A World History of Higher Education Exchange

The Legacy of American Scholarship

Teresa Brawner Bevis

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Teresa Brawner Bevis
Fayetteville, AR, USA

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Preface

Writing from the perspective of the nineteenth century, Horace Mann believed that education, beyond any other device of human origin, was the great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance-wheel, as he put it, of the social machinery. Mann, the newly appointed secretary of America's first board of education, was thinking locally but also globally. He would visit every American state to observe its education systems first-hand, and, in 1843, he traveled to Europe with a similar mission. Even then, visionary educators were looking to the future, and the future was international. Two centuries have passed, but his broadly held conviction remains steadfast. Knowledge is a great equalizer, and the migration of education is indeed a balance-wheel of international social machinery. Around this idea has grown a philosophy and a worldwide industry, designed to endorse and advance global scholarship, with the United States its undisputed leader. This book tells that story.

To clarify terms and definitions for the reader, a few explanations are due. The terms "foreign student" and "international student" are used interchangeably throughout this text. Until the late twentieth century, the term "foreign" was most-often employed, but later it came to be regarded by some as politically incorrect. More recently, the term has come back into fashion. By definition, "foreign student" is more precise, as it simply means a student from another country. Rather than attempting to weigh the legitimacy of either term, both are used interchangeably.

Terms for the Middle East also require some explanation. Alternative terms such as Arab World or Islamic World, which are generally less accurate with regard to ethnicity or religious make-up, do correctly emphasize

the preeminence of Arabic and Islam in the historical development of the Middle East's culture and identity. Early uses of the term "Middle East" were most often references to the area between Mesopotamia and Burma, somewhere between what Westerners termed the "Near East" and the "Far East"—terms that have now fallen into disuse.

One of the first uses of the term Middle East can be found in a 1902 article penned by naval strategist Alfred Thayer Mahan, published in a British journal called the *National Review*. In it, Mahan used the term Middle East to designate the territory between Arabia and India. The article was reprinted in *The Times*, followed by 20 more articles by another author, Sir Ignatius Valentine Chirol, who employed the term for the same region. The modern definition took shape after World War II, when the region was partitioned into various nations. In 1957, the Eisenhower Doctrine described the Middle East as the area between and including Libya on the west and Pakistan on the east, with Syria and Iraq on the north and the Arabian Peninsula to the south, plus Sudan and Ethiopia. In 1958, the US State Department further defined the region as including only Egypt, Syria, Israel, Lebanon, Jordan, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Bahrain, and Qatar. Today the definition has expanded to include much of North Africa, and also Iran, thus the acronym MENA (Middle East and North Africa).

Regarding the use of language, the author's limited understanding of Chinese and its many variations will be evident. Where possible and appropriate, Chinese translations or equivalents of names and terms are included. In the Romanization of Chinese personal names and place names, the simplified spelling is generally used; however, when relying on older sources that utilize Wade-Giles or some other Romanization system, the original spelling has sometimes been retained. In cases where an older form has become an accepted standard, such as Hong Kong, the popular term is applied.

Regarding Arabic, the author respectfully borrows Colonel H.R.P. Dickson's disclaimer from his 1959 book *The Arab of the Desert, A Glimpse into Badawin Life in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia*. "I wrote what I heard," Dickson said, however far removed from literary forms. "I lay no claim to a profound knowledge of classical or literary Arabic, and I therefore crave the indulgence of those learned in these matters."

The purpose of this book is to combine 20 years of research and several previous publications into a single updated volume that provides an overview of the history of international higher education exchange. It is mostly

intended for those involved with or interested in the fields of international higher education exchange or comparative education—faculty, university administrators, policymakers, support service personnel, exchange program personnel, researchers, admissions officers, advisers, graduate students in international degree programs, foreign student alumni—as they propel this worldwide enterprise. It is designed to serve as a brief, but foundational, historical reference, a sequential chronicle of knowledge migration, and America's unprecedented legacy of scholarly exchange.

Fayetteville, AR, USA Teresa Brawner Bevis

Acknowledgments

Because this text is a compilation of my earlier works on the topic, which include five books and a number of journal articles, I wish to acknowledge and thank those who have provided help, friendship, criticism, and support, with this new volume and also with the previous projects.

