Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima both recognized the West and the East at the same time. Even so, they did not really fuse with both sides, which pushed them to occupy the marginal zone between the West and the East. The fate of being marginal men brought advantages and disadvantages. Their behaviors were different from local intellectuals', for example; Yung was more aggressive than the leader when he joined Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1894).⁴³ Both emphasized the reforms on values more than on implements. Therefore they were met with resistance when conferred on reforms with traditional intellectuals. Although Yung and Neesima both greatly agreed on westernization, based on the understanding towards homelands and Christianity, they made different decisions on career choices and the way to their serve countries.

5. Conclusion— A observation of the History of Chinese and Japanese Students Studying Overseas

Finally, this paper hopes to explore how two nations, China and Japan, experienced the process from practicing the strategy of “learning the advantages from the foreign invaders” to opening minds to the West by means of doing comparison between Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima. Second, I analyze how intellectuals initiated education projects through the experiences of studying overseas by investigating the history of China-Japan overseas study and the roles they played in the process of modernization of

⁴² On Feb. 25, 1871, To Itsunosuke Iida (*Joseph H. Neesima Zensyu* vol 3 , p.88)

⁴³ Bill Lann Lee, *Yung Wing and the Americanization of China*, p.27-28.

China and Japan.

China and Japan both took a long time transitioning from “prohibited Sea Policy” or “Sakoku Policy” to Western learning. The long time, spanning Ming and Qing dynasties or 480 years and Tokugawa shogunate or 250 years, isolated China and Japan from the world.

The failure of the Opium War I during the Qing Empire woke up Japan. Syouzan Sakuma (1811-1864) brought up “Eastern morality, Western technology”⁴⁴ to make up for Japanese defects, which was more inclined to the strategy of “taking advanced technologies from foreigners to provide against them. ” However, being opened by Black Ships forced Tokugawa shogunate to face the reality and practice “Ansei Reforms” (1855-1860). As a matter of fact, before Joseph H. Neesima, the trend that Japanese students studying in France, U.K., and the Netherlands at government expense had appeared and few students were assigned to study in the U.S. by Satsuma Han as well.

As for the Qing Empire, its pace obviously was slower than Japan’s. The pioneering work of having Yung Wing studying in the U.S. and Huang Kuan studying in U.K. was eighteen years earlier than Neesima’s, but China started sending other Chinese students overseas sixteen years after Yung’s return to China due to Qing’s conservative attitude. It was not only sending Chinese students to study in Europe that China lagged behind Japan for sixteen years but also the countries of study and subjects studied. In the early period, Chinese students, except for Yung Wing, learned medical science, technology, and military affair; the countries of study were restricted to the U.S., U.K., France,

⁴⁴ Syouzan Sakuma : *Syokanroku, Nihon Shisou Taikēi* vol55 (Tyoko: Iwanami Syoten, 1976) , p.414.

Germany, and Japan. Although most Japanese overseas students majored in practical technology and military affairs, some of them still chose basic science, literature, and philosophy..., etc, as their majors. In addition, the countries of study ranged over Russia, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Prussia in addition to China's study countries. In early 1900, Japan became host to a great amount of Chinese overseas students. From the trend that Japan sent envoys to China in Tang dynasty to the trend that China sent students to study in Japan in late Qing, the relation between the guest and the host had exchanged.

Maybe it was because of the difference of social trend of thought and pace of westernization between Japan and China, Yung advocated sending Chinese youths to foreign countries while Neesima suggested seeding the Japanese field with Christian doctrines. If we examine their patriotism and the concept of education in details, it seems that Yung embraced more "empathy" to his home county based on the secular point of view that what he saw was closer to the reality.

Yung Wing worried about national affairs and had close interaction with political circles. His thoughts and actions followed the world trend. In the seven suggestions he made to Taiping Heavenly Kingdom, there were four that were directly about education and the rest were indirectly about modern education. After he turned to the school of foreign affairs, his proposal of establishing "arsenal academy in Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau" was approved by Zeng Guofan. Later he suggested that the Qing court send Chinese youths to study in the U.S., but unfortunately the suggestion failed. The Yung-style reforms were not exactly as he imagined that China would educate a new generation of political leaders. Even after a series of chaos and reforms, China did not entirely become Americanized, but communized. In the process of reforming, as a pioneer, Yung Wing had his own contribution to the nation.

Joseph H. Neesima not only saw Qing's corruption on the road heading to the U.S.⁴⁵ but also saw the scene of being imperialized in Shanghai, Hong Kong, Vietnam, and Manila. He strongly felt the sense of crisis; hence he did not hope that Japan would follow in those footsteps. In the period of studying in the U.S., he sensed that the individual power was apart from the nation's power. Even so, in comparison to Arinori Mori who took "national benefit" as priority, Neesima put more emphasis on "a national."⁴⁶ He stressed the importance of individuality and freedom that hoped that Japan could nurture a national who possessed values like "freedom, vigorousness and morality."⁴⁷ Finally the national would create a society of full with Americanized "of the people, by the people, for the people." For him, "by the people" was especially important. Hence, he founded a Christian university. There were more and more nationals who were educated to become autonomous⁴⁸ in the way of geometric progression. Nevertheless, based on his isolation and exclusion from Japanese culture, tradition, and educational system,⁴⁹ he did not completely consider Japan's needs in reality, and habitually imported Western religion and political thoughts. Such an anxiety might cause him to follow in Qing Empire's failure.

Neesima held similar points of views with the Puritan, namely, to appreciate American culture, but saw Japanese customs as backward and used words like "the

⁴⁵ Neesima sighed and wrote in Chinese that "Chinese people respect their nation and call it Zhonghua. Now its harbors are invaded and governed by English. Oh...where can I find the meaning of Zhonghua?" *Joseph H. Neesima Zensyu II*, p.75.

