

Pioneering Contribution: The Preparatory Education for Chinese Students at Rihua Academy and Its Impact (1898-1900)

Authors: Wang Ding, Sun Banghua, Wang Ding

Date: 2024-01-25T00:00:00+00:00

Abstract

After the First Sino-Japanese War, Japan gradually became the primary destination for Chinese youth to study abroad. To address the preparatory education needs of Chinese students in Japan, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded the establishment of the Nichika Gakuin in Tokyo's Hongo district, entrusting Dr. Jyunjiro Takakusu with full responsibility. Although under the dual influence of internal and external factors, Nichika Gakuin ceased operations at the end of 1900, existing for less than three years, it was nevertheless the first preparatory school dedicated to providing Japanese language and general education supplementary instruction for Chinese students in Japan. Moreover, ninety percent of its students subsequently advanced to Japanese institutions of higher education, cultivating numerous outstanding elite talents for modern China. This paper utilizes firsthand historical documents to examine the founding origins, student composition, teaching activities, student life, operational challenges, and other aspects of Nichika Gakuin, and further explores the exemplary role that its establishment played in the preparatory education of Chinese students in Japan, revealing its pioneering contributions in the history of Chinese study-abroad education in modern Japan.

Full Text

PIONEERING CAREER: THE PREPARATORY EDUCATION AND IMPACT OF CHINESE STUDENTS IN NIKKA SCHOOL (1898-1900)

Abstract: In July 1898, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs funded the establishment of the Nikka School in Tokyo. The Nikka School enrolled a total of 26 students, most of whom came from Qiushi College, Nanyang School,

and Beiyang University. The curriculum was divided into regular and short-term programs, with the former including a normal preparatory course and an advanced preparatory course, and the latter comprising preparatory elective courses and Japanese language courses. Although the Nikka School closed at the end of 1900 due to various reasons, it was the first preparatory school for Chinese students determined to enter higher education institutions to study language and general education. The vast majority of students subsequently entered the First Higher School, Tokyo Senmon College, and Tokyo Imperial University for further study. The Nikka School played an exemplary role in the preparatory education of Chinese students and holds a pioneering position in the modern history of Chinese and Japanese education.

Keywords: Nikka School; Chinese students in Japan; History of Chinese studying abroad; Takakusu Junjiro

Authors: Wang Ding (1990–), male, from Wuhan, Hubei, is a lecturer at the School of Foreign Languages and Literature, Beijing Normal University. Sun Banghua (1964–), male, from Bazhong, Sichuan, is a professor at the Institute of Educational History and Culture, Faculty of Education, Beijing Normal University.

Funding: This research is supported by the 2022 Major Project of the International Chinese Language Education Research Program, “Research on the Development Dynamics and Trends of International Chinese Language Education in the Context of Centennial Changes” (Project Approval No. 22YH01A).

In China’s transition from tradition to modernity, students who studied abroad undoubtedly served as crucial intermediaries and bridges. For the earliest Chinese youths who went to Japan, learning Japanese, acquiring prerequisite knowledge necessary for university specialized education, and familiarizing themselves with Japanese society, culture, and daily life were all essential tasks, making the establishment of preparatory schools imperative. In previous research on the history of Chinese students studying in Japan, the history of preparatory education remains notably underdeveloped, with existing studies focusing primarily on the Hongwen Academy and Cheng Cheng School. In recent years, works examining the study and living conditions of students and their post-return activities, using provinces and schools as units of analysis, have been published successively. However, due to limited historical materials, the first preparatory school for Chinese students in Japan—the Nikka School—has received little attention, with its founding origins and operational circumstances remaining virtually unknown. To clarify the early activities of Chinese students in Japan during the late Qing period, a thorough and detailed analysis of the Nikka School is necessary.

In view of this, this study draws upon the *Nikka School Regulations and Overview*, *Nikka School Daily Records*, and original archives housed in the Diplomatic Archives of the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, emphasizing mutual corroboration with personal records. By examining the founding

origins of the Nikka School and analyzing its educational activities (including operational activities and student career paths), this paper seeks to reveal its position in the history of Chinese students studying in Japan.

1. Discussion on the Issue of China' s First Officially Dispatched Students to Japan

Regarding the period when the Chinese government officially dispatched students to Japan, academic consensus generally places it in the year following China' s defeat in the First Sino-Japanese War, namely 1896. At that time, thirteen students who had passed the selection examination administered by the Zongli Yamen (Office for Managing Affairs with Foreign Countries) traveled to Japan. Initially responsible for their education was Kano Jigorō, principal of the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Since Kano had received direct commission from Minister of Education and Foreign Affairs Saionji Kinmochi, he took his duties seriously and rented a house in Kanda Misaki-chō, Tokyo for instruction. Later, Kano expanded the school and renamed it the Hongwen Academy. Prior to this, there were records of the Qing government' s legation in Japan conducting Japanese language and national conditions instruction for youths inside and outside the legation in the 1880s to cultivate diplomatic talent. Additionally, although some Chinese individuals did study in Japan, they left no written records.

Some scholars have expressed doubts about this mainstream view. Sang Bing argues that these youths' so-called "studying abroad" merely represented a slight modification of the original legation' s Eastern Language School, shifting from a legation-run institution to one partially managed by the Higher Normal School commissioned by the Japanese Ministry of Education, expanding the curriculum from Japanese language exclusively to include some foundational subjects, and relocating the school from the legation to near the Higher Normal School. However, this did not alter the nature of the Eastern Language School, as the training purpose of cultivating translators for the legation remained unchanged, and the subordinate relationship whereby the school and students belonged to the legation stayed the same. Based on this understanding, Sang Bing considers 1898 a more appropriate starting point for Chinese students in Japan. Japanese scholar Hosono Kōji, through rigorous textual research, points out that students recruited by the legation—Zhang Wencheng, Tang Jiazhen, and Feng Guoxun—entered the private academy of Nakamura Masanao and Mishima Tsune (Dōbunsha) in 1888. If enrollment in Japanese educational institutions serves as the criterion for defining students abroad, then this should be considered the true beginning of Chinese students in Japan. Lü Shunchang, however, maintains that these thirteen students occupied a special transitional position. In terms of their dispatch process, learning objectives, and subordinate relationships, they were no different from students at the legation' s Eastern Language School. Yet from the perspective of entering Japanese schools for study, although some individuals had previously attended Japanese-run private academies, this remained an

isolated phenomenon. The simultaneous arrangement of all thirteen students to study at Japanese schools set a precedent for future generations. Therefore, they can be termed special students in Japan recruited by the legation, but not the earliest officially dispatched students from China.

So when and where did China's earliest officially dispatched students to Japan actually begin? To answer this question, we must first establish a clear conceptual and identity-based definition of "students abroad." The term "liuxue" (studying abroad) carries similar meanings in both modern Chinese and Japanese, referring to "the activity of remaining in a particular place, especially a foreign country, to pursue studies." The author believes that two criteria serve as standards for evaluating student status abroad.