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Pederson of Washington DC, who reminded me about the significance of smaller colleges and community colleges in the history of international student exchange, was a welcome voice. I thank Steve Courtney, Connecticut historian and author, for taking time to write thoughtful and much-appreciated reviews for my publishers, and for lending me some rare Chinese Educational Mission (CEM) information, which he was kind enough to trust me to return. The Connecticut Historical Society was likewise gracious to help me find old photographs of Yale and the CEM boys. I also thank the staff at the Library of Congress in Washington DC, for devoting late hours to assist me in finding dozens of obscure sources. I thank the City of New York. The many years spent working in the fashion and garment districts, blissful requirements of my first career, served to imbed my appreciation of human energy and capacity, and of the value of diversity, insights that have served me well.

Appreciation is due HRH Princess Areej Ghazi of Jordan, my longtime colleague and friend, who provided conversations, resources, and a deeper understanding of Islam and its application to international education exchange. I still owe Her Highness a cup of Starbucks, which I hope to have an opportunity someday to repay. The two beautiful Qurans she gave me after our writing collaboration occupy a special place in my library. I am equally grateful to her husband, HRH Prince Ghazi bin Muhammad of Jordan, a true Arab scholar who generously took the time to read my manuscript draft on the Middle East and provide his edits—almost all of which I applied. He helped me better understand the centuries-old hierarchy of Arabs, the Hashemite family, and Islam's contributions to higher learning. He also corrected a few misspellings, a reflection of my limited knowledge of Arabic.

I continue to appreciate and miss the many foreign students and scholars I had the privilege of working with and befriending at the University of Arkansas during my years as coordinator of international student programs. Their insights and personal accounts of experiences as exchange students provided an intimate understanding of the blessings and traumas involved with the earnest pursuit of higher learning. These students were my original inspiration for researching and writing about global knowledge migration and comparative education.

Thanks are due the Walker Heart Institute in Fayetteville, Arkansas, whose kind staff and able cardiologists, Drs. Soliman A. Soliman, Charles Cole and Shaun Senter and their fine assistants Brian and Taylor, took care of my husband as I wrote the final pages of this book from the hospital.

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My greatest appreciation and thanks are reserved for my family, especially my parents, the late Thomas Albert and Louise King Brawner, who took a chance in the early 1960s and moved their young family from California to the Middle East to work with Kuwait's fledgling oil industry. The childhood years I spent there forever internationalized my view of the world. I thank my husband David, who has been my loving partner and support for almost 40 years, our amazing and accomplished offspring, Thomas and Elizabeth, and my wonderful stepson David. I love you all.

Contents

About the Author

Teresa Brawner Bevis earned an EdD in Higher Education Administration from the University of Arkansas, where she was program coordinator for its international students. She later served as an adjunct professor at Crowder College in Missouri. Her previous books on the topic include *International Students in American Colleges and Universities* (2006), *A History of Higher Education Exchange: China and America* (2014), *Higher Education Exchange between America and the Middle East through the Twentieth Century* (2016), and *Higher Education Exchange between America and the Middle East in the Twenty-First Century* (2016).

List of Tables

CHAPTER 1

Introduction/Learning Migration in Antiquity

In its broadest sense, education is an informal means by which the observed actions and habits of people continue from one generation to the next. In its narrow sense, education is a formalized process by which a society purposely and systematically communicates its skills and traditions, usually to the young, for preservation and posterity. Through informal and formal means, civilizations since ancient times succeeded in passing down wisdom inherent to their own environments. As centers of learning developed, at the core of each was a belief system that gave purpose and direction to educational pursuits.

The educational character of every civilization was also shaped by the acquisition of imported information—knowledge brought in from foreign lands. These transfers of knowledge sometimes took place when the curious, drawn by tales of advanced scholarship in distant places, ventured across borders to acquire it for themselves. As centers of learning arose in the ancient world, and their reputations for enlightenment spread, the gathering of knowledge-seekers they drew invariably included "foreigners"—students not native to the immediate local area. Then as now, inquisitive people were compelled to explore, leaving behind the familiarity of home to seek fresh abilities, and then returning to their native lands to apply them. Few societies have been so remote or removed that they could not be affected by student migration. Other transfers of knowledge were not so peaceful. They could be by-products of

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conquering armies who sought to impose their own traditions onto occupied territories, either through extended human contact or by mandate.

Knowledge exchange, in its many forms, has deep roots in antiquity. This history will therefore first examine the origins of higher learning, and the earliest examples of academic migration. A brief review of the ancient and scholarly contributions of several world regions—the Middle East, Asia, Europe, and the Americas—begins the narrative.