⁴⁶ Katsuya Inoue : *Kokka to Kyouiku* , p.131.

⁴⁷ To Mr. and Mrs. Hardy, Georgetown, D.C. March 8,1872, Hardy ,*Life and Letters*, p.103.

⁴⁸ *Joseph H. Neesima Zensyu I*, p.137.

⁴⁹ The life Neesima lived in Hardy's home was like "a son of business tycoon." He never criticized the U.S. nor looked down aborigines and Blacks. It seemed that he never felt discriminated as a yellow race. However, according to the records about the overseas students who studied in the U.S. before or after him, New England was quite conservative and people in there discriminated yellow race. Please see related information in Touichirou Nakahama: *Banjirou Nakamaha Den*. p.81. E.R. Enouye 'The Practical Americans,' in Charles Lanman's *The Japanese in America* ◦ *Kanzou Uchimuea Zensyu 36*, p.188.

benighted” many times to describe Japan or Japanese. For instance, he mentioned his compatriots as “my benighted countrymen” and Japan as” the benighted nation” or “the benighted Japan,”⁵⁰ etc.

Both Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima held a strong sense of crisis for their society. Their act of studying overseas was nearly small scale of “cutting loose from Asia,”⁵¹ but being recognized by their respective countrymen as being “marginal” narrowed down their ambition. Research about them coincidentally likes to take the figures, Moses and King David in the *Old Testament*, as analogy to analogize their unrealized aspirations. Even though their aspirations did not be come true in reality, we cannot write off their contribution to China’s and Japan’s modernization; the world view they developed is retained in various ways. It is like the Bible said: “truly I say to you, if a seed of grain does not go into the earth and come to an end, it is still a seed and no more; but through its death it gives much fruit.”⁵²

In my opinion, Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima are like two grains fallen onto earth.

【Chart 1】The Bibliographical Chronology of Yung Wing and Joseph H. Neesima & A Comparison of between Chinese and Japanese Overseas Students.

year	Yung Wing	Chinese Overseas Students in the world	Joseph H. Neesima (Joe)	Japanese Overseas Students in the world
1828	Born on Nov.7, in Xiangshan			

⁵⁰ Hardy, *Life and Letters*, p. 65,143, and 156.

⁵¹ Yukichi Fukuzawa advocated the policy of “cutting loose from Asia” in the late 19-century that successfully led Japan to become a powerful nation.

⁵² John (12:24)

	County, Kuangtong Province, China			
1835	Between Summer and Fall, he entered the Primary school which was founded by the wife of Rev. Charles Gutzlaff (1803-1851) in Macao.			
1839	Between Spring and Summer, the Primary school was suspended. Yung returned Xiangshan County.			
1840	In Fall, Yung's father died and then his older brothers were in charge of the family. Although he was still young, he sold candies, picked spike of rice, and worked in a print shop for helping the family livelihood.			
1841	In Nov., he entered the Morrison			

	School in Macao.			
1843			Born on Feb. 12, in Annaka, Edo, Japan	
1847	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •On Jan. 4, Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown led Yung Wing, Huang Kuan, and Huang Sheng from Kuangzhou to the U.S. by taking the sailboat, Huntress. •In Spring, Yung studied in Monson Academy, MA. 			
1849	Baptized as a Christian in the period of studying in Monson Academy.	Huang Kuan studied in the Medical School of University of Edinburgh, U.K.		
1850	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In Summer, Yung graduated from Monson Academy. •In Fall, he was admitted into Yale University. 			
1852	Became a naturalized American citizen			
1853			Learned sinology, kendo, and Equestrianism in the Han School in	

			Annaka.	
1854	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Summer, he was the first Chinese graduate from the U.S. • Yung Wing left the U.S. for China on Nov. 13, the time that the movement of Taiping Heavenly Kingdom raged over China. 			
1855	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Fall, Yung held the post as a secretary of the envoy Peter Parker in the office of American Institute in China in Kuangzhou. • At the end of the year, he served as an interpreter in the High Court of Hong Kong. 			
1856	In Fall, he occupied the post of interpreter in Shanghai Custom. Then he resigned		He held Adult Ceremony and started to study Rangaku	

	after four months. Later he was in business in Shanghai and Jiujiang for almost seven years.			
1857			He was a administrative assistant of Han since Nov. 15.	
1858				American Trade Treaty finished negotiations. Both sides signed the Treaty in June.
1859			Teaching calligraphy in Han School.	•Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown, who was the founder of Asiatic Society of Japan, (ASJ), ran schools, translated books, and did missionary work in Japan between 1859 and 1879. In addition, he led the first group of Japanese students to the U.S.
1860	•On Nov. 6, Yung paid a visit to the areas under the control of Taiping		•Neesima was elected as a Han Master guard. •In Nov., he studied	•In Jan., Japan sent diplomatic corps to U.S. Iwase and Inoue were in this corps.

	<p>Heavenly Kingdom.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On Nov. 19, he met one of leaders of Taiping Rebellion, Hong Rengan; meanwhile, he brought up seven construction suggestions but none of them was accepted. • Leaving Nanjing for Shanghai on Dec. 27. 		<p>mathematics and navigation in Warship school, feeling surprised at the magnificence when he saw Dutch warships in Edo Bay.</p>	<p>France: Chinosuke Kode</p>
1861				<p>In Dec., Japan sent diplomatic corps to Europe. Including Mochinori Takeuchi, there were a total of thirty-eight diplomatists in this corps. Fukuzawa Yukichi was the interpreter.</p>
1862			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In Sept., because of eye problems, he left the Warship School for the private school that Gengo 	<p>The first group of Japanese overseas students to the Netherlands. They were Koujirou Uchida, Jyunpei Taguchi,</p>

