

The Translation of Ethics: The problem of Wang Guowei

Joyce C. H. Liu

Graduate Institute for Social Research and Cultural Studies
National Chiao Tung University, Taiwan

Abstract: Wang Guowei's translations of utilitarian ethics and education theory reveal clearly the role that he played at Education World and as a Chinese intellectual. His participation in the public discourse fit into the plans of Luo Zhenyu both at the journal and later at the Ministry of Education of the late Qing government. Those theories of ethics and education Wang and Luo introduced became the main axis of Chinese ethical thought throughout the twentieth century; they defined the terms in which the subject related to society or the state. This essay points out that, during his exploration of the limits of Western and classical Chinese ethics, Wang's own philosophical writings at the time analyzed the limitations of dualism in the ethical discourse both in the West and in Chinese classical philosophy. Wang demonstrated a critique of utilitarianism and life-ism (生生主義) that was popular at the time. As well as a critique, he also developed an aesthetic and ethical view: no-life-ism (無生主義).

Keywords: *psyche-politics, genealogy of ethics, ethical subject, utilitarian ethics, moral evolution, late Qing intellectuals, early modern China, cultural translation, Wang Guowei, Luo Zhenyu*

1. Preface: the Translation of Ethics

The aim of this paper is to discuss the complex process of the translation of ethics during the late Qing Dynasty, when rapid and profound epistemic changes took place in the world of Chinese scholarship. The concept of ethics, often politicized, or even phrased in physiological terms, was highly valued and drawn into almost all intellectual writings. This is true in the works of Yan Fu (嚴復), Liang Qichao (梁啟超) and Kang Youwei (康有為), and also in large numbers of translations in various fields, including sociology, politics, psychology, and education. The translation of ethics was always complex, and each translated work underwent a process of localization in which diverse epistemic frames overlaid and interacted with each other. The result of these interactions was a shift in the basic understanding of ethics as new concepts were introduced and instituted into a discourse of Chinese modernity.

As an example of these processes, I shall examine the case of Wang Guowei (王國維), a notable translator of modernist texts into Chinese. Wang

contributed a large amount of material to *Education World* (教育世界), a journal that he edited with Luo Zhenyu (羅振玉) between 1901 and 1911, and he also undertook translation tasks for the Qing Ministry of Education after he was given a position there under the patronage of Luo. Wang Guowei's translations of utilitarian ethics and education theory into Chinese at the turn of the twentieth century, along with the massive translations of similar topics that he edited, demonstrated the focus of the intellectual concerns of his time. His participation in the translation and introduction of western educational theories and systems, together with the new educational projects launched by Luo Zhenyu and the Ministry of Education of the late Qing government, affected the path of the modernization of Chinese education system. The teaching of ethics is the core of the modern education system and became the main axis of Chinese ethical thought throughout the twentieth century. In this particular mode of ethical configuration, the subject was prescribed as an ethical subject defined by the society and the state.

I shall examine the complex context related to Wang's translation of ethics, including the mid-nineteenth century Japanese discourse on ethics as well as that in the Western context, but at the same time I shall also discuss the double-edged intellectual work conducted by Wang Guowei. Wang Guowei played an intriguing role as an intellectual who on the one hand was caught up in all earnestness with the conviction shared by the era concerning the importance of translation of ethics and western intellectual disciplines, and on the other hand nevertheless was still a thinker who probed through his own writings to investigate the limits of the epistemological tendencies and frameworks of his time. Wang's writings during that period of time manifested a singular dimension that not only deviated from, but more importantly, also critiqued the texts he translated as well as the writings of his contemporaries. I shall show that, in the following sections of my paper, during the period of time in which he carried out his translation of theories of ethics and education as a dutiful intellectual, Wang also began a series of writing which analyzed the questions of the dualism in Western and classical Chinese ethical thinking, and explored the possibilities of the ontological conditions of experience and knowledge, which would be a radical mode of the thinking of ethics.

2. The translation of "ethics" into *lunli* or *rinri* in the Japanese context

Ethics had become an important subject in Japanese discussions of modernization during the Meiji Enlightenment Movement, which started from the mid-nineteenth century. A large volume of writing on the subject attests to this fact. Notable examples include: Inoue Enryo's *Treatise on*

Ethics; Yujiro Motora's *Intermediate Lessons in Ethical Education*, which was included in Japanese middle school textbooks; Soeda Juichi's translation of Alexander Bain's *Moral Science*; Kiyohiko Nakamura's translation of Henry Calderwood's *The Philosophy of Moral Development*; Tanaka Tosaku's translation of Herbert Spencer's *Principles of Ethics*; Rikizo Nakajima's "Ten Lectures on Ethical Theory"; Inoue Tetsujiro's series of works, including *Commentary on the Imperial Edict on Education* (1891), *Nihon Rinri Ihen* (A Compendium of Japanese Ethics) (1903), *An Introduction to Civil Morality* (1912); and Tetsuro Watsuji's *Ethics as the Study of Man* and *Ethics* (Feng 2004:355; see also Koyasu 2003:101-17).

The first Japanese thinker to translate Western works on ethics was Nishi Amane. He tried several different terms to translate the concept of ethics, but settled on the characters that are read in Chinese as *lunli* (倫理 *rinri* in Japanese) in 1875 (Feng 2004:353-5). However, while Japanese scholars had followed the path of Nishi Amane and chosen classical Chinese characters to translate the Western terms, they actually displaced the terms with the metaphysical structure of Western ethics and erased the etymological meaning of *lun* and *li* as suggested in the *Classic of Rites* and *Classic of Music*. Koyasu (2003) points out that, in his 1891 *Philosophical Dictionary*, Inoue Tetsujiro compares terms from the *Classic of Music* (樂記), *Classic of Rites* (禮記) and *Reflections on Things at Hand* (靜思錄) with the complexities of Western ethical language. In his listing and comparison of the meanings of ethics, Inoue had already placed the Western concept of "the ultimate Good" as the central concern of *rinri/lunli*. Another example is Nishimura Shigeki, who in a lecture entitled "Japanese morality," rejected Western morality and proposed Confucian ethics instead. But Koyasu sees Nishimura's version of the "rules for moral education," modeled on *The Great Learning* (大學), as "a version for modern citizens in modern states." (Koyasu 2003:110) Koyasu argues that, in his definition of ethics, Nishimura uses the character *rin/lun* to gloss "the common state of humankind," and ethics as part of the "basic morality of all humankind," or "the way to behave for humankind." This attempt to "clarify and make explicit the basic order and truth of the common state of humanity" therefore provides the rational basis for his claim in the book *Ethics* that the nation is the highest organizational principle of human relations (Koyasu 2003:115-7).