Middle Eastern Origins of Language and Scholarship

Citizens of ancient Phoenicia were called "purple people." From about 800 to 1200 BCE, when the civilization was at its prime, Phoenicia comprised a series of city-states along the coast of the Mediterranean Sea in what is now Syria, Lebanon, and northern Israel. The island city of Tyre and the city of Sidon were its most powerful centers. A great maritime populace, Phoenicia was known for its fine ships, decorated with elegant carvings of horses' heads that paid tribute to Yamm, their god of the sea. The region was also renowned for the magnificent purple dyes that had been manufactured in Tyre for centuries, prized for their exceptionally rich and deep colors. Initially used for the robes of Mesopotamian royalty, the dyes had given Phoenicia its name, derived from the Greek word *Phoinikes*, or Tyranian purple. For generations, the industry would render the hands and arms of its workers a vibrant hue.[1]

Phoenician innovation went much further than dyes and decorative arts. It was no less than the birthplace of the alphabet, proclaimed the Greek chronicler Herodotus, and a basis for all Western languages. Evidence of ancient Phoenician words can still be found throughout the English language. The city of Gebal (called Byblos by the Greeks), for example, gave the Christian Bible its name.

The ancient Near East witnessed the origins of civilization in an area known as the Fertile Crescent, a region between and surrounding the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers. Referred to as Mesopotamia, which means "between rivers" in Greek, its territory extended into what is now eastern Syria, southeastern Turkey, and Iraq. Among the first to flourish there were the Sumerians and Akkadians (later known as Babylonians and Assyrians), who by the fourth millennium BCE had developed city-states in the region, adorned with massive ziggurats built for the worship of patron deities. The most prominent of these city-states was Sumer, which

gave its language to the area and invented the world's first known formal cuneiform system of written communication, a predecessor of the Phoenician alphabet. Later the Assyrian Empire (1250–612 BCE) and the Neo-Assyrian Empire (911–605 BCE) dominated, governing all of what is now Iraq, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Kuwait, Jordan, Egypt, Cyprus, and Bahrain, along with areas of Iran, Turkey, Armenia, Georgia, Sudan, and Saudi Arabia. Assyrian imperial expansion brought into their sphere many nomadic and barbaric communities.

In ancient Mesopotamia and the immediately surrounding regions, the chief languages were Semitic, subdivided into several different families. The Akkadian family, to which both Assyrians and Babylonians belonged, was the oldest and most used of the languages in Mesopotamia. The Canaanite family included Biblical Hebrew, Phoenician, with its North African offshoot Carthaginian, as well as a few other closely related tongues. By the beginning of the Christian era, many of these languages had for the most part disappeared, replaced by a group belonging to another Semitic family, called Aramaic. Of the Canaanitic languages, Phoenician was still spoken in the Levant seaports and the North African colonies and Hebrew survived in Jewish regions as a language of religion, literature, and scholarship.[2]

The Arabic language, historically the last of the Semitic types to enter the region, was for the most part confined to the central and northern parts of the Arabian Peninsula. At the dawn of the Christian era, the more advanced communities of the southwest, present-day Yemen, spoke another Semitic language known as Southern Arabian, similar to Ethiopic. Arabic speakers entered and settled in the Syrian and Iraqi borderlands in the north, even before the great Arab conquests of the seventh century, leading to the triumph of Arabic throughout the region. In the Fertile Crescent, Arabic eventually replaced Aramaic, although the latter still survives in the rituals of some of the Eastern Churches and in some remote villages.[3]

It may be helpful to note here that the world's language systems can be classified into several types, including pictographic, ideographic, logographic, syllabic, and alphabetic. Pictographic writing systems are designed to represent words, ideas, or groups of words by means of a visual portrayal of their associated meanings—a box image to portray a house, for example. This method was inconvenient for conveying ideas other than simple nouns, however, so it gradually yielded to a more abstract system of marks called cuneiform, which could function both phonetically (representing a

sound) and semantically (representing a meaning or concept). Ideographic systems represent words or ideas by less obvious means. Logographic writing systems represent whole morphemes or words. Syllabic writing combines syllables with signs, and alphabetic systems represent the individual and distinctive sounds, or phonemes, of language.[4] English is an alphabetic writing system based upon phonetic signs. Many subcategories of languages exist, some combinations of different writing systems.

Most historians agree that the alphabet was a product of the Middle East, largely an invention of the Phoenicians, and a vast improvement on the earlier methods of hieroglyphs or cuneiform. Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic would be derived from the first alphabet conceived by these mercantile people of the Levant coast.