			<p>Kaga founded, to study Western learning.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between Nov. and the following Jan., he traveled by Western sailboat, Kaipumaruru to Tamashima (Kurashiki City now) 	<p>Saburoou Takahachi, Amane Nishi, and Mamitsu Tsuda</p>
1863	<p>In August, Zeng Guofan met with Yung Wing in Anqing, and later Yung was designated as a diplomatic councilor, being conferred the post of the fifth degree. He became a Qing official.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Read Japanese version of <i>Las Aventuras de Robinson Crusoe</i>. • Started to learn English and read related Chinese versions of American books, like <i>Selected Bible</i>. 	<p>Hirohumi Itou, Masaru Inoue etc studied in the U.K.</p>
1864	<p>In Spring, Yung went to the U.S. to purchase machines for Jiangnan Manufacturing</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Started out from Himagawa-oki on March 12. • Arrived in Kakodate on 	<p>Secret navigation abroad. Shimada Neeshima</p> <p>France: Goichi Harada (Navy)</p>

	<p>Bureau. (The second time to the U.S.)</p>		<p>April 21.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neesima tutored the associate consul of Russia Consulate, Nicola, in Japanese and resided at Mr. Nicola's house since May 5. • Under the help of Unokichi Ukushi, Neesima took the American boat, <i>Berlin</i>, at midnight on June 14 (solar calendar), and then arrived in Shanghai on July 1. • Afterwards he took the boat, <i>The Wild Rover</i>, on July 9. He exchanged a knife for the Chinese version of the Bible from the 	
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			<p>captain when he arrived in Hong Kong on Nov. 11.</p> <p>•On the itinerary from Kakodate to Shanghai, he wore his hair short and changed his first name to Joseph.</p>	
1865	<p>He carried over a hundred kinds of machines back to China between the Spring and Summer. In Oct. Qing Government conferred Yung the wait-listed of the fifth degree of Tongzhi, and he later took up the post of interpreter in the yamen of Jiangsu provincial administrative commission.</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Arrived in Boston, MA, U.S. on July 20. • On Oct. 30, he started to study English in Phillips Academy, MA. 	<p>Satsuma Han selected fifteen students to the U.S. on Jan. 18. They were Ryousyke hukuyama etc..</p> <p>Russia: Bunkichi Ichigawa</p> <p>Netherlands: Keitaro Matsumoto</p> <p>UK: Masakazu Toyama</p>

1866			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On Dec.20, he was baptized in a subsidiary church of the Andover Theological Seminary. 	<p>On April 8, Bakufu proclaimed official admission of study overseas. The permitted countries to study were U.K., France, the Netherlands, Portugal, and U.S. Those overseas students were Wiichirou Honma etc</p>
1867			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In June, he graduated from Phillips Academy •In Sept., he entered Amherst College. 	<p>US: Zenpei Aoki etc UK: Mataka Kawase etc France: Eiichi Shibusawa etd</p>
1868	<p>Yung's suggestion about instituting mechanical schools, as the subsidiary organization of Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau, was accepted. The same year, he reported to the</p>		<p>Visited mines in Summer and traveled around the world in every Spring and Summer.</p>	<p>US: Kenzou Yamagawa etc</p>

	court four suggestions, like instituting shipping bureau and sending youths to study overseas; however, this time the court rejected all suggestions.			
1869				US: Seiichi Tsuda etc
1870		“Diplomacy” and “Self-strengthening” became important and desperate since the “Tianjin Church Incident” happened. Yung Wing went to Tianjin to do oral translation for Ding Richang. Again Yung proposed the plan of Chinese students studying overseas to Zeng Guofan. Later Zeng approved it.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On July 14, graduated from Amherst College and received the degree, Bachelor of Science. • In Sept., entered Andover Theological Seminary. 	US: Yoshio Osuke etc
1871	The plan of Chinese youths studying in the U.S.	The plan of Chinese youths studying in the	On August 22, under Arimori Nori’s	US: Enosuke Itou etc UK: Baisaku Akane

	was approved.	U.S. was officially approved in imperial edict on Sept. 9.	mediation (Japanese envoy in the U.S.) , Neesima obtained free travel tickets and admission from the Japanese government.	etc China: Toshikuni Kodama etc France: Kitazou Inagaki etc Russia: Jirou Emura
1872	In July, Yung went to the U.S. occupied the position, associate supervisor of the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. (The third time to the U.S.)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Yung Wing wrote the president of Yale University, Noah Porter, a letter to discuss the details of Chinese youths studying in the U.S. on Feb. 17. Later Mr. Porter contacted Mr. B. G. Northrop, a commissioner of the Department of Education, CT, about this plan. ♦ The first group of Chinese youths went to the U.S. on August 11 (lunar calendar: July 8) They were 	Starting out from New York, Neesima accompanied Hunimaro Tanaka to investigate the educational system of European on May 11.	US: Seiichi Kutou etc UK: Yoshikou Iiduka etc France: Shirou Uemura etc Germany: Ryoukou Uchimatsu etc

		<p>Cai Shaoji, Zhong Wenyao, Ouyang Geng, Rong Shangqian, Cai Jinzhang, Zhang Kangren, Liu Jiazhao, Tan Yaoxun, Chen Daqi, Lu Yong quan, Deng Shicong, Zhong Jincheng, Shi Jinyong, Huang Zhongliang, Kuang Rongguang, Liang Dunyan, He Yanliang, Pan Mingzhong, Zhan Tianyou, Chen Juyong, Chen Ronggui, Wu Yangzeng, Luo Guorui, Zeng Dugong, Huang Kaijia, Niu Shangzhou, Cao Jifu, Shi Jintang, Huang Xibao, and Qian Wenkui.</p> <p>♦All Chinese youths arrived in the U.S. on Sep.</p>		
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		<p>14. Supervisor Chen Lanbin and associate supervisor Yung Wing were in charge of the youths' life in America.</p> <p>• He Qi (1859-1914) paid tuition and fee himself for studying in the Medical School of Aberdeen University, U.K.</p>		
1873	In Spring, returned China and imported modern weapons from the West.	<p>• The second group of Chinese youths went to U.S. on May 18. They were Rong Shengqin, Wang Fengjie, Su Ruijian, Chen Qiansheng, Ding Chongji, Tang Guoan, Kuang Yongzhong, Fang Boliang, Lu Xigui, Zeng Fu, Wu Yingke, Liang Jinrong, Wu Zhongxian, Li Guipan, Song</p>	<p>• Returning to Japan in Jan., Neesima reported the draft, <i>Rijikote</i>, to Hujimaro Tanaka.</p> <p>• Andover Theological Seminary reopened on Sept. 14.</p>	There were any number of students who were assigned to study overseas by Meiji government every year.

