WESTERN INFLUENCES ON THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION, 1868-1912

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By
Isao Nishihira, B.A., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University

Approved by

[Signature]
Advisor
College of Education
© Copyright by
Isao Nishihira

1972
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The first and foremost thank should go to Professor Robert B. Sutton, the writer's advisor, who constantly encouraged and generously directed the entire study with understanding and patience. Special gratitude is also owed to Professor Paul R. Klohr for his assistance in completing this study; and to Professors Gerald M. Reagan, Samuel C. Chu, and James Bartholomew for their advices on the details of this study.

Heartfelt appreciation is indebted to the following friends of the writer's: Dr. and Mrs. Le Minh Son, for their incessant concerns and help; Mr. and Mrs. Tsuneo Mori, Mr. and Mrs. Zensei Oshiro, and Mr. Takahashi, for their special assistance at the University of Michigan.

Deep acknowledgment should be expressed to the mother of the writer, Mrs. Moto Nishihira, for her teaching him to love work and fellow men. Not least gratitude should also be owed to the wife of the writer, Fumiko, for her conjugal love and care, without which the completion of this study would have been enormously harder.

11
VITA

April 29, 1939 .............. Born - Osaka, Japan

1965 ....................... B. A., English and Secondary Education, Okinawa University, Naha, Okinawa, Japan

1968 ....................... M. A., The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1968-1971 .................... Teaching Associate, Department of Curriculum and Foundations, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

1971 ....................... Graduate Research Associate, Department of Curriculum and Foundations, The Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio

FIELDS OF STUDY

Educational Foundations. Professors Robert B. Sutton, Everett Kircher, Bernard Mehl, Paul Klohr, Alexander Frazier

Curriculum. Professors Paul Klohr, Jack Frymier, Alberty
TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ...................................... 11
VITA ...................................................... iii
INTRODUCTION .......................................... 1

Chapter

I. THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION
to Japan, 1868-1872 ............................ 7

A Country in Search of a New Identity:
The Beginning of Bunmei Kaika .............. 8

Books for Enlightenment ....................... 13

The Influences of American (Oyatoi)
Missionaries ....................................... 19

Students and Government Officials
Abroad .............................................. 31

The Publication of Books on Western
Education and the Opening of Modern
Schools ............................................. 41

The Modernization of Higher Institutes
of Learning ....................................... 59

The Coordination of Western Influences
on Japanese Education .......................... 84

II. THE CODE OF EDUCATION: AN INTELLECTUAL
CLIMATE AND ITS UNDERLYING SPIRIT ........ 89

The Acceleration of Bunmei Kaika—
An Intellectual Climate ....................... 91

Spirit Underlying the Code of Education. 119
INTRODUCTION

The primary purpose of this study is to investigate Western education's impact on the modernization of Japanese education from 1868 to 1912, that period which is known to the Japanese as the Meiji era, or the reign of Emperor Meiji. Japan's modernization began when the country, under the feudal Tokugawa regime, was forced to abandon its over two-century-old isolation policy in 1853 by Commodore Perry of the United States Navy. During the fifteen years which followed, or up until the time of the Meiji Restoration in 1868, attempts at modernization were largely sporadic and non-political, centering around the uncoordinated introduction of military and medical sciences. All-out modernization began in 1868, when political power was restored to the Emperor for the first time in eight

---

1 Tokugawa is the name of the military family which governed Japan from 1603 to 1868. Alarmed by the spread of Christianity, the country's rulers had adopted a policy of isolation in 1639. Of Westerners, only a handful of Dutch merchants, fifteen or so per year, were allowed to maintain a trading post in an artificial island in Naga- saki in southern Japan.
centuries. Japan studied the French political and legal systems. She reorganized her army under the direction of British officers and her navy under French. British engineers helped her build railroads and lighthouses, and an Italian served as advisor for the issuance of her first modern currency. Modern medical sciences were introduced with the assistance of German doctors. Japanese agriculture was reformed with the advice of Americans. But which country (or countries) did Japan look to for the introduction of a modern educational system? How did Japan introduce this system? These are the questions to which we shall address ourselves in this study, a case study of the process by which the Meiji government introduced a modern system in the field of education.

The study of Western influences on the modernization of Japanese education may be approached in at least two different ways:

1. to find out how Western educational systems and ideas affected the traditional Japanese systems and ideas, or to find out how Japanese education transformed itself under the influences of the Western; and
2. to find out how, why, and to what extent certain Western educational systems and ideas were introduced into Japan through social and political channels.

The first approach requires a detailed presentation of traditional Japanese education's organization and methods, as well as of those alien educational practices which were
introduced, so that the dynamic interactions between the two different educational systems can be most demonstrated. However, the second approach requires no such two-sided presentation, since descriptions of traditional Japanese education need not be included. The first and more intensive approach would result in a discussion too lengthy for the purposes of the present study, which intends to cover the full forty-five years of the Meiji era. The second and more selective approach, on the other hand, simplifies the task of limiting the present study to an appropriate size. We shall, therefore, take the second approach, which, we repeat, confines itself to those Western educational practices which were discernible in the Japanese system of education, leaving the latter untreated. Of course, these alien practices should not be overemphasized at the expense of the traditional Japanese ones. This study is best read in conjunction with studies of the original Japanese educational system and those elements of it which were retained during the period of modernization.

The source materials used in this study are almost exclusively Japanese. Despite laborious efforts, comparatively few English materials relevant to the subject were discovered; these sources are listed in the bibliography. The Japanese materials were obtained at the
University of Michigan's East-Asian Library, the Harvard-Yenching Library, the Yale University Library, the Columbia University's Far-Eastern Library, the William Elliot Griffis collections in the Special Materials Sections of the Rutgers University Library, and the Library of Congress; the writer made five trips to University of Michigan between 1969 and 1971 and spent two weeks consulting the resources of the East Coast libraries during the summer of 1970. A number of the more recent books were purchased directly from Japanese publishers. Even the Japanese materials available to the writer comprise comparatively few works directly relevant to the topic of the present study, although, as the bibliography indicates, a certain amount of research has been done on specific areas and periods. The present study thus represents perhaps the first attempt, in either Japanese or English, at a comprehensive study of Western influences on the modernization of Japanese education during the Meiji period.

The present study is divided into seven chapters. The bulk of the discussions centers around the proclamation of the Code of Education, Japan's first modern educational system, and the various identifiably Western elements which found their way into that system during the period
when the Code was in effect, from 1872 to 1880; these are the topics dealt with in all, except the first and last, chapters. The period of the Code was, of course, that period of the Meiji era in which Western influences were at a peak, these influences being perceptible in the preparation of the Code itself, in the opening of the secondary and technical schools of various kinds and of the university, in literature on education, in textbooks on all subjects, and in the mission school. All of these influences will be examined thoroughly.

Of course, the first and last chapters are not intended merely as appendages to the main body of the discussion as outlined above; they are full-fledged and thoroughly-developed components of the study in their own right and are, in fact, more intensive than any of the five remaining chapters. The first chapter deals with the period 1868-1872, the initial stage of modernization of Japanese education, and with the principal influences at work within that period: the books that introduced Western educational practices; pioneering individuals, such as the Japanese who were sent overseas to study Western learning, including

---

The Code itself was revised in the middle of 1879. But the Educational Ordinance, the revised version of the Code, was even more strongly Western-oriented. Consequently, the two versions are treated as one in this study.
educational methods, and the Westerners who taught Western sciences in Japan; and those schools which undertook to reorganize their institutes after the Western pattern.

In the seventh and last chapter, we shall discuss Western influences of the post-Code period, the years 1880 to 1912, associated with the reactionary movement in education. This chapter demonstrates how and why Japanese education became increasingly conservative and nationalist, using Western sources only to reinforce their new educational policies. In contrast to the first twelve years of the Meiji era, during which alien educational practices were almost slavishly imitated, the post-Code period saw the Japanese begin to assimilate Western educational techniques to native tradition. The final chapter examines, in detail, the various ways in which this assimilation took place.
CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN EDUCATION TO JAPAN, 1868-1872

This chapter deals with the first phase of the introduction of Western education to Japan between the years of 1868 and 1872. The year 1868 was the time when the Emperor restored his sovereignty for the first time in eight centuries, an event being known as the Meiji Restoration to the Japanese. It was also the time when the country embarked upon an all-out modernization. The year 1872 indicates the time when the first comprehensive plan of the modernization of Japanese education was launched in the manner of the proclamation of the Code of Education. The present chapter, then, discusses different scenes of the introduction of Western education to Japan which started conspicuously in the first year of the Meiji era and culminated itself in the announcement of the Code.

First, we shall briefly examine the social and political setting related to the introduction. We shall then study an emergence of a new mode of mass education through enlightenment books. Next, we shall see how
foreign missionaries and those foreigners who were employed by the Japanese introduced their education to Japan. Further, we shall observe how Japanese students and officials who were sent overseas for study contributed to the introduction of totally new alien education they received. After that, we shall analyze those enlightenment books which were devoted to the study of Western education. Finally, toward the end of the chapter, we shall explore a number of schools which made innovations after the Western system, with particular emphasis being paid to two institutes of higher learning, predecessors of the country's most influential public and private institutes.

A Country in Search of a New Identity: The Beginning of Bunmei Kaika

To Japan the year 1868 began with great hope and excitement mixed with general apprehension for the oncoming future. This was the year when the Imperial line of authority, for the first time in eight centuries, was restored to its power as the country's genuine, and not merely nominal, ruler by the turn of events, if not by its own efforts. This was also the time of an avowedly complete departure from the past, politically, economically, psychologically, and all in the direction of new goals. The three goals of the new government were bunmei kaika (Civilization and Enlightenment),
fukoku kyohei (Rich and Powerful Nation), and shokusan kogyo (Promotion of Industry). The country was finally released from the Tokugawa regime, feudal and poorly administered, but not from the problems that regime had created. There was hope of building a modern nation, but there were fears of rebellion of the old ruling class, and of possible effects of the extreme poverty of the people. Above all, the fear of possible encroachment by Western powers who were already protected by the unequal treaty of 1858, haunted the country, creating tremendous tension and a great sense of urgency. In view of the country's total inexperience with running a modern state and the international politics related to it, the fears actually outweighed the hope. So to Japan the year 1868 meant the beginning of unprecedented changes in scope, open to any idea and technique necessary for the creation and subsequent preservation of a modern state. The Meiji Restoration, named after the Emperor, was not merely the restoration of the power of the state, but the transformation thereof in a desperate search of a new identity of the nation.

The extent of the transformation was various and wide, but the basis of all changes and all the quests for new identity was the Imperial Oath of Five Articles issued by the Emperor in March, 1868, which reads:
(1) Deliberative Assemblies shall be established and all measures of government shall be decided by public opinion;
(II) all classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the plan of government;
(III) officials, civil and military, and all common people shall, as far as possible, be allowed to fulfil their just desires, so that there may not be any discontent among them;
(IV) uncivilized customs of former times shall be broken through, and everything shall be based upon just and equitable principles of nature; and
(V) knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the Empire may be promoted. 1

The Oath was concurrently the spirit, hope, and direction of the new government. But understandably all of the changes conceived in the Oath did not take place during the short span of the next three years. Some of the biggest political changes resulting from the Oath were the establishment of a new governmental organization after the eighth century pattern but modified by a European theory of separation of three powers, the abolition of feudal domains followed by the initiation of the prefectural system, and the abolition of the feudal class distinctions. The nature of changes began during this period was fundamental, showing only the guidelines or outlines and leaving details to be worked out later, flexibly.

As the government was prone to changes, so were the people. They had experienced, only fifteen years before, the first strong flow of modern European culture, along with its military power, when Commodore Perry of the United States naval forces had visited their country and broken the isolation policy maintained for two centuries by their old regime. Being far less fearful of the implications of the intrusion of the foreigner than their helpless government, and having suffered from cultural isolation for generations, the people had easily turned from their initial amazement to strong desires to learn anything about the West. Their curiosity had, in due course, evolved into a sense of expectation for the better life. But before they were strategically capable and ideologically ready for toppling the old regime and trying to achieve such a life, as had happened in some of the European countries, came the Restoration with fanfare and "Imperial" guidance. Their expectation was merged, or incorporated, into the national purposes of the new government, both sides being quite unaware of the relationship of interests between the two. Indeed, the people needed guidelines as much as their government did.

The three slogans of bunmei kaika, fukoku kyohei, and shokusan kogyo were as much relevant to the people as to the government. There were people ready to initiate
changes, even more to accept them, but such people at first never constituted a majority of the total populace. In the meanwhile, they, in their daily life, tried Western clothes, hairdo, food, umbrellas, shoes, furniture, and gas lamps so much that men with Western hair-cut became the symbol of bunmei kaika (Civilization and Enlightenment). Thus the popular saying went: "If you hit the head of a man with short-ly-trimmed hair, it emits the sound of bunmei kaika." Both the government and the people willingly, urgently, and often blindly embarked upon the bunmei kaika movement. It was not long before both recognized that the whole movement was essentially educational, tending toward the complete and drastic transformation of feudal men and society to the new and modern. The enlightenment of the people was but the first step to the ultimate goal of this education, which was the establishment of a new civilization and the discovery of a new identity.

The effort of enlightenment took several major forms. during the earliest days of the Restoration. Besides keimosho (books for enlightenment) and the oyatoi system (the system of employing Westerners), there were visits of foreign missionaries, dispatch of government officials and students abroad, and the opening of modern schools. When the Emperor issued the Oath, he was not or could not
be faithful to some of what he declared, at least temporarily. But he definitely meant the fifth Article that "knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world..." the knowledge which would give new direction and stimulation to otherwise ignorant leaders of the state, and was thus most essential and urgent. The acquisition of such knowledge constituted, before the new educational system was began, the core of education which must be interpreted as far broader than institutionalized training.

Books for Enlightenment

A history of learning about Western culture and sciences through books was long and was the way most familiar to the Japanese. But the nature and contents, and the readers of pre-Meiji books differed greatly from those of the post-Meiji. The Meiji books were, unlike the former ones, typically in the vernacular, intended

---

2 The "public opinion" in the first Article, for example, was most typically ignored, whereas the opinions of politicians from formerly powerful feudal domains had the greatest weight in the governmental decision-making process. See Tanaami Hiroshi, Shin nihon shi no kenkyu (A Study of New Japanese History), (Tokyo, 1967). p. 329.

3 For the historical account of Western learning through books as well as other channels during two centuries prior to the Meiji, see Nishihira Isao, "The Channels of Western Learning in Isolated Japan, 1639-1853," Unpublished M. A. thesis, (The Ohio State University, 1968), pp. 56-73.
not for the small circle of the privileged class but for the masses. They covered a much wider range to topics dealing with governments, religions, and customs of people all over the world, and even more the modern natural sciences and techniques. The pre-Meiji books were highly selective, treating mostly medical and military topics, applied sciences, and languages. In the Meiji era there were many books in the original languages imported from Western nations, far more in number than in the preceding era, but they did not fall into the category of the *keimoshī*. The books for enlightenment during the earliest days of the Meiji were, in brief, books written in Japanese, which were mostly the result eighter of direct translations or of partial ones, but which also included various accounts of experiences of the earliest Japanese travellers or students in the West. Since such books had the general public in mind, the language used was relatively plain, the style employed was generally appealing, and topics dealt with were highly popularized instead of specialized. Such books were numerous and easily available, especially in the city.

Among immumerable books for enlightenment, the following

---

4 This is why many of them, particularly influential ones, were appointed as official school textbooks when the Code of Education was proclaimed in 1872. The textual aspect of enlightenment books shall be explored in full details in the fifth chapter.
three books, "the Bible of the Meiji," were most influential: Fukuzawa Yukichi's Seiyo jijo (Conditions in the West) published between 1866 and 1870, Nakamura Masanao's Seikoku risshi den (Accounts of Self-Made Men in the West), and Uchida Masao's Yochishi ryaku (General Geography of the World), both published in 1867. Fukuzawa's books, in ten small volumes, were based mostly on his own observations of Western culture made during his three separate trips to the United States and European countries; but they also contained translated portions of Political Economy written by William and Robert Chambers. Taken as a whole, Fukuzawa's books looked like an encyclopedia, their topics ranging from the political system to an exposition, from bonds and paper money to hospitals, from taxation laws to schools, and from various sorts of social and political organizations to newspapers and the Declaration

5 Thus called in Karasawa Tomitaro, Kyokasho no rekishi (A History of Textbooks), (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 62-63.

6 Fukuzawa was first in the United States from January to May, 1860; then in Europe for about one year in 1862; lastly again in the U. S., for the first six months of 1867. For the detailed accounts of his routes, experiences, observations, purchases, and visitations during the trips, see Keio Gijuku hyaku-nen shi (A Centennial History of Keio Gijuku University), Vol. I, (Tokyo, 1958), pp. 125-136, 137-159, 170-181.

7 The oldest edition listed in the National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints (hereafter abbreviated as NUC) was Political Economy, for Use in Schools and Private Instruction, Edinburg, 1862.
of Independence. In addition to these descriptions, the books also introduced the democratic nature of various societies and the independent and self-initiative quality of Western men. The accounts were most unusual and struck the mind of readers "like a thunder with awe and admiration." The books were sold in at least one hundred fifty thousand copies, but if pirated editions are added, the number would reach well above a quarter of a million. As Fukuzawa himself claimed later, those who were interested in civilization at all, including top government officials, kept his book beside them. It was most convincing then when Fukuoka, who successfully persuaded the last Shogunate of the feudal government to give up its power and who was also one of the drafters of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles, stated that "Seiyo jijo was one of the sources which formed the new government." Around the same time, Fukuzawa also wrote several other enlightenment books. Moreover, he was engaged in preparing his all-time best seller Cakumon no susume (The Encouragement of Learning),

---

8 Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji shoki kyoiku shiso no kenkyu (A Study of Early Meiji Educational Ideas), (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 27-30.

9 Ito Masao, Fukuzawa Yukichi ronko (A Study of Fukuzawa Yukichi), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 130, 137-140. The quotation was made in p. 138.

10 Among these were A Guide for a Trip to the West, Accounts of the Eleven Nations in Treaty, Clothes, Food, and Housing in the West, Pocket Book of Conditions of the World, and Conditions of the World.
which was to be published in mid 1872.

Nakamura's book was a translation of Smiles' Self-Help. Nakamura, who studied in England from 1866 to 1868, was concerned more with cultivation of the new Japanese after Smiles' image of modern man than with descriptions of various institutions. The prime idea with which he attempted to impress his readers was the concept of modern man with a spirit of independence and self-help. The following passages of the book were almost revelation to the Japanese of his day, who were bound by the rigid social structure still prevailing: "Heaven helps those who help themselves"; "a country with many 'self-help men' is full of vigor and energy"; "the prosperity of the nation means the collective power of individual learning and honest behavior."

Self-help was then, as Nakamura saw it, the foundation on which personal transformation was built, and the essence of self-help was interpreted as learning, intelligence, and honesty, all undoubtedly educational aims.

For the detailed discussions of how the book influenced Japanese education, see the second half of the next chapter.


Quoted in Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 69-70.
Uchida's books in eight volumes were, like Nakamura's, mostly translations, but were from several British geography books, including Goldsmith's. The books were naturally British-centered, full of distortions about Asian nations; yet they were the only comprehensive geographical book available to the Japanese at the time, and the publication of each volume was met with great enthusiasm by the readers. But it should be noted that the Japanese may have developed the same prejudices against Asia as the British had, while they were being informed by Western geographies.

However effective the enlightenment of people through books might have been, they were obviously no match for Westerners in Japan, either employed by the government or sent by missionary Boards of various denominations.

---

14 This would seem to refer to Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), *A History of the Earth and Animated Nature* (3 Vols; 1774), which was many times reprinted in Britain and America. In the 1850's it appeared in both Glasgow and London. For more information, see LCPC.


16 Other notable enlightenment books on Western laws were written by Nishi Amane, Tsuda Mamichi, and Kato Hiroyuki; Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote *Pictorial Physics for Beginners*, and Obata Tokujiro, *Natural Calamities*, all published in 1868. Nishimura Tei wrote *Outline History of the World* in 1869, while Nakamura Masanao, *The Theory of Liberty* (a translation of John Stewart Mill's *On Liberty*), Mitsukuri Rinsho, *Instruction of Children in France*, and Ishiguro, *Chemistry for Beginners*, all in 1872. Some of these books were appointed as textbooks when the Code was proclaimed in 1872.
For the Japanese, they were "living machines" for teaching.

The Influences of American (Iwato) Missionaries

An idea of employing Westerners on a contract basis was not totally new to the Meiji Japanese at all. The feudal government, alarmed by Perry's visit, made serious efforts to secure Westerners' service to teach in various places. The new Meiji government quickly followed this example. Consequently, during the first three years of the Meiji, there were at least eight Germans, nine British, thirteen Americans, seven French, and two instructors of other countries, employed either by the local or central government or both. They were called Iwato or Iwato (employed foreigners) and constituted the core of the

---

17 Quoted in Umetani Noboru, Iwato gaikokujin (Employed Foreigners), (Tokyo, 1965), p. 232.

18 Thus during last years of the former government we see Willem Johan Cornelis Kattendijke, a Dutch naval officer, teaching Dutch, arithmetic, shipbuilding, gunnery, and some others at Nagasaki Naval Training School in 1857. Okada Akio, Gaikokujin no mita nihon (Foreigners' Observations in Japan), (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 266-267, 336. Also, accompanying Kattendijke was Pompe van Meerdivoort, a Dutch naval medical officer, who taught medical sciences at the same school at first but later in 1861 became the head teacher of a newly-erected government medical school in the same city. A French officer named A. C. D. Bousquet was also employed by the government to teach military sciences in 1865. Ogata Hirohisa, Selyo kyoiku inyu no hoto (Channels of Western Education in Japan), (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 114-115. Ogata's book is, unlike this study, statistically oriented, also confining itself only to three "channels," i.e., Iwato, the Japanese students overseas, and books translated from Western sources.
ovatō system which the government adopted for the quick implantation of Western technologies and sciences on the Japanese soil. The system reached its climax during the period of the Code.

In the area of education, most of the influential ovatō during the period of the preparation turned out to be missionaries or at least persons with evangelistic spirit and intentions. Christian missionaries, especially American, were allowed to enter Japan in 1859 as a result of the treaty signed in the previous year, although Christianity itself was still legally banned in the country (the ban was lifted in 1873). At first, therefore, missionaries visited Japan more or less as tourists and made every effort to find loopholes for the propagation of their faith. Teaching and opening schools were two major breakthroughs of this sort.

But speaking of the missionaries, those who came to Japan as a missionary had to continue their missionary work in hardship and frustrations. In the process of their difficult work, these missionaries too became involved in education by opening their private school, the country's first private school run by Westerners. Since such missionaries were limited in number, we shall treat them all, one by one. Although, they were connected to

The system during the period of the Code shall be discussed in some details in the sixth chapter.
such "semi-missionaries" as Verbeck, Griffis, Clark, and Japanese, all oyatoi, in their interest in Christian evangelism, they were not government-employed oyatoi. Consequently, the nature of their work was essentially a different one. At any rate, although outright propagation of Christianity was frowned upon by native officials, educational endeavors were not. In fact, as we shall see, the missionaries' side-work even found, in some instances, an official patronage. It may be well to discuss first what might be called "semi-missionaries" and then the missionaries themselves.

The most influential oyatoi in education was Guido F. Verbeck, a native of Holland but an immigrant to the United States in his early 20's and a missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church to Japan in his late 20's. Verbeck was one of the first three American missionaries officially permitted to visit Japan in 1859, the other two being S. R. Brown and D. B. Simmons, also from the Dutch Reformed Church. Confronted with popular indifference and official discouragement of Christianity, Verbeck's energy soon found its vent in teaching. Officially employed by the feudal government in 1863 and later by the new Meiji administration, he taught English, German, medicine, navigation, physiology, natural philosophy, engineering, history, and geography at a government institute for Western learning in Nagasaki; he also taught, from 1866
on, at Saga feudal domain school in Nagasaki. Versatile in teaching, proficient in many languages (he was a native speaker of Dutch which was understood by most Japanese scholars of Western learning), and respected as a "Sage of America" by his students, Verbeck won the highest admiration. His students at Nagasaki schools included the most prominent politicians, scholars, and educators of the new government, bearing a good witness to his outstanding reputation. Called to Tokyo by the Meiji government in 1868, he became the head teacher of Kaiseijo, then a Western language school but later part of Tokyo University, while serving at the same time as an advisor to the legal body of the government. He is also believed to have suggested the necessity of the Iwakura Mission, the first such mission ever sent overseas by the new government, and influenced the drafting of the Code of Education through his close associations with the chief drafter, Mitsukuri Rinsho. After his retirement from the former Kaiseijo, its name being changed by the Code, he worked as a government legal advisor

---

20 They were Okuma Shigenobu, Soejima Taneoki, Oki Takato, Ito Hirobumi, Kato Hiroyuki, Tsuji Shinji, Sugi Kyoji, Ka Masayuki, Iwakura Tomosada, Iwakura Tomotsune, Eto Shimpei, Nakano Kenmei, Hosokawa Junjiro, Okubo Toshimichi, Yoko Shonan, and many others. Some of the names listed here will appear in this study. Ogata, op. cit., p. 47.

21 For the educational implications of this Mission, discussions will be made shortly afterwards.
for the next two years.

Verbeck's influence was multiplied by the appointment, upon his recommendation, of three oyatoi who came to Japan to teach but also showed interest in evangelistic work. Two were graduates of Rutgers, where they were junior classmates of Verbeck (it would appear that oyatoi missionaries were a Rutgers' speciality), the other a fellow countryman of military background.

William Elliot Griffis, who was a science graduate of Rutgers College and full of an evangelistic spirit, was less influential than Verbeck in Japan but far widely known as an image-maker of Japan through his popularized *The Mikado's Empire*. He was employed by the Lord of Fukui feudal domain, which was not abolished at this time yet, and arrived in Fukui in 1871 through the arrangement of Verbeck. For about next two years, he presented a systematic study of physics, chemistry, geography, geology, and physiology, as well as English, German, and French to more than a hundred students. In rural Fukui, his Western feature was the center of attention. When he daily went out on horseback with his interpreter after school, people followed him, even in three months. In the meanwhile, his house became a sort of club where his

---

students could discuss such subjects as Christian education, Christianity, and Shintoism. His contract stipulated his freedom to talk on religious matters at home. In 1872, he was invited by the central government to teach at Nanko (Kaiseijo renamed); after imparting instruction on morality, geography, natural sciences, and chemistry, he returned to the United States in 1874 to become a minister, lecturer, and author of Japan in History, Townsend Harris, first American Envoy in Japan, and M. C. Perry, all widely read in the United States.

While in Fukui, Griffis was asked by Awa Katsu, a former admiral of the feudal government navy, to suggest an American teacher for a school in Suruga or present Shizuoka Prefecture. Griffis recommended Edward W. Clark, his classmate at Rutgers, for the post. The school, known as Shizuoka School, was opened by the Shogunate originally for the training of the retainers of the former central government in order that they could meet the demands of the new era. There, Clark taught, to the mature, enthusiastic, and dauntless students of one hundred or so, three European languages, engineering,

---

chemistry with frequent experiments, physics, and electricity. In addition, as the sole Western instructor at the school, he helped some fifty Japanese instructors and their assistants prepare rules of the school and of examinations. Like Griffis, after two years' teaching at Shizuoka School, Clark also taught at Tokyo Kaisei Gakko (Nanko renamed) from 1873 to 1874. Upon return to his country, he wrote *Katz Awa, The "Bismarck" of Japan* and *Life and Adventure in Japan*.

L. L. Janes, a military captain and not a missionary, was invited, through Verbeck, to teach at Kumamoto Institute of Western Learning in 1871. With concealed evangelistic purpose in mind, he quietly taught English, agriculture, simple chemistry, and other subjects for the first three years. He also helped import various kinds of seed and agricultural machines. But after he found his students well improved in English, he began to refer to Christianity in his classes. His home soon became a place for worship and Bible study, which drew as many as thirty to forty students at a time. In winter of 1875, a daily prayer meeting was held. The students were carried away by

---

Christian doctrines and the eagerness of their teacher to such a degree that in late January of the following year thirty-five of them publicly declared their devotion to Christianity. When their parents learned this, they were alarmed beyond word. They cajoled, intimidated, house-jailed, and even tried to kill their children. The school was turned into a total fiasco and closed in summer. Thereupon, the students, now known as the "Kumamoto Band," transferred to newly-opened Doshisha in Kyoto, a school for the English language and Christianity, to form the nucleus of the school. Janes, in the meanwhile, taught English at a school in Osaka for one year and returned to America.

Among outright missionaries were the Hepburns, Brown, the Carrothers, Miss. Kidder, and a group of three females, i.e., Mmes. Pruyn and Pierson and Miss. Crosby.

25 Kaikoku Hyakumen Kinen Bunka Jigyo Kai (A Society for Japanese Cultural Study in Centennial Commemoration of the Opening of the Country)—hereinafter abbreviated as Kaikoku Kinen—, ed., Nichibei bunka kosho shi—shukyo kyoiku hen (A Complete History of Cultural Inter-


26 In L872, fifty-three missionaries were in Japan, forty-nine Americans and four others, representing six United States organizations, i.e., Dutch Reformed Church with fourteen missionaries, Northern Presbyterian with ten, American Board with ten, Protestant Episcopal with ten, Women's Union Missionary Society with four, American Baptist Free Mission with two, and Church Missionary Society (non-American) with four. Yamamoto, op. cit., pp. 85-87.
James C. Hepburn came to Japan with his wife as a Northern Presbyterian medical missionary in 1859. Settled in Yokohama, one of five ports open after the 1859 treaty, Dr. Hepburn began his missionary work under the constant danger of physical assaults. Mrs. Hepburn, meanwhile, found many Japanese men and youths interested in learning English. Thereupon, she first formed her regular class at home in 1861 and taught several young students for one or two hours every afternoon. Soon prominent men and small girls sought her instruction in and outside of the class. Her small class slowly but steadily grew into a small school by 1864, and by 1868 people called "Mrs. Hepburn's School" in Japanese "Hebon juku" (the juku being the traditional name given to a private school). The school had twenty pupils in 1873 and over forty in the following year. Dr. Hepburn too taught English but mostly as a helper of his wife because of his extremely busy dual life as doctor and missionary. So even though he helped open Yokohama Academy (Shubun Kan), a governmental school for the training of interpreters, in 1862, and desired to teach there, he had to recommend his colleague Brown in his place. Yet, his persistent interest in instruction finally took the form of the publication of *A Japanese and English Dictionary* in 1867, the first of
its kind ever written.

Samuel R. Brown, a Dutch Reformed missionary, landed in Japan with Verbeck and D. B. Simmons in 1859, the same year of the Hepburns' arrival. But he worked with Hepburn in the precinct of the same temple, their residence. Outside of his missionary work, he taught English to persons interested, while entering into the translation work of the New Testament, from English to Japanese. But the loss of his home by fire in Yokohama in 1868 brought him back to his country. He came back to Japan, though, in 1869 to become the principal of Niigata English School for the next one year and an instructor of English at Yokohama Academy for the additional two years. In Yokohama, he also opened a private school, known as Brown's School or Braun Juku. He continued his translation of the Bible. However, in 1873, he began to devote his time to teaching at his home. Some of his students learned not only English but also Christianity from him, and turned out to be very prominent Christian leaders in Japan.

The Carrothers came to Tokyo as Northern Presbyterian

---


missionaries in 1869. Mr. Carrothers soon opened a private school outside his routine missionary work, while Mrs. Carrothers founded a school for girls later named Joshi Gakuin, one of the earliest girls' schools in Tokyo, in 1870. However, a succession of events led to the closing of the school in 1875.

Miss. Mary E. Kidder, a Dutch Reformed missionary, arrived in Japan with Brown in 1869. After working with him at Niigata for one year, she too came to Yokohama, where she took some of Mrs. Hepburn's students and taught them English for three hours every day. As the number of students continued to increase, Miss. Kidder was offered a large classroom by the governor of the prefecture in 1871. This was the beginning of Isacc Ferris Seminary or Eiwa Jogakko. Toward the end of 1872, there were twenty-two students, probably including wives of high officials. Since the governor did not interfere with her work at all,

---


After Isacc Ferris, President of the American Reformed Mission, and his son John M. Ferris, the director of the Mission. They also actively assisted Verbeck in arranging the selection of American instructors to Japan, in sending instructional books and machines, and placing Japanese students (in schools in New Brunswick) who came to the United States with a letter of introduction from Verbeck. Tsuchiya Tadao, Meiji zenki kyoiku seisaku shi no kenkyu (A Historical Study of Educational Policies during the Early Meiji), (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 174-175.
Miss. Kidder was free to teach the Bible and hymns.

In 1871, the Women's Union Missionary Society sent three female missionaries, Mmes. Pruyn and Louis Pierson and Miss. Julian Crosby, to Japan to take charge of many mixed-blood (probably orphans) children in Yokohama. Upon arrival, they opened a mission home, where they taught a small number of children English, music, and home-making. Although this home was originally meant for anyone, not just the mixed-blood, it restricted itself only to girls in 1872. Classrooms were built. Native teachers were employed. With these changes, the mission home was named English School for Japanese Females or Nihon Fujin Eigakko, later becoming Kyoritsu Gakko, a notable girls' school in Japan.

In brief, while the employed foreigners often taught technical and scientific subjects, these missionaries were interested mostly in, besides religious matters, the instruction of English, simple calculation, home-making, singing, and dancing. Their students were typically small girls. Though their teaching during this period was carried out almost always on a part-time basis, they

---

32 Ishiyama, ibid., p. 136; Aoyama Nao, Meiji jogakko no kenkyu (A Study of Girls' Schools during the Meiji Era), (Tokyo, 1970), pp. 450-452.
did initiate a quasi-Western school for children in the land of private Confucian schools. In the formation of the modern national education, their direct contributions were indeed far greater than those of the employed foreigners.

**Students and Government Officials Abroad**

To learn from resident foreigners is good, but to go to their countries is undoubtedly better. So Japan made an effort to send her men overseas from the beginning of her open-door policy. They not only learned new ideas and techniques, but also taught their knowledge upon their return. In them, the road to the promulgation of the Code, a plan to teach the whole nation, became considerably closer, if not clearer. But though they were now conscious of the task of teaching, none of them specialized in the study of the national education system itself: opening the modern school on a nation-wide basis, training teachers, developing curriculum to be carried out in schools, installing facilities necessary for instruction, and so on.

Again, sending students abroad was not an idea peculiar to the Meiji government. After the ban to travel abroad was lifted in 1862, both the central feudal government and local domain lords began to send their men to the West, often in conflict with each other. Thus between
the years 1862 and 1867, the central government dispatched, in chronological order, nine students (or visitors) to Holland, six to Russia, fourteen to Britain, fifteen to France, two both to Britain and Holland, and one to the United States. During the same period, eleven different domains sent one to fifteen students to such countries as Britain (where the total of twenty-five students stayed), the United States (fifteen), Holland (two), and France (one). But these domains did not have a systematic plan of sending students at regular intervals, but each dispatched a number in a single year and then no more thereafter. The domain which had fifteen overseas students to Britain in 1865 was Satsuma, a powerful domain in southernmost Japan which played a major role in toppling the feudal government. Exactly what information these students

33 All these six students were sent in 1865 with extremely poor results. This was probably the first and last large group of students stayed in Russia. See Naito Kanau, Bakumatsu roshia ryugaku ki (Study Trips to Russia toward the End of the Tokugawa Government), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 60-68.

34 Ogata, Seiyo kyoiku... op. cit., p. 15. The figures mentioned are never perfect. For example, W. E. Griffis made a report of some Japanese students studying at Rutgers in 1867, who were sent by Satsuma. See R. S. Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, (New York, 1955), p. 194. Further, officially claimed students, visitors, and their attendants were often counted as students on official records. Moreover, these official "students" often never attended a single school, probably because the most Japanese customarily acquired Western learning with a private teacher or at a private school as a "student." Therefore, as far as their claimed intention was learning, all overseas Japanese students were indeed "students."
added to the Japanese knowledge of Western education is uncertain. But they, being such selected minorities to visit Western countries, might well have shared with their countrymen everything they had seen and experienced, including education. Most likely, some of them opened private schools for Western learning, at least on a part-time basis. The fact that the largest number of students went to Britain and America may have had something to do with determining the character of Western influence on education during the time of the Code, which was predominantly Anglo-American. Also it should be noted that among Satsuma's students in Britain was Mori Arinori, who became one of the most outspoken enlightenment leaders upon his return and later, in 1885, the first Minister of Education under the modern cabinet system. We shall resume discussions of his work and contributions in the next and last chapters.

Not all overseas students around this time had official or semi-official connections. Nakahama Manjiro, for instance, was picked up, while drifting on the sea as a castaway, by the captain of a New Bedford whaling ship, who placed him in a school at Fairhaven, Massachusetts. Upon his return to Japan in 1852, he became a well-known author, interpreter, and teacher at his old domain, and a member of the first legation sent to America by the
former government in 1861. Also, Niijima Jo slipped away from the country by his own efforts to the United States in 1864 and attended Amherst College and Andover Seminary by the help of Mr. and Mrs. Alpheus Hardy, members of the American Board. Niijima later became probably the most influential Japanese figure in initiating the opening of the mission school in Japan. He founded Doshisha in 1875, where Jane's "Kumamoto Band" enrolled.

Undoubtedly, the study trip to the Western countries was already a well-established custom among the Japanese when the feudal government fell. The new government simply carried out the old custom, but in its tight control. They did not allow the old feudal domain lords to plan overseas study trips in conflict with them or outside of their knowledge.

The first regulations concerning overseas trips by the Meiji government were issued in January, 1869. The first permission was granted to a physician intending to study medicine in Germany. The government sent their first two students in 1869, Yamagata Kyosuke (later Aritomo) and Saigo Singo (later Tsugumichi), for the inspection of the European military system for over a year. Both later became outstanding leaders in modern

---

H. Kaneko, Manjirō, the Man Who Discovered America, (Boston, 1956), pp. 72-103.
armed forces. They were immediately followed by many others. Within less than the next two years, the total number of one hundred seventy-four students or visitors were sent abroad, including seventeen members of Imperial families.

To give life to these figures, one school in America can be cited, Rutgers College located in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The first two Japanese students came to the town in 1866 under the sponsorship of James H. Ballagh, a Dutch Reformed missionary in Japan, with a letter of introduction from Verbeck. They were placed, by the help of John M. Ferris of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Church, first in Rutgers Preparatory School to improve their English (and then in Rutgers College). This was only the beginning of the long relationship between Rutgers and Japanese students. In the next ten years, at least forty students came to Rutgers. Specifically, there were seven regular students at Rutgers between 1868 and 1872, and probably many more visiting young men for a shorter or longer period of time. This close

---

36 Ogata, Seiyo kyoiku..., op. cit., pp. 22-26. He mentioned that the Imperial family members did not receive any privilege overseas. Ibid., pp. 22-23. Ogata also state that the trip to the West was an absolute must among the circles of high government officials, almost equal to "a homage to Ise Shrine" or a mandatory homage to the Imperial ancestral shrine. Ibid., p. 39.

connection of the two parties was, as we have already seen, maintained by the presence of the Dutch Reformed missionaries and employed teachers in Japan. It is not totally surprising, therefore, that Japan got her first foreign advisor for the modernization of her education from Rutgers, Professor David Murray.

While sending students overseas for study, the governments, both old and new, dispatched political and commercial missions to the United States and European countries, frequently in large numbers. They too learned a lot about Western civilization and techniques, obviously much more so than the students because of their personal resources, ample expenses, and better opportunities of geographical mobility. Between the years 1860 and 1867, the old government sent out seven such missions. The first one was organized in 1860 with more than ninety members, including Fukuzawa Yukichi and Nakahama Manjiro already mentioned, and was sent to the United States in January to meet the requirements of the treaty ratified two years earlier. During their nearly seven-month stay, they visited several major cities. Six more missions followed.

---

38 Murray's work and contributions will be discussed in the third chapter.

39 The second mission was sent to Europe for three months; the third, to France for seven; the fourth, to England; the fifth, to Russia; the sixth, again to France; and the seventh, again to the United States. Shima Tameo, Meiji hyakunen kyoiku shi (A Meiji Centennial History of Education), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 92-93.
The Meiji government sent its first mission, led by Iwakura Tomomi, in November, 1871 to the United States and European countries for the purposes of announcing the new Meiji government, collecting information necessary for running the state, and studying the revision of the unequal treaty handed down from the old government. This Iwakura Mission consisted of forty-nine Mission members, fifty-three students, and five small female students. But much more significant than that in relation to the modernization of Japanese education was that, of the three commissioners aboard, one was designated to specialize in educational affairs, Tanaka Fujimaro, who was assisted by five officials of the Department of Education.

40 These were the first five girl students ever sent overseas for study. The oldest, Yoshimasu Ryoko, was fifteen; Yamakawa, twelve; Ueda Sadako, ten; Nagai Shigeko, nine; Tsuda Umeko, only eight. They were sponsored by the Hokkaido Development Commission. This unusual arrangement was attributed to Vice-Commissioner Kuroda Kiyotaka's belief that education of the future mother was, as in the West, essential to the training of her children and therefore the cultivation of personal resources, and further to the development of Hokkaido. Of Kuroda and the Commission, more discussions will be made in the sixth chapter.

Both Yoshimasu and Ueda became ill and went back after one year of stay, while both Nagai and Yamakawa were graduated from Vassar College and Tsuda finished Archer Institute, a private school for girls; three of them stayed in America for nearly ten years. Tsuda took a trip to America for the second time in 1889 to attend Bryn Mawr College in Philadelphia and Oswego Normal School, this time under the sponsorship of her friends in Philadelphia, spending about two years. In 1900, she opened a highly influential girls' school called Tsuda Eigaku Juku (Tsuda's School for English). Tsuda Eigaku Juku yonju-nen shi (A Forty Years' History of Tsuda's School for English), (Tokyo, 1941), pp. 29-35. More discussions will be made about Nagai and Tsuda later in this study, though in a passing manner.
The governmental directions given to Tanaka specified the following purpouses: "to investigate rules of education in each (Western) country, i.e., methods of national education, methods of opening of schools both by the government and by people, methods of collections of tuitions, the order of various subjects, and forms for the issuance of rules and completion of grades; to observe how both public and private schools, trade schools, art schools, hospitals, nurseries, and other institutions are operated and maintained, so that they can be put into practice in our country." In accordance with these lines, Tanaka prepared notes for himself, in which he added more to the directions by saying that "(thorough investigation should be made about) the best and most beautiful (or effective) educational systems in the United States, Prussia, England, France, Holland, and Russia in such a way that problems of the current operations (in these countries) be clarified, both good points and weaknesses of their and our educational system be compared, sources of their education be brought into a full light, and usefulness of their system be examined for the purpose of finding possibilities of putting them

41 The directions, in its complete form, are adopted in Ogata, Seiyo kyoiku..., op. cit., p. 40.
into practice."

Both directions and Tanaka's notes show at least two significant points. One is that both the authors of the directions and Tanaka had already been familiar with essential elements of the contemporary Western educational systems; Tanaka knew exactly what to see and what to learn. Another point is that Tanaka's ambitious plans of sorting out the "best and most beautiful system" of all Western nations in terms of its applicability to the Japanese soil. From the outset, then, Tanaka did not have the intention to copy the educational system of any single Western nation but rather to choose every "best" part of the different systems, the part which might be relevant to the new ventures of Japanese national education.

---

Tanaka's notes too are adopted in its complete text in *ibid.*, pp. 41-42. After this statement, Tanaka itematized topics for investigations, as follows: rules for educational administration's office work, its personnel's responsibility, their salaries; universities, middle schools, primary schools, public schools, private schools, girls' schools, co-educational schools; subject matters; school buildings; school facilities; financing of schools; maintenance of schools; teachers' job obligations, their salaries, their supervision; length of students' study, their grades promotion, their examinations, order of their study, their tuitions; museums; libraries; hospitals' rules; charity houses' rules; rules for the schools of the mute, and of the blind; rules of leper houses; rules for the schools of the retarded; and others. This shows how much Tanaka had already known the basic features of Western education. But also items listed here were more comprehensive than those of the Code. Tanaka could have drafted the Code of Education.
The question of whether or how Tanaka could find the "best and most beautiful system" when he himself had, presumably, nothing compare to or apply to in his home country was obviously an inadequate one. Japan by this time indeed had a solid tradition of nation-wide, if not national, education. As far as Tanaka was concerned, then, his prime objective of the trip was, as he stated, to find applicable techniques to reorganize Japanese education after the fashion of the Western countries. Therefore, the question which should be raised at this point is: "why was Tanaka so ambitious and so hurried in gathering information of Western education?" The answer of course is not simple, being directly related to different themes of this study. But at least we can state that Tanaka, like other government officials, was prompted not only by the urgency of the practice of national education but also by an ambitious hope of the complete transformation of the Japanese, both essential to the survival of the new state. Anyhow, Tanaka made thorough investigations for approximately a year. In 1873, he published the results of his trip under the title of Riji Kotei (The Commissioner's Report).

---

For details, see R. P. Dore, Education in Tokugawa Japan, (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1965), passim.
Tanaka's proposals were directly in tune with the modernization of Japanese education. But before he came back with all the first-hand experiences he could get to launch the new system of national education, officials back home had already promulgated the historic Code of Education in August, 1872, not in close contact with Tanaka. Tanaka obviously expressed his dissatisfaction. But later it became increasingly clear that Tanaka's trip was intended basically for the management of the Code, and not the initiation of it. At any rate, the government officials, including Tanaka himself, had already been familiar with modern education in the West probably through the enlightenment books, employed foreigners, missionaries, and overseas Japanese students and government missions. But there were still more sources of information available to them, books specialized in Western education and schools organized after the Western model.

The Publication of Books on Western Education and the Opening of Modern Schools

Several attempts had been made to present the fundamentals of Western education in an organized manner in Japanese, due chiefly to the fact that various channels, as we have discussed, had already been functioning to

---

supply people with information regarding alien education. These attempts were mostly took the form of translating Western books on education, totally peculiar to the Meiji. Also, in parallel to these efforts, several trials had been made in modernizing the schools which were, however, not necessarily based upon the translations. But there was no doubt that the officials found in these schools and books stimulation, encouragement, and some confidence. However, considering the fact that these two movements were extremely short, only for four years, before the announcement of the Code, it is reasonable to conclude that the Code was the result of many factors, and not only one.

Many passing references were made to American and European education by enlightenment writers around the time of the Meiji Restoration. One of such writers was Fukuzawa Yukichi, whose Conditions in the West we have already referred to. Fukuzawa, like Rutgers graduates and the Dutch Reformed missionaries, was a ubiquitous figure in many scenes of the early Meiji educational innovations. He will be treated later in this chapter and again in the

\[45\]

It is true that Nakai Cjikuzan in 1789, Shogi Kogi in 1841, Sato Shinen in 1857 referred to some elements of Western education in their writings. But they never treated them in terms of organizing the national education system in the Western line. Dore, op. cit., pp. 248-250.
succeeding chapters. He introduced some aspects of American education as early as 1854 in his *Zoku Amerika soki* (General Descriptions of America, Part II). It is a brief remark and goes like this:

Every county has a school, supported by the rich and attended by everyone. There are also schools in the state, which, however, cannot be attended by the poor. In addition, there is a university. Only selected ones go to this school. There are three branches of learning attached to this institution, i. e., theology, medicine, and laws. The period of study in these branches is three years, since no one is unable to attend all of them at once. 46

More widely-known descriptions of Western education appeared in his *Conditions in the West*, which was written after his three trips to the United States and European countries. In this, he pointed out that every village, even the smallest one, in all Western countries, had a school which was attended by every child, both rich and poor, male and female; that there was a public and private school; that the primary school offered children, starting at six or seven and finishing at eighteen and twenty, courses in letter-writing, history, geography, arithmetic, astronomy, primary physics, poems, drawing, and music; (Fukuzawa did not mention the middle school); that the university offered students advanced lessons of the pre-

---

45 Adopted in *Kaikoku Kinen*, op. cit., p. 297.
vious courses, or one or two specialized courses; that military, medical, and similar schools were attended by students who had already enrolled at the university briefly; that Prussia has the best educational system of all European countries, so much so that even penitentiaries in Berlin opened a school for its inmates, who received lessons every three or four days.

Typically, accounts of education in enlightenment books were brief and often inaccurate. But the year 1869 witnessed the publication of the first Japanese book specialized in Western education. The book titled Waran gakusei (The Educational System of Holland) was written by Uchida Masao, who was an author of General Geography of the World already mentioned and who was later one of those who drafted the Code of Education. Uchida's present book was published by the Ministry of Education. It was actually the translations of Dutch laws concerning the management of schools. These laws, as presented in the book, consisted of two parts, that is, laws dealing with the primary and with the secondary schools; both parts contained rules about public and private schools, certificate of completion of the course of study, employment of teachers, examinations, tuition charges,

---

Kurasa Tsuyoshi, Shogakko no rekishi (A History of Primary Education), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 228-230.
etc. The whole nature of the book clearly pointed to national education, which is of course possible only at the primary and secondary level of schooling. Further, the fact that the Ministry of Education sponsored the translation is truly indicative that the country was moving toward popular education. The appearance of many similar passages in the book and in the Code promulgated three years after, is not very surprising.

In the following year of 1870, another notable book on Western education came out. This book titled Seiyo gakko kihan (General Descriptions of Schools in the West), was translated by Obama Jinzaburo, one of Fukuzawa's chief disciples, from several unidentified Western sources. The first volume of the book dealt with general outlines of education in England, Holland, France, Prussia, Russia, and the United States, while the second reprinted the regulations of Columbia University in New York City. In addition, the first book made brief remarks about Plato, Rousseau, Kant, and Herbart for the first time in the books written in Japanese. In more detail, Obata pointed out that the methods of educating people in England were far inferior to those of Prussia and Holland due to its heavy reliance on the common people for financing the

---

47 Inatomi, op. cit., p. 121.
48 For the examples of these similarities, see ibid., pp. 121-122.
schools; that education and edification of people in Holland received high regards among European countries, because in that country every child could read and write before the age of ten; that the French system had well-organized primary and secondary schools and universities; that the German system is most advanced, well-conducted, strictly enforced by laws, but somewhat militaristic in its outlook. Obata continued to describe the educational system of the United States, by stating that in all Northern States, except Connecticut, proceeds of the property tax were set aside for financing the school, so that children could get free education; that there was a school district, in which both private and public schools were governed by the twelve-member Board of Education selected from the people; that there was at least one school in every thirty square miles approximately, but one in every six square miles in crowded places; that there were

The conditions of the French schools are furnished the following explanations; that there were, in 1863, 82,135 primary schools run but not necessarily funded by each commune with the total number of students of 64,731,946 in the previous year; that twenty-six administrative districts in France has one academie which was officered by one supervisor and two supervisor assistants; that the latters were in charge of primary schools; that a certain number of primary schools and academie formed one university district, which was administered by nine councillors; that the educational business of the entire nation was supervised by twelve inspectors. Such elaborate system of French education turned out to be a great appeal to the Meiji officials, as they later adopted the similar organization in the Code. So compare this descriptions to the plans outlined in the Code in the next chapter. For more details of the descriptions, see Karasawa, op. cit., pp. 233-234.
academies everywhere, and one hundred and twenty universities and colleges, forty seminaries, thirty-five medical schools, and thirteen law schools; that schools were also numerous in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia.

Obata's descriptions of Western schools were relatively accurate, although simple. But all of his accounts were no doubt illuminating to the Meiji officials who sought, as Tanaka put it earlier, "the best and most beautiful" systems of education. However, as far as the organization of the school system was concerned, the officials' interests in the French system were unusually great. Thus the next book treating Western education was not surprisingly about the French.

Sasawa Taro's Futsukoku gakuse (French Educational System), translations from unknown sources, was published by the Ministry of Education in September, 1872, one months after the issuance of the Code. But its influences on the Code are unmistakably clear. For one thing, part of the Code's provisions for the primary school was word-by-word translations of Sasawa's book. Also, the Code's classifications of the primary school into regular, girls', village, charity, private schools and kindergarten are all in close parallel to the book. But the most

---

For the descriptions of European schools, see ibid., pp. 232-235; for American schools, see Kaikoku Kinen, op. cit., pp. 299-300 and Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 122-123.
important of all is the book's influences on the Code's plan of school districts and the system of inspection, its two main characteristics. Sasawa furthered Obata's accounts of the French education by adding that there are seventeen university districts which encompassed department (or state), county, and district; that one district usually had one public school or one for every two or three thousand persons; each or sometimes several department had one normal school; that the Minister of Public Education was in charge of educational matters in the entire nation; that in each university district, the educational administration was conducted by the university president, inspectors, governors, county headmen, and district headmen; that in addition, there were university councils, department legislatures, district legislatures, and county committees for similar function. As we shall see shortly afterwards, a French notion of the university as a center of educational administration also appeared in Japan. Sasawa also translated passages dealing with the middle schools, although this part of his work appeared only in three volumes; most of the translations was made by Kozu Hiroyuki between 1872 and 1875.