First, whether a formal study-abroad system exists. Studying abroad constitutes a form of personnel exchange for educational purposes. If two countries have not established a study-abroad system, then no official student dispatch can exist. When did the Qing government establish its policy for students to Japan? Previous research indicates that the proposal by Minister to Japan Yano Fumio played a crucial role. Shandong Circuit Censor Yang Shenxiu was the first to endorse this proposal, submitting the "Petition for Discussing Regulations for Studying in Japan" on June 1, 1898. On the 21st of the same month, after joint consultation, the Zongli Yamen submitted the "Memorial on Matters Concerning the Selection of Students for Studying in Japan." After reviewing it, Emperor Guangxu approved and issued an imperial edict, thereby making the selection and dispatch of students to Japan a national policy of the Qing government.

Second, whether they study in formal schools. Studying abroad means receiving education in Japanese universities, specialized courses at specialized schools, and higher specialized schools. That is, it requires enrollment and study at educational institutions. Those who enter Japanese-run private academies of a tutorial nature or hire Japanese instructors individually do not fall into this category.

In other words, officially recognized students abroad refer to those who, after the establishment of a study-abroad system between two countries, enroll and study at educational institutions in the host country. From this perspective, although the thirteen students of 1896 differed from previous Eastern Language School students in being collectively arranged to study at the "Kano Private Academy," they still belonged to the "Qing Government Legation" and were not students in Japan in the ordinary sense. Based on the two criteria above, China's official dispatch of students to Japan should be identified as the four liberal arts students—He Yushi, Chen Hui, and Lu Shifen—selected from Qiushi College by the Zhejiang Governor in May 1898, along with the four students from Hunan and Hubei—Xiao Xingyuan, Xu Fangqian, Duan Lanfang, and Tan Xingpei—selected from the Zhejiang Military Preparatory School.

2. The Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs' Selection of Takakusu Junjirō to Undertake the School-Founding Mission

Zhejiang Governor Liao Shoufeng, in the spring and summer of 1898, dispatched the aforementioned eight students to Japan, accompanied by two touring officials—Zhang Dayong, an acting magistrate of Zhejiang, and Jiang Jiaming, an acting police inspector. This dispatch truly pioneered official Chinese government-sponsored study in Japan. The key figure facilitating this dispatch was Hayami Kazunori, then acting consul at the Hangzhou Consulate, who actively mediated and offered suggestions between the Zhejiang Governor and the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs and the General Staff Headquarters, contributing significantly. After the students arrived in Tokyo, the military preparatory students immediately entered the Seijō School, while the remaining students temporarily stayed at the Kōsei Hall located at Membiki-chō 2-chōme, where the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had temporarily assigned translator officer Sakō Yuzō to teach Japanese. However, the Zhejiang touring officials considered the Kōsei Hall, under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, merely a temporary lodging compared to the Seijō School, clearly unsuitable as a long-term educational venue. They therefore negotiated with Foreign Vice Minister Komura Jutarō regarding the educational arrangements for the students. Meanwhile, the Hundred Days' Reform movement in China was reaching its climax. In his *Exhortation to Study*, Huguang Governor-General Zhang Zhidong explicitly stated, “As for countries for studying abroad, the West is not as good as the East,” vigorously advocating Japan as China's preferred destination for overseas study. The book received praise from both Emperor Guangxu and Empress Dowager Cixi, becoming immensely popular. At this point, the Japanese government became certain that establishing a school for Chinese students was a matter of utmost urgency.

In June of the same year, the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissioned Takakusu Junjirō (1866–1945) to establish the Nikka School, with the mission of “specifically educating Chinese students, ensuring they rapidly master our language, become familiar with our customs, and study general subjects to prepare for specialized fields, thereby cultivating their talents.” At that time, Takakusu had just returned from Europe, having earned a bachelor's degree in literature and philosophy from the University of Leipzig and a doctorate in literature from Oxford University, studying under Friedrich Max Müller. In 1897, he was appointed lecturer at the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University. Takakusu's experience shows that his activities were confined to Europe, with no experience in China. Given this, why did the Ministry of Foreign Affairs assign the school-founding task to Takakusu, who had no connection with China?

No direct explanation from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding their selection of Takakusu has been discovered; analysis can only be based on synthesizing various historical materials. First, after the Meiji Restoration, Japan actively

learned Western civilization under the slogan “Seeking Knowledge from the World,” dispatching large numbers of students to Europe and America. These students, upon returning home, assumed important positions in government and schools with rapid promotion, thus enjoying high social status. By contrast, China at that time had not yet established a modern school education system; students in Japan were merely translation talents cultivated by the government for diplomatic purposes, few in number and without advantage in any comparison. China’s purpose in dispatching students was to learn from Japan’s path of “enriching the country and strengthening the military, promoting industry and enterprise, and civilizing and enlightening,” hoping to “use Japan as a conduit” to absorb Western culture. Having studied in Germany, France, and England for many years, Takakusu received systematic higher education in the West and was a talent who understood the cutting-edge developments in European society, naturally earning favor from the Japanese government. Second, although Takakusu lacked school-founding experience and his teaching experience was not extensive, he had firsthand understanding of the psychological changes that learners in foreign countries easily experienced and had his own thoughts and countermeasures on how to deal with culture shock. Moreover, his age was not much different from that of the Chinese students in Japan, enabling him to better understand their perspectives. The Japanese government hoped Takakusu would leverage his advantages, apply his study-abroad experience, and supervise the first batch of Chinese government-sponsored students in Japan. When Japan made the decision to establish the school, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs naturally assigned this task to Takakusu. Third, the Nikka School was positioned to “specifically teach Chinese students rapidly, enabling them to learn language and general subjects to prepare for future specialized studies in higher fields.” At that time, Takakusu taught at the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University, and relying on this platform was highly advantageous for developing the Nikka School’s education. Furthermore, Takakusu himself had founded the *Reflection Magazine* (predecessor of *Chūō Kōron*) during his university years and possessed an extensive social network. Although he could not speak Chinese, he had a foundation in classical Chinese and was proficient in Sanskrit and English. In short, both his personal capabilities and leadership qualities made him highly suitable for undertaking this pioneering venture of establishing a school for Chinese students in Japan. Fourth, while serving as a lecturer, Takakusu also concurrently served as secretary to Communications Minister Baron Suematsu Kenchō (Senior Sixth Rank), suggesting possible internal recommendation. Additionally, in the same month the Nikka School opened, Takakusu was awarded the Junior Fifth Rank by Prime Minister Itō Hirobumi, indicating that his promotion was directly or indirectly connected to his appointment as school superintendent. Based on these factors, Takakusu was selected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to found the Nikka School and serve as its superintendent.