The proximity to coastal ports and the geographical position of the Middle East had made it the center of trade routes. It also put it in the path of invading armies, a circumstance that exposed the region to many outside cultures. Routes converged upon these territories from the east through the Iranian plateau and from the north through the Caucasus, the Hellespont, and Asia Minor. Ancient trails penetrated the Middle East from the west through the Mediterranean Sea; and from the south through Arabia, Egypt, the Persian Gulf, and the Red Sea. Along these same routes also came migrations of peoples, who brought with them unfamiliar languages, beliefs, and traditions—influences that continuously re-shaped the cultural environments and educational capabilities of the various territories.

By the first century CE, the expanding Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire had come to govern the entire Eastern Mediterranean, a region that extended from the Balkans to the Euphrates. Defined by Christianity, the Byzantines would rule for the next 500 years, but in the seventh century a new religion, Islam, was gaining momentum. Like Christians, those of the Islamic faith sought to convert non-believers. And just as Christianity had done, Islam quickly developed into more than one sect. Most Muslims came to identify themselves as either Shia—those who believe Muhammad's successor to be a descendent of the Prophet's daughter Fatima—or Sunni, who hold to the philosophy that Muhammads's successor should be the most promising, chosen individual. It is a division of ideals that has since developed a duality in the Muslim world.

For about four centuries, it seemed likely that Shia Islam would prevail, and it reached a height of power around 1000 CE, but then the Seljuk Turks came to dominate, followed by their Ottoman successors, all fiercely

Sunni. Shi-ism continued to survive in Persia and other areas, but over time constituted a declining minority of Islam. In fact, the basic beliefs and rituals of Sunni and Shia Islam are quite similar. The original divisions were to some degree political and had to do with disagreements regarding the succession of power after Muhammad's death.

Muhammad had upheld the importance of learning and literacy, and information important to Islam and its traditions was routinely recorded and archived by hand. It was the introduction of paper from China in the eighth century, aided by the development of printing, that enabled its dissemination to the broader population.

Printing was not entirely unknown in the early Middle East, as there is evidence of woodblock stamps from ancient times. When movable type and other more advanced printing techniques reached the Middle East, centuries after their invention, it was not via China but from the West, with Christians and Jews serving as the first typesetters.[5] By the seventeenth century, printing presses were operating in the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman chroniclers, who rarely wrote about anything related to the West or Western progress, enthusiastically reported the invention, devoting an unusual amount of coverage to Gutenberg's first press. Convincing the skeptical Turks of the value of printed materials took time, however. Many rejected the idea of books produced by printing houses, preferring handwritten ones. Published books lacked the grace and beauty of the traditional texts, claimed Ottoman intellectuals, who were keen on aesthetics, favoring the shining ink and the elegance of golden gilt. Besides, they argued, there were many well-established calligraphers with fine reputations working in the region, and they could all write very quickly.

The practicality of the printed product eventually won out, to the world's academic benefit. Before printing, much of what was known about the ancient Middle East came from individual handwritten documents that were painstakingly translated from Greek or other ancient languages into Arabic, then later from Arabic into European languages. Only a few could access these earliest historical and scholarly documents. Representing a different sort of higher learning migration, the subsequent dissemination of printed materials provided educational sources far beyond the previous scope.

The dissemination of Islamic writings brought with it fresh inclinations toward education and scholarship, with a special interest in the heavens. Islamic tradition mandates daily prayers and other rituals take place in accordance with specific positions of the sun; therefore, astronomical

timekeeping was a central focus for early Muslim scientific scholars. The Quran, the source of many traditions in Islamic teaching, refers to astronomical patterns in the writings. In addition to providing a means for knowing when to pray or perform religious rituals, the study of astronomy served to determine the latitude and longitude of important places in the Islamic world, helping the faithful pray in the correct direction—facing toward Mecca. Muslim scholars offered a model of the solar system with the Earth as one of several planets orbiting the sun, centuries before Copernicus, and even today at least half of the charted stars bear Arabic names—Aldebaran and Algol, for example. Many currently used terms in astronomy are of Arabic origin, such as *zenith*, *nadir*, and *azimuth*. Islamic scholars also created the astrolabe, an invention that enabled astronomers to accurately measure the position of the stars.