It is safe to assume, from the writings of Fukuzawa,

---

For more details, see Inatomi, *ibid.*, pp. 123-127; Kurasawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 221-225.
Obata, Sasawa, and others, that Japanese had a relatively comprehensive picture of Western education by the time of the issuance of the Code. It should be also noted that the Japanese looked upon the British system as somewhat inferior to other systems in the West, showing their preference to the German but particularly to the French system. Such preference on the part of the Meiji government was very understandable in light of the fact that France maintained a highly centralized governmental system, including the educational system, at this time under the Code Napoleon.

Knowledge of Western schools led, or at least stimulated, the Japanese to open several schools after the Western pattern. Whether the writings just described had direct bearing on the opening of these new schools was often uncertain. Nor is it clear exactly how these new schools were incorporated, if indeed they were, to the schools of the Code, although there were definite similarities between the two. Despite such ambiguities, however, it is instructive to study the opening of the new schools to learn how the Japanese might have developed even without the Code. Since there were not many experimental schools, we shall treat them all, one by one, as did with the mission schools.

These experimental schools (at the primary and secondary levels) were different from the traditional ones
in several ways. They were typically run by more than one teacher; and students were frequently graded according to their age, or at least to their level of learning. This was a great departure from a traditional arrangement at teragoya private school (the most prevalent form of primary instruction just before the Restoration), where one teacher taught students of all ages and abilities in one small room. Because of the presence of more than one teacher and the practice of the system of graded classes, these new schools normally had more than just one level of schooling, both primary and secondary; or at the least, they were designed with a particular emphasis on the continuation of schooling. Obviously, the feudal schools in general did not have such a clear intention. The experimental schools were also opened for both boys and girls, even though sometimes separately, whereas such high regard for girls' education was largely absent in the former school system. Further, the new schools used the curriculum which included "Western" courses, such as Western arithmetic, English, Western military sciences, and so on; the old schools typically did not have such inclusion. Financing of the new school too was different, now increasingly being supported by public funds. Yet, the similarities between the old and the new experimental schools significantly existed. In spite of the practice of the grading system, for example, the method of teaching
which emphasized reading and memorization was basically the same. Teachers were typically Confucian scholars with a little background in Western learning. The main supporters of the schools were still largely feudal domain lords, who, in the previous era, single-handedly sponsored feudal domain schools. The new schools which we are about to see, therefore, are mixtures of the old and new elements of education with some pronounced emphasis on the latter. We shall describe all such elements, hoping that they will shed some light on the nature of the most progressive schools in Japan before the overall introduction of Western education.

Among those new schools, Numazu Primary School attached to Numazu Military Academy was the first school to conduct meaningful experiments after the Meiji era was begun. This Numazu School, opened in November, 1868 in Numazu in the home domain of the Tokugawa family has generally been spoken of as "twin school" to the middle school Shizuoka Academy where E. W. Clark taught. Numazu was intended for the training of the former retainers of the ruler and of people in the domain. The number of students was "considerable," their ages ranging from seven to eighteen; applicants to the Military Academy were expected to know as much as middle school graduates (of the Code) would do later. The school was, as the Code did later, divided into three levels; primary, middle, and advanced. The
curriculum was formed after the Western schools. Specifically, it consisted of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, gymnastics, swimming, and morality, similar to that of the primary school attached to Tokyo Normal School after the Code was launched. In arithmetic, traditional abacus calculation was abandoned in favor of Western "paper" (as opposed to abacus) calculation. But in other subjects, the traditional Japanese content was predominant. Therefore, the translated Western texts, which was commonly used in primary schools within five years, may not have been used here. There was also something new about the management of the school. Numazu Primary School, probably for the first time, introduced the practice of the seventh day (or Sunday as a holiday of the school instead of the traditional tenth day. All the primary schools operated on the seven-day basis later.

Kyoto schools, which were opened between 1868 and 1869, were more unique than the Numazu Primary School in that they were maintained by an educational levy imposed on the people in sixty-four school districts. Originally eighty school districts were planned, supporting one primary school for each district and two middle schools for the entire city. Such ideas of public financing of

---

of primary and middle schools were widely practiced throughout the country after the announcement of the Code in a few years, but this is the first such instance. Also, the schools, unlike their traditional counterparts, functioned as public meeting places, reminiscent of the contemporary common schools in New England. It is not surprising, therefore, that when Fukuzawa visited the schools in 1872, he pointed out the similarities between the Kyoto and American school systems. He further noticed that the idea of the public financing of schools in Kyoto was a duplicate of what Wayland pointed out in his The Elements of Political Economy published some time before.

The major Western features of education in Kyoto probably ended here. Courses of study, unlike those of the Numazu Primary School, consisted almost totally of traditional ones, such as writing, arithmetic, reading, and morality. The main body of teachers were recruited from former teragoya

53 Detailed discussions will be made about Wayland, his book, and Fukuzawa in the next chapter.

54 Yamane pointed out that two of the promoters of the Kyoto school system were acquaintances of Fukuzawa; but he was inclined to attribute it more to initiative and cooperation of both public officials and citizens, who intended to rejuvenate their old capital. Yamane further stated that Tokyo, where Fukuzawa's influence was obviously greatest, relied heavily on the teragoya of the previous era in establishing modern school system. See ibid., pp. 213-214.
The Kyoto schools are believed to have been co-educational. Schools built exclusively for girls, with the exception of several small missionaries' schools, were rare before the Meiji Restoration. The public initiation of such a school, in Kyoto, was definitely Western in origin. A Mrs. Evans, the wife of Hornby Evans, an oyatoi Englishman who had been appointed an English instructor at the Kyoto schools, began to teach a small number of girls English, sewing, weaving, and how to make various bags and rag pictures. Official sanction soon followed. As her enrollment rose rapidly to a hundred and thirty girls, Mrs. Evans hired several native women as assistants. The number of students, as well as the employment of assistants, was highly unusual at the time, but symbolic of the new and favorable turn in female education. Significantly, this simple sewing school was developed, in 1874, into a full-fledged institute of the English language under the name of English School for Girls (or Ei Jogakko). The students at the girls' school apparently had shown particular interest in English. Similar subjects were also emphasized.

---

56 Ishiyama, et. al., ed., op. cit., p. 132.
in the mission schools, many of which were exclusively for girls.

In Tokyo, six primary schools, together with one middle school and one girls' school, were opened by the Ministry of Education between 1870 and 1872. The Ministry's efforts must have been modest, because little is known about them. A distinctively new element was present, however, which manifested itself not so much in the new schools' practice as in the spirit that underlay their opening. The Ministry's decree stated, in language very similar to that of the Code, that "these schools have been established so that everyone may develop his ability and train his technical skills in these days of mounting enlightenment and advancing civilization." The decree also adroitly expressed the relationship between (national) education and the promotion of bunmei kaika, as two practices supplementary to one another. Recognition of this relationship, as we shall see, became increasingly more pronounced in subsequent years.

The spirit of schools for "everyone" led, among other things, to the opening of Tokyo's first public school for girls in February, 1872, just half a year prior to the

---

57 The absence of detailed accounts of these schools in literature probably indicates no dramatically modern attempts were made.
58 Quoted in Meiji keimo kyoiku no kenkyu (A Study of the Meiji Enlightenment Movement from Educational Viewpoints), (Tokyo, 1968), p. 45. The author is Makino Kichigoro.
promulgation of the Code. Like Mrs. Evans' school in Kyoto, it was an immediate success and its enrollment grew steadily. Native female teachers (not assistants) provided instruction in the Japanese classics, manual arts, and various crafts, while their foreign counterparts taught English. The girls' school in Tokyo (now called Tokyo School for Girls) was far better organized than Mrs. Evans' school, however. Primary and upper primary levels were instituted, each lasting for three years. Girls in the six-to-twelve year age bracket were to be educated at the school. Both of these practices precisely duplicated the stipulations of the Code. In 1875, the fourth year that the Code was in force, the school was upgraded. The age bracket for students at the school was not set at from fourteen to twenty. With these changes, the school became the country's highest institution of learning for girls. But the school, like Mrs. Evans' and the mission schools, placed primary emphasis on the study of the English language. Frequent recitations and lectures on different branches of learning were conducted in English. At the same time, native instructors carried on the traditional practice of reading various types of books on an intensive basis. The following year, the school's enrollment equalled that of Mrs. Evans' school—nearly a hundred and fifty students. But in 1876 the public school was merged into the newly-opened Normal School
for Girls, owing to the financial difficulties that were besetting Japan at this time. The amalgamation was significant in two ways. First, the highest educational institution open to girls was now reduced to the status of a teacher training school. Secondly, those girls who wished to prolong their studies for the sake of personal cultivation, rather professional training (which many Japanese still disdained) consequently had no choice but go to mission schools. There the principal subject of instruction was the English language. The most ambitious girls were thus exposed not only to the language but also to an alien curriculum, Western classrooms, and a number of other direct Western influences.

In 1870, another notable attempt was made to modernize a school system, this time outside of Tokyo. The reform was carried out in the Fukuyama domain, part of the present Hiroshima prefecture, under the leadership of Sasawa Taro, translator of the French Educational System. There were actually two series of innovations, one occurring in 1868 and the other in 1870, both on a limited scale. The 1870 reform was reportedly modeled on the French system, as was

59 Ibid., pp. 128-130; Mombusho (The Ministry of Education), Gakusei goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), p. 53.
60 Nagai Michio, Kindaika to kyoiku (Modernization and Education), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 71-72. Details of the plan are not available.
the school modernization program that the Iwakuni domain launched the following year. By 1872, shortly before the promulgation of the Code, the Nagoya prefecture had opened four hundred and twenty schools, presumably of the modernized type. Modern schools had also been established in such cities as Kanazawa and Tokushima by this time. Detailed information on my of these local experimental schools is lacking. But their presence clearly indicates that the country's educational authorities were in a mood for change, and were probably seeking only strong leadership. Such guidance was precisely what the Code of Education provided. The similarity in the practices of Numazu, Kyoto and Tokyo experimental schools and the close resemblance that these practices bear to certain points of the Code strongly suggest that the framers of the Code were not unaware of the experiments carried out at the schools. The architects of the Code thus may have drawn on practical experience to a certain extent. It would have been difficult for them to have created an educational system out of nothing.

---


62 Shima, op. cit., p. 68.
The Modernization of Higher Institutions of Learning

The impact of modernization on the primary and intermediate school levels was also felt at institutions of higher learning. Unlike their lower-level counterparts, however, many of these institutions had long been exposed to Western influences in the field of scholarship, although this influence did not necessarily entail the modernization or reorganization of the institutions themselves. Western learning, which was fairly widespread and diversified during the time of the feudal government, was carried over to the Meiji period and propagated far more intensively then. In the new era, Western scholastic practices were accompanied by a number of organizational changes in the institutions themselves, however. Whereas former scholars had been content merely to read Western literature, the educators of the Meiji era were concerned with such questions as how to read such literature most effectively or how Western learning in general might be acquired most efficiently. This shift in emphasis undoubtedly made necessary the development of new institutional frameworks more conducive to the acquisition of foreign learning. The

---

63 The efforts made by the central government, feudal domains and educational institutions to introduce Western scholarship, and the extent and trends of such learning at those institutions during the period prior to Perry's arrival, are discussed in Nishihiroa, op. cit., pp. 86-109.
number of higher educational institutions, both governmental and domain-sponsored, at which such a transition took place, was not large. One governmental institution at which the changes were particularly striking—a predecessor of Tokyo University—may thus be singled out as an example. Here one can observe the actual evolution of Japan's first public university.

Private institutes of higher learning presented a more complex picture. In the first place, such institutions, known as shijuku, were too numerous to count. Even if we could somehow limit the scope of our study solely to the shijuku for disregarding those for Japanese or Chinese or both studies, it would be virtually impossible, as well as unreasonable, to single out Western influences in any of these institutes because of their wide geographical distribution and transientness, the general obscurity of their origin, and the lack of proper coordination among them. An important exception is the Keio Gijuku, Fukuzawa's private

---

See *ibid.*, pp. 74-85. Around the time of the Restoration, it was fairly common for scholars of Western learning to impart their knowledge to the numerous seekers of those days. They provided such instruction for purposes of earning a livelihood or additional income, for intellectual satisfaction, or out of educational interest or simply concern for serving younger scholars and the state. A number of noted figures in the field of Western learning, such as Fukuchi Genichiro, Mori Arinori, Numama Morichji, Mitsukuri Shuhei, Seki Shimpachi and Nakamura Masanao, instituted small schools in their homes at one time or another.
institute for Western learning, one of those private institutions which exerted the strongest and most widespread influence among its fellows, whose historical records are up to the present time, and whose founder was one of the ardent advocates of Western learning. To single out the Keio Gijuku as a representative of the private institutes might perhaps not be too extravagant. For the purposes of our present discussion, we shall deal first with Keio and then with Tokyo University, the latter to be discussed in the following chapter in connection with the Code.

The actual genesis of Keio can be traced back to the year 1858, when the Lord of Nakatsu, whose domain was later to become Oita Prefecture in Kyushu, opened a small school of Dutch learning in his Edo residence and employed Fukuzawa as an instructor there. The school obviously was intended for Nakatsu retainers, but Fukuzawa's scholarship and teaching ability soon attracted students from other domains as well. The school thus as much the Lord's as Fukuzawa's at the beginning. When it became entirely Fukuzawa's is not absolutely clear; we nevertheless know that Fukuzawa changed his interest from Dutch learning to eigaku or English learning after his visit to Yokohama in
1859. It was approximately at the time of this visit that he left his Nakatsu residence and opened a juku or private school, whose student body of about twenty or thirty understandably was made up predominately of pupils from Nakatsu domain.

During these earliest days, methods of instruction were undoubtedly traditional, since most private institutions were organized in accordance with Confucian teachings. However, Fukuzawa used first Dutch and later English texts whose titles are now unknown. During his first trip to the United States in 1860, Fukuzawa acquired a Webster's dictionary and whose titles, again, cannot be clearly ascertained. Notwithstanding his previous learning and trip, Fukuzawa's knowledge of English obviously was exhaustive at this time, because he admitted that he not only taught but learned English while instructing his students in it. The fact that he was employed by the government as a translator following his return from the U. S. would nevertheless seem to indicate that he learned the language at an accelerated rate.

---

65 Inatomi argues that Fukuzawa's choice of English as the most important Western language stemmed, first, from the geographical fact of Japan's being an island nation; secondly, from his contemporaries' preference for broad practical knowledge as opposed to lofty but impractical erudition; and, thirdly, from his belief that English enjoyed the widest acceptance as a language of international trade. See Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 107-109.


67 Ibid., pp. 135-136; 213-214.
His trip to Europe in 1862 was destined to have more dramatic bearing on the formation of Keio. As an official emissary, Fukuzawa was provided with an ample allowance, most of which went for the purchase of English books in London. Although we know only one of the titles that he acquired—W. H. Medhurst's *English and Chinese Dictionary*, published by the Mission Press in 1848, Fukuzawa's accumulation of a sizeable library enabled him to concentrate on the instruction of English, with the result that Keio soon attained the status of an eigaku juku or institute of the English language—the most prominent of its kind in Edo (Tokyo).

If his trip to Europe can be described as dramatic, then Fukuzawa's second trip to the United States, in 1867, may be said to have been decisive. On that trip, he spent most of his official allowance and was forced to borrow a considerable sum from friends in order to buy books. His students, friends and at least two domain lords had also given him money to purchase still other titles for them. It was not surprising, therefore, that Fukuzawa returned from his American trip with a souvenir of about ten huge boxes containing a formidable quantity of books. Some of the titles acquired abroad were intended primarily for the use of students at Keio; others were sold, at low prices, to those who had shown genuine interest in
English scholarship. But Fukuzawa acquired more than just books in the United States. He also visited a number of American schools and brought back observations and impressions of those schools with him, to be used in the later reorganization of Keio along American lines.

Fukuzawa's purchases were diverse in character: dictionaries of various types and texts on geography, history, law, economics, mathematics, physics and other subjects. Since about ten copies of each item were purchased, the students were freed at last from the laborious task of copying texts. Moreover, the subsequent ready availability of books made it possible for the school to offer new and more diverse courses. Notwithstanding the ample supply of books and the new course offerings, such traditional teaching methods as sodoku (the reading of texts with no attempt to grasp their meaning), kaidoku (the reading of the same texts for sense, by a group of students) and kogi (lectures given by instructors) still persisted. This was the case at most of the experimental primakry and intermediate schools, it will be recalled.

---

68 Information for the preceding two chapters is gathered from *ibid.*, pp. 211-214, 177-180, 279-280.

69 For more information on traditional teaching methods, see Dore, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-145.

A number of those Western (or American, for that matter) books which were studied so diligently in 1869, using the traditional methods, can be identified by title. They were: *Cornell's High School Geography*, by Sarah S. Cornell; *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography*, by Samuel Griswold Goodrich; *Illustrated School History of the United States and the Adjacent Parts of America*, by George Payn Quackenbos; and *The Elements of Political Economy*, by Francis Wayland, which were to become four of the most popular texts following the

71 The oldest edition listed in the NUC is published in 1856 in New York by D. Appleton & company. The book was reprinted (or revised) at least fourteen times till 1880. Cornell was an author of at least two more books on geography: *Cornell's Physical Geography* (New York, 1870) and *Cornell's Primary Geography* (New York, 1870), both being highly influential.

72 According to the LCPC, the book was first published in Boston in 1837 by American Stationers' company. The book listed here is probably the new edition of 1868, which was published both in New and Boston by different publishers. Another and last edition appeared in 1875. Peter Parley is a fictitious figure who appeared in many books written by Goodrich.

73 Probably this is the one which Fukuzawa used. It was published in 1876 in New York by D. Appleton and company; its first edition, according to the LCPC, appeared in 1857 and the last, 1887. Quackenbos was an author of different kinds of textbooks, some of which were also used in Japan.

74 The oldest edition listed in the LCPC was published in 1837 in Boston and New York by, respectively, Gould, Kendall, Lincoln, and Leavitt, Lord & company. It was revised many times up till 1906. The one Fukuzawa obtained was probably the 1856 edition, which was published both in Boston and New York.

For more information concerning Fukuzawa's textbooks, see *Keio Gijuku, op. cit.*, pp. 260-263, 281-282.
enactment of the Code. Wayland's book even influenced the
spirit of the Code, as we shall see in the chapter. Keio's
distinctively American features may be summarized as
follows: the use of American high school textbooks, the
introduction of the weekly schedule, and the practice
of holding classes on an hourly basis. As has been ob-
served, some of these practices were also adopted by the
experimental primary and middle schools, which, like
Keio, also retained the traditional teaching methods.

Fukuzawa's school at first catered only to students
in their teens; later on, younger boys were also allowed
to enroll. Thus, the institute's new rules not only
broadened its scope but also laid the groundwork for its
subsequent operations. These rules' principal stipulations
were: that anyone interested in Western learning was
eligible for admission to the school; that beginners were
to receive three months of instruction in the English
alphabet and fundamental grammar, followed by another
three months of sodoku (rote-reading) instruction from
a geography or physics text and six additional months of
sodoku from a history text; that all students were to
receive grades on a scale of from one to nine; and that
students of average intelligence were to complete the
school's required courses or syllabus, if not to graduate,

75 Ibid., pp. 282-285.
within a period of one year and three months. The school's rules thus embodied the idea of a "school for everyone" and a grading system that were reminiscent of the earlier experimental schools and the Code that subsequently grew out of them.

Although the school's overall curriculum was restructured around the reading of American texts, the most fundamental changes in Keio's nature took place under powerful Anglo-American influences. For example, Keio Gijuku no ki (The Description of Keio Gijuku), published in 1869, clearly states that "the school's rules were modeled on theirs (i.e., the American schools!), but that

---

Ibid., pp. 183-184. The rules were revised once again in 1871, at which time those rules which governed the course of study during the early Meiji period were firmly laid down—rules apparently considered inviolable by the Keio staff. Under these rules, Keio students were expected to begin their course of instruction (of the sodoku, kaidoku or kogi types) with English grammar and mathematics, proceeding thence to geography and physics, then to history, and finally to economics and moral studies. Formal study ended when the students finished "reading" the assigned books on these subjects. If they wished to continue their studies, as most of them did, they were required to attend lectures specially prepared for them and to carry out translating work assigned them by the institute. See ibid., pp. 407-409. Furthermore, students in advanced courses and students who had completed their formal training usually taught beginning students and pursued their studies simultaneously. This half-training, half-learning system, which was devised partly for economic and partly for scholastic reasons, was in existence as early as the beginning of the 1860's. It was continually and unmistakably provided for in the rules up until 1876 and was one of Keio's most salient features. See ibid., pp. 461-466.
"this private school was organized along the lines of their (probably the British public) schools, and was named Keio 77 Gijuku after the name of the era." The term Keio was selected because the school had opened in the fourth year of Keio, or the first year of the Meiji era; the term Gijuku originally referred to an ancient Chinese school financed by charity for the public benefit. Keio was thus, in essence, a privately-owned institution, privately-financed for the public's benefit and similar, in overall conception, to the British public school. And Fukuzawa himself tended less and less to view Keio as his own school, much less that of the Nakatsu domain Lord; on the contrary, he saw it more and more as everyone's school, both the students' and the masters'. The institute's changed name reflected his conception of it as a society and of its faculty and students as the constituents of that society. The European medieval notion of universitas magistrorum et scholarium and, hence, the idea of the modern university also undoubtedly shaped Fukuzawa's thinking. In the meantime, the new Keio's enrollment grew to two hundred or three hundred residential students.

77 Quoted in ibid., p. 258.
78 Ibid., pp. 244-246.
79 This was most clearly stated in the new regulations of 1871. For details, see ibid., pp. 337-338. For further information on this matter, see ibid., pp. 202-203.
Keio's influence was indeed far-reaching, although it took no definite forms during the school's first four years of operation. This point will be developed more fully in the fourth chapter. Suffice it to say that during the ensuing forty-five years of the Meiji era, more than one hundred school were to bear the name gijuku, a term that had never been applied to a Japanese school before the founding of Keio.

The modernization of schools which we have discussed so far was carried out, by and large, on the initiative of individuals or regions. Even the Tokyo schools which were founded by the Ministry of Education followed the same pattern; that is, no such schools were organized outside the city of Tokyo. This regionality indicates, for one thing, that proper coordination among regional schools was lacking, and that the government made no significant efforts to establish a national education system. In one exceptional case before the enactment of the Code, however, the government abandoned its seemingly indifferent attitude toward the modernization of schools. The case in question was the opening of the institution that was Tokyo University's lineal ancestor. At the time of its founding (or, more properly, reorganization, as we shall see) the institute received the intensive and thorough organization of any of

---

Ibid., pp. 245-246.
the pre-Code schools, both public and private. The institute was designed as a model school for higher learning institutes in the country. It was also to provide guidance (which it did not actually do, as we have seen) for all primary and secondary schools. In other words, the institute played the dual role of a model institute of higher learning and the Ministry of Education. Therefore, it is not surprising that this school, which proved to be precursor of both Tokyo University and the Ministry of Education, should have been afforded the utmost attention by the central government. Interestingly enough, Japanese attempts at reorganizing the nation's educational system, dating back as far as the early eighth century—the time when the Japanese first established a daigaku (Institute of Great Learning, the term also being applied to universities in our own time) on the Chinese model—, historically had begun with one top-level institute of learning. But the reorganizations of 1868 went beyond traditional patterns. They were prompted also by the realization that the national educational system (under the Code) was not complete without a university.

The reorganization of the university was begun, in Tokyo, as early as February, 1868, when the Meiji government appointed three Japanese-studies scholars—Yano Harumichi, Hirata Kanetane and Tamamatsu Misao—to investigate the school system. Their task was to reorganize
Shoheiko, the highest state institution for the study of Confucianism under the feudal government. The opening of a new type of higher learning institution was definitely seen as the first step toward a nationwide educational system. The reshaping of the primary schools that took place at about this time was considered a secondary step. Their report, which was prepared in a month's time, was entitled "gakusha sei," or the school system, especially the system of advanced learning. Although their proposals, like the entire Meiji government, consisted essentially in the restoration of the ancient daigaku system, they did not forget to inject into it some new elements, appropriate to the mid-nineteenth century time setting. This system placed primary emphasis on Japanese classical and Imperial studies, relegating Confucianism and Western learning to the periphery as two "wings" of the former studies. As for details, the curriculum had five main branches: 1) the essential elements of the state; 2) the art of governing the state; 3) the art of writing; 4) applied sciences, such as astronomy, medicine and the telling fortunes by the cracks in a turtle shell; and 5) "outer barbarians' learning," i.e., Western learning. The curriculum thus recognized Western learning as one of the main branches of learning.

---

81 Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 7-10; Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of Tokyo Imperial University), (Tokyo, 1932), pp. 107-112.
But the plan outlined in the "gakusha sei" did not give rise to any practices at the new institution of higher learning. Its spirit was to be realized shortly afterwards, however, in the reorganization of the existing feudal governmental school in Edo (Tokyo).

In Kyoto, Gakushuin, a twenty-three-year old institute of advanced learning for the nobility, underwent some changes in March, 1868. The Institute of Imperial studies and Institute of Chinese studies were reopened as a single institute under the direction of Japanese-studies scholars, including the three "gakusha-sei" members. The regulatory articles of the Institutes stated that the institutes' major purpose was "to clarify the national polity and explain to people their obligations" and "to treat both Chinese and Western learning as two wings of the Imperial studies," a clear echo of the spirit of the "gakusha sei." The subject matter specified in the articles was also strikingly similar to that of the "gakusha sei," with the exception of the inexplicable exclusion of Western learning. However, both Gakushuin and the Institute had been in existence for only a year when they were suddenly closed down. This abrupt demise was attributed partly to lack of due preparation by those concerned about meeting the new

---

82 Quoted in Inatomi, *ibid.*, p. 10.
ages full of tumultuous changes, and partly to bitter battles that broke out between two camps of Japanese and Chinese studies. As a consequence, attempts to give highest priority to Japanese studies at the highest learning institutes faced a precarious future. With their failure, the center of the reorganization now shifted from Kyoto, the old capital to Tokyo, the new capital.

In the meantime, the government had, in November, 1868, appointed Yamanouchi Toyonobu a school-system investigator independent of the "gakusha sei" scholars. The following month, he was promoted to the post of the country's "Head of Knowledge and Learning Affairs," or head of school affairs, but obviously was not provided with his own office and staff. But the central educational administration underwent still further alterations in July of the following year (1869). At that time, a higher-learning institution known as the Daigakko (the Shoheiko under a new name) was placed in charge of the nation's school affairs. The president or head of the Daigakko (whether Yamanouchi ever held the post is not clear) was one of the direct precursors of the present-day Minister of Education. This institution also engaged in the publication of almanacs and other works, provided hospital services and sold drugs. The Bureau of Pre-

---

fectual School Investigation was also placed temporarily under the Daigakko's jurisdiction. Prior to the formal institution of the Ministry of Education in July, 1872, this institution was indeed the official center of educational affairs.

At the time of the Restoration, there were three government schools of advanced learning: Shoheiko, which was, as has already been pointed out, a stronghold of official Confucianism; kaiseijo, the former school of Western learning; and igakusho, the former school of Western medicine. In the second year of the Meiji era, plans were made to amalgamate these institutions as one of the first steps of the reorganization. Their subsequent merger, however, did not automatically bring about unity in their relations with one another. They still retained separate names, although not the same ones as before. The biggest changes was that Shoheiko, with a new name and functions, was considered the central institution of the three. Shoheiko, no longer a school for Confucianism, was renamed Daigakko after the ancient Imperial school. Its role, like the Kyoto school's, was purportedly "to clarify and defend the national polity through the study of Japanese holy books dealing with Emperors and ancient

Japanese books and to peruse Chinese books for utilitarian purposes. Kaisei gakko was renamed Kaiseijo and its field of specialization was broadened to include both general and specific areas of Western learning. I gakko was renamed Igakusho, but retained its former major functions. Moreover, it was planned to incorporate the Hei gakko, or military academy in the new complex; this was not done, however, and the academy became an independent institute outside the jurisdiction of Daigakko. It was this reorganized Daigakko which functioned as the office for national education, its president being the "predecessor of the Minister of Education."

Yet, despite all these changes, responsibilities and hopes for the future, Daigakko was closed down in July, 1871, probably due to the recrudescence of heated conflicts between Confucians and Japanese-studies scholars, as had been the case in Kyoto. All the attempts to establish Japanese studies on the highest level of learning had failed, it would seem. After Daigakko had closed, a Ministry of Education was instituted, Kaisei gakko was renamed Daigaku Nanko and I gakko was renamed Daigaku Toko. The names of the last two institutions were later

---

Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 22. For information of the entire paragraph, see *ibid.*, pp. 13-24, 91-93.
shortened to Nanko and Toko, respectively, and they were placed under the Ministry of Education's jurisdiction. After two months in operation, they, too, were closed down. The main reason for the closing was not the conflicts between the Japanese and Chinese-studies scholars but, rather, the institutional reorganization necessitated by the impending proclamation of the Code. The central issue in the reorganization was the placing of three hundred of schools' koshinsei (or tribute students) under the direct charge of Western instructors. Accordingly, approximately five hundred students between fifteen and twenty years of age, including the koshinsei, were enrolled in three sections of English, French and German. Approximately one-half of these students were designated eisei, or English students; the other half was divided into futsusei, or French students, and doitsusei, or German students. Each Western teacher was assigned about thirty of the students in each section; thus, eight English teachers, four French teachers and four German teachers were appointed.

---

87 The koshinsei system went into operation in July, 1870. Students were recruited from feudal domains all over the country. The number of students that each domain could send was proportional to the size of the domain; only one to three students from each domain could be admitted. The enrollment of students from all parts of the country in the same school meant that quarrels, misunderstandings resulting from dialectal differences and high competitive spirit soon became a part of the school's life. Karasawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-23, 47.

88 *Tokyo Teikoku..., op. cit.*, pp. 182-184, 190.
Nanko was reopened within a month, but without any student at first. In the meantime, steps were taken to eliminate some problems stemming from the latest reorganization. One of the most serious of these problems was what to do with those students who were too old for the new school or simply unable to continue for one reason or another. To assist them, first a preparatory school then a technical school were opened, both in vain. The first students, some four hundred and forty of them, were finally admitted to Nanko in March, 1872. In their respective sections, they were to study first, the language in which they were majoring and subsequently geography, physics, mathematics, algebra, geometry, physiology, chemistry, natural history, and other subjects, in their acquired language. These studies were carried on in nine graded classes taught in the English section, six in the French section and four in the German section. The eight instructor appointed to teach the English section were: G. F. Verbeck, W. E. Griffis, Uedoru (Romanized), House, M. Scott, Howaimaki (Romanized), A. Major, and Hall; the five French section teachers were: S. Maillot, G. Fontaine, E. Lépissier, F. Pigeon, and Tarujan (Romanized); and the four German section instructors were: Rosenstein (?), E. Knipping, C.
Schenck, and C. A. Greeven. In the English sections, the number of Japanese assistants was almost equal to the number of foreign instructors; in the French and German sections, it was less. The significance of this successful reorganization lies in the fact that Western learning now ranked higher in importance than either Japanese or Chinese studies in the scale of learning. The reorganization was in effect a complete Westernization of the institute.

In order that the reader may visualize the actual practice of the "model" institute of highest learning, Nanko's class schedules are presented here. The following are the schedules for three of the nine graded classes in the English section, the French and German sections being essentially similar, with smaller time allocations:

The Fifth Grade: Mon-Sat., 7-12 p.m.; instructors, H. Wilson (obviously a replacement) and one native assistant:

- Arithmetic (six hours, one hour each);
- Writing (four hours, one hour each);
- Grammar (four hours, half an hour twice and one hour thrice);
- Conversation (three hours, one hour each);
- Word writing practice (three hours, one hour each)

---

These names are spelled as they appear (while some not and therefore Romanized) in employees' names in Shigehisa and Amano, ed., "Meiji bunka kankan o-bei junmeiroku (list of Europeans and Americans Who Contributed to the Cultural Development of Japan in the Meiji Era)," Sho Kenkyu, (October, 1937), passim.

each);
Gymnastics (three hours, half an hour each);
Moral sciences (two hours, one hour each);
Geography (two hours, one hour each);
Recitation (one hour):

The Seventh Grade; M-S, 7-12; instructors, Verbeck, Griffis, Uedoru, House, and four native assistants;
Verbeck's classes: history (an hour and half per week) and moral sciences (an hour and half);
Griffis' classes: geography (two hours), literature (two hours), chemistry (two hours and a half), and physiology (an hour);
Uedoru's classes: mathematics (two hours and half) and physics (two hours);
House's classes: word writing practice (two hours), composition (two hours), writing (half an hour), grammar (two hours and a half), and reading (two hours);
Drawing (one hour)
Gymnastics (three hours, half an hour each):

The Ninth Grade or the Highest Grade; M-S, 7-12; instructors are the same as above;
Verbeck's class: algebra (two hours);
Griffis' classes: literature (two hours), moral sciences (two hours), chemistry (three hours), geography (one hour), and physiology (two hours);
Uedoru's classes: geometry (two hours), physics (two hours and a half), and mathematics (three hours and a half);
House's classes: grammar (two hours), composition (two hours), reading (an hour), and history (two hours);
Drawing (an hour);
Gymnastics (three hours, half an hour each) 91

Those schedules were taught mostly, if not entirely, in English with English textbooks. But there was another set of schedules which were taught mostly in Japanese by native instructors. These last were called "irregular"

---

91 Ibid., pp. 218, 216, 214.
schedules and the students in them hensoku-sei, or "irregular students." The schedules detailed above were considered "regular and the students in them were called seisoku-sei, or "regular students." The "irregular" courses apparently catered to those students who were too advanced to begin with the childish spelling books and conversation manuals used in regular course or probably to those who knew too much or too little about the foreign language they majored in. In either case, they sought a quick and easy way to learn Western arts and sciences, using their native tongue.

The number of foreign instructors in each section was not necessarily fixed. Around October, 1871, for example, there were twenty-four Americans, four Frenchmen, five Germans, and one Danish as instructors, Verbeck being a head instructor. Americans had increasingly dominated the school, however. Therefore, it is not far-fetched to conclude that "from 1870 and 1873 it (Nanko) was essentially a replica of an American grammar school."

In parallel to Nanko, Toko too underwent considerable

---

92 See recollections of Sugiura Jugo's school life at Nanko in Kokumin Kyoiku Shorei Kai (The Society of the Promotion for People's Education)—hereinafter abbreviated as Kokumin Kyoiku—, ed., Kyoiku goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), pp. 82-83; Schwantes, op. cit., p. 224.
93 Inoue, op. cit., p. 340.
94 Schwantes, ibid., p. 224.
changes but under heavy German influence. When Toko, like Nano, was closed down in September, 1871 and reopened in a month, it, unlike Nanko, obviously did not have any definite overall proposal for the reorganization of medical education. Therefore, they were simply waiting for the arrival of two German advisors, Major Leopold Müller, an army surgeon, and Lieutenant Theodor Eduard Hoffman, a navy physician, with an expectation that the German doctors may have had definite suggestions for them. Their invitation was arranged by Sagara Tomoyasu and Iwasa Jun, both doctors in Dutch medicine, upon recommendation of oyatoi Dutch doctors Pompe van Meerdervoort and A. F. Bauduin, their former teachers at the Medical Academy in Nagasaki. Iwasa Jun, incidentally, was later appointed one of those who prepared the draft of the Code.

But Müller and Hoffman's task was quick and thorough, taking advantage of unusually high authorities being granted

---

Throughout the period of the feudal government, the Dutch played a major role in the instruction of medicine in Japan. For details, see Nishihira, op. cit., pp. 15-32, 42-44, 56-73. It was not surprising, therefore, that the feudal government employed, toward the end of its regime, these two Dutch doctors for the reorganization of medical education. The new Meiji government, however, first employed William Willis, a doctor assigned to the British Consulate in Japan, as a teacher for I gakko and a director of a government hospital in Tokyo. But his influence at I gakko was small. And soon the Germans arrived to take charge of medical training. Inoue, op. cit., p. 339; Nihon rekishi dai jiten (A Complete Dictionary of Japanese History)--hereinafter abbreviated as NRDJ--. (Tokyo, 1968-1969), Vol. I, pp. 464-465; Vol. I, p. 501; Vol. V, p. 74; Vol VIII, p. 535.
to them. They naturally worked after their own German universities, paying, at the same time, a particular attention to a preparatory training for Japanese students. According to their plans, forty and sixty students were to be admitted respectively to the five-year regular and three-year preparatory classes (later revised to five and two years). Ages of students were set between fourteen and nineteen. They were to be admitted only once a year in September. Although Toko initiated a full-fledged preparatory course, both Nanko and Toko generally shared a similar institutional arrangement. They also shared the presence of influential Western advisors, Verbeck in Nanko and two German doctors in Toko.

Both Müller and Hoffman were instructors for the regular course, teaching anatomy, zoology, and other subjects. In addition, Müller gave lectures on surgery, gynecology, and ophthalmology, while Hoffman gave instruction

This is clearly shown in their contract. The contract reads: "The upper-ranked (i.e., German) doctors are to be the head of instructors at Tokyo I gakko. Affairs of the school should be brought, by the upper-ranked doctors, to the attention (of the authorities in charge) and be administered upon the permission from the president of Daigakko. No Japanese doctors should be placed above the two (German) doctors, whose rank is to be next only to the president of Daigakko. Upon arrival in Japan, the two doctors, or at least one of them, are to attend to the Emperor." Quoted in Ogawa Teizo, Tokyo daigaku igakubu hyakuen shi (A Centennial History of the Department of Medicine, Tokyo University), (Tokyo, 1967), p. 124.

Ibid., pp. 124-125.
in internal medicine. Besides two doctors, Simmons, who had been a teacher in medicine at the school before they arrived in Japan, now taught Latin, German, and mathematics in the preparatory classes. Later in March, 1872, Gottfried Wagemer was transferred from Nanko and assigned for the instruction of physics and chemistry at the regular course level and algebra, geometry, and arithmetic at the preparatory. Still later on Friedrich Hilgendörf, Herrmann Cochius, and Hermann Funk joined the original teaching staffs of the preparatory course and taught, respectively, zoology and botany, chemistry and mathematics, and Latin and German.

The reorganization of Nanko and Tokyo was carried out in anticipation of the issuance of the Code, as pointed out earlier. Consequently, they did not necessarily produce a large number of technicians desperately needed for the building of the nation, the schools being essentially directed toward the preparation for the modern university. Highly professionalized training, which was ranked in the pinnacle in the university training scale, gave way, particularly at Nanko, to general course work. However, such training itself was not overlooked at all. It was conducted at different branches of the government where skilled technicians were most needed. In 1871 alone, for

Ibid., p. 215.
example, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs opened two schools, one for the instruction of Western languages and the other the Chinese language; the Ministry of Engineering started one school called Kogyokuryo; the Ministry of Justice initiated a school for the study of laws called Meijiryo; and the Hokkaido Development Commission inaugurated an agricultural school called Kaitakushi Karigakko.

The Coordination of Western Influence on Japanese Education

During the years of 1868 and the middle of 1872, the scenes of Japanese education had changed considerably, both in contents and in organization. In contents, the Japanese public were exposed for the first time to Western education through writers of enlightenment books, missionaries, employed foreigners, students and government officials, and writers of educational literatures on

99 The Ministry of Engineering was inaugurated in March, 1870, in order "to promote and encourage various branches of engineering and also to take charge of mines, iron manufacture, lighthouses, railways, telegraphic communication, and other efforts" of the new government. The Ministry was considered as crucial in the realization of "Rich and Powerful Nation" and "Promotion of Industry," two slogans of the new government. For the training of these engineers, the school was established with great subsequent successes, so much so that the years between 1871 and 1877 was generally known as the "Kobu Era" (The Era of the Ministry of Engineering). In 1877, the school was transformed into Kobu daigakko, which soon became part of newly-established Tokyo University. NRDJ, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 421.

100 Fujiwara Kiyozo, Meiji kyoiku shiso shi (A History of Meiji Educational Ideas), (Tokyo, 1909), p. 29.
Western education. In organization, the Japanese obtained some experiences in running a new, if not totally Western, schools in such cities as Numazu, Kyoto, Tokyo, Kanazawa, and Tokushi, or in several domains. Although their achievements were rather modest, they nevertheless successfully created a nationwide mood for educational changes in the country. But the source of the changes did not come from the people involved. As true to the Meiji Restoration itself, it came from above, from those small band of new elites who made the political changes possible. They opened an office for national education in Daigakko, making it an independent office, now a Ministry of Education, upon the closing of the institute, as has been already mentioned. Therefore, unlike in England and the United States where civic-minded parishioners and publicly-appointed local boards of education bore a burden of popularizing education, national education in Japan was initiated under the strong leadership of the government.

When the Ministry was instituted, a Minister was surely to be appointed. But the administrative responsibilities which the Minister would discharge and the office work which he would handle were not clear at first. It was the Iwakura Mission which prompted the government to define Ministerial duties. It appears that the Ministry was instituted in great urgency to launch the national education system. At any rate, Eto Shimpei, who was the
first of the Meiji leaders who "made efforts to introduce
Western laws," was appointed as a Vice-Minister of
education. Eto was to carry out, temporarily at least,
the following Ministerial duties specified in the "Office
Regulations" which were prepared by Eto himself and Mitsukuri
Rinsho, a leading scholar in French laws, as guideline
materials for the Iwakura Mission: "1) to administer per-
sonnel in the Ministry and other branch agents, and to
place, under his charge, educational supervisory offices,
universities, middle schools, and primary schools to
carry out office work thereof; 2) to be responsible for
educating people all over the country and helping them find
their way, and 3) to defend and explicate office work
under his charge to the supreme administrative body governed
by the Emperor." His authority was also extended to
governmental schools in Osaka and Nagasaki, and as indicated
earlier, to hospitals, libraries, museums, and students
studying abroad. The number of staffs under Eto’s charge was
over forty, some of whom were also instructors in the
governmental schools of Nanko and Toko, both of which
were now maintained by the Ministry of Education. But
beyond all these functions lay his highest responsibility
of "educating people all over the country and helping them

101 Ogata Hiroyasu, Gakusei jisshi keii no kenkyu (A
Study of the Code of Education: Its Practices), (Tokyo,
102 Quoted in ibid., p. 37.
find their way." Eto, the first man who was to head the office, turned out to be a person who successfully put an end to devastating feuds between scholars in Japanese and Chinese studies in old Daigakko, and placed Western learning over the two. The reopening of Nanko and Toko at the expense of Daigakko was in great part attributed to him. Also, Mitsukuri, who assisted Eto in preparing the Ministerial duties, played a role of the chairman for the committee who prepared the draft of the Code. It is not surprising, therefore, that since both Eto and Mitsukuri had a great knowledge in French laws, they naturally relied heavily on the French system in their efforts to initiate the national education system.

Eto was obviously a corner-stone figure, for within ten days, Oki Takato, a close associate of Eto and a former student, like Eto, of Verbeck, was appointed a Minister. Eto was relieved from the office in the following month to be attached to the administrative body. Under Oki's administration, which extended from September, 1871 to

Ibid., pp. 34-35.
April, 1873, a number of changes took place: A Bureau for the Compilation of Textbooks was created in the Ministry; new regulations were introduced at Nanko and Toko; a Bureau of Vaccination was opened in Toko; Tanaka Fujimaro, then the chief secretary to the Minister, was sent overseas as a commissioner of education for the Iwakura Mission; a female school in Tokyo was opened under the direct charge of the Ministry; a public library was started at the seat of the former Daigakko, or the present Ministry; and Tokyo Normal School was opened in May, 1871. But above all, the Code of Education was finally proclaimed in August, 1872.

104 According to the First Annual Report of Mombusho published in 1874, the Bureau was the result of the merging of the following offices: the Office of the Language and Translation in Daigakko, the Bureau of Translation in Nanko, and the Office of Medical Translation in Toko. However, the Bureau was abolished in September, 1872 for obtaining optimum effectiveness in the texts compilation, which thereafter, or temporarily at least, had been carried out both at the Ministry and the newly-established Normal School. Fukukama Tatsuo, Meiji shoki hyakkazensho no kenkyu (A Study of the Translation of an Encyclopedia in the Early Meiji), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 40-41. Further discussions shall be made later in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER II

THE CODE OF EDUCATION:
AN INTELLECTUAL CLIMATE AND ITS UNDERLYING SPIRIT

This chapter constitutes the first part of the total five which discuss the different aspects of Western influence on Japanese education during the period of the Code, which extended from August, 1872 to September, 1879; but discussions also covered the period of the additional fifteen months, i.e., till December, 1880, during which the Educational Ordinance, a revised version of the Code, furthered Western features of the Code. The main reason that five chapters are to be devoted to the study of this period lies in the fact that the Japanese at the time was more enthusiastic and more open to alien education than any other period in their history, either before or after, therefore most ardently introducing it; even a great inflow of Chinese education in the seventh and eighth centuries and of American education after World War II to Japan did not match that of the early Meiji.

Education during the period of the Code shall be examined, in the next five chapters, in the following areas: 1) an intellectual climate of the period and underlying spirit of the Code, 2) Western elements of the Code and
general practices of education during the period, 3) Western influence on the secondary and higher institutes of learning, 4) the translation of Western textbooks and of literatures on (Western) education, and 5) schools of the missionaries. Though each chapter deals with the different topics, it is nevertheless closely related to the other chapters in contents. Education during the period, therefore, could best be understood when the five chapters were taken as a whole.

More specifically in the present chapter, we shall deal first with an intellectual climate created chiefly by bunmei kaika (Civilization and Enlightenment), one of three slogans of the Meiji government, two others being fukoku kyohei (Rich and Powerful Nation), and shokusan kogyo (Promotion of Industry). This movement, bunmei kaika, actually started, as we recall, before the announcement of the Code, but became most clearly pronounced during the period of the Code. The objective of bunmei kaika was to enlighten the masses in order that the country could be civilized (and subsequently rich, powerful, and industrialized, as the slogans read), fermently creating an intellectual atmosphere congenial to the promulgation and practices of the Code. The devices of popular enlightenment in the social setting, such as enlightenment books, literary societies and their organs, public speeches, and political movements, shall be examined; all the
devices were initiated under the Western influence.

In this chapter, we shall also discuss spirit which characterizes the Code. Here, we shall examine how the spirit, which was to support or justify the proclamation of the Code, was actually originated in Western thought. In the process, we shall treat Fukuzawa Yukichi again in great details.

The Acceleration of Bunmei Kaika -- An Intellectual Climate

During the first four years of the Meiji, both the government and people were struck by numerous drastic changes they themselves initiated. And although they marched a road to modernization of their country under the banners of "Civilization and Enlightenment," "Rich and Powerful Nation," and "Promotion of Industries," they soon found their ways full problems.

The more than two million samurai, or ruling class of the old regime, posed one of the most serious problems for the Meiji government and certainly for the people. Still clinging to the illusion of their old privileges, many of them were increasingly embittered by the series of anti-samurai measures introduced by the central government. Though some, particularly the lower-ranking samurai, successfully adapted to change and became leading politicians, scholars, and businessmen, many others were
incapable of adjusting to the new mode of life. Their frustrations mounted and frequently erupted in riots. Most of the riots occurred between 1873 and 1877, the first five years when the Code was in force. The greatest rebellion of all broke out in Satsuma in 1877 under the leadership of the discontented Saigo Takamori. But the rebellious forces, 15,000 strong, were totally defeated by newly-raised army of conscripts. No serious outbreaks of violence occurred thereafter. But the rebellious samurai who were still numerous, still found suitable and noble pretexts for attacking the government. They instituted and formed the nucleus of the People's Rights movement, a Western-style political crusade whose object was to expose and combat government injustices by transforming the feudal classes into modern citizens fully aware of their human rights. The movement became increasingly powerful after the Satsuma Rebellion. But the series of unsuccessful rebellions also had certain effects on education. In the first place, the rebellions helped the central government to accelerate the process of the unification of the country, which in turn facilitated the practice of national education. On the other hand, the rebellions, particularly the Satsuma Rebellion, burdened the new government with exorbitant costs, thereby affecting the financing of schools. Lastly, the failure of their rebellions caused many discontented samurai to turn to
political activism of a less violent sort: these men now became champions of political enlightenment, discarding the sword for the pen. Instead of violent rebels, the country was now filled with ambitious Western oriented politicians, a condition undoubtedly more auspicious for education on a national basis.

The government also had serious troubles with the farmers, and vice versa. Like their old masters, the samurai, the farmers became discontented with the governmental measures which were supposedly to release them from an ignominious peasants' life. They were particularly enraged by the Conscription Ordinance of 1872 and the land-tax reform of 1873, both of which entailed greater sacrifices than the farmers were used to. Riots erupted throughout the country. But the farmers' riots, like the samurai rebellions, were also quelled by governmental force. Defeated, the farmers became even more bitter and readily rejected all the other governmental proposals, including the national education system. Their general attitude toward the issuance of the Code was naturally more one of rejection than of interest or of indifference. Their attitudes were somewhat modified later on, however. For one thing, they learned to work effectively with the leaders of the People's Rights movement. But they were also influenced by the popular bunmei kaika movement, which made a cult out of formal schooling.
In addition to the difficulties with ex-samurai and farmers, the new government encountered many other problems resulting from its inexperience in running a modern state. The government itself needed drastic reorganization. Laws of various kinds had to be enacted. The unequal treaties with Western nations had to be changed. Apprehensions were in the air. But over the turmoil and uncertainty was heard the ringing slogan of bunmei kaika, cathartic words. People accepted the changes and quickly adopted a new mode of life. They used gas lighting, shoes, and Western furniture for the first time. They put on Western clothing and tried Western hairdos. They drank beer and smoked cigarettes. The solar calendar, summer vacations, and the reckoning of time on a weekly basis became accepted in Japan.

The government also embarked upon bunmei kaika. Japan's first telegraph line was installed in 1869 between Tokyo and Yokohama. A postal system went into service in 1871 between Tokyo and Osaka. The first railroad line, from Tokyo to Yokohama, was opened in 1872 and the Kyoto-Osaka line in 1877. To bunmei kaika was added another slogan of the new government: shokusan kosyo (Promotion of Industry). Various types of mines were opened. Shipyards a silk factory and a cement plant started operating. A
modern mint was opened.

Such receptiveness to new customs and technology on the part of the public and government indicates that the society at large undoubtedly responded favorably to the introduction of the new education. Oddly enough, the leaders of the People's Rights movement, despite their general disagreement with the government, never seized upon the Code as an issue. Merchants and city dwellers, the teragoya private school's principal patrons under the feudal regime, liked the idea of having a new-type school. The only unhappy people were largely farmers. Generally poor, they were unable to pay the tuitions which the Code prescribed or to spare their children from work during school hours. Nevertheless, they were opposed less to the new school system itself than to how it was operated. After all, they too were charmed by the magic words bunmei kaika.

In addition to bringing about changes in the people's material life, bunmei kaika affected their inner life as well. At first, the movement was equated with novelty in general. As one critic lamented: "People consider everything imaginable to be bunmei kaika; wiping one's nose with a bill, destroying a Buddhist altar, imitating

1 The discussion up to this point is based on information collected in Tanaami Hiroshi, Shin nihon shi no kenkyu (A Study of New Japanese History), (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 332-341.
Westerners, and doing any unheard-of thing." But this cult of sheer novelty did not last long. Some writers started analyzing the meaning of bunmei kaika, comparing their own culture with the Western. Thus, from about 1873 to the end of the 1870's (the period in which the Code was in effect), numerous critiques of bunmei kaika appeared. Among these were Kato's Bunmei Kaika (1873), Yokokawa's Threshold to Enlightenment (1873), Yamaguchi's Enlightenment-Worshipping (1874), Ogawa's Enlightenment: Questions and Answers (1875), Okabe's Criticisms of Enlightenment (1875), and Taguchi Ukichi's Nature of Japanese Enlightenment. Their opinions were various, but could be divided roughly into two camps, one headed by Kato and the other by Taguchi. Kato, a conservative Shinto scholar, argued that blind Westernization should be superseded by well-considered selection and judgement. Although not opposed to Westernization, he wished to use traditional Japanese culture as a basis for the national transformation. On the other hand, Taguchi, a laissez-faire economist, maintained that feudalism (or the traditional culture) had bred an inferior Japanese civilization and hence should be totally discarded. With the passing of feudalism, the Japanese "nobles' civilization" could be

---

2 Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji iko kyoiku mokuteki no hensen (The Changes in Educational Purposes after the Meiji Era), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 41-42.
replaced by the superior Western "commoners' civilization," which was based on free trade. Yet Taguchi did not advocate indiscriminate Westernization. He argued, rather, that the total transformation of the average Japanese after the Western model could put the country on the path to modern civilization. Despite such differences, both Kato and Taguchi agreed that the country certainly could not develop a new modern outlook without Western arts and sciences. Their differences were not in kind, but in degree. Like the leaders of the People's Rights movement, they never spoke of introducing the Western school system itself, but their arguments suggest that they were generally in favor of it. The enlightenment writers undoubtedly helped to create an atmosphere favorable to the Code. In fact, there were no major social forces inalterably opposed to the opening of the modern school. Ex-samurai and present farmers liked it, although to different degrees. Leaders of the People's Rights movement and enlightenment writers asserted to it, if only tacitly. And merchants and townsmen openly supported it. But this climate of favorable opinion largely the result of bunmei kaika, which stirred men's hopes for better life and the country's hopes of eliminating both domestic and foreign threats to its survival. And it was not long

---

4 For details, see ibid., pp. 31-34, 41-44.
before the public and government became aware that the key to **bunmei kaika** was education.