Shortly after returning from his studies abroad, Takakusu was selected by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and naturally accepted the task willingly and whole-

heartedly. During the school's initial founding stage, Takakusu was responsible for all school affairs and financial management and required to submit regular reports to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The school supervisor was Nakajima Saishi, who managed all general affairs on campus, including caring for students' daily lives and recording school logs. In autumn 1898, after Nakajima resigned, Hōkaku Zenkyō took over as supervisor. Hōkaku was then a third-year student at the Faculty of Letters, Tokyo Imperial University, who lived and ate together with the school students, devoting considerable energy to the school's development. His private diaries, *Lamp Flame Records* (1898) and *Cloud Journey Records* (1899), serve as firsthand materials for understanding the school's actual conditions. Additionally, during the school's peak period, there were ten instructors across various subjects and language courses, plus dormitory supervisors managing student living arrangements. Most instructors were alumni or colleagues of Takakusu and Hōkaku, teaching part-time according to their specialties. Among them, Umehara Yū, Unno (Tsuchiya) Sensuke, and Sakurai Yoshiteru were graduates of the Nishihonganji Literary Institute or Ordinary School (predecessor of Ryūkoku University) and had deep friendships with Takakusu. The basic personal information of the school's instructors is shown in Table 1.

3. Educational Activities of the Nikka School

3.1 Formation of the Training Program

The Nikka School's curriculum was divided into regular courses (normal preparatory course and advanced preparatory course) and special courses (preparatory electives and Japanese language specialization). The normal preparatory regular course had a two-year system, teaching foundational Japanese middle school subjects such as Japanese, English (or German), history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and natural history. The advanced preparatory regular course was approximately one year, offering preparatory work in law, literature, engineering, science, and agriculture. The preparatory electives had no fixed duration (about two years), requiring students to select two-thirds of the subjects within the regular courses. The Japanese language specialization course lasted about one year, specifically designed for those wishing to rapidly acquire Japanese.

Each academic year consisted of a first semester from September 5 to February 15 of the following year, and a second semester from February 20 to July 20. Winter vacation lasted ten days (December 29 to January 7), and summer vacation lasted forty-six days (July 21 to September 4), during which a temporary "Summer Lecture Series" was offered for two to three hours daily (July 22 to August 20).

The first year's teaching objective was remedial Japanese. The second year added English and general education subjects, while the third year established preparatory courses in law, literature, science and engineering, medicine,

and agriculture and forestry, with weekly class hours ranging from 24 to 30 hours. The law and literature tracks had similar curricula, as did the science/engineering, medical, and agriculture/forestry tracks. Except for the law track (29 hours), all tracks had 30 hours.

3.2 Teaching Implementation

Although the school formulated a training program, it was not actually implemented as planned. In the first academic year, the curriculum implemented for Class A is shown in Table 2, focusing on Japanese, English, and general education. Class B's curriculum, shown in Table 3, specialized in Japanese with emphasis on listening, speaking, and reading skills. Additionally, after a period of instruction, Takakusu discovered that the difficulty in guiding Chinese students lay in his inability to explain Japanese concepts, as the students were generally proficient in English. He therefore advocated using English flexibly to facilitate their understanding. Through the collective efforts and exploration of all involved, the school's training program and syllabus were gradually optimized.

3.3 Evaluation System

Student grades consisted of three components: temporary examinations, semester examinations, and daily class tests. Temporary examinations were arranged by instructors for each subject and held two to three times irregularly each semester. Semester examinations tested the content learned during the semester and were held at the end of each semester. Subject grades were determined by the number of comprehensive evaluation points. Additionally, students who missed examinations due to unavoidable circumstances (such as illness or temporary return to China) could take make-up examinations if their daily class points reached the passing score. At the end of each semester, student academic performance was assessed based on the above calculation method: 60 points or above in each subject constituted a pass. If a student scored 40–50 points in three subjects, 30–40 points in two subjects, or below 30 points in any single subject, this was considered a failure. Students with passing average scores received certificates from the Nikka School, while those who failed remained in their original class to continue studying. In short, the school's academic requirements for students were highly standardized and scientific.

Taking Class A as an example, Chen Hui ranked first, closely followed by He Yushi and Qian Chengzhi. Each excelled in different subjects, with minimal differences in total scores and comparable average scores. Chen Hui was particularly strong in physics and geography, demonstrating strong abstract thinking abilities. He Yushi had relatively balanced scores across all subjects with almost no weaknesses, showing outstanding mathematical and language abilities. Qian Chengzhi's perfect score in history was particularly impressive. Lu Shifen and Wang Youling's scores were considerably lower, while Wu Zhenlin had no

recorded scores due to mid-term transfer. The specific scores and rankings based on semester evaluation points are shown in Table 4. The school also reported semester examination results to each student's parents, guardians, or sponsors. The supervisor for this group of Zhejiang students was Sun Gan, an overseas Chinese in Japan. Except for those recommended by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Minister to China, students needed sponsors to enroll, with sponsors required to be Chinese or Japanese residents of Tokyo.

4. Difficulties in School Operation

The Nikka School unfortunately “died young” after less than three years of operation. What difficulties did this pioneering institution in Sino-Japanese educational exchange history encounter during its operation? How severe were these difficulties? And which difficulty ultimately brought it down?

4.1 Dietary and Cultural Differences

The Nikka School exhausted considerable effort in providing three daily meals for its students, yet the results were unsatisfactory. The primary reason was dietary and cultural differences. For instance, when celebrating Emperor Guangxu's birthday, Hōkaku ordered for each student a “sweetfish” (ayu), considered the most delicious and expensive fish of summer. Yet on the spot, some students complained about the fish's small size, remarking, “In our country, this is food for cats,” and refused to eat it. This greatly disappointed the chef. Moreover, students frequently quarreled and even came to blows with staff over dissatisfaction with cafeteria food. Such cases were not uncommon. This fully demonstrates the importance of “three meals a day” for Chinese people, for whom “food is paramount,” while also reflecting that the dietary preferences of these students from various Chinese provinces far exceeded Japanese imagination.

4.2 Frequent Illnesses

The newly arrived students frequently fell ill due to unacclimatization. In addition to common colds and fevers, they suffered from various ailments including stomach ailments, dental problems, rheumatism, beriberi, depression, constipation, hemorrhoids, hyperhidrosis, and more. Most were mild cases that could recover with simple treatment, while those with severe symptoms required isolation, observation, and care. The Nikka School eventually sent two students back to China, one suffering from tuberculosis and the other from depression. The Japanese government attached great importance to this matter. To prevent similar situations, Foreign Ministry Secretary Mishizu Nobukata telegraphed Japanese Consul (Acting) in Shanghai Otagiri Mansuke, emphasizing that future selected students must not only be academically excellent but also physically and mentally healthy, requiring medical examinations before studying abroad. If students were found to have incurable diseases or be unsuitable for

cultivation, their dispatch should be immediately terminated.

4.3 Teacher-Student Conflicts

Students repeatedly staged collective protests due to dissatisfaction with the school's curriculum. Initially, Takakusu would adopt their suggestions and make corresponding adjustments as much as possible. However, not only did such situations fail to improve fundamentally, they escalated continuously. In September 1899, Zhejiang student He Yushi openly confronted Takakusu over a uniform matter. Following the dispute, Takakusu submitted a written explanation of He's behavior to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The document was filled with Takakusu's indignation toward He's words and actions. Considering that He had already obtained admission notice from the First Higher School, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was reluctant to expel and repatriate him. They immediately contacted the Qing government's Minister to Japan to mediate jointly. Eventually, He presented a written self-criticism and apology, expressing deep remorse and promising to reform. Only then did Takakusu reluctantly agree to resume supervisory authority over him, bringing the conflict to a temporary close. However, the unpleasant experiences arising from founding the Nikka School brought endless troubles to Takakusu, draining his enthusiasm for Chinese student education.