		<p>Wenhui, Kuang Jingyuan, Huang Youzhang, Deng Guiting, Liang Puzhao, Tang Yuanzhan, Li Anfu, Zhuo Renzhi, Zhang Xianghe, Liang Pushi, Wang Liangdeng, Cai Tinggan, Wen Bingzhong, Zhang Yougong, Chen Paihu, and Rong Kui.</p>		
1874	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In Spring, returned the U.S. again (the fourth time to the U.S.) •In Summer, Yung was assigned to Peru for investigating possible illegal commercial activities operated by Chinese workers. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The third group of Chinese youths went to U.S. on August 9. They were Zhou Changling, Yang Zhaonan, Tang Zhiyao, Huang Jiliang, Kang Gengling, Yang Changling, Lin Paiquan, Yuan Changkun, Xu Zhixuan, Sun Kuangming, Zhu Baokui, Kuang Jingyang, Zheng 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neesima obtained the degree, Master of Theology, from Andover Theological on July 2. •The last day of annual conference of The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Rutland, Oct. 9, was held according to 	

		<p>Tingxiang, Kuang Xianyi, Qi Zuyi, Tang Shaoyi, Cao Jiajue, Liang Ruhao, Xue Youfu, Shen Jiashu, Xu Zhenpeng, Wu Jingrong, Huan Weicheng, Zhu Xishou, Cheng Daye, Zhou Wanpeng, Lu Zuhua, Cao Jiaxiang, Rong Yaoyuan, and Cao Maoxiang.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • After being assigned to Cuba for investigating problems of Chinese workers, Chen Lanbin returned China. Afterwards Yung took care all of affairs of the Bureau of Study Abroad in U.S. • Wu Tingfang (1842-1892) paid tuition and fee himself for studying in the 	<p>the topic of “Japan’s necessity for instituting Christian schools,” and the conference got a donation of USD 5000 afterward.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neesima arrived in Yokohama in the afternoon of Nov. 26. Japan was rife with the trend of Westernization at the time. • On Nov. 29, met with parents who lived in Annaka. 	
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		Lincoln Law School. Later he served the post of envoy among the U.S., Peru, and Spain, working under Li Hongzhang's and Duan Qirui's command. Wu was a minister of Ministry of the Foreign Affairs.		
1875	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In Winter, Yung served the post of Qing's assistant envoy, stationed among the U.S., Spain, and Peru. •Married Mary Louisa Kellogg 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The fourth group of Chinese went youths to the U.S. on Sept. 16. They were Lin Lianhui, Tang Rongjun, Chen Fuzeng, Wu Huanrong, Huang Zulian, Zhou Chuane, Lu Dezhang, Jin Dating, Shen Dehui, Shen Deyao, Lin Lianshen, Tang Ronghao, Liu Yulin, Chen Shaochang, Huang Yaochang, Kuang Guoguang, 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Arriving in Osaka on Jan. 22 and staying in the missionary's home (M. L. Count) which was located in Yoritsucyou, Kawaguchi. • Without the agreement of Watanabe in Feb., Neesima abandoned the idea of instituting schools in Osaka. •In April, visited Kyoto and inquired about 	

		<p>Kuang Binguang, Liang Pixu, Wu Qizao, Feng Bingzhong, Chen Jinkui, Li Rugan, Shen Shouchang, Zhou Chuanjian, Wang Renbin, Tao Yangeng, Sheng Wenyang, Liang Jinao, Pan Sizhi, and Tan Yaoyun.</p> <p>♦Liu Puchan and LinTaizeng studied in UK and later interned in a large warship.</p> <p>♦Wei Han, Chen Zhaoxiang, Chen Jitong studied together in the shipyards of Marseilles France.</p>	<p>the possibility of instituting schools in Kyoto to the counselor in Kyoto Prefecture, Kakuma Tamamoto.</p> <p>♦ On June 7, received Yamamoto’s old yashiki, about 216,000 square feet, for school ground.</p> <p>♦On August 23, Neesima and Yamamoto brought up the “proposal of private schools” for applying permission to Kyoto Prefecture. They got permission on Sept. 4.</p> <p>♦ Under the limits of Kyoto Prefecture, private schools</p>	
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			<p>were not allowed to teach the Bible in class starting Nov. 22.</p> <p>•On Nov. 29, Neesima formed Doshisha University. There were only two teachers, Joseph H. Neesima and Jerome Dean Davis, and eight students. The school was temporarily located in Takamatsu Mansion.</p>	
1876	<p>The degree, Doctor of Law, was conferred on Yung by Yale University.</p>	<p>♦ “World’s Fair” was held in Pennsylvania, U.S.A.; China was one of the participant countries. Chinese youths therefore attended it and had the chance to met American President,</p>	<p>♦ Married Yamamoto’s sister, Yae Yamamoto, on Jan. 3.</p> <p>♦In Sept., graduates from Kumamoto Foreign School entered Doujisya.</p> <p>♦In Sept. 18, two</p>	