If the institution of the modern school system was (logically, if not chronologically) the ultimate result of **bunmei kaika**, the formation of literary societies was one of its more immediate consequences. The Meirokusha (Society of the Sixth Year of the Meiji) was the most influential literary society and one of the first to be organized; it was founded in 1873, the second year of the Code, by Mori Arinori, who, it will be recalled, had been sent overseas by the Satsuma domain before the Restoration, especially to London University. During his two-year sojourn at the university, he made a brief trip to Russia. He also spent eight months at the utopian colonies founded by Thomas Lake Harris, a Swedenborgian, in Amenia and Salem-on-Erie, both in New York. Later, he returned to the United States for a second time to serve as his country's first **chargé d'affaires** in Washington. In that capacity, he worked with members of the Iwakura Mission and had particularly close dealings with educational commissioner Tanaka Fujimaro, whom we have mentioned earlier. He also prepared two books for the Mission in both Japanese- and English-language versions: **Religious Freedom in Japan** (1872) and **Japanese Education** (1872). The latter book, which holds particular interest for us, was largely the outgrowth of Mori's personal interest in
education. It was a collection of letters, by prominent Americans, on the subject of promoting national education in Japan. One of the letter-writers was David Murray, whom we have also mentioned. This letter, in fact, played a role in Murray's appointment as Japan's first (and last) Superintendent of Educational Affairs, in 1873. Mori was, on the whole, an able young diplomat who showed a great interest in education.

With such a background, it was inevitable that Mori should also become an enlightenment leader. Already exposed to Western life and customs, he became an active participant in almost all the important new governmental reorganizations. Mori was, then, not only an enlightenment leader but a competent and enlightened official as well. As we shall soon see, he was to take liberal stands as an enlightenment leader. However, as we shall discover in the last chapter of this study, he was later to espouse conservatism almost to the point of becoming an ultra-nationalist, while remaining an enlightened official. This seemingly paradoxical transformation was not a transformation at all. He was liberal enough to make changes but conservative enough to see to it that
the changes were in the national interest. This was what it meant to be an enlightenment educator in the Meiji era. At any rate, Mori, with all his knowledge of the West and all his experiences of the new government, was an outspoken advocate of the founding of Meirokusha. Those who flocked to his banner included the most prominent enlightenment leaders, statesmen and educators of the early Meiji era. Meirokusha was clearly a child of bunmei kaika.

For all their diverse backgrounds, almost all the staff members of Meirokusha had had some connection with formal education. Fukuzawa, as has been pointed out on a number of occasions, was the founder of Keio, the first private college in Japan. Tanaka Fujimaro, as we know, had been educational commissioner of the Iwakura Mission and the Minister of Education's right-hand man. Mitsukuri Rinsho was, as we shall presently see, the chief drafter of the Code of Education and subsequently principal of the Franco-Japanese Law School. Nakamura Masanao (who, like Fukuzawa, was one of the early Meiji period's most popular enlightenment writers) had been a founder of

5

For the biographical information about Mori on which the present discussion is based, see Motoyama Yukihiro, "Mori Arinori no kokka shugi to sono kyouku shiso (Nationalism and Educational Thought of Mori Arinori)," Jinbun Gakuho, Vol.- (March, 1958), pp. 83-93. For information concerning Harris, see Herbert Passin, Society and Education in Japan, (New York, 1968), p. 90.
Doninsha (a temporary rival of Keio) and subsequently principal of Tokyo Normal School for Girls. Tsuda Sen was to become one of the founders of Japan's first agricultural school and the founder of a mission school as well. Kanda Takahira was a former principal of Kaiseijo (which was, as has been noted, one of the ancestors of Tokyo University). Nishimura Shigeki was an outspoken official of the Ministry of Education. Kato Hiroyuki was a distinguished political-science scholar and later president of Tokyo University. Nishi Amane, called the "father of modern Japanese philosophy," was a former principal of Numazu Military Academy (which we have already had occasion to mention). Another twenty-odd names could be added to this list. Once again, Bunmei kaika was a stimulus to education, and Meirokusha was its creation.

Meirokusha actually carried on two major forms of enlightenment: the publication of the Society's organ and the organization of public lectures. The organ, "Meiroku zasshi," came out a number of times a month. Three or four articles appeared in each issue, which was about ten

---

pages in length. The magazine was extremely popular, with an average circulation of three thousand copies. In all, forty-three issue of "Meiroku zasshi" appeared (from March, 1874 to September, 1875). They dealt with those topics which the public found most thought-provoking, such as the advocacy of a universal language (like Esperanto); parents' role in the national education system; the Romanization of the Japanese language; the study of religious doctrines (including Christianity); sexual equality in marriage; the reform of Japanese theatrical arts (after the Western model); the meaning of national independence, individual, and freedom of the press; the internal reform of society (i.e., changes in modes of individual life, not merely in organizations and material possessions), and the like. Although articles specifically dealing with school-education topics were not numerous (only one educational topic is cited in the preceding sentence, for example), all the magazine's articles, like the enlightenment books, served an educational purpose insofar as they stimulated public interest and intellectual curiosity in the most pressing problems of the time. And, as was the case with the enlightenment books, the topics
were derived mainly from Western sources.

Meirokusha's first lecture for staff members was given in November, 1874, but was not made public for another three months. The first Meirokusha public lecture was delivered, to an audience of about thirty, by Nakamura Masanao, who spoke on the transformation of the individual. Subsequent speakers, including Fukuzawa, characteristically elaborated on articles of theirs that had already appeared in "Meiroku zasshi." The public lectures were popular, but not as sensationally so as the publication of the organ. As we shall soon see, this was due partly to the greater activeness of Fukuzawa's Mita Enzetsu Kai, or Mita Speech Society (Mita was the cite of Keio), and partly to the fact that Meirokusha decided (not unanimously) to close its doors in compliance with new governmental regulations curbing the People's Rights movement leaders' political activities, including publications. Fukuzawa was one of those who opposed the closing. Meirokusha nevertheless had done much to advance


the enlightenment movement, and was a prototype of the literary societies that mushroomed during its heyday.

In 1874, after the dissolution of Meirokusha, two societies (not necessarily influential ones, but important from the standpoint of the activities in which they engaged) were formed: Kyozon Doshu (Society of Comrades for Co-Existence), which carried on the liberal tradition of Meirokusha, and Yoyosha (Society of Boundless Future), which inherited Meirokusha's conservative elements. However, Kyozon Doshu was not staffed by retired members of Meirokusha, but rather by those who had just returned from study overseas. Also, whereas Meirokusha had pursued the broad goal of public enlightenment, Kyozon Doshu's purposes were more specific and more (school) education-oriented. Society's objective--strikingly similar to Iwakura Mission's general program, as outlined earlier--was "to study the ways of human coexistence... in the areas of law, education, financing, and hygiene." But like Meirokusha, it was to publicize its findings in its organ, "Kyozon zasshi" and public lectures. It produced

---

9 For a fuller discussion of the dissolution of Meirokusha and the formation of these societies, see Ishiyama, et. al., ed., op. cit., pp. 96-97, 385-386; Makino Kichigoro, Meiji keiko kyoiku no kenkyu (A Study of the Meiji Enlightenment Movement from Educational Viewpoints), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 188-189.

no significant studies, educational or otherwise, in its first several years of existence. Its most noteworthy activities began in a rather surprising area, the study of law or more precisely, of political involvement. Under the direction of Baba Tatsui, who had returned in 1878 from England, where he had completed eight years of legal studies, Kyozon Doshu became deeply-involved in the People's Rights movement, sponsoring a number of rallies. It soon had a membership of a few hundred. Although they sometimes criticized the government severely, Society's members never became as radical as some of the French-oriented People's Rights' leaders. This made it possible for certain members to become influential government officials in later years. It was from the ranks of these members, and other moderate elements, that the country's distinguished educators subsequently emerged. Ono Azusa, for example, became a co-founder of Tokyo Senmon Gakko (later Waseda University) in 1882. This school was eventually to rival Keio in academic prestige and quality. Conditions leading to its opening shall be briefly discussed in the fifth chapter. In addition, Ono was a founder of a political party and wrote numerous books on politics under the influence of Francis Lieber. Toyama Shoichi became the president of Tokyo University and the Minister of Education. Hatoyma Kazuo became the president of Waseda University and
a leading politician. Kikuchi Dairoku (who shall be briefly referred to in the fifth chapter) became the president of Tokyo University and the Minister of Education. Others became distinguished educators, also.

We have stated that Meirokusha pioneered the formation of the literary society, and that it was generally directed toward public enlightenment in the broader aspect of life by providing information and supplying adequate topics. We have also pointed out that its members were mostly directly involved in education in school and that bunmei kaika, as acted upon by Meirokusha, was essentially educational. But the activity of Kyozon Doshu signifies a different phase of bunmei kaika, the phase which subsequently developed at an increasing rate. The basis of the activity was no longer broad but rather a specific area of national politics. With this shift, bunmei kaika became identified more with the dispensing of political information than with general education (i.e., enlightenment) of the public. Bunmei kaika became more action-oriented. People were now applying what they had learned

from enlightened books and writers. But as we have pointed out, Kyozon Doshu was formed by men who had just returned from their study abroad, or by the men under the influence of the contemporary Western enlightenment movement. For them, the political arena became the place where they could apply what they had learned in the West and at the same time the place where they taught the "people" (in the new phase of bunmei kaika, as just pointed out) who in their turn applied what they learned from the students. Thus, initial blind worshipping of Western civilization was turned into critical views of it (with the publication of enlightenment books and the inauguration of Meirokusha) and then into actual practices of it, as seen in the activity of Kyozon Doshu. But since the actual applications took place in the total complexity of the society, both the former overseas students and the general public at home learned immensely from the reality of the experience. Thus, in the new phase of bunmei kaika, the Japanese went through three stages, often simultaneously: acquisition of information, application of it, and assessment of it in the real setting. This process was carried out through active interactions between the former students and the public and between the people and their environment; in it, the students learned from the public, too. This phase of bunmei kaika was indeed educational, but far more complex and curiously narrower than the former phase. But Kyozon
Doshu neither initiated nor accomplished the new phase, although it considerably helped the literary society (pioneered by Meirokusha) become an integral part, through enlightenment books, of bunmei kaika and thus a medium for popular education. Rather the new phase was created and consummated by the leaders of the People's Rights movement. We, therefore, shall deal with the movement shortly hereafter.

We have mentioned that Meirokusha eventually was split into two societies, Kyozon Doshu and Yoyosha. We have learned, from the preceding discussions, that Kyozon Doshu represented a progressive element of Meirokusha but that this element led itself into political activity, now completely departing from the parent in its outlook and helping create the new phase of bunmei kaika. But Yoyosha, led by conservative Meirokusha member Nishimura Shigeki, never accomplished any significant achievement. Their stand was "not to seek radical methods," but to find the Way which transcended Oriental and Occidental methods. Yet the members did not make any significant move in accordance with this stance. When they did talk (not act) something loud, they did so more as an individual than as a member. As a rule lacking in experiences in studying abroad, they were not sympathetic with Western culture, but were not articulate enough to talk against it.
Understandably, Yoyosha, like Kyozon Doshu, never took national education as an issue, either. But the existence of Yoyosha was significant in two ways. One was that conservative elements could not take an initiative in bunmei kaika, their silence not a sign of incompetence but of impotence. The other was that the literary society, whether progressive or conservative (or intermediary, like Meirokusha), did not treat the national education system as a central issue of bunmei kaika. By the same token, no literary society for education (except the very modest Hanaisha, which will be briefly touched upon the fourth chapter in connection with educational literature) was opened till around 1880, and that under the government's auspices. This is why the Code was granted from above, from the government. This is why the post-Code educational politics were subject to the changes of national politics. We shall briefly resume this discussion in the fifth chapter in connection with the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890. At any rate, the scope of bunmei kaika was undoubtedly enlarged and explored because of the activities of the literary societies. The public learned more. The activities were indisputably educational.

---

Meirokusha initiated the formation of the literary society, as has often been pointed out. But Fukuzawa started public speech, which was not only Meirokusha's important tool of public communication but also Kyozen Doshu's (and the People's Rights leaders') principal weapon of attacking the government. First Fukuzawa, with his Keio associates, studied speech and viewed it as equally important as the press. He coined the Japanese term *enzetsu* for speech. He and his associates, then, practiced it the summer of 1873. As mentioned earlier, they formed Mita Speech Society after a year's practice. They held their first formal speech among the members in June, 1874, five months prior to Meirokusha's first speech. The initial public response to the earliest speeches was favorable but not enthusiastic. The change came when Fukuzawa opened a speech auditorium on his campus in mid 1875. More speeches were conducted with great success. As they increasingly appealed to the audience, they soon found their most passionate supporters, People's Rights leaders, who began to build a power at the time. The leaders spread speech all over the country. Despite increasing public recognition of speech as a political tool, Fukuzawa himself never confined his topics to politics. As a champion of the earliest phase

---

13 *Keio Gijuku..., op. cit.*, pp. 622-638.
of the enlightenment movement, he used the technique to enlighten the public in broad areas of modern civilization. He was indeed an embodiment of a spirit of Meirokusha in the area of speech. But both Meirokusha's society and Fukuzawa's speech were eventually transformed into tools of political enlightenment of the People's Rights movement.

As often pointed out so far, the People's Rights movement introduced, to bunmei kaika, the new phase, in its intensity and nation-wide influence, of the full (and popular) use of the new media of enlightenment, i.e., the (literary) society and public speech. But also, as shall be dealt with a moment later, it turned simple enlightenment books used by earlier writers into highly sophisticated political literatures. Moreover, it helped stimulate the growth of another important medium for enlightenment: a newspaper. Finally, it helped politicians, heroes of the new phase of enlightenment, form political (and literary) societies and parties, thereby extending the dimension of Meirokusha's concept of the societies. We shall now deal with all the media of bunmei kaika, i.e., political literature, newspapers, and political societies and parties, in some detail. The old media, Meirokusha's literary society and Fukuzawa's public speech, are excluded, not because they are insignificant (the fact was that they were frequently most effective and important), but because that they became, as pointed out so often, so much
a part of the People's Rights movement that they are simply taken for granted in the discussions which follow.

The People's Rights movement actually began in 1874, the following year of Meirokusha's formation. In that year, sympathizers of ex-samurai, including Eto Shimpei (the first head of the Ministry of Education, as mentioned in the previous chapter) and Itagaki Taisuke, one of the most distinguished leaders of the movement, filed a petition with the government calling for the inauguration of a House consisting of publicly elected members. The petition represented more or less a retaliatory action on the part of the sympathizers who were politically defeated in their advocation of a Korean invasion to divert the attention of discontented ex-samurai. Nevertheless, it attracted instant and wide-spread public attention from ex-samurai, students of Western politics who had just returned from abroad, and those people who were now enlightened enough to assert their rights. The results were not only the emergence of the new media we have just enumerated, but also the obtainment of the promise in 1880 that the government would open a popular Diet in a decade. But because it was forced into such a promise, the government was extremely alarmed by the power of the movement. Thereafter, it launched a number of reactionary policies, educational portions of which caused the termination of the pro-Western Code and its revised ordinance. We shall resume,
although briefly, the discussion in a moment.

Enlightenment books for politics, more specifically for civil rights, appeared as early as 1861. Kato Hiroyuki, later a member of Meirokusha as we have mentioned, wrote in that year a book which praised the Western constitutional monarchy as most suitable to bringing about equality to men. He wrote two more books, one titled *Outline of Constitutional Government* (1868) and the other *General Descriptions of the True Form of Government* (1870), and became influential among certain people. In these three books, Kato contended that people, and not a monarch, were the solid foundation of the true form of government, i.e., the constitutional monarchy. He wound up his ideas in his highly popular and well-prepared book titled *New Theory of National Polity* (1874). Besides Kato, Nakamura Masanao had already translated John Stuart Mill's *Essay on Liberty* in 1871, as mentioned in the previous chapter. After the petition of 1874, many more increasingly sophisticated books on civil rights appeared. Such books gradually dominated the market of general enlightenment books. For example, between the years of 1874 and 1881 the following books appeared dealing with the pros and cons of people's rights: Takada's *On Liberty*, Nakashima's *Warning to Lower Dreams*, Fukuzawa's *Popular Accounts of Inatomi, op. cit.*, pp. 77-82.

Examples of these popular writings included French Revolution: Victory of Liberty, Stories of Good Government, Popular Translation of the Social Contract, Toda's Stormy Sea of Sympathy, Yano's Western Heroes: Instructive Anecdotes of the Construction of the State, Kikutei's Merciless Winds, Merciful Rains: Journal of Voyage of the World, and Shibatakai's Strange Encounters of a Beaty. Through these writings, the political theories of John Stuart Mill, Smith, Jeremy Bentham, Herbert Spencer, Jean Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu were introduced, and the rational basis for arguments of People's Rights was

15 Ibid., pp. 76-77.
16 Nakanishi, op. cit., p. 19.
laid down. But particularly influential in the movement were the radical French theories. One of the most prominent spokesmen of the French school was Nakae Chomin, who was a governmental student studying in France from 1871 to 1874. Upon returning to Japan, he was active in propounding the natural rights of men. His real strength came when he was named in 1881 an editor-in-chief of *Toyo Jiyu Shimbut* (a newspaper) by its founder Prince Saionji Kimmochi (later a Minister of Education in the 1890's), who also studied in France for ten years and became a close friend of Nakae. We shall deal with Saionji in more detail in the seventh chapter. Nakae's eloquent articles in the paper soon won him fame and considerable influence among civil rights leaders. In 1882, he became even more influential when he translated Rousseau's *Social Contract*; he was now called "a Rousseau in the Orient." With Nakae's writings, enlightenment books on politics and civil rights reached their climax in quality and influence. Finally, in the area of the comprehensive history of *bunmei kaika*, including the present new phase, Taguchi Ukichi, a familiar figure, wrote *Nippon kaika shoshi* (*A Short History of Japanese Enlightenment*) between 1878 and 1879 under the heavy influence of Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot, a French
historian, and Henry Thomas Buckle, an English historian.

In addition to causing the publication of political enlightenment literature, the People's Rights movement also helped the growth of newspapers. Like Meirokusha and public speech, newspapers started under Western influences. The first Japanese paper, the Batavian Shimbun, was printed in 1862 by the Bureau of Investigation for Western Books, a government agency. Several other private papers quickly followed. The first daily newspaper, the Yokohama Mainichi Shimbun (privately-owned), appeared in 1871. This interest in publishing newspapers was further and considerably accelerated by the filing of the petition in 1874 and the starting of a strong People's Rights movement. By the year 1875, there were more than a hundred papers throughout the country. These papers usually carried articles on local events, Western arts and sciences (for popular enlightenment), and changing life of bunmei kaika, in addition to politics and civil rights, both domestic and foreign. Many of the best talents of the time worked for the press. Generally, the papers around this time were still conducting popular enlightenment, as

---

Meirokusha and Fukuzawa did. The change came with the publication of the Asahi Shimbun in Osaka in 1879. The paper vigorously and unscrupulously attached governmental policies of various sorts. Other papers immediately followed this example, working with and for leaders of the People's Rights movement. Again, as happened to Meirokusha's literary society and Fukuzawa's public speech, the characteristics of the newspapers were changed from popular enlightenment on general topics to specific topics of politics and civil rights. But it was this change in papers which most decisively helped them become one of the most influential media for bunmei kaika.

As result of the People's Rights movement, political societies and parties were also formed. Many Meirokusha-type societies, like Kyozon Doshu which we have discussed earlier, were converted into political ones. Also, some of the political societies were evolved into parties. The first political party was formed in 1874 by Itagaki Taisuke, one of the petitioners, under the name of Aikoku Koto (Patriotic Representative Party). The party was dissolved shortly afterwards, however, to form the political society which eventually, under the name of Kokkai Kisei Domei

(Association of Realization for the Representative Diet), forced the government to announce the opening of the Diet (a topic which was briefly discussed earlier). Itagaki himself formed the Liberal Party in 1881 based on French-style radicalism expounded by, among others, Nakae Chomin. As might be expected, the chief supporters of the Party were discontended ex-samurai, in addition to land-owners, merchants, and owner-farmers. In the following year, Okuma Shigenobu (later a founder of Waseda University with the help of Ono Azusa, who was a member of Kyczon Doshu, as mentioned earlier) organized the Progressive Party based on the British-style bicameral system. In the same year, Fukuchi Genichiro formed the Constitutional Imperialist Party in opposition of Itagaki and Okuma with only a little success. Frequently in connection with these parties, but sometimes independent of them, political societies (or large-scale associations) were set up.

The People's Rights movement began to taper off with the promise of the opening of the Diet and the formation of parties, which now became the mouthpiece of the movement. The new phase of bunmei kaika, which was highly politically oriented, had reached its culmination and termination. The era of Western worshipping was gone,

19 Nakanishi, ibid., pp. 19-20; Tanaami, ibid., pp. 348-350; the NRDJ, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 3.
with its blindesses. And the era of the Code was also gone, with its overwhelmingly Western influences.

Spirit Underlying the Code of Education

We have found from the preceding discussions that no group of people during the time of bunmei kaika took national education as an issue. But we have noticed at the same time that probably all the people, including farmers, would have been more or less favorable to its introduction. Further, we have come to realize that the social atmosphere created by bunmei kaika itself would also have been congenial to it. Despite the absence of a dramatic outcry for the initiation of national education, however, the Code was prepared and proclaimed by the government. Our purpose in this section of the chapter is to investigate who and what was said in the midst of public silence about the national education system in its preparatory stage. This attempt is based of course on the assumption that since such a system was indeed put into practice in the form of the Code, someone must have expressed opinions on it, particularly high governmental officials and drafters of the Code itself and even private citizens. We shall, therefore, examine such people for their views on national education. From their views, we shall learn
how the Code itself was recognized or what spirit (or justifications) underlined it.

Among those who were involved in the Code, at least three persons, including one document, had their own thoughts on national education. One of them was Ito Hirobumi (later the first Prime Minister of the modern cabinet and an ardent supporter of Mori Arinori, as we shall see later), who is believed to have been involved in the Code, though indirectly. However, we shall treat him as a representative of high government officials. Another was Nishigata Nori, one of the drafters of the Code. The third one is a document called "A Preamble to the Code" which for obvious reasons was more comprehensive and articulate in showing spirit underlying the Code than Ito and Nishigata. After closely examining these sources for evidence of possible Western influences on them, we can conclude that the influence on Ito and Nishigata is hardly discernible but that the Preamble was quite strongly influenced by Western forces. Instead, there seems to be a vital connection between this document and Gakumon no susume (Encouragement of Learning) written by Fukuzawa Yukichi under the heavily influence of Western writers. Consequently, our subsequently discussions on Ito's and Nishigata's ideas on national education are very brief, while those on the relationship among the Preamble,
Fukuzawa, and the Western writers will be extensive.

Meiji reformers, including Ito, usually viewed national education as one of the steps in the modernization of the country: in order that the country be modernized, Western arts and sciences had to be introduced as promptly as possible through the enlightenment of the people; and this enlightenment could be brought about most effectively by the inauguration of the educational system for the people. Therefore, for the reformers, the need for national education was almost always connected very strongly to that for the construction of the nation itself. In January of 1869, Ito wrote a piece of article called "Kokuze komoku (The Outlines and Details of Generally Agreed Governmental Policies)," consisting of six topics. In that, he stated that the Imperial line should be handed down eternally from generation to generation, unchanged even in the midst of political turmoils, that all of the political and military powers of the country should be united under the Emperor so that "the governement of the bunmei kaika can be conducted as in other countries" according to the natural abilities of people, that "the trades with other countries should be widely promoted, according to the laws of nature, lest the confidence of our country be lost abroad," that people should be governed by benevolence and should be granted the rights of liberty, while the intercourse with other nations was being carried out by truthfulness, but
above all "let people all over the country reach sicences all over the world and expand the knowledge of nature," and for this purpose two universities in the old and new capitals and primary schools in every village should be built so that the government of the bunmei kaika similar to European countries could be realized. Ito’s arguments were reminiscent of the Imperial Oath of Five Articles. But Ito was more precise than the Oath by clearly pointing out the role and status of education in forming the Meiji government. The "Kokuze" was, in other words, an educational version of the Oath. The modernization of Japanese education was, as revealed, part and parcel of the enlightenment of the people, and therefore, necessary for modernization of the Japanese nation itself. But Ito was still silent about what kind of education was most effective or how it should be provided in terms of his understanding of the role of education in forming the new nation.


21 Iwakura Tomomi, a chief delegate of the Iwakura Mission, had a similar idea. He asserted in August, 1870 in his "Policies of National Construction" that "it is indisputable that to make the country civilized, rich, and strong depends upon the enlightenment of the people; however, to make the people enlightened cannot be realized in a day (therefore, the opening of schools is urgent)." Quoted in Makino, op. cit., p. 43.
Like Ito, Nishigata also recognized that national education was the key to building a modern nation. But unlike Ito, he discussed what type of education (i.e., areas of study) was important and how the school, which obviously provided such education, should be maintained. He wrote, while preparing the Code, to Okuma Shigenobu (a founder of the Progressive Party and Waseda University, as pointed out earlier), then a vice-minister of the administrative body, showing these views. According to him, "the powers and prosperity of Western countries are caused by the presence of numerous schools and the innumerable number of students," and therefore, as Ito had already felt, the establishment of schools was most essential to the formation of a "strong, rich, and enlightened" nation. But Nishigata added that the schools should provide people with such different branches of learning as "religious sciences, literature, military sciences, languages, mathematics, agriculture, commerce, engineering, and medical sciences." He further stated that all these branches, although different in emphasis, should be on one and the same solid foundation, the foundation of utilitarianism, so that "agriculture leads an individual to be capable of cultivating the land by himself, engineering to produce his necessities, commerce to make profit of his trade, military sciences to handle his
arms, and literature to settle his office work; that "all other areas of learning should also be put into practice, and their consequences should be examined." He did not believe, however, that utilitarianism alone led man, and eventually the country, to be enlightened, civilized, and strong. Other changes of the individual in his acquiring new practical techniques were as much the cause and effect as the inner change he had to go through. The core of this inner change was, according to him, the cultivation of self-independence; as he states:

If we wish our country to be rich and strong, we must make all the people be rich and strong (first); if we wish our country to be enlightened civilized, we must make all the people be enlightened and civilized (first); and if we wish the people to be rich, strong, enlightened, and civilized, we must make them educated in accordance with their ability and be proficient in their field to the fullest so that they all will obtain the power of self-independence and the country will obtain the fruits of prosperity, strength, enlightenment and civilization.

But since education was to enable each individual to be skillful and independent for his own good, Nishigata concluded that "it is quite natural that he has to pay for his own education." Besides, as he said, the government
had no extra financial sources to support such education. Utilitarianism and self-reliance are undoubtedly two characteristics of Nishigata's view of the national educational system.

Also, in Nishigata's opinions, education was thought to be a magic formula, out of which came all the solutions for the impending goals of the new nation: prosperity, power, enlightenment, civilization, and all. Ito and other high officials shared the same sentiment. This is a clear indication of their overconfidence in national education. Overconfidence naturally evoked high optimism in the minds of these people. As it turned out shortly afterwards, Nishigata and other drafters devised a highly ambitious plan for national education, the Code of Education. It is wrong to conclude that they could not foresee any problem; but certainly they were optimistic enough not to be pulled back by it. Even Tanaka Fujimaro (a commissioner of education of the Iwakura Mission, as stated in the last chapter), who was to handle the problem, may have rejected the plan not so much out of his more cautious views about national education as out of the fact that he was not consulted. Like Nishigata's utilitarianism and self-

All the quotations and arguments come from and are based on Nishigata's own memorial to Okuma, which is adopted in Ogata Hiroyasu, Gakusei jisshi kei no kenkyu (A Study of the Code of Education: Its Practices), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 94-96.
reliance, optimism seems to have been a spirit in which the
Japanese education system, the Code, was conceived.

The spirit of utilitarianism, self-reliance, and
optimism also became evident in the Preamble to the Code
of Education, which was issued a day prior to the announce-
ment of the Code. The Preamble reads, in part:

The only way in which an individual can raise
himself, manage his property and prosper in his
business and so accomplish his career, is by
cultivating his morals, improving his intellect,
and becoming proficient in arts; the cultivation
of morals, the improvement of intellect and pro-
ficiency in arts cannot be attained except through
learning...in fact for all vocations of men,
there is none that is not to be acquired by
learning. Every man only after learning dili-
gently each according to his capacity will be
able to increase his property and prosper in
his business. Hence knowledge may be regarded
as the capital for raising one's self; who then
can do without learning?...It is intended
that henceforth universally (without any distinction
of class or sex), in a village there shall be no
house without learning, and in a house no
individual without learning. Fathers or elder
brothers must take note of this intention,
and bringing up their children or younger
brothers with warm feeling of love must not
fail to let them acquire learning...
Owing to the long continued bad habit of regarding
learning as a matter for those above samurai
rank, there are not a few who consider that
since their learning is for the sake of the
State, they need not learn unless they are
supplied by the State not only with expenses
necessary for study, but also with food and
clothing, and so by neglecting learning spoil
their whole life. This is a great mistake;
henceforth such vicious custom must be done
away with, and people in general leaving all
else aside must make every effort to apply
themselves to learning. 23

23

As translated by Kikuchi Dairoku. See his Japanese
The statements, such "...knowledge may be regarded as the capital for raising one's self" and "the only way in which an individual can...manage his property and prosper in his business...is...through learning" are clear indications of utilitarianism which was supposedly to underline the Code. The statements, such as "fathers or elders must take note of this intention (that there is 'in a house no individual without') and "...people in general leaving all else aside must make every effort to apply themselves to learning," are expressions of self-determination or self-reliance in acquiring learning, although they do not, as Nishigata did, mention that learning itself ensures self-reliance. Yet such self-determination is obviously the first step to self-reliance. Further, the statements, such as "...for all vocations of men, there is none that is not to be acquired by learning" and "...universally, in a village there shall be no house without learning," are the demonstrations of over-confidence in education and optimism about the practical application of national education.

Before we analyze these ideas in the context of Fukuzawa's Encouragement of Learning, we should point out two things. First, an idea of national education was not peculiar to the Preamble, nor to Nishigata, nor to Ito and other government officials. As pointed out in the
previous chapter, the idea itself was fairly common around
the time of the Restoration. But for Ito and Nishigata
(and obvious in the Preamble, though not explicitly
stated) national education was a tool to achieve bunmei
kaika, whereas feudal advocates of national education did
not have such a clear recognition. Secondly, a utilitarian
view of education was again not original to the Preamble
and to the others. At the teragoya before the Restoration,
highly practical texts called Jitsugokyo (Texts for
Utilitarian Purposes) were widely used. Also at the schools,
such things as worldly happiness, prosperity of business,
wealth and promotion, and risshin shusse (promotion in
life), were, as in the Preamble, frequently stated as the
purposes of learning. In fact, versatile merchant
scholar Yamagata Banto had, in the early nineteenth century,
a utilitarian view of education quite similar to the one
as Fukuzawa had around 1870. As for the optimistic view
about the practicing of a national education system and
the overconfident view of the power of education, we have
not discovered the native traditions yet. We should know,

24 Tsuchiya Tadao, Meiji zenki kyoiku seisaku shi no
kenkyu (A Historical Study of Educational Policies during
the Early Meiji), (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 206-207.

25 Matsuura Hakuo, Kinsei ni okeru jitsugak shiso no
kenkyu (A Study of Utilitarianism in Education in the
Modern Ages), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 82-302.
however, that the spirit of the Preamble had some basis from the outset. But as we shall see a moment later, this spirit was attributable more to Fukuzawa's writing than to traditional views.

The close relationship between Fukuzawa and the Preamble can be seen in Suda Tatsujirō's often-quoted passage, which reads:

Fukuzawa sensei's (teacher) Keio Gijuku was an educational center (during the early Meiji). (Naturally) many talented youths were trained there...[Further] high officials in the Ministry of Education, such as Tanaka Fujimaro and Kuki Ryuichi (visited the Keio and) consulted Fukuzawa on problems concerning educational administration...some non-Keioans were unhappy about that. One Ishibokura even called (Keio) at one time 'Ministry of Education in Mita (which is the side of Keio).' 26

In addition to these personal influences, Fukuzawa very possibly influenced officials in the Ministry through his numerous best-seller enlightenment books. Further, he had some of his former students working for the Ministry. But the most decisive connection was Fukuzawa's Gakumon no susume (Encouragement of Learning) itself. The connection was, in fact, so close that susume not only carried elaborate discussions on utilitarianism, self-reliance,

and optimism, but also introduced other items which help understand more about the Preamble. But as we have stated earlier, susume in its turn was written under the heavy influence of Western writers. At any rate, the study of susume will clarify further the spirit of the Code.

Gakumon no susume was published in seventeen chapters between 1872 and 1876, starting about half a year prior to the announcement of the Code. Yet its ideas had already been propagated by Fukuzawa and his disciples for some time, early enough to be source of the Preamble. Susume states in part:

Heaven did not create men above men nor put men under men, it is said. Therefore, Heaven's aim is that all men are equal at birth without distinction of high and low or noble and mean, and that they should all work with body and soul in a manner worthy of lords of creation, which they are, in order to use nature for fulfilling their needs of clothing, food, and dwelling, freely but without obstructing others, so that each may live happily through life. However, when we look at our wide world, we find wise men and ignorant men, rich men and poor men, men of importance and men of little consequence, their differences like the cloud and the slime. Why should all this be? The reason is obvious. The Jitsugokyo says: "If a man does not study, he will have no knowledge. A man without knowledge is a fool." The distinction between the wise man and the fool is based on whether he has studied or not... ...Those who undertake difficult tasks are called men of high standing and those who undertake easy tasks are called men of low standing... But the root of it all... is... whether a man has learning or not; there are no Heaven-made distinctions.
Learning does not mean useless accomplishments, such as knowing strange words, or reading old and difficult texts, or enjoying and writing poetry... this kind of unpractical learning should be left to other days, and one's best efforts should be given to practical learning that is close to everyday needs—the forty-seven letters of the alphabet, the composition of letters, book-keeping, the abacus, and the use of scales. Beyond that, there are many subjects to study: Geography...; Natural Philosophy...; History...; Economics...; Ethics...
For the study of these subjects, one should read the translations of Western books. For writing, the Japanese alphabet is usually sufficient. A youth of promise should be encouraged to learn the 'letters written sideways' (Western letters) and to grasp the fundamentals of at least one subject relevant to everyday life...
In the pursuit of learning, the important thing is to know one's proper limitations. Man is not born bound or restricted by nature... However, by stressing freedom alone and forgetting one's proper limitations, one is liable to fall into waywardness and licentiousness...
Since the renewal of Imperial rule, Japan's government has changed very much. Externally she associates with the world under international law; internally she guides the people to an understanding of freedom and independence, permitting the plain people to take family names and to go horseback...
... If they (people) have the slightest complaint against the government, they should not lay it up against officials in secret but seek a proper channel to present the case calmly and frankly. If the case is in accord with Heaven's Reason and with Humanity, one should fight for it even at the risk of one's life. Such is the duty of the man who calls himself a citizen of a civilized nation...
Now that the equality of the four classes (of the feudal regime) has been established, every man should feel free to give rein to his activities as long as he follows the ways of Heaven. However, as every man has his position in society, he must have ability and virtue appropriate to his position. In order to understand the logic of things, one must study. This is the reason for the urgent need of learning... There is no one more pitiful and obnoxious than
the ignorant and the illiterate. In the depths of ignorance, they lose the sense of shame. When they grow poor and hungry because of their ignorance, they do not blame themselves, but they envy the rich, sometimes banding themselves together to force a petition, sometimes even taking to armed rioting...
The important thing is that everyone regulate his conduct according to the principles of Humanity, study earnestly to acquire wide knowledge, and develop abilities appropriate to his station. Thus the government will be able to rule more easily and the people to accept its rule agreeably, each finding his place and all helping to preserve the peach of the nation. This should be the only aim. The encouragement of learning that I advocate, too, takes this for its aim. 27

Indeed, the similarities are undeniably so great that one scholar even concluded that "the Preamble is, after all, the official version of the Encouragement of Learning." 28

References to Jitsugokyo and to the Taoistic notion that Heaven place an individual properly in the society suggest that Fukuzawa formed his views, at least in part, within the realm of conventional thoughts. But a careful study of the Encouragement of Learning reveals Fukuzawa's heavy reliance on Western scholars. The first quoted passage, for example, smacks of the tone of the

27 As originally translated by Kiooka Eiichi (a grandson of Fukuzawa Yukichi) and adopted in Passin, op. cit., pp. 205-209.
28 These are words of Tsuchiya Tadao. Quoted in Makino, op. cit., p. 230.
Declaration of Independence. But the passage is close to the ideas and even often to words of the third chapter on "Individual Rights and Duties" of Chambers' Political Economy, one of serial books of Educational Course. The book was purchased by Fukuzawa in 1862 while he was in Europe. Also, Fukuzawa's discussions of learning as a determinant of the status of man in the society, and the presence of the learned individual as essential to a civilized nation are almost identical with Chambers'. Fukuzawa's beliefs in the equality of man and a responsible and law-abiding citizen, too, echoed Chambers'. In addition to Chambers', Fukuzawa used Francis Wayland's books, The Elements of Political Economy, which was obtained by him during his second visit to the U. S. in 1867, and The Elements of Moral Sciences (Revised Edition, 1865), which one of his disciples happened to come across in Japan.

29 For the detail of the book, see p. 15 of this study.
31 This book is presumably the 1856 edition, which was published in Boston by Gould and Lincoln and in New York by Sheldon, Blakeman & company. The oldest edition listed in A Catalogue of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards is the 1837 edition, and the latest the 1906. The book was reprinted many times.
32 This edition was published in New York by Sheldon and company. According to the LCPC just mentioned above, the oldest edition appeared in 1835. It was reprinted many times at least till 1873.
in 1868. These books were the two of the three books which Wayland, a president of Brown University (from 1827 to 1855) prepared for his students, the other being The Elements of Intellectual Philosophy (1854).

As the titles imply, Chambers' Political Economy and Wayland's book must have had overlapping discussions. But the contents of these discussion are not clear at the moment. More specifically, however, Fukuzawa's insistence on individual commitment to learning is in tune with Wayland's declaration of the importance of diligence. It is in fact believed that out of Four Divisions of his The Elements of Political Economy, i.e., Production, Exchange, Distribution, and Consumption, the first and last Divisions were most influential in Fukuzawa's writing in forming his views of diligence and taxation. Also, Fukuzawa's choice of "practical learning" over "useless accomplishments" came very close to Wayland's, when the latter man states: "as soon as they (colleges and universities) become the places of literary leisure, and intellectual indolence, they are not only useless, but harmful; inasmuch as they retard, rather than advance, the progress of science." Wayland further mentioned in this connection

33 Quoted in ibid., p. 125.
that there was no one in the world who did not wish to
climb ladders diligently for what he hoped to be by
becoming well-versed in reading, writing, calculation,
and memorizing geography. Further, Chapters XI and X
of the Encouragement of Learning, which was not quoted
previously, are merely a reiteration of Wayland's. Here
Fukuzawa argued that ancient men could not make the most
of natural resources, but modern men could; and therefore
that the Japanese should not be satisfied with old learning
but should acquire new techniques. Finally, Fukuzawa's
suggestion in the fourteenth chapter of his book that
jobs, not alms, should be given to the poor for their
salvation was also discussed in Wayland's. Sources of
Chapters II, III, VI, VII, and VIII of the Encouragement
of Learning, not necessarily quoted in their entirety
previously, are found in "Reciprocity" in the Division
I in the Book II of The Elements of Moral Science, which
was translated almost word-by-word. But why the whole
section of "Theoretical Ethics" in the Book II was omitted
is not clear. Probably, as we have pointed earlier,
Fukuzawa considered Christian ethics as too insignificant
to be brought up in his book. Wayland's frequent references
to "God," "Creator," or "Maker" were replaced simply by
one Japanese term ten or heaven. But Fukuzawa was deeply

---

34 Information leading to this point from the last foot-
note is collected from Ito, op. cit., pp. 6, 12, 108-109,
142; 119-124.
impressed by Wayland's discussions of the equality of men, physical liberty as one component of personal liberty—others being intellectual and religious liberty, both of which, however, were not treated by Fukuzawa—, duties of citizens, and the nature of the government in Moral Sciences, and used them in his book. Wayland's two books were also translated in part or in their entirety by other Japanese and subsequently became very popular. Obata Tokujiro, a disciple of Fukuzawa, made a complete translation of The Elements of Political Economy in nine volumes between 1871 and 1877, while others, such as Fukuzawa, Fukuchi Genichiro, and Ka Masayuki, prepared a partial translation. The Elements of Moral Sciences appeared in five different partial and/or complete translations between 1873 and 1875 and in one book, several volumes of which were published between 1878 and 1879. Incidentally, Abe Taizo's translations of 1874 were published by the Ministry of Education as a text for moral sciences at primary schools and widely read. But these translations were no match for the Encouragement of Learning in popularity and influence among the Meiji Japanese. It is believed

36 Ibid., pp. 7-8, 110.
that the total number of copies sold, including pirated editions, was put at four hundred thousand, the largest ever. Undoubtedly, Wayland's *The Elements of Moral Sciences* must have been extremely popular among the Japanese, including those who wrote the Preamble.

From Ito, Nishgata, the Preamble, and Fukuzawa's views on national education, we can trace the following characteristics underlying the Code: utilitarianism, self-reliance, and overconfidence in the power of education and optimism about the practice of the Code. The Code has a utilitarian spirit in the sense that learning was interpreted totally as a tool for the material abundance of an individual. It has a spirit of self-reliance in the sense that learning is considered as something which makes each individual independent in his life. It has a spirit of overconfidence and optimism in the sense that both the utilitarianism of learning and the self-reliance derived from learning are looked upon as educational qualities which can easily be made accessible through the practice of national education. According to Ito and the others, these ideas not only should shape the Code but also would lead the nation eventually to attain *bunmei kaika, fukoku kyohei* (Strong and Powerful Nation), and

---

*Inatomi, op. cit.*, p. 57.
shokusan kogyo (Promotion of Industry), three slogans of the new government. The ideals, then, also supposedly were to shape the nation itself. But these concepts were all derived, as we have shown, from Anglo-American educators, such as Wayland and Chambers, through Fukuzawa.

Despite such pronouncements, however, after the proclamation the Code was often accused of not being jitsuyoteki (utilitarian) and of being too shuchiteki (intellectual). Such contradictions can, of course, be attributed to a lack of preparation and coordination between those who prepared the Code and those who practiced it. But at a deeper level, the disparity originated, in great part, from Fukuzawa's own views of utilitarian learning. Further, Fukuzawa's views themselves were closely tied together with the whole bunmei kaika movement. But because shuchishugi (intellectuality) of the Code was one of the main reasons for its revision (though we have to add here that shuchishugi was replaced chiefly by tokuikushugi (morality) rather than by jitsuyoshugi (utilitarianism), as we shall see later), we should look into Fukuzawa's views of utilitarian learning for the further clarification of the spirit of the Code. In the discussions which follow, many of Fukuzawa's writings, including susume, are studied. But no attempt is made at this time, if possible at all, to identify them, because our prime purpose here is to present, in general form,
Fukuzawa's views of utilitarian learning and even of Western learning.

Like Ito and Nishigata, Fukuzawa begins expounding his views of learning by analyzing the relationship between the attainment of civilization (and enlightenment), the formation of nations, the cultivation of self-reliant men, and the practice of national education. But unlike them, Fukuzawa discusses them with dearer logic and conviction. The truth was probably that both Ito and Nishigata may have been affected by Fukuzawa.

According to Fukuzawa, "civilization rests with comforts of man and promotion of his moral character; but since these comforts and this moral character can be attained by man's character and his acquisition of knowledge, civilization can, in the final analysis, be equated to the promotion of man's knowledge and character." However, "civilization should be discussed in terms not of an individual man, but rather of the whole nation." In other words, not a few intellectuals but the learned public made the country civilized. However, as Fukuzawa would seem to continue, the public, for building such a

---

38 Fukuzawa Yukichi, "Bunmei ron no gairyaku, sho (General Descriptions of Views of Civilization, Excerpts)," in Gendai nihon bungaku zenshu (Complete Works of Modern Japanese Literature), II (Tokyo, 1969), p. 70.
39 Ibid., p. 74.
civilized nation, had to acquire utilitarian knowledge and a spirit of independence, both corresponding respectively to "man's intellect and character." And the two can be cultivated in one source, Western civilization. The outer form of civilization, as Fukuzawa saw it, was brought about by mathematics and physics which examine the visible objects (thus the "outer form"); mathematics and physics formed the basis for other branches of "utilitarian" (for the outer form) learning such as history, economics, moral sciences, astronomy, chemistry, theology, psychology, and the natural sciences. Western civilization, the frame of which was built by mathematics and physics, naturally helped men find more laws of nature by "doubts" and "a series of experiments," two properties of mathematics and physics. The result was, then, that in Western civilization men became free from superstition and totally independent, relying on their own abilities and techniques. Therefore, as Fukuzawa believed, mathematics and physics constituted the basis for the external form of Western civilization, while self-reliance was the internal foundation of it. Finally, Fukuzawa concluded that the ultimate judgment of any civilization, whether Oriental or Occidental, should be made in terms of the presence (and if so, the degree) of such internal foundation, self-reliance, because the collective power of individual
individual self-reliant men was what made a country civilized, rich, and strong. And this self-reliance, as mentioned, was the outcome of learning, especially the study of mathematics and physics; as Fukuzawa states:

Independence of a man leads itself to an independence of a family; independence of a family leads itself to an independence of a nation; therefore, the cultivation of a self-reliant man is the only way (to make the country independent), and this cultivation starts with his learning. 40

There are two flaws in Fukuzawa's arguments which had a direct bearing on the failure of the Code. One was that he did not clearly differentiate "utilitarian" learning from non-utilitarian. According to him, "utilitarian" learning seems to be, in the first place, the study of mathematics and physics. But he also added other disciplines to these courses, such as history, economics, moral sciences, and so on. The courses usually thought of as being utilitarian, such as business, agriculture, technology, etc., are not mentioned here. Further, he did not make any reference to a kind of learning which helped an individual "manage his property and prosper in his busi-

40 This passage was taken from Fukuzawa's letter to Matsuyama Toan, which was dated February 2, 1869. It is adopted in Makino, op. cit., p. 206. Discussion leading up to this point is based on Makino's information. For more detail, see ibid., pp. 168-215, 223-231.
ness," as the Preamble puts it. Therefore, Fukuzawa had
two different and contradictory concepts of utilitarianism,
one in the Preamble and the other in the above discussions.
At any rate, the fact that Fukuzawa considered mathematics
and physics and other branches of learning mentioned above
as utilitarian led him, probably unwittingly, to a surprising
conclusion: that all the "learning, more specifically all
the Western learning, i. e., mathematics, physics, and all,
was utilitarian. The Preamble's utilitarianism was, then,
twisted, by Fukuzawa himself, into Western learning itself.
In other words, the acquirement (often overmemorization) of
Western learning now became utilitarian. This is probably
why the Code became shuchiteki (intellectual), emphasizing
the memorization of Western learning rather than providing
practical skills for daily life. Also, this is probably
why such a great number of Western textbooks, as we
shall see later, appeared during the period of the Code.
Later Fukuzawa complained that classroom instruction was
41 too impractical. But this is exactly what he himself

41 Fukuzawa's complaints go as follows:
(Those students at school) are good at calculate
on the slate, but ignorant of book-keeping at
store; good at the composition and recitation,
but poor in the actual letter-writing; they can
read a book on physics but are unable to do a
thing with the mound of a furnace or a sink;
they can appreciate chemistry, but have no
knowledge of how sweet rice wine and bean cake
are made...
Quoted in Fujiwara, op. cit., p. 62.
brought to the Japanese classroom.

The second flaw in Fukuzawa's argument is connected to the first one. As he failed to differentiate utilitarian learning from non-utilitarian, so did he fail to properly relate learning (mathematics, physics, and all the rest) to character (or self-help). He did not state clearly whether the two were equally important, each being external and internal bases for Western civilization. Nor did he mention how each of them could be attained, independently or in relation to the other. But he seems to have concluded, because he was not clear himself, that learning preceded character (or self-help) in importance. Consequently, he, as he did in his interpretation of utilitarian learning, placed the upmost emphasis on learning. And again, this resulted in shuchishugi (intellectuality) of the Code.

As we have studied, there were several ideals which underlined the proclamation of the Code. They were utilitarianism, self-help, and optimism. Although these ideals were evident in Ito's and Nishigata's writings and in the Preamble, they were further expounded by Fukuzawa in his Encouragement of Learning. In all probability, the Preamble was the official version of the Encouragement. Fukuzawa, however, was heavily influenced by the Englishman Chambers and the American Wayland. In the final analysis, then, the spirit of the Code was, in its sources, Anglo-American. But as shown in Fukuzawa's view of utilitarian
learning, the spirit was distorted when the Code was announced. Utilitarian learning became equated to Western learning. With this change, self-reliance which was to derive from learning was neglected. As for optimism, officials who launched the Code were still optimistic enough to believe that national education for utilitarian learning, although now changed into Western learning, could somehow be achieved.
CHAPTER III

THE CODE OF EDUCATION: ITS PROCLAMATION AND ADMINISTRATION

This chapter is the second part of the total five which deal with different aspects of Japanese education during the period of the Code. The topic this time is the Code itself.

The present chapter itself is divided into two parts: one dealing with the proclamation of the Code and the other with the administration and revision of the Code. In this first part, we shall discuss Western influences surrounding the planning of the Code; but in addition, we shall also examine how much the contents of the Code owed to Western education. We shall then observe the operation of this new national education system at different levels of schooling, along with problems which the system faced. Such observations are to be made, not to point out Western influences but to show an overall picture of education at the time; they are also to serve as an introduction to subsequent chapters.

145
In the second part of this chapter, we shall deal with Western influences on the administration and the revision of the Code. Here, the influences are very clear. For the administration of the Code, David Murray, an American college professor, was employed; he worked with Tanaka Fujimaro, a commissioner of education of the Iwakura Mission and a pro-American administrator. We shall make an intensive study of Murray's roles in administering the Code. Tanaka, after Murray left, was the central figure in the revision of the Code. We shall discuss how and why Tanaka leaned on American education for the revision.

The Proclamation of the Code of Education

The preparation of the Code officially began when an Office of Investigation of the Code was created in the Ministry of Education in December, 1871, with twelve investigators. The members were Mitsukuri Rinsho, Iwasa Jun, Uchida Masao, Cho Hikaru, Tsumeo Tora, Kimura Masakoto, Sugiyama Takatoshi, Tsuji Shinji, Hasegawa Tai,

[1]

The government actually started the investigation of the national education system prior to that time. As we recall, Tanaka Fujimaro was sent to the United States and Europe for this purpose in October, 1871. But even before Tanaka's departure, the following persons had already been abroad, presumably for the study of national education: Kogura was sent to England in December, 1870; and Irie, Suzuki, and Kobayashi to Europe in January, 1871. Mombusho, Gakusei goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), p. 23.
Nishigata Nori, Oda Naotane, and Kozu Sukeyuki. All the members, with exception of Cho and Kimura who were scholars in Japanese studies, were all scholars in Western learning. But the Code was planned under the heavy influence of scholars in French learning in particular. Mitsukuri Rinsho, who played a chairman’s role, for example, was a leading scholar in French learning (and a popular enlightenment figure, as pointed out in the first chapter). Two other central figures of the planning, Uchida Masao and Iwasa Jun, were the translators of The Educational System in Holland and The Educational System in France respectively, as pointed out earlier. Those who supported these three persons further included two scholars in French studies: Kozu was an instructor in French studies at Nanko (a predecessor of Tokyo University); Tsuji was a French specialist; but Tsumeo, who helped the three central figures mentioned above, was a scholar specialized in English studies, while

2 For further information of the backgrounds of these people, see Kurasawa Tsuyoshi, Shogakko no rekishi (A History of Primary School), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 213-216. Ogata pointed out that Mitsukuri and Tsuji were in close contact with Verbeck who played a sort of foreign advisor to the Minister of Education around this time; but Ogata did not mention whether Verbeck indeed provided them with information necessary for the planning of the Code. Ogata Hiroyasu, Gakusei jisshi keii no kenkyu (A Study of the Code of Education: Its Practices), (Tokyo, 1963), p. 44. It should be also pointed out here that Mitsukuri took a trip to France in January, 1867 to attend the Paris Exposition. He returned to Japan in February in the following year, probably some information being obtained. Ibid., p. 134.
Hasegawa was a doctor and scholar in Dutch learning. Both Nishigata and Sugiyama helped all the seven persons so far listed work on the Code by providing them with information concerning the domestic conditions for the practice of the Code. In summary, the members consisted of four scholars in French learning, two doctors who were trained first by Dutch doctors and then German medical scientists, one scholar in English learning, two investigators for the domestic problems, and two scholars in Japanese studies. As might be expected, the Code, particularly its overall structure concerning schools, was closely akin to the French educational system of the time, although the details of the Code, as we shall see, were derived from German, Dutch, and Anglo-American systems as well.