The word Quran is itself derived from a term meaning "read" and the first verse is in part a call for the faithful to be literate. Under the Abbasid dynasty especially, during the caliphate of Harun al Rashid and his son al-Mamun, the Middle East was considered the intellectual capital of the world.[6] In the ninth century, Baghdad's *Bayt al-Hikma* (House of Wisdom) was a library and research facility where scholars translated the great writings of Greek thinkers. Muslim scholars during this Golden Age made important contributions to the world's understanding of mathematics. Mathematicians such as Habash al-Hasib ("he who calculates"), Abu'l Waa al-Buzjani, Abu Nasr al-Iraq, and Ibn Yunus would develop all six functions of trigonometry—*sin*, *cosec*, *cos*, *sec*, *tan*, and *cot*—to a level far above that introduced by Hipparchus in the second century BCE. Persian mathematician al-Khwarizmi's writings became core mathematics and astronomy textbooks in Europe and in the Muslim world. In Cordoba, experiments by Armen Firman ibn Faris and Ahmed Celebi were forerunners of modern-day flight.

Medicine was likewise advanced during this Golden Age of education. Arab physicians translated most of the Hippocratic Corpus into Arabic by the ninth century, and important scholars made fundamental contributions to science and medical practice. A case in point is Al Rhazes (865–925), who wrote more than 180 books and articles on philosophy and medicine, which, once translated into Latin, helped encourage and influence the rebirth of arts and sciences at the outset of the European Renaissance. Arabic medical practitioners provided an integrated ventricular theory drawn from the tenets of Aristotle, Hippocrates, and Galen.[7] Muslim physicians were first to diagnose smallpox, measles, and

hemophilia, and were known to use pharmacology and advanced surgical techniques to treat eye ailments.

Arab education was appreciative of the arts in the region, styles which had uniquely evolved under the influences of various conquering powers. Arabic arts and crafts were affected early on by Sassanian, Chaldean, and Persian works. In Syrian artworks, Byzantine and Egyptian influences are especially evident, and in North Africa the Neo-Latin arts of the Spanish, Byzantines, Greeks, and Romans left stylistic footprints along with their scholarly contributions.

Arab scholarship may have first presented the concept of the university. Some historians suggest that the first colleges were outgrowths of the Arabic *madrasa*, or hall of learning, which sometimes provided rooms where students could live during their studies. The degree or diploma may be a descendent of *ajaza*, a document authorizing a student to teach what he had learned at the madrasa. What is undisputed is that Islamic institutions promoted learning on a high level well before the rise of the European universities in the Middle Ages. Islamic educational institutions such as Al-Azhar in Cairo were in operation in advance of institutionalized higher learning in Europe, delivering the linguistic and literary traditions of Arabic, not just to Egyptians but also to students from far-distant regions.[8]

Foundations of Scholarship in Ancient Asia

Like the Middle East, Asia advanced knowledge and began formalizing procedures for learning in ancient times. In China, schools were implemented at least as early as the Xia dynasty (2017–1600 BCE). As in most ancient civilizations, they were for the most part reserved for the male elite, thereby establishing and empowering its intelligentsia. Scholar-officials, the predecessors of the intelligentsia of later centuries, constituted a group of leaders in various fields and occupied a superior position over the other classes of Chinese society. Historian Y.C. Wang believed that studying the changing intelligentsia was the key to understanding China.[9] With rare exception, the dynasties sponsored the collecting of books, and from ancient times knowledge was considered a virtue, with society a hierarchy of intellect over ignorance. Higher learning reflected the Confucian principles that had profoundly influenced the actions of the scholar class, and thus society at large.

Confucianism may be explained as a system of social and ethical philosophy rather than a religion. It was built upon ancient foundations to

establish social values, institutions, and ideals of traditional Chinese culture. Its institutions were not a separate church, but those of society, family, school, or state. Priests were not separate liturgical experts, but parents, officials, and teachers. The arena of religion, to Confucians, was everyday life, and a commitment to the building and strengthening of one's character, while continuously learning. As Confucius (551–479) himself explained: "At fifteen, I set my heart on learning. At thirty, I was firmly established. At forty, I had no more doubts. At fifty, I knew the will of heaven. At sixty, I was ready to listen to it. At seventy, I could follow my heart's desire without transgressing what was right."[10]

As Wang put it, Chinese thought was devoted to the realization of true good for all mankind. "True good" referred to the attainment of happiness in one's current life. There was little concern about such questions as the origins of human existence, man's position in the universe, or the relation between the natural and supernatural.[11] Man was what he was, and the only significant question was how he should live. For most, a good life meant maintaining harmony and peace with others through the fulfillment of one's role in the perpetuation of Chinese social life. Confucianism concerned itself with a sort of mundane happiness, which defined a good life as incorporating a minimum of material wants with a maximum of moral cultivation, recognizing the uneven intellectual capacities of men. The Chinese sociopolitical structure could be viewed as an application of the concept of *jen* (benevolence), which holds that man is by nature good, and that because he has sympathy for others shares joys and sufferings as part of his own experience.[12] Within this context, the family became the basic unit in the system, and the state an extended form of family.