The concept of ethics popular during the second half of the nineteenth century in Japan, as we have observed, had been fused with the concept of the state. It is no coincidence that the Japanese Ministry of Education published the translation of *Physiologie der Staaten* (*Physiology of the State*) in 1884 by Gustav Adolph Constantin Frantz, the precursor of the Nazi

cultural policy for the concentrated system of education and culture.¹ In this book, Frantz provided a lengthy and complex discussion of political ethics as it relates to the state. The book is divided into two sections: the first deals with the authority of the state, the second, the concept of the state. State authority includes the authority to govern, to legislate and operate courts, to control the military, to defend the country's borders; the concept of the state includes territory, society, the people, sovereignty, the origin of the state, the relationship between the state and popular customs, the basic nature and natural existence of the state, the purpose of the state. The theme of this book concerns not the politic itself, but the idea of the state. Frantz states repeatedly that his subject is "political biology" or "state biology". He sees the state as a natural, organic body, similar to a plant or animal. If the circulations of "fluids" around the body were not smooth, then the state would weaken. The internal organization of the state must be determined by the state's purpose, just as the organs of an animal dominated by its head. The government is the principal organ charged with the task of achieving the goals of the state (Frantz 1870:179-180).

This book is an exemplary case, explicitly promoting the theories of the state as a natural, organic body, while the citizen was the cell of the body, which reflected the educational policy advocated by Ito Hirobumi and Mori Arinori.² It was Mori who proposed the idea of "nationalist education," stressing the inculcation of a patriotic spirit and military discipline in the populace. Mori was also the first supporter of military-style training in schools, which began in 1885 in teacher training institutions. Classes were organized like military units, military-style uniforms were worn, and all aspects of student life were managed as in army camps, from food to bathing to the products students were allowed to use. The military organization of education was an attempt to create a strong and wealthy nation, so military discipline, physical exercise and military skills were promoted in order to instill in every student the qualities of endurance and loyalty. It was hoped that these students would be the military leaders of the next generation. Mori's policies set Japan on the road to militarism.³ Ito, Mori and Inoue

¹ Gustav Adolph Constantin Frantz, "Die Naturlehre des Staates als Grundlage aller Staatswissenschaft" (Leipzig: Winter, 1870). This book developed out of "Physiologie der Staaten" (1957). The Japanese versions were named "Biology of the State" and "Biology of Politics".

² Mori had returned from Europe to Japan in 1884 to take up the position of Minister of Education, and helped Ito Hirobumi to establish new schools at every level, from primary schools up to the imperial universities.

³ Miyahara (1994:67-74). See also Kato (1993) for an account of the links between national consciousness and Japanese studies.

Kowashi were the architects of the patriotic education system, and ethical education was the key plank in their policies.

The convergence of ethics and education launched processes of subjectivation: education, cultivation, discipline, governmentality, socialization and individuation. The national ethical subject was thus formed. Inoue Tetsujiro's 1891 *Commentary on the Imperial Edict on Education* was one of the most widely read texts on how these tasks were to be undertaken. 100,000 copies of the *Commentary* were distributed, and it was widely quoted in textbooks. It provided a lasting framework for early twentieth-century Japanese education. A biological view of the state and a hierarchical understanding of ethics were typical of late nineteenth century ethical thinking, and in this influential pamphlet, we can clearly see how ethical principles had been incorporated into the "organic body" of the state. Ethics provided the models for discussion of educational principles: "A ruler is to his people as parents are to their children," "A nation is like an organic body...The ruler is like the mind, the people like the body and limbs." (Inoue 1891, quoted in Du 1997:33) In *An Outline of Citizen Morality*, Inoue took the thesis even further. He argued that the state was closely linked to citizen morality. Citizen morality was an important part of the education of citizens, and education provided citizens with the fundamental ability to defend themselves and their country.

The state was the organization that controlled the functioning of the entire country. Inoue stressed that sovereignty was the basis of the state, and legal sovereignty lay in the rule of the imperial family. Therefore Shinto, respect for ancestors and loyalty were all used to strengthen the state. Inoue even presented a metaphor of the "the state of the cells", explaining the importance of the loyalty of the cells: the unity of social organizations, the centre of national unity, was imperial rule; and this centre was like a body in relation to its cells. The head was the centre of the body; the cells were all part of the body. If the cells were not loyal, and plotted against the centre, then the body would fall ill (Inoue 1911:180-4). From Frantz's physiological theory of the state to Inoue's *An Outline of Citizen Morality*, similar phrases circulated and recurred from text to text. It is amazing to see that the entire generation of Japanese intellectuals from the mid-nineteenth century to the first half of the twentieth century shared, sometimes outspokenly and sometimes latently, this dominant regime of ethical sensitivity. It is even more amazing to see how the same regime of phrases found its way to recur in the Chinese context.

3. *Education World: the role of Luo and Wang's translations on ethics*

The ethical theories of late nineteenth-century Japan, along with its

education system and educational theory, had a strong presence in the Chinese writings of the period. In *Notes on Books Published in Japan* (東籍月旦), Liang Qichao noted that the Japanese Ministry of Education had issued an order requiring middle school ethical and moral education to proceed in six areas: personal ethics (health, life, knowledge, emotion, will, profession, finance); family ethics (parents, brothers, sisters, children, spouses, relatives, ancestors, servants); social ethics (social order, social progress); national ethics (constitutional law, national law, patriotism, national service, taxation, education, citizens' duties, citizens' rights, international relations); human ethics; and universal ethics (animals, nature, truth, goodness, beauty) (Liang 1999:326-7). This correspondence and subordination of personal ethics in relation to social, national and universal ethics was the prevailing mode of discourse in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century writings of Chinese intellectuals.