The appointment of so many scholars in French studies on the part of the government could never called arbitrary. The fact is that France was highly active in many fields in Japan even before the Restoration. The feudal government sent a large number of students to France toward the end of its regime. During the political and military turbulences leading to the Restoration, France helped the feudal government, while England assisted Satsuma and Choshu who,

---

2 See the previous page.
3 For further information, see p. 81 of this study.
along with Tosa, played an active role in toppling the former. The first Japanese modern shipyard was built, before the Restoration, in close cooperation with France; France sent some ten engineers to Japan for this purpose, and the location of the shipyard, Yokosuka, was chosen by the French simply for its similarity to the French military port Toulon. The new government, too, relied on France for many things. Among these were the establishment of three different branches of the government after Montesquieuan political theory and the appointment of Mitsukuri Binsho by Eto Shimpei for the translation of French laws as a basis for the governmental organizational reforms, but particularly for the enactment of the civil laws. Eto, as we have seen, was the first who organized learning after the Western pattern at Daigakko and was the first head, as a vice-Minister, of the Ministry of Education. Mitsukuri was, of course, the virtual head of the present investigators for the Code. In addition, the Code Napoleon became a model for laws and organization in various fields of the new Japan. Furthermore, the Conscription Ordinance, one of twin reforms of 1872 (together with the Code of Education), was fashioned mostly after the French.4 There-

fore, when it came to the institution of new laws or large-scale organizations, the French systems were mostly the top choice. There was no particular reason why the Code of Education should be otherwise. Rather, as we will analyze later, the presence of other European and American school systems in the midst of such heavy French influences seems to be most revealing and illuminating in terms of the nature of the Code.

The draft of the outline of the Code was completed in January, 1872, only a month after the appointment of the investigation members. However, both Mitsukuri and Uchida may have been preparing it for some time, even outside the knowledge of Tanak Fujimaro. In fact, Mitsukuri was able to overshadow Tanaka as an heir of one of the most powerful families of Western learning and the leading scholar in French laws; Mitsukuri later became a member of the House of Peers. At any rate, the Ministry turned it in to the government. According to the Ministry's report prepared at that time, the Code was intended to "weed out useless learning of various kinds" and to "adopt the most efficient system of all countries." This draft then, as the report indicated, came very close to the Preamble in its spirit, advocating useful learning.

5 Quoted in Ogata, op. cit., p. 43.
But as we shall see soon, when the draft (this time as an official Code) was proclaimed, it was accused of being hi-jitsu-yoteki (unutilitarian). Therefore, despite the drafters' intentions, there was a definite discontinuity between the draft and the execution of the Code. But if we interpret the report's "useless learning" not as practical or utilitarian learning but as Japanese and Chinese studies as opposed to Western learning, as Fukuzawa did, then the continuity was restored between the drafters' intention and the execution of the Code; the Code was to impart various branches of Western learning to the young Japanese. If this interpretation is accurate, the Code was, from the very outset, designed to Westernize all Japanese learning, again as Fukuzawa intended. The phrase "weed out useless learning of various kinds" could have been changed to "introduce Western (therefore useful, as Fukuzawa pointed out) learning of various kinds"; the absence of outright expressions purporting to "weed out" traditional learning was probably politically motivated. As we shall see in the next three chapters, including the present one, this interpretation seems to be justified to a great degree.

However, when the draft was submitted to the Seiin (the supreme administrative body of the government) in April, this time with the details attached, the interpretation of the draft took a slightly different turn.
In response to the drafters' intention to "weed out useless learning," the Seiin gave the following directions to the Ministry of Education, specifying fundamental policies of educational administration under the Code but not necessarily advocating Western learning:

(1) Particular emphasis should be placed on primary schools;
(2) The Normal School should be opened promptly;
(3) Girls should receive education as much as boys do;
(4) Middle schools should be opened gradually in every university district;
(5) Grading of students should be enforced strictly;
(6) Particular attention should be paid to the proper growth of the gifted;
(7) Thirteen commercial and law schools should be built;
(8) The opening and maintenance of schools of various kinds should be carried out as perfectly as possible;
(9) The business of translation should quickly be handled. 6

The Seiin's prime concern was of course the execution of the national education system in Japan, its directions laying out how this could be done. Consequently, the Seiin, unlike Fukuzawa and probably the drafters, was not necessarily concerned with the introduction of Western learning altogether. Or, the Seiin may have taken such an introduction for granted. At any rate, there was an ambiguity, discontinuity, and lack of coordination among

6 Mombusho, op. cit., pp. 24-25.
the people who were involved in the earliest stage of the proclamation of the Code, among the high government officials, those who prepared the Preamble, Fukuzawa, Mutsukuri and other drafters, and members of the Seiin. But they were all clear on one point: that national education was an absolute must for modernizing Japan. With their belief serving as a jumping off place, the Code of Education was finally launched in August, 1872.

The Code of Education of 1872 consisted of six divisions covering university, middle, and primary school districts, schools of various types, teachers, students and examinations, students studying abroad, and financing of different types of schools, which would amount to one hundred nine provisions. However, in March of the following year, two divisions covering the regulations dealing with students studying abroad and schools for Shinto and Buddhist priests were added; in April, regulations governing scholarship students and rules of technical schools and of their courses of study were also attached to the Code. Consequently, the total number of provisions of the Code reached two hundred and thirteen. If the number of the provisions sounds extraordinary, so were the contents which these provisions covered.

According to the Code, the whole country was divided into eight university districts (changed into seven in April, 1873), each of which was to have one university.
Then, each university district was divided into thirty-two middle school districts, each having one middle school per district. One middle school district was in its turn divided into two hundred and ten primary school districts, each one, again, having one primary school per district. Therefore, there would be a total of eight universities, two hundred and fifty-six middle schools, and fifty-three thousand seven hundred and sixty primary schools. The figures indicated that one primary school was to be built for every six hundred of population, and one middle school for every thirteen thousand.

The schools, according to the Code, were to be varied but well-organized. First, the primary schools offered six years of school for all children between ages of six and thirteen; the schools were equally divided into the lower and upper primary schools, each lasting for three years. In addition, other types of primary schools, such as schools for girls, for villagers, and for the poor, were opened on a more flexible basis. The courses of study were as many as fourteen at the lower primary school level with particular emphasis being placed on reading.

7 The subjects were spelling, writing, reading for words, reading for conversation, readers, morality, letter-writing, grammar, arithmetic, hygiene, introduction to geography, introduction to science, physical exercises, and singing (which was to be omitted for the time being). See the Code of Education adopted in Matsumoto Kenji and Suzuki Hiroo, ed., Genten kindai kyoiku shi (A History of Modern Education: A Collection of Original Sources), (Tokyo, 1962), p. 56.
and an additional eight more, including four elective, at the upper.

The middle schools were as varied as the primary schools, and they, by principle, lasted for the same six years. In addition to these regular middle schools, there were private (often called "irregular") schools, foreign language institutes, and technical schools of various kinds. Also to the middle school belonged the normal school. And among the middle schools, the normal school was treated as most important, being essential as a supplier of teachers to the primary schools. Further, the Code emphatically stated that these teachers had to be graduates of either the middle or the normal schools, either males and females above age of twenty, and that they would not change their occupation. No such mandatory provisions were addressed to either regular middle or technical school graduates. Beyond the level of the middle school was ranked the university, which consisted of four departments, sciences, literature, law, and medicine. Not much details were given about the university in the Code.

A strong supervisory system was instituted for the

---

Eight more subjects were introduction to history, introduction to chemistry, introduction to natural history, geometry and drawing, foreign language(s), bookkeeping, picture drawing, and astronomy, the last four subjects being elective. Ibid.
the inspection of all the schools so far described. For example, each middle school district was to have ten to thirteen district supervisors, each of whom was, moreover, responsible for the inspection of twenty to thirty primary schools. Their prime function was to see to it that the schools, particularly the primary, were kept opened and maintained in their districts.

Under the directions of the supervisors, the financing of the schools was entrusted to the people in the school districts. After all, argued the Code, those who benefited from schooling, i.e., the people, should pay for their own education, an idea which was also expressed in the Preamble to the Code. Consequently, most of the governmental budget was to be allocated for employing foreign instructors at governmental institutes of higher learning, for opening and maintaining the university, and for sending students abroad; only a small portion of the budget was set aside for subsidizing primary schools.9

A few things should be pointed out about the Code. First, the utilitarianism so evidently manifested in the spirit of the Code and also reiterated in the Ministerial draft of the Code did not receive any significant attention in the Code, with the major exception of the reference to

9 For the further information concerning the Code, see the Code of Education adopted in ibid., pp. 54-58. For the present discussion, the following source was also consulted: Ogata Hiryoysu, Nippon kyoiku tsushi (A Survey of the History of Japanese Education), (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 171-173.
the employment of foreign instructors for the purpose of promoting practical knowledge. Of course, the presence of various technical schools at the middle school, but particularly so-called "university" level, should not be overlooked. But since the descriptions of these schools are generally obscure, we are unable to tell what kind of practical skills and information were offered there. Even a meager, obscure practicality is absent at the primary school level. The juxtaposition of as many as fourteen and even more subjects in the primary school stands out as an example; but of course we should at the same time keep in mind that the mere deduction of certain subjects does not necessarily ensure the status of practicality either.

Secondly, although the primary school indeed obtained "particular emphasis" in the Code as the Cabinet directions wished it to, it did so only numerically and not in financing. The sizable portion of the governmental budget for the Code was to go to the employment of foreign instructors, the universities, and students studying abroad, leaving each individual primary school in each district heavily dependent on tuition and the local government. As far as the budget is concerned, the Code was strongly directed toward Western arts and sciences, if not necessarily utilitarian ones. But because the number of
the school was phenomenal and they, after all, constituted the core of the Code, great attention was also paid to clarifying the nature of the primary school in terms of its number, kind, subject matter, teachers, grades, and all, with the addition of personnel, or supervisors, who ensured that these items would be faithfully realized.

Thirdly, in connection with the second point, there was a special role played by the normal school in the Code. In the first place, it was deemed as equal to the university. And while the technical schools did not receive due attention, the normal school did. Its major purposes were spelled out with emphatic language. Further, the normal school was over-concerned with its graduates. It is understandable that the school desired every student in it to be a teacher. But it went too far when it prohibited its students even from quitting the teaching occupation. The concern could have been indicative of the government's determination to secure certified teachers especially during the earliest stage that the Code was in practice. Yet, another possibility, which later turned to be more helpful, would have been to make an effort, by the government, to create a particular kind of civil official who pledged his total commitment to teaching and also to the government itself.

The prime sources of the Code were, needless to say,
the French educational system. For example, the general features of the Code, which included the presence of different types of school-districts and the supervisory systems, were almost identical with the French ones, although the numbers of different school districts (and therefore of the schools in those district) and supervisors were different from each other. But in addition, some other details of the Code were also affected by the French system. The conception of compulsory education manifested in the Code, for example, was of French origin. The division of the schooling into three parts was French. The opening of charity and village schools was also attributed to France. Some clear, if not overriding, French influences were seen in the arrangement of the primary courses of study in the Code. The strong denunciation of sex discrimination of the primary teachers was seen in the French system. The French prohibited the teachers from transferring their occupation, as the Code did. The Code's supplementary act calling for the training of the priests at the temple was similar to the French provisions to the same effect. Overall, the French system was most frequently referred to, if not faithfully mimicked all the time, by the drafters of the Code in almost all the phases of their work.

But a sole dependence on the French system was not
enough for those who sought "the best and most beautiful" systems of Euro-American education. From Germany, for example, the following parts of the Code was derived: requirements of opening of primary schools, the necessity of compulsory education, ages for starting in the lower and upper primary school, detailed regulations concerning the practice of compulsory education, and the course of study at the middle school and the university. From Holland, the following ideas were considered: the supervisory system, the course of study for the middle school, the division of the lower and upper primary schools, and the starting ages of attendance. The following items were owed in par-

Inoue Hisao argues that the major source of the Code is a proposal written by Hoffmann, probably the same Hoffmann who helped the reorganization of Toko with Muller. Hoffmann on his part relied, very understandably, on contemporary Prussian education with particular emphasis on (1) three levels of schooling, (2) the formation of modern curriculum, and (3) promotion of the primary schools and of teacher training programs. Inoue believes that two drafters with doctor's background, Iwasa and Hasegawa, played an intermediary role. See Inoue Hisao, Gakusei ronko (A Study of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 335-361. However, Ogata dismisses Inoue's beliefs as a possible misunderstanding of the latter, who, according to the former, might have mistaken Hoffmann's proposal for the reorganization of medical training programs at Toko for that of the Code. Ogata, Gakusei jisshi..., op. cit., p. 139. The significance of these arguments on the source of the Code is that the Code indeed derived its sources from some European education precepts which were fairly commonly practiced not only in France and Germany, but also in England, Holland, United States, and even in Russia. Even if Inoue's arguments are not based on first-hand materials, as Ogata charges, they nevertheless have some validity.
ticular to England: charity schools, especially the purpose thereof, and village and night schools. And from the United States, the drafters benefited by the ideas of the appointment of district supervisors and night schools for laboring children. So in general, the details concerning three divisions of the primary school were taken from various Western educational systems. But as far as the Code itself is concerned, the overwhelming influence was French.

Whether the Code, with such a variety of Western educational systems, achieved the "best and most beautiful" educational system, synthesizing all the elements of best educational traditions in the complete and harmonious eclecticism, is out of question. After all, the Japanese neither had time nor personnel resources to appreciate the best of all educational systems and ideas of European countries. They only had a hope. The grandiose planning of the Code was simply a manifestation of this somewhat impractical but highly galvanized ambition, or optimism, as mentioned earlier. And as such, the Code, was, from the beginning, destined to taste the bitterness of the reality

The study of Western sources in the last two paragraphs is based on information which is in Ogata, *ibid.*, pp. 98-134. It should be noted that in his minute and careful study of the origins of the Code, Ogata purposely assumed that all the origins were Western, thus excluding the possibility that some sources we have mentioned might have been Japanese.
which the drafters unwittingly or unwittingly overlooked or hoped to solve by a stroke of unpredictable luck, which, however, was also a property of the reality. The bitterness of the reality took the form of the following five difficulties: the opening of the primary schools, the supplying of qualified teachers, the supplying of textbooks, the rise of absenteeism, and the opening of middle and technical schools.

The first difficulty the Code faced was the opening of the primary schools, 53,760 of them. Neither the central nor the local government had adequate financial resources for this purpose. But despite all the difficulties, the government managed to maintain 12,558 to 28,025 schools between the years of 1873 and 1879. The attendance rate ranged from 28% to 41% during the same years. So as far as numbers are concerned, the Code achieved its goal at least over half-way, although the Code's intention of universal attendance was well below half the percentage. But the mere figures do not describe the real scene. Take the number of primary schools in 1875, for instance. Of 24,225 schools, as many as 8,257 of them (approximately one-third of the total) used private homes, as schools; in other words, approximately seventy percent of the schools in 1875 were formed after, or simply took over, the feudal teragoya schools. Understandably, one-teacher schools
constituted about 58% of the total schools, and from one to three-teacher schools, 90% in the same year; but by 1881, the percentage of one-teacher schools diminished to approximately 32%, and from one to two-teacher schools to 55%. So the typical school during the period of the Code was an instantly converted feudal teragoya schools with one teacher for pupils of all grades, probably in one room. Under such heavy influences from the previous era, however, the ratio of the public schools to the private was increasingly in the former's favor; in 1873 there were approximately eight thousand public against four thousand six hundred private schools; but in 1879 only 1,315 private schools operated, as compared to the 26,710 public schools. The ratio of boy students to girl was approximately 6 to 2 in 1879, while only 8 to 3 in 1873.

---

12 Taga Akikorō, Kindai nihon kyoiku shi (A History of Modern Japanese Education), (Tokyo, 1956), p. 37; Inagaki Tadahiko, Meiji kyoiku riron shi kenkyū (A Study of the History of Meiji Educational Theories), (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 36-38. According to Taga, only 18% of the schools were newly built. See Taga, ibid., pp. 38-39. But among these schools, some were built in the Western style. Such model schools were seen, in particular, in Tokyo, Yamanashi, and Nagano Prefectures. One school in Mikuni, Fukui Prefecture, was designed by a Dutch architect and completed in 1879. Even traditional teragoya-type schools which were newly opened added some Western features, such as the porch and arch-shaped windows, to them. Sugano Makoto, "Gakko kenchiku shi (A History of School Architecture)," Kyoiku bunka shi taikei (A Complete Historical Collection of Cultural Endeavors Related to Education), ed. by Ishiyama Shuhei, et. al., Vol. V (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 262-275.
As this low ratio indicates, the Code had its first setback not only in the number of schools opened but also in the attendance.

But the seed of these difficulties was in the Code itself. It relied heavily on the generally poor local governments for financing new schools in the manner of tuitions. The amount of the tuition required by the Code was fifty *sen* (a little less than one-sixths the amount necessary for buying approximately five bushels of rice—quite an expense for the poor) per pupil. But in actuality it varied from one to two *sen* to fifty *sen*, depending on the locality of the school and the income of the parents. Even such an arrangement did not alleviate the situation. To make the matter worse, the people were not used to paying in cash for the instruction their children received at school; the compensation had taken the different form of presents in the teragoya schools of the previous era.

Another difficulty which the Code had to cope with was the adequate supplying of qualified teachers for such a phenomenal number of schools. Again as far the number of

---

13 Taga cited an example of a small village called Sodegawa in present Gifu Prefecture collecting eighty *yen* from 162 households out of a total of 206. The money was to pay the interest for seven hundred and thirty three *yen* loaned for building the new schools. This was not entirely an exceptional case. Taga, *ibid.*, pp. 42-45.
teachers is concerned, the problem does not seem to have been grave, as the Table I shows:

Table I  Number of Teachers and Pupils, along with their Ratio at Japanese Primary Schools, 1873-1879

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of Teachers</th>
<th>No. of Pupils</th>
<th>T/P Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>25,532</td>
<td>1,145,802</td>
<td>1:45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874</td>
<td>36,866</td>
<td>1,714,768</td>
<td>1:48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td>44,501</td>
<td>1,926,126</td>
<td>1:43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>52,262</td>
<td>2,067,801</td>
<td>1:40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td>59,825</td>
<td>2,163,601</td>
<td>1:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878</td>
<td>61,612</td>
<td>2,273,223</td>
<td>1:37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>71,046</td>
<td>2,315,070</td>
<td>1:33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But considering the fact that the first normal school, i.e., Tokyo Normal School, graduated only ten in 1873, the figures need close examination. Almost all the teachers during the first few years the Code was in practice were simply unqualified teachers who had previously taught in their homes as teragoya teachers, or they were old Confucian scholars, or teachers at feudal domain schools, or indeed anyone who had some instruction in the three R's. However, as time went on, the situation changed. The govern-

14 Based on the figures shown in ibid., p. 37
16 Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji iko kyoiku mokuteki no hensen (The Changes in Educational Purposes after the Meiji Era), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 162-163.
ment, for example, opened two normal schools in Osaka and
Miyagi Prefecture in August, 1873 and four in Nagoya,
Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Niigata in February of the
following year, and one normal school for girls, i.e.,
Tokyo Normal School for Girls, in 1876. And although the
government-sponsored normal schools diminished to only
one by 1879 due partly to the financial shortage of the
government but also to, in relation to the former, the
decentralization, that is, in financing, of the opening
of the school, they nevertheless trained a total number of
3,934 students, including 1,076 females, between 1873 and
1879. But the real help came from the local governments
that opened various types of temporary teacher training
institutes throughout the country, especially during the
earliest years the Code was in effect. Each prefecture
sent its representative teachers to the governmental normal
schools in order to observe classroom procedures. Some-
times the graduates of the normal schools were invited
as instructors. However, such training institutes varied
from prefecture to prefecture, from school to school,
in the period of the training, in instructional methods
and materials, and in the supplying of the teaching staffs.
The time of the training might last for only one month in
one school and one full year in another. The quality of
instructional methods and materials ranged from century-
old memorization in dilapidated classrooms to newly intro-
duced Western teaching methods in well-equipped class-
rooms. The type of teachers ranged from simply "experienced"
primary teachers, whoever they might be, in one school, to
representative teachers who observed at the governmental
normal schools, or to graduates of the normal school, or
to visiting instructors in others. Even the names for
the training institutes presented a great variety; some
used the term "normal," while others were simply called
"training school." Along with such temporary training of
teachers by the local governments, the governmental normal
schools too responded to the teacher shortage by shortening
the period of the training in one school, or by opening
a short-term training course in another, or by providing
primary school teachers with in-service training in the
third, or by opening a training school for teachers outside
of its precinct in the fourth. However, the role of the
normal schools became increasingly less significant in
terms of their ability to produce teachers. The local
teacher training institutes had an abrupt upward swing
in the number of teachers turned out. As their importance
increased, these institutes soon evolved into full-fledged
provincial normal schools. In 1874, the local authorities
opened forty six normal schools throughout the country
for the first time; in 1875, there were eighty two pro-
vincial normal schools; in 1876, ninety four; in 1877,
ninety one; in 1878, one hundred; and in 1879, eighty three. These schools, combined, trained a total number of 39,907 students, including 2,956 females, between 1874 and 1879. Generally, they required a two-year attendance, although some of them required only one year or even less. But around 1878 and 1879, the period was extended to as long as to three years in some schools. In addition, two normal schools for the training of middle school teachers were opened in 1876 for the first time, one by the government and the other by a local authority. The figures remained the same until three more provincial normal schools were opened in 1879, in addition to the existing ones. These schools trained a total number of 842 students, including one female, between 1876 and 1879. These schools placed a special emphasis on the study of Western, mostly English, books and some school even hired Western instructors.

The relationship between the governmental normal schools and local ones was, as the Code intended, generally

---

All the information leading up to this point was taken from Ogata, Gakusei jisshish., op. cit., pp. 155-163. Parallel to the progress of teacher training, even the name for teacher had been changed. In one primary school in Nagano Prefecture, for example, a former teragoya teacher who was assigned to a new school was no longer called oshishosama, but now kyoshisama. But in the next year of 1873, when a new teacher (probably a man who had at least some training at a normal school) came to school, he was called sensei, the title which is used even today. Taga, op. cit., p. 29.
close and well-coordinated, the former providing the
directions and guidelines, while the latter put them into
practice. In order to appreciate the earliest teacher
training in Japan, therefore, it is necessary to investigate
in full detail the first normal school, i.e., Tokyo Normal
School. This school was, however, opened by the help of
an American school teacher and based on an American
school, discussions of which are, needless to say, quite
appropriate to the present study. But such accounts
deserve more than a passing comment. We shall, therefore,
temporarily discontinue the present topic until the next
chapter.

The Code had already displayed several difficulties,
all in the practice of the primary schools. But the prob-
lems did not end here. Somehow schools and teachers
were secured, all right. But how were the textbooks, the
most basic instructional materials to be provided? The
question was indeed no less challenging than the numbers
of schools and teachers to be provided. But just as the
government had private teragoya schools and their teachers
to rely on, it also had a supply of texts, namely, an
abundance of keimosho (books for enlightenment) and a
governmental office devoted to the translation of Western
books, including texts. The translation office, bequeathed
by the former government, was first placed in Daigakko, but
later in the Ministry of Education two months after its
inauguration, this time with the specific intention of compiling texts. But this Bureau of Compilation, as the office was called, was closed after a year's operation in September, 1872, after compiling only three texts. The Bureau was superseded by the Section of Book Compilation in the following month, which prepared a number of books and charts. In the meantime, the Ministry had Tokyo Normal School compile texts, apparently with little success. And the attempt at the Normal School terminated with the opening of the Section of Documents in March, 1873, in the Ministry, one office with twenty three full-time staff members being devoted to making texts for primary and middle schools, mostly from Western sources. Therefore, the Ministry, along with help from Tokyo Normal School from September, 1875, started showing the real capability, or at least intention, of producing a large number of books. But in general the quality, quantity, and variety of the governmental texts were still in such a condition that the government encouraged private individuals and publishers to compile texts. According to the Mombusho

\[\text{18}\]

In the month following the proclamation of the Code, the Ministry issued the "Primary School Teaching Directions," which prescribed that each grade of the lower and upper primary schools last for six months, that there be five hours of classes a day for a total of thirty hours per week. But the Directions also dealt with the allocation of each subject described in the Code to each grade, along with the names of the texts and teaching methods. More Directions immediately with further details and recommended texts. Ogata, Gakusei jissh\[\text{i}, \text{ op. cit.}, \text{ p. 177.}\]
Reports prepared in 1876, the Mombusho (the Ministry)-appointed texts in that year were one hundred and sixty-two different kinds, out of which sixty were published by the Mombusho. In the following year, there were one hundred seventy four different texts recommended by the Ministry; fifty eight of them were prepared by the Ministry itself, twenty eight by prefectural schools, eighty eight by private publishers; and most of them were translated texts. Despite all these varieties and the governmental encouragement, however, the supply of texts in schools throughout the country was not adequate. It is true that Kyoto, Osaka, and thirty four prefectures made a large number of reprinted copies of the Ministry's texts; in 1874, for example, 521,200 copies of the Words Drill Book, 426,000 copies of Primary School Readers, 360,200 copies of Outlines of History, and 183,000 of Introduction to Geography, all translated texts, were published, along with a fewer number of copies of various other texts. Even when we take into account that the Ministry itself and other prefectures added many more copies to these books,

19 Inatomi, op. cit., p. 165.
20 Information leading up to this point is taken from Ogata Hiroyasu, Seivo kyoiku inyu no hoto (Channels of Western Education in Japan), (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 155-157.
21 Ogata, Gakusei jisshi..., op. cit., pp. 182-183.
a general scarcity of texts seemed to be the rule rather than exception in an average school. But obviously the situation was worse in areas remote from metropolitan cities. Taka Yamaguchi Prefecture in southernmost Honshu (the main island of Japan), for instance. The Prefectural authorities made an arrangement with the Ministry about the reprint of 10,000 copies each of certain selected texts in 1873. But apparently a small village teacher, one Shimizu Seisaburo, did not benefit from the arrangement, because he applied for a fifty-day leave for purchasing texts in Tokyo at his own expenses, bypassing nearby Osaka and Kyoto.

But the problems which have been discussed so far, particularly the problem of texts, resulted in another problem: absenteeism. Even when the texts were somehow available, they were frequently found by teachers, administrators, and parents alike, of being impractical and too shuchiteki (intellectual). These texts were generally either mere translations of Western texts or keimoshō or both, typically disregarding the level of understanding of their young clientele. Now the anger of the parents, particularly poor farmers and fishermen, seemed to reach a

---

22 Karasawa Tomitaro, Kyokashō no rekishi (A History of Textbooks), (Tokyo, 1956), p. 60.
high point. First, they were forced to open and maintain schools; then, they were required to send their children to the schools, and finally, they were expected to condone irrelevant texts. Soon absenteeism became a common phenomenon, and in 1873 even a riot started. Some 3,000 people from nine villages in Okayama Prefecture attacked houses, temples, shrines, and schools, in defiance of the introductions of the Conscription Ordinance, the Code of Education, and the Solar Calendar. The crowd destroyed most of the forty six schools in the district. Such riots broke out all over the country and continued to 1877, the year of the Satsuma Rebellion, destroying some ninety 23 schools and seriously damaging some sixty. And such discontentments, even though they did not necessarily take the form of riots, were prevalent throughout the nation, contributing to the replacement of the Code by the new one in 1879.

If the number of schools is an indicator of the external manifestation of the Code, the contents of the texts can apparently serve as the measurement of the internal aspect. Further, as indicated a moment ago, these earliest texts were largely translations of Western texts, and therefore give us a topic indisputably important.

to the present study. Therefore, as with the case of Tokyo Normal School, we shall resume this subject in fuller detail in the fourth chapter in connection with the literature of the Code.

The Code had trouble not only with primary schools but also with the middle schools and university. According to the plan, eight universities and two hundred and fifty-six middle schools, along with various types of technical schools, were to be opened. But the Code's achievement in the opening of the middle and technical schools was more ambiguous than in the opening of primary schools, due in part to the general lack of clarity in the conception of the middle school under the Code and in part to the presence of an enormous number of private and semi-private middle schools. But the ambiguity was made worse, because the government, under the Code, paid less attention to the middle schools than to the primary schools, leaving plenty of room for individuals and local governments to develop a greater, thus more complex, variety of middle school.

With the proclamation of the Code, the Nanko (a predecessor of Tokyo University) was named as the First Middle School in the First University District; Osaka Kaiseiho, an Osaka version of the former Tokyo Kaiseiho (that was Nanko renamed), which was opened in 1871 with a
teaching staff of seventy six and four hundred ninety three students, became the First Middle School in the Fourth University District; Kounkan in Nagasaki, a former governmental school, was transformed into the First Middle School in the Sixth University District; and a foreign language institute in Tokyo became the Second Middle School in the First University District. These were all opened in 1872. Obviously the transforming of the former schools should have continued until the prescribed number of middle schools had been reached. But, instead, things took a different turn. Because the instruction at the middle school level consisted mostly of, as we will see later, the study of Western arts and sciences through Western books, it seemed more realistic for the government to open middle schools with foreign instructors. The issuance of the "Teaching Directions at the Middle School Which is Taught by Foreign Instructors" in August, 1872, was the direct outcome of this feeling. Consequently, a plan was made to open at least one such middle school in each university district. And with this plan, the above-mentioned middle schools were transformed into foreign language institutes in the following year. In 1874, four more language institutes were opened in Aichi, Hiroshima, Niigata, and Miyagi. Soon, however, all the schools were renamed English language institutes and abolished altogether in 1877 because of financial difficulties. As a
result of successive reorganizations, there were no
government-sponsored middle schools at all between 1873
and 1878, the year when one was opened with one hundred
and thirteen students in Tokyo. In the meanwhile, the
real force for the opening of the middle schools came from
two other sources, i.e., from the local governments and
from private individuals.

As indicated earlier, the local governments were
responsible for financing their middle schools. But the
financial burden of opening primary schools had already
become a deterrent. In addition, the idea of supporting
schools was still alien to rich farmers and merchants,
who could have given a support. Consequently, what
happened to the opening of the primary schools happened
again here. The local authorities made the most of the
existing schools, not teragoya this time, but feudal domain
schools. Also the old supporters of the feudal domain
schools, i.e., samurai and the domain lord, also became the
supporters of the new middle school in their former
jurisdiction. Through this and similar financing, thirty
one middle schools in nineteen prefectures, out of the total
of thirty eight, were opened by 1877; sixty five by 1878;
and one hundred and seven by 1879. The number of students
in these schools increased from 3,271 in 1877 to 4,494 in
1878 to 7,786 in 1879. But although these schools were to
follow the basic directions of the Code and subsequent governmental Directions, they nevertheless varied greatly one from another in their organization and basic procedures. Some schools did not specify the age of a new student, while others required the student to have reached the age of fourteen or have a primary school diploma. In general, however, these schools offered three-year course work, instead of six, requiring their students to start at age fourteen. But it should be added that according to one study, approximately one-third of thirty eight middle schools throughout the country which were investigated offered six-year programs. Further, thirty one of these thirty seven schools (and not thirty-eight) had courses in English. Sixty two percent of these schools offered not only English as a language but also Western liberal arts courses, such as social sciences and mathematics, taught by means of English texts. In summary, it seems that the general direction, not necessarily the practice, of the local public middle schools was to offer three to six years of Western encyclopedic knowledge for a student at the starting age of fourteen. Obviously, the prescription of the Code was not seriously taken.

In addition to these governmental and public middle schools, there were far greater numbers of private middle schools. The main body of these private middle schools was
the private middle school, the number of which increased dramatically from the closing years of the former regime. In 1873, Tokyo alone had one hundred fifty private institutes teaching English (as well as German and French), forty five institutes which not only taught English but also other subjects, and sixty two institutes, most of which offered courses in medicine or Western mathematics, in addition to six hundred ninety three teragoya-type institutes (which, however, were attended also by students over ten years of age) and fifty nine institutes exclusively for Chinese studies. With such a tremendous competition among the different schools, not all of the first two types of private institutes, which were two main components of the private middle schools under the Code, could survive, some simply because they did not have adequate resources to become accredited schools. Consequently, in Tokyo alone, there were approximately eighty to three hundred private middle schools between the years of 1875 and 1879, with the number of students ranging from two thousand to sixteen thousand. But outside of Tokyo, there were approximately the same number of private middle schools, but with less students, the number of whom never exceeded fifteen hundred sixty. Tokyo was indeed the center of the middle schools. We should not fail to point out, however, that many of them were what the Code called
"irregular" middle schools, unable to offer full-fledged six-year course work and foreign language instruction through the assistance of Western instructors.

As for the technical schools, which included foreign language schools, the picture is generally parallel to the middle schools. Differences between the middle and technical schools reside not in level but in kind. During the time of the code both types of schools admitted fourteen-year-old students, who, at the technical schools, pursued specialized studies, while, at the middle schools, liberal arts courses. In Tokyo alone, including the government's, there were five public technical schools of various types, such as agricultural, medical, and mechanical, with about two thousand students in 1875; the number of the schools jumped to nine schools with nearly three thousand students in 1878, but diminished, due to general financial difficulties, to three schools with nearly two thousand students. Outside of Tokyo, there were fifteen to thirty schools, fifteen hundred to twenty-five hundred students. But there were far larger numbers of private technical schools. Tokyo alone had variously about fifteen to seventy schools with from a thousand to a little over three thousand students during the same period; the number of both schools and students declined as the years advanced, probably because of the increasing popularity of the public schools. Outside of Tokyo, there were much fewer
schools and students. We have to keep in mind, however, that these figures, along with the ones of the middle schools, are often indistinguishable. Take Geio Gijuku, for instance. It was first classified as a foreign language school by the Annual Reports of Mombusho (the source of the above figures) in one year but under middle schools by the next Reports. There were numerous such instances. But once again, because there were strong Western influences on middle schools and technical schools, we shall deal with them later in the next chapter, separately from the present discussions.

As for the university, there was none till 1877, when the First Middle School in the First University District (i.e., former Nanko) grew into a full-fledged modern university. But since the process of this outgrowth was conducted under heavy Western influences, we shall resume the discussion later in the next chapter in connection with the schools of the Code.

In summary, when the Code lost its effect in 1879, there were 28,025 primary schools with 71,046 teachers and 2,315,070 pupils; 107 public middle schools with 7,786 students

24 Information for the preceding four paragraphs was gathered from Fukaya Masashi, Gakurekishugi no keifu (A Genealogy of Japanese Obsession with Formal Schooling), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 80-146. Diagrams in pp. 91, 92, 125 received a special attention.
and 687 private middle schools with 32,243 students; 33 public and governmental technical schools with 4,827 students and 89 private technical schools with 3,551 students; and one university. As far as the figures are concerned, the Code managed to produce over half of the originally planned primary schools, approximately three times as many middle schools, and one-eighth of the universities. Considering that all this was accomplished in a short period of time, they were an impressive, if not great, achievement. But before we pass a final judgment on the Code's results, we have to keep in mind that the majority of the primary schools had only one or two teachers possibly with one or two classrooms, that the majority of public and private middle schools too could not offer six-year course work as prescribed in the Code, that the technical schools were still in the process of defining their own status and that there was only one university instead of eight. But at the same time, we have to be equally cautious of not underestimating these achievements. Probably this is all that the Japanese could do about the new educational system in the midst of political turmoil, of drastic changes in life and thinking, and of antagonism to new forms of education on the part of certain people. After all, there was no guarantee that the Code's planning presupposed perfection in practice.
However, for the sake of the present study, there are several significant things about the entire program of the Code. In the first place, as we have seen, the spirit underlying the Code and the actual drafting of it were conducted under heavy Western influence. Secondly, as we are just about look into, teacher training and the making of texts for the primary schools were also conducted in close touch with Western counterparts. Thirdly, again as we will soon see, the procedures and contents of the middle schools and technical schools were considerably affected by Western styles. Finally, as we shall also see that the university itself was the outgrowth of the institutions of Western learning.

The Administration and the Revision of the Code

We have seen, in the preceding discussions, how the Code was prepared under Western influences, and to what degree it was executed, facing several problems of great magnitude in the process. The question we are about to deal with is who administered the Code, which was so ambitious on the one hand but so problem-oriented on the other. The answer was, as it turned out, David Murray, an American college professor, and Tanaka Fujimaro, the First Secretary to the Minister of Education (or de facto Minister), a pro-American administrator. In Japan, Murray was the single
and supreme foreign advisor to the Minister exclusively on educational affairs.

As we have pointed out in the first chapter, the new Meiji government had established a policy of employing foreign advisors, technicians, and instructors for the reorganization of its structure and for the introduction of new techniques and information. When the Code was launched, the policy was, as usual, instantly adopted by the Ministry (though it was rather strange why the Ministry had not employed a foreign advisor at the preparatory stage of the Code). The Ministry needed an experienced Western administrator in education who could carry out the Code properly. The Minister Oki, appointed Hatakeyama, a graduate of Rutgers, for a search. He began (also ended) his search in the United States. As a graduate of Rutgers College, he naturally first went to his alma mater for consultation on his mission and met, among others, David Murray, one of the professors he

25 According to Yokoyama Kendo, there was a plan, from the time of the establishment of the Ministry of Education, to invite four educational advisors from four different countries, such as the United States, England, France, and Germany; Hatakeyama, however, decided by himself to settle only with Murray in order to prevent possible divisions among the advisors. Tsuchiya Tadao regards Yokoyama's arguments as unreliable because of the lack of authenticity of the sources which he used. Tsuchiya Tadao, Meiji zenki kyoiku seisaku shi no kenkyu (A Historical Study of Educational Policies during the Early Meiji), (Tokyo, 1962), p. 173.
had studied with. But Oki himself may have chosen Rutgers (and even Murray) for Hatakeyama; Oki may have consulted Verbeck (a head teacher of Nanko and an unofficial advisor to the Minister, as we have mentioned), Oki's close friend. Further, there was an ardent supporter of Murray in Washington, who was deeply impressed with Murray's response to his inquiries: Mori Arinori, an editor of *Education in Japan*, whom we have already mentioned in the previous chapter. And it happened that the Iwakura Mission arrived in Washington around this time. Kido Takayoshi, a member of the Mission, had interviews twice with Murray, probably upon the suggestion of Hatakeyama, Mori, and Oki. Tanaka Fujimaro, a commissioner of education for the Iwakura Mission, did not see Murray in person at this time (they later became close friends), but he was undoubtedly informed of the progress of Murray's invitation. It is fairly safe to say, therefore, that Murray was granted, from the beginning, the general support and expectations of the educational leaders of the Meiji government. He arrived in Japan in May, 1873 as the "Superintendent of Educational affairs" or the "Adviser to the Japanese Imperial Ministry of Education."

Before he came to Japan, Murray was, at one time,  

---

a Professor of Mathematics and later the principal of Albany Academy and became the Professor of Mathematics and Astronomy at Rutgers College in 1763. Also he had been active in religious and civic affairs; he was an elder of the Second (Dutch) Reformed Church and Superintendent of the Sunday School for many years; he was one of the two founders of the Alpha Beta Kappa Society in New Jersey and became its first president; he was also active in establishing the Historical Society and the Young Men's Christian Association, to the latter of which he was elected the first president. And "in Rutgers College he attained a distinguished reputation as a successful organizer and administrator." \[27\]

Murray's main achievements during his more than five years' work in Japan can be seen in his three separate Reports submitted to the Ministry respectively in 1873, 1874, and 1878. What was contained in these Reports were his suggestions and hopes, most of which were faithfully carried out by his Japanese assistants. Throughout the Reports he maintained the attitudes of what he called the "naturalization of education," that is, to make the

\[27\] William I. Chamberlain, In Memoriam, David Murray, (New York, 1915), pp. 1-2. For general information concerning Murray and his work in Japan, the following pages were also consulted: pp. 3-6, 11.

Japanese educational system as much as possible natural or congenial to the traditions of the land. As a firm believer in cultural relativism and as a person of moderate temperament, he was opposed to any drastic measures to carry out or even modify the Code. He "asserted the practice of nationalistic education in Japan, while Tanaka Fujimaro was an American worshipper."

In the Reports of 1873, Murray stressed five points. In the first place, he maintained that the purpose of education was the proportionate cultivation of the body, mind, and intellect, a belief typical of the time. And he felt that although the Japanese were not inferior to the inhabitants of Western countries in terms of their acquirement of letters, they nevertheless lacked in the effort to cultivate their personality. Secondly, he placed great emphasis on the importance of the native tongue in the scheme of national education, and felt that the excessive learning of foreign languages was just a temporary measure before the instruction was carried out.

29 This attitude had already been manifested in his reply to Mori Arinori, when he stated: "There are traditional customs which it would be unwise to undertake to subvert. There are institutions already founded which are revered for their local and national associations, which without material changes may be made the best elements of a new system." Quoted in ibid., p. 130.

in the native tongue. Thirdly, he suggested that the best ways the Ministry could introduce Western educational systems were, first, to edit texts after Western ones, to translate educational literature, and to obtain educational equipment, and then, to open normal schools. Fourthly, he stressed the necessity of girls' education and suggested accordingly the quick opening of female normal schools. Fifthly, he proposed that the practice of the Code be carried out step by step, and not too drastically. Finally, he recommended that adequate forms of educational statistics be prepared, so that the Ministry could grasp the educational affairs of the entire country with clarity.

Although the definite connection between Murray's suggestions and what actually happened in different facets of the Code has not been established yet, the connection, as we have seen so far, seems too intimate to be called accidental or minor. The first point, for example, found an immediate affinity to shuchishugi (intellectuality) of the Code (and not to the Preamble's jitsuyoshugi--utilitarianism). But of course, Murray never overemphasized the cultivation of intellect, nor did he introduce utilitarian views of learning. In that sense, Murray not only detached himself from government officials, including Tanaka, who administered the Code, but also from Mitsukuri and others who prepared it.

---

But his concerns for the training of the mind and body, along with intellect, obviously prepared a way for the subsequent emphasis on the neglected two of the triad during the reactionary period. But the Japanese this time overemphasized (which Murray never did of course) the two, i.e., mind and body, at the expense of intellect. Murray's firm belief in the trifold development of a student seems to have, in some ways, counterbalanced shuchishugi of the Code. There is also some evidence that Murray's second point in the Reports may have greatly affected Japanese education during the time of the Code. Japanese officials never tried to introduce foreign tongues as a means instruction at the primary school level, although they may have at the secondary and higher levels; relative emphasis on English in some mission schools was a choice of missionaries who ran the school and not of the officials. This fact is illuminating in light of the fact that some Japanese, including Mori Arinori, strongly advocated the disuse of the Japanese language in favor of a foreign tongue, particularly English. Murray's third point was

---

32 Mori entertained an idea around the time of the arrival of the Iwakura Mission in Washington. He changed his view only after he received an opinion from W. D. Whitney, a Yale professor, who was one of the respondents to Mori's inquiries on the promotion of Japanese national education. As indicated earlier, Mori edited the inquiries and published it under the title of Education in Japan. Yamane Yasutaro, Kokugo kyoikushi kenkyu (A Historical Study of Language Education), (Hiroshima, 1966), pp. 151-152.
simply the logical extension of his second: if the foreign tongue could not be used, foreign books had to be translated. Since this view seemed to be demonstrated in the subsequent overflow of translated texts, the connection between the two is highly probable. Or, Murray may have given a strong official sanction to various attempts of editing translated texts and books, attempts which were stimulated (or initiated) by the success of enlightenment books. Murray's third point also included the opening of normal schools, which, as we have already seen in the last chapter, was conducted enthusiastically by local governments. Considering the fact that the local authorities usually opened normal schools first and public middle school, if at all, later, Murray again may have played a strong role in creating such an attitude. Murray's fourth point too was carried out. Government officials always paid particular attention to education for girls, although not necessarily with successful results. A female normal school was indeed opened under the name of Tokyo Normal School for Girls. Murray must have contributed to the opening of the Normal School. Murray's fifth point seems to have had great weight on officials at the Ministry. Never did the revision of the Code become the central issue during Murray's tenure or at least in his presence. Murray was generally in favor of the Code itself and never was inclined to make an overall change. Consequently, the
revision of the Code came in September, 1879, approximately eight months after Murray's departure; and it was prepared and conducted by Tanaka Fujimaro, Murray's Japanese associate. But if Murray exercised such a strong power over Tanaka not to revise the Code, he might well have had a strong voice in other points we have discussed. Murray was also paid one of the highest salaries of all oyatoi for more than five long years; unless Murray was highly competent and therefore influential, the Ministry, always short of budget, would never have done that. Murray, therefore, must have been influential, though details are still relatively unknown. That statement that "if Murray had wanted to make the Japanese schools exact copies of American ones, he would have encountered little resistance from Tanaka or from the Minister, Ohki Takato" has a lot of truth in it.

The Reports of 1874 were accounts of his observations of schools in Nagasaki, Kyogo, Osaka, and Kyoto. In Nagasaki, he witnessed the poor facilities of Nagasaki English School, pointed out the absence of a laboratory at the primary school at Nagasaki Normal School, and deplored the poor condition of girls' education. However, he was impressed with the degree which the textbooks pub-

---

Schwantes, op. cit., p. 131.
lished by the Ministry were used, and with the outstanding assistance given to various schools and numerous teachers by one Tokyo Normal School graduate. In Hyogo and Osaka, he was satisfied with the high degree of the circulation of texts; and in Kyoto, he praised the progress of the schools in general. The Reports of 1878 consisted of his observations of Tokyo schools and of various suggestions for their improvement. Specific points of his observations are not available for the present study, but we know that he made a few important comments on how the Code was practiced. The maintenance of the schools, as he asserted, should be made different in accordance with the different conditions of localities; he added, however, that part of the maintenance had to come from financial support by the parents. Besides that, he also commented that the same course of study should be rendered to students throughout the country in order to completely eliminate age-old class distinctions in schooling.

Murray's observations described in the Reports of 1874 and 1878 were, interestingly enough, closely parallel to the problems of the Code we have described in the previous section. In Murray's observations, for example,

34 Kaikoku Hyakunen..., ed., op. cit., p. 312.
35 Ibid., p. 313.
the problems of attendance (particularly of girls), of
teacher training, and of texts were all discussed, though
favorably here. This is a clear indication that Murray not
only set up the general guidelines as they appeared in
1873 Reports but also worked on practical details concomitant
with the guidelines. Murray was silent on the problem
of middle and technical schools; but probably because of his
silence, the middle and technical schools did not receive
adequate attention from the Ministry, thereby creating the
problem which we dealt with in the previous section. But
when Murray did speak on such things as parents' support
of local schools and the universal practice of the same
course of study, he indeed created problems. From his
advocation of parental responsibility for financing the
schools, the problem of absenteeism may have come. Further,
from his belief in universal practice, the problem of
shuchishugi (over-intellectualism) of the Code may have
originated. At any rate, it is clear that Murray worked
in terms of the problems of the Code; that where he was
silent, things were not carried out; and that where he
spoke, he created some problems, probably along with some
solutions, too. In all probability, therefore, Murray
seems to have been deeply involved in the practice of the
Code. In addition to this work, Murray helped the Japanese
organize their participation in the Philadelphia Inter-
national Exposition in 1876. During his stay, he purchased
a number of instructional aids. Upon his return, he prepared an *Exposition Report* which dealt with European as well as American education; it seems that Murray never outright praised his own American educational system. This *Report* was to be used as one of the sources for the revision of the Code, as we shall discuss shortly afterwards. Murray also helped Ministry officials prepare *An Outline History of Japanese Education*, one of the earliest educational books written by the Japanese. We shall discuss this topic later in the fourth chapter in connection with literature of the Code. Murray resigned his office in January, 1879.

The problems of the Code, increasingly serious and complex, seemed to demand some drastic solutions. As we have often pointed out, the Code school system was accused of being faulty in its provision for the quality (and indeed quantity too) of school facilities, teachers, and textbooks; it also was lacked in its provision for proper secondary education; in addition, it did not have adequate financing. As a result, the attendance rate was very poor. Despite Murray's efforts, the Ministry's officials were convinced that the Code was not working properly. The officials concluded, around the year 1876, that something had to be done. But instead of changing the details of the Code so that the Code would function more
smoothly as Murray advocated, they asserted a drastic change was needed, an abolition of the Code in favor of a new one. Their leader was of course Tanaka Fujimaro, whose principal sources for the basis of this change were, as we shall see, American education systems. Murray himself, as pointed out earlier, would never have executed such a program; he paid respect to Japanese traditions in education as well as to Europeans' as his Exposition Reports showed.

Although Tanaka was frequently regarded as "an American worshipper," he was never a blind worshipper when it came to revising the Code. As the commissioner of education of the Iwakura Mission, he had a fairly accurate picture of Western education in general, including the American. But his Commissioners Reports indicated that he was particularly interested in American and German educational systems, the former probably because of an historically close relationship and the latter because of its being the most advanced national education system in Europe. But when he was confronted with problems of the Code, Tanaka decided that the practice of strongly compulsory education in Germany and all the advanced concomitant qualities originating from it were possible only when the government took full responsibility for financing the schools. On the other hand, he found it more realistic and practical to let the public be more
aware of the importance of education and subsequently be responsible for maintaining the schools; consequently, he calculated, people would stop opposing the opening of the schools because they would be theirs; they would make changes in curriculum because they were fully aware of their own needs; and they would be more willing to finance the schools because they had a direct bearing on their own welfare. In other words, Tanaka concluded that schools by the people and for the people was the solution. Then he discovered, out of his constant studies of Western educational systems that the American system showed a successful operation in line with the solution he envisioned. This is why Tanaka approached American education in search of the solution. For him, then, the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 was a good place to start.

Tanaka's second trip to the United States was obviously more extensive and careful than the first one. He made a thorough observation of the educational systems of Western nations at the Exposition. But his main interest was definitely the American system. He and his associates energetically investigated it with the full intention of discovering how it could be applied by the Japanese. The result of the study took the form of the publication of Beikoku gakkoho (The American School System), which

36 Tsuchiya, Meiji zenki..., op. cit., pp. 179-184.
37 For more information, see p. 275 of this study.
was edited by Tanaka and published in 1878. This report was the prime source for the revision. In addition, at least following sources might have been consulted: the Ministry's Beikoku kyoiku renpyo (Chronological Tables of American Education), Mekata Tanetaro's reports of American education which appeared in the Ministry's journal called kyoiku zasshi, Murray's Reports of the Exposition, and Kobayashi Gishu's articles on the rules governing public school in San Francisco which appeared in Kyoiku zasshi.

A close connection, as stated earlier, existed between Beikoku gakkoho and the revised version of the Code, officially the Educational Ordinance. Several portions of the Ordinance can directly be traced back to American school practices described in the gakkoho.

39 For more information on the book, see p. 274 of this study.
40 For more information on the magazine, see p. of this study.
41 It is still a point of argument just how much Murray contributed to the revision. It is known that Murray wrote The Educational Code of Japan which dealt with problems created by the Code and their solutions. But this writing was carried out probably outside the knowledge of officials who worked on the revision; further Inoue showed point-by-point that even Tanaka possibly did not see Murray's present writing. Ibid., pp. 315-322.
First, the Ordinance's idea that the welfare of the nation depended on the individual's intellectual abilities and moral behavior was originated most likely from the State Constitution of Kansas (1858), but also indirectly from State Constitutions of Ohio, Michigan, Nebraska, and North Carolina. Secondly, the Ordinance's belief that teachers had to be men of good behavior could be traced back to the State School Laws of California, Michigan, and New York. Thirdly, the Ordinance's assertion that the teachers had to see to it that students were cultivated properly in good manners and in patriotism could also be found in the Californian State School Laws. Fourthly, the Ordinance's requirements that the period of compulsory attendance should be over four months for four consecutive years also appeared in State School Laws of North Carolina, Texas, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Minnesota, with minor changes. Fifthly, the Ordinance's insistence that the "school-district" or "school-committee" be established found an affinity to State School Laws of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and New York. Lastly, the Ordinance's mentioning that the practice of corporal punishment was strictly prohibited can also be found in the State School Laws of New Jersey. In

\[43\]

Inoue, op. cit., pp. 319-321.
addition to these direct references to American State
Constitutions and State School Laws, the Ordinance also
owed major points in its revision to them, though indirectly
this time. The major modifications consisted of the
following five: (1) the establishment of the "school-
district" in terms of legal jurisdiction rather than of
the number of the population, (2) the shortening of the
minimum required period of attendance from eight years
to four years, (3) the increased availability of govern-
mental subsidy to the primary school, (4) the deduction of
the courses of study from twenty one to six with considerable
emphasis on practicality, and (5) the lowering of teachers'
age from twenty to eighteen years. In laying out such
general new guidelines, Tanaka was obviously more careful
than the previously-described specific operational details,
so that his American-oriented guidelines could be flexible
enough to solve the problems of the Code occurring in the
Japanese setting. Indeed, the shortening of the period
of compulsory attendance seemed to encourage parents to
send their children to school, thus solving the poor
attendance under the old Code. The lowering of the
teachers' age too seemed to be most effective in securing
a large number of new teachers. The emphasis on practi-
cality (jitsuyoshugi) seemed to be a good incentive for
the parents to cooperate with local officials to open new
schools; in that case the statement about an increasing state subsidy obviously must have carried a decisive weight in furthering parents' preference for the new schools of the Ordinance. How texts were to be supplied was not clearly stated in the Ordinance; but the absence was probably an indication that a solution to the supply problem, unlike other problems, was heading in the right direction. The greatest single feature of the Ordinance and therefore the panacea of all the ills of the previous was institution of an American "school-district", in other words, a system of local control of school. Other features were more or less corollaries to this feature. If each school-district became responsible for opening and maintaining schools, as Tanaka might have argued, the parents in the district would be more willing to send their children to school; they would also make an extra effort to secure good teachers for their children; they would make an extra sacrifice to pay for the maintenance of their school; further they would make the school subjects more practical (or relevant) to their needs. After all, as Tanaka might have concluded, district schools belonged directly to the parents, not to the state as Code often implied, so that the parents should and would take the initiative in maintaining the school. The new school of the Ordinance was, in other words, the school for the
people, by the people, and of the people, a conception which was the backbone of the American local school system. When the Educational Ordinance was officially proclaimed in September, 1879, therefore, Tanaka had good reasons to believe, as we have observed, that the Ordinance should work much more smoothly than the Code. But Tanaka was entirely wrong.