4.4 Budget Overruns

For a newly established school, funding is undoubtedly the most critical factor. When the school opened, after Hangzhou Consulate Acting Consul Hayami Kazunori discussed tuition matters with Foreign Minister Nishi Tokujirō, the relevant funds provided by Qiushi College were remitted through the Yokohama Specie Bank in Shanghai to Foreign Vice Minister Komura Jutarō, who then disbursed expenses based on the school's accounts. Additionally, tuition from self-funded students also had to be handed over to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for unified management. As enrollment increased, the frequency of purchasing daily necessities rose significantly, and acquiring textbooks and hiring additional faculty became essential. During the school's expansion period, Takakusu repeatedly submitted reimbursement requests to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for "temporary equipment expenses," reflecting the school's high degree of dependence on the Japanese government. Among the school's expenditures, rent for the new school building (deposit of 300 yen, monthly rent of 75 yen) constituted the main item. At that time, because Supervisor Hōkaku lacked the energy to carefully select suitable school premises, he signed a rather expensive lease contract with landlord Hirayama Katsukichi after preliminary investigation to address the urgent need. However, as students successively advanced to higher education, the school's operating costs increased substantially. Takakusu promptly submitted an emergency budget proposal to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to maintain school operations.

Due to frequent student illnesses, expenses for medical examinations and hospi-

talization could not be underestimated. Hōkaku wrote in his diary: “Recently, many have fallen ill, and the school has done its utmost to pay high medical costs.” Additionally, during the 1899 summer vacation, after on-site investigation, Takakusu decided to organize teachers and students to travel to the Nasu-Shiobara hot spring resort in northeastern Tochigi Prefecture for a “Summer Lecture Series” (July 27 to August 27). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs provided a temporary subsidy of 309 yen and 20 sen for this summer retreat activity, with the final budget overrun of approximately 100 yen covered by the school’s operating funds. All these instances demonstrate that the school’s financial situation at that time was unable to make ends meet.

Table 5 Financial Status of the Nikka School

4.5 Setback in Upgrading

Although the school faced budget overruns, having the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as a backstop still provided some security for its operation. However, as early as late 1898, Takakusu considered further expansion on the existing foundation, upgrading the school to accommodate one hundred boarding students with a five-year system, and began drafting budget estimates and training programs. But how easy was it to establish a school of such scale? Moreover, Takakusu believed that renting private residences was not a long-term solution. After multiple investigations, he identified a piece of land in the Omote-chō highland area and was determined to build the school there. However, the enormous funds required to purchase land and construct school buildings were incomparable to renting, placing high demands on fundraising. Struggling with financial constraints, Takakusu rushed about and entrusted Hōkaku to seek loans from Mitsui Bank, one of the “Five Major Banks.” However, whether due to the excessively large loan amount or the bank’s lack of confidence in the Chinese student education project, after multiple rounds of negotiations, the bank manager ultimately refused the loan. After successive setbacks, the school construction plan had to be reluctantly abandoned. This critical step directly impacted the subsequent development of the Nikka School.

4.6 Insufficient Student Enrollment

After students concentrated on advancing to higher education, the school’s enrollment dropped sharply. To address the enrollment problem, Takakusu drafted a new school charter (eight chapters total) and entrusted Qian Xun to publish the Chinese translation in domestic newspapers and magazines. In spring 1900, as Qian Xun was preparing to return to China with dozens of students, the Boxer Rebellion suddenly erupted and spread rapidly in Zhili and the Beijing-Tianjin region, forcing the postponement of the dispatch plan. Shortly thereafter, foreign ministers in China intensified pressure on the Qing government to suppress the movement, but the situation had already become uncontrollable. Seeing the movement escalate, the ministers decided on joint military intervention. At this critical moment of national crisis, provincial offi-

cials naturally had no time to attend to student dispatch matters. Second, Tang Caichang, who had fled to Japan after the 1898 coup, had boarded at the Nikka School. Influenced by his ideas, four students from Class C traveled to Hankou to participate in the Independence Army uprising, where they were captured and unfortunately killed. This incident caused local officials, led by Huguang Governor-General Zhang Zhidong, to lose trust in the Nikka School's education, making it impossible for them to dispatch additional students.

These reasons prevented the school from achieving its enrollment targets, marking its decline from this point onward. Nevertheless, despite accepting no new students, the school continued to struggle and operate meagerly.

4.7 Loss of Original Aspiration

Encountering difficulties in school operation is unavoidable, and the aforementioned difficulties were not insurmountable. Regrettably, before an effective solution could be proposed, the school came to an abrupt halt. Since Takakusu had accepted the mission to found the Nikka School, what reasons prompted him to willingly abandon it? In 1900, Takakusu, now promoted to professor at Tokyo Imperial University, established the "Nihonbashi Simple Commercial Night School" (predecessor of Chuo Gakuin University), and Hōkaku, who managed the Nikka School's general affairs, followed Takakusu in its preparation. Although they retained their positions at the Nikka School, the time and energy they invested in Chinese student education had greatly diminished. This can be directly perceived from the log records: compared with the uninterrupted and detailed records of the first year, the 1900 diary contained only fragmented, discontinuous records averaging less than half a month per month, with extremely brief content. Furthermore, after graduating from Tokyo Imperial University, Hōkaku was hired as an instructor at Takarazuka Buddhist University, transferring his school responsibilities to his friend Kōjima Yonekichi (1875–1949). The successor Kōjima's attitude toward and treatment of the students differed greatly from his predecessor's, and after his takeover, the school only continued for a short period before Takakusu had no choice but to abandon it.

5. Student Composition and Career Paths

The Nikka School had a total of 26 registered students. Most were dispatched from Qiushi College, Nanyang School, and the Beiyang Naval Academy, including nine from Zhejiang, six from Jiangsu, five from Guangdong, four from Zhili, one from Fujian, and one from Anhui. They were divided into Classes A, B, and C according to enrollment order. Each class had at least one self-funded student: for example, Wu Zhenlin, who entered Class A with sponsorship from Kobe overseas Chinese Sun Gan; Chen Yutang, who entered Class B through introduction by Narahara Chōsei; and Zheng Kangqi, who entered Class C with a recommendation letter from Foreign Ministry Secretary Mishizu Nobukata. Additionally, Wang Youling of Class A (from Zhejiang) had originally been studying sericulture technology at the Kyōshinsha in Saitama Prefecture but midway expressed

desire to change majors, transferring to Class A of the Nikka School through Sun Gan' s mediation. The student roster and detailed information for the Nikka School are shown in Table 6 .