An example of the influence of Japanese enlightenment was the establishment of Dongwen Xueshe (東文學社), founded in 1898 by Luo Zhenyu, with the primary objective of educating students with modern western knowledge and training students to translate Japanese textbooks. Classes not only focused on Japanese language, but also included physical exercise, education, history, geography, mathematics, physics, chemistry and science. Luo went to inspect the Japanese education system in 1901, and was deeply impressed by Japan's modern educational thinking and practices, with the result that, during his visit of Japan, Luo bought more than 100 articles on education systems and theories. He began to publish the translations of these articles in the journal *Education World* from 1901, and it became one of the most widely read and influential education journals in late Qing China. Between May 1901 and January 1908, 166 editions were published, containing translations that gave a thorough introduction to foreign education systems and their regulations, principally those in Japan. In the first eighteen editions of the journal, eighty-four examples of charters and regulations were translated (Xie 1999:69).

Zhang Zhidong (張之洞), the chief promoter of the controlled reform launched by late Qing government, who served as the viceroy of Liangguang (兩廣), a member of the Grand Council and founder of the first modern university in Nanjing, was greatly attracted by Luo's experience in Japan. Luo also helped Zhang with his program for the Hubei educational system and the New Deal (新政) in the Ministry of Education of the late Qing Dynasty, according to Li Xizhu, who studied Zhang Zhidong's role in the New Deal and the system after Luo's visit to Japan (Li 2003:115). Luo was later appointed by Zhang as the councilor in charge of the modernization of

education, with responsibility to inspect educational affairs in different places. Luo wrote a large number of essays on education, and proposed a statement of twenty-two methods to enhance the new education system, including establishing elementary schools, middle schools, normal schools, practical schools, museums, libraries, encouraging translation and the publication of textbooks, promoting military physical exercises, and so on (Luo and Zhang 1996:54-6).

The large volume of writings and translations by Luo concerning Japanese education and ethics provided a clear picture of the state of Japanese thinking on these subjects. The arguments in Luo's educational treatise, "Five Educational Necessities" (教育五要), reveal that for Luo, education is a tool of government, and ethics is at its core. The first of his five necessities compares education to "building a house" (營室): "The teacher is like a craftsman, the students his material. School rules are his compass and straightedge, textbooks his axe and chisel." (quoted in Luo and Zhang 1996:40) The second necessity is education in the national religion, language and writing, because these are where the spirit of the nation's people inheres. The third demands that foreigners should not be allowed to teach the youth of the nation; the fourth necessity gives minimum standards for the learning environment. The fifth section states that self-improvement is the precondition of every course of study, and that in the teaching of ethics civic morality should be the focus, with "consideration of the common good."⁴ Each of these five arguments shows signs of Luo's experiences in Japan, and together they constitute an account of education as a tool of government, with ethics as the prime element. Luo's policy suggestions and the educational theory presented in "Five Educational Necessities" and elsewhere demonstrate the significant effect that modern European education

⁴ Luo and Zhang 1996:41. Luo Zhenyu was one of the prime movers behind the reform of the education system. In *Education World* he published a large volume of material on compulsory education, teacher training, schools and education systems. He was also employed in a series of important education positions: overseer of Nanyang public schools; he was invited by Yi Chunxuan, overseer of education in Guangdong and Guangxi, to advise on education in Guangdong; and in Nanjing he established the Jiangsu Teachers' College. In the new government reforms of 1907, the Qing government established an education ministry, and Zhang Zhidong was named head of the ministry. Luo was recommended, and was given the task of reinvigorating China's education system. In the course of his work, he inspected schools in Henan, Shandong, Jiangxi, Anhui, etc. He also published twenty-two specific policy proposals, including amending school charters; developing a teachers' college; establishing middle schools in every region; establishing vocational schools; translating and printing books; establishing libraries, museums and educational exhibits; promoting education in the professions, particularly medicine and the law; military-style exercises at all primary, secondary and higher education institutions, to make the recruiting of a modern army easier (Luo and Zhang 1996:54-6).

systems had on the modernization of China, through the vector of Japanese translations (Luo and Zhang 1996:40-41).

Wang Guowei, who had been a student at Luo's Dongwen Xueshe, was Luo's partner in the publication of the journal. Like Luo, Wang visited Japan, in this case in 1902, on a mission to recruit thirty or forty Japanese-Chinese translators for the school and for *Education World*. Fo (1993b) suggests that Wang was actually the most important voice at the journal, and after he became chief editor in 1904, he had even greater say in planning and editorial decisions. Every edition of the journal had a translation or essay by Wang. The translations included not just educational materials, but also philosophy, psychology, ethics and aesthetics. For example, in 1901 he translated Takagi Ichinosuke's *Education* and Rikitaro Fujisawa's *Arithmetic Classes and Pedagogy*; in 1902, translations of Yujiro Motora's *Ethics* and *Psychology*, Goichiro Makise's *Textbook of Education* and Kuwaki Gen'yoku's *Introduction to Philosophy* appeared; in 1903, Wang translated Henry Sidgwick's (1838-1900) *History of Western Ethics* and published his own *Discussion of the goals of education*; in 1904 Wang's "The aesthetics of Confucius" appeared along with "Schopenhauer on inheritance" based on Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Representation*; in 1905 he wrote "Logic in Zhou and Qin Confucianism"; in 1906 both "Critique of the proposed program and curriculum for advanced education in China" and "Discussion of the core methods of increasing participation in education" appeared.

In 1907 Wang was employed by the Ministry of Education in Beijing of the Late Qing Dynasty, along with Luo Zhenyu. Wang worked as an editor in the libraries department, editing and censoring textbooks. He also continued his work as a translator and commentator. In 1907 he translated *A Short History of European Universities* and Harald Hoffding's *Psychology*; in 1909, *Kindergarten Principles* (Wiggins), *The French Elementary Education System* and *A Short History of World Libraries*; in 1911, "Education in France". These later translations were published in *Xue Bu Guan Bao*, the official publication of the ministry. After the fall of the Qing Dynasty in 1911, Wang went to Japan with Luo to Japan, and his translation career came to an end (See Fo 1993b:374-90).

Recent studies of Wang have placed less emphasis on the philosophical and aesthetic translations and focused more on his translations of Western educational theory (Luo; Tian; Zhou 1996; Xiao 2005). Wang's translations of educational theory and ethics texts all fall within the parameters of nineteenth-century theories of utilitarianism and moral evolution. He had some understanding of the sociology of Fairbanks, logic as presented by

Jevons, and Hoffding's psychology. He had also read the philosophy of the new Kantians like Friedrich Paulsen and Wilhelm Windelband. All of these thinkers were positivists of one kind or another. The ethics of Motora and Sidgwick, which he also translated, were similarly arguments for the utilitarian formula of "the greatest good for the greatest number."