No sooner had the Ordinance been put into effect than reactions opposite to those anticipated appeared. The change in the attendance period, for example, was interpreted not as an incentive for sending children to school but as an excuse of not doing so. Considerable deduction in the number of subject matters was looked upon not as the formation of a simplified, but far more practical, curriculum, but as the government's intention of merely lessening the classroom requirements. And the whole connotation of the Ordinance seemed to tell the people that the government was no longer serious about opening schools and that they were free to do whatever they pleased, even free not to send their children to school. As a consequence of this feeling, the number of schools and of children attending thereof decreased. General interest in educational innovations was gone. Classroom teaching was neglected. The Ordinance itself was accused of being a "free," "laissez-faire," "liberal," or "non-interference"
Ordinance. The criticism of the Ordinance among government officials, even among the Ministries, also became stronger and stronger. The Ordinance was revised in December, 1880 after only fifteen months in practice. By then, Tanaka had gracefully been transferred to a legal branch of the government, never to return. The era of outright Westernization was also irretrievably gone with Tanaka. The bunmei kaika movement in education, along with the People's Rights movement in politics, ended with Tanaka's departure.

The revision of the Ordinance was not necessarily prompted by the failures of the Ordinance alone, but also by socio-political changes. As we recall, around 1879 was a period of triumphs for leaders of the People's Rights movement. The influence of Anglo-Saxon liberalism and French radicalism reached its climax. Attacks on government projects were open, severe, and pervasive. The government, on the other hand, suffered considerably financially from victorious but costly engagements with the Satsuma Rebellion. In the verbal battlefield too, it

44 Discussions leading to this point, from the last footnote, are based on information gathered from the following sources: Mombusho, ed., op. cit., pp. 87-88; Taga, op. cit., 48-52; Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji shoki kyoiku shiso no kenkyu (A Study of Early Meiji Educational Ideas), (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 152-153.
had lost some of its most competent leaders to the People's right movement. Further, whatever the government did, it found more enemies than supporters. As a young nation facing what Spencer calls "survival," the government had to act quickly and powerfully. The result was its efforts to put an end to the almost indiscriminatory importations of Western thought and social sciences, including education. But as a young nation still bound by the unequal treaties in world politics, it needed Western arts and sciences to enhance its status in Western eyes as "civilized." The outcome of these internal and international pressures for "survival" took the form of the highly selective introduction of things Western thereafter. In the broad perspective of the modernization of the country, therefore, the termination of the Ordinance was but a branch where the government tried to curb blind Westernization. The failures of Tanaka's Ordinance were, then, intensified and magnified by the socio-political phenomena of the time and its revision seemed to become a matter of sheer necessity. The kind of extensive Western influences on education during the time when the Code was in force never appeared again in Japan at least till the end of World War II. The cancellation of the Ordinance indeed marked the transformation of the nature and aspirations of modern Japanese education. This transformation, along with Western
influences taking place during and after it, shall be 
b briefly discussed in the last chapter of this study.
CHAPTER IV

THE SCHOOLS OF THE CODE

The present chapter constitutes the third part of the total five which are devoted to dealing with different facets of Japanese education during the period of the Code. Our present topic covers different kinds of schools which flourished under the Code.

This study, however, deals only with those secondary and higher schools, such as the middle and technical schools and the university, which were affected by Western influences. Under this category also falls the normal school, which was placed somewhere between the university and the middle school and at the same time close to the technical school in its character. We have excluded discussions on Western influences in the primary school, because they are found, both directly and indirectly, elsewhere in this study. We have also deliberately ignored schools run by foreigners, particularly missionaries, because we are going to deal with them independently in a subsequent chapter.

Among the non-primary schools which we are about to explore, the normal school was probably the most important
institution in terms of the execution of national education, the prime purpose of the Code. And there were plenty of Western influences on teacher education: the first normal school in Japan, Tokyo Normal School, was initiated by an American educator; three students were sent to the United States to make an overall studies of teacher education for the first time; a Music Training School and a Gymnastic Training School, both of which were miniature normal schools for the exclusive training of music and gymnastic teachers, were opened under heavy American influences.

Governmental middle schools were also considerably affected by Western influences. Their names were even changed into English language schools. Among the governmental middle schools, however, the First Middle School in the First University District, or the former Nanko, most thoroughly relied on Western directions for its re-organization, which culminated in university status. We shall, therefore, deal with alien influences on this School and on the university in full detail.

Governmental technical schools too underwent great changes under Western influences. We shall deal with some of such technical schools, but particularly with Sapporo Agricultural College, where alien elements were most evident.

Numerous local public middle schools, which were
generally run by old feudal domain lords, also adopted some Western elements, but not so enthusiastically as their governmental counterparts. Private middle schools, far more numerous than the local public schools in number and far more varied in their origins, became either totally inclined to Western learning or to traditional learning, or to learning somewhere in between. Among the best which were inclined to the West was Fukuzawa's Keio, which shall be discussed in full detail.

Western Influences on Teacher Education

We have already seen that the Code regarded teacher training as one of the most important aspects for the improvement of the national education system. In fact, when the Cabinet responded to the draft of the Code, it, as we remember, put the opening of the normal school in the second place, next only to the rapid establishment of the primary schools. We also recall that there were more normal schools than public middle schools during the years of 1874 and 1878, the latter frequently being opened as part of the former. Therefore, it is not

---

Fukuya reports that because the Code's prime concern was to open as many primary schools as possible, the opening of the normal schools was considered more crucial than that of the middle schools. Fukuya Masahi, Gakurekishigi no keifu (A Genealogy of Japanese Obsession with Formal Schooling), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 135-136.
surprising to see the first normal school being opened even prior to the issuance of the Code. But since the Japanese did not have any experience with modern teacher training, they, as they did with the administration of the Code, had rely heavily on Western systems, particularly the American. The "Proposals for the Establishment of Schools for Primary School Teachers," which was turned in by the Ministry of Education to the Cabinet in April, 1872, were clear indications of these Japanese attitudes, rationale, and methods of teacher training. According to the "Proposals," the training was to be carried out in the following way:

1. to employ a Westerner and name him as a teacher; there is a man of good standing in Nanko, who is to be substituted by another person;
2. to admit twenty four students and name them as assistant teachers;
3. to admit ninety students and name them as students; both assistant teachers and students are in actuality students;
4. to have one person act as an interpreter between the teacher and the students;
5. the teacher is to exclusively use rules of Western primary schools when he teaches his assistant teachers;...
6. to divide the ninety students into six groups, each being looked after by four assistant teachers; the latter is to change Western "letters" into Japanese "1 ro ha" (an alphabet) and to use Japanese "tango" (Word) for Western "word" in accordance with rules taught by the teacher, and in addition, (the assistant teachers are) to impart...the methods of Western oral instruction to the students, developing at the same time
Japanese methods totally in line of Western's; 
...to order books and all the equipments 
necessary for the primary school (attached 
to the Normal School) from America, and when 
they arrive, translate useful parts (of the 
books)...

7. while the assistant teachers are instructing 
the students, the (Western) teacher is to 
supervise them and to correct them...; in 
other words, when the assistant teachers 
receive instruction directly from the 
teacher, the complete form of the Western 
teaching methods can be obtained, and when 
the assistant teacher impart what they 
learned to the students, the Western methods 
are transformed into the Japanese ways; 
in the process, the method most congenial 
to the Japanese primary school is hoped to 
be worked out; in this way, the primary 
school teachers are to be trained, sent in 
all directions, and gradually and steadily 
increased in their numbers; the courses of 
study consist roughly of, (1) spelling, 
(2) writing, (3) words, (4) conversation, 
(5) readers, (6) moral sciences, (7) grammar, 
(8) arithmetic, (9) hygiene, (10) geography, 
(11) sciences, (12) history, (13) geometry, 
(14) natural history, (15) chemistry, 
(16) physiology, and (17) brush painting. 2

As the "Proposals" show, the Japanese educators, from 
the beginning, openly stated that they would take a Western 
teacher training program as a model. According to the 
"Proposals," a Western teacher was to be employed. Instruc-
tional materials necessary for teaching at the (attached) 
primary school were to be imported from the United States.

2 Adopted in Ogata Hiroyasu, Gakusei jisshi keii no 
kentoku (A Study of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1963), 
pp. 152-153.
Despite this heavy reliance on the West, however, the Japanese also expressed their intentions that "the Western methods are transformed into the Japanese ways." But the beginning had to come from the West.

Accordingly, the school, Tokyo Normal School, was opened in May, 1872. The first group of fifty-three students was admitted in September. Morozuka Nobusumi, who was in his mid 20's, were appointed the first principal. For a "Western teacher" prescribed in the "Proposals," Marion M. Scott was transferred from Nanko; it was said that Scott had some experiences at a normal school in the United States. For an interpreter, Tsuboi Gendo, a scholar in English learning, was employed. Instead of the "twenty four" prescribed in the "Proposals," only eighteen students (out of the above fifty-three) were selected upper students (or the "assistant teachers"). Another modification, or rather an addition, was made when the courses of study were split into two levels: preparatory and regular. Scott taught English and arithmetic (and probably some pedagogy) at the regular course, while native instructors taught physics, chemistry, Japanese, Chinese, and others at the preparatory, mostly using translated textbooks.

Sources for the preceding two paragraphs are taken from Tsuboi Gendo's (the interpreter) recollections. See Kokumin Kyoiku Shorei Kai, ed., Kyoiku goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), pp. 18-21.
The employment of Scott for Tokyo Normal School was most responsible for bringing the early Japanese teacher training program closer to the American. Unlike Murray, Scott in fact tried hard to bring about the complete Americanization of the Normal School, though not necessarily successfully. He imported classroom equipment and instructional materials from his own country. He also taught English and arithmetic in accordance with contemporary teaching methods in the United States. But the introduction of the teaching methods was more influential than that of the equipment and materials. The most outstanding feature of Scott's teaching methods (details of which were, however, still unknown) was issei jigyo or simultaneous instruction (the Monitorial system). It enabled one teacher (Scott) to teach a relatively large number of students ("assistant teachers") at a time, although it at the same time required him to use most effectively instructional aids, i.e., charts, models, etc. The new method was almost revolutionary for the Japanese students and staffs at the Normal School. Traditionally, Japanese teachers either "read-off" or "explicated" assigned texts before a large class without using any aid, or simply strolled among students for individual instruction in the class, both small and large, as typically conducted at the former teragoya private primary school. Scott's issei jigyo was, therefore,
considered as a most effective solution for educating great masses of children under the national education system. But in addition, Scott's *issei jigyo* also introduced, whether Scott himself noticed it or not, rudiments of the contemporary Pestalozzian object lesson, with its prime emphasis on the use of an "object" or often an instructional aid, for the first time to Japan.

Simultaneous instruction became a fad, spreading from Tokyo Normal School to other normal schools throughout the country. In a text for students at a normal school in Chikuma in 1874, for example, the following passage appeared:

A teacher should enter the classroom ten minutes before the bell rings, so that he can find a seat among students...
A book should be opened to his (the teacher's) order of "one, two, and three." First students put their hands on the table...To the order of "one," they lift the cover of their tables; to "two," they take out books; to "three," they shut the cover.  

---

4 Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyo Kai, ed., *Nichi-bei bunka kosho shi* (A Complete History of Cultural Intercchange between the United States and Japan), (Tokyo, 1956), p. 351. As far as the ordering behavior was interpreted as important, gestures of the teachers were naturally recognized as very crucial in simultaneous instruction, as one Mizuno Hiroshi, a graduate of Tokyo Normal School in 1878, recalls: "the teaching method at that time placed an unusual emphasis on hand gestures...some teachers graded students' achievement (at the Normal School) by hand gestures alone...some students practiced them while taking a walk and were mistaken for lunatics." Quoted in Obara Kuniyoshi, ed., *Nihon shin kyoiku hyaku-nen shi* (A New Centennial History of Japanese Education), IV (Tokyo, 1969), p. 368.
This is rather an exaggerated example and such a teacher has often been accused of being too strict or conducting a "gorei jugyo" (order instruction) rather than issei jugyo. Nevertheless, it at least show the popularity of Scott's simultaneous instruction and the teachers' enthusiasm to learn it. As for the "object lessons," they were popularized only to the extent that teachers were now eager to obtain charts, blackboards, and other instructional aids, but not so much out of their understanding of philosophy underlying the "object lessons" as out of necessity to conduct simultaneous instruction. At Tokyo Normal School, however, the subject of question-and-answer in the First Teaching Direction (which will be discussed in a short while) was considered an application of the "object lessons," and Scott himself introduced N. A. Calkins' Primary Object Lessons (1871) as a "model of teaching."

Calkins' book was used for the subject. Two students of Scott, Kaneko Naomasa and Shirotani, even translated the book in 1875. Although Scott taught only at Tokyo Normal School, his influences were undoubtedly felt, though indirectly, at normal schools throughout the country as

---

5 For more information on the book, see p.282 of this study.

its graduates were sent there as teachers. In the area of simultaneous instruction, Scott may have "Americanized" a Japanese mode of teaching; but in the area of the "object lesson," he best created an atmosphere for its subsequent Americanization.

But Scott's, and therefore the Normal School's, chief contribution to national education was neither the initiation of issei jigyo nor the introduction of the object lesson, but the preparation, under his leadership, of a series of primary school teaching directions. When the Ministry of Education proclaimed the Code, they also prepared directions, showing people how the details of the Code should be handled. But the Ministry's directions were long, complicated, and too minute to be put into practice. Thereupon, the Normal School issued, independent of the Ministry, three primary teaching directions during Scott's term which expired in August, 1874, for their attached primary school. In these directions, fourteen different subjects prescribed by the Code was reduced only to six, such as reading, arithmetic, writing, composition, question-and-answer (which was considered as the object lesson by Scott and others, as mentioned a moment ago), and gymnastics. The Normal School directions also recommended a list of more realistic (in terms of practicality and availability) texts than the Ministry's. They also paid
more attention than the Ministry to the continuity existing between lower and upper primary courses of study. And it turned out that more primary schools throughout the country used the Normal School directions than the Ministry's. Primary school teachers throughout the country were undoubtedly more inclined to lean on the Normal School than on the Ministry for acquiring their basic professional teaching skills. But these first three popular Normal School directions were all believed to have been prepared, to a large degree, by Scott, who referred to "United States of America Primary School Grammar" and "United States Primary Grammar." Through the Normal School directions, then, Scott was indirectly contributing to Americanizing the Japanese primary schools. But this Americanization was not successful due to Scott's early return to the United States and also probably to Murray's gestures towards discouraging such an attempt of Scott. Understandably, the fourth Normal School directions, which were prepared in 1877, three years after Scott left, turned away from Scott's Americanization approaches to the more traditional ones, adding such courses as abacus calculation, bookkeeping, (classroom work) reviews, oral instruction, drawing as new subjects.

This early connection with American teacher training

---

7 Yamane, ibid., pp. 97-100, 222-229.
program at Tokyo Normal School did not terminate with the
departure of Scott from the School in August, 1874. The
continuity was maintained when three students were sent to
the United States for the study of teacher education in
July of the following year. They were Isawa Shuji, a
young principal of Aichi Normal School, Takamine Hideo,
an instructor at Fukuzawa's Keio, and Kozu Sensaburo,
probably an instruction at Nakamura Masanao's Doninsha.
On their way to America, they shared the same ship with
eleven government scholarship students, a director, and
his sister. Upon arrival at America, Isawa chose Bridge-

They were the first group of governmental scholarship
students after the temporary termination of the scholarship
program. This brief abolition took place in November,
1873 when many of the 373 governmental (including 173
private) students were found not to carry out their studies
as faithfully as they should have. In addition, the budget
for the program took as much as eighteen percent of the
total budget of the Ministry of Education; further, most
of the students were from such meritorious feudal domains
as Satsuma, Choshu, and Tosa, and this arrangement smacked
of favoritism to others. After a thorough review, the
program resumed in 1875. In the following year, ten were
sent; in 1877 and 1878, no one was sent due to the financial
difficulties caused by the Satsuma Rebellion; in 1879,
seven were sent. Thereafter till 1894, less than eight
students were sent each year. The three students who were
sent in 1875 were, for some reason, not included as govern-
mental students, though they were. The first governmental
scholarship student for the study of education, and not
necessarily of the teacher training, was sent as late as
1885. Ogata Hiroyasu, Seiyo kyokoku inyu no hoto (Channels
of Western Education in Japan), (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 57-61,
64-67.
water Normal School in Massachusetts, while Takamine and Kozu were assigned respectively to Oswego Normal School and Albany Normal School, both in New York.

During his Bridgewater days, three personalities impressed Isawa most: A. G. Boyden, a principal, L. H. Mason, a music teacher in Boston, and Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone in Boston. As a former principal himself, Isawa was amazed and moved by Boyden's attitudes towards students and by the atmosphere of the school which he created. Although Boyden had only three rules which each student was expected to abide by, i.e., to keep a mealtime and walking schedule and to spend time in silent reading, he successfully turned his students into men of moderate haitis. The sources of this transformation, as Isawa found out, were Boyden's understanding, compassion, and open relationship with students. All these, along with the students' youthfulness, helped Isawa come to realize the importance of a principal's personality at a normal school and the appreciation of youthfulness in thoughts and actions, as opposed to Confucian emphasis on preciosity which caused subsequent stagnation in men's growth.

Isawa's encounter with Mason was brought about by his poor achievement in music at the school. Boyden even

---

suggested that Isawa be relieved of the subject. But realizing that most Japanese students studying abroad were poor both at mathematics and music due to their (former samurai's) contempt of the subjects as being profit-oriented and feminine, Isawa declined Boyden's offer. Isawa told his problem to one Misono, who referred him to Mason. Mason at that time was in charge of reorganizing primary music education for the Boston public school system. His main effort was to establish that contents and systems of music education peculiar to America by means of European methods. In the process, he made a music chart with selected songs and wished to include some Oriental, particularly Japanese, songs in it. Consequently, when Isawa visited him for help, Mason wanted Isawa as much as the latter did. This was the beginning of their lasting friendship. Meanwhile, Isawa made average progress in the music lesson at the School.

Isawa's meeting with Graham Bell was also prompted by his personal deficiency, this time, in English pronunciation. He heard that the Bells had invented a method of speech therapy while working on the first telephone. He visited them for help and was accepted. Around the time when Isawa's deficiency was corrected, as Isawa's autobiography goes, the telephone was completed, and the first words which were exchanged between Graham Bell and Isawa
were Japanese. Isawa later became a chief promotor of the education of the mute, and of speech therapy in Japan.

Having graduated from Bridgewater, Isawa enrolled at Harvard for the general study of arts and sciences, but particularly for the latter, and for the investigation of university affairs in general. He took courses in mathematics, physics, chemistry, epigraphy, biology, and botany for less than a year. In the process, he was exposed, with subsequent influences, to Darwin's and Huxley's evolutionary theories and Spencer's social Darwinism. But before the school year was out, his father's illness forced him to leave the school in May, 1878. Upon his return to Japan, Isawa first worked for the Ministry of Education. He then became an assistant principal of Tokyo Normal School. But while he was in that position, he also became the first director of the newly-opened Gymnastic Training School; shortly afterwards, he became an investigator (not a director this time) for music education and opened, by his own efforts, the Music Training School. These two Training

Ibid., pp. 69-76; information concerning samurai's despises of mathematics and music was taken from Shimada Sabruo's accounts which contained reference to Isawa, in Kokumin Kyoiku..., ed., op. cit., pp. 33-36.

For further information concerning social Darwinism which affected Japanese education, see
Schools were the first such institutes ever opened in Japan, and were instituted under Western influences. We shall soon learn more about the details of the Schools. Isawa finally became the principal of Tokyo Normal School in November, 1879. There he brought the teacher training programs up-to-date (which had become out-dated after Scott left), introduced new teaching directions for the attached primary school, and purchased new equipment, books, and instructional aids. By doing so, Isawa once again, as Scott did before him, galvanized normal training and aroused a strong interest in teaching innovations in the minds of primary school teachers throughout the country. It was after the principalship of Isawa and Takamine, who succeeded Isawa, that Scott's initial introduction of the object lesson was turned into a strong educational movement called kaihatsu shugi (Doctrines of Inner Development). Further, although Isawa had no intention of "Americanizing" Japanese education, particularly after the revision of Tanaka's Ordinance, he nevertheless was instrumental, as a principal of the nation's model normal school, i. e., Tokyo Normal School, in keeping Japanese teachers abreast with advanced Western pedagogy, but especially with the Pestalozzian object lesson.

Isawa resinged the post in 1881 to work for other branches of the government; he later worked with Mori Arinori as a director of compilations of texts. Isawa also wrote
several books, all of which were based on foreign sources but not necessarily written while he was in office: a translation of Huxley's *Origin of Species* in 1879; Gakko kanriho (On School Management) between 1881 and 1882, which was in part based on Scottish scholar Carey's work; and Kyoiku gaku (Pedagogy) between 1882 and 1883, the sources of which mostly came from Boyden's lectures at Bridgewater.

Takamine's study at Oswego and his subsequent influence in Japan was not less impressive than Isawa's. Arriving in Oswego, he found himself in the midst of the Pestalozzian movement which was sweeping the United States at that time. The principal of Oswego was none other than Edward A. Sheldon, a chief founder of the movement. Further, he, and later his brother too, lived with Hermann Krüsi, a nephew of that Krüsi who was a disciple of Pestalozzi. This arrangement was initially made by Sheldon himself. While pursuing his study in such an ideal environment, Takamine also found the opportunities to become acquainted with another Pestalozzian James Johonnot, a principal of Warrensburg Normal School in Missouri and an author of *Principle and Practice of Teaching*. He finished his studies at Oswego

---

13 For more information on the author and the book, see p. of this study.
with an excellent record in 1877, but stayed another year in Ithaca to study zoology.

Upon returning to Japan, he became an assistant principal of Tokyo Normal School under Isawa's principalship in 1879, but was promoted to principal in 1881 after Isawa left. For the next fifteen years as the principal, Takamine contributed greatly to initiating and promoting the movement of "Inner Development" which swept Japan in the 1880's. Under his leadership, Tokyo Normal School became a mecca of the new movement. His translation of Johonnot's book, which we mentioned a moment ago, became one of the best-selling books of the movement. We shall discuss the movement in some more detail in the last chapter of this study.

As far as teacher education is concerned, then, Takamine's influences were far greater than Isawa's. After all, Takamine was the head of Tokyo Normal School for fifteen long years, the most prestigious institute of this sort in Japan. It should be also noted that Takamine, like Isawa, did not have any intention of "Americanizing" Japanese normal training, although we are not yet sure whether or not such an attitude was created by the con-

---

temporary reactionary movement in education or simply by his own personal predilection.

Kozu Sensaburo was far less influential than Isawa and Takamine in normal education in general. Nevertheless, Kozu was involved in teacher education, especially in the area of music, by teaching at Tokyo Music School (Isawa's Music Training School renamed) and by writing books and articles for teachers in music. He became a national figure in his field.

In 1878, when Isawa, Takamine, and Kozu returned home, Nishimura Tei was sent (probably by Tokyo Normal School) to the Free Church Normal School in Glasgow, Scotland to investigate teacher education. When he returned to Japan after a few years' study, however, he did not create any such dramatic changes in teacher training programs as Isawa and Takamine did. But he did introduce British school management to Japanese teachers by writing a highly successful Shōzoku kyoiku shimpen (New Book on Primary Education). The book was based on Gill, Morrison, and Carey's work on school management and primary education. But Nishimura successfully treated

\[14\] Kaikoku Hyakunen..., ibid., pp. 286-287?
\[15\] The spelling of these names was guessed from Japanese pronunciation.
elements of British school management in the full context of the traditional Japanese, thereby skillfully creating continuity or coordination between the two alien elements. By doing so, Nishimura further met a contemporary demand for information about school management in general. After him indeed, works of Carey, Hordesdale, Wells, Jewell, Landon, Baldwin, and Kellogg on school management were translated, partially or totally, by others. Nishimura could not bring back with him Pestalozzian object lesson from England, as Isawa and Takamine did from America, but he indeed contributed greatly to introducing British methods of school management. But we have to keep in mind that Nishimura was not necessarily the first one who paid attention to how alien schools were managed; as we shall see later in the next chapter, others had already translated American books on school management before he did the same for the English.

We have already pointed out that Isawa had an experimental class in music in his Aichi Normal School, and that he had formed a personal friendship with Boston music educator Mason, and that he was appointed as an investigator of music education after his return from the United States.

---

16 Again, these spellings were guessed from Japanese pronunciations.

All these seem to show the sense of urgency about music education that Isawa felt. However, the matter also occupied the minds of many others in the nation. The reason for this concern was that seven long years had already lapsed since the proclamation of the Code; and yet nothing had been done about the teaching of music, which had been temporarily postponed in the Code. Several minor attempts, including Isawa's, were made, of course, all failing in setting a general guideline for schools throughout the country. To reverse such a mood, Isawa proposed the opening of the Music Training School and he himself was appointed an investigator; he was undoubtedly influenced by his American mentor in Boston, Mason. The School was opened in 1879, the time when Tanaka's Ordinance was still in effect. The School's prime purpose was, needless to say, to introduce music course into the Japanese classroom; but the first step in doing so was to train selected teachers in music. Consequently, as Marion M. Scott had been employed at Tokyo Normal School for the training of the first model primary school teachers seven years before, Luther Whiting Mason was employed, through Isawa's arrangement, at the Music Training School to instruct the first primary school teachers in music in Japan. Mason arrived in Japan in March, 1880.

Mason's first work in Japan was, however, not teaching at the Music Training School, but making a compilation of
song books for the use of primary schools. He was engaged in the task for almost a year and half. It was at this last stage of his work that he was appointed a teacher at the Training School. Nine male and thirteen female students were admitted to the School in October, 1881, their ages ranging from sixteen to twenty five. The following February twelve more joined them. For a while, there were no instruments, charts, and translated words for notes, or even for a song. Soon pianos and violins arrived. Also the slow scattered task of the translation was organized by Kozu Sensaburo, who published the first music grammar. The selection of songs too began. Mason chose songs from Western countries and presented them to the authorities, who made a final selection. In the process, both Mason and Isawa discovered, to everyone's pleasure, that the meter of Scottish and ancient British songs was identical with that of the Japanese. Encouraged, some Japanese musicians working for the School composed several songs of their own, which were later adopted for school use. After the selection of the songs was made, verses were written for each song and they were now ready for use. However, when Isawa tried to use the new songs at a kindergarten attached to the Normal School for Girls, he found himself surrounded by suspicious officials, who complained, after listening to them, that the new songs sounded like a drowsy sutra (a narration of Buddhism Scriptures). Thereupon, Mason quickly played the
songs for the children, who responded with instantaneous, jubilant dancing. The introduction of Western songs to Japan had met with a first success, and more followed later. Among the music students at the School, meanwhile, some later became a leading figures in composition and music education. Mason also trained future music teachers both at Tokyo Normal School and at the same school for girls; furthermore, he taught music at the Peers School, students of which were not necessarily planning to become teachers. Finally, it should be added that Nagai Shigeko, who was one of those five girls who were sent to the United States to study in 1871 and who was graduated from the Music School of Vassar College, helped Mason by teaching piano at the School. She, like Kozu, became a professor of music at Tokyo Music School (the Training School renamed) in later years.

While Mason was training music teachers at the Training School, the first Japanese song book titled *Shogaku shoka shu—shohen* (A Collection of Songs for the Primary School—Book I) was published in November, 1881. It is believed that this book was prepared mostly by Mason (before he started teaching at the Training School); understandably, the book was usually called *Mason shoka* or *Mason's*

---

For more information on Nagai and four other girls, see p. 37 of this study.
Song Book. It became highly popular among teachers, 8,000 copies being printed in the first year alone. Further, although Books II and III were published in 1883 and 1884 respectively shortly after Mason's departure, they too seemed to have owed much to Mason. Along with the publication of the song book, the School also prepared Song Charts—Book I and Book II in 1882. The charts were intended for graphic presentations of such basic music terminology as an interval, scale, rest, and note, winding up the presentations with their applications to simple songs. These were translated versions of the charts Mason had made in Boston. Further, the Ministry of Education published Ongaku shinan (A Guide to Music) in 1883, probably the first introductory book on the teaching of songs. This was a translation of Mason's Ongaku kyojuho 19 (How to Teach Music). After Mason left in 1882, he was replaced first by Franz Eckerdt, a German and later by Charles Leroux, a Frenchman, their term extending from February 1883 to March, 1886. It is believed that both of them were far less influential than Mason.

19 Information for the preceding two paragraphs was taken from Kaminuma, op. cit., pp. 96-108; Kaikoku Hyakunen ..., ed., op. cit., 383-388. Incidentally, by 1884, a total of 1,143 students of two Normal Schools and Peers School had completed courses in singing. Further, the Music Training School was changed to the Institute of Music Investigation in 1885, and to Tokyo Music School in 1887 with Isawa as its first principal. Isawa resigned in 1891, causing a temporary setback of the School and music education in general. Kaminuma, ibid., pp. 108-109.
Like music, gymnastic suffered an initial setback in the training of its teacher. In the late 1870's, many schools did have a gymnastic class, but only of a military type. But as the accusation against the Code's being too intellectual mounted, educators wished to counter-balance the trend by placing an emphasis on morality and physical fitness (or agility) of students, both often considered as inseparable. When such a wish was once definitely known, Tanaka Fujimaro had nothing to worry about. He had already seen excellent gymnastic exercises at Amherst College in Massachusetts during his second trip to the United States in 1876. Consequently, he wrote to Dr. Hitchcock, who was in charge of gymnastics classes at Amherst, asking him to find a man for the gymnastic instruction for Japanese schools. But an ultimate arrangement was made between H. Seeley, a president of Amherst, and Tanaka for sending George A. Leland to Japan. But here again, Isawa Shuji found his part. He was appointed the first director of the Gymnastic Training School in November, 1878. Tsuboi Gendo, an interpreter for Marion M. Scott, also joined the pioneer team of gymnastic education again as an interpreter. Leland arrived in Japan in October, 1878, approximately a year and half prior to Mason's arrival.

Like Mason, Leland did not start his work by teaching
at the Gymnastic Training School, although the School had opened and was expecting its first students. Leland first inspected physical education at military and regular schools; and he was most impressed by the former. The Army had in fact worked on military gymnastics since 1874 under the guidance of the Frenchman François J. Ducros. But Leland was amazed this time to find that many regular schools too had adopted the military drills. He was determined that the military drills be replaced by free (and some heavy) gymnastics at regular schools, a charge which he later accomplished. Leland, with interpreter Tsuboi, also went to two Tokyo Normal Schools (one for boys and the other for girls) to inspect and for simple teaching. He also taught gymnastics to visiting teachers and students at the Training School. In the meantime, the first group of twenty five students was admitted to the Training School. They were to be sent as model teachers in gymnastics, to different parts of Japan after three-years training. Leland now spent most of his time at the School. Besides the routine instruction, he also helped Isawa and Tsuboi translate English gymnastic terminology into Japanese. Their efforts resulted in the coining of many Japanese terms for the English light dumb-bell, wands, Indian clubs, rings, bean bags, grasping power, girth of the chest, etc. In addition, Leland was credited with proposing the construction of probably the first gymnasium in Japan,
which was soon completed. Further, he kept spring and summer records of achievements of all students he had, thus providing the Japanese with the first statistics of gymnastics.

Although Leland departed from the country in July, 1881, his influences did not, for he left his and his students' publications behind. The first of these publications had appeared in 1879. It was called Taiiku shinsho (New Book on Gymnastics) and was written by Hisamatsu Yoshinori. The main sources of the book, as the author indicated, were lectures given by Leland. The second one titled Shinsen taiso sho (The New Selected Book on Gymnastics) was published in 1882. The book was originally written by Leland but translated by Tsuboi Gendo. It was the most comprehensive book on gymnastics at that time, also exercising a considerable influence on the gymnastic education in the Japan of the future. The third one titled Shinsei taiso ho (The New System of the Methods of Gymnastics) appeared in 1882, being written by one of the first graduates of the Training School. Again, Leland's lectures were its major sources, although the book also contained parts dealing with European gymnastics. After it, at least two more books were written by Leland's students. The influences of Leland was such that gymnastic education in Japan was never be the same again. By 1881, all the students in
primary and middle schools were to take the gymnastic course, starting from play to hand gymnastics and then to heavy gymnastics. We shall discuss the role played by gymnastics in Japanese education during the late 1880's in connection with educational policies conducted by Mori Arinori in the last chapter of this study.

Thus, the first teacher education in Japan was conducted under the heavy influences of three American teachers, Marion Scott, Luther W. Mason, and George A. Leland. From our preceding discussions of these three Americans, it is difficult, of course, to conclude that all the Japanese primary school teachers were also influenced by them, even indirectly. Such a conclusion is obviously far-fetched, ignoring the complexity of human interaction in instruction. But at least we can say that these Americans were considered as models of teachers in their field, setting a definite guideline of instruction, and therefore that they were eagerly sought after by any serious-minded Japanese teacher. In other words, when some Japanese were not influenced by the Americans at all, even indirectly, they were, in most cases, either negligent or ignorant; this was directly a result of the mood of the time.

The sources of the preceding three paragraphs come from Kaminuma, op. cit., pp. 89-91; Kaikoku Hyakunen..., ed., op. cit., pp. 389-398; Kokumin Kyōiku..., ed., op. cit., pp. 21-23; this is Tsuboi's own account.
Western Influences on Middle and Technical Schools and on the University

The Ministry was not serious about opening the middle school under the Code, as we have often pointed out. First, it very quickly gave up opening the two hundred fifty six middle schools prescribed by the Code. Instead, it planned to open seven governmental schools in each university district, not as the regular middle school specified in the Code but as a preparatory school attached to the university in each respective district; of course, at this stage, it did not have any plans at all of opening seven universities, only Tokyo University in the First University District. Therefore, these governmental preparatory schools, if opened as planned, were to be the highest public institutes of learning in Japan under the Code. Also, what is more significant to us is the fact that the schools, if they had been opened faithfully according to the plan, would have been the most Western-oriented institutes of learning in Japan. Each preparatory school was probably to have three different departments, one each of English, French, and German; all the lectures in each department were to be conducted in each respective language by respective foreign instructors. Therefore, each preparatory school was to be a combination of the miniature American high school, British public school, German gymnasium, and
French école secondaire! But this was an obviously far-fetched notion. The Ministry, being so involved with the opening of the primary school and the normal school, could not find adequate financial resources. The plan was abolished almost immediately. And yet the Ministry still needed institutes of higher learning, such as the preparatory schools or even the universities themselves, to meet the prescriptions of the Code. Thereupon, the Ministry modified its plan to have the three-language preparatory schools and substituted the single English language institute. This change was chiefly due to the fact that English was understood better than any other foreign language among the Japanese. These English schools managed to operate till 1877, when extraordinary financial burdens imposed upon the government by the Satsuma Rebellion caused the closing of all the institutes. Because of this untimely abolishment, no single university came out of the English schools, despite the original intentions of the Ministry. This was not very surprising because, with few exceptions, virtually no foreign English instructors were employed at these "English" language institutes. Courses were conducted by Japanese instructors who were well versed in English. But the courses themselves were divided into two different areas, "regular" and "irregular" courses with fundamental differences in their instructional methods.
In the "regular" course, the native instructors tried to conduct their teaching, as nearly as possible, like real foreign (vaguely American and British) schools, starting from teaching the fundamentals of the language, such as pronunciation and enunciation, and culminating in the elements of different branches of learning, all in English. It is assumed here that native instructors must have tried to teach all the courses in English but in actuality often failed, particularly at English language institutes located outside of Tokyo. But in all probability, most of them did use various English texts. Among the most widely-used books were Sanders' Readers (a full title of which is not available), Charles Davies' Practical Arithmetic, and either his New Elementary Algebra or Universal Algebra or both, Francis Wayland's The Elements of Moral Science, Samuel G. Goodrich's Peter Parley's...

---

The oldest edition of the book listed in The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints (abbr. NUC) was published in New York by Barnes & Burr in 1863; it was reprinted many times till 1876.

The oldest edition listed in the NUC was published in New York and Chicago by A. S. Barnes & company in 1859; it was too reprinted many times at least till 1891.

The oldest edition (in the NUC) was published in both New York and Chicago by A. S. Barnes & company in 1858; it was reprinted many times till 1886.

For more information on the book, see p.133 of this study.

For more information on the book, see p. 65 of this study.
George P. Quackenbos' *First Book in English Grammar*, Goldsmith's book on geography, Wallace's book on engineering, Hepburn's book on moral sciences, Howard's book on logic, Baker's book on chemistry, the Latin grammar of King Edward, etc. In the "irregular" course, the primary emphasis was placed upon the students' reading (or translation) skills; but attempts to improve speaking skills in the language, such as pronunciation and enunciation, were typically ignored. However, instructors there, like the ones in the "regular" course, may have used English texts, although to a far lesser degree.

Among English language institutes, the only one which came close to the Ministry's plan was (Tokyo) English School in the First University District. It became a "preparatory school" to Tokyo University when this was

---

The book listed was presumably either the 1864 edition which was published in New York by D. Appleton and company in 1864 or the 1866 edition.

For a list of these books and more, see Mombusho, ed., *Gakusei goju-nen shi* (A Fifty Years' History of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), pp. 51-52. Most of the spelling of the names listed were guessed from the Japanese pronunciation in the book. Also, all of the completed titles listed by the writer of this study.

We have to note here that the distinction between "regular" or *seisoku* and "irregular" or *hensoku* courses of the language study cannot necessarily be applied to the similar differentiation made in the Code, such as the present one. For more information, see *Aoyama Gakuin kyuju-nen shi* (A Ninety Years' History of Aoyama Gakuin), (Tokyo, 1965), pp. 66-67.
inaugurated in 1877; but as we shall see soon, Tokyo University itself was evolved from the former Nanko and Toko, schools of Western learning and Western medicine respectively, and not from the "preparatory school."

In the process of the evolution of Tokyo University, however, these two schools, but particularly Nanko, paralleled very closely the reorganization of the original three-language preparatory schools. Nanko originally was planned to be a preparatory school, like seven others but independent of them; it was planned, and indeed run temporarily, to have different departments of English, German, and French; but later it used English exclusively as its major language, while Toko used only German. Therefore, to trace the evolution of Tokyo University from Nanko (and Toko) is helpful not only for seeing how the seven English language institutes (or the public middle schools for that matter) we have mentioned might have developed into full-fledged universities in each university district if adequate financing had been available, but also for pointing out how the first modern Japanese university was organized under Western influences more intensively than any other school in the nation under the Code.

The first step to the university started with upgrading Nanko from the middle school status to something higher. But the business of this upgrading was prompted by a sense of
desperation of not having a higher institute of learning on the part of school officials. As mentioned in the last chapter, Nanko was named the First Middle School in the First University District with the proclamation of the Code. Shortly after this new arrangement, a large number of students enrolled were about to finish their study. As their graduation day neared, the officials feared that the absence of a higher level of learning would not only lead the upcoming graduates nowhere in their study but also hamper the proper direction and growth of education in the country. Out of desperation, the school authorities, with help from the Ministry of Education, managed to upgrade the First Middle School to Kaisei Gakko in April, 1873, which was placed half-way between the middle school and the university, a status not existing in the Code; but an official sanction followed immediately.

The new Kaisei Gakko was to have several different branches of learning, such as law, natural sciences, engineering, etc., divisions which had started taking definite shape at Nanko even before. In other words, Kaisei Gakko was to be a conglomeration of several different technical schools, each of which was devoted to a different branch of learning. But such a conglomerate created a problem. Each technical school at that time was customarily conducted in a foreign language, either in English, German, or French; accordingly, the Military College (in reality a
technical school) used English, while the Naval College, French, and Toko, German. The problem facing Kaisei Gakko authorities was, therefore, this: Should separate classes be arranged for the three different foreign languages within each technical school (now department)? If the answer was in the affirmative, how? If in the negative, which language should prevail and what action should be taken for those who did not study the prevailing language? After a study (details are not known), however, the authorities decided that English was to be the sole foreign language by which all the teaching was to be conducted; at the same time, the school officials not only encouraged "German" and "French" students (former Deutsh sei and France sei at Nanko) to become "English" students, but also opened, at least temporarily, the department of General Arts and Sciences for the "French" students and the department of Mineralogy for the "German." For the predominant "English" students, the departments of law, natural sciences, and engineering were opened. By July, 1875, the name of the school was changed to Tokyo Kaisei Gakko; various departments were also changed into the Departments of Law, Chemistry, and Engineering, each with attached three-year preparatory courses; a new Department of Physics was added in place of the two departments designed for the "French" and "German" students. By this
time, then, Tokyo Kaisei Gakko had become an English language institute, offering several branches of study. It should be added that all these changes took place at former Nanko, none directly involving Toko.

The goal of Tokyo Kaisei Gakko was clearly to be promoted to university status. It was not surprising, therefore, to see that Tokyo Kaisei Gakko called itself "Kanritsu Daigaku" (Governmental University) in its 1875 and 1876 bulletins. In an English bulletin it used the term "University." But the official status of the university did not come about until April, 1877 when the Gakko and Tokyo I-gakko, former Toko, were merged and named Tokyo University. However, the new university had not yet achieved a "unified organic entity" but was simply a conglomeration of three new Departments, i.e., of Law, Natural Sciences, and Literature, again reorganized from Tokyo Kaisei Gakko and the Department of Medicine, derived from Tokyo I-gakko. The University did not have a president but instead had two deans, each independently presiding over, with different functions and staffs, the school affairs of the two old schools. Tokyo English School, a former preparatory school connected to old Tokyo Kaisei Gakko, now became Tokyo University Preparatory School.

The three new Departments of Tokyo University which were reorganized from old Tokyo Kaisei Gakko kept their
old curriculum covering a four-year period. The only exceptions were additions of a course in Japanese current and ancient laws in the Department of Law, and an increasing emphasis on specialization. The Department of Natural Sciences, for example, now consisted of eight sections, i.e., chemistry, engineering (in the fourth year being divided into civil and mechanical engineering), mathematics, physics, astrology, biology, geology, and mining. The Department of Literature had two sections, i.e., one section for history, philosophy, and political science, and the other for Japanese and Chinese literature. The opening of the latter section was considered by some as a revival of the originally planned university of the first year of the Meiji in which Japanese studies were to form the nucleus of the university and both Chinese and Western studies were to constitute two "wings." In the Department of Medicine, no significant changes were made. The program still lasted for five years for the regular courses and the same number of years for the preparatory course.

In the Department of Law, there were, at the time of the establishment, three professors and three lecturers. Two of the professors were Westerners: William E. Grisby and Henry Taylor Terry. In the Department of Natural Sciences, there were fifteen professors, one professor extraordinary, four assistant professors, and one lecturer.
Out of fifteen professors, twelve of them were Westerners: *  
Peter V. Veeder, an American, for gravity physics and experiments; Robert W. Atkinson, an Englishman, for analytical and applied chemistry; Robert H. Smith, an Englishman, for mechanical engineering; William E. Parson, an American, for mathematics; Edmund Naumann, a German, for epigraphy and geology; Gustave F. Berson, a Frenchman, for physics and mechanics; Frank F. Jewett, an American, for analytical chemistry; Winfield S. Chaplin, an American, for civil engineering; Edward S. Morse, an American, for zoology and physiology; Stephane Mongeot, a Frenchman, for mathematics; Curt Netto, a German, for mining and metallurgy; and Alexandre Dybowski, a Frenchman, for physics, mechanics, and mathematics. In the Department of Literature, there were three professors for one section and three lecturers for the section on Chinese and Japanese literature. The professors included two Westerners: Edward Syle, an Englishman, for history and moral sciences and William A. Houghton, an American, for English literature. In the Department of Medicine, there were eleven German instructors, seven native professors, the same number of native assistant professors, and nine native instructors. Further, there
were at least eight Western teachers and one native assistant teacher at the new Tokyo Preparatory School.

As compared to the doomed public middle schools (with the exception of the First Middle School in the First University district or Nanko, which evolved into Tokyo University), public, or rather, governmental, technical schools received more attention. Some of the schools were even established before the proclamation of the Code. Thus, the governmental Military College was opened as early as 1867 (which the new Meiji government simply carried on); and shortly afterwards, and now already in the Meiji era, the Naval College was opened. The former institute was organized with help from the French army, the latter by the English navy; the prevailing language in each College was obviously a different one. We do not have much knowledge of the Military College as far as their

---

The discussions of preceding four paragraphs were based on information gathered from *Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku goju-nen shi* (A Fifty Years' History of Tokyo Imperial University), (Tokyo, 1932), pp. 233-236, 255-256, 257-261, 269, 289-302, 453-457, 468-475, 675-677, 714-715, 835-838, 927-928. The spelling of the foreign instructors' name was verified by Shigehisa Tokutaro and Amano Keitaro, ed., "Meiji bunka kankei o-bei jinmeiroku (List of Europeans and Americans Who Contributed to the Cultural Development of Japan in the Meiji Era)," *Sho Kenkyū*, IV(October, 1937), passim, except those name with *, the spelling of which was guessed by the writer of this study.

---

course of study is concerned. But we do know that in the latter there were preparatory and regular courses; and that in the preparatory course, the study of English was emphasized, while the study of such subjects as mathematics, Chinese studies, and gymnastics were treated as more or less supplementary to English. In the regular course, English was, needless to say, a chief medium of instruction.

The governmental Engineering College (Kobu Daigakko) was maintained officially as part of the Ministry of Engineering; Kaisei Gakko and even Tokyo University in 1877 were still unable to produce much-needed engineers. The college itself was actually initiated by the former feudal government under heavy British influence in 1863. As it did with the Military College, the new government took it over and converted it into probably the most influential engineering school in the early Meiji. The Engineering College produced the first group of Japanese technicians, who, with help from Western advisors, initiated most of early Japanese engineering work in railroads, lighthouses, telegram communications, etc. The college, unrivalled by any other institution, including Tokyo University, offered three different full-fledged courses: preparatory, professional, and practical. The details of the course work are not available at present. But we know that the college was highly pro-English. All the applicants were
required to take examinations in English, along with algebra and geometry. All the twenty instructors, with the exception of nine native assistants, were foreigners whose native language was English. Further, according to the college rules, "all the facilities are Western... (gas light, the heating system, boiler, and all others) were imported from England." Undoubtedly, the Engineering College was a miniature British engineering technical college.

Just as the Ministry of Engineering maintained the Engineering College, so did the Ministry of Financing have the first commercial technical school, called the School Bureau of Banking (later renamed Tokyo Commercial Training School in 1875). Like other technical schools we have just discussed, the School offered preparatory and regular courses. Also like the Naval and Engineering Colleges, the School paid particular attention to English. Most of the time was spent either in reading English texts on financing or in having practical trainings, probably under the direction of native instructors who had returned from overseas or even Western specialists, whose native tongue was English). The School could best be called a

---

31 Ibid., pp. 115-116. The quotation is Fukaya's own conclusion; see Ibid., p. 116. For more information on the College see p. 84 of this study.
"Western commercial practical training institute."

As was the custom in different branches of the government, the Ministry of Justice opened an attached technical school in 1871. Although the details were not available to the writer of this study now, the school is believed to have been affected by Western schools or Western instructors. Out of these governmental colleges, the Colleges of Engineering and Justice eventually became part of Tokyo University. But we have to keep in mind that they were organized neither as preparatory schools attached to the universities nor under the same terms. Their course of study and period of instruction were not identical. Only one thing which all these schools shared in common was the fact that they were organized under heavy Western influence. It is clear, now, therefore, that like the governmental middle schools, these governmental technical schools were not designed to accord with the prescriptions of the Code, and that the central government could not spare the effort to open and supervise the middle and technical schools under the Code. There was one exception to the government's general indifference to the technical school: the first agricultural technical school was opened. The government made a serious effort to open an agricultural institute.

---

Ibid., pp. 115-116. The quotation is Fukaya's own conclusion; see Ibid., p. 116.
based on an American land-grant college, sending inspectors
to the United States and inviting agricultural specialists
and educators from that country.

The first technical school for agriculture was actually
opened in Tokyo in 1872. The institution was called
Kaitakushi Kari Gakko (Development Commission Temporary
School) and was under the charge of Hokkaido Kaitakushi
(Hokkaido Development Commission), specifically under its
Vice-Governor, Kuroda Kiyotaka. Only a year prior to the
opening of the School, Kuroda, appointed Vice-Governor
a year before, took an inspection trip with two students,
to the United States to obtain some first-hand experience
of frontier settlements. Upon his return, he employed, at
a recommendation of President Grant, General Horace Capron,
then U. S. Commissioner of Agriculture. After the trip,
Kuroda also proposed to send five young girls to the U. S.
The Capron mission, by the way, worked hard for the next
three years with a qualified success. It was at Capron's

---

Before Capron, Americans had already had a part in
Hokkaido's exploration and settlement. As early as 1862 and
1863, two American geologists, Raphael Pumpelly and W. P.
Blake, being sent there by the Shogunate, noticed the presence
of needed minerals. But efforts of Capron's party were more
substantial. Thomas Antisell, Benjamin S. Lyman, and Henry
S. Monroe made topographical and mineralogical surveys of
Hokkaido. A. G. Warfield opened a road from the coast to
Sapporo, which was laid out on the American rectangular plan.
Edward M. Shelton, Louis Boehmer, and Edwin Dun introduced
new methods of agriculture. Capron himself even proposed
bringing in thirty American model pioneer families.
Robert S. Schwantes, Japanese and Americans, (New York, 1955),
pp. 53-55. For more information of these five girls, see
p. 37 of this study.
suggestion that the School was opened. In the meantime, a (regular) school was also built in Sapporo, the capital of Hokkaido, probably under the auspices of the Commission. At the School in Tokyo, Thomas Antisell, an American, was invited to be a head teacher and a teacher of chemistry and geology; also James R. Wasson was hired to teach English and mathematics. In the following year, Albert G. Beets came to teach English, mathematics, geography, and history. After Beets' death in 1875 George G. Rockwell became a vice-principal. He was succeeded, after his retirement from the post in July, 1875, by William R. Corwine. But Corwine did not serve long, because the Tokyo School and the Sapporo School were merged into one institution in Sapporo under the new name of Sapporo Agricultural College (which subsequently evolved into Hokkaido University) in the summer of that year. Because the college was intended to boost interest in exploring Hokkaido, a search was made, through a chargé d'affaires in Washington, for a proper organizer of the new college. What the Japanese already had in mind was a college operating in a manner similar to a U. S. land-grant college, which successfully combined technical education with military drill. The

---

34 Ibid., pp. 52-55; Tsuchiya, ed., op. cit., pp. 68-69.
members of the Iwakura Mission had already witnessed such an operation in Massachusetts in 1872. So an invitation was sent to William Smith Clark, then president of Massachusetts Agricultural College, to serve one year. He arrived in Japan in July, 1876, with William Wheeler and David P. Penhallow as assistants. Clark immediately reorganized the college after his own college just in time for the official inauguration of Sapporo Agricultural College in August, 1876. Besides serving the college as a head teacher and directing the preparatory school and the experimental farm, Clark taught botany, agriculture, ethics, psychology, and English. He also introduced field sports and military drill. Penhallow taught botany, chemistry, agriculture, and English, while Wheeler gave instructions in mathematics, civil engineering, and English.