In his 1922 book *The Problem with China*, Bertrand Russell wrote that apart from filial piety, Confucianism was in practice a code of civilized behavior. It taught self-restraint, moderation, and, above all, courtesy. Confucianism upheld a moral code that was different from that of Buddhism or Christianity, which only a few saints could hope to live up to, contended Russell.[13]

Buddhism developed from the teachings of the Buddha ("Awakened One" in Sanskrit), who was a teacher in northern India. Spreading from India to Central and Southeast Asia, China, Korea, and Japan, Buddhism played a central role in the spiritual, cultural, and social life of Asia. Ancient Buddhist scripture and doctrine developed in several closely related literary languages of ancient India, especially Pali and Sanskrit. Imported from India in the middle of the first century, Buddhism coexisted alongside

Confucianism from the time of the Tang dynasty and was similar in that it emphasized moral behavior. Education also formalized during the "Buddhist Age" (500–850), a period that witnessed the implementation of clerical examinations for both Buddhist and Confucian classical scholars. It was a system that would regulate education and occupational promotion, and determine intellectual boundaries, for several centuries.

The imperial examination system had taken form around 400 CE and reached its full institutional development in the Tang dynasty (618–907). During the Song dynasty (960–1279) it settled into patterns that were to last right up to the opening years of the twentieth century, according to historian Ruth Hayhoe. While the medieval universities of Europe had faculties of law, medicine, and arts, the imperial examination system of the Song standardized (for evaluation purposes) an integrated canon of texts, the Four Books and Five Classics, arranged and annotated by the Neo-Confucius intellectual Zhu Xi. It was only in the late nineteenth century that it was challenged by additional examinations introduced in the fields of mathematics and foreign languages. The system was abolished in favor of a modern curriculum in 1905.[14]

While the terms "intellectual" and "literati" could take on different definitions when applied to the general population of China, among the elite the meaning was simple. Either of these terms simply meant one was educated, and both implied the separation between the learned few and the uneducated masses.[15] Because "intellectual" is a more modern term, "literati" may be best used when referring to China's educated elite prior to the twentieth century.

Comprising about 10 percent of the population, China's pre-twentieth-century elite was made up of scholars, charged with the responsibility of preserving traditional ethical values while also attending to the business of governing. Positioned at the top of the hierarchy was the emperor, followed by the elite, then below them were the imperial clansmen, comprising a small number of officials who had inherited titles. Next were the civil bureaucrats, also known as scholar-officials or mandarins, who had passed civil-service examinations and earned official positions, and beneath them were men of means who had passed the exams but held no official position. At the next descending level were farmers and peasants, who made up about 80 percent of China's population, followed by the lowest rung of the societal ladder, which was reserved for beggars, actors, butchers, and prostitutes, all assumedly uneducated.

The Chinese valued knowledge, but the attainability of education in China was largely dependent on one's place in society, and for the overwhelming majority, higher learning remained unavailable until recent times. Even as late as the 1800s, only about half of the male population in China had acquired any level of literacy, despite the numerous instances of special imperial support for the education of poor boys. Neither schools nor imperial support existed for the formal education of Chinese girls.

In early China, boys and girls were attended to similarly for the first few years of life. After the age of seven, however, boys began school, while girls were barred from pursuing anything but domestic affairs and prepared exclusively for the roles of wife and mother. At every level of Chinese society, girls were groomed under the Confucian ideal of the "Three Obediences"—to the father before marriage, to the husband after marriage, and to the sons in widowhood.[16] The notion that illiterate and untalented women were desirable had been perpetuated for centuries. Ample evidence exists, however, that within their domestic environments women were often supremely in charge. Hu Shi (Hu Shih), a well-known scholar writing in the mid-twentieth century, described Chinese men as the most "henpecked" in the world, and traditional Chinese humor abounds with stories of men intimidated by women in comical situations. Even so, outside the home females were afforded few advantages, and little education. Some nevertheless managed to achieve varying levels of literacy, usually with the help of an educated family member. This comparatively small population of female literati succeeded in making significant contributions to a broad field of education, particularly the arts and poetry.