The first book on ethics Wang translated was Yujiro Motora's *Ethics*. Motora believed that Japanese ethical thinking had "failed to progress." If Japan wished to "stand shoulder to shoulder with other nations and take part in the great progression of civilization," then it was necessary to select what could be used from "Japan's ancient ethical thinking" and "take European scientific and social thinking as a reference" in finding "the principles of morality." In his books, Motora states that the good is the "greatest happiness", and that the "marrow" of ethics is "producing a sense of duty" (Inoue 1893, quoted in Fo 2006:36-7). In a classification of human emotions, Yujiro states that it is good to seek the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and that it is good to move with the march of social progress; opposing these is evil. In Yujiro's ethics, modern warfare can be seen as being "in the interest of one's country;" and the interests and development of a nation are a decisive factor in the happiness of the greatest number of its citizens (Inoue 1893, quoted in Fo 2006:48). It is clear that to Yujiro, the good of the country is the highest principle, more important than the good of the individual.

The second book on ethics Wang translated was Henry Sidgwick's *History of Western Ethics*. Sidgwick also supported the pursuit of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and presents a synthesis of the utilitarian tradition following Bentham and Mill.⁵ Sidgwick's ethics is a combination of utilitarianism and "moral intuition." He argues that the correctness of an action determines whether it contributes to human happiness. In order to determine which actions are correct, it is necessary to first find the "reasons" for "being certain that one should act in this way." This exercise of "reason" is carried out under the guidance of self-interest in addition to the principle of the greatest happiness for the greatest number. The moral intuitions that must be applied in this process are the definition of ethics.

The arguments of Yujiro and Sidgwick on moral evolution are reverberations of Herbert Spencer utilitarian ethics, which can be best exemplified in his *Social Statics* (Spencer 1902). Spencer believes that in order to achieve Bentham's aim of the greatest happiness for the greatest

⁵ Other philosophers who cite Sidgwick as an important influence include J. J. C. Smart and R. M. Hare down to Derek Parfitt and Peter Singer.

number, it is necessary to bring the sciences of “animal man” to bear on the subject of “moral man.” He attempts to transfer the biological concept of normal function for the organs of the body into discussions of what he terms “scientific morality” (Spencer 1902:23). Spencer notes that the bodies and spirit of the people should be entrusted to the state to protect and manage. He suggests that there is a manifest analogy between the government of the physical health of the people, and the government of their moral health. He also suggests that the welfare of men’s souls and their bodies can be likewise dealt with by acts of parliament. The society should be defended against moral pestilence in the same way as is done with biological ones (Spencer 1902:194). Spencer’s concepts of the organic society and greatest happiness for the greatest number imply that each individual’s moral consciousness is incorporated into a scientific theory. Individuals can be managed based on the “healthy” or “unhealthy” (or “abnormal”) state of their body and mind. The bad part of the society should be removed from society as required by the necessary process of social evolution.

Spencer’s theories of utilitarianism and moral evolution, and nineteenth-century ethical theory in general, was in fact based on two dualisms: mind-body and good-evil. Japanese moralists, following the nineteenth-century regime of ethics, superimposed theories of physical hygiene onto mental hygiene, and posited rules for the governmentality of the mind to the governmentality of the body. This biological conception of ethics affected the writings of Japanese intellectuals. The state stood at the apex of the utilitarian moral superstructure, and it thus required its citizens to recast their morality and to accept its ethical instruction.

The ethical subject formulated by these discourses on ethics is a subject prescribed for the best interest of the state and is defined by the physiology of the state. Furthermore, this physiological structure of the state treats the human psyche as the object of its governmentality. The core factor in this management, as Foucault pointed out, was the mechanism of the formation of truth basing on the *raison d’État* (2008:29-30). Through the sense of interest, the government can hold on everything that exists for it “in the form of individuals, actions, words, wealth, resources, property, rights and so forth” (2008:45). The autonomy of the individual therefore is essential in the self-governmentality of the regime of ethics. Foucault argued that the subject constituted by the form of reflexivity specific to a certain type of care of the self, the mastery of *tekhne* over *bios*, will be the “ethical subject of truth appears and is experienced” (Foucault 2005: 487). This ethical subject thus appeared and its experience was formed through the knowledge, education and the particular *tekhne* over *bios* at different moments in history.

The significance of such discourse on the ethical subject advocated in the educational and ethical theories translated and introduced by Luo Zhenyu and Wang Guowei lies in the fact that it reflected the sort of discursive mode popular in late nineteenth-century Japan, which in turn affected the path of modernization in late Qing China as well as the early Republic. Liang's project for the "new people" (新民) is certainly based on such a type of molding and shaping, through cultivation and education, of the people into the ethical subject of the modern China. Luo Zhenyu's educational policy and Wang Guowei's translation reinforced such discourse of the ethical subject. Our examination of Luo and Wang's case could have stopped here if not for the more complex role that Wang served at that time, which compels us to complicate the case of translation a step further.

4. Wang Guowei's critique of nineteenth-century ethics

Between 1903 and 1906, Wang was teaching at Tongzhou Teachers' College and Suzhou College of Education. This was the period in which he devoted himself to the study of Western philosophy, ethics and aesthetics. Fo (1993) suggests that Wang lectured on Yujiro Motora's *Psychology* and *Ethics* at Tongzhou in 1903; in Suzhou from 1904 to 1906 he taught classes in self-cultivation (*xiushen*) and ethics. But his writings on ethics, aesthetics and education during this period of time were the results of his own philosophical thinking. They included "Dualism in Ethics" (also known as "On Human Nature"), "An Explanation of *Li*", "The Source of Destiny", "A Review of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*", "Literature and Education", "The Genius of Philosophers and Artists", and "Philosophies of the Dai and Yuan Schools".⁶ In the same period, Wang also produced essays including "The philosophical and educational theories of Schopenhauer", "Educators and the works of Schiller", and "Kant's ethical and religious theories". To fully understand Wang's thoughts, it is necessary to compare these translations on ethics, aesthetics and philosophy with his own philosophical writings.