In 1877, William F. Brooks joined the faculty. The course of study which Clark outlined took seven years, being composed of a three-year preparatory and a four-year regular course. At the preparatory level, the study of English was carried out most seriously, each student being

36 Schwantes, op. cit., pp. 54-55; Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji shoki kyoiku shiso no kenkyu (A Study of Early Meiji Educational Ideas), (Tokyo, 1956), p. 100; Tsuchiya, op. cit., pp. 70-72.

37 Tsuchiya, ibid., p. 73.
required to carry at least ten hours each semester. In addition, such courses as psychology, economics, and astronomy were offered. The whole program was organized around liberal arts courses with English as their core. Even at the regular level, this tendency continued, though to a lesser degree due to the addition of professional courses related to agriculture. Although English no longer received prime attention there, it nevertheless continued to be studied for a full four years. It was not totally accidental, therefore, that the College produced a number of scholars in English and in non-agricultural fields. However, Clark's emphasis on liberal arts education at the technical college seemed to have been derived not so much from his college's system back home as from his personal life style. As a fervent Christian, Clark might well have been more concerned with the making of the man than with the making of agricultural products: as the main goal of the school read: "it is indisputably clear that the products of farms, factories, and mines, are far lower in value than those of the school." Although Christianity was still banned in Hokkaido, Clark found a


39 Quoted in Inatomi, ibid., p. 100.
way to spend the first minutes of his classes in lecturing on the Bible and introducing verses and hymns for memorization. He also held worship services on Sundays. He pointed out to his students, with feverish directness, that the men who were to be most useful for the country had to possess the virtues of diligence and temperance, and that such virtues concurrently came from a person's faith in Christianity. He eventually converted almost all his students, among whom came such prominent Japanese Christian leaders as Sato Shosuke, Nitobe Inazo, Uchimura Kanzo, Ohshima Shoken, and Miyabe Kingo. But his personal influence reached its climax when he made, only after a year of stay, his farewell speech, giving a lasting impression to his students. He said:

Boys, be ambitious. Be ambitious not for money or for selfish aggrandisement, not for that evanescent thing which men call fame. Be ambitious for the attainment of all that a man ought to be. 40

His concerns with the man, then, most likely made him design Sapporo College's curriculum along the lines of humane, not agricultural, interests. It was this concern which made him one of the most admired foreign teachers of all time. It was his last address which made him one of the best-known Westerners in Japan.

---

40 Quoted in ibid., p. 103; for the discussions leading to this point, see ibid., pp. 100-103; Tsuchiya, op. cit., pp. 71-78.
For the next fifteen years Clark's work continued to be carried out by eight other American teachers. Thus, in 1881, more than half of the teaching staff of the college was American, and almost all of the courses were still taught in English by both American and native teachers. In the student dormitories, Western meals were served in the mornings and evenings. Western influences, particularly American, were undoubtedly more extensive at Sapporo Agricultural College than among the other technical schools we have discussed.

Unlike governmental middle and technical schools, local public schools were less affected by Western influences. For one thing, as pointed out earlier, the number of local middle schools was far greater than their governmental counterparts, the ratio being thirty one to seven in 1877 (with the former still continuing to increase and the latter being abolished altogether in the same year). But most of these schools were not the middle schools prescribed in the Code at all. The phenomenal number indicates, therefore, that the local middle schools were various in kind, widespread in geographical distribution, and probably

---

41 Schwantes, op. cit., p. 55.
42 Sumeragi Shido, Daigaku seido no kenkyu (A Study of the Organizations of the University), (Tokyo, 1955), pp. 349-350.
complex in their makeup; any school which was not a primary school and which was designed to cater to an adolescent may have been called a middle school. Consequently, even though these local middle schools may have adopted some Western features in their manner of instruction, the degree of adoption may have varied from one school to another, Westernization there obviously being far less than in the governmental middle schools.

In addition, these middle schools also differed from governmental English schools in how they were financed. As indicated previously, most of the local public middle schools were still financed by old feudal domain lords in the respective domains, the schools being the outgrowth of old feudal domain schools. As such, the schools were naturally more attached to the traditions of the old domain schools and to the interests of the localities than to alien elements. Traditionally, these schools were designed to offer Chinese and Japanese studies for the literary, and often spiritual, cultivation of the young samurai in the domain and provide some utilitarian learning, such as astronomy, botany, and agriculture, for the benefit of the domain. But towards the end of the feudal regime, an increasing number of the feudal domain schools added "Western learning" to their predominantly Chinese and Japanese courses of study. The addition was chiefly due to the fact that most of the domains
were chronically plagued by mis-management and thus sought "Western learning" (which had been introduced into Japan some time before but suddenly flourished after Perry's arrival in Japan in 1853) to improve their administration. But still "Western learning" at the domain schools was generally treated secondary to traditional learning.

"Western learning" in the feudal domain schools and in the new local public schools typically took the form of reading Western books, mostly in the original languages. In most schools, there were no foreign instructors. But the Western books used in the schools were strikingly similar to those in the early Nanko, Keio, and some governmental middle and technical schools; they were mostly American high school texts, such as Goodrich's Peter Parley's..., Wayland's The Elements of Moral Science, Goodrich's A Pictorial History of England. Samuel A.  

---

43 The list of books was made in accordance with the degree of popularity. The names of the authors and the titles of the books were quessed from those written in Japanese by Fukaya, op. cit., pp. 129-132.

44 It was presumably A Pictorial History of England, Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & co., 1870 or 1871. It was first published in 1854. Samuel G. Goodrich was also an author of pictorical history of France, Greece, and the United States.
Mitchell's School Geography, Quackenbos' History of the United States..., François P. G. Guizot's History of Civilization in Europe, Marciaus Willson's Outlines of History, William Chambers' book on modern history, Quackenbos' Natural Philosophy, Goodrich's book on American history, Mill's book on economy, Swell's book on Greek history, Spencer's educational treatise, Goodrich's book on French history, and Sarah S. Cornell's Cornell's High School Geography (probably). These textbooks were used at local public schools around the year 1877 in the social sciences.

According to the LCPC, the book listed was published many times in Philadelphia between 1839 and 1860. Mitchell was an author of many highly popularized books on geography, such as The New Primary Geography (Philadelphia, 1860...1896) and A System of Modern Geography (Philadelphia, 1849...1879).

See p.65 of this study.

The oldest edition listed in the LCPC is: Histoire de la civilisation en Europe depuis la chute de l'Empire romain jusqu'à la révolution française (History of Civilization in Europe, from the fall of the Roman empire to the French revolution), Nour. éd., Paris: Didier, 1854. The book Japanese used of course must have been an English translation.

Only edition listed in the LCPC was published in both New York and Chicago in 1854.

The book listed was first published in New York by D. Appleton and company in 1859 and reprinted many times at least till 1899.

See p.65 of this study.
But the number of these books which an individual public middle school used was less than half of the Chinese and Japanese books used in the same area. "Western learning" was still marginal. However, proportionately more Western books may have been used in the areas of mathematics, natural sciences, and technology. Also, as mentioned in the previous chapter, most of the local middle schools offered courses in English. All in all then, although the local schools allegedly place their emphasis on the traditional studies, at the same time they steadily added courses that were Western in orientation, even upsetting traditional-Western balance in some instances. But their adherence to traditional learning was still strong. Understandably, a complete change to alien learning, as happened in the governmental middle and technical schools, never came. The reactionary movement in education in the 1880's simply reinforced the local schools' preferences for traditional learning. As for Western influences on local public technical schools, not much is known at this point.

The local public middle schools were far more complicated than the governmental middle and technical schools in their general purposes and procedures of instruction; but private middle schools were even more complex than the

---

public middle schools. The number of private middle schools was far greater than their public counterparts, almost phenomenally so. The types of private schools were also more varied than the public, from the school exclusively for Chinese studies to those for English studies, from the school of Japanese studies to German or French studies, from a combination of Chinese and Japanese studies to that of Western studies of the three different languages, or of any conceivable combination of these studies. Obviously, instructional procedures and use of texts were varied greatly from one school to another. But if we single out only those schools which had something to do with Western studies, we will instantly notice that English studies were most predominant, and further that there was a tendency, as actually happened in governmental English schools and Nanko, for German and French studies to be slowly incorporated into the English. We should, therefore, scrutinize some private middle schools which were organized under strong English (or Anglo-American) influences in great detail, as we did with Nnako-Kaiseijo-Tokyo University and with Sapporo Agricultural College as representatives of governmental middle and technical schools. And in fact such a treatment of representative private schools is probably even more necessary than of the governmental ones because of the former's far greater complexity. Fortunately,
we have for our study such representative schools, two of which are Fukuzwa's Keio Gijuku and Nakamura Masanao's Doninsha. But since Keio was far more thoroughly Western-oriented in its reorganization and far more influential in its activities in society than any other private middle school, including Doninsha, we shall again discuss Western influences on Keio, as we did in the first chapter.

As we indicated earlier in the first chapter, Keio's Westernization began as early as the 1860's. By 1872, Keio was a miniature American high school with English texts and American school procedures, but with traditional Japanese teaching methods. But as the school expanded, other reorganization became necessary. The employment of C. Carrothers and Goodman in 1872, both Americans, was indeed timely, for with the help of Carrothers, Keio promptly announced a new set of rules in the following year. Under the new arrangement, the "regular" course (apparently there was an "irregular" course, too) lasted for seven years, including the three-year preparatory course. Students began their preparatory work at age thirteen. The school year started in late August and ended in late July and was comprised of trimesters. The instruction was carried out by thirteen native and two American instructors; there were approximately three hundred students, their ages ranging from ten to over twenty as of late
1872. The school was to publish an "annual catalogue" in August of each year. Upon graduation, the students were to receive a certificate. Undoubtedly, these changes predominately foreign, although some of them had appeared previously. But the most conspicuous Western feature in Keio can be seen in its use of Western, particularly English, textbooks. For the three-year preparatory course, for example, the following books were used, in a progressive order: Marcius Willson's *Fourth and Fifth Readers*, Horatio N. Robinson's *Practical Arithmetic* and *Higher Arithmetic*, G. S. Goodrich's *Peter Parley's...*, S. S. Cornell's *High School Geography* and *Physical Geography*, Quackenbos'...  

---

54 These are undoubtedly Willson's *The First (-fifth) Reader(s)*, New York, Harper & brothers, 1860-1861; they were reprinted many times at least till 1900.
55 The oldest edition listed in the LCPC was (Robinson's Mathematical Series) *The Progressive Higher Arithmetic*, New York: Ivison, Phinney co.; Boston: Brown & Taggard, (etc., etc.), 1860; it was reprinted many times at least till 1903.
56 See p. 64 of this study.
57 See p. 65 of this study.
American History, Pin-nokku's (Romanized) French history, and Ganottu's (Romanized) natural history. Each of these books usually constituted one class. In addition, there were classes organized around subjects, not books; they were "dictation and declamation," Roman history, English history, "analytical" grammar, "syntax," "composition and declamation," Japanese composition, and "science of government."

At the upper level, the following were used, in progressive order: Lambert's physiology, Mitchell's ancient history, Robinson's New University Algebra and Geometry, Haakunesu's (Romanized) Latin grammar, Kekunesu's (Romanized) Latin Reader and Caesar, Quackenbos' Composition and Rhetoric, Shiruriman's (Romanized) chemistry, Robinson's Plain and Spherical Trigonometry and Conic Sections and Analytical

----------
58  See p. 65 of this study.
59  Words in the quotation marks were all written in Japanese with English sounds.
60  The oldest edition listed in the LCPC is (Robinson's mathematical series) New University Algebra, New York: Ivison, Phinney & co.; Chicago, S. C. Griggs, 1862; it was reprinted many times at least till 1903.
61  It is presumably an new edition of Advanced Course of Composition and Rhetoric, New York(etc): Appleton and company, 1855; it was reprinted several times till 1885.
62  This title is too ambiguous to be identified; Robinson himself wrote numerous books on mathematics.
63  The LCPC does not furnish information concerning the year of publication and the name of the publishers; but it does mention that a new edition appeared in 1889 in both New York and Chicago.
Geometry, Guuki's (Romanized) grammar and readers, Fowler's grammar, Willson's world history, Grey's botany, Wayland's metaphysics, Robinson's surveying navigation, Robinson's (?) Differential and Integral Calculus, Parley's (or Goodrich's ?) Evidence of Christianity, Wayland's The Elements of Moral Science, Ganottu's (Romanized) physics, Dana's geology, Koppil's (Romanized) logic, Guizot's Histoire de..., Robinson's astronomy, Kid's Principles of Eloquence, Hitchcock's Theology and Lexicon, Dana's mineralogy, Parley's (or Goodrich's ?) Natural Theology, and Willis's international laws. In addition, the following courses were offered: "composition and declamation," "geology and meteorology," and economics. Despite all these alien elements, however, a main emphasis in the instructional methods was placed on the traditional memorization and recitation.

Fukuzawa Yukichi also opened a medical school attached to Keio Gijuku in 1873, with fifty some students. The school

---

64 The oldest edition of this book listed in the LCPC was published in New York by Ivison, Phinney & co.; and in Boston by Brown, Taggard & Chase; (etc., etc.) in 1862; the new edition was appeared in 1889.
65 See p. 133 of this study.
66 See p. 254 of this study.
67 Keio Gijuku..., op. cit., pp. 419-423.
68 Ibid., pp. 417-418. All the names and books in this paragraph were guessed by the writer of this study from Japanese pronunciations.
was to teach medical science in English only to those who did not understand German, the language which was considered as indispensable at Toko and other institutes for the study of medicine. As might be expected, all the technical books were in English, six being used at the time of opening. The quality of the school, however, must have been far lower than Toko's, as the entire program took only thirty months, including preparatory work, and there was no age requirement for applicants. The school managed to turn out some three hundred graduates till its closing in 1880.

Further, Fukuzawa, in an attempt to initiate a broad spectrum of activities reflective of Western civilization, pioneered the formation of a sort of Reading Society, a Lecture Series, a Book-Keeping Study Association, a Law Study Association, a Chinese Language Section, and a Preparatory Section between 1868 and 1880, not to mention his earlier endeavors in popularizing speeches and debates. And Keio was always the center of such activities. As a final comment on Keio, it is interesting to note that Keio was also heavily involved, indirectly of course, in teacher training for the middle schools. When Tokyo Normal

---

69 Ibid., pp. 485-502.
70 Ibid., pp. 583-597.
initiated a program for secondary school teachers, two-thirds of all the new students were from Keio.

---

71 Sumeragi Shido, *Daigaku seido no kenkyu* (A Study of the Organizations of the University), (Kyoto, 1955), p. 381.
CHAPTER V

THE LITERATURE OF THE CODE

This chapter is the fourth part of the total five which deal with different aspects of Japanese education during the period of the Code. The topic of our present study is the literature of the Code.

There were two kinds of literature which came under heavy Western influences during this period: one was literature dealing with educational affairs of the West, and the other, with the contents of classroom instruction of Western schools. The first kind of literature consisted of Japanese educational magazines (or periodicals) and newspapers, and Western educational books which were translated into Japanese. We shall examine three such Japanese publications and a number of Western books translated from Anglo-American and German sources. These were the media by which the Meiji Japanese learned about educational ideas and affairs of the West.

The other kind of literature covered Western, but
particularly Anglo-American, textbooks. The Japanese educators at that time, unable to compile modern texts by themselves, used Western texts, which were translated for the use of primary school pupils but not so for the students in advanced institutes of learning. As a result, most of the popular contemporary American textbooks were introduced to Japan.

Educational Literature

Our focus as far has been on discussions centering around schools of various types, the training of teachers, and the types of texts, all physical components dealt within the Code. Of course, we should not forget the fact that we have previously discussed an internal component, the spirit of the Code. But that was the spirit before the Code was put into practice. This time, then, we are going to shift our attention from an examination of the physical components to the internal one after the Code was undertaken. However, the spirit which we are about to explore is not the kind of spelled-out spirit we have talked about before, because it now has a more changeable and therefore elusive setting in the dynamic interactions of different facets of the Code as it was practiced. Yet, this spirit can be searched out. But that is not
what we do. Rather, we will look into the prime sources of such a spirit, if there are any, that is, we shall look at the literature on education in all its aspects. And discussions on literature are such that we may touch upon part of the "spirit" wittingly or unwittingly. But again that is not our prime concern. Also, if we are to find out the sources, it may be possible or even necessary for us to relate what is contained in the sources, or the "spirit," to what has happened in actuality, or in practice, assuming that such a dichotomy is somehow justified. But once again we will rule out such a possibility, believing that the attempt, if undertaken, would involve philosophical discourses to a considerable degree, and carry us far beyond the realm of our present study. Therefore, let us repeat what we have already told our readers: "We will look into... literature on education in all its aspects." Some literature deals with foundational ideas of education, some with practical aspects of education. But we will treat them all, because how the Code was put into practice could have been affected by articles contained in the literature. And happily for our study, almost all such literature during the time of the Code was translated from Western sources. After all, then, the identification of the translated Western literature is far more convenient than a search for the "spirit," which is deeply connected to native
practices and interpretations of those translated sources, the discussions of which we have deliberately been avoiding.

Our discussions of the translated literature on education will covered five areas: first, the area of native periodicals which carried translated or interpretive articles of Western education; second, the area of translated books and articles from American originals; third, such works from British originals; fourth, such works from German originals; and finally, the area of native original works after the manner of the translated ones. Among these, the second area will constitute the largest segment of our discussion, being divided into four sub-areas; further explanations in this respect will be made as the discussions proceed. Also, throughout the discussions, the contents of some of the books will be given in detail in order to show exactly what Japanese educators learned from the translations; but it should be noted here that the writer of this study was unable to obtain original books (i.e., translated ones), therefore simply summarizing what others had already summarized from the originals.

Although educational periodicals, including papers, had been published in great number, we will briefly discuss only three publications here: the first educational magazine published by the Ministry of Education, the first private educational magazine, and the first private edu-
cational newspaper. The Ministry's magazine, first called Mombusho zasshi, later renamed Kyoiku zasshi, was published in February, 1873. At first, it only carried reports, statistics, and articles concerning native education. But from November, 1874 on, it began publishing translated excerpts from Western books and papers. By 1875, there were twenty-two articles on American education, four on German, and two on British. Further, between September of 1876, when the name of the magazine was changed, and the year 1881, the greatest number of translated and interpretive articles appeared; for example, there were one hundred and twenty-five articles on American education, sixty-three on German, eighty-six on French, and thirty-seven on British. More precisely, the articles on American and British education appeared constantly in the magazine during the time in question, while ones on German were concentrated between 1876 and 1878, and the ones on French, from 1878 through 1881. As a result of these articles, various aspects of American education were introduced, such as Oswego Normal School, ideas of education expressed by Page, discussions of graded schools made by Wells, Normal Method advocated by Holbrook, a study of recitation conducted by W. B. Alcott, and so on. Articles German schools and Froebel's kindergarten, and Pestalozzi's

1 The names of these Americans were guessed from Japanese pronunciations.
biography were printed in the magazine, along with other items on German education. French discussions on Rousseau, Condorcet, Froebel, Socrates, and Pestalozzi found their way into the periodical; in addition, of course, there were articles concerning teaching methods, curriculum, and French schools in general. In the field of British education, Spencer's idea on education, Morrison's on oral instruction, Gladstone's on primary schooling, articles on object lesson, and others were included. All in all, translated American articles, not only in numbers but also in article length dominated the magazine. But the number of the magazine's foreign articles diminished considerably between 1882 and 1883, being reduced to only six pieces on American education, three on German, two on French, and one on British, although the decrease in the issuance of the publication itself chiefly caused such treatment. In December, 1883, the magazine was terminated, after finishing its major role of introducing Western education.

Unlike the influential official Kyoiku zasshi, the private magazine and paper do not seem to have made an extensive and lasting impression on Japanese educators. The circulation was lower, geographical distribution narrower, and financial resources poorer than with Kyoiku zasshi. Further, some of their articles even may have been taken from their official magazine. Nevertheless significantly they showed private individuals' burning interest in disseminating domestic educational affairs and in introducing the foreign to Japan. They may not have been influential, but they certainly helped create a popular atmosphere for constant educational innovations after the Western pattern.

The first private educational magazine was published bi-monthly in 1877 by the Hanaisha Association under the
name of Kyoiku shinshi (New Journal of Education). Hanaisha was probably (as has been mentioned) the first Japanese organization devoted to the study of education, being headed by Suzuki Yuichi, a scholar in Western learning. The editor of the magazine was none other than Sasawa Taro, the translator of Educational System in France. There is no doubt, therefore, that the magazine carried articles on Western education. In addition, there are some indications that Hanaisha members tried unsuccessfully to make their ten-page small-sized magazine a Meiroku zasshi of education. The periodical continued till October, 1882, publishing one hundred twenty-four issues. The cause of the termination is not yet certain, but due probably to the financial difficulties. In the year following the publication of Shinshi, an educational daily (later weekly) paper appeared under the name of Naigai kyoiku shimpo (Domestic and Foreign Educational News). Its publisher was Tanaka Giren, a translator of Willson Readers (which shall be discussed in a short while), while its editor two of the first graduates of Tokyo Normal School. This four-page tabloid paper had various types of columns, including foreign educational news. Within five months of its publication, it became a weekly magazine and continued to operate until it reached two hundred forty-eighth issue.

---

Kido Wakao, Meiji no kyoiku jukanrizumu (Educational Journalism in the Meiji Era), (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 3-7.
However, its real influences on education is not clear at this point.

Unlike these official and private publications, translated books were about discuss dealt exclusively with Western educational affairs. Also, unlike the previous publications, the books were usually organized better. Consequently, the translations were generally far more influential than the periodicals, except minor ones. As we have mentioned earlier, the translated or interpretive books on American education can be divided into four types: first, those dealing with minor translated works; second, with American educational system; third, with teachers and their instructional techniques in the classroom; fourth, with educational ideas with particular emphasis on the object lesson.

In the area of minor (i.e., less influential as compared to works in other fields) literature on American education, there were at least four identifiable translated works. Warren's *How I Managed My Children* (1866) was translated in 1875; Haven's *Mental Philosophy*, in 187-; Alfred Holbrook's *The Normal*, in 1879; and Henry Kiddle and A. J. Schem's *An Encyclopaedia of Education*, between 1879 and 1885. They were all published by the Ministry.

---

4 It is presumably *The Cyclopaedia of Education: A Dictionary of Information for the Use of Teachers, School Offices, Parents, and Others*, New York, (etc., etc.), 1877, 1881, 1883.

5 Kurasawa, *op. cit.*., pp. 922-923.
But just what the Ministry was trying to do with them was not clear. At least the books show to us that the Ministry was interested in the management of children probably in the classroom and also in teaching skills necessary for teachers; it was also trying to introduce psychology to Japan; and, for some reason, it undertook the laborious task of translating the encyclopaedia. Whatever its intentions, however, the Ministry immediately faced indifferent readers when it published these translations. But as we shall see, this reaction to American books was rather unusual, for most of them were, in fact, highly popular.

In the area of the American school system, the first systematic translation appeared in 1873. Called Riji kotei (The Commissioner's Reports) and prepared in many volumes by Tanaka Fujimaro, the Commissioner of Education of the Iwakura Mission, the works contained the following translations: educational laws and rules of Massachusetts, New York State, California, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Illinois; outlines and rules of schools in Washington, D. D., San Francisco, and Salt Lake City; explanations of various

---

7 See p. 40 of this study.
technical schools and of universities; surveys of educational periodicals; etc. As pointed out earlier, the books were used as reference books by the government to conduct and revise the Code of Education.

In 1874, Mitsukuri Rinsho, who headed a drafting team of the Code, translated James Pyle Wickersham's *School Economy* (Philadelphia, 1870). Being a principal of Pennsylvania State Normal School, Wickersham discussed such practical topics as school facilities, including location and size of the school itself, organization of classes, methods of keeping school records, school regulations, selection of texts, ways of encouraging students to study, methods of study, rights of students, discipline, teaching profession, relations between the school and society, and so on. The book was one of the most popular books at that time since all the teachers were faced with modern school management for the first time.

---

8 Tsuchiya Tadao, *Meiji zenki kyoiku seisaku shi no kenkyu* (A Historical Study of Educational Policies during the Early Meiji), (Tokyo, 1962), pp. 167-172; also see p. of this study.

9 The book listed was first published in New York by J. B. Lippincott & co., in 1868 and reprinted many times thereafter. Wickersham (1825-1893) was an author of several books on education.

The year 1876 witnessed the publication of one of the most comprehensive translations about American school. The translation was, as usual, conducted under the sponsorship of the Ministry, being called Beikoku kyoiku renpyo (Chronological Tables of American Education). The sources of this book has not yet been identified. But we know that its prime concerns were the operation of public schools and responsibilities of teachers. Consequently, it dealt with the rules of all the public schools in the United States (except in Alaska and Indian reservations); with the status of the training of the teachers at normal school; with pedagogical theories and teaching practices (for the teachers); and with other things about teachers, i.e., their oaths, diplomas, employment, discharge, and so on. Further, it even contained articles dealing with American public schools, which were originally prepared by an assistant chief-delegate of the Iwakura Mission (in 1871) in order "to clarify American education"; the articles received endorsements from eighteen college presidents and other educational administrators in several states.

11 See p. 196 of this study for further information.
12 The quotations are from Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji shoki kyoiku shiso no kenkyu (A Study of the History of Meiji Educational Theories), (Tokyo, 1956), p. 148.
13 Ibid., pp. 147-149; Tsuchiya, op. cit., pp. 193, 211-216.
As these contents indicate, *Kyoiku nenpyo* was written probably for Japanese administrators only, and not for average teachers. Understandably, there are some indications that the books were circulated only among high government officials dealing with the opening of primary schools and the training of teachers. Presumably, then, the book must have been used considerably in putting the Code in practice and even its revision.

At least two more books were written about the American school systems, but with fewer details. One was a four-volume report of the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition which was published by the Ministry in 1877. The report was probably prepared in part to totally by Murray, and dealt with educational affairs in various Western countries, including America. As pointed out earlier, they contributed to some degree to the revision of the Code.

In the following year the two-volume *Beikoku gakkoho* (The American School System) was published by the Mombusho; the book was prepared, in part, by the first normal school students studying in the United States, i.e., Isawa, Takamine, and Kozu, at the request of Tanaka Fujimaro,

---

14 For further information, see pp. 193 of this study.

15 For further information, see p. 196 of this study.
who returned to the U. S. to inspect American educational institutions, while attending the Exposition. Again, as pointed out earlier, the book was a prime source for the revision of the Code of Education.

In the area of American literature on teachers and methodologies, there were at least three influential books, all translated in 1876. They were translations of In the Schoolroom (Chapters in the Philosophy of Education) written by John Seely Hart; The Teacher's Assistant (1873) written by Charles Northend; and Theory and Practice of Teaching (1847) written by David Perkins Page. Portions of these translations may have appeared in the educational periodicals mentioned earlier, as we notice the name of

17 For further information, see p. 196 of this study.
18 According to Inatomi Eijiro who made a summary of this book (to be discussed in a short while), this was the 1872 edition published in Philadelphia. The oldest edition listed in the Library of Congress Printed Cards (LCPC) was first published in Philadelphia in 1868; Hart (1810-1877) was, incidentally, an author of many books on English grammar.
19 This is presumably the 1873 edition (the earliest being 1859), which was published in both New York and Chicago by A. S. Barnes & company; Northend (1814-1895) was an author of numerous texts on speech, grammar, literature, book-keeping, and education.
20 The 1847 edition was the 7th edition and published in Syracuse and New York; it was reprinted or revised at least till 1899 and seemed to be an extremely popular book. Page was an author of several books on education.
Page appeared earlier.

According to Hart, "education is developing, in due order and proportion, whatever is good and desirable in human nature." Education thus defined, as he continued, probably can best be achieved by helping students learn through their own initiative, or in other words, by "causing any one to know," by means of the question-and-answer method which was not catechetical but Socratic in nature. He said that "all educators are substantially agreed" upon his definition and undoubtedly show, thought not outrightly so announced by Hart himself, a close parallel to Pestalozzzi. His suggestion of the value of the question-and-answer method too was part of the Pestalozzian idea, being an integral part of the latter's Anschauung. However, his emphatic inclusion of the method at the expense of the relative exclusion of the object lesson fostered the Japanese readers' notion that the question-and-answer method was probably the most important element of modern pedagogy; thus, the method subsequently reached the status of a pedagogical cult. But if we recall how M. M. Scott's so-called "simultaneous instruction" enchanted students at Tokyo Normal School, it is not difficult for us to doubt that such a question-and-answer method, because of the ultimate goal of "simultaneous instruction," could degenerate from the Socratic method of "mid-wifery" in

---

21 Inatomi, op. cit., p. 228.
learning to simple Catechism. This unfortunately became the reality at an increasing rate in later years. The Ministry's choice of this book for translation was, then, not accidental at all, following closely the path it had set in the beginning at the Normal School, the path which led to the ultimate practice of national education but not necessarily to pedagogical rationales which justified the practice. So Hart's book was essentially a practical pedagogic manual to teachers in which the techniques of how to memorize, how to recite, and how to increase the power of memory, all incompatible to the question-and-answer method, existed side by side, without much conflict with each other.

Much similar to Hart's, Northend's book dealt mostly with teachers, i.e., their responsibilities, desirable qualities, cultivation, and such. But it also contained sections about instructional methods. Incidentally, Northend's other book titled The Teachers and the Parents (1853) was also successfully translated in 1877. Its

---

22 The present discussions are based on information in Inatomi, ibid., pp. 226-240. For part of the information concerning the contents of Hart's book, the following was consulted: Kaikoku Hyakunen..., ed., op. cit., p. 276.

23 The book listed was published in Boston by Jenks, Hickling, & Swan; its second and third editions appeared in the very same year, being reprinted a few times at least till 1895. The Japanese title reads: Northend shishogaku kyoiku ron, being translated by both Koizumi and Yotsuya.
contents were again basically the same as Hart's and those in The Teacher's Assistant with the exception of additional comments on the teacher-parent and school-community relationships. Through this book, Japanese teachers came to understand what Western teachers were and how modern school teachers should behave at school.

The book written by Page was more comprehensive and systematic than the previous books, but dealing again more with practices than with theories, the treatment of which was contrary to the title of the book. The book discussed mostly qualities teachers should possessed, but also fundamentals of educational ideas, teaching methods, maintenance of the school, and the status of teachers. According to Page, the teachers should be equipped with three important qualities, i.e., an inborn ability to teach, an "Excelsior" or constant exercises, and experiences (in teaching); among these the "Excelsior" was regarded as most important. In addition to the three fundamental qualities, the teacher further had to gird himself with skills in dialogue to arouse "interest" in learning, with desirable moral habits to set an good example to the pupils, with proportionate acquirements in all fields of learning, and with a sense of self-government, self-confidence, and

the well-balanced views required for their professions. Such teachers with these varied qualities and skills were now entrusted with helping students become "a complete creature," or "the typical man" by developing "harmonious and equable evolution of human powers" in terms of the body, intellect, and mind. And the core of the teaching method which made this goal possible was the method of "waking up mind" or "drawing-out process" which pointed to the inner "development" of the learners, by adequately arousing the persistent "interest" of learners through the introduction of "emulation" and "prizes," dual components of "interest." Such positions taken by Page were essentially similar to those by Hart and Northend in that they all discussed teachers from various angles, helping newly-emerged modern Japanese teachers be extremely conscious of their ability, role, responsibility, and possibility, along the lines of Western ideas. But despite the fact that the principles and methods of teaching described in these books were presumably to help students "develop" their inherent capacities of their own accord, the books were in actuality intended for helping teachers

---

25 For more information on the contents of the book, see Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 230-240; all the quoted words and phrases were Page's own and appeared in ibid., pp. 236-239.
to teach, not students to learn. This absence of concern for the students is understandable in light of the need for quick realization of national education in which the availability of teachers was undoubtedly most crucial at the organizational level. Nevertheless, the absence was significant because it show that Japanese educators had settled for teacher-oriented pedagogy before they took into full account the welfare and initiative of their students. This was a departure from the contemporary Western student-centered (allegedly at least) pedagogy, which had been developed by Vittorino, Luther, Comenius, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi in the previous centuries. Discussions made by Hart, Northend, and Page on teachers were, therefore, based on the assumption that the student-centered instruction was fully understood by every reader and consequently could be skipped. The Japanese educators were obviously not aware of this assumption.

The books written by Hart, Northend, and Page were all read widely, shaping the minds of many Japanese teachers. Shortly after the year 1876, then, the teachers were fairly well informed of different qualities modern teachers should possess, all through the American books. It should be noted here that all three books were translated by Van Kasteel (a Dutch) and generally poor, particularly in the explanations of educational ideas. But since the Japanese
teachers were mostly interested in familiarizing themselves with the practical qualities of modern teachers rather than with philosophical discourses on the qualities of teachers and their teaching, poor translations made by Kasteel did not seem to trouble them too much.

In the area of American literature on the object lesson, there were two unchallenged translations: one from *Primary Object Lesson* (1870) written by Norman Allison Calkins, and the other from *Lessons on Objects* written by Edward Austin Sheldon. These two translations are different from the previous group of pedagogical books in the sense that the former dealt mostly with teachers on the instructional scene, while the latter discussed a specific method, that is, the object lesson, which these teachers employed or at least were recommended to employ. Needless to say, the object lesson was part, particularly in the practical aspect, of Pestalozzi's educational movement which swept European schools from

26 In the National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints (NUC) the title appears as follows: *Primary Object Lessons*. The 1870 edition was the 15th edition which was published in New York by Harper & brothers. The earliest edition listed in the NUC came out in 1861 and the oldest (the 40th edition) in 1898. Calkins (1822-1895) was an author of numerous books on phonics and education. The Japanese translation was titled *Calkin shi shobutsu shikyo* and made by Kurosawa.

27 The book listed was presumably the arranged edition made by Sheldon (New York: C. Scribner, 1863) from Elizabeth Mayo's (1783-1863) *Lessons on Objects*; Mayo was a popular proponent of the object lesson in England. Japanese translators were Nagata and Sekifuji.
the 1810's onward and their American counterparts shortly afterwards. However, though the basis of the object lesson is the same, methods worked out from it varied from one individual to another, and from one country to another. It is, then, reasonable to assume at the outset that differences of the same nature also existed between Calkins' and Sheldon's writing, though details of such differences shall not necessarily be dealt with here.

The book written by Calkins owed much, as he specifically pointed out, to ideas developed by Comenius and Pestalozzi. And he further mentioned that he also referred to the writings of the Mayos of England, but particularly Model Lessons written by Elizabeth Mayo. It is widely known that Calkins at that time had at least nine rules as bases of his object lesson. These rules included the ideas that the source of comprehension resided in the cultivation of the five senses, that the senses were the source of knowledge, that comprehension could be developed and reinforced by adequate training, and that methods of instruction should progress from the simple to the complex, from the known to the unknown, from the concrete to the abstract, and so on. Based on these rationales, he further

---

discussed the practices of the object lessons which he developed with some outside help; the discussions consisted of how things were taught by showing real objects, how the five senses were cultivated at home, and how verbalization and subsequent comprehension could be attained; in addition, there were specific and separate discussions on shapes, colors, numbers, sizes, drawing, time, reading, properties of objects, object lessons, morality, and so on, all of which dealt with the object lesson in one way or another.

Discussions made by Sheldon on the rationales of the object lesson were essentially the same as those made by Calkins. In fact, both used Mayo's manual. But the most important difference immediately emerged when Sheldon called for preparation of teaching plans for better organized and proper execution of the object lesson. He maintained that the core of the teaching plans was the collection of adequate information concerning objects in question, or a kind of information which, when arranged, culminated in "leading ideas" but which at the same time evoked sensual vividness attendant to the objects in the minds of students. If Sheldon's rationales were not totally his own, neither was the idea of preparing teaching plans. It was based on a treatise prepared by the Home  

29 Kurasawa, *ibid.*, p. 932.
and Colonial Training Institute of England, one of the founders of which was none other than Elizabeth Mayo. Sheldon also referred to a piece of literature titled "Model Lessons" which was published by the Institute. Despite such different sources, however, Sheldon's book as a whole was believed to have been the modified version of Elizabeth Mayo's Lessons on Objects. In addition, Sheldon also wrote A Manual of Elementary Instruction; a book of the same title had also previously been written by Mayo. This Manual, though an excellent one, was not translated into Japanese for some reason. Incidentally, it was from this Institute that Sheldon invited Miss Margaret Jones to his Oswego Normal School in 1860 for the introduction of the British version of the object lesson; Hermann Krusi, a teacher of Takamine Hideo, was a successor to her.

30 The earliest edition listed in the LCPC is the 3rd edition which was published in London by R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside in 1832; the 6th edition appeared in 1837. Mayo was an author of a few books on the object lesson, which were reprinted several times.

31 It was (probably) first published in New York by C. Scribner in 1862, its 6th edition appearing in 1873.

Like the previous pedagogical books, Calkins and Sheldon's books on the object lessons won an equally wide acclaim. Consequently, Japanese teachers in the late 1870's had a basic knowledge not only of the different qualities of modern teachers through Hart's, Northend's, and Page's writings, but also of the most fashionable teaching method of Western schools, i.e., the Pestalozzian object lesson, through Calkins' and Sheldon's writings. Specifically, the teachers were particularly impressed with the following points of each American writer so far mentioned: Hart's adovation of the question-and-answer method in the object lesson, Northend's emphasis on different qualities of teachers, Page's preference for "Excelsior" among his list of qualities of teachers, Calkins' devotion to nine rules of the object lessons, and Sheldon's instence on teaching plans in the object lessons. But the teachers were generally not interested in the theoretical basis both for different qualities they had to possess as teachers and for the object lesson itself. This is why they easily accepted Page's "Excelsior," which was considered to be similar to the asceticism of an old Confucian teacher. Also, this is why they easily ignored or forgot the inner development (or Self-activity) of students in the object lessons; instead, they developed a tendency to equate the object lesson to the qustion-and-answer method to the
teacher-oriented classroom, or to teaching plans, all of which, of course, constituted only the practical aspect of the object lesson. At any rate, * mondoho* (the question-and-answer method), *shobutsu shikyo* (the object lesson), and *kyoan* (teaching plans) became part of the teachers' jargon in the late 1870's. In addition, they also frequently used the term *issei jigyo* (Scott's simultaneous instruction).

Compared to the translations of American books, the British ones were considerably fewer in number and smaller in influence. Only exception was the translation of Herbert Spencer's *Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physics* (1860). Aside from this, only four identifiable translations were made from British sources: translations of Chambers' *Information for the People* (Fourth Edition, 1868) in 1873 by Mitsukuri Rinsho; of Chesterfield's book in 1875 by Nagamine Hideki; of Valentine's *Girls Own Book of Amusement* in 1876 by Van Kasteel; and of Calderwood's *On Teaching* (1875). All of them were published by the

---

33 The earliest edition listed in the LCPC was published in London by G. Mauwaring in 1861 and in New York by D. Appleton and Company in the same year; it was revised many times at least till 1914.

34 The book listed was published by William and Robert Chambers in Edinburgh at least as early as 1832, and many times thereafter; it was published in Philadelphia by J. B. Lippincott & co., in 1867.

The rest of the books listed here could not be seen in both the NUC and LCPC.
Mitsukuri's translations covered sections dealing only with education in Chambers. It was presumably the first Japanese book which gave a definition of the English term "education," or the Latin educere, in other words, of education in the Western sense. But the details translated were much the same as the ones in Northend, Page, Hart, and other American educators' writings, smacking of Pestalozzian ideas. These translations, for example, consisted of recommendations for the training of the senses, of object lesson, of the use of charts in the classroom, and the like. The triad of education, i.e., body, mind, and intellect, also appeared. But what made Mitsukuri's translation different from other translations from American sources was the fact that it appeared a few years prior to the latter. So, though Mitsukuri never pointed it out himself, Pestalozzianism was first introduced to Japan from England; and we should recall here that even Northend's writings were affected heavily by British Pestalozzians. Also it should be added that Information for the People (later titled Encyclopaedia) was originally planned as the Educational Course for the enlightenment of the Britons, and that when Mitsukuri's translations appeared under the title of hykazensho, literally an encyclopaedia, this translated term quickly became synonymous to "leading men
of enlightenment," particularly to members of Meirokusha, who were referred to as hyakkazensho ka, or encyclopaedic men. Japanese encyclopaedistis or men of enlightenment were, then, far closely related to the field of education 35
British or French encyclopédiste.

Little is known of the translation of Valentine's book. As for Calderwood's book, it mostly dealt with teachers, but also touched on school regulations. Its discussions of teachers were not greatly different from those in American books. However, unlike the American texts, the translation from Calderwood did not discuss pedagogy at all, much less the fashionable object lesson. And it did have one peculiarity: the advocacy of the "order instruction," not not issei jigyo (the simulataneous instruction), in the classroom.

The success of the translation of Spencer's Education... was almost phenomenal in Japan. Beatifully translated by Seki Shimpachi, who was often believed to have been better articulated than Spencer himself, it achieved an immediate success by providing a down-to-earth utilitarian approach to

36 Kurasawa, ibid., pp. 935-936.
the Japanese educators who had become increasingly frustrated with the regimentation and information cult of the Code. It also presented an alternative to the now catechetically inclined object lesson, what Spencer called a "well-conceived but ill-conducted system," by introducing a new emphasis on the induction of well-understood "principles" out of objects rather than "forms" or verbalization. Furthermore, Spencer's division of knowledge into five categories, extending from knowledge of "self-preservation" to knowledge of "citizenship," became the basis for a heretofore untreated curriculum making; in fact, the term *curriculum* (also borrowed by the Japanese) was used for the first time immediately after the translation of Spencer. However, the success of the book in Japan was also due in part to the general popularity of social Darwinism expounded by Spencer. His writings were first successfully used at Tokyo University around 1877. As mentioned earlier, Isawa Shuji was also active in propagating Darwinism. Further, with the subsequent translation of *Social Statistics and Representative Government*, Spencer was hailed both by leaders of the People's Rights movement for his liberalism.

---

and by conservative public officials and scholars for his clear-cut theory of the survival of the fittest. His popularity was such that the political as well as educational scene of the Meiji 10's (from 1877 to 1886) was often called the Spencer era."

The translations of German books did not cause any sensation among Japanese educators, their number and influence being minimal. Yet there were four translations worthy of our study because of their contributions, though indirectly, to the practice and the revision of the Code. One was titled Deutsch goku gakusei ron (A Study of the German School System) translated around 1875; another, Seikoku gakko (Schools in the West) in 1877; the third, Prussian gakko kisoku (Prussian School Regulations) in 1878; and the fourth, Heimin gakko ryaku (Outlines of People's School) in 1880. They all may have been published by the Ministry of Education. For one thing, the books all discussed German primary school systems and normal training from an administrator's viewpoint. For another, two of them in particular, gakko kisoku and gakko ryaku, even supplied, respectively, comprehensive statistics of various kinds of German schools and minute

\[\text{For a detailed discussion concerning the relationship between Spencer's educational writing and socio-political books in Japan, see Nagai Michio, Kindai ka to kyoiku (Modernization and Education), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 152-166.}\]
descriptions of three different types of primary schools attached to the normal school; these are obviously most unlikely treatments to direct towards an average teacher. And probably due to such treatments, the books may have failed to gain popular support. At any rate, as far as the school system and teacher training are concerned, Japanese officials were well-informed of the systems in major European countries during the period the Code was in effect, though it should be added that the lateness of their introduction in Japan obviously undermined the force of their influence.

Beside being engaged in translating foreign educational books, the Japanese made attempts to write books, manuals, and charts of their own after the manner of Western writers.

Deutsch was translated from German brochures and pamphlets obtained at Austrian Ministry of Education at the time of the Vienna Exposition in 1874; the translator was one Sano Tsunetami; Seikoku was translated from the Chinese translation of German school written by a priest; Prussia was translated by one Shibata from various regulations of German schools prepared by Fulk; Heimin was translated by Muraoka from Die Praxis der Volksschule (1872) written by Z. Kehl. For details of these books, see Kurasawa, op. cit., pp. 741-744; Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 144-146, 308-310; Kurasawa, ibid., pp. 47, 936-937; Obara, ed., op. cit., pp. 60-61.
The first such writings appeared in 1873 in five literary forms. By 1879 a total of forty-seven different articles or books had been published. Among these, the most notable are probably the two books, both written in English: *Education in Japan* (New York, 1873) and *An Outline History of Japanese Education*.

*Education in Japan* was edited and in part written by Mori Arinori, then the *chargé d'affaires* in Washington. It was more the result of Mori's personal interest in education than of an official or explicit request from the Ministry of Education; but afterwards it was used to inspect educational affairs which Tanaka of the Iwakura Mission conducted. The first three parts of the book contained articles by Mori which were brief histories of Japan and served as a basis of the educational development. The second part was composed of the answers of thirteen prominent American educators made in response to five questions raised by Mori: "The effects of education--1. upon the material prosperity of the country; 2. upon its commerce; 3. upon its agricultural and industrial interests; 4. upon the social, moral, and physical condition of the people; and -- 5. its influences upon the laws and government."

Among those who responded to Mori were Theodore D. Woolsey, 

---

the former president of Yale; William A. Stearns, president of Amherst; James McCosh, president of Princeton; David Murray; and Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard. A commonly held view of all the respondents was that each individual (or pupil) benefitted from a national education system, the system providing the necessary literary and technical skills as well as Christian morality. The book is believed to have had a some impact on how the Code was practice. But one of its direct outcomes was, as mentioned earlier, that it prepared a way for inviting David Murray, one of the respondents, to Japan as the "superintendent" of education in 1873.

An Outline History of Japanese Education was prepared for the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876. It was the first Japanese book ever written on the history of Japanese education. The writers were Sakakibara Yoshino and those in the Section of Information in the Ministry of Education; the section was headed by Nishimura Shigeki who was, as we have already seen, a former member of Meirokusha and a co-founder of Yoyosha. Both Murray, who prepared the book and Nishimura are believed to have been the chief planners of the publication of the book. Incidentally, Nishimura

---

translated, in 1875, Linus Pierpont Brockett's *History and Progress of Education* (1869) under the title of *Kyoikushū*; the book recounted the historical progress of education in all nations, including Latin America and Asian countries. Nishimura, as a head of the Section, was influenced heavily by Henry Barnard, the founder and the first Director of the Department of Education (subsequently the U. S. Office of Education) and also the founder, as a prominent historian, of *The American Journal of Education*; undoubtedly Barnard's historical approach to the collection on educational information in the Department influenced Nishimura to prepare *An Outline History*. In the organization of the Section, Nishimura also used the scheme of the U. S. Office of Education as a model.

In summary, the foreign literature translated into Japanese was predominantly Anglo-American, particularly American. Consequently, much of European-oriented pedagogy, such as the Pestalozzian object lesson, and even the scheme of European school systems were introduced to Japan through

---

42 This 1869 edition was published in New York by A. S. Barnes; the oldest edition listed in the NUC was published in New York in 1859 and reprinted a few times thereafter.


44 Ishiyama, *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
the English-language medium. The originals of most of these books were contemporary. Although these Western books may have been arbitrarily selected, they nevertheless kept Japanese educators abreast, both indirectly and directly, with major Western educational ideas and practices; but above all, they made the educators highly conscious of their profession and of the necessity to acquire various skills of modern education.

Textbooks

Textbooks used during the time when the Code was in effect were extensive in use and various in kind. But they all had one thing in common: that is, their sources were mostly Western in origins. As we recall, the Code of Education prescribed fourteen different subjects for the lower primary school, while the Teaching Directions issued by Tokyo Normal School seven; altogether there were twenty-one subjects. This addition is not unreasonable at all, because the subjects at the Normal School did not necessarily overlap those mentioned by the Code, each side having their own different names of the subjects. But

\[45\]

Inatomi Eijiro is inclined to believe that it was arbitrarily selected. See Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 223-224.
the difference in how things are named does not always mean a difference in content. The subject of "question-and-answer" specified in the Directions, for example, was believed to offer natural sciences and even history and geography through the "object lesson," the subjects which were labeled differently in the Code. And even though the Normal School Directions specified, like the Code, the texts for each grade, the schools throughout the country could not meet the standards all the time. They chose texts which are readily available for particularly relevant in their locality. Consequently, the schools simply referred both to the Code and the Directions, or to their own judgment. In the following discussion, therefore, we shall confine the number of the subjects or textbooks to only six, i.e., Japanese language, arithmetic, natural sciences, geography, history, and moral sciences, believing that these six subjects all find their way in fourteen subjects prescribed in the Code and the seven in the Directions. Further, we shall not specified, unless neccessary, whether textbooks in question were recommended by the Code or the Directions, because they were interchangeable. However, the distinction between whether the texts were published by the Ministry and Tokyo Normal School or by private individuals shall be made in order the nature of the texts be clarified. Finally, we shall take a quick
look at the efforts of the largest book maker at that
time, the Ministry and/or Tokyo Normal School, hoping that
the information thus collected will eventually shed some
light on the attitudes of the Code towards textbooks.

We have already seen that the first office of the new
government dedicated to the compilation of texts was
evolved out of the translation office of the former govern-
ment. We have also mentioned that this Bureau of Compi-
lation, thus the office officially named, completed only
three texts during its one year's existence from September,
1871 to the same month of the next year. By this time,
the Code had already been promulgated and the need for
compiling texts was urgently felt. The Bureau, probably
because of its lack of organization, was, therefore,
replaced by the Section of Book Compilation. And this
Section surely met the expectations. By February, 1873,
according to one estimate, some thirty instructional
charts had been prepared, though not necessarily published,
and some ten texts almost completed. We should mention
the names of all those texts here because of their subsequent
importance: Shogaku tokuhon (Primary Readers) in four
volumes, Shogaku nyumon (Introduction to Primary Education)

\[46\] Kurasawa, op. cit., pp. 820-821.
in one volume, *Nippon chishi ryaku* (An Outline of Japanese Geography in four volumes), *Bankoku chishi ryaku* (An Outline of World Geography) in three volumes, *Nippon shi yo* (Survey of Japanese History) in two volumes, *Nippon ryaku shi* (An outline History of the World) in two volumes, *Shogaku sanjutsu sho* (Primary Arithmetic) in two volumes, and *47 Santei jutsu sho* (Arithmetic) in two volumes. As we have already pointed out, the Bureau had a little help from Tokyo Normal School. In addition to the Section, Nanko also was engaged in book making, obviously with no great enthusiasm. All it published was one chemistry text called *Kagaku kunmo* (Chemistry for Children) in 1871, one gymnastic chart and one drawing chart in 1872, and another drawing chart in 1880. In the meanwhile, the Section was taken over by the Section of Documents in March, 1873, which was in turn abolished or rather merged with the Section of Information in October, 1874. Despite these name changes, however, the Ministry never stopped compiling texts. The number of texts which the Ministry prepared was, as already shown, sixty by 1876 and another fifty eight in 1877. Furthermore, it should also be pointed out that the Ministry was willing to use texts and *keimo sho* (books for enlightenment) which were published by private individuals when the

---


Code was in effect. The Ministry even urged and encouraged them to venture into book making. As far as the selection of the texts was concerned, therefore, the Code's primary schools had wide and flexible choices. When their choices were restricted in any way, it was more a result of a situation, such as their locality, availability of texts, costs, than of suppressed choices imposed by the Ministry, as happened later. With this rough sketch of the conditions surrounding the textbooks, we shall now proceed to investigate the sources of the primary texts, including keimo sho, under the Code.

**Textbooks for the Japanese Language**

Rather than the traditional categorizing of language study into the four areas of reading, writing, punctuation, and caligraphy, the Code in 1872 had seven subdivisions at the lower primary school level, all of which were, with the exception of reading, given newly-coined Japanese terms. It is highly probably that these terms were the result of translations of primary school texts in Europe and America. Further, according to one scholar, these seven subdivisions can again be broken into as many as fifteen special areas of language study at the upper primary school level. For example, the following subjects can be counted as part of language study, as the scholar
maintains: introductions to history, geometry and drawing, natural history, geography, and so on; it is because the students were not required to experiment, observe, and inquire as these courses usually dictated but simply "read off" (or sodoku) the contents as was customary at teragoya schools. Such seeming lack of emphasis does not mean that other courses were watered-down. Rather it points out the contemporary attitudes toward language study, particularly reading, in connection with other fields of study; that is, that language is, so to speak, a key to unlock the secrets of universal wisdom in its infinite variety, a belief analogous to Comeniusian views of language as a key to pansophism (universal knowledge). The Japanese at that time, unlike Comenius, had the tradition of teragoya on their side. It is natural, therefore, that language texts covered various branches of learning. Take five assigned texts for "reading for words" in the Code, for instance. The areas the texts covered varied from moral science to agriculture, from simple commercial transactions of the world to Western diet or even to natural phenomena. And because most texts were taken from keimo sho until the Ministry started producing texts of its own to a significant degree in the mid 1870's, the book seemed to determine the course, and not vice versa; and when the book did determine the course, it was usually a language course.
Tokuhon chushin shugi (emphasis on reading) was a rule of the language, and to a great extent of learning in general. Long as the present introduction may be, it is nevertheless indispensable to our discussion which we are about to begin, because the explanations of the texts themselves do not necessarily touch upon the role which they play in the Code. Now are ready to examine three language texts, all of which fall into the category of reading, whatever contents the reading may happen to cover: Shogaku tokuhon (Primary Readers), Shogaku nyumon (Introduction to Primary Education), and another Shogaku tokuhon (Primary Readers).

