The 1911 Revolution and the Early-Republican Textbooks: a Historical Perspective

The 1911 Revolution had a direct impact on educational reform and the content of school textbooks. Zhonghua Book Company (hereafter cited as Zhonghua) was established together with the Republic of China, and immediately published a series of new textbooks which, politically and ideologically, complied with the new political system. The Commercial Press (hereafter cited as Shangwu) responded to this political change only after the abdication of the emperor Puyi; then the editors and writers devoted themselves to the revision of the series of textbooks which were produced and used in late Qing. In 1913 Shangwu commenced the publication of its new series of textbooks, using the term "Republic" to brand this production. This Republican series of textbooks, for the junior elementary school curriculum, included subjects in Ethics, Chinese language, arithmetic, history, geography, science, drawing, singing and gymnastics. For the upper-level elementary school curriculum, the series covered the same subjects but added a *Reader for Citizens of the Republic* to the series. At that time, there were other publishers in this textbook market but Zhonghua and Shangwu were the two major publishers, and their textbooks dominated not only the textbook market but also the school curriculum.

This essay discusses the impact of the 1911 Revolution on Chinese school textbooks from a historical perspective. It argues that the main changes made to the content of these early-Republican textbooks were political rather than pedagogical. Also, through a brief outline of the development of modern Chinese textbooks this essay will provide a glimpse of China's journey to the Republic.

Let us first trace the origin of the term "textbooks" in Chinese which, by modern definition, originated from the actions of the Protestant missionaries in China. In 1877 the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China decided to establish a School Textbook Committee, composing elementary school textbooks in Chinese for the use in their church schools. ¹ These missionary school textbooks had a profound impact on Chinese reformers who intended to introduce new subjects to the curriculum of traditional Chinese schools. Therefore, there was a demand for new school textbooks. It was claimed that the first series of modern Chinese school textbooks composed by native Chinese teachers or scholars was the Mengxue keben (Textbook for Elementary Education), produced by Nanyang Public School (Nanyang gongxue). This set of textbooks consists of three volumes, imitating the English-American textbook format, but without illustrations. Some scholars, however, regarded the Mengxue duben (Elementary Readers) as the first set of modern Chinese textbooks composed by native Chinese educators. The Mengxue duben was created by Yu Fu, Ding Baoshu and other staff members of Wuxi Sandeng Xuetang (Wuxi three-level school), which was set up by Yu Fu in 1898, just prior to the One-Hundred-Day Reform. At the time there were no textbooks for this kind of new school, so the staff created one lesson each day.

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¹ Records of the General Conference of the Protestant Missionaries of China held at Shanghai, May 7-20, 1890: Appendix E, pp. 712 -714.

In 1902 Yu Fu founded his own commercial publishing house, Shanghai Wenmin shuju, and printed the texts they produced between 1898 and 1902 in seven volumes.²

However, strictly speaking, the *Mengxue duben* still cannot be regarded as modern school textbooks as the set was not matched with a modern school system. In 1902 the Qing government assigned Zhang Baixi (1847 – 1907) to draft a government document for a modern school system; in 1904, Zhang Zhidong (1837 – 1909) was involved in the revision of Zhang Baixi's version, and later the so-called "Guimao xuezhi" (the school system announced in the year of Guimao) was proclaimed. In 1905 the time-honored civil service examination system was abolished, which officially marked the end of the traditional Chinese education system and the birth of a modern school system. Before the announcement of the Guimao school system Shangwu had already organized a group of educators and scholars to compose textbooks. The authors and editors of Shangwu had to revise their textbooks in order to achieve compliance with this new school system after its official announcement. Later, the series was published and branded as *zuixin*, the "newest." Indeed, it was the newest, and more importantly, the first set of school textbooks by modern definition. The Qing government officially recommended this series of school textbooks. It set up the tone and model for later textbook composers and publishers.³

A major theme in the textbooks composed before the 1911 Revolution was the survival of China. The lessons on the theme included the calls for reforms and the promotion of loyalty to the emperor which was the core of late Qing patriotism. There were many factors and foreign influences contributing to the late Qing reform movement. Especially after the 1895 Sino-Japanese War Japan was regarded by many as the model that China ought to follow, and also as a threat that was much more dangerous than Britain and America as Japan was at China's door step. Because of the linguistic connection between the Chinese and Japanese, many Chinese people decided to travel to Japan to study and to discover the secret behind Japanese success in modernization. During this period the Japanese influence on China's reforms peaked. Take the *Mengxue duben* as an example. It stated clearly in its preface that the content of the textbook adopted the Japanese example:

Japanese textbooks eulogized the virtues and achievements of Emperor Jimmu and Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536 -1598) [who unified Japan and is also known for his

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² See Zhou Yutong, *Zhongguo xiandai jiaoyushi* (A history of modern Chinese education), Liangyou tushu yinshua gongsi, 1934, p.134. Also, Wu Yanyin and Weng Zhida, *Zhongguo zhi xiaoxue jiaoyu* (China's Elementary Education), Shangwu yinshuguan, 1934, pp. 1-2; and Ding Zhipin, *Zhongguo jin qishinian lai jiaoyu jishi* (A chronology of China's education in recent seventy years), Guoli bianyiguan, 1935, pp. 8, 11. Lufei Kui, "Lun Zhongguo jiaokeshu shi shu" (On the history of modern Chinese textbooks), in Chen Xuexun, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi jiaoxue cankao ziliao* (A reference book for history of modern Chinese education), Beijing: Renmin jiaoyu chubanshe, 1998, vol.1, p.652.

³ Jiang Weiqiao, "Bianji xiaoxue jiaokeshu zhi huiyi, 1897 – 1905" (My account of composing elementary textbooks, 1897 – 1905), in Chen Xuexun, ed., *Zhongguo jindai jiaoyushi jiaoxue cankao ziliao*, vol.1, pp.648-650.

invasion of Korea]. The aim of these Japanese textbooks was to instill the ideas of patriotism into the minds of children. This textbook, by following the example of Japanese textbooks, contains the history of the Qing, with a line from the establishment of the Qing Dynasty to the suppressing of the Taiping rebellion, and then to the Tongzhi Restoration. When students read this textbook they would feel grateful for the blessings and protections from the emperor, and gather all their courage [to do whatever they can] for their beloved country.⁴

Clearly, the authors regarded the support of reforms as loyalty to the emperor Guangxu; and patriotism in this context also became equivalent to the love of the Qing empire. This was consistent with the ideas held by the then influential reformers. For example, prior to and after the 1898 Reform, both Kang Youwei (1858 – 1927) and Liang Qichao (1873 – 1929) advocated reforms through the emperor Guangxu who they considered to be the facilitator of China's reform movement. This perception was reflected in the content of the late Qing textbooks. Again, let us take the *Mengxue duben* as an example. The first lesson of volume three, with the title "The Great Qing Empire," contains a geographical description of the country. Then it is followed by a poem in Lesson Two:

Wishing our country be impregnable, transcend Europe, America and Japan.

Both the army and navy be flourishing and blazing, making the Qing dragon flag be shining in the world.

Imperialists are currently expanding their world, we cannot wait and then feel sad when the nation is fallen.

India has been colonized, and Poland has lost its sovereignty too. But look at our empire, it is like a sleeping lion that will rise and roar loudly to shake the world.⁵

This lesson, in the form of a child's poem, was suitable for children to read, chant and remember. The term "sleeping lion" is an expression attributed to Napoleon, who in 1803 said that China was like a sleeping giant or lion. This expression, along with the dragon flag, was clearly intended for awakening in children a patriotic fervor and encouraging them to undertake the task of wiping away the humiliations imposed upon China by the imperialist forces in the West and Japan. The second half of Napoleon's expression was that when China wakes up it will shake the world. Therefore, Napoleon's expression as used in this poem also indicated a bright future for China. This combination of China's past glory, current humiliation and hope for the future further endorsed the message that the collapse of the Qing Empire would mean the collapse of China which would, like Poland and India, became a colony of western imperialist powers. Therefore, loyalty to the Emperor was essential to the survival of China. From this perspective, patriotism was no longer an abstract concept but connected to the love of the Qing Empire.

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⁴ Yu Fu & staff from Wuxi Sandeng School, *Mengxue duben quanshu* (Elementary Readers), Shanghai: Wenming shuju, 1902, preface to vol.3.

⁵ Ibid, p.1b.