		<p>Ulysses Simpson Grant</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •China decided to institute Embassy in the U.S. Chen Lanbin was envoy and Yung Wing was assistant envoy. •The army sent seven students, Bian Changsheng, Wang Desheng.,et al., to study in Germany. 	<p>school buildings and one cafeteria were finished in the former site of yashiki where Neesima held a donation ceremony</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Davis formed a private Girls' School at his home on Oct. 15. •Neesima formed the Kyoto second public town hall at his home on Dec. 3. 	
1877		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • One of the first Chinese overseas students, Shi Jinyong, was sent back to China with unknown reason. On the way home, Shi had his plait cut. This was the earliest act that overseas students 	<p>On April 28, Neesima got the permission from Kyoto Prefecture to form Girls' School.</p>	

		<p>reacting against Chinese tradition.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •The building of the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. finished under Yung’s conduct. 		
1878		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Chen Lanbin served the post of Chinese envoy in the U.S. and Yung was assigned to stay in Washington. Affairs in the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. were getting complicated. •Li Hongzhang, Shen Baozhen, Ding Richang, and Wu Zancheng together brought up the “regulations of assigning non-graduates” to study 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Girls’ School was moved to the new campus, Imadegawa, on Sept. 16. 	

		<p>overseas, and it passed.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On March 31, twenty-eight students from the first group of Chinese students, who were officially assigned to study in Europe, and the supervisors started out from Fuzhou, passing through Hong Kong to Europe. 		
1879		<p>With Chen Lanbin's recommendation, Wu Zideng was assigned to be the fourth supervisor of the Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neesima visited Kaishu Katsu on Feb. 11 and 12. • Degrees of Master of Theology from Doshisha University were conferred on fifteen students. The graduation was held on June 12. 	
1880		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On April 1, Wu Zideng announced "Amplified 		<p>Rev. Samuel Robbins Brown died in Monson, MA.</p>

		<p>instructions of the Sacred edict” to all overseas students and asked them to be well-behaved and review <i>Four Books</i>, etc. If anyone resisted the regulations or detracted from them, the person would be forced to drop out of school and sent back to China.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The trend of “Chinese Exclusion” was observed in Western America. 		
1881	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bureau of Study Abroad in the U.S. was cancelled. All Chinese youths were returned China. • The assistant envoy’s term of office came to an end. Yung Wing returned China. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Central Yamen decided to send all Chinese youths back to China on June 8. • The last group of Chinese youths left the U.S. on Sept. 26. • Jin Yamei (1864-1934), who was from 		

		<p>Ningbo, entered New York Hospital Girls' Medical University (the earliest female overseas student)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The second group of Chinese students was sent to Europe, including ten students, Huang Ting...et al., were sent to U.K., France, and Germany respectively. It was a three-year term to finish studying in Europe. 		
1882	<p>Yung's wife was sick. Therefore he went back to the U.S. This time he stayed in the U.S. for thirteen years.</p> <p>(the fifth time to</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Girls' School held the first graduation on June 19. There were a total of five graduates • The "outline of university 	

	the U.S.)		institution” finished on Nov. 7.	
1883			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drew up four clauses of Doshisha on Feb. 15. • In April, Yung published the “Constitution of Doshisha University” and announced the “Origins and Developments of the Institution of Doshisha” as well. 	
1884		Ke Jinying (1866-1929) , who was from Fuzhou, China, entered Pennsylvania Women's Medical University.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between Jan. 30 and Feb. 20, Neesima was devoted to the improvement of conscription law in Tokyo. • On April 6, he traveled from Kobe to Europe and the U.S. (temporarily staying in Italy, Switzerland, Germany, and U.K.) 	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On August 6, he breathed hard while climbing in Switzerland. His health got worse. He wrote English posthumous papers in a hilltop hotel. • Going to Boston for meeting with Mr. and Mrs. Hardy on Sept. 30. 	
1885			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Left the U.S. for Yokohama on Dec. 12. • Held the memorial for the tenth anniversary of the institution of Doshisha on Dec. 18. 	
1886	Yung's wife died on June 28.	The third group of Chinese students sent to Europe was composed by thirty- three students who were assigned to U.K. and France	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Between May 29 and June 3, Neesima paid a visit to Tadanao Matsuhira to discuss the institution of English 	

		respectively. The study term was changed to six years.	<p>schools.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instituted Doshisha Church within the building of the Kyoto second public town hall on June 4. • Neesima instituted Miyagi University in Sendai on Sept. 21. 	
1887			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On Jan. 30, Neesima's father died. • On June 17, he and his wife attended the inauguration of Touka School • On July 7, with his wife's company, Neesima convalesced in Sapporo. • Doshisha Hospital opened on Nov. 15. The opening ceremony of Kyoto Nursing 	

			School was on the same day.	
1888			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When Neesima talked about school institution with influential personages in Kaoru Inoue's home on April 22, he was taken down with cerebral anemia. • On Nov. 7, the "Constitution of Doshisha University" was published in national magazines and newspaper, like <i>Kokumin no Tomo</i> 	
1889			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On August 27, the Honorary Degree (L. D.) was conferred on Neesima by Andover Theological Seminary. • On Oct. 12, he was devoted to soliciting for 	

			<p>funds for university institution although he was sick at that time.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •On Nov. 28, he felt his belly was so painful that he had to leave off soliciting for funds in Gunma County and return to Tokyo. •For the purpose of recuperation, he moved to Kanagawa on Dec. 27. 	
1890			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •On Jan. 21, Neesima called his wife, Hiromichi Kozaki, and Tokutomi Soho to his room and spoke his last words to them. Tokutomi Soho was responsible for taking the notes. 	