Many studies have noted that Wang conducted extensive research into Western learning early in his career, and later focused on East Asian moral philosophy and archaeology. He has thus been labeled a conservative. Some

⁶ Fo 1993b:394. Fo also quotes Jiang Xicen, who taught at Jiangsu Teachers' College: "Wang taught self-cultivation and ethics and shared feudal culture, but his areas of instruction differed from the traditional courses. Wang was able to synthesize Chinese and foreign traditions and develop new lectures with an eye to current trends in the country. His lectures were of high quality and popular among the students." Quoted from Jin Demen, *A History of Suzhou Middle Schools*, letter from Jiang Xicen, 1982.10.14.

scholars have argued that Wang's approach to Western thought was always selective, taking only what he needed to support his own position. Others have maintained that Wang fully accepted Western theories while he was in China, and only developed his more conservative, selective approach after 1911 (Lu and Chen 1998:307-8). Such views on Wang, however, overlook the subtle twists of argumentation in Wang's own writings. A careful reading of Wang's work from this period reveals that Wang was gradually producing a critique of contemporary concepts of ethics basing on utilitarianism and social evolution. Marked differences are visible between Wang's radical ethical position against the utilitarianism and evolutionary ethics of his contemporaries.

Wang's direct criticisms of the Spencerian utilitarian ethics reveals his critique of the general consensus on ethics that was prevalent at the time. For him, the belief in "the greatest good of the greatest number" is "just an ethical dream," because "pursuing the greatest happiness while neglecting happiness on the smallest [individual] scale is a denial of one's own conatus [yu]."⁷ (Wang 1904a:1626-7) Wang suggests that this utilitarian logic of ethics follows the dualistic interpretation of human nature, and that the distinction between good and evil is simply a subjective preference based on the utilitarian and teleological interpretation of ethics, the ground on which people "reject desire," not only their own desires but also the desires of others.⁸

Wang's interpretation of ethics and human nature can be seen from his etymological re-examination of the term *lunli*. In an etymological essay, Wang traces the development of the character *li*. In the Duan Yucai version of the ancient *Shuowen Jiezi* dictionary, he writes: "'uncut (*wei li*) jade is called *pu*;' here the term *li* means to cut" (玉未理者為璞，是理為剖析也). In Zheng Yuan's annotations to the *Classic of Music*: "*Li* means to sever." (理者分也) *Li* therefore represents the analytical function of severing and cutting. *Li* also refers to any systematic classification of objects, or the order of things. But Wang notes that in classical Chinese thought, rationality or reason (the modern term still includes the character *li* 理) was only seen as applicable to the issue of truth and untruth; it was not meant to make moral judgments about people. He writes, "*Li* is a faculty of the human mind, used only to analyze things."⁹

For Wang, the distinction between good and evil is an arbitrary act. Wang

⁷ 「倫理學者之夢想而已」(Wang 1904a:1626-7).

⁸ 「主張自己之生活之欲，而拒絕他人之生活之欲。」(Wang 1905:1572)

⁹ 「所謂理者，不過謂吾心分析之作用，及物之可分析者而已。」(Wang 1904d:1535)

argues that among the classical Chinese thinkers, only Confucius, Gaozi, Su Dongpo and Wang Anshi really accept human nature as it is. The other philosophers, such as Laozi, Zhuangzi, Han Feizi, Huainanzi, Mencius, Xunzi, Dong Zhongshu and others, inevitably fall into the trap of dualism. An example of a monist theory of human nature is that expressed by Confucius: “Humans are basically similar in nature, but their customs differ greatly.” (性相近，習相遠) Human nature cannot be categorized as good or evil, but can develop in any way just as water will flow indiscriminately in any direction. Gaozi extended this idea, saying: “What we call human nature is life... human nature is neither good nor evil,” and “human nature is like turbulent water. Open a channel to the east, and it will flow east. Open a channel to the west and it flows west.”¹⁰ Wang Anshi stated: “*Xing* and *qing* (human nature and our responses to the world) are one. Human emotions/responses have external causes, but they exist in the human *xin* (heart/mind) because of *xing* (human nature). *Qing* (responses to the world) is the externally caused human emotions. Human nature is the root of our responses to the world, and our responses to the world represent human nature in practice.”¹¹ Su Dongpo wrote: “There is no-one who does not suffer from hunger or cold or sexual desire. I say to you, when you are hungry, you eat; when you are thirsty, you drink. Sexual desire is a part of human nature, is it not?”¹² Wang discusses these writers one by one and points out that for them human nature or human emotional responses are not to be differentiated into moral categories of good and evil.

It is on the basis of such a monist conception of human nature that Wang elaborates his critique of Zhu Xi’s (朱熹) understanding of *li* as in the word *tianli* 天理 (the natural [and normative] order). According to Zhu Xi, “the heavens have their *li* (order); life has its *li*; human nature has its *li*.”¹³ This account, Wang suggests, “posits a *li* with its own objectivity, pre-existing the heavens, the earth and man. The *li* (order) of the heart and mind is only a part of it.” Because of this account by Zhu Xi, who became the most important Confucian philosopher in a millennium, Wang argues that from the Song Dynasty onwards, *li* developed a metaphysical meaning (quoted in Wang 1904c:1547). Wang rejects this neo-Confucian metaphysical understanding of

¹⁰ 告子：「生之謂性，性無善無不善也」，「性如湍水也，決諸東方則東流，決諸西方則西流。」(Quoted in Wang 1904c:1518, 1524)

¹¹ 王安石：「性情一也，七情之為發於外而存於心，性也，七情之發於外者情也。性者，情之本，情者，性之用也。」(Quoted in Wang 1904c:1518, 1524)

¹² 蘇東坡：「人生而莫不有飢寒之患，牡牝之欲，今告於人曰，飢而食，渴而飲，男女之欲不出於人性也，可乎？」(Quoted in Wang 1904c:1518, 1524)

¹³ 朱熹：「天即理也，命即性也，性即理也」(Quoted in Wang 1904c: 1547)

li, suggesting that “this ‘objective’ *li* exists only in the subjective mind,” and that causal relations among physical events and objects are actually “born from the rules connecting concepts. When connections between concepts are repeated over and over in the mind, we begin to feel that the connections are necessary between them, and gradually come to think that these connections also exist in objective reality.”¹⁴ Wang believes that *li* consists in a subjective understanding and connections among concepts, but philosophers project this subjective *li* onto objective reality. It is through just this transfer of subjective certainty onto objective certainty that the objective order of nature and the causal necessity was determined and was taken as the given, or even as the absolute truth. Concepts such as *taiji* (the ultimate), *xuan* (metaphysics), *dao* (the way) and *li* in Chinese, or spirit/geist in the West, are such subjective-transferred terms and are all subjective “fantasies” (幻影) (Wang 1904c:1551-2). Wang criticizes post-Song Confucian thought for turning *li* into a metaphysical issue, and setting up an opposition between *li* (order) and *yu* (desire/conatus).¹⁵ Wang believes that these arguments drew ethics into the structure of metaphysics (Wang 1904c:1554).