Such advocacy of patriotism, reflected in political reform, was in support of a constitutional monarchy. For example, Jiang Fu (1866-1911), one of Luo Zhenyu's (1866-1940) partners in both scholarship and political activities, proposed that Japan's modern education system and textbooks be introduced into China. Jiang was also involved in the establishment of the Agricultural Society and the publication of the society's bulletin. In the preface to his *Junior Primer for Moral Education (Mengxue chuji xiushen shu)* which was intended for the first three years of schooling, Jiang Fu stated that this set of textbooks followed the format of the Japanese textbooks for moral education, but the content was based on good deeds and wise advice from Chinese history and well-known contemporary people; there were also some stories of foreigners.⁶ As a textbook of ethics, Jiang Fu included content supporting the Qing court. For example, the following is from a lesson entitled "Respecting the Emperor":

Today those who are talking about reform all like to advocate the people's rights, thinking that if everybody can be one's own master, then the country would be strong. This is really empty talk without any roots. Russia is a monarchy. About three hundred years ago, the country was very weak; Russian Emperor, Peter the Great (1672 -1725), started reform and then Russia became one of the strongest countries in the world. Japan's imperial line has not been broken since the country was established. About forty years ago, the emperor's power was replaced [by bakufu] and there were invasions from powerful enemies. The Meiji Emperor then retrieved power and initiated reforms; consequently Japan became the most powerful country in East Asia. From these two examples we can see if we want to strengthen our country, the key issue is to make our country prosper, instead of giving people rights. The Qing court has been ruling the country for several hundred years since its establishment, and people in the whole of the country all admire the emperor's morality wholeheartedly. If today the minds and hearts of people are united, and officials all fulfill their duties properly, literati all focus on their scholarship, and people from all walks of life do best in their own careers, the reform that the Qing court initiated would then be carried out smoothly, and then it would not be difficult for China to keep abreast of powerful countries like Russia and Japan!⁷

Jiang Fu was not the only supporter of a constitutional monarchy. The same arguments and even the same phrases may be found in the writings of Kang Youwei and Liang Qichao. For instance, in 1896 Liang Qichao called for reform in China and used the examples of Russia, Germany and Japan to support his argument. According to his argument, China could become as strong as these three countries if reform measures were implemented immediately. Liang elaborated the case of Russia by focusing on Peter the Great, who traveled to other countries to study new technology and then implemented reforms on his return. Liang said that the reforms changed the fate of the country, and turned a weak Russia into a strong and powerful

⁶ Jiang Fu, Preface to *Mengxue chuji xiushenshu* (Junior Primer for Moral Education) [*Mengxue bao* (Children's Educator), vol.12], p.1a.

⁷ Jiang Fu, ibid, book 6, Lesson 22, p.11b.

nation, and extended its territory by thousands of miles.⁸ Clearly, prior to the 1898 Reform Liang believed that Guangxu Emperor could be China's Peter the Great and bring prosperity to China.

However, the nation-wide promotion of loyalty to the Guangxu Emperor did not elicit the success of the 1898 Reform. It was not until the aftermath of the Boxer Rebellion of 1900-1901 that the Qing government had no choice but to implement reform measures which were proposed during the 1898 Reform. This was the so-called "xinzheng" period that saw the establishment of a modern school system and the end of the civil service examination system. Meanwhile, new ideas such as freedom, people's rights and democracy found their way into Chinese society via media. Accordingly, xinzheng no longer satisfied the nation and there was a strong demand for an end to China's Absolute Monarchy.

Under such pressure, the Qing court in 1905 sent five senior government officials overseas to learn about the political systems in European countries such as Britain, France, Belgium, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, Italy, as well as the United States and Japan. In September 1906 the emperor Guangxu sent out his edict, stating the findings and observations in these officials' reports and announcing the plan of the Qing court regarding political and constitutional reforms. The edict acknowledged that "the key behind the successful stories of these powerful and wealthy countries is their constitutional systems which have the support of their people." This edict went on to say that the Qing court was keen to take on the model of a constitutional monarchy in the way where "the Qing Court would govern while keeping the nation well informed about state affairs." This was a very conservative step, but the Qing court still felt that neither Chinese people nor the government administration were ready for this constitutional change. Therefore, the edict proposed the implementation of reform measures in such areas as government administration structures, laws, education, financial system, and military forces. It was hoped that in a few years the Qing court would review the results of these implemented reforms, consult the political systems in powerful nations, and then make a timetable for constitutional change. The edict concluded with recommendations that in order to prepare themselves for this constitutional change, Chinese people should pay great attention to education, through which they would be loyal to the emperor, become patriotic, compliant and progressive. This long edict was included as the first lesson of Shangwu's Chinese language textbook for upper-level elementary school in 1907.9