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Neesima died of acute peritonitis at 2:20 PM on Jan. 23. •On Jan 24, his remains were sent to Kyoto station . About six hundred students were waiting there to pay their respects to Neesima. •On Jan. 27, the funeral ceremony was held in Doshisha Church. There were about four thousand people in attendance. After that, Neesima’s remains were moved to Wakaoshi cemetery. He had an eternal rest there. 	
1892		Kang Aide, who		

		was from Jiangxi province, China, and Shi Meiyu (1873-1954), who was from Hubei province, China, both entered the Medical School of the University of Michigan.		
1895	<p>First Sino-Japanese War broke out. Zhang Zhidong invited Yung to render assistance. Yung came back to China in early Summer.</p> <p>In addition to advocating new policy, he was designated as Jiangnan negotiator by the head governor of Liangjiang, Liu Kunyi. Later Yung arrived in Shanghai to run for office himself.</p>			
1896		Under the help of the principal of University of High		

		Education in Tokyo, Jigourou Kanou, the earliest thirteen overseas students arrived in Tokyo (They were Tang Baoe, Hu Zongying, Ji Yihui ,et al.)		
1897	Yung went to Beijing for advocating new policy, like instituting national head banks.	The fourth group of Chinese students (a total of six students) sent to Europe did not finish their study in France because of the deficiency of funds.		
1898	Yung joined the Hundred Days' Reform and fled from Beijing after the Reform failed.	After the Hundred Days' Reform, studying in Japan became the priority rather than studying in Europe or the U.S.		
1900	Yung organized <i>China Parliament</i> in Shanghai and was the first president as well. Nevertheless he	There were about two hundred Chinese students studying in Japan.		

	<p>went to Japan, taking the same ship with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, after being discovered his position as a revolutionist. He subsequently took refuge in Hong Kong and started to incline to the revolutionist school.</p>			
<p>1902</p>	<p>In May, Yung settled down in the U.S. (The sixth time to the U.S.)</p>	<p>Commanded all provinces to select students for studying in Europe.</p>		
<p>1903</p>		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦About thirteen hundred Chinese students were studying in Japan. ♦Selected sixteen persons from the short-term program of Imperial Capital University, to study in Europe. 		

		<p>Eight graduates from Jiangnan Navy Academy to study driving in U.K., and eight graduates from Army Academy to study in Germany.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selected nine students to Germany, four to Russia, and twenty-four to Belgium from all Hubei universities. • Selected two students to Europe from the Division of Kuangzhou Student Affairs. 		
1905		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Imperial examination was abolished. • Six persons were assigned by Jiangsu province to study driving in U.K. • The Department of Commerce sent one hundred 		

		<p>persons to Belgium for studying railroading and mineralogy. The University of Imperial Foreign Languages Education selected five persons to U.K., Germany, France, and Russia, respectively.</p>		
1906		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦ Xinjiang General selected twenty students to study in Russia. ♦ Yuan Shikai diverted Tianjing customs duties to support five persons to study in Belgium and five in Germany. ♦ French government offered Qing government franc 3000 to support two persons to study in France. ♦ About eighty hundred Chinese 		

		students were studying in Japan (the culminating point).		
1907		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ♦In Dec., American President, Theodore Roosevelt, returned part of Boxer Indemnity. The trend of studying in the U.S. recurred. ♦The Department of Chinese Army and France conferred on the way of yearly selection fifteen persons from China to study in the Army University in France. ♦Jiangsu province sent nineteen persons to study in Austria. Berlin Eastern Languages University, Germany, recruited four 		

		<p>Chinese students to teach the Chinese language.</p> <p>•Cai YuanPei entered the University of Leipzig, Germany.</p>		
1908		<p>Zhejiang province selected a few people by means of examination to study in Europe and the U.S.</p>		
1909	<p>•Met Dr. SunYat-sen in the U.S. and supported Sun's revolutionary activities</p> <p>•Published an English autobiography, <i>My life in China and America</i></p>	<p>Including Cheng Yifa, Jin Tao, and Mei Yiqi, the first group of Chinese students, who were supported by the American Remission of Boxer Indemnity, went to the U.S. There were forty-seven students in this group.</p>		
1910		<p>The Department of Post selected twelve persons by means of examination to study postal</p>		

		service in Austria.		
1911	On Dec. 19, 1911 Revolution succeeded. Yung wrote a letter whose title was “To all revolutionists” to express congratulations.	Zhejiang province selected twenty persons by means of examination to study in U.K., Germany, France, and Belgium.		
1912	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dr. Sun Yat-sen took up the post of provisional president of the Republic of China and invited Yung to join China’s national construction, but Yung was not able to come back to China because of serious illness. • Yung died on April 21 and was buried in Cedar Hill Cemetery, western Hartford, U.S. 	Li Qingan, Chang Xiupo, and Qi Yunqing took the initiative of “The Chinese work-study movement” in Paris.		

Note: Japan used the system of lunar calendar to show dates before 1864; after 1864, Japan used the system of solar calendar

【Chart 2】 A Comparison of Thoughts and Social Background between Yung Wing and Joseph. H. Neesima

		Yung Wing	Joseph H. Neesima (Joe)
Family	Years	Nov. 7, 1828 ~Apr.14,1912	Feb.12,1843~Jan.23,1890
	Names	Original first name: Kuangzhao Courtesy name: Dameng Formal name: Chunfu	Original first name: Shimeta Neesima Formal name: Takamiki Neesima
	Birthplace	Nanping, Kuangtong , China	Annaka, Edo County, Japan
	Family background	Son of a poor farming family	Son of a samurai
	Brothers and Sisters	The third child , one older sister, and older and younger brothers respectively	The fifth child , four older sisters and one younger brother
	Early Education	Macao Morrison Academy (1835-39) →Hong Kong Morrison Academy (1840-47)	Learning characters from father (1848) →learning sinology from Rensai Soekawa, as well as Kendo, Equestrianism (1853) →learning Rangaku and English from Jyunsuke Tajima and Ritsuzou Teduka (1956) → Learning Physics and Astronomy in Warship