Opportunities for female education were not constant from dynasty to dynasty. For example, when Confucian ideology strengthened at the close of the Song dynasty (960–1279), the repression of Chinese women likewise increased. A publication from that period titled "Wen's Book of Mother Indoctrination" stated that a virtuous woman was one who had no talent. Ideally, females should only be taught a few hundred fundamental words, such as *fuel*, *rice*, *fish*, or terms necessary for daily use. For women to know more than simple terms could do society more harm than good.[17]

The levels of female literacy in China before the nineteenth century are difficult to approximate, as the evidence is largely unrecorded. What is known is that a girl's access to education was typically dependent on external factors such as the family's wealth, academic background, or geographical

location. It was not uncommon for families with a literary tradition to provide some rudimentary education for their daughters or nieces. The place of residence was also a factor, as evidence indicates that women residing in certain regions, such as the lower Yangtze delta, enjoyed a considerably higher incidence of literacy than females born in other provinces. An important influence in the advancement of female literacy was China's invention of printing in the ninth century and the subsequent distribution of written materials. Public attitudes tended to shift in favor of women's education as a result of a widespread readership of popular novels, which often portrayed *ts' ai nu* (literary-talented women) as an acceptable ideal for females.[18] Opportunities for advanced education for Chinese women would remain scarce, however, until the final decades of the twentieth century, when Deng Xiaoping ended China's isolation, revitalized its universities, and reinstated higher education exchange with the United States.

Nearby Japan followed a somewhat different path toward literature and the arts, and scholarly exchange. Among the earliest examples of art in Japan are the intricate rope designs found on the pottery of the Jomon people (10,000–400 BCE), who occupied the islands.[19] More advanced wheel-turned pottery and metals were implemented by 300 BCE in the Yayoi culture. During the Tomb Period, from about 300 CE, great earthen grave mounds containing funerary objects, such as terra cotta figurines or models of buildings, offer evidence of Japan's rising level of sophistication in the arts and architecture. The Heian and Late Heian (Fujiwara) Period witnessed a blooming of classical Japanese culture in the capital at Heian-kyo (Kyoto) especially, where the aristocracy, including many women, produced a vast amount of literature.

Teachings from nearby China had flowed into Japan from the sixth to the ninth centuries, along with an introduction to Buddhist ideals. From Buddhism emerged the Chinese system of writing along with its literary tradition, and Confucianism influenced advanced scholarship. The city of Heian-kyo was host to five institutions of higher learning by the ninth century, and during the remainder of the Heian period, additional schools were established. Zen Buddhist monasteries were especially important centers of learning during the medieval period, from 1185 to 1600, and the Ashikaga School, Ashikaga Gakko, flourished in the fifteenth century as a center of education.[20]

The Tokugawa (or Edo) regime, which extended from 1603 to 1867, was the final era of traditional Japanese government, culture, and society, before the Meiji Restoration of 1868 toppled the shoguns and moved

Japan into the modern era. It was also the period when Japan first had extended contact with the peoples of Europe. Along with Portuguese traders came Jesuit missionaries, who preached Christianity and began religious schools where Japanese students could study Latin and Western classical music in addition to their own language. At the time, the Yushima Seido in Edo (Tokyo) was the main educational institution of the state and served as a training school for shogunate bureaucrats. Few ordinary citizens in Japan could read or write at the beginning of the Tokugawa period, but by its end, education had become widespread. An increasingly literate populace and a meritocratic ideology, with emphasis on discipline and competence, would be its legacies. The last half of the Tokugawa period was a time of dynamic intellectual activity. Although Neo-Confucianism was the orthodox learning sanctioned by the government and retained its paradigmatic hold on Japanese intellect, politics, and society, the presence of other ideologies was increasingly visible as nativism (kokugaku), Mito loyalty (mitogaku), new religion, and Western studies gained followers.[21]

Japan's feudal society modernized under the subsequent Meiji Period (1868–1912), a time when the roles of many of the *bushi*, or *samuri*, changed from warriors to government bureaucrats. Consequently, their expectations for formal education increased. The Samurai curriculum stressed morality, and included both military and literary studies, the memorization of Confucian classics, arithmetic, and calligraphy. Samurai were typically sponsored by their *Han* (domains), and by the time of the Meiji Restoration of 1868, more than 200 of the 276 Han had schools in Japan. There were also private academies, attended sometimes by Samurai and also commoners. These taught specialized Japanese subjects, such as Western medicine, modern military science, gunnery, and *Rangaku*, or "Dutch studies," as European studies were called.