From a pedagogical perspective, this long edict is not appropriate for a Chinese language textbook at an upper-level elementary level. The authors and editors of Shangwu were aware

⁸ Liang Qichao, *Bianfa tongyi* (A General Discussion of Reform), in *Yinbingshi heji*, *wenji* (Collected works and essays from the Ice-drinker's Studio, collected essays), 16 ce. reprint., Shanghai: Zhonghua shuju, 1936, 1: 2-3.

⁹ Gao Fengqian, Zhang Yuanji and Jiang Weiqiao, *Zuixin gaodeng xiaoxue guowen jiaokeshu* (The newest version of Chinese language textbook for upper-elementary level), The Commercial Press, 1907, vol.1, pp. 1a – 2b.

of the issue but felt that the inclusion of the edict was a necessary indication that this set of textbooks complied with the Qing government's policy. They demonstrated their political correctness by promoting ideology such as loyalty to the emperor, respecting Confucius, having public interests at heart (e.g. to love one's country like one's own home, and treat others like your own family), being valiant (e.g. to have the qualities of a soldier, being self-disciplined and physically strong); and being pragmatic (e.g. to be skillful in agriculture, manufacture and trading). In addition, this set of textbooks contained detailed information about the constitutional system, aiming to prepare children and the public for the changes in China's political system.¹⁰

As mentioned earlier, this series of Shangwu textbooks was an immediate response to the announcement of the 1904 school system, However, when the 1911 Revolution took place at Wuchang, Zhang Yuanji (1867 - 1959), one of the founders of Shangwu, apparently did not anticipate the successes of the revolution, and thus was not prepared for this political change. Their textbooks were approved and recommended as official textbooks by *xuebu* or the Ministry of Education of the Qing government, and were therefore banned by the newly established republican government. Meanwhile, Lufei Kui (1886-1941) and other likeminded staff members at Shangwu anticipated the end of the Qing throne, and quietly prepared for a new set of textbooks that would comply with the republican ideology. On New Year's Day of 1912 Lufei, together with his colleagues such as Dai Kedun, Chen Yin and Shen Yi, left Shangwu to establish their own publishing house named Zhonghua Book Company. They immediately published the series of textbooks they had secretly composed. Through this timely response to the changes in the political climate, Zhonghua proved to be a huge success. 11

In facing such political and financial changelings posed by Zhonghua, Shangwu fought back by working franticly to revise their late-Qing series of textbooks. In 1913 their revised series of textbooks entered the textbook market, and the term "The Republic" was used as its new brand-name. Although these two companies competed with each other for the textbook market, they adopted the same approach to the composition and revision of their textbooks in order to keep up with the changes in China's political system. Compared with the Shangwu's late-Qing series of textbooks, Zhonghua's series clearly excluded any content relating to the Qing government. Instead, it included content relevant to the republic, such as a description of the flag of the Republic, and lessons extolling Dr. Sun Zhongshan (1866 – 1925), the first provisional president of the Republic of China. Shangwu' quickly followed suit and its republican series claimed that their production aimed to "forester qualified citizens of the

¹⁰ Ibid, "Bianji dayi (Editorial guidelines)."

Yu Xiaoyao & Liu Yanjie, eds. *Lufei Kui yu Zhonghua shuju* (Lufei Kui and Zhonghua Book Company), Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2002, pp. 71, 86-7. Jiang Weiqiao, "Chuangban chuqi zhi Shangwu yinshuguan yu Zhonghua shuju (The early years of the Commercial Press and Zhonghua Book Company), in Zhang Jinglu, *Zhongguo xiandai chuban shiliao* (Documents concerning a modern history of Chinese printing and publishing), Zhonghua shuju, 1959, vol.3, p. 396.

¹² Ibid, pp.87-8.