There was a category of students who, though not officially enrolled, maintained close contact with the school and even frequently stayed overnight. For example, Ji Kan, a graduate of the Tokyo Higher Sericulture School, visited and stayed multiple times. This was primarily because his good friend Wang Youling studied at the Nikka School. Through their connections with Wang Kangnian and Luo Zhenyu, both had gone to Japan in 1897 to study at Yamamoto Noriaki (Baigai)' s private academy. The following year, they transferred to the Kyōshinsha to study sericulture, though their paths later diverged. Unlike Ji Kan, Wang Youling did not continue advanced studies in sericulture. Due to their close relationship, Ji Kan often visited the Nikka School to chat with his friend, a practice that continued until Wang' s return to China due to illness. It is worth noting that Tang Caichang (1867-1900) and Shen Xiangyun (1888-1913), who participated in the Independence Army uprising, also had experiences staying at the Nikka School.

Among the twelve students dispatched by the Beiyang Minister, six from the Beiyang First Rank School (Li Ke, Zhang Yuquan, Wang Jianzu) and Second Rank School (Zhang Kui, Jin Bangping, Zhou Zupei) aspired to enter Tokyo Imperial University. The six selected from the Beiyang Naval Academy (An Qinglan, Cai Chengyu, Zhang Yingxu, Gao Shuqi, Shen Kun, Zheng Baocheng) had originally planned to study naval technology in Japan, but due to rejection by the Japanese Ministry of the Navy, they had to transfer to the Nikka School as a transitional arrangement. To accommodate this group, the school newly established Class C. In June 1899, after learning of the students' aspirations, Japanese Foreign Minister Aoki Shūzō wrote to Education Minister Kabayama Sukenori, stating that the six students from the Beiyang First and Second Rank Schools wished to study politics, law, physics and chemistry, and agricultural engineering, and requested approval for them to audit classes at Tokyo Imperial University starting that semester. After negotiation, the university conveyed to Takakusu through Foreign Ministry Political Affairs Bureau Chief Uchida Yasuya permission for Nikka School students to audit classes. However, Takakusu believed that before auditing university classes, the students needed remedial Japanese to improve their language proficiency and suggested they begin auditing the following semester. After discussion, the Foreign Minister and Education Minister ultimately adopted Takakusu' s recommendation.

On the other hand, regarding the advancement of the six Class A students, Foreign Minister Aoki telegraphed Education Minister Kabayama, reporting that these students had studied at the Nikka School for over a year and had reached a level where they could comprehend lectures in Japanese, inquiring whether they could be arranged to enter the First Higher School (abbreviated as "Ikkō," now the College of Arts and Sciences, University of Tokyo) as auditing students in the new semester. After discussion, students from both Classes A and B of the

Nikka School were approved to enter Ikkō. In September 1899, eight students—Lu Shifen, Qian Chengzhi, Chen Hui, He Yushi, Wang Youling, Wu Zhenlin, Zhang Zongxiang, and Hu Zengtai—completed enrollment procedures at Ikkō. This pioneered the history of Chinese students entering Japanese higher schools and represented an epoch-making event in Sino-Japanese educational exchange. However, not all students from Classes A and B entered Ikkō. Why was this? Among the remaining five, self-funded student Chen Yutang entered the Daisei School, while Lei Fen, Fuji Ei, Yang Yinhang, and Yang Tingdong, dispatched by Nanyang School, applied to study at Tokyo Senmon College (English Political Science Department). The Ministry of Foreign Affairs initially rejected their application, citing insufficient teaching facilities at private schools and numerous inconveniences in supervision and management. Dissatisfied with the Ministry's response, the students appealed to student supervisor Qian Xun for a solution. Qian Xun had no choice but to trouble the Qing Minister to negotiate with the Japanese side, finally securing fulfillment of the students' academic aspirations. Class C students, except for Wang Jianzu and Zhou Zupei who entered specialized schools, all entered Tokyo Imperial University (engineering, agriculture, and law departments) as elective students.

The Nikka School was the first preparatory school specially established by the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Chinese students. The school's educational objective remained "to save effort while achieving practical results, striving for simplicity and rapid mastery of skills," cultivating students to enter higher schools with the expectation that they would "become accomplished individuals and, upon returning home, each contribute their talents." The faculty team—Superintendent Takakusu Junjirō, Supervisor Hōkaku Zenkyō, Dormitory Supervisor Nakajima Saishi, Chief Instructor Umehara Yū, and Tsuchiya Sensuke—all graduated from the Nishihonganji Ordinary School or Literary Institute. Takakusu's educational philosophy consistently upheld the spirit of Japanese Buddhism (Jōdo Shinshū Honganji sect), emphasizing character development first, while consistently respecting students' ideas and doing his utmost to meet their requests. Regarding school management, Takakusu also explicitly stated that the school required students to "preserve Chinese institutions in their conduct while absorbing the best aspects of Japanese customs to achieve perfection" and that "students carrying book bags on distant journeys should look up and contemplate the nation's great intention of nurturing talent, look down and ponder their heavy responsibility to serve in the future...diligently striving day and night to achieve excellence in both character and learning, continuously improving their capabilities and insights." In other words, he did not impose Meiji-period Japanese culture and values on the students, instead maintaining an understanding and friendly attitude toward Chinese patriotic sentiments and national spirit.

Founding a school is difficult, but developing it is even more challenging. For the newly established Nikka School, the most important factors were student enrollment and funding. Given the trends at the time, Takakusu originally need not worry about enrollment numbers, but the national calamity of the Gengzi

Year (1900) disrupted the student dispatch plan, preventing the school from achieving its enrollment targets. School funding actually had basic guarantees, but for Takakusu, who wanted to expand the school's scale, obtaining huge bank loans was necessary to build a new school. Ultimately, constrained by finances, Takakusu had to voluntarily abandon this plan. Additionally, due to lack of experience on both sides, Japanese responses to Chinese students' daily needs regarding clothing, food, housing, and transportation often appeared overwhelmed, both in communication and management. Although the Minister to Japan had arranged for Sun Gan to serve as student supervisor, he could not attend to every detail. The accumulation of these problems hindered the school's development until its closure.

Although the school existed for a very short time, had a small scale, and very limited conditions in all aspects, under the cultivation of the faculty group led by Takakusu, most students successfully graduated and entered higher schools for further study, opening the door for Chinese students to enter Japanese higher education institutions. Their stay in Japan was relatively long, their coursework highly systematic, and through studying abroad they not only improved their language and professional abilities but also deepened their understanding of Japan and established extensive social networks. If one carefully examines the membership lists of early Chinese student organizations such as the Encouragement Society, the Translation and Compilation Society, and the Chinese Students' Hall, it is evident that Nikka School students constituted a high proportion of their core members and backbone. It can be said that the founding of the Nikka School accumulated necessary operational experience for preparatory educational institutions such as Yile Academy (predecessor of Hongwen Academy), Yokohama Higher Datong School, and Tokyo Dōbun Academy, and played an exemplary role.