			school (1860)
	Background of Chinese and Western learning	Bilingual teaching in Morrison Academy; Chinese learning : <i>Four Books</i> lecture and Eighth-part essay Writing. English learning : English Writing, Geography, Vocal music, Geometry, and History.	Rangaku, Chinese, Japanese, English. Familiar with Chinese version of Selected Bible
Going abroad	Motivation for going abroad	Inspired by Christianity and Western culture	Inspired by Christianity (Neesima brought two knives with him when he boarded. One was exchanged for free ticket and the other one was for the Bible from the captain.
	Timing	The principal of Morrison Academy, Mr.Brown, went back to the U.S. with Yung Wing, Huang Kuan, and Huang Sheng on Jan. 4, 1947.	Under the help of Unokichi Fukushi, Neesima took the commercial ship, at midnight from Kakodate to Shanghai
	Periods	1847 ~ 54	1864 ~ 74
	Sponsors	Church	Free offer by captain
	Routes (days)	Hong Kong - Cape of Good Hope - The Atlantic - New York (98	Hinagawaoki - Kakodate - Shanghai-Hong Kong - Boston (362 days)

		days)	
Life in Eastern America	The route of entering U.S. (landing)	New York-New Haven (by boat) - East Windsor (by train) - Springfield, MA	Boston, MA–Andover, MA (by train)
	Host family	Mrs. Batra (lived in Springfield)	M.E.Hidden (lived in Andover)
	English Name	Yung Wing	Joseph H. Neesima (Joe)
	Study in the U.S.	Monson Academy (1847-50) Yale University (1851-54)	Phillips Academy(1865-67) Amherst College(1867-70) Andover Theological Seminary (1870-74)
	Majors / Courses	Monson Academy: Latin,Greek,English Literature Yale University: class recitation, declaim, oral training, Mathematics, Greek, and English writing	Phillips Academy: Latin Amherst College: Latin, Greek, English, Philosophy, Mineralogy, and Natural Science Andover Theological Seminary: Philosophy, Psychology, and Theology
	Language proficiency	Mastered English and published English autobiography. However his proficiency of Chinese was not good enough to read and	Mastered English. He wrote the book, <i>How I Become a Christian</i> , in English, and his English diary was published as well.

		write, but his oral communication was fine.	
Degree	Bachelor of Arts	Master of Theology	
Changing to Western-style clothes and Western hair styles	He plaited his hair and wore Chinese robe to university. Less than one year, he gave up both.	Before he arrived in Boston , he already wore his hair short and Western-style clothes.	
Nationalization or not	He became a naturalized American citizen in 1852 when he was a sophomore.	He thought about whether to become a naturalized American citizen many times in college. However when he came to think about the effect that naturalization might have on his influence on Japan, he finally gave up on becoming an American and kept Japanese citizenship all his life.	
Being baptized or not	Being baptized as a Christian in the period of studying in Monson Academy.	Being baptized as a Christian in the period of studying in Phillips Academy.	
Other activities in the U.S.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A member of Yale “Brothers in Unity” • The library manager elect of Yale. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1872, he investigated the European educational system. •In 1874 , he served the Christian sacred job—Laying on •In 1874 , he give a speech in the meeting of 	

			American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
Returning to homeland	Aim / ambition	I was determined that the rising generation of China should enjoy the same educational advantages that I had enjoyed” (p.41)	Strong ambition toward mission
	Route	New York - Hong Kong (154 days)	San Francisco—Yokohoma (taking the boat, <i>Colorado</i> , about four weeks)
	Landing	Hong Kong (Nov.13, 1854) –Kuangdong	Yokohoma (Nov..26, 1874) –Tokyo
	Impression on homeland	In Macao “a string of poor Chinese coolies tied to each other by their cues and led into one of the barracoons like abject slaves.” (p.194) In Kuangzhou he saw the execution ground where the governor of Liangguang, Ye Mingchen, committed innumerable murders. “the scene I had looked upon during the day had	Cultural shock Neesima was not able to accept part of Japanese culture after returning homeland. He therefore kept American life style even though lived in Japan. However, he saw another side of Japan—modernization. Yokohama started to have Catholic Churches and Shinbashi, Tokyo, built

		stirred me up.”(p.56)	railroads.
	Treatment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he held a post as a secretary in the office of American Institute in Kuangzhou, but he left after three months because of both low salary and little business. • He was an interpreter in Hong Kong courtroom, but soon was excluded by English lawyers of Hong Kong. • he was an interpreter in Shanghai Custom but found that some interpreters and ship owners acted in collusion. Custom was riddled with corruption. He finally disdained to follow the bad example of others and then resigned after four months. • He was in business in Shanghai and Jiujiang from 1857 to 1863. 	He was devoted to instituting Doshisha University.
	Friends/Connection with bigwigs	He not only was famous for his elegant English writing in Shanghai concession but also was noted for his self-respecting and fortitudinous character.	Sharing similar aspiration and interest with Soho Tokutomi Tomomi Iwakura, Takayoshi Kido, Arinori Mori, and Hujimaro Tanaka

		<p>Making friends with mathematicians and astronomers, he received Zeng Guofan's attention through friends' introduction.</p>	
	<p>Activities after returning to homeland</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1864, Yung went to the U.S. to purchase machines for Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau. •In 1865, Yung took up the post of interpreter in the yamen of Jiangsu provincial administrative commission. •In 1868, his suggestion about instituting mechanical schools, as the subsidiary organization of Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau, was accepted. • In 1871, the Qing court approved the plan of Chinese youths to study in the U.S. • In 1872, Yung went to the U.S. and occupied the position, associate supervisor of the Bureau of Study Abroad in U.S. •In 1873, Yung was 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1875 , Neesima founded the Doshisha University. There were only two teachers, Joseph H. Neesima and Jerome Dean Davis, and eight students. •In 1876, 35 graduates, who graduated from Kumamoto Foreign School, entered Doshisha University; Soho Tokutomi was one of them. •In 1883 , Neesima became a principal of first-generation of Doshisha University, drawing up <i>Doshisha regulations</i>. •In Nov. 1888, he announced the <i>Constitution of Doshisha University</i> in national magazine and paper news .People, like Kaoru Inoue, Yanosuke