In “Dualism in ethics” (1904) he makes a sharper critique of dualism. He argues that all dualisms are self-contradictory, and gives examples: the Mencius-Xunzi debate over whether human nature is good or evil; *xing* (性 human nature) or *qing* (情 emotion/responses to events); *li* (理 order/principle) and *qi* (器 utensil/the material world). Wang argues that any empirical attempt to distinguish good from evil, would certainly find that human nature does not fit into this simplistic dualism. The poles of good and evil appear in our experience as a mass of contradictory facts, none of which can be effectively analyzed as exclusively associated with either pole. In order to maintain dualist positions, philosophers have had to contrive forced arguments that ultimately reveal the inherent contradictions of dualist thought.¹⁶ Each of these philosophers was clearly setting up an opposition between the “self” and the “material world”. They put forward arguments

¹⁴ 「觀念聯合之法則而生，即由觀念之互相連續者屢反復於吾心，於是吾人始感其間有必然之關係，遂疑此關係亦存於客觀上之外物。」 (Wang 1904c:1548)

¹⁵ “Only when desire is absent is human consciousness able to reason.” “Natural order and human desire are opposed. Where there is a measure of human desire, the level of natural order is reduced; maintaining natural order represents a victory over human desire.” 「人心莫不有知，蔽於人欲則亡天理矣。」 「天理與人欲相對，有一分人欲，即減卻一分天理，存一分天理，即勝得一分人欲」 (Wang 1904c:1554).

¹⁶ As well as Zhu Xi, Lu Xiangshan and Wang Yangming, philosophers such as Zhou Dunyi, Zhang Dai, Cheng Mingdao and Cheng Yichuan all developed this kind of theory. In Wang’s papers he notes that Zhu Xi saw the material world as impure; that Lu Xiangshan wrote of the evil of objects; and that Wang Yangming wanted to drive out the desire for objects.

denying the self, saying that the evil of material things must be driven away, and desire for material things must be negated.

Wang was sharp in his critique of dualism in Chinese Confucian thought because, to him, the good/evil dualism was the key to the dispute in political, moral and religious thinking. The Zoroastrian Ahura Mazda and Angra Mainyu, the Jewish Jehovah and Satan, and the ancient Greek Apollo and Dionysus are all developments of dualist philosophies. Dualism also exists in Christian thought, as the organization of the world is seen as the work of God, while the material of the world is the Devil (Wang 1904c: 1532-3). The cause of the dualisms discussed by Wang, and the opposition of order and desire in neo-Confucian ethics, is the placing of ethics in a metaphysical framework that confuses subjective order with objective order, he argues. Plato started Western dualism by ascribing a moral tone to reason, giving it the role of controlling physical desire. Wang responds to this tradition saying: "Evil arises not from a lack of reason, but from causes that are allied to reason." Through the considered and meticulous use of reason, Wang says, a man can take over his country; encroach on neighboring states; and become leader of the world. If any stand in his way, he can "slash and hack and slaughter and massacre until there is no resistance left; mercilessly chop up and imprison millions of citizens; at the same time do whatever his cabal want him to and give them whatever they desire. In this way, he can achieve even his most ambitious goals."¹⁷ (Wang 1904c: 1558) The clearest reasoning can create the greatest evil. However, the metaphysical concept of "truth" is conflated with the ethical concept of "goodness". For this reason, Wang argues, reason can be at most a mode of behavior; it cannot serve as a standard for behavior (Wang 1904c: 1560).

Wang suggests that ethics is unteachable, like art. It can only be perceived directly through experience (Wang 1904c: 1590). In Wang's view, *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is a supreme form of human aesthetic and ethical experience. *The Dream of the Red Chamber* displays the full range of conflicting human experience on earth: tragedy and joy, contentment and hardship, hope and weariness. It draws the reader into the world of human desire, and lets her luxuriate in its brilliance; but more than this, it makes the reader experience human life, and through her experience of human desires, she can attain insight and an awakening, and thus become free from those desires. Wang believes the aesthetic and ethical highpoint of *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is Jia Baoyu's renunciation from the world: it is

¹⁷ 「翦之除之屠之刈之而無所顧，驅億萬之民於刀鋸縲紲而無所憫，然且厚酬其黨類及助己者而無所吝，以達其最大之目的。」(Wang 1904c: 1558)

emancipation. This emancipation is to retreat from one's immediate subjective will/desire and at the same time to understand the complex will/desire of all people in the world (Wang 1904c: 1623). Wang stresses that this emancipation is the polar opposite of the *shengsheng zhuyi* (life-ism 生生主義) that was popular at the time. "Life-ism" aimed to preserve and to "maximize the quantity of life," and was in fact the cause of the competitive, dog-eat-dog society that Wang felt was coming into existence. By contrast, the *wusheng zhuyi* (no-life-ism 無生主義) which can be experienced through *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is the basis for emancipation from the universe (Wang 1904c: 1627). The ethical experience that creates this emancipation in *The Dream of the Red Chamber* is the complete objectification (in the sense used by Schopenhauer) of the human conatus, which the reader experiences in artistic form, and consequently attains a higher level of consciousness (Wang 1904c: 1631-4). The aesthetic experience that Wang elaborates in his account of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*, and the "no-life-ism" which he considers, falls outside considerations of profit or loss; it is a forgetting of the dichotomy between the self and the world. This makes it not only an aesthetic experience, but also a radical ethical position.

5. The questions of ethics

The interpretation of ethics is inevitably imbedded within a regime of knowledge and of the sensible of particular moments in history. This regime of knowledge is a systematized reflection of our everyday experiences and thus is the foundation of our sensible world. With the great changes that occurred at the turn of the twentieth century, intellectuals scrambled to translate new knowledge. Each of the translations betrayed deeper discursive logic behind its interpretive scheme. Through incorporation into a mix of different perspectives, invisible changes are wrought on the hidden logic of a piece of writing, or on concepts like *li*.