After returning to China, most Nikka School students remained active long-term in Chinese educational circles and industrial fields. For example, He Yushi served as President of Peking University (1912-1913) after returning home. Zhang Yuquan, after graduating from Tokyo Imperial University's Faculty of Law, went to the University of California and Yale University as a government-sponsored student, and served as President of Tsinghua University (1918-1920) after returning to China. Jin Bangping graduated from Waseda University, successively serving as Director of the Bank of China Preparatory Office and Minister of Agriculture and Commerce of the Beiyang Government. After resigning, he dedicated himself to industrial and educational activities, serving as General Manager of Qixin Cement Company (Tianjin, Shanghai) and Principal of Yaohua School. Chen Hui compiled numerous textbooks, including *Middle School Arithmetic Textbook* (1905), *Practical Physics Textbook* (1918), and *New Algebra Teaching Materials* (1916). Yang Tingdong compiled political and legal books such as *Political Science Textbook* (1902) and *Jurisprudence* (1908). Additionally, Wang Youling served as President of Chaoyang University (1921-1931), and Wang Jianzu served as Dean of the Law Faculty at Peking University (1914-1919). Wu Zhenlin, Fuji Ei, Lei Fen, Yang Yinhang, Zhou Zupei,

Shen Kun, and Gao Shuqi successively held public offices as diplomats, judges, and parliamentarians in the Beiyang Government, all active figures in modern politics. Furthermore, Zhang Zongxiang's *Guide to Studying in Japan* was published in many places in China and became highly popular. After returning to China, Zhang served at the Imperial University of Peking and negotiated as a northern representative during the 1911 Revolution. During the Republic of China period, he successively served as Minister of Justice and concurrently Minister of Agriculture and Commerce. In 1916, he was appointed Ambassador to Japan but became one of the "national traitors" targeted by students during the May Fourth Movement. Zhang Yingxu and Hu Zengtai respectively served as Welfare Department Head of the "New People's Association" and Minister of Justice of the Japanese puppet "Reformed Government of the Republic of China" during the War of Resistance, becoming accomplices in Japan's strategy of invading China and playing complex roles in that special historical context. Additionally, four revolutionary martyrs returned to China to participate in the Gengzi Royalist Movement. Specifically, Li Ke, Zheng Baocheng, Cai Chengyu, and An Qinglan, who had passed the Tokyo Imperial University entrance examination, joined Tang Caichang's Independence Army uprising. Unfortunately, the plot was leaked, and together with over twenty core members, they were captured and executed at Ziyang Lake on August 23, 1900.

In summary, the students who emerged from the Nikka School received high attention from both Chinese and Japanese governments and were all regarded as talents entrusted with important responsibilities after returning home. They applied the knowledge acquired during their studies abroad, became active in various fields, and laid the foundation for the country's modernization. However, as the turbulent situations in China and Japan underwent dramatic changes, their fates differed greatly. Some became opportunists during the May Fourth Movement and the War of Resistance, unfortunately becoming accomplices of Japanese militarism, reflecting the "light and shadow" of the era. Meanwhile, the Nikka School's founder Takakusu Junjirō and Supervisor Hōkaku Zenkyō, through their dedicated teaching of Chinese students, accumulated school-founding experience for later establishments such as the Nihonbashi Simple Commercial Night School and Musashino Girls' Academy. These schools, through long-term exploration, developed distinctive disciplinary construction experience and eventually evolved into comprehensive universities and higher schools with multiple disciplines (Chuo Gakuin University, Musashino University), which continue to cultivate relevant talents for Japanese society. As for the dispatching institutions of that time—the successors of Qiushi College (1897), Nanyang School (1896), and Beiyang University (1895), namely Zhejiang University, Shanghai Jiao Tong University and Xi'an Jiao Tong University, and Tianjin University—they are all century-old prestigious institutions with significant influence domestically and internationally. Looking back at the history of Chinese students studying abroad, the founding of the Nikka School can be considered the origin of preparatory education in the magnificent wave of Chinese students going to Japan in modern times. Although the school's ephemeral

existence reflects its operational lack of success, after the First Sino-Japanese War, it provided a shared space for Chinese and Japanese teachers and students to think and communicate with each other, leaving a lasting resonance. In short, the Nikka School represents an indispensable page in the modern history of Sino-Japanese educational exchange.

The specialized study of the history of Chinese students studying in Japan was initiated by Japanese scholar Saneto Keishū and followed by Chinese scholars (including mainland China, Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan). Representative works from home and abroad include: Saneto Keishū, *History of Chinese Students Studying in Japan*, Tokyo: Kuroshio Shuppan, 1960 (expanded edition, 1970; Chinese translation: *History of Chinese Students Studying in Japan*, translated by Tan Ruqian and Lin Qiyan, Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 1983); Huang Fuqing, *Chinese Students in Japan in the Late Qing Dynasty*, Taipei: Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, 1975; Kojima Toshio, *Japanese Students and the Xinhai Revolution*, Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1989; Abe Hiroshi, *Modern Chinese Education and Meiji Japan*, Tokyo: Fukumura Shuppan, 1990; Tian Zhengping, *Overseas Students and the Modernization of Chinese Education*, Guangdong Education Press, 1996; Shang Xiaoming, *Japanese Students and the Late Qing New Policies*, Nanchang: Jiangxi Education Press, 2003; Li Xisuo (ed.), *General History of Chinese Students Studying Abroad (Late Qing Volume, Republic of China Volume, New China Volume)*, Guangzhou: Guangdong Education Press, 2010; Zhou Mian et al., *The Community of Overseas Students and the Social Development of the Republic of China*, Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2017.

Nara Women's University Asian Gender and Culture Research Center (ed.), *Nara Women's Higher Normal School and Asian International Students*, Tokyo: Keibunsha, 2016; Li Chengshi and Liu Jie (eds.), *International Students at Waseda*, Tokyo: Waseda University Press, 2015; Kenji Miki, *What Did Asian Students Learn in Modern Japan?—Medicine, Horticulture, Design, and Teacher Training*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyōronsha, 2018; Takao Takata, *Pre-war Asian International Students and Meiji University*, Tokyo: Tōhō Shoten, 2019; Lü Shunchang, *Zhejiang and Japan in the Late Qing Dynasty*, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 2001; Liang Zhongmei, *Guizhou Students in Japan During the Late Qing and Republic of China Periods and Guizhou's Modernization*, Chengdu: Southwest Jiaotong University Press, 2014; Chunyu Miaoling and Pan Lixia, *Research on the History of Studying Abroad in Chongqing—Focusing on Study Abroad Figures and Policies (1898-1966)*, Beijing: China Social Sciences Press, 2014.

Shu Xincheng, Saneto Keishū, Huang Fuqing, Wang Xiaoqiu, Tian Zhengping, and others all agree with this view.

Sang Bing, "The Origins of Japanese Students and Sino-Japanese Relations After the First Sino-Japanese War," *Journal of Central China Normal University*,

1986, No. 4.

Hosono Kōji, “The Starting Point and Related Circumstances of the History of Modern Chinese Students in Japan,” in *Shiteki* No. 12, Waseda University Oriental History Discussion Group, 1991.