Republic of China, with a focus on the spirit of freedom and equality, and the virtues of lawabiding and gregariousness."¹³ In the actual revision, like those in Zhonghua, Shangwu also "removed anything related to the Qing court, and the term Zhonghua minguo (The Republic of China) was added to the cover page, in order to meet a contingency and ensure that children would have their textbooks when the school started." After the publication of the first edition of this Republican series, Shangwu continued to appoint experts and scholars to "renovate textbooks" in all categories and at all levels. 14

Clearly, the immediate impact of the 1911 Revolution on the production of school textbooks was mainly political. The content of textbooks had to be revised to be compliant with the changes the 1911 Revolution brought to China's political system. For example, unlike Shangwu's late-Qing version of the Chinese Language Textbook for the upper-elementary level, the Republican edition claimed that politically and ideologically it aimed to promote the spirit of freedom and equality; by promoting the essences of Chinese culture it intended to inspire patriotism among citizens, and to improve people's morality and wisdom which would help combat old customs in society and bring a change to social norms. In other words, along with the language instructions, the authors in Shangwu clearly identified the political, ideological, cultural and social responsibilities of their language textbooks. Shangwu's Republican series of textbooks contained basic information on the political system, constitution and laws in order to improve people's understanding and ability to participate in political events and state affairs. From a linguistic perspective, these textbooks included various writing styles, but excluded edicts and memorial to the throne since these were no longer used by the republican system.¹⁵

For example, its first lesson of the first volume is entitled "Constitutional and Political Systems." After a brief introduction of three types of major political systems, it concludes that "in this world the political systems vary in accordance with each country's history: there are constitutional monarchy, constitutional democracy and republic. Only absolute monarchy is now discarded by almost every country, as it does not suit today's world anymore." ¹⁶ The second lesson contains a detailed account of how the Republic of China was established. The first paragraph legitimizes the 1911 Revolution from a historical perspective: it contains a brief outline of China's political system over thousands of years, and criticizes the slow response of the Qing court to the demand for political and constitutional reforms. It reads:

The political system of our country was originally an absolute monarchy. In the past thousands of years, no matter whether the country was politically stable or in chaos,

¹³ Jiaoyu zazhi (Journal of Education), vol.4, No. 1 (April 1912).

^{14 &}quot;Shangwu yinshuguan xinbian Gongheguo jiaokeshu shuoming" (Notes on the Republican Textbooks newly composed and published by the Commercial Press), in Chen Xuexun, ibid, vol.2, pp 422 -3.

¹⁵ Zhuang Yu and Shen Yi, compl., Gongheguo jiaokeshu gaodeng xiaoxue xin guowen (The Republican Textbooks: new Chinese language textbook for upper-level elementary school). Shanghai: The Commercial Press, 1913, "Bianji dayi" (Editorial guidelines).

¹⁶ Ibid, vol.1. p.1a.

this system had never been challenged. After the collapse of the Ming dynasty the Manchu occupied China. In regard to citizens' rights and responsibilities, the Manchu, as a privileged ethnic group under the Qing government, enjoyed preferential treatment while other ethnic groups, such as Han, Mongol, Moslem and Tibetan, were discriminated against. Because of this injustice people rebelled at times. Especially in recent years the country had experienced unrest, and the Qing court failed in dealing with western powers. The international and political failures of the Qing court stirred up the whole nation, and the demand for constitutional reforms came from provinces one by another. The Qing court promised changes to the political system, but delayed action indicated that the Qing government had no intention of carrying out political reform. Meanwhile, the corruption, political cliques and bribes within the Qing government were getting worse. The accumulated disappointments at the Qing court contributed to the spread of the revolutionary flame. In the end the Qing government lost its control of the country.¹⁷

The second paragraph of this lesson places a picture of the flag of the Republic of China above the account of the uprising at Wuchang in 1911. The third paragraph then outlines how the Republic of China was established:

When the Qing court realized that the people's support had gone, the throne sent its envoy to negotiate with the Republic, but it did not achieve an immediate result. Meanwhile, the rise of separatism in Mongolia and Tibet concerned those who loved the country and did not want any interference by foreign powers. Therefore, they worked hard to mediate between the two parties, and eventually the Qing Court and the Republicans reached an agreement, and consequently China's constitutional system was changed to the republic which valued the five major ethnic groups (Han, Manchu, Mongolian, Moslem, and Tibetans) equally.¹⁸

Compared with the textbooks produced by Zhonghua, Shangwu's Republican series obviously broke the mold of eulogizing; instead, it clearly outlined the biggest and the most important political change in Chinese history. Meanwhile, readers could easily sense the authors' concerns about state affairs and the nation's future.