Ethics is the key concept in the establishment of the subject, because ethics involves the form of relationships between self and others. During the process of modernization in both China and Japan, ethics was viewed as extremely important. In his research on ethical issues, Foucault notes that knowledge, power and ethics have been locked in reciprocal relationships through historical processes, forming a genealogical structure that affects the truths we perceive, the scheme for the proper use of power we recognize, and the modes of moral agents that we establish for ourselves. All ethical models relate to the construction of the subject in a given period of history, and to

styles of government.¹⁸ This is true of explanatory and judgmental ethical models, models that appeal to the moral feelings of the subject, models of subjectivation of the self, and even the highest ideals to which the subject looks.

Research into the concept of ethics during the late Qing intellectual revolution should aim to problematize the question of ethics. In what context of scientific knowledge, intellectual climate and symbolic systems were ethical translations constructed? In what academic disciplines were they developed? What traditional Chinese vocabularies were used and displaced to help them achieve acceptability? What *logos* lay concealed in the translated texts, but had significant effects on the Chinese discourse? The ethical theories popular in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century had incorporated concepts from biology and evolution, and this trend fixed the moral ties between the individual and the group, establishing an opposition between progress and degeneration. Good and evil were judged within the mind-body dualism, and techniques were developed to deal rationally with one's own mind and of others. As Japan and China imported Western knowledge, they also imported the *logos* behind these knowledge systems. The venerated concepts of *dao* (the way) and *li* (reason) proved to be keywords that can be appropriated into the ethical system of a political authority. While *dao* and *li* are woven into a linguistic texture on the surface, the borrowed utilitarian and evolutionist system and new epistemological implications of the terms are internalized, reverberated and reinforced in later texts in various modifications.

Wang Guowei's translations of the utilitarian ethics and education theory revealed clearly the role that he played as an intellectual in helping to institute modern ideologies. His participation both in the publication of the journal *Educational World* and later in the Ministry of Education of late Qing government fit into the plans of Luo Zhenyu. The impact that Wang and Luo together produced on the Chinese intellectual world was profound. These early twentieth century theories of ethics and education became the main groundwork of Chinese ethical thoughts throughout the twentieth century.

Wang's philosophical writings, however, reached another level. In the series of writings wherein he explored the limits of Western and classical Chinese ethics, he grappled with the limitations of dualism. Wang Guowei

¹⁸ "First, a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to truth through which we constitute ourselves as subjects of knowledge; second, a historical ontology of ourselves in relation to a field of power through which we constitute ourselves as subjects acting on others; third, a historical ontology in relation to ethics through which we constitute ourselves as moral agents." (Foucault 2006:262).

criticized intellectuals such as Liang Qichao who clung to utilitarian and political teleological aims and therefore could not practice philosophical thinking. He criticized utilitarianism and life-ism that were popular at his time, especially the ones advocated by Liang Qichao and Yan Fu. As an alternative, he developed a notion of no-life-ism. Life-ism to Wang Guowei is the continuous expansion and preservation of life, while no-life-ism is the subtraction of personal subjective will of life. No-life-ism is not a negative or pessimistic account of life. Through retreating from the position of the subject that submits to the utilitarian and teleological purposes of politics, the self could obtain a clearer state of mind. Thus, even as he translated dozens of utilitarian and evolutionary ethical theories, Wang's own radical ethical position maintained a level of detachment and critique against the politicized teleological concepts of ethics shared by his contemporaries and Luo Zhenyu.

Works cited

- Amelung, Iwo. 2001. 'Weights and Forces: The Introduction of Western Mechanics into Late Qing China' in Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung & Joachim Kurtz (ed.) *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge & Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*. Leiden, Boston, Kln: Brill. 197-232.
- Bonner, Joey. 1986. *Wang Kuo-wei: An Intellectual Biography*. Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England: Harvard University Press.
- Dan, Shilian. 2000. 'Splits in modernity and the contradictions of Wang Guowei,' available online at <http://big5.southcn.com/gate/big5/www.southcn.com/nflr/llzhuanti/Indjt/xgwz/200606190439.htm> (Last accessed 2007.11.27).
- Du, Wuzhi 杜武志. 1997. 日治時期的殖民教育 *Colonial Education under Meiji Japan*. Taipei: Taipei County Cultural Center.
- Feng, Tianyu 馮天瑜. 2004. 新語探源——中西日文化互動與近代漢語字術語生成 (*The Etymology of Neologisms: The Interactions of Western, Chinese and Japanese Cultures and the Production of Modern Terminology in Chinese Characters*). Beijing: Zhong Hua Shu Ju.
- Fo, Chu 佛雛. 1993a. 王國維與江蘇兩所師範學堂 (Wang Guowei and two Jiangsu education colleges). 王國維哲學美學論文輯佚 (*Wang Guowei: Collected Philosophical and Aesthetic Works*). Shanghai: East China Normal University Press. 391-399.
- . 1993b. 王靜安先生年譜訂補 (Supplements to the biography of Mr Wang Jing'an). 王國維哲學美學論文輯佚 (*Wang Guowei: Collected*

- Philosophical and Aesthetic Works*). Shanghai: East China Normal University Press. 374-390.
- . 2006. 跋《倫理學》(An afterword to *Ethics*). 王國維哲學譯稿研究 (Wang Guowei's *Philosophical Translations*). Beijing: Social Sciences Academic Press. 35-48.
- Foucault, Michel. 1974. 'The Eye of Power' in Colin Gordon (ed.) *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews & Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon Books. 146-165.
- . 2004. *Naissance de la clinique*. Translated by Jian Beicheng. Beijing: Yilin Press.
- . 2006. 'On the Genealogy of Ethics: An Overview of Work in Progress' in Paul Rabinow (ed.) *Essential Works of Foucault 1954-1984, Volume I, Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. New York: The New Press. 253-280.
- . 2005. *The Hermeneutics of the Subject: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1981-1982*. Edited by Frédéric Gros, translated by Graham Burchell. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- . 2008. *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978-1979*. Edited by Michel Senellart, translated by Graham Burchell. NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Fryer, John (tr.). 1896. *Methods for Controlling the Mind and Avoiding Pathology*. Shanghai: Shanghai Gezhi Shu Shi.
- Inoue, Tetsujiro. 1991. 'An outline of citizen morality' in Tokyo Office of Education. *Teaching Materials for Self-Cultivation Classes*. Tokyo: Ozorasha. 180-4.
- Japanese Society for the Promotion of Confucianism (ed.). 1997. *Japanese Confucianism*. Tokyo: Ozorasha.
- Kato Nihei. 1993. *A History of Japanese Education*. Tokyo: Ozorasha.
- Koyasu Nobakuni. 2003. 'Japan's Confucian tradition and the development of modern Chinese: the emergence of the concept of 'ethics' and its rethinking in Confucianism' in *East Asian Confucianism: Critique and Method*. Taipei: Himalaya Foundation. 101-117.
- Kurtz, Joachim. 2001. 'Coming to Terms with Logic: The Naturalization of an Occidental Notion in China' in Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung & Joachim Kurtz (ed.) *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge & Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*. Leiden, Boston, Kln: Brill. 147-176.
- Levenson, Joseph R. 1965. *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate: A Trilogy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