Although the term “liuxue” (studying abroad) is not uncommon in ancient Chinese texts, when used as a compound, it only took its literal meaning of “remaining to continue studying” and was not an established term. The term “liuxue” truly became a proper noun meaning “residing abroad for concentrated study” beginning with the 7th-century Japanese enthusiasm for comprehensively learning Chinese culture. Japanese who accompanied envoys to China and remained for extended periods in the Tang Dynasty were called “ryūgakushō” (students abroad). In modern times, although studying abroad gradually flourished, the terminology varied slightly. When dispatching young students to the United States, the term “chuyang” (going abroad) was used, mainly because Zeng Guofan and other initiators first proposed it, which was later widely accepted. After the First Sino-Japanese War, Zhang Zhidong used the term “youxue” (studying abroad) in his *Exhortation to Study*, and various regulations also used this term. However, as Chinese students in Japan formed a community, the Japanese side referred to them as “Qingguo liuxuesheng” (Qing students abroad). Consequently, the term “liuxuesheng” (students abroad) was quickly accepted by Japanese students. After the founding of the Republic of China, both the government and the public switched to the term “liuxue” (studying abroad), which became the common proper noun. Reference: Liu Jilin, “From ‘chuyang’ and ‘youxue’ to ‘liuxue’—An Etymological Study of the Term ‘Studying Abroad’ in the Late Qing Dynasty,” *Guangdong Social Sciences*, 2007, No. 6.

[Japan] Gondō Yoshio (ed.), *Studying Abroad in the World—Current Situation and Issues*, Tokyo: Tōshindō, 1991, p. 3.

However, this proposal was not implemented before Yano stepped down, and his successor Hayashi Gonsuke basically completed the follow-up work. Later, due to the 1898 coup, the Qing government’s plan to dispatch students to Japan was suspended, and the authority to dispatch was delegated to the provinces. See: Kawasaki Mami, “Dispatch of Students to Japan in the Late Qing Dynasty—The Proposal of Minister to China Yano Fumio and Its Aftermath,” *China Research Monthly*, Vol. 60, No. 2, 2006.

[Japan] Shinmura Izuru (ed.), *Kōjien* (4th edition), Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1991.

“Petition Regarding the Dispatch of Civilian and Military Students and Touring Officials from Zhejiang Province,” JACAR (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records) Ref. B12081617100, *Miscellaneous Collection on Qing Students in Japan/Army Students Section Volume 1* (Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan), images 56-59. Touring official Zhang Dayong was from Jiading County, Jiangsu Province, a relative of Liao Shoufeng, and deeply trusted by the Zhejiang Governor. Jiang Jiaming was a member of the

Zhejiang Silver Dollar Bureau (silver coin mint), proficient in French and English. In addition to leading and caring for the students, he inspected Japanese government agencies, various schools, manufacturing plants, and mines for over three months.

Shanghai Library (ed.), *Letters to and from Wang Kangnian*, Volume 2, Shanghai: Shanghai Ancient Books Publishing House, 1986, pp. 1145-1146.

Chen Xuexun and Tian Zhengping (eds.), *Compilation of Modern Chinese Educational Materials*, Shanghai: Shanghai Education Press, p. 45.

Nikka School Regulations and Overview, in Yu Baoxuan (ed.), *Compilation of Imperial Dynasty's Valuable Writings*, Volume 16, Schools 3, Shanghai: Shanghai Official Book Bureau, 1902, p. 15. The original pamphlet consists of 24 pages (including cover and back cover), measuring 22cm in length, 16cm in width, and 0.2cm in thickness, housed in the Archives of Xi'an Jiaotong University, collection number: ZLN1-16. Relevant information provided by Lecturer Yang Liu of the School of Foreign Studies, Xi'an Jiaotong University, to whom special thanks are due.

Liu Xuezhao, "The Evolution of Chinese Views of Japan in the Late Qing and Early Republic," *Modern Chinese History Studies*, 1989 (06), p. 137.

Nikka School Regulations and Overview, in Yu Baoxuan (ed.), *Compilation of Imperial Dynasty's Valuable Writings*, p. 23.

Hōkaku Zenkyō (1868-1949) was from Fukui Prefecture, graduated from the Nishihonganji Ordinary School. In 1891, he entered the Sendai Second Higher School. In 1896, he entered the Japanese History Department of Tokyo Imperial University, and as a third-year student, served as supervisor of the Nikka School, managing international student education, graduating the following year. In 1901, he served as professor at Takarazuka Buddhist University, and in 1902, together with Takakusu, Umehara, and others, founded the Central Commercial School, becoming its head supervisor in 1907.

Umehara Yū (1865-1907) was from Fukui. In 1885, he entered the Nishihonganji Ordinary School. Together with Takakusu, Sakurai, Hōkaku, and others, he founded the Reflection Society. After graduating, he entered Keiō Gijuku, and after graduating in 1895, became a professor at the Literary Institute. In 1898, he went to Tokyo to concurrently serve as a teacher at the Nikka School. Later, he founded the Central Commercial School and served as its first principal. In 1902, he became a professor at Keiō Gijuku. Reference: Nakatomi Arita: *Collection of Reminiscences of Mr. Ryūhoku* (compiled by Fukui Prefecture Junkyōji, 1939).

Unno (Tsuchiya) Sensuke: from Fukushima. Professor at the Literary Institute, studied sectarian learning. Later resigned and went to Tokyo to serve as a reporter for *Meikyō Shinshi* and *Reflection Society Magazine* (predecessor of *Chūō Kōron*), concurrently serving as a teacher at the Nikka School from 1898 to 1899. Later became a professor at Waseda University.

Sakurai Yoshiteru (1868-1926) was from Osaka. After graduating from the Nishihonganji Literary Institute, he served as editor of *Reflection Society Magazine*, and after it was renamed *Chūō Kōron*, was active as its chief editor. After leaving the Nikka School, he was hired as an instructor at Takarazuka Buddhist University.

Nikka School Regulations and Overview, in Yu Baoxuan (ed.), *Compilation of Imperial Dynasty's Valuable Writings*, pp. 16-17.

Common courses for law and literature tracks included Japanese (Japanese language), English (conversation, translation, composition, grammar), history (civilization history), logic (logic), and economics (wealth of nations). Characteristic courses for law were jurisprudence (general theory of law) and politics (essentials of politics); for literature, they were education (pedagogy) and German (grammar, translation). While science/engineering and medicine tracks shared many common subjects, there were many differences in specific content beyond Japanese. Characteristic courses for science/engineering included mathematics (analytic geometry, calculus, equations), physics and chemistry (mechanics, dynamics), mineralogy, surveying, and drawing (freehand drawing, instrumental drawing). Medicine included German (conversation, translation, composition, grammar), mathematics (advanced mathematics, essentials), physics and chemistry (practical training), natural history (physiology), medicine (anatomy), and drawing (freehand drawing).

JACAR: Ref. B12081623200, images 61-69. This report was sent by Takakusu Junjirō to Foreign Vice Minister Tsuzuki Keiroku, and under the instruction of Political Affairs Bureau Chief Uchida Yasuya, a copy was sent to Shanghai Consul Otagiri Mansuke. The grade report includes scores for six students: Lu Shifen, Chen Hui, Qian Chengzhi, He Yushi, Wang Youling, and Wu Zhenlin.

Report on the General Situation of International Students from Nanyang Public School (March 13, 1899) JACAR: Ref. B12081623200, images 83-87. The report is divided into sections on enrollment process, study situation, school location, student names, classmates, teacher names, current curriculum, and subjects in this hall.