Nevertheless, the knowledge of constitutionalism was not just included in the textbooks after the 1911 Revolution. Shangwu's late-Qing series of textbooks had already contained ample information of constitutional reforms, explaining the terms and concepts such as state system, political system, constitutionalism, democracy, election, parliament, and members of the parliament. For example, the 1907 version of the language textbook for upper-elementary level, as mentioned earlier, placed Guangxu's edict of preparing for constitutional reforms as the first lesson of the first volume, and was followed by the second lesson entitled "constitutional monarchy," which explained the concepts of "absolute monarchy,"

¹⁸ Ibid, pp. 2a-b.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.1b.

"constitutional monarchy" and "constitutional democracy and republic". In the final paragraph the authors of this textbook expressed their favor of a constitutional monarchy. It reads:

The system of the constitutional monarchy works this way: the throne governs and the public can supervise the government by voicing their opinions. This will balance the power of the throne and people, and ensure a process in which the throne would consult people, and perfect its political system and policies. Because of these advantages, countries like Britain, Germany and Japan all have this constitutional monarchy. 19

This statement was apparently pitched towards Guangxu's edict, and also reflected the view of the Pro-emperor party. In lessons three and four, the authors provided further information about constitutionalism, ranging from law and tax systems to people's rights and responsibilities under a constitutional system. In volume three, lessons five and six elaborated the system of parliamentary elections; Lesson Seven introduced the justice system in a constitutional monarchy. In these lessons, if the content of praising the Qing dynasty and the call for loyalty to the emperor were deleted, they would be perfectly suitable for the promotion of the republican ideology.

Apart from the Chinese language textbooks, those in history and geography also contain information on constitutionalism, the state and political systems. For example, Shangwu's republican version of the Geography Textbook (volume 6) for upper-elementary level includes a general introduction of the state and political systems in other continents and countries. It pointed out that Russia and Japan both changed from an absolute monarchy to a constitutional monarchy; however of these two countries the system in Japan was superior. Regarding constitutional democracy, the author explains that it is a form of national government where the president is elected by the people; and the term of a president is fixed, and his/her power is restrained by law which guides the operation of the government. The author then concludes that "This is the most civilized political system in today's world; the countries with this form of government are the French government in Europe, the United States in America and China in Asia."²⁰ This admiration for constitutional democracy is evident in the portrayed history of North America where people fought for independence and established the republican states. For this author, the great achievement of the United States of America was not limited to its journey from colonies to an independent nation, but to its quick rise from newly established republic to world economic power. This perhaps draws a sharp contrast to China, one of the oldest civilizations in the world but economically weak. However since China is now a newly established republic the author uses the American

¹⁹ Gao Fengqian, Zhang Yuanji and Jiang Weiqiao, ibid, vol.1, p.3b.

²⁰ Zhuang Yu and et all., Gongheguo jiaokeshu gaodeng xiaoxue xin dili (The Republican Textbooks: new Chinese geology textbook for upper-level elementary school), Shanghai: Commercial Press, 1913, vol.6, p.18a.

example to encourage students, new citizens of the republic, to make China as powerful as America.

This 1913 geography textbook also provides an opposing case—Mexico, a republican political system, where the president abused his power and ruled the country like a despot. In 1911, the revolutionary army surrounded the capital city, and changed the government by driving out the president, initiating a constant stream of political and military strife in which revolts broke out frequently. The paragraph concludes: "The foundation of the republican state is not yet firm."

Besides the Mexican example this 1913 textbook listed other republican states in the West Indies that shared the same fate.²² This sounds a note of warning to students: the republican form itself could not guarantee a country's prosperity if its president held absolute power. China had just established a republican government, but there would still be a long way ahead for China to become a modern nation as strong as America.

In brief, the mode of modern Chinese textbooks was established by Shangwu after the proclamation of the 1904 school system. The initial impact of the 1911 Revolution on the textbooks was political and ideological rather than pedagogical. The revolution helped create the two competitive book publishers, but their early republican textbooks shared similarities in both content and design. Above all, these textbooks witnessed and recorded one of the most important changes in Chinese history.

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²² Ibid., p.11a.

²¹ Ibid., p.10b.