The four volumes of the first Shogaku tokuhon were prepared before February, 1873; but their publication eventually appeared in six volumes between 1873 and 1876. Shogaku nyumon was published in 1874. And the second Shogaku tokuhon which was written by a different author appeared in five volume volumes in 1874. Of these the first tokuhon was most widely used as a text during the first half of the period when the Code was in force. The second tokuhon, which was first relatively obscure, gained increasing support during the second half of the period when the

---

Discussions in this paragraph are based on information in Kaigo Muneomi and Naka Arata, ed., Kindai nihon kyokasho sosetsu (A Comprehensive Collection of Modern Japanese Textbooks), (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 138-140.
Code was in effect. The nyumon was used widely throughout the entire time. All the books were published by the Ministry.

The sources of the first tokuhon were exclusively Western. The first three volumes were patterned mostly after an American reader, i.e., Marcius Willson's The First and Second Readers (New York, 1863). The first volume of the tokuhon started with a sentence which goes that "there are five races living on earth." This sentence, along with other brief introductory notes, was a creation of the author, Tanaka Giren. However, the rest of the volume was the direct translations of the First Reader, with minor changes, the quality of the translation being relatively poor. The translated Japanese was unnatural, being written after the Chinese style. Apparently the tokuhon was too difficult for first-year primary pupils. The second volume of the tokuhon was translated from the first half of the Second Reader with some additions and modifications. The third volume came from the last half of the Second Reader. Again, additions and modifications were made. However, there did not seem to be a definite standard for the alterations. For example,

50

For more information, see p. 258 of this study.
in one place the tokuhon introduced Oriental views of nature and filial piety, both nonexistent in the original sources, but in another place in the same volume, the Judeo-Christian God was suddenly brought into the picture, probably taken from other sources, not from the Reader. But when the Reader did treat of God in the First Reader, he was replaced by Japanese gods by the tokuhon author. In the fourth volume of the tokuhon, the Readers played a small part. Besides, the tokuhon, in its contents, was no longer a book of language study. The volume now contained articles dealing with astronomy, physics, and geometry, which were placed almost randomly throughout. The fifth volume also looked like a natural science text, this time treating physiology, sanitation, and animals and birds with frequent moral lessons related to the creatures. The sixth volume of the tokuhon carried articles about botany and zoology. In the section on botany, which constituted most of the volume, the flowers and plants were frequently
personified to make a moral point.

*Shogaku nyumon* is a collection of instructional charts used at the schools at that time. It was intended for orienting beginning students concerning basic reading skills and knowledge before exposing them to the *tokuohon*. The charts in the *nyumon* were varied, ranging from instructions about alphabets to pronunciation, from Arabic to Roman numerals, from multiplication tables to Chinese characters. Although it is believed that the *nyumon* was either simply a collection of many charts, sources of which were originally Western, or the translation of one or more particular books, which after all contained almost all the charts used at the schools, it is still not quite clear what its true sources were. However, according to some,

---


The extent of the popularity of the *tokuohon* can also be noted by the fact that Tsubouchi Shoyo, a leading scholar in English literature in Japan, translated the *tokuohon* (only those portions which relied on the *First Reader*) back into English, believing that "such English will help students be more familiar with the language, because they have already known the context." Toyota Minoru, *Nihon eigakushi no kenkyu* (A Study of the History of English Learning in Japan), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 249-259. The quotation appeared in p. 251.
the *nyumon* does not differ greatly from an American primary book of this sort. At any rate, many commentaries were written about the *nyumon*, at least seven of them appearing between 1875 and 1876 alone. Also, the *nyumon* aroused popular interest in instructional materials, and a great number of highly elaborate charts were made thereafter.

*Shogaku tokuhon* of 1874 was written by Sakakibara, Naka, and Inagaki to compete with Tanaka Giren's *tokuhon*, not in the market-place but in a textual sense. Unlike Tanaka's, however, the *tokuhon* of 1874 had no foreign sources to imitate, dealing instead with daily events and familiar objects which Japanese children had knowledge of. And although such events and objects were often described in extremely difficult Chinese characters, the arrangement of the contents were more elaborate than Tanaka's, proceeding from the simple to the complex, from the easy to difficult, and from the known to the unknown. Despite such qualities, however, the last four volume out of five dealt only with the tales of "loyal subjects, upright men, and chaste but active women in the East and West." Most of such men and women were taken from folk and historical heroes of Japan. But when Chinese and even Europeans were chosen,

---

their similarities to Japanese counterparts stood out to a degree that they sounded more like Japanese than they did like aliens. In summary, the present tokuhon had shown the deepest concern for things Japanese, i.e., surroundings, traditions, men, and all in the midst of the tumultuous movement of bunmei kaika. It is this type of conservative force which not only gave some degree of equilibrium to the earliest blind Westernization in all facets of society, including compilation of texts, but also prepared a way for the rise of conservatism in the 1880's. Yet, Sakakibara's Shogaku tokuhon did not have a great effect on the use of texts at the primary schools during the 1870's. In fact, Tanaka's tokuhon was far more popular than Sakakibara's. From the latter's viewpoint, therefore, the question is not how much Tanaka's tokuhon was influenced by Western methods, but rather why Westernization represented by Tanaka was stopped by the conservative force represented by his tokuhon.

We have a few more instances of Western influences on the language texts, similar to Tanaka's approach. In the area of spelling, for example, Noah Webster's The Elementary

\footnote{Inatomi, Meiji iko..., op. cit., pp. 199-201; Inatomi, Meiji shoki..., op. cit., pp. 182-183; Karasawa, Kyokasho no rekishi, op. cit., p. 72.}
Spelling Book (1866) was a major source for Japanese spelling books. Also, Pinneo's grammar book and G. P. Quackenbos's First Book in English Grammar were prime sources for popular Japanese texts on grammar. In the final analysis, although various types of books on language were compiled after the Japanese, Chinese, and Western manner, the bunmei kaika movement helped Occidental manner remain dominant during the period when the Code was in force.

Textbooks for Arithmetic and Natural Sciences

Western mathematics was introduced to Japan fairly late, as compared to medicine and astronomy. This was probably

55 The book listed was published in New York by D. Appleton & company; the oldest edition listed in the LCPC was published in 1829 in New York.

56 It is presumably Thimotheus Stone Pinneo's (1804-1893) Pinneo's Analytical Grammar of the English Language, which was published in Cincinnati by W. B. Smith & co., in 1850; which edition the Japanese used was not certain.

57 See p. 235 of this study.

58 Inatomi, Meiji shoki..., op. cit., pp. 187-190.

59 This is a conclusion made by Inatomi after his careful investigations. For the statement, see his ibid., p. 193.
due to the fact that Japanese mathematicians regarded their mathematics as the most refined in the world. Consequently, despite all the official efforts, including those at Nagasaki Naval Academy, Numazu Military Academy, the Kyoto school system, and the Code itself, Western mathematics failed to win popular support. It was not until the 1890's and even the 1900's that mathematics (or arithmetic) was placed in the forefront in the school curriculum, along with other subjects. However, the self-complacency of the Japanese mathematicians was not the only reason for causing a delay of the introduction. There were few mathematicians trained in Western mathematics. Furthermore, the manageability of a traditional abacus continued to have a strong appeal to both students and teachers.

However, it is wrong to assume that Western mathematics was totally neglected in Japan. It simply failed to appeal to the popular mind, despite the fact that enlightened men of the former regime and of course of bunmei kaika of the Meiji tried hart to transplant it in the Japanese soil. At first, the Japanese leaned Western mathematics from Dutch or Chinese books dealing with it, particularly Alexander Wylie's. By 1857, two Japanese mathematicians, Yanagigawa Shunzo and Fukuda Riken, had written separately Western mathematics. Their works were followed by Tsukamoto Meiki's Paper Calculation (as opposed to abacus calculation)
for Children in 1869, and by at least eight other books by 1871. Although these were all intended for the enlightenment of the public, the officials of the Ministry of Education and no scruples about mentioning these books for arithmetic texts for children under the Code, as they did on other subjects. But this arrangement was more than just routine. Recognizing that arithmetic constituted the core of the modern curriculum, the Code officials set aside six hours a week for arithmetic in the lower primary school. In the Code's Primary School Directions, which came out immediately after the Code, two more enlightenment books, i.e., Yoshida Yotoku's *Quick Mastering of Western Mathematics* and Tsumeo Tora's *Geodesy*, were added to the list of texts. Some others followed later. However, these books were still not adequate for the beginning students. Consequently, the Section of Book Compilation prepared *Shogaku sanjutsu sho* (Primary Arithmetic) and published in close connection with Pestalozzian arithmetic, full of elaborate pictures and charts or objects which were arranged in accordance with different stages of child development. Understandably, the book was used widely and began to win popular support. But in the early 1880's an emerging anti-Western educational movement pushed it to relative oblivion. The direct source of the book is believed to have been M. M. Scott's lectures at Tokyo Normal School. The record of this lecture was taken by his interpreter,
Tsuboi Gendo. However, Tsuboi also used H. N. Robinson's *The Progressive Primary Arithmetic* (New York, 1862) as a reference in preparing his translations. To make the matter a little more complicated, M. M. Scott on his part, may have used Warren Colburn's *First Lesson in Arithmetic* (1821) in his lectures. So, there were several sources for the first modern text in arithmetic and all were influences by Pestalozzian arithmetic.

For the purpose of implementing *Shogaku sanjutsu sho* particularly in the upper primary schools, the Ministry added more books to the list of texts. Like *sanjutsu sho*, these new ones were, though the authors did not often mention it, also based partially or totally on Western books. But we know definite sources of some of these texts. Kozu Michitaro, for example, admitted that his *Elements of Paper Calculation* was a translation of Robinson's; similarly, Yamada Shoichi's *How to Teach Primary Paper Calculation* was based on Charles Davies' work, and

---

60 The book listed was presumably published in New York by Ivison and Phinney.

61 The book listed was presumably Colburn's *First Lessons, Intellectual Arithmetic, upon the Inductive Method of Instruction* (Boston: William J. Reynolds & co., 1821); whether the 1821 edition was used by the Japanese was not clear. Colburn (1793-1833) was a prolific author of arithmetic texts.

62 Most of the information is in Kaigo and Naka, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 271-298; but Kaikoku Hyakunen, ed., *op. cit.*, was also consulted--its pp. 361-362.
Yamamoto's and Tazawa's Problems of Paper Calculation was based on Quackenbos' and Chambers'. In addition, translations were made, with certainty, from Bradbury's and Marks' works. But among these, Robinson's and Davies' books were the most popular sources. However, starting around the year 1877, a large number of texts on abacus calculation appeared. Prior to this time, there were only a few or at best five such texts. But by 1877 ten more books were added within a year, the number steadily increasing thereafter. With this emerging popularity of traditional arithmetic, the influence of Western texts naturally declined in the next decade.

The study of the natural sciences in Japan, such as natural philosophy, physics, chemistry, and natural history, started as a preparation for the studies of medical and military sciences toward the end of the former regime. But medical and military sciences themselves had long been favorite branches of Western learning; the feudal Tokugawa government and numerous domains alike eagerly promoted the two sciences. And with the arrival of Perry in 1853,

---

63 The book used was presumably Eaton's New Elementary Arithmetic written (or edited) by William Frothingham Bradbury and published in Boston by Thompson, Brown and Company in 1877; Bradbury was an author or editor of many mathematical textbooks.

military science became even more popular, now being divided into artillery, navigation, naval architecture, surveying, etc. Medical science too received more attention than ever. Both military and medical sciences became highly specialized. And this specialization naturally demanded adequate initial preparation on the part of students. Consequently, even before the Restoration, Nagasaki Naval Academy offered a preparatory course in different branches of natural sciences. Also (Nagasaki) Medical Academy opened the Institute of Analytical Natural Sciences (later moved to Osaka) for the investigation of natural sciences in general. The Translation Bureau in Edo (Tokyo) too now offered courses in astronomy, geography, natural, philosophy, mathematics, chemistry, and the like. The instruction in these institutions was carried out mostly through the use of Western books in their original languages, chiefly due to the fact that Japan did not have strong traditions in the fields. Naturally, the dependence on Western books became even greater at the primary schools under the Code, though the books had to be translated this time. But despite the excessive dependence on traditions, the study of natural sciences was much emphasized. According to one careful study, during the eight years' primary schooling under the Code, as much as forty-two

65 Kaigo and Naka, op. cit., pp. 519-520.
percent of all instruction was spent in such natural science courses as mathematics, geometry, natural history, chemistry, physiology, and physical hygiene. But the figure did not include many chapters in readers and other subjects which treated natural sciences for "reading off." This overemphasis was probably due to the fact that the Code and its Directions were, as we know, prepared by a group of leading Japanese scholars in Western learning, who, like other enlightened scholars, tended to equate the enlightenment to the popular dissemination of Western technology and sciences, while introducing its political systems, geography, and people's life. But the drafters felt, with others, that the mere acquirement of the technology and sciences would bring about more harm than good because of its superficiality. Thereupon, they concluded that the study of the attitude underlying modern sciences, as well as of empiricism, which they believed was best expressed in natural philosophy, should precede the practical acquisition of natural sciences and technology. Understandably, then, they also concluded that the basic study of sciences should be carried out at the primary school level. Thus, the study of different branches of

---

66 Itakura Kiyonobu, Nihon rika kyoiku shi (A History of Natural Science Education in Japan), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 72-77.
natural sciences, such as natural history, physics, chemistry, and natural philosophy, was introduced in the primary school!

The Japanese term for natural philosophy around the year of the Restoration was *kyuri*, which was first used in the 1830's. But the term became popular when Fukuzawa Yukichi wrote *Kunmo kyuri zukai* (Charts for Natural Philosophy for Children) in 1868. The book was originally intended for the enlightenment of the public, not necessarily of the children. It dealt with the principles underlying natural phenomena with particular emphasis on atmospheric and astronomical phenomena in everyday language and with familiar pictures. It won, like other Fukuzawa's books, a great success; when the Code was issued, the book was naturally on the list of texts. After *Kunmo kyuri*, many *kyurisho* (books for *kyuri*) were published. The climax was reached around the years of 1872 and 1873. During these years alone at least twenty two books appeared whose titles contained the term *kyuri*, at least four of which were listed as the Code's texts. Further, one of the four was believed to be based on Baker's (an American) book. In addition to Fukuzawa's and the others' *kyurisho*, there were still other influential texts: Obata Tokujirō's *Tempen chii* (Natural Disasters), Toriyama's *Heniben* (Expositions of Natural Disasters), Tanaka and Hashizume's
Tennen jinzo dori zukei (Charts for Natural and Man-Made Causes of Various Phenomena), Asau's Kiki shinwa (New Tales of Strange Phenomena). But most of these books were used as texts for reading, not for an independent natural science course, the reason having been explained earlier. Although many did not mention the sources of their books, it is believed that they must have consulted, directly or indirectly and in part or in total, Quackenbos' Natural Philosophy and/or Mary A. Swift's First Lessons in Natural Philosophy, for Children, both American standard reference books for the Japanese in the field. Of the two, the latter was more popular than the former because of its familiar contents and styles. In fact, its first translation appeared in 1867, and by 1873 at least six more partial or total translations had appeared. Also, Swift's emphasis on astronomy and atmosphere in her book seemed to have determined topics of Japanese kyurisho, because they too mainly treated the two, leaving out other branches of natural sciences.

Unlike kyuri which now referred mostly to astronomy

---

68 See p. 264 of this study.

69 The new edition for the book listed was published in Hartford and Philadelphia in 1859 and presumably the one which was used by the Japanese; it was first published in 1855 in stereotype edition.

and atmosphere, butsuri (physics) covered wider areas, from
dynamics to magnetics, from optics to thermodynamics, and
from pneumatics to electronics. Also unlike kyuri which
made a highly generalized treatment of natural phenomena
(as can be seen in enlightenment books which covered this
area), butsuri was believed to be concerned with specific,
well-organized the name from kyuri to butsuri, that is,
from general to specific. Soon everyone used butsuri
for kyuri.

There were at least four texts for butsuri which were
highly influential: Katayama Junkichi's Butsuri kaitei
(Introduction to Physics), Udagawa Junichi's Butsuri
zenshi (Physics), Kobayashi Rokuro's Stewart's butsuri
shogaku (Stewart's Primary Physics), and Yamaoka Kensuke's
Gakko yo butsurisho (Physics for School). Kaitei was
published in three volumes by the Ministry in 1872 for the
use of upper primary school students. It was widely
used in the 1870's and 1880's and was probably the most
influential physics text during the period of the Code.
The book was based primarily on R. G. Parker's First Lesson
71 in Natural Philosophy. But it also made references to
Quackenbos' and Ganot's books. From 1876 to 1879, at least

71 The book listed was first published in New York by
A. S. Barnes & company in 1852; whether or not the Japanese
used the first edition is not clear. Richard Green Parker
(1798-1869) was an author of numerous texts on English com-
position, conversations, geography, reading and elocution,
and natural philosophy.
five commentaries on the kaitei appeared. Zenshi was published in ten volumes by the Ministry in 1875. The book was originally designed for middle and normal school students, but since it was also used by primary school teachers and students. However, when its abridged edition appeared in 1879, it won far greater influence. Shogaku, as the title implies, was a translation of Balfour Stewart's Physics, one of the serial books of Science Primers. It was published in three volumes by the Ministry in 1878. The book was highly successful, chiefly because it introduced the inductive method through which students were led from daily experiences to experiments and then to natural laws. The approach, although fairly common afterwards, was still unique at that time. Yamaoka's butsuri sho was published in three volumes in 1879 and was used widely during the 80's. Yamaoka did not indicate the sources he had consulted, but it is probable, from the contents described, that he too used Stewart's book. In addition to these widely used books, however, there were at least four more texts on physics during the period of Code, but they had less influence; at least one of the four was the translation

---

72 The book listed is presumably: (Science primers, III) Physics, London: Macmillan and co., 1872; it was also published in New York in the same year; Stewart (1828-1887) was an author of numerous texts on physics.
of Parker's and Stewart's.

As in the case of the term kyuri, the Japanese term for chemistry during the early part of the 1870's was seimi, derived from the Dutch term Chemie. One of the most influential books on chemistry had already appeared in 1837, when Udagawa Yoan wrote Seimi kaishu (Introduction to Chemistry). But it was Kawamoto who first used the modern Japanese term kagaku for chemistry probably around the late 1850's when he translated, from Dutch, Iul Adph Stockhardt's (a German) books into Japanese. Although it was revised at least twice later, it was not probably used

---

Kago and Naka, ed., op. cit., pp. 544-550. It is interesting to note that Katayama's kaitei had sold 95,000 copies by November 1874. The number is unusually high, if we consider the fact that only approximately 1,000 students in the eighth grade were expected to use the book. It turned out, however, that the book was used in other grades as a text, too, because it was assigned as one of required books for the entrance examination to the normal school. Itakura, op. cit., pp. 72, 88-89.

Incidentally, four major texts listed by Kago and Naka were intended more or less for upper primary school students. For the lower, although we have to bear in mind that physics was not necessarily taught at this level, one of the popular texts was Fukuzawa's Kunmo butsuri zukai (Charts of Physics for Children), which was based on Chambers', Quackenbos', Swift's, Cornell's, Mitchell's, and Brown's books on physics. Karasawa, Kyokasho no rekishi, op. cit., pp. 93-94.

74

Exactly what book Kawamoto used is not clear. But we can say at least this much: that, Stockhardt wrote at least two books on chemistry: chemische Feldpredigten für deutsche Landwirthe (in 3 volumes), (1853-1854), Leipzig: G. Wigand, 1855; and die Schule der Chemie, oder erster Unterricht in der Chemie, verstun licht durch einfache Experimente (1855-1858), Braunschweig: Vieweg?, 1858.
as a text, but rather as a reference book for compiling the text. Furthermore, we should not fail to mention the role played by the Osaka Seimi Kyoku (Osaka Bureau of Chemistry), an evolution of the Institute of Analytical Natural Sciences (in Nagasaki) as a supplier of textbooks. Two foreign chemists, a Dutchman, K. W. Gratama and a German, H. Ritter, were invited there separately between 1866 and 1870 to teach. They introduced modern experimentation techniques with great success. But what was more important for the compilation of books was the fact that their lectures, which were translated into Japanese by several of their students, supplied makers of the primary texts with works on the fundamental elements of chemistry; the translated lectures themselves were obviously too advanced for primary school pupils. In the meantime, the Ministry designated three physics keimosho (not including Kawamoto's translations, as mentioned earlier) as texts, all being widely used throughout the country.

The first of the three books recommended by the Ministry was Ishiguro Tadanori's Kagaku kunmo (Chemistry for Children) published, in seven volumes, in 1870. It was the most popular text for physics during the earliest years of the Code. Its major source was Hilser's (a German) book; but

75 There may be an error in translation. Ferdinand Hiller wrote a three-volume Lehrbuch der Chemie (A Textbook of Chemistry) between 1861 and 1863.
other Western books were also consulted. It even recom-
mended five (Western) books on chemistry, including
one lecture delivered by Gratama, as references for further
study. Another influential book was Kagaku nyumon (Intro-
duction to Chemistry) written by Katsuragawa Hosaku and
et. al. The book actually appeared in a total of twelve
volumes from 1868 to 1873, taking the form of an anthology
covering various areas of chemistry written by different
persons. But the writings were either translations or
edited translations of Western sources. The third in-
fluential book was Shogaku kagaku sho (Primary Chemistry)
written by Ichikawa Seibaruuro; it was translated in 1874
from the second volume of the Science Primer, the volume
76
which was prepared by Henry E. Roscoe. The book remained
probably the most influential text in chemistry during the
latter part of the 1870's and 1880's; many different
translations appeared in the 1880's. We have already
pointed out that the other serial book of Science Primer,
i.e., Physics written by Stewart, was also translated into
a Japanese text with great success. These two books were
highly influential texts in physics and chemistry in the
70's and 80's. In addition, the first volume of the

76 The book listed was presumably: Sir Henry Enfield
Roscoe (1833-1915), (Science primers, 2) Chemistry, London:
Macmillan and co., 1872; it appeared in New York in 1876.
Sir Roscoe was an author of numerous texts, books, and
addresses on chemistry. His works were translated into
German and French.
Science Primer, i.e., Introductory written by Thomas Henry Huxley, was also translated, although belatedly in around 1887, into a text. The latest translation of this Introductory appeared as late as 1949, but probably not for use as a text. The influences of the three volumes of the Science Primers on the Japanese texts in the field of natural sciences were indeed great.

There were still other texts which had moderate success, aside from the three influential books just mentioned. Among these were books written by Shishido, Shimuzu, Kobayashi, Kaneko, Kashiwabara, and Ohta, all of which were written between 1873 and 1879. All of them, with the exception of one, relied on either American, or British, or German books, or all three as sources. Further, among those keimosho which were written for children but never appointed as texts during the early years of the Code were Toki Yoritoku's Kagaku tanyo (An Outline of Chemistry), which was translated in 1872 from First Principles of Chemistry written by Foster (?), an American. It should be noted that Kunmo kagaku (Chemistry for Children) written by Nakagawa Kenjiro in 1880 was used widely for the next decade and the first successful text exclusively prepared by a Japanese himself. It became an example of how texts of this sort should be written and edited. But again, the

77 It was published in London in 1880; Huxley was a prolific writer of books on philosophy, science, and education.
appearance of the book of Nakagawa coincided with the sudden demise of translated books at that time.

Natural history in Japan at the time of the Code meant comprehensive natural sciences, including all the areas we have seen so far with the addition, very often, of botany, zoology, and even engineering and agriculture. And the areas covered were, for an obvious reason, not necessarily intensive. However, despite such varieties and extensiveness, no keimosho in natural history, unlike other areas of the natural sciences, appeared till 1869. Consequently, the Code's texts in this area were all new keimosho, only a few years old. The only exception was Hakubutsu shimpen yakkai written by Ohmori Shuzo, which was translated, by way of Chinese, from Benjamin Hobson's book on natural philosophy toward the end of the reign of the feudal government. It was listed as a text for natural science at upper primary schools and is believed to have been used fairly widely. There were four more influential books listed as texts, all published between 1869 and 1875. The first one of these was Hakubutsu shimpen hoko (New Book of Natural Philosophy—Supplement), which was

---

translated by Obata Tokujiro from *Introduction to the Science* written by William and Robert Chambers. The book was probably used more often than the *yakkai* as a text. The second one was *Kakubutsu nyumon wage* (Introduction to Natural Laws—Translation) written by Yanagikawa Shunzo and *et. al.*, which was translated, by way of Chinese, in seven volumes by as many persons from a book on natural philosophy written by one Martin William, an American. The contents of the books were relatively difficult but used, like the first one, widely among upper primary school students. The third one was a book written by Muramatsu, which was the only book exclusively prepared by a Japanese himself. The fourth one was translation in eleven volumes made by Tanaka Kozo from a French primary textbook. It was probably the most influential text during the time of the Code.

**Textbooks for Other Subjects (Morality, History, Geography, etc)**

Moral science, called in Japanese *shushin*, was instituted in the curriculum as an equivalent to religious instruction in French schools. But the Japanese at that time were not

---

79 It was first published in Edinburgh in 1836 and many times thereafter.

quite clear what it was all about. Consequently, although the subject was assigned from one to two sessions per week with appointed books, some schools simply ignored it or transformed it into some informal talk session and used whatever books they happened to find. This general lack of appreciation of *shushin* stood in stark contrast to the sudden and extreme awareness from the 1880's onward. During the period of the Code, however, the Japanese, lovers of books, wrote numerous books on *shushin* and quasi-*shushin*, which catered to the public as much as to students. According to one source, books on *shushin* appeared in a large number in 1873 and 1874 in translated or semi-translated forms, but such books diminished notably as the year advanced, being replaced by non-translated books. Specifically, thirteen of twenty-one books on *shushin* published in 1873 were the translation of Western books in one way or another; the translated works diminished to only three out of seventeen in the following year. A total of nine translated works appeared in the next two years; but by 1882, such works were totally and irretrievably out of sight. *Shushin* was one of the few areas where Western influence was quickly and thoroughly superceded by native works.

---

The sources of the shushin texts were various and numerous. It is interesting to note that the first five texts appointed by the Code were all translations. For example, Minka domo kai (Moral Lessons for Children) written by Aoki Sukekiyo was a partial translation of (probably) The Elements of Moral Science of Francis Wayland; Domo oshiegusa by Fukuzawa was based on Moral Class Book written by Chambers; Shushin ron (On Moral Science) was translated by Abe Taizo from The Elements of... written by Wayland; French kanzen kunmo was translated by Mitsukuri Rinsho from law books written by one Bonn (?), Moral Philosophy written by Winslow, and The System of Moral of Moral Science (1868) written by Hickok; and Seiho ryaku (On Morality) was prepared by one Kanda Mokaku from lecture notes which were taken by Nishi Amane and Tsuda Masamichi at the University of Leyden in Holland. Among these

82 The book listed was first published in Edinburgh by W. and R. Chambers in 1839 as one of Chambers' Educational Course books; it was reprinted in 1847, 1855, and 1856.

83 The book listed is presumably: Hubbard Winslow (1799-1864), Moral Philosophy, New York: D. Appleton & co., 1866; Winslow was an author of several books on religious and inspirational books.

84 The oldest edition listed in the LCFC is the 1853 edition published in Schenectady by G. Y. Van Debogert; Hickok (1798-1888) was an author of numerous books on philosophy and psychology; his full name: Perseus Laurens Hickok.

the most influential book was *Shushin ron* by Abe, the basic moral principles of which were liberalism and individualism based on man's natural rights and obligations. Because of this success and partly because of Fukuzawa preferences, *The Elements of Moral Science* by Wayland became the most popular Western source on the subject and at least ten more translations appeared by the 1880's. Next to Abe's, *kunmo* of Mitsukuri was the most popular among the listed texts. However, it, unlike Abe's, was strongly Christian, specifically Catholic, in its views of life and the world. The three other texts seem to have been of moderate influence.

Outside of the five texts, there were still other notable translated *shushin* texts, which were either officially added to the list or used fairly widely by the teachers' choice. Among these were a book translated by Watanabe from *Aesop's Fables* written in English; *Seikoku risshi den* translated by Nakamura Masanao from Samuel Smiles' *Self Help*; *Kunmo sodan* translated by Ebina Shin

---

86 See p. 133 of this study.
89 See p. 17 of this study.
from Elementary Moral Lesson written by M. F. Cordray (?); Kunno kanzen zatsuwa translated by Wada Junkichi from a book written by a Frenchman, one Dorabarumu (Romanized); and Chesterfield kakun translated by Nagakine Hideki from Chesterfield's book on morality. Finally, as far as moral textbooks based on traditional native moral views were concerned, they never became as popular as their translated counterparts at least during the time when the pro-Western Code of Education was in effect. Three native texts published in 1873, for example, were intended solely to implement the translated ones. The time was obviously the climax of Western influences on moral textbooks.

Like morality, the study of history was relatively ignored during the time of the Code, being offered only at the upper primary school level. Limited though the scope was, emphasis was still placed upon the investigation of Western and world history, Japanese and Chinese history being treated as secondary. Such treatment was, of course,

90 Ibid., pp. 169-170.
91 Exactly what book of Chesterfield Nagamine used is not clear. But it is most likely the following book: Philip Dormer Chesterfield (1694-1773), (Lord's Chesterfield's) Advise to Son, which was published at least by the mid 1760's and reprinted many times and in various forms thereafter; it was one of the (most) popular books on morality in England at that time.
92 Inatomi, ibid., pp. 170-172, 176; Karasawa, Kyokasho..., op. cit., pp. 60-61.
a reflection of the bunmei kaika movement, sources of which were from the outside, particularly Western, world. Not unexpectedly, then, two of the four texts first appointed in 1872 by the Code dealt with "world" history: Nishimura Tei wrote an outline of the history of the world under the title of Bankoku shiryaku and Teacu Shomei the similar history under the title of Goshu kiji, the two other persons writing a history of Japan. In the following year, four more texts were added to the list, seemingly impartially this time: Naikoku shiryaku (An Outline of Domestic History) written by one Nanma Tsunanori, Shiryaku (An Outline of History) edited by the Ministry of Education, Sanko taihei ki (Historic Episodes of Wars), and Joyaku kokushi ryaku (An Outline of Nations in Treaty). But the contents of the last books were mostly, if not totally, Western. Again, the sources of the books on world or Western history were, needless to say, Western. The book written by Nishimura, for example, was a translation of a book written by an Englishman, one Taitrell; it was revised three years afterwards in 1872 by Nishimura Shigeki, who in addition referred to books written by an Irish and an American; it was finally and most popularly revised by Ohtsuki Fumihiko, whose arrangement of the contents was

---

heavily influenced by Peter Parley's Universal History written by Samuel G. Goodrich. The book written by Terauchi too a translation of Peter Parley's... with an obviously different emphasis. Shiryaku edited by the Ministry was also written under the influence Peter Parley's; only one-fifths of the book was devoted to Japanese and Chinese history. It should be noted here that divisions of areas of history into Japanese, Chinese, and World sections made by Shiryaku set an example which continued thereafter until World War II. It seems that the rest of the appointed books, four of them altogether, fell into the category of translated texts, but in a slightly different sense from the above. They were "translated" or "edited" from history books of former eras into the contemporary style probably after the patterns of the above translations. As such, these "translated" histories of Japan completely lacked the embellishment or fabrications of Imperial sovereignty, which never be the case after this period; it should be also added that such lack was accompanied further by the juxtaposition of itematized

---

94 Ibid., p. 445.
95 Karasawa, Kyokasho..., op. cit., pp. 84-85.
96 Yoshida Taro, Rekishi kyoiku naiyo hoho ron shi (A Historical Study of Contents and Methodologies of History Education), (Tokyo, 1968), pp. 33-34.
facts in which a chronology of the Emperors were treated extremely casual. Such approaches are strikingly reminiscent of William Swinton's so-called "catalogues of facts and of chronologic data" contained in his *Outline of the World's History* (1874).

Among the Western sources, Peter Parley's... was most popular at this point. However, this history book was, understandably strongly Anglo-Saxon oriented; it, for example, concluded, after including incorrect information concerning general features about China and Japan, that "they (Asians) are far behind the nations of Europe and America in their knowledge of religion, and various arts which make life comfortable and happy," and that (in Asia) "whoever the king, the people are but slaves." But the Japanese translators, with their usual faithfulness to the original, reproduced Goodrich's misinformation, including prejudices against their own country. Both students and numerous public readers are believed to have

---

98 *Inatomi, Meiji shoki..., op. cit.*, pp. 193-195. The book listed was published in New York by Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor and company; it was reprinted many times thereafter. Swinton (1833-1892) was an author of many history books and textbooks.
been greatly affected by such misinformation. But as more texts appeared in the following years, many more sources were explored, in addition to Goodrich's and Swinton's. Goodrich's another book *A Pictorial History of England* was widely read. A book written by Guizot on European civilization was also translated with great success. Also, Nishimura Shigeki, who revised *Bankoku shiryaku*, translated, by way of Dutch, a German book on history from 1875 to 1878. Mitsukuri too wrote a book on history based on Western sources. Quackenbos' highly popularized book on the history of the U. S. was translated by Takahashi Kiichi and used as a text. Aside from the texts so far mentioned, there were a number of books to enlighten and entertain the public, some of which were undoubtedly read by school children outside of the school. Notable among such books were Kozu Magoshiro's translation in 1869 of a book written by an Englishman under the title of *Seiyo Ekichiroku* (Great Events of Western History).

The contents of geography texts during the period of the Code were no less Western than those of history. Consequently, again prime sources of the texts were Western, particularly Anglo-American, books. All texts but one

recommended by the Ministry in 1872, for example, dealt with world geography, sources of which, though often not mentioned, were undoubtedly Western; these texts were *Seiyo jijo* (Conditions of the West) written by Fukuzawa Yukichi and *Sekai kuni zukushi* (Stories of All Nations) by the same person, *Seiyo i-shoku-ju* (Western Food, Clothes and Housing) written by Hashizume Kan-ichi, and *Nihon kunizukushi* (Stories of All Provinces in Japan) written by Tsumeo Tora. All of these books were chosen from popular enlightenment books and as such, their sources are too general to be pinpointed. However, we have at least two books whose sources are to some degree identifiable: Fukuzawa's first book and Uchida's. Sources Fukuzawa used had already been pointed out in the first chapter of this study. As for Uchida's, they were chiefly MaCay's, Goldsmith's, and Karamurusu's (Romanized) books, along with quite a few other sources. But eight more texts which were added to the list in the following year had more clearly specific sources. *Chiri sosho* compiled and published by the Ministry, for example, was an almost word-for-word translation of the first half of "Introductory

---

103 See p. 9 of this study.

104 Inatomi, *Meiji shoki..., op. cit.*, pp. 207-208; the name McCay is guessed from the Japanese pronunciation.
Lessons" from Sarah S. Cornell's *Primary Geography* (New York, 1854) with minor modifications and with small additions from her own *High School Geography*. The translation was intended as an introduction to geography and topography, and served as a preparation for two other books on the list, *Nihon chishi ryaku* (Outline of Japanese Geography) and *Bankoku chishi ryaku* (Outline of World Geography). As *Chiri sosho* was one of the favorite books of the schools, so was its source, Cornell's, among scholars. When Cornell's original, i.e., *Primary Geography*, appeared in three revisions from 1854 to 1867, all of them were introduced into Japan and read widely. At least nine Japanese translations, including *Chiri sosho*, were made public between 1866 and 1873. Nishimura Tsunetaka's book, also on the list, was based on Cornell's book, too. *Bankoku chishi ryaku*, which was mentioned a moment ago, was a collection from Carton's, Mitchell's, and Goldsmith's books. Matsuyama Chin-an's *Chigaku kotohajime* (Geography for Beginners), another book on the list, was an edited translation from various American books. The rest of the

---

105 See p. 65 of this study.
106 See p. 65 of this study.
108 The name Carton is guessed from the Japanese pronunciation.
books on the new list seem to have dealt only with Japanese geography. Unlike the history books, there were no particular "Chinese" geography books. But like the history books, the Japanese geography books typically carried mere catalogues of names of cities, rivers, mountains, and so on.

Textbooks for music and gymnastics have already been dealt with previously, being shown to have been influenced heavily by Mason and Leland, both Americans. Texts for drawing, home economics, and economics were also all translations. More specifically, the single book appointed for the drawing text by the Ministry was Seiga shinan (Guide to Western Drawing) written by Kawakami Kan, but actually a translation of Robert Scothorn's book written in 1857. Many other drawing texts appeared thereafter, most of which were influenced by Scothorn, through Kawakami. Also, a widely-used home economics text called Kasei shozaku (Primary Home Economics) was translated by Nagamine Hideki from a book written by Skell, an American.

110 Inatomi, Meiji shoki..., op. cit., p. 206.
111 The name Scothorn was guessed from the Japanese pronunciation.
113 The name Skell was guessed from the Japanese pronunciation.
Further, Nagata Kensuke prepared a text for economics from a British source.

In summary, textbooks of various sorts for the Japanese primary schools during the period when the Code was in effect were almost always translations from Western, especially Anglo-American, sources. For the first few years, the Ministry for the most part used as texts *keimosho* (popular books for public enlightenment, but by 1875 the Ministry was capable of publishing numerous texts of its own, which though translated had far wider circulation and influence than the *keimosho*. And by the time the Code was about to be rescinded in 1879, the Ministry no longer depended on Western sources in some areas, particularly in the areas of languages and moral science, showing great expertise in producing books congenial to the Japanese schools. But, generally, the texts for Japanese students in the primary schools under the Code were not greatly different from those in American schools. In both cases the students read Willson's *Readers*, calculated with the help of Robinson's *Primary Arithmetic*, learned history from Goodrich's book, and were exposed to geography in Cornell's. Wayland's moral science, although initially intended for college students but used

---

by primary school pupils in Japan, could not have been too
different from the ethics taught in the American primary
schools. Mason and Leland were also undoubtedly in the
mainstream of American music and gymnastic education. And
though Parker's natural history, Stewart's physics, and
Roscoe's chemistry were all published in England, they too
could not have been very different from their American
counterparts because their cultural and intellectual
proximity. In the final analysis, the Japanese texts
were an offshoot of the contemporary Anglo-American, but
particularly American, school books with some modifications
suitable to the Japanese setting. Like their teachers,
the Japanese students at primary schools were influenced
by the Americans. But unlike them, the students were
totally exposed to the alien influences through translated
for eight full years.
CHAPTER VI
SCHOOLS OF MISSIONARIES

This chapter is the fifth and last part of the total five which deal with different aspects of Western influences on Japanese education during the period of the Code of Education (1872-1880). This time, we shall chiefly discuss mission schools opened by foreign missionaries. We shall, however, take a brief look at oyatoi (employed foreigners), before we undertake a full discussion of the mission schools.

Oyatoi were foreigners, particularly Westerners, who were employed by the Meiji government (previously by the feudal regime) for the modernization of Japanese techniques in various fields, including education. Some of the missionaries, sensing unfriendly attitudes of the Japanese government towards their work, became prominent oyatoi teachers before the promulgation of the Code; some foreigners, with evangelistic spirit and purposes, even came to Japan as oyatoi teachers rather than missionaries from the beginning and were engaged in quasi-missionary work. But this oyatoi-missionary relationship was changed during the period of the Code, as we shall see in the following chapter.

Many missionaries, after the proclamation, became
openly involved in education by founding schools, particularly the English. We shall examine the origins of all the mission schools during the period (as far as materials are available), including some of the highly influential mission schools of today.

Oyatoi (Employed Foreigners)

The system of the oyatoi had already operated in the pre-Code days as indicated in the first chapter. But it reached its climax during the time of Code, as the country demanded more services of Westerners for the quick realization of modernization programs it had launched. For example, in 1874 and 1875, the government offices alone employed as many as five hundred twenty Westerners. In 1874, approximately forty percent of those employed were engineers, twenty percent instructors in institutes of higher learning, and the rest clerks, technicians at factories, and various other titles. Most of the engineers were Englishmen, who were seen most frequently in the construction of the rail-roads and lighthouses. French engineers, although constituting only about one-third of the total number of engineers, were still dominant in the area of communications. Approximately equal proportions of Englishmen and Frenchmen were in the Ministry of Finance. Most of the employed instructors for higher learning institutes were either American, Englishmen, or German, proportions among them being almost equal. However,
since medical education was to be conducted in German, the number of German instructors increased steadily, almost to the point of dominance in later years. According to another study, which treated oyatoi who were employed not only by the government but also by private organizations, the number of oyatoi reached a peak in the first half of 1876, totaling four hundred thirty eight! the number includes one hundred ninety-two Englishmen, one hundred twenty-eight Americans, thirty-one Dutchmen, twenty-eight Germans, and fifteen Frenchmen, mostly employed by the private organizations. Most of these oyatoi were in Tokyo and in their early 30's. If we add the figures of oyatoi from the two studies, we will have no less than eight hundred Westerners who were employed by the Japanese during the years 1875 and 1876.

If the number of oyatoi was phenomenal, so were the expenses paid for them. The Ministry of Education alone, for example, set aside approximately fourteen percent of their total budget for the salaries of oyatoi. The situation in other branches of the government was no better than that of the Ministry of Education. It was because of this high percentage of expenditures, which was worsened by

1 Umetani Noboru, Oyatoi gaikoku jin (Employed Foreigners), (Tokyo, 1963), pp. 209-220.
2 Ogata Hiroyasu, Saiyo kyoiku inyu no hoto (Channels of Western Education in Japan), (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 119-128.
3 Ibid., p. 143.
the costly Satsuma Rebellion in 1877, that the employment of government oyatoi was drastically reduced in 1879 and tapered off as the years advanced; but we should add that by the time of the Rebellion, the Japanese had acquired most of the modern skills they originally planned to introduce. And yet, there was no doubt that the contributions of the "living machine" (for oyatoi) were most profitable to the early Meiji Japanese. As for their contributions throughout the Meiji, they were so varied and so extensive that they certainly need an independent intensive study.

Oyatoi who made a specific contribution to education during the period of the Code were again numerous and varied. Some, like Murray and W. M. Clark, were employed as administrators to supervise or organize the schools. Others, like Scott, Mason, Leland, and foreigners at Tokyo University, were employed as teachers for the schools. Still some others taught the Japanese at factories, business firms, and fields. But our prime interest is still those who worked for the school or for the formal education in their administrative and instructional capacities. Aside from Scott, Mason, Leland,  

---

One general assessment was made by Jones when she states: (Japan, in the practice of the employment of foreigners) "adhered firmly to a policy of Japanese control and management, assumed total responsibility for the cost of modernizing, and carried out their decision to replace foreigners with trained Japanese as rapidly as possible..." Quoted from Hazel Joan Jones, "The Meiji Government and Foreign Employers, 1868-1900," (Unpublished Ph.D dissertation, University of Michigan, 1967), p. 1.
and other Westerners we have discussed, there are indeed other such people who command our attention. But for the present study, we choose only one German and two American oyatoi teachers, all working during the period of the Code.

The first of the three is Gottfried Wagener, who came to Japan in 1871 to teach physics and chemistry at Nankō and Toko. In 1873, he virtually led the Japanese participation in the Vienna Exposition, helped in the Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876, and contributed greatly to the first Japanese Domestic Industrial Exposition in 1877. He later taught at Kyoto Chemical Institute, modernizing the method of baking of Japanese porcelain; coming back to Tokyo, he was directly involved in the advancement of vocational education as a chief professor of Tokyo Workers School. Wagener left Japan in 1884.

The second is Edward S. Morse, whose areas of contributions were more specific than Wagener and whose influences were greater than Wagener. Morse came to Japan as a marine zoologist in 1877 in search of rare brachiopods. Soon he was asked to organize a department of zoology at Tokyo University. Until his departure in 1880 (though he returned to Japan in 1882 to collect Japanese ceramics), he made a number of outstanding contributions to the

---

development of Japanese modern sciences. He suggested the publication of *Memoirs of the Science Department, University of Tokio*. The Tokyo Bilogical Society (the Prsetn Zoological Society and Botanical Society of Japan) was established under his strong influence. The Tokyo Anthropological Society also was organized (though after he left) under his leadership. Moreover, he was instrumental in introducing the teaching of anthropology and paleontology at Tokyo University. Further, he discovered shell mounds at Omori, Tokyo, a work which pioneered the study of Japanese archaeology and which was probably the most important contribution Morse made in Japan. He sent a copy of the proof sheets of the report of the discovery to Charles Darwin, who responded favorably to it. The connection between Morse and Darwin was not necessarily a surprising one, because Morse was greatly responsible for the early introduction of the evolution theory to Japan, preparing also a way for the subsequent popularity of Spencer’s social Darwinism in political, social, and educational fields. Moreover, Morse helped invite some of the highly competent American scholars to Tokyo University, such as Mendenhall, Earnest Francisco Fenollosa, (to be discussed briefly later), and Charles Otis Whitman, who was a successor to Morse and who taught embryology and showed the latest method of microscopic study to Japanese students. He even tried to invite Thomas Henry Huxley from England to take
his chair at the University, a plan which did not materialize
due to the latter's ill health. It should be added here
that what Morse and Whitman actually introduced to Japan
was Professor Louis Agassiz' techniques of study of living
specimens, because both of them were students of his. And
at least three of the early Japanese professors of zoology
at Tokyo University were trained at Johns Hopkins University
under William Keith Brooks, another pupil of Agassiz.
Finally, Morse's revisiting to Japan in 1882 brought about
another significant contribution. He made an outstanding
collection of Japanese pottery, which was bought by the
Boston Museum in 1892, and Morse was made its curator. This
collection, together with the Japanese paintings, prints and
drawings assembled by Fenollosa and Bigelow, makes an
excellent collection of Japanese art.

The third person, Thomas C. Mendenhall, came to Japan,
upon the recommendation of Morse, to teach physics at the
university; he was at that time an instructor at the Ohio
Agricultural and Mechanical College (later The Ohio State
University). Some of his outstanding achievements in Japan
include meteorological observations in Tokyo, measurement
of gravity at Mt. Fuji and in Tokyo, planning of the
experiments of probability for the university students,

---

Masao Watanabe, "The Early Influence of American
Science on Japan", offprint from Ithaca, 26-VIII-2XI
and the measurement of the approach of the typhoons.

Schools of Missionaries

The missionary movement, which was inaugurated in 1859, developed rapidly after the ban of Christianity was lifted in 1873, a year after the proclamation of the Code. As we have learned, many missionaries, before the denunciation of the ban, founded private schools as a main substitute for their work. We have also indicated that some missionaries even gave up their work to be involved in education by becoming oyatoi teachers, obviously to compensate their unwelcome missionary work. But with the lifting of the ban, missionaries became even more active in founding schools, openly and on a large scale this time. Few missionaries now became oyatoi; half-minded oyatoi before the proclamation of the Code, such as Griffis, E. W. Clark, and Janes, were now rare, with a notable exception of W. S. Clark at Sapporo Agricultural College. Further, the mood of bunmei kaika made the exotic mission schools even more attractive than before. Consequently, the mission schools grew rapidly, reaching their heydays during the period of the Code. Even the reactionary movement of the 1880's did not affect seriously the growth of the

---

Watanabe Masao, "T. C. Mendenhall no shogai to katsudo", (Life and Work of T. C. Mendenhall), Kagakushi kenkyu, (January-March, 1966), pp. 113-123.
mission schools. The prospect of the schools seemed to be even even brighter when the propagation of Christianity was recognized de jure in 1889. But an adverse change suddenly came in 1890 with the proclamation of the Imperial Rescript on Education which forced the deification of the Emperor. In nine years, the teaching of religion (actually Christianity) at schools, including mission schools, was officially prohibited; some mission schools reluctantly made an adjustment, while some declined sharply or even perished. During the forty-five year period of the Meiji, then, mission schools were freest in their activity, most appealing in their outlook, and indeed most influential in their educational endeavors when the Code was in effect.

Missionary organizations in Japan during the period of the Code were various and the number of the missionaries was great. In 1872, for example, there were fifty-three missionaries in Japan. But as many as forty-nine of them were Americans, representing six organizations—Northern Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, Protestant Episcopal, American Baptist Free Mission, American Board, and Woman's Union Missionary Society. Further, until the time the Code was revised in 1879, eight more American organizations joined the missionary field; they were Northern Methodist, Northern Baptists, German Reformed Church, American Seamen's Friend, Japan Book and Tract Society—a branch of the American Tract Society, Evangelical Association, American Bible Society,
and Cumberland Presbyterian Board of Missions. In 1880, the Methodist Protestant Church also entered the field. Europeans and Canadians, too, became increasingly active. In 1872, there was only one organization, Church Missionary Society, with four agents. During the time of Code, five more organizations appeared in Japan, viz., the Edinburgh Medical Mission, United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Foreign Parts, Society for Promotion of Female Education, and English Baptist Mission. Although they had regional agreements and their work covered the entire country, Tokyo was their preferred spot and the center of foreign evangelism. It was also the favorite site of the missionary schools. However, not all organizations were interested in opening schools. During this time in Japan, most of the missionary schools were built by Americans who belonged to certain denominations. Some of the mission schools were opened by Japanese Christians themselves, but often in cooperation with Americans. In the discussions which follow, therefore, we will deal chronologically with all such known schools under the same category of the mission schools, some in lesser detail and others in greater detail.

After Brown's school, Hepburn's school, Carother's

---

school, Mrs. Pruyn and others' school in the preceding years, the year 1872 witness the opening of To-oku Juku in Hirosaki, Aomori Prefecture. The Institute was originally built for English learning. But when Dutch Reformed Missionary C. H. Wolf was invited to teach there in that very same year, its connection with missionaries, subsequently, not necessarily of the Dutch Reformed, started. After less than two years of stay, Wolf was succeeded by Arthur Collins McCray, a student of Williams College. McCray stayed for nearly a year. The invitation was, however, a temporary break for the missionary work. The real breakthrough came when John Inge, a Northern Methodist missionary, was invited, after McCray, to teach English, natural sciences, natural history, and history at the institution. Although he too was originally a teacher for alien studies, his deep involvement in teaching and community work and his sincerity soon made him famous as a man of high integrity and outstanding knowledge. He offered, beyond his original capacity, practical training in surveying and minerology; he introduced various vegetables, seeds of fruit trees, and seedlings. He also brought, for the first time, apple trees in the Hirosaki areas, homes of apple cultivation in Japan. His missionary work too succeeded. Within a year, he

9 The name was guessed from Japanese pronunciation.
converted fourteen students. With his efforts, To-oku Juku became a prominent institution for English learning in northern Japan. Its standing was so high that when Emperor Meiji visited Tōhoku regions, to which Aomori is a part, in 1876, its students greeted him with English recitations, reading, and speeches; when he returned, they sang hymns for him. In the following year, five students were sent to a college in the United States for study by the arrangement of Inge. In the same year, the American literary society was formed at To-oku and Sapporo College for the first time in Japan for literary circle activities, speeches, and debates. Other mission schools, such as toyo Eigo Jogakko, Doshisah, Kansam Gakuin, and Tsuda Bigakujuku, followed the example in later years, with the help of their own foreign teaching staffs and Japanese students who had just returned from the United States. By the time the literary society was firmly established in the next few decades, the American Athletic meeting was introduced with subsequent success. In the meantime,

---


Inge returned home in November, 1878, and was succeeded by many missionaries of his organization. To-oku now looked more like a mission school of Northern Methodist than an institute of English learning.

In 1874, three different missionaries, i.e., Channing Moore Williams of the Protestant Episcopal, Miss Youngman of the Northern Presbyterian, and Miss Dora E. Schoonmaker of the Woman's Union Missionary Society, opened their schools. Among these, Williams school was most ambitious, catering only to boys. Both Youngman and Schoonmaker's schools were opened for girls. Of the two, Schoonmaker's school grew; Youngman's school seems to have been doomed.

When Williams opened, as the first step to introduce Christian culture, a mission school in February, 1872 with five students, it was so small that it did not have even a name. Called "Day School" in a report, it was known in the neighborhood as "Williams' School". But the school grew steadily and by fall it had over thirty students. In 1875, it moved to a new precinct with new school-buildings, dormitories and chapel and its own name, Rikkyō Gakkō (its English name being St. Paul's School). Williams, together with fellow workers Buranshē (Romanized) and Cooper, taught the Bible, English, geography, history, and other subjects,

---

14 Kaikoku Hyakunen, ed., ibid, p. 420.
all in English. There were two Japanese assistants. By the end of 1876, the school was expanded to fifty-five students. But in the midst of that development, it was burned down by fires which swept the areas in November of that year. The school made a new start in two years with four missionaries, two each from Anglo-American Episcopal, and one native as instructors. There were only sixteen students after the fires, but the number of students increased rapidly. With this new start, Williams entertained an ambitious plan of upgrading his institution to the level of the American college. Subsequently he made a request to the Board, to this effect. In response, James M. Gardner, a Harvard graduate in architecture, was sent as a principal to him in October, 1880, a year after the revision of the Code. Under Gardner's direction, a huge Gothic-styled brick building was completed as a new school in late 1882. A seminary was attached to this new Rikkyo Gakko (thus the school was now called). It was told, with some uncertainty, that the number of students jumped from fifty to one hundred. Anyhow, to meet the new situation, the curriculum was revised after the American college, the only modification being the replacement of Greek and Latin by Chinese studies. In the instructional scenes, Williams, in addition to regular course work, held daily worship services and lectures on the Bible in Japanese. But since all the lectures were conducted in English, some students were left behind and withdrew from
the school. A novelty of this school could also be seen outside the classroom. The impressive view of the new school building attracted many visitors. Meanwhile, the school's continuous development was accelerated when Osaka Eiwa Gakko (its English name being St. Timothy School) was merged with it in 1887; the latter was initiated in Osaka by a missionary named Morris in 1871. By then, a number of other missionaries joined the teaching staffs and there were at least two Japanese professors. However, the applicants, particularly outsiders, had to go through religious questionings before they were employed. Lafcadio Hearn, a noted journalist and essayist, was one of the victims of these questionings. Rikkyo Gakko developed steadily and finally became an accredited university in 1905.