The weekly class hours for the first year of the general course were adjusted from the original plan's first term 27 hours, second term 29 hours to 24 hours, 30 hours; the second year was adjusted from the original plan's 29 hours for both terms to 30 hours. The original plan's third year was divided into law and engineering tracks, while the new plan added preparatory specialized courses for literature and medicine. Additionally, the original plan's first year first term courses were Japanese (conversation, general reader), mathematics (arithmetic), geography (world geography), history (world history); second term: Japanese (composition grammar, general reader), English (conversation grammar, general reader), mathematics (arithmetic, geometry), geography (world geography), natural history (botany). Second year first term: Japanese (composition grammar, advanced reader), English (conversation grammar, general reader), mathematics

(geometry, algebra), geography (world geography), history (world history), natural history (botany, zoology), physics and chemistry (physics, chemistry); second term: Japanese (composition grammar, advanced reader), English (composition grammar, general reader), mathematics (geometry, algebra), history (Oriental history), natural history (zoology), physics and chemistry (physics, chemistry). The new system first year first term only arranged Japanese courses (conversation, grammar, reading, composition); second term: Japanese (composition, grammar, conversation, reading), English (composition, grammar, conversation, translation), mathematics (arithmetic, geometry), history (world history), geography (world geography), natural history (botany). Second level first term: Japanese (composition, grammar, conversation, reading), English (composition, translation, conversation, grammar), mathematics (geometry, algebra), natural history (botany, zoology), physics and chemistry (physics, chemistry), history (world history), geography (world geography); second term: Japanese and English courses same as above, mathematics (trigonometry, algebra), natural history (zoology), physics and chemistry (physics, chemistry), history (Oriental history), geography (physical geography). Third year basic courses included Japanese and English as foundation courses, with other courses set differently according to specialization.

School Daily Records (manuscript), October 19, 1898. To accommodate the dietary habits of international students, the school sent chefs to observe and exchange experiences at the private academy founded by Kano Jigorō in Misaki-chō.

School Daily Records (manuscript), August 1, 1899. The unit price of sweetfish ordered by Hōkaku at Kōchō Kae River Restaurant was 8 sen. At that time, the average domestic price in Japan was 5 sen for 100g of beef and 15 sen for 400g of eggs.

School Daily Records (manuscript), May 3, June 9, and June 30, 1899. Chen Hui and An Qinglan suffered from stomach ailments, with the former even hospitalized due to illness; Cai Chengyu suffered from rheumatism; Wang Youling had depression; Zhou Zupei suffered from hemorrhoids; Li Ke had hyperhidrosis; Gao Shuqi had dental problems; He Yushi, Fuji Ei, and Lu Shifen suffered from beriberi.

For example, Chen Hui frequently suffered from stomach pain; He Yushi's feet became swollen and numb due to beriberi, and after many days without improvement, he was sent to the hospital for treatment. Wu Zhenlin, who originally had constipation symptoms, contracted dysentery, causing repeated severe diarrhea that caused him great suffering. To avoid infecting others, the school arranged for him to receive isolated treatment in a single room. Additionally, Yang Tingdong was unfortunately diagnosed with "double pulmonary tuberculosis." Since 19th-century medical technology still had no very effective treatment for "consumption," the school ultimately had no choice but to isolate the student and repatriate him. Before returning home for convalescence, school teachers and students saw him off at Shinbashi, where Umehara Yū and Tashiro

Naoki presented farewell poems and prefaces as mementos. After returning to China, Yang Tingdong's condition improved well, and he returned to Japan on September 15 of the same year. Reference: *School Daily Records* (manuscript), 1899.

Wang Youling, who had long suffered from neurasthenia, was diagnosed with depression. After hearing the advice of physician Enba Tomoteru, Takakusu truthfully reported the relevant situation to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Ultimately, Wang, who had already been approved to enter Ikkō, was ordered to return to China for convalescence, his studies left unfinished halfway, which was truly regrettable.

JACAR: Ref. B12081623200, "Letter from Foreign Minister Secretary Mishizu Nobukata to Acting Consul Otagiri Mansuke in Shanghai," images 103-104. The same letter also mentions that the planned 2-3 year study abroad period might be insufficient to acquire specialized courses, and that the duration of study abroad should be extended as much as possible. Additionally, it notes that if students are proficient in foreign languages, it will be convenient for their studies.

School Daily Records (manuscript), April 11-12, 1899.

The general content of Takakusu's document was: The student He Yushi has a stubborn and obstinate personality, does not obey teacher constraints, refuses to reform despite repeated admonitions, and still does not follow guidance after repeated warnings. The school is helpless with this student and finds him difficult to manage. Therefore, I request to cancel my supervisory responsibility for him. Reference: JACAR: Ref. B12081623200, image 155.

JACAR: Ref. B12081617100, images 60-62, 87-88. On January 12, 1899, Shanghai Acting Consul Otagiri Mansuke wrote to Foreign Vice Minister Tsuzuki Keiroku regarding tuition for six students dispatched by Nanyang Public School, explaining that School Director He Sikun provided 1,800 Mexican silver dollars (eagle dollars), which after exchange by the Specie Bank became 1,712.16 yen, with the difference to be remitted later. Those responsible for specific matters included Ministry of Foreign Affairs Accounting Section Chief Shimamura Hisashi and Secretary Mishizu Nobukata.

JACAR: Ref. B12081625400, image 253. Wu Zhenlin was enrolled with sponsorship from international student supervisor Sun Gan, with annual tuition of 300 yen and reserve fund of 36 yen.

Hōkaku Zenkyō: *Cloud Journey Records* (manuscript), June 26, 1899.

Hōkaku Zenkyō: *Lamp Flame Records* (manuscript), December 19, 1898. Takakusu discussed relevant matters with Ministry of Foreign Affairs Secretary Narahara Chōsei.

Mitsui Bank, together with Daiichi Bank, Mitsubishi Bank, Sumitomo Bank, and Yasuda Bank, are collectively known as the "Five Major Banks."

This can be directly perceived from the content of the daily records. Compared with the uninterrupted and detailed records of the first year, the 1900 diary contained only fragmented, discontinuous records averaging less than half a month per month, with extremely brief content.

Memorial Symposium for Former Principal Hōkaku, in *Memorial Issue for Mr. Hōkaku*, self-published by Central Commercial School, December 1940, p. 135.

Wang Youling returned to China due to illness before he could enter school. On November 11, 1899, Hu Zengtai requested to return to the school to supplement his Japanese studies because he could not keep up with the higher school curriculum. Three months later (i.e., February 5, 1900), Hu was once again approved to enter the higher school. Reference: *School Daily Records*.

JACAR: Ref. B12081623300, images 117-120.

Nikka School Regulations and Overview, in Yu Baoxuan (ed.), *Compilation of Imperial Dynasty's Valuable Writings*, p. 16.

Nikka School Regulations and Overview, in Yu Baoxuan (ed.), *Compilation of Imperial Dynasty's Valuable Writings*, p. 22.

Note: Figure translations are in progress. See original paper for figures.

Source: ChinaXiv –Machine translation. Verify with original.