		<p>assigned to Peru for inspecting the real working situation of Chinese workers.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •In 1875, Yung served the post of Qing's assistant envoy, stationed among U.S., Spain, and Peru. •In 1881, the Bureau of Study Abroad in U.S. was cancelled. Yung with all Chinese youths were sent back to China. •In 1895, First Sino-Japanese War broke out. Yung came back to China. In addition to advocating new policy, he was designated as Jiangnan negotiator. Later he arrived in Shanghai to run for office. •In 1898, he joined Hundred Days' Reform and fled from Beijing after the Reform failed. •In 1900, he organized <i>China Parliament</i> in Shanghai and was the first president as well. Nevertheless he went to 	<p>Iwasaki, Okuma Shigenobu, Eichi Shibusawa etc, assisted in raising funds.</p>
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		<p>Japan, taking the same ship with Dr. Sun Yat-sen, after being found out his position as a revolutionist. He subsequently took refuge in Hong Kong and started to incline to revolutionist school.</p> <p>•In May, 1902, Yung settled down in the U.S.</p>	
Marriage	The duration of marriage	1875-86	1876-90
	Wife	Mary Louisa Kellogg	Yae Yamamoto
	Children and their education	Two sons, Rong Jinhuai and Rong Jintong .Both were educated in U.S.	No children
	Family values	Having a happy family	Having a happy family
Identities	Confucianism	Yung was quite Westernized. When educated Chinese youths, he asked them to wholeheartedly accept Western education and agreed to separate youths from Chinese conventions.	To study Confucian classics was necessary for essential education as a son of a samurai. Nessima could write prose and poetry. However he resisted in mind the demand for behaving “loyalty and filial piety” in a samurai family. Finally he inclined to Rangaku.
	Christianity	Both schools, the school founded by Mrs. Charles Gutzlaff and Morrison Academy, he studied	He was influenced by Christian doctrines since he was a child. He liked to read Bible. After went

		were about Christian education. He became a Christian when studies in Monson Academy. However he rejected the financial support from Catholic Church, unwilling to become a clergyman.	to the U.S., he was baptized as a Christian in high school and became a clergyman later. In addition, he declined with courtesy to accept financial support from Japanese government, unwilling to be shackled by official position.
	Identity towards the West	Strongly. He even did not marry Chinese women	U.S is the homeland in his heart
	Shinto? Buddhism?	Family religious belief was Buddhism.	Family religious belief was Buddhism and Shinto.
Contemporary society , nation , and the world	Social background	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •1840 The Opium War I •1851 Taiping Heavenly Kingdom was formed. •1856 The Opium War II 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Commodore Matthew Perry and the “Black Ships” of the U.S. Navy forced the opening of Japan to the West. •Edo Earthquake
	Domestic events /International events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •1842 Treaty of Nanking •1844 Treaty of Wanghia, Treaty of Whampoa •1858 Treaty of Tientsin (U.K., France, U.S., Russia) •1860 Convention of Peking(U.K., France, Russia) •1861 Empress Dowager Cixi administrated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> •1864-65 Bakufu made war on Cyoushu feudal clan •1866 Cyoushu feudal clan defeated Edo Bakufu •1868-69 Boshin War. Tokugawa Yoshinobu allied with Northern Hans against the central government •1877 Satsuma rebellion.

		<p>affairs of state behind curtains</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •1864 Beijing fell into Xiang Army’s hand , the Taiping Heavenly Kingdom collapsed •1865 Jiangnan Manufacturing Bureau was founded. •1866 Fuzhou Shipyard was established. •1883-85 Sino-French War •1889 Self-Strengthening Movement •1894-95 First Sino-Japanese War •1895 Treaty of Shimonoseki •1898 Hundred Days’ Reform. •1900 Eight-Nation Alliance. Boxer Uprising •1901 Treaty of 1901 •1906 Abolishment of imperial examination •1912 1911 Revolution 	<p>Satsuma Han, Saigo Takamori, opposed the central government.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •1894-95 First Sino-Japanese War •1904-05 Russo-Japanese War •1906-10 Korean National Armed Struggle of Resistance against Japan. <p>Korean opposed Japanese intrusion.</p>
	<p>Attitudes towards national predicament</p>	<p>“All through my college course, especially in the closing year, the lamentable condition of China was before my mind constantly and</p>	<p>Feeling Japanese religion and culture as “the benighted” which caused industrial techniques lagged behind the West.</p>

		<p>weighed on my spirits. In my despondency, I often wished I had never been educated, as education had unmistakably enlarged my mental and moral horizon, and revealed to my responsibilities which the sealed eye of ignorance can never see, and sufferings and wrongs of humanity to which an uncultivated and callous nature can never be made sensitive.” (<i>My life in China and America</i>, p. 40)</p>	
	<p>Attitudes towards East Asian predicament</p>	<p>Emphasizing the importance of reviving China through education and advocating “Education saves the nation” “through western education China might be regenerated, become enlightened and powerful.” (<i>My life in China and America</i>, p.</p>	<p>Emphasizing the importance of individuality and freedom that hoped that Japan could nurture a national who possessed values like “freedom, vigorousness and morality.” Finally the national would create a society of full with Americanized “of the people, by the people, for the people.”</p>

		41.)	
	Breakthrough	Education	Education
	Contribution	Promoted the plan of Chinese youths to study in the U.S.	Founded Doshisha University.
	Later comments	The Father of Chinese Overseas Students	A Pioneer of Civilization of Japan