Commoners were most often provided instruction in practical and general education, such as reading, writing, arithmetic, calligraphy, and the use of the abacus, with instruction taking place in *terakoya* or "temple schools," which had evolved from the earlier Buddhist halls of learning. By the latter part of the nineteenth century, they were no longer religious institutions, nor were they always located in temples. More than 11,000 schools existed at the end of the Tokugawa period, attended by an estimated 750,000 students.

The new Meiji leadership put Japan on a rapid course of modernization, with an emphasis on establishing a public education system that could help Japan catch up with the advances of the West. A traditionally

isolated culture, attitudes toward crossing borders were modified during the Meiji period, sometimes through the arts, and some Japanese embarked on journeys designed for learning and enlightenment. Few poems inspired Meiji youth as much as one by the monk Cessho, which was an early commentary on student migration. It offers evidence of study abroad, similar to Chaucer's writings about England's wandering scholars, emphasizing both the importance and the dangers of seeking knowledge in foreign lands, as in these selected lines:

> A young man sets a goal before himself
> And leaves his ancestral home.
> Should he fail in his studies
> He will never again return, even though he dies.
> How can the village graveyard be the only resting place?
> There are green hills for men everywhere.[22]

The sentiment called for a revolution of consciousness, not only for the former samurai and the intelligentsia but also for ordinary people. Students were sent abroad to study the educational systems of those advanced regions, returning with such ideas as decentralization, teacher autonomy, and school boards, many of which were implemented. By the late 1800s, textbooks on Confucian ethics had for the most part been replaced by modern, westernized books. However, some of the former Confucian and Shinto precepts, especially those relating to the hierarchical nature of society, service to the state, and morality, gradually returned to the forefront. The 1890 Imperial Rescript on Education, along with renewed centralized control over education, guided Japanese education until their revocation in 1945. This coincided with a resurgence of education exchange with the West, in tandem with similar efforts from other Asian countries seeking to modernize. India especially would begin to send large numbers of students to the United States after World War II.

In ancient times, education in India centered on the Gurukula system, where *shishya*, those wishing to study, went to the home of the Guru (teacher), to request instruction. Those accepted then took up residence at the teacher's home and were expected to help with the daily chores along with their studies. The Gurus taught a variety of subjects, ranging from Sanskrit to mathematics, with an instruction method that focused on three distinct processes: Sravana was the process of listening to the truths as taught by the teacher; the second, Manana, referred to the students'

thinking through the spoken messages, in order to assimilate them fully; the third process was known as Nidhyasana, where students reached complete comprehension, and the ability to live by the truths, rather than simply explain them. The Gurukula system involved a study of nature and was not confined to rote learning. Any sort of professional or technical training was typically left to the families, as sons usually followed the occupations of their fathers.[23]

Excavation sites in the Indus Valley have revealed India's rich tradition of learning in ancient times, but after Aryans settled in the Gangetic valley (around 1500 BCE) there is evidence of more elaborate systems. It was also around this time that the Vedas, a large body of knowledge that had passed orally from generation to generation, were compiled and recorded. Two systems developed: the Vedic and the Buddhist.

In the first system, the four Vedas, six Vedangas (phonetics, ritualistic knowledge, grammar, exegetics, metrics, and astronomy), and Upanishads were the primary subjects, with Sanskrit the medium of instruction. Education typically commenced at the age of five with a ceremony called *Vidyarambha*, marked by the child's first learning of the alphabet. Another ceremony was held when the child was old enough to leave home to reside and study at the house of the teacher. At this point, the students were referred to as *Brahmacharin*. Upon completing his education, he was deemed eligible to be a house-holder, or *Grihasta*.

The other system taught the schools of Buddhist thought, using Pali as the medium of instruction. In the Buddhist system, education for boys began at age eight, marked by a ceremony, or *abbajja*, which was open to all castes. The Upanayana ceremony in the Vedic system allowed participation only by boys in the Brahman, Kshatriya, or Vaishya castes. Both systems offered vocational training as part of the curriculum, where master craftsmen or artisans taught specific skills to the students, who also served as their apprentices. Similar to the Vedic, in the Buddhist system a child left home to live in a monastery under the tutelage of a preceptor. The boy was now referred to as *Sramana*, and was to wear a yellow robe. When education was complete under the Buddhist system, a *Sramana* was given full status of monkhood or *Bhikshu*.

Women fell into two classes regarding education during the Vedic age—either *Sadyodwahas*, who pursued studies until their marriages, or *Bramhavadinis*, who did not marry and pursued education throughout their lifetimes. Within the system, women were taught the Vedas and Vedangas, but study was restricted to hymns necessary to perform the