- Li, Xizhu 李細珠. 2003. 張之洞與清末新政研究 (*Zhang Zhidong and the Late Qing New Deal*). Shanghai Publishing.
- Liu Jihui 劉紀蕙. 2006. 「心的治理」與生理化倫理主體：以《東方雜誌》杜亞泉之論述為例 (Governing the mind' and the subject in biological theories of ethics: Du Yaquan and *The Orient Magazine*). 中國文哲研究集刊 (*Bulletin of the Chinese Institute of Literature and Philosophy*). no. 29. 85-121.
- Lu, Xiqi and Chen Xinfen 魯西奇 and 陳勤奮. 1998. 純粹的學者：王國維 (*Wang Guowei: the Pure Scholar*). Wuhan: Hubei Education Press.
- Luo, Kun and Zhang Yongshang 羅琨 and 張永山. 1996. 羅振玉評傳 (*Luo Zhenyu, a Biography*). Nanchang: Bai Hua Zhou Wenyi Chubanshe.
- Luo, Gang 羅鋼. 2007. 王國維與泡爾生 (Wang Guowei and Friedrich Paulson). available online at <http://www.literature.org.cn/Article.asp?ID=21611> (last accessed 2007.11.27).
- MacIntyre, Alasdair. 1990. *Three Rival Versions of Moral Enquiry: Encyclopaedia, Genealogy and Tradition*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Matsudaira Naosuke. 1932. *Nishimura Shigeki: Volume 2*. Tokyo: Nihon Kodokai.
- Miyahara Seiichi. 1994. 'Formation of the education system under imperial rule' in *A History of Education*. Tokyo: Ozorasha.
- Nishimura Shigeki. 1992. *Japanese Morality*, in Institute for the History of Modern Thought in Japan, tr. Ma Cai. *History of Modern Thought in Japan: Volume 1*. Beijing: Commercial Press.
- Pym, Anthony. 2006. 'On the social and the cultural in translation studies' in Anthony Pym, Miriam Shlesinger and Zuzana Jettmarová (ed.) *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*. 1-25.
- . 1998. *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing. Reprinted Beijing: Foreign Language Teaching and Research Press, 2007.
- Schäfer, Ingo. 2001. 'Natural Philosophy, Physics and Metaphysics in the Thought of Tan Sitong: The Concepts of *Qi and Yitai*' in Michael Lackner, Iwo Amelung & Joachim Kurtz (ed.) *New Terms for New Ideas: Western Knowledge & Lexical Change in Late Imperial China*. Leiden, Boston, Kln: Brill. 257-269.
- Scott, Charles. 1990. *The Question of Ethics: Nietzsche, Foucault, Heidegger*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press.
- Spencer, Herbert, tr. Zhang Wuxiong. 1998. *Social Statics*, English-Chinese edition. Beijing: The Commercial Press.

- Tian, Zhengping 田正平. 1996. 留學生與中國教育近代化 (*Students Overseas and the Modernization of Chinese Education*). Guangzhou: Guangdong Education Publisher.
- Wang, Guowei 王國維. 1904a. 紅樓夢評論 (A review of *The Dream of the Red Chamber*). 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Works of Mr Wang Jing'an of Haining*). republished 1979. Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press. Volume 4, 1592-1635.
- . 1904b. 原命 (The Origin of Destiny). 海寧王靜安先生遺書 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Works of Mr Wang Jing'an of Haining*). republished 1979. Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press. Volume 4, 1747-1755.
- . 1904c. 論性 (On Human Nature). 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Works of Mr Wang Jing'an of Haining*). republished 1979. Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press. Volume 4, 1513-1534.
- . 1904d. 釋理 (An Explanation of *Li*). 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Works of Mr Wang Jing'an of Haining*). republished 1979. Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press. Volume 4, 1534-1560.
- . 1905. 叔本華之哲學及其教育學說 (Schopen-hauer's philosophy and educational theory). 海寧王靜安先生遺書 (*Works of Mr Wang Jing'an of Haining*). republished 1979. Taipei: Taipei Commercial Press. Volume 4, 1560-1592.
- Wang, Hui 汪暉. 2004. 現代中國思想的興起 (*The Rise of Modern Thought in China*). Beijing: Joint Publishing Company.
- Wu, Qiantao 吳潛濤. 1994. 日本倫理思想與日本現代化 (*Ethical Thought and Modernization in Japan*). Beijing: China Renmin University Press.
- Xia, Zhongyi 夏中義. 2006. 王國維：世紀苦魂 (*Wang Guowei: Bitter Heart of the Century*). Beijing: Peking University Press.
- Xiao, Lang 肖朗. 2005. 王國維與西方教育學理論的導入 (Wang Guowei and the introduction of Western education ethics). 中國學術論壇 (*China Forum*). available online at <http://www.frchina.net/data/person/Article.php?id=2843> (last accessed 2007.11.27).
- Xie, Zhangfa 謝長法. 1999. 清末教育改革家羅振玉 (Wang Guowei: late Qing educational reformer). 歷史月刊 (*Historical Monthly*). 1999.12. 68-71.
- Zhou, Guping 周谷平. 1996. 近代西方教育理論在中國的傳播 (*The Spread of Modern Western Education Ethics in China*). Guangzhou: Guangdong Jiaoyu Press.