Youngman opened her school in 1874. By 1878, there were thirty-five students, some twenty of them confessed their faith. But not much is known about the school. Meanwhile, Schoonmaker started her school, or what she called "A very small light in a very dark place!" in November of that year. She managed to secure, by the help of Tsuda Sen—a father of Tsuda Umeko (who was one of the

---


first five girls who studied in the United States), three girls and two boys for her first students. She planned to be engaged in teaching for three hours every afternoon, while learning Japanese characters, customs, and language herself. After several transferences, the school settled in one place in 1877, and with this final settlement, she gave her "small light" the name of Kaigan Jogakko (Kaigan Girls' School). The school grew rapidly in the next decade. At any rate, by the time of the settlement, the school was converted to a girls' school, which might, however, have some boy students, as the contemporary girls' school did.

At least four mission schools were opened or reorganized in 1875: schools of Miss. J. Hope Authur of Northern Baptist?, Mary E. Kidder of the Dutch Reformed, Niishima Jō of the American Board, and one Miura, a Japanese Christian. Among these, the most ambitious and influential was probably Niishima's school called Doshisha which was initially built only for boys (but later included girls). The rest of them were all girls' schools; among these, Kidder's grew most rapidly, while Authur's developed slowly and steadily, and Minura's was soon to be closed down.

Authur arrived at Japan in 1873. To her luck, she made an acquaintance with Mori Arinori aboard ship. She

---

stayed in Mori's residence for a while and in 1875 opened her school by the name of Surugadai Jogakko (Surugadai Girls' School) which was later changed into Surugadai Eiwa Jogakko (Surugadai Anglo-Japanese School). Outside of her teaching, she was also instrumental in opening the first Baptist Church in Japan. In the meanwhile, Authur left her school, which was now placed under the charge of Anna H. Kidder. In 1878 it had fifteen students; the number was very modest, of course, but it was growing steadily.

To M. E. Kidder, the year 1875 was not the time of initiation but of renovation of "Miss. Kidder's School", which was opened in 1871 with six students. In that year, new school buildings were built by her efforts. With this expansion she named her school Isaac Ferris Jogakko (the name Isaac was removed later) in honor of the Director of the Foreign Mission Board of her church. She remained as a principal until 1879 when she left Japan. Eugenes Booth, a succeeding principal also continued the expansion plan and by 1883 new facilities were completed. Like Williams Rikkyo Gakko, Ferris' modern facilities were novel in the city of Yokohama. A steam, constant hot water, stove, windmill, water tank, red wall, auditorium, cafeteria, tables, chairs, and piano, were all objects of neighbors' curiosity.

---

Some even called the school "windmill school" or "red school" because of its exotic buildings. Students' life too had some novelty. One such example was their habit of taking a nap, which was practised after a principal's return from the U. S. As for the alien feature in the classroom instruction, not much is known. But we can assume that both Kidder and Booth must have tried to mode a small American school out of Ferris.

Niishima is one of the most prominent Christian leaders and educators in Meiji Japan. His way to such leadership began when he slipped out of the country in violation of laws in 1864. After a year's hardship, he arrived in Boston and lived with the family of Alpheus Hardy, an owner of the ship which he was aboard and a member of the American Board. Under Hardy's sponsorship, Niishima attended, first, Phillips Academy, then Amherst College, and finally Andover Theological Seminary. He was first interested in studying ship-building and navigation for the subsequent services for his country; but the Puritan spirit prevalent in the College and occasional revivals among students obviously helped him develop his interest in Christianity with a new hope of

---


See p. of this study for further information.
spiritual salvation for his country. Entering Andover, he was under the deep influences of Professor Julius Howley Seelye. Also, while in Andover, he made an important acquaintance with Mori Arinori, then the Chargé d'Affairs in Washington, during the process of his efforts of securing a passport. Through the arrangement of Mori, Niishima became a secretary and interpreter in 1872 for visiting Tanaka Fujimaro, Commissioner of Education for the Iwakura Mission, and accompanied him to Europe for ten months. The experiences accorded him a new dimension to his life and his future plan; he was now fully aware of the importance of the role of schools in Christian nations. Understandably, when he finished Andover after the trip in 1874 with the ordination and was about to leave for Japan, his mind was firmly set on the educational enterprise. Consequently, at the convention of the Board held in Rutland, Vermont, only two months prior to his departure, he successfully appealed to the audience for financial support to open a Christian school in Japan. His fervent address instantly brought about $5,000 in donations. With this support, he went home as a corresponding member of the American Board. There, he was offered a governmental post in education by Tanaka, but rejected the offer due to his belief that the country had to have a private Christian college. Meanwhile, his school, called Doshisha, was materialized in full cooperation of Yamamoto Kakuma, an advisor to the governor
of Kyoto, and his colleague Jerome D. Davis. Kyoto was selected because of the regional agreement imposed upon the Board, a late comer (the first Board missionary D. C. Greene coming to Japan as late as 1869). On parallel, The American Board at home raised funds in support of the project. It should be noted, however, that Niishima's school was not the official project of the Board at first, although it was financially supported by them.

Niishima's school, called Doshisha Ei Gakko (Doshisha English School), started with only six students. Although the main goals of the school were described to "produce a man who can materialize (men's) conscience in the practice of his techniques, in accordance with Christian morality" and to give instruction in English, the institution did not have any set course of study. But somehow Niishima and his colleagues, W. Taylor and D. W. Learned, managed to teach the Bible, Western history, English, astronomy, geology, physiology, and mathematics, vaguely after the manner of the contemporary American college. Meanwhile, the School had already had forty students by the end of the winter semester.

---

21 Discussions so far are based mostly on Doshisha kyūjyu-nen shi (A Ninety Years' History of Doshisha), (Kyoto, 1965), pp. 20-25, 30-33, 51; but information has also been gathered from the following sources: (1) Arthur Sherburne Hardy, Life and Letters of Joseph Hardy Neesima, (Boston and New York, 1891) pp. 102-103, 115-139, 198-199; (2) Yamamoto, op. cit., pp. 152-155; and (3) Kaikoku Hyakunen ed., op. cit., p. 145.

22 Quoted in Doshisha, op. cit., p. 51.
As the name of the school showed, it did not intend to be a seminary. But a prime emphasis was placed on the cultivation of Christian morality, but not in the manner of outright enforcement. Reflecting such concern, non-resident students were given dormitory facilities with strict regulations.

The following year brought about significant changes in the School. For one thing, the new school buildings were dedicated. But far more important than that was the transference of the "Kumamoto Band", some thirty of L. L. Janes' students, to the School. The addition of this highly talented group of students caused a fundamental alteration within the institute. The study of theology and philosophy was, for example, immediately added to the pro-English curriculum. Unlike Rikkyo Gakko, then, Doshisha made some significant transformation by the force generated by the students themselves, from a small English private school, which most mission schools were, to a Christian institution.

Doshisha's first strong step to a Christian college was taken in 1878, when the institution adopted its first rules. But as far as the descriptions of the rules were concerned, the school looked very much like an ordinary middle school for English study. It granted an admission to any primary school graduates, who wished to study English.

---

It, unlike other middle schools, certainly had an excellent teaching staff which included Niishima and his American colleagues; but textbooks used there were not greatly different from the others, consisting of such familiar books as Mitchell's, Davies', Quackenbos', Wayland's, and Guizot's. In other words, Doshisha in 1878 was, at least in its appearance, an ordinary English (or mission) school, with excellent teachers. But under this disguise, Doshisha secretly introduced the study of theology to the school. Such secrecy was probably due to the fact that the founder of the school was a native Christian, who was much more vulnerable to the government's unfriendly attitudes towards Christianity than a visiting foreign missionary. Consequently, an arrangement was made to offer these courses at the "graduate course" of the School in a separate building. The teaching seemed to have been conducted by American instructors in English. However, in 1880, a year after the revision of the Code, the short-term theology course was added to the "graduate course" for the instantaneous training of (Japanese) missionaries, being conducted in Japanese. In 1886, the unproclaimed "graduate course" was superseded by the officially announced theology course, which consisted of English and Japanese theology sections.

In parallel to these developments, there was another

---
24 Doshisha, op. cit., pp. 52-57.
important effort taking shape. That is, Doshisha Girls' School was built side by side Doshisha English School in 1877. According to the rules of the School in 1878, the classes were divided into the Japanese and English courses. The 1880 rules read that fifty students, over age twelve, were to be admitted and all of them were to go through, chronologically, the two-year preparatory course, three-year Japanese course, and four-year English course. In addition to English, the School was strongly oriented in liberal arts education. At first, two levels of study, most of the student's time was to be spent in the study of language, history, geography, hygiene, arithmetic, algebra, physics, chemistry, botany, moral sciences and astronomy; only one trimester was spent on the subject called "brush writing-composition-lectures-sewing" especially designed for the girls. In 1885 the Japanese course was abolished and the name of the remaining English course was changed into the futsuka or the regular course. In 1888, the professional course, normal course, literature course, and theology course were added to the regular course.

In December of 1875, another mission school was opened, but of the unprecedented type. Details of this school were not clear. However, we know that one Miura,

a native convert, founded a small school with seven students and four teachers, including one foreigner, and that the school, called Miura Girls' School was closed in January, 1878, probably due to financial difficulties.

In 1876 two mission schools were opened. One was Hara Girls' School, which was initiated by one Hara. It is not clear if Hara was a Christian, but a teacher he invited to teach was unmistakably a Christian. She was Mrs. Carothers, who had opened her own unsuccessful school in 1870 in Tokyo. But, like Miura's, Hara's school was closed in 1880 due to financial difficulties. Another school was Sakurai Girls' School opened by Sakurai Chika, a native Christian. Like the two previous schools, this School soon was faced with financial problems and in 1880, it was placed under the charge of the Northern Presbyterian. With this change, Yajima Kajiko, later a leading female Christian, was appointed as principal. She was helped by such persons as Mrs. M. T. True and Miss. Davis. It is believed that her principalship came as a solution to laws prohibiting foreign missionaries establishing a school outside of appointed areas. The School became Joshi Gakuin (Girls' School) in 1889, merging with Shinei Girls' School, another mission school.

Starting in 1877, a group of highly influential mission

---

27 Ibid., p. 485.
28 Ibid.
schools, which were ultimately amalgamated, were opened. The first school of this group appeared in 1877 under the name of Tokyo Ichi Shin-gakko (Tokyo Union Seminary). It was materialized as a direct result of the missionary cooperation movement taking place in Japan at that time; in this case, an alliance among missionaries of the Dutch Reformed, Northern Presbyterian, and United Presbyterian Church of Scotland was formed. Therefore, the Seminary was the combination and evolvement of the following private schools maintained by the different members of the alliance: Brown, Carrothers, Thompson, and Scotland Presbyterian's missionary's private schools of the Bible. The instructors of the Seminary were all foreigners: J. L. Amerman, William Embry, S. G. McClarren, C. Verbeck, and David Thompson.

There were a total of twenty-five students coming from the missionary's private schools, all of whom were theology majors; many of them later became Christian leaders in Japan.

The second school of the group was opened, or rather expanded, by John C. Ballagh in 1880 in Tokyo from his own "Ballagh School", which was, however, originated in 1875 from "Mrs. Hepburn's School" in Yokohama. Ballagh called his new school Tsukiji Daigakko (Tsukiji College). Incidentally there was another school (for English study) of the same

Their names guessed from Japanese pronunciation.
name opened by Carrothers; it was, however, short-lived. The original staffs of Ballagh's College were, in addition to himself as a principal, Thomas Alexander, Embry, James M. McCauley. There were also special instructor Henry Fowls, native professor Yamada Naotomi, and a native instructor for Chinese study, Yamada Mitsugu. They taught a total of twenty students at first. Soon three more foreign instructors, one native assistant, and approximately one hundred students joined the original group. Located in "exotic" "mission town" Tsukiji, where even (unconverted native) "bakers and milkmen feel like singing hymns", the College expanded rapidly for its excellent foreign teaching staff (for English), although only two graduates attended the first commencement in 1882 in the midst of more than three hundred guests of honor, both Japanese and Americans.

The third school of the group was opened in Yokohama in 1881 by Dutch Reformed missionary Martin N. Wyckoff, being called Senshi Gakko. It was originally designed for English study but classes on the Bible were also offered. At first there were only thirteen students. But in the following year, the number was increased to thirty-two; and two native instructors, one for English and the other for Chinese study, were employed. In 1883, however, the

Some of the names were guessed from Japanese pronunciation.
Senshi Gakko was merged into Ballagh's College in Tokyo, following the resolution passed by reginal missionaries. As a result of this amalgamation, the name of the college was changed to Tokyo Icchi Eiwa Gakko (Tokyo (Anglo-Japanese) Union College). Union College consisted, according to Wyckoff's planning, of a four-year college course called "Westminster Academy" and a two-year preparatory course called "Sandamu (Romanized) Academy". Further, the rules of the College stipulated that various courses were to be taught in English, but that at the same time classes in Japanese and Chinese were to be offered. Students seeking admission were expected to be over age fourteen with a proper academic background. For teaching, Wyckoff secured the service of three professors, plus one pending to join, who were all Americans; they were J. C. Ballagh for mathematics, Macaulay for psychology and history, Wyckoff himself for physics and chemistry, and an anonymous person. In addition, Wyckoff employed three assistant professors, two natives and O. Benton who was assigned for English. As the College grew, an arrangement was made in 1884 to separate the preparatory course; consequently, Eiway Yobi Ko (Anglo-Japanese Preparatory School) was opened under a native principal and with the teaching staffs, at least three of whom were visiting from Union College, of four Americans and two natives.

All of these three institutions we have discussed,
i.e., the Seminary, Union College, and the Preparatory School, grew rapidly. With this growth, plans were made, as happened to the missionary work, to unify separate educational endeavors for more effective Christian education. Thus, in 1886, all the three institutions joined together to form a Christian institute of higher learning called Meiji Gakuin.

In 1877, three mission schools were opened, two by British and one by American missionaries, though not much is known about them. In February, Miss. Campbell of United Presbyterian Church of Scotland opened her school and in the following year she had ten students. Miss. Shawhony of Anglican Episcopal founded a school. The number of students was approximately fifteen in the following year. But a school founded by Protestant Episcopal was far larger. In 1878, two teachers of the school, Misses Annie M. Blanchet and Pitman, had to teach eighty-five students.

The year 1878 witnessed the opening of a highly influential Methodist Episcopal mission school in Tokyo. It was a result of combined efforts of Julius Soper, an eminent Methodist missionary in Japan, and native Methodists, such as Furushima and Ikushima. Although the founders planned

31 Meiji gakuin kyuju-nen shi (A Ninety Years' History of Meiji Gakuin), (Tokyo, 1967?), pp. 52-87.
32 Aoyama Gakuin, op. cit., p. 214; some of the names are guessed from Japanese pronunciation.
to include the study of theology, they developed a kind of an English school, where English became the prime course of study, while Chinese studies and mathematics, the supplementary studies; the study of theology was not mentioned. The school was named Kokyo Gakusha. In 1880, it became an accredited "irregular" middle school, but not meeting full requirements of the Code for the middle school. Texts used in the section of English were all familiar: Webster's dictionary, Willson's Readers, Quackenbos' grammar, world history and physics, Mitchell's geography, Goodrich's American history, British history, Greek history, and Roman history, Chambers' modern history, Wayland's economics, Guizot's history of civilization, Wayland's moral sciences, the Bible, and Haven's physiology. Instructors for these books were all natives, although there was a plan of hiring one foreigner. In 1881, following the changes in the Board members, Gakusha had a new name, Tokyo Eigo Gakkyo (Tokyo English School). With this management, Mr. and Mrs. Harris and Mr. and Mrs. Bishop were added to the teaching staffs and a drastic change was made in the selection of texts. At the time of this new starting, there were only some thirty students, which, however, soon became a hundred.  

In 1879, two mission schools were opened, one by no other than Methodist missionary R. S. McGray and the other

---

33 Aoyama Gakuin, op. cit., pp. 63-79.
34 The name was gussed from Japanese pronunciation.
by Nakakura Masanao, a native Christian. McCray's school was unique in that it was intended, from the beginning, chiefly for the training of a Methodist evangelist in Japan. The school, called Mikai Shingakko (The Methodist Mission Seminary), had a little over ten students in October, 1879. But like any other mission school, even this Seminary had to offer English and traditional courses to attract students. When the Seminary was opened, in fact, there were only five students of theology and the rest belonged to the attached "regular" course, which in actuality meant English section, but which also had a section of Chinese studies (which included Japanese). At the time of the opening, rules had not yet been set, except that the section of theology required the three-year training period. Teachers too were not organized, arriving only after the arrival of students, who, incidentally, came to the school which still did not have buildings, nor principal, nor any other things but McCray's will! But soon, Milton Smith Vail arrived as a principal, and several others, such as M. C. Harris (who was hired by Kokyo Gakusha in Tokyo and visited here twice a week). Miss. Jennie S. Vail, sister of the principal, and Mr. and Mrs. Gideon F. Draper came to become the first teachers of the Seminary. There were also some native instructors. The course of study too was belatedly organized, consisting of the following subjects, the degree of emphasis being different in the two sections: the Bible, theology, English,
Chinese studies, geography, history, and physics. In addition, there were, for certain periods of the trimesters, McCray's lecture on preaching, Vail's on the life of Christ, Koreru's (Romanized, an assistant to McCray) structural theology, Sato's ethics and chemistry, Draper's psychology, Harris' moral sciences (the text used being Wayland's), and Soper's theology. All the courses, but Chinese studies, were taught in English.

The further development of the Seminary involved two other mission schools, i.e., Schoonmaker's Kaigan Girls' School and Soper and others' Kokyo Gakusha. All three institutions were merged into one to form Aoyama Gakuin, which was "one (institution) in three (bodies)."

In the same year when the Seminary opened, Nakamura Masanao, one of the most prominent enlightenment writers and the first principal of Tokyo Normal School for Girls, started his private girls' school attached to his well-known Doninsha private school. The school seems to have been composed of two sections of English and traditional studies with particular emphasis being paid to the former. However, in the section of English, the texts noticeably fewer in number than other mission schools, with the exception of the inclusions of Mill's *The Subjection of Women* (1869) and

---

36 Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 34.
Constitutions of Representative Government (1861). Besides English, there were classes in sewing, brush writing, and (probably Japanese) composition. Although the school had as many as a hundred students at one time, it was closed only in fifteen months, probably due to financial difficulties.

In addition to these mission schools we have discussed, there were still some other mission schools, all for girls: Kobe Girls' School in Kobe (1875), Shioan Girls' School in Osak (1875), Umehana Girls' School in Osaka (1877), and in 1879, Kassui Girls' School in Nagasaki, Nagasaki Girls' School, and Eisei Girls' School in Osaka.

In summary of the mission schools, several things should be noted. First, all the mission schools, except the seminaries, were designed in part or totally for teaching English and frequently other courses in English. Secondly, the dominance of English studies was closely related to the fact that the successful mission schools were supported by American organizations. Thirdly, those mission schools which were opened by native Christians and not supported by foreign organizations were typically short-lived; and those which could secure such support, like Doshisha and Joshi Gakuin, continued to flourish. Fourthly, most, but not all, mission schools were designed, totally or in part, for educating girls.

---

Aoyama, op. cit., pp. 455-459.
Indeed, as Hiratsuka Masunori and Tsuchiya Tadao noticed, these mission schools were pioneers of girls' schools in Japan; they also constituted highly influential forces in Japanese private schools, particularly schools for English learning. And finally, many mission schools opened during the time of the Code, or at least can be traced back to that period, are successful, and some highly influential, schools today; they are Rikkyo University, Ferris Joshi Gakuen, Doshisha University, Aoyama Gakuin University, Joshi Gakuin University, and Meiji Gakuin University.

CHAPTER VII
THE ASSIMILATION OF WESTERN EDUCATION, 1880-1912

This chapter deals with Western influences on Japanese education during the rest of the Meiji period, that is, from 1880 to 1912. Politically, the whole period is characterized by the rise of conservatism which was often indistinguishably mixed with Japanese nationalism, making a sharp contrast to Western worshipping during the time of bunmei kaika, or the first twelve years of the Meiji previously discussed. Education is affected by the same features, changing from the heavy reliance on Western, particularly Anglo-American, education to a high degree of selection of Western, particularly German, education.

The present chapter itself is divided into four parts: the emergence of conservatism in Japanese education (1880-1885); the consolidation of Japanese education (1886-1890); the culmination of conservatism in Japanese education (1890-1900); and the completion of the national education system (1900-1912). These four parts are designed to show the process of Japanese assimilation of Western education, beginning with the emergence of conservatism in Japanese education and ending with the completion of the Japanese
national education system. The four time divisions indicated in the four parts just mentioned are chosen in accordance with effective years of four different educational ordinances, all of which were proclaimed after the Code and Tanaka's Educational Ordinance. Like the Code and Tanaka's Ordinance, these four ordinances were directed toward the primary school. Consequently, the discussions which follow are trying to show how Western influences on Japanese education, or Japanese assimilation of them, took place during each period. After all, as we have often pointed out earlier, the prime purpose of this study is to investigate Western influences on the modernization of Japanese education, or the modernization of the popular education system for primary schooling.

The Emergence of Conservatism in Japanese Education, December 1880-August 1885

The years between 1880 and 1885 were the time when the Revised Ordinance was in effect. This first half of the 1880's, when the reactionary movement in education started in Japan, was characterized by a mixture of popularity of Westernization on one hand and an emergence of powerful conservatism on the other. But a close analysis shows that the nature of Westernization itself was twofold: the continuation to a considerably diminished degree of popular Westernization handed down from bunmei kaika during the
period of the Code, and the initiation of well-controlled Westernization launched by the government. Under the former category of Westernization, Western gadgets for the conveniences of life continued to flow into the country; a strong advocacy of improvements of various sorts after Western manners, such as theatrical performances, written letters, and even the Japanese race itself, attracted the considerable public attention; moreover, the study of English became increasingly popular. Probably under this category also falls a great success of People's Rights Movement, although we have to add that this movement tapered off after its successful appeal in 1881 to the promised opening of popular Diet and enactment of the Constitution, both of which were to take place in 1890.

The latter category of Westernization occurred in response to the success of the People's Rights Movement; and as the movement's pressure on the government gradually weakened because of its successful appeals, the government now had a freehand to introduce, from the West, what they considered best to meet the demands which the appeals created. The direct outcome was the government's leaning on Prussia for the preparation of the Constitution. Inoue Kowashi, with the help from resident German advisor Röesler, made several drafts of the Constitution, while Itō Hirobumi went to Germany to study the Constitution with Gneist, Mosse, and Lorenz von Stein, all distinguished scholars
of the Prussian Constitution. Both Inoue and Ito regarded the highly centralized constitutional monarchy of Prussia as most suitable to young Japan whose originally unstable power was even more undermined by the People's Rights movements. Inoue now openly denounced Fukuzawa Yukichi and his protégés and ousted Okuma Shigenobu, a leading British-styled liberalist, from the Cabinet. In parallel to the preparation of the Constitution, the government opened in 1883 Rokumeikan (Ballroom of Deer Belling) as a place of social gathering between Japanese dignitaries and foreign diplomats. The Ballroom was also intended as show-case for introduction of Western customs into Japan. Although the preparation of the Constitution and the opening of Rokumeikan initially did not have the same intention, their goals were definitely directed toward the removal of the unequal treaty.

In education, however, neither the continuous nor the well-controlled types of Westernization provided a leadership for the change. But rather, conservative factions led by Motoda Nagazane, a leading Confucian scholar and lecturer to the Emperor, and Nishimura Shigeki, the head of the Bureau of Reports of the Ministry of Education initiated the change from outright Westernization to conservatism, there was conflict between "enlightened" politicians, i.e.,

1 See pp. 108-109 of this study.
Ito and Inoue, and Motoda (and Nishimura) in their view of education. Motoda, for example, maintained in his "Kyogaku taishi" (Outline of Teaching) of 1879, that the current degradation of morality and public disrespect for the Emperor were caused by the educational system of the Code. In response, Ito in his "Kyoiku gi" (Views on Education) of 1879, which was actually drafted by Inoue Kowashi, that such degradation was not a result of the educational system but of the sudden overflow of Westernization to the country. They also differed in the materials of instruction; Motoda regarded Confucian books as most important, placing modern (Western) books on the periphery, while Ito reversed the order. However, both agreed that the respect for the Emperor and morality should be taught in schools; but their views of the quantity of such instructions were understandably different. Further, both of them, particularly Motoda, opposed the anachronism of fanatic Confucianists. Therefore, whoever, Ito or Motoda, or a Western-styled "enlightened" bureaucrat or a determined conservative scholar, took the initiation for the educational change, new Japanese education

3 Ibid., pp. 67-69.
4 Ibid., pp. 70-71. This feeling of Motoda was expressed in his other article called "Kyoiku Fugi" (Further Views on Education) written in 1879.
was to be very different from previously highly pro-Western education under the Code and the Ordinance, since both Ito and Motoda's views were strongly Emperor-oriented. Both Motoda's much more powerful views prevailed chiefly because Ito was more actively involved in both domestic and international political affairs, than in educational policy-making. Motoda, on the other hand, with the help of Nishimura and other officials at the Ministry, had worked out a definite plan along his "Outline of Teaching." Further, Motoda's triumph was also caused by the fact that neither Inoue, another powerful enlightened bureaucrat, nor leaders of People's Rights movement, had prepared their plans for national education (their drafts of the Constitution).

No one seems to have been interested in education, but Motoda and his followers.

Even though conservatives led by Motoda took an upper hand in leading Japanese education to conservatism, they, nevertheless, had shown some reservation for introducing Western ideas and methods. They believed that they could not win popular support simply by advocating Confucian morality. Consequently, they sought Western ideas which sounded similar to what they believed. As Ito and Inoue did in the political field, they also thought the well-

---

regimented Prussian educational system and its state-oriented classroom values more akin to the Japanese than those of any other country. The conservatives, therefore, used German literature for reinforcing their position, and when they could not find what they wanted in these writings, they made no scruples about utilizing English sources, frequently twisting original ideas. The conservatives, then, had established a highly selected channel of Western information in accordance with their positions. And although they relied mostly on German sources, they made a careful choice even from them; if they still could not find what they needed, they then used the English sources. They did not tolerate an indiscriminatory introduction of Western ideas as was witnessed during the time of the Code, because they were supported by the Emperor and high government officials.

Despite such high selectivity, however, some sources were hardly identified though we know they were Western. One of the instances of this kind happened when the Ministry revised Tanaka's Educational Ordinance in December 1880, under the name of the Revised Ordinance. Prior to its proclamation, the Ministry sent, with the draft of the Ordinance, an article called "Kyoikurei kaisai an o joso suru no ki (The Rationale of the Submission of the Draft of the Revision of the Ordinance of Education)" to the Cabinet. According to the "Rationale", the Ministry believed that the failure of the previous Ordinance was
"due not to the inadequacy of (its) system but rather to the failure to exercise proper interference." In fact, as the Ministry continued, "no civilized nations leave their national education nonintervened"; even England, once far inferior to other European nations in the introduction of national education because of its non-interference policy, was forced to intervene for improvement. The chief proponent of this new interference policy was undoubtedly Kono Togama, the present Minister of Education, an ex-leader of the People's Rights movement. He expressed exactly the same belief shortly prior to the submission of the "Rationale"; we are not quite sure, however, what sources he used. So the Revision was conducted by those, who knew something about Western educational systems, but those who tried, like Motoda, to push the role of the state, or the Emperor himself for that matter, to the forefront of education. More specifically, the "Rationale", as commonly practised in German, stipulated that both the teacher and the members of the local board of education be appointed by the governor, a local representative of the state. Further, many other important items, such as required period

---

6 Inatomi Eijiro, Meiji shoki kyoiku shiso no kenkyu (A Study of Early Meiji Educational Ideas), (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 155-156.

of attendance and employment of teachers, were subject to the minute inspection of the governor and the members of the board.

But "shogakko kyosoku koryo" (The Outline of Rules of the Primary School), which was published to set guidelines for the practice of the Revised Ordinance, seems to have been influenced by German views. Among the changes stated in the "outline", including three (instead of two) divisions of the primary schooling, the most important were the following two: that morality was placed first at each level as most important, and that the general course of studies was reorganized in such a way that the continuity of study was achieved at each level and the practicality of learning was maximized. Thus, the Revised Ordinance presumably corrected the most serious defects of the Code and the Ordinance of 1879, i. e., lack of moral instruction and of practicality. The Revised Ordinance, unlike the Code, also offered criteria by which the body of knowledge at each grade could be adequately judged. And since the framework of each subject was clearly shown, it also prompted the efforts of text-making in the modern sense. Anyhow, that morality and practicality constitute the core of the Revised Ordinance can probably be attributed in great part to Die Lehrgegenstände der Volksschule (The Course of Study of People's School (1872) in Prussia) or such contemporary equivalents in other German states; for the Germans did
exactly the same.

The "Shogaku kyoin kokoroe" (The Rules of Good Behaviors for the Primary School Teachers), however, were taken from American sources, but in a distorted way. The "Rules" were directed toward the teacher to reinforce a new educational policy outlined in the Revised Ordinance and the "Outline"; they were prepared by Egi Kazuyuki, a leading royalist scholar. Two things stood out as characteristics. One was that teachers were responsible for leading students "to be loyal to the Imperial household, to love the country, to be filial to the parents, to show respect to elders, and to be true to friends," the teachings of Confucianism; in the similar context, the "Rules" also state that the teachers should be concerned more with the goodness of the students rather than with erudition of the students. The other one was that the teacher was prohibited from participating in any type of political (and religious) activities to save the students from falling into contentious factionalism. Egi himself stated that the first characteristic had its origin in James Pyle Wickersham's School Economy (which had already been translated by Mitsukuri Rinsho in 1874, as we recall) and James Johonnot's Principles and Practice of Teaching.

---
9 Matsumoto and Suzuki, op. cit., pp. 77-79.
(ideas of which were probably given by Takamine Hideo, who published its translation later). But what Egi did not state was his reliance on Motoda for his description of the teachers, the second characteristics. It is true that both Wickersham and Johonnot, together with other American educators known to the Japanese, placed the character of the teacher equally important or more important than the knowledge he possessed. But the American educators never carried the arguments to the point of the teachers' complete obedience to the central government (to the Emperor in Japan), nor did they, unlike the "kokoroe", ignore the discussions on pedagogic and administrative abilities of running schools, both requiring a great degree of the teachers' initiative. In "kokoroe", the teachers were expected to be skilful, kind, and "diligent" in whatever they did within the framework set by the government; but they were, in fact, deprived of a kind of initiative which allowed them to question the framework itself.

The new conservative educational system had a great impact not only on a series of the Ministerial ordinance and rules, but also on the textbook compilation. As a first step, the Ministry required in 1883 that all books,

currently used or to be used in the future, be approved by them. The main purpose of these restrictions was to eliminate inappropriate or too liberal texts from the classroom; and understandably most of the translated texts and enlightenment books which flourished during the Code were the first to be attacked and removed. Then, Japanese, not translated, even from German, books appeared in great numbers. In the area of morality, for example, Nishimura Shigeki edited a model text. Texts on Japanese, history, and geography were also written by the Japanese who used Japanese sources. In these books, there was always space saved for cultivating patriotic spirit and respect for the Emperor. At the same time, the history of Western nations disappeared from texts. The only exceptions were texts for natural sciences, particularly in the fields of physics, natural history, and botany. Most of these texts were translated from American, British, French, or German sources. Emphasis was usually placed on observations rather than on theoretical analysis of the natural phenomena; this may be due in part to Pestalozzianism of the time and to general disapproval of intellectual analysis, however simple it might be.

We should not fail to mention that even during the period of Tanaka's Ordinance, similar restrictions did exist for a different reason and with lesser power of enforcement. Mombusho, Gakusei goju-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of the Code of Education), (Tokyo, 1922), p. 161.
be, in favor of moral cultivation.

German-oriented conservatism also produced a strong movement in the area of pedagogy, which was commonly known as kaihatsu shugi (The Method of Inner Development). The goal of the "Inner Development" movement was presumably Pestalozzian idea of inner development by means of the object lesson. Since Pestalozzi was born on the German side of Switzerland, the Japanese "Inner Development" movement was obviously originated in German pedagogy; however, this pedagogy was introduced to Japan by way of the United States through American books as we shall soon examine. We have mentioned that the "Outline" was mainly responsible for making educators conscious of text-making and of the continuation of the course of study in the classroom. We have also stated that the "Rules" was more concerned with the good behavior than with the improvement of teaching techniques of the teachers. Consequently, what was most wanted for the teachers was a kind of officially recognized teaching methodology which went along with guidelines set in

the "Outline", and which at the same time should not be revolutionary enough to have conflicts with the teachers' behaviors. The result was the publication of *Kaisei kyojuho* (The Pedagogy for the Revised Ordinance) in three volumes in 1882 and in two more volumes in 1883. They were written by Shirai Tsuyoshi and Wakabayashi Torasaburo and published by the Ministry. These books started a chain of events which culminated in the highly publicized educational movement called *kaihatsu shugi* (The Doctrine of Inner Development).

The underlying ideas or even the terms *kaihatsu shugi* (Inner Development) were not so new as the book *kaisei kyojuho*. In fact, the ideas described in them echoed those expounded by Hart, Page, and Sheldon, Pestalozzi's followers in the late 1870's. The main difference was a shift of the object which the ideas were used to support. Hart, Page, and Sheldon were interested in the question of how visible things were to be introduced and taught in the classroom in order for the child to develop his innate qualities, whereas Shirai and Wakabayashi were concerned presumably with the question of how the inner development of the child should be cultivated by using visible objects in the classroom. Therefore, the former was the advocate of the object lesson, while the latter, the inner development, both following the Pestalozzianism with a different emphasis. Logically, we can explain the process of the change: once the method of the object lesson was perfected, the teacher now could pay
attention to the nature of the student who was to be taught by the new method. Or we can put it this way: the perfection of the method of object lesson could never be attained without the knowledge of the student, the recipient of the object lesson. But this process did not happen in Japan despite the efforts of Shirai and Wakabayashi. At this point, let us recall that the prime technique of the Japanese object lesson was the method of question-and-answer and that this method fell into formalism because of the teacher's overwhelming concern with the simultaneous instruction or his great expectation of receiving "simultaneous" parrot-like answers from his class. With this formalism, the object lesson lost its appeal and steadily declined in influence. Thus, the shobutsu shikyo or object lesson and issei jugyo or simultaneous instruction, two prime fads of the Code, were buried in oblivion. Further, we also recall that Spencerism appeared with considerable influences after the object lesson. But for its allegedly "free" attitudes towards education, Spencerism was frowned upon by the Ministry. Before anything meaningful came about from it, Spencerism in education also died out when the People's Rights movement was over. Consequently, both the teacher and the Ministry needed new slogans for their direction and stimulation for

---
the new Revised Ordinance. The Ministry found the method of "Inner Development". But we know that Pestalozzi advocated the object lesson in order that the student develop from within through his own observations and contacts with objects presented in the classroom; he definitely would believe that the object lesson and the method of "Inner Development" were inseparable, since they were derived from the same source. However, the Japanese indeed separated them, the object lesson during the time of the Code, and the "Inner Development" during the period of the Revised Ordinance. And such dichotomy, occurring in two different periods seems to be a main cause for an eventual failure of both movements.

Compared to the ideas, the term "Inner Development" looks relatively new. It was first used by both Isawa and Takamine at Tokyo Normal School around 1879. Although it had been nonchalantly used by others for time. The influences of Isawa and Takamine were still confined to the Normal School circles. The term became popular when Kaisei kyojuho was published. The book was an instant success and started the movement of kaihatsu shugi during the rest of the 1880's. It was compiled by the suggestion and with the

---


15 Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 292-293.
help of Takamine, because both authors, Shirai and Wakabayashi were his students at the School. The drafts were first prepared by both for teachers' study meetings held in Fukushima. Reflecting the occasions, the book consisted mostly of minute descriptions of teaching plans for all subjects described in the Ordinance. But as an introduction to the plans, there were brief discussions on the topics of "principles of teaching methods", "guidelines for asking questions", necessity of methodology books", and "criticisms or evaluations". Although the exact sources of the teaching plans are unknown, if existent at all, we have some clues in these introductory discussions. We shall, therefore, deal with the first three topics in full detail.

The first discussions were based on many Western educators. First, there were nine "principles" in the Book:

"(1) The nature of child is in activity," "(2) cultivate the mind and other powers according to the law of nature," "(3) start with senses," "(4) start with fundamentals in teaching subjects," "(5) do one thing at a time," etc.

18 Quoted in Japanese in Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 299-300. They were translated by the writer of this study and therefore cannot be exactly the same words with Sheldon's.
But we know that these are almost identical with words of Sheldon in "Pestalozzian Plans and Principles" in his A Manual of Elementary Instruction (the title being translated from Japanese). For this indisputable indebtedness, Shirai and Wakabayashi did not give Sheldon's name. However, they openly revealed the names of several benefactors for the introductory part of the book, such as Pestalozzi, Froebel, Louis Agassiz (who was a scholastic mentor of Morse, as we recall), Spencer, and Alexander Bain. Shirai and Wakabayashi, however, said more than they intended to say by enumerating these names; that is, the juxtaposition of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Louis Agassiz undoubtedly shows that both used, in addition to Sheldon, James Johannot's Principles and Practice of Teaching for their book, because these three names (mind that the last two names were obscure in Japan) usually appeared in a group as three great Western educators after Johannot's book was translated in 1885, two years prior to the publication of Kaisei kyojuho. This sounds very curious. But since one of the translators was Takamine Hideo, the other being Ariga Nagao, they may have given some

19 Inatomi, op. cit., pp. 300-301. Sheldon is said to have hanged ten "Pestalozzian Principles" on the wall of the Oswego Normal School, which are quoted in English in the following book and indeed identical, with the exception of one, with the principles just mentioned: Kaikoku Hyakumen Kinon Bunka Jigyo Kai, ed., Nichibei bunka kosho shi (A Complete History of Cultural Interchange between the United States and Japan), Vol. III, (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 377-378.

20 Inatomi, ibid., pp. 293-294.
information to Shirai and Wakabayashi. The latter also mentioned the unfamiliar name of Alexander Bain as one of the benefactors. He was a prominent British logician and psychologist and an author of *Education as a Science* (1878). His book was translated into Japanese in 1883. Even though Bain was not so popular as Johonnot in Japan, he was still relatively influential. Exactly how the original or translated book of Bain fell into the hand of Shirai and Wakabayashi and how it was used by them is not clear. But there is no doubt that the wide circulation of Bain's translation, together with the popularity of Johonnot, contributed in some ways to their *Kaihasei kyojuho* and the subsequent movement of the "Inner Development". These two books were, in fact, the only translated books of great influence during this period, with the exception of

---

21 The details of Johonnot's book are described in *Ibid.*, pp. 243-254. It is sufficient to point out here that a particular attention was given to the inseparable nature of the object lesson and the learner's inner development and to the harmonious cultivations of body, intellect, and morality. And from Inatomi's descriptions we can conclude rather definitely that Johonnot did not discuss teaching plans, much less made them.

22 It was translated by Soeda Juichi in 1883 under the Japanese title of *Bain-shi kyoiku gaku*. According to the summary given by Inatomi, Bain defined education as a group of experiences taking place only at school, and concluded that intellectual cultivation, and not moral or physical, accomplishments constituted the core of school experiences, and that memory was in turn the central component of the intellect. He further explained the object lesson to demonstrate his points. *Inatomi, Ibid.*, pp. 255-260.
Spencer's. Anyhow, Kaisei kyojuho of Shirai and Wakabayashi owed not only directly to Johonnot, but also to Spencer, Bain, Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Agassiz. But unlike most of the educational books during the Code, it was not a word-by-word translation of any single Western book, but rather an interpretation of several Western books, made in the context of the authors' own experiences with Japanese education. Kaisei kyojuho, then, clearly symbolizes the changing attitude of the Japanese toward Western education, from awe and wonder to artful assimilation.

The sources of the second article in the introduction of the book, i.e., "guidelines for asking questions," are not mentioned but probably can be attributed in part to Page, who first introduced to Japan the method of asking questions in the object lesson. The presence of this article is symbolic of the whole movement of the "Inner Development." For one thing, it functions as a bridge between the object lesson of the previous era and the "Inner Development" of the new one (which we have pointed out as dichotomy a moment ago) in that the main component of the former, i.e.,

---

23 As compared to the previous era of the Code, the translated books during the time of the Revised Ordinance are fewer in number and less influential; the only exceptions were, as just pointed out, books of Johonnot, Bain, and Spencer. As we have seen, however, the most popular educational book was Kaibatsu kyojuho, which was not word-by-word translation of a foreign book.

24 See p. 279 of this study.
the question-and-answer, also became the main component of the latter. In other word, the presumably new movement of the "Inner Development" still carried old wind in a new bag, the carriers not knowing it. Not surprisingly, the model teaching plans described in Kaisei kyojuho were all written in the question-and-answer method. But with these elaborate plans, prepared by an expert and developed during the previous era, the book took that method and the object lesson in the wrong direction. Contradictorily, the "Method of Inner Development" now came to place even more emphasis on the question-and-answer method than the previous shobutsu shikyo or the object lesson. Further, as the "Rules" opened a way for an increasing initiative of teachers, more and more attention was paid to the question-and-answer method. Eventually, the movement of the "Method of Inner Development", too, fell into the same formalism as the movement of the object lesson of the previous era, both victims of the question-and-answer method.

25 Examples of teaching plans of morality and natural history are respectively shown in Taka Akiyama, Kindai nihon kyoiku shi (A History of Modern Japanese Education), (Tokyo, 1956), pp. 117-119, and in Itakura, op. cit., pp. 141-144.
26 According to Makiyama Eiji, "...the classroom teachers at that time did not understand the true meaning of the Anschuung (chokkan shugi), replacing the kaihatsu method by the question-and-answer method...the Kaihatsu kyojuho is in a way exemplars of that method." Kokumin Kyoiku Shorei Kai, ed., op. cit., p. 191.
Although an educational emphasis changed from the object lesson to the "Inner Development", the teacher still dominated the classroom, and became even more interested in the formalism of the question-and-answer method. A model teacher of the Revised Ordinance was, therefore, upright in his morality, enthusiastic in the development of his teaching technique, but reserved enough not to undermine the Ordinance by constant questionings. This is exactly what the Revised Ordinance and the "Rules of Good Behaviors for the Primary School Teacher" expected of him. The movement of the "Inner Development" was, in a word, a servant of the Revised Ordinance.

To ask the sources of the third article in the introduction or the "necessity of methodology books" is obviously irrelevant. The article is more a suggestion than an introduction of new ideas. Nevertheless, the suggestion was to the point because there was a general absence of books in methodology. In fact, Kaisei kyojuho was, curiously enough, almost the single book of this sort during the period. As we recall, Johannott, Bain, and Spencer simply laid out the principles without discussing the methods. The absence of various methodology books may have caused the eventual failure of the "Inner Development" movement.

According to Kurota Teiji, there were three reasons for the failure, including the present one. Other two were: first, misled conception of the kaihatsu shugi in that the mere presence of the question-and-answer method was interpreted as an indication of the student's initiative, and secondly, the lack of adequate dissemination of the kaihatsu shugi. See Inagaki, op. cit., pp. 110-111.
Despite the failures of "Inner Development", however, the protagonists of the movement, the teacher and Pestalozzi, brought new dimensions to the curriculum and self-image of the teacher. As often pointed out, the "Inner Development" caused enthusiasm on the part of the teacher. This means that in the daily classroom setting the teacher was not only interested in developing his skills in teaching but also in securing teaching aids of various kinds necessary for his teaching. But the financial predicament of the school in the early 1880's made it difficult for him to obtain them. He, then, with all the dedication and initiative, had to make the aids by himself: specimens, models, instruments, charts, and all. But before these aids helped students learn of their own accord in compliance with the true interpretation of the "Inner Development", they were regarded by administrators as tools to aid the students "to develop 29 their preference for labor" and to form the habit of saving. Soon the "Inner Development" was interpreted as a kind of movement which encouraged the children of peasants and laborers to promote their capability for production. As a result, by 1887 efforts to open vocational courses in the primary school received a wide attention. This new interpretation of the :Inner Development" was not necessarily prompted by the financial difficulties alone, but also by the emergence of capitalism in Japan which necessitated a

---

29 Kaneko Teruki, op. cit., p. 298.
large labor force from the peasants and city laborers.

The image of the ideal teacher, so far an obscure one, began to take a definite form in the mind of the teacher as a result of the "Inner Development". As the teacher became more and more enthusiastic, he needed a model. And it was not difficult for him to find one. The man was Pestalozzi, the author of the object lesson during the period of the Code and the "Inner Development" during the period of the Revised Ordinance. But he was more than just an author to the Japanese. He was often described as a man of great dedication to the school, to the children, and to the community development, reminiscent of an ideal Confucian teacher. But unlike the Confucian teacher, Pestalozzi was believed to be a man of initiative in search of modern principles and scientific methodologies of teaching. In a word, he possessed not only the great morality of the traditional Confucian teacher, but also the progressivism of the Western schoolmaster, the embodiment of an ideal

31 Sugiura Jugo sounded typical of the Japanese view of Pestalozzi when he states, in his translation entitled Kyoikushi (History of Education) (1887), as follows: "(Although Pestalozzi was not a man of great ability nor of outstanding scholar,) he had no comparisons in his enthusiasm for the development of human intellect and in his insatiable desire to love others; so much so that he, after Christ, sacrificed himself for the welfare of men." Quoted in Obara Kuniyoshi, ed., Nihon shin kyoiku hyaku-nen shi (A New Centennial History of Japanese Education), Vol. I, (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 61-62.
teacher. Thus, the Pestalozzian cult started in Japan, ebbing only after the World War II. But such popular acceptance of Pestalozzi does not automatically ensure the true understanding of him. Johannot, for example, made a utilitarian interpretation of Pestalozzianism with strong emphasis on provision of practical knowledge but with less emphasis on the cultivation of the self of learners, both somewhat deviating from the main stream of original

For example, one principal named Hikita in a primary school in the suburbs of Tokyo was called "Japanese Pestalozzi" in Reporter Sugimoto Eiichi's Japan's Pestalozzi: Principal Hikita (1934). Hikita, after a bankruptcy of the village, received only half the regular salary but devoted more than ever to the teaching and welfare of his students. His health declined sharply due to extreme poverty and died in 1896, after twelve years of principalship. After his death his students overcame the village's financial problems and made the village a model case in the neighborhood. Although his scholastic connection with Pestalozzi was not certain, he was called a Pestalozzi. See Obara Kuniyoshi, ed., Nihon shin kyoiku hyaku-nen shi (A New Centennial History of Japanese Education), Vol. IV, (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 373-374.

Osada Arata also called Konishi Shigenao, an eminent educator and one-time president of Kyoto University, a person like Pestalozzi who "is a God-man who connects a world of man to that of God." Osada's comment was made around the turn of the twentieth century. Kato Neihei, Konishi Shigenao (A Biography of Konishi Shigenao), p. 2.

Further, principal Sawayamagi of Aoyama Normal School in Tokyo and others started Pestalozzi Memorial Meetings in 1906 in commemoration of one hundred and sixtieth birthday of Pestalozzi. The Meetings are believed to have been widely spread among other normal schools. Obara, op. cit., Vol. IV, pp. 370-371. Also in 1922, at least eleven young teachers organized the Pestalozzian Society together, determining to "devote their whole life to education" and to "promote their mutual study." Again whether they studied exclusively Pestalozzian ideas and methodology is not clear but the odds are not on their side. Ibid., p. 372.

It seems that the Japanese called any dedicated teacher a Pestalozzi, instead of a Confucius.
Pestalozzianism. Johonnotian Pestalozzianism was further colored when the Japanese saw the morality as the prime feature, an obvious departure from both original and Johonnotian Pestalozzianism. It is true that Pestalozzi did emphasize the importance of morality; but this was more a result of an independent spirit of an individual, who would take full responsibility for his action, than a conformity to a moral framework set by the government. Pestalozzi was used as a Western authority to justify a new educational policy of the "Outline" and Pestalozzian individualism was transformed into the enthusiasm and diligence of a moral man.

As indicated earlier, the period of the Revised Ordinance was characterized not only by the revival of the traditional educational attitude but also to a lesser degree by the continuation of the bunmei kaika. The latter characteristics were expressed in two ways in the field of education: the increasing popularity of the English study and the opening of several private law schools in response to the People's Rights movement.

---

33 For Inagaki Tadahiko's excellent analysis in this matter, see his book, ibid., pp. 61-77, 111-113.

The popularity of the English study was the reflection of the ohka netsu or Westernization fever of the time, a phenomenon which was most outrightly expressed in the opening of the Ballroom of Deer Belling. At Tokyo Normal School for Girls, for example, newly-admitted students in 1884 and 1885 reported that there were balls, dancing, Christian celebrations, and violin-and-organ playing at school, a miniature of Ballroom gatherings. Most mission schools undoubtedly did similar things. Although such events took place in certain schools such as above, it is still not fair to say that the Westernization boom in schools was an exceptional phenomenon. The important thing is that these schools were considered as advanced model schools, of which most others tried to emulate. The study of English was far more wide-spread than the balls and instrument playing. Fukuzawa's Keio Gijyuku, for example, had more foreign instructors (most of whom were probably either Americans or Englishmen than ever before or after; out of twenty-six Keio instructors employed between 1882 and 1887, as many as nine were the foreigners. The recollections of one

35 Karasawa Tomitaro, Gakusei no rekishi (A History of Students), (Tokyo, 1955), p. 60.
graduate of Sakurai Jogakko also bear witness to the popularity of English study when she said that "the Westernization fever took hold of the Japanese, who feverishly claimed that new culture started with Western clothes and new civilization with English" and that "I, as well as others, thought that those who did not study English was not a man at all."\(^{38}\) Another graduate of the school also recalled that Friday was called English day and those who uttered Japanese, even a word of it, were fined.\(^{39}\)

However, we should not forget the presence of numerous mission schools when it came to the study of English. In fact, these schools as a whole constituted the core of the English language study in Japan during the period.\(^{40}\) It was not accidental, then, that some of the highly influential mission schools, such as Doshisha, Aoyama, Meiji Gakuin, and Rikkyo, all by this time called themselves English schools in one way or another. Doshisha Girls' School even abolished the section of Japanese language in favor of the English in 1885! Naturally, the mission schools continued

\(^{37}\) See p. 354 of this study for further information.

\(^{38}\) Quoted in Inatomi, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59.

\(^{39}\) Ibid., p. 59.

\(^{40}\) The mission schools were the only schools which offered English lessons at the primary school level. Under the Ordinance, the lessons were offered only to middle school students upwards.
to grow during the period. At least ten mission schools, most of which were for girls, were opened during the period of the Revised Ordinance. Among these were Sendai Shingakko, a predecessor of Tohoku Gakuin, which was opened by Oshikawa Masayoshi and William E. Hoy, and Kyaroru Gakko (Carroll's School), a forerunner of Chinzei Gakuin, which was opened in 1881 by Carroll Summerfield Long. Generally speaking, however, most of the new mission schools were less influential than existing ones and their major clientele were confined to those in specific localities rather than from all over the country.

In parallel to the popularity of the study of English, several highly influential private law schools appeared. As we recall, the year 1880 was earmarked not only by victorious appeals by the People's Rights leaders to the promised opening of the popular Diet, but also by the enactment of the first bodies of Japanese modern laws, i.e., Civil Laws and Criminal Laws. But since the appeals and the preparation of the laws were heavily influenced by French thinkers and French legal advisors who were employed by the Japanese government, the French laws naturally

---

received an initial attention. Tokyo Hogakusha, the first of the group of private law schools, was opened in 1880, not surprisingly, by Japanese scholars in French laws and journalists aligned with the People's Rights leaders; and Gustave Emile Boissonade, a distinguished legal advisor from France to the government, served as head teacher of the school from 1881. 42 In the very same year, another law school Senshu Gakko, was opened by Soma Nagatane, Megata Tanetaro, and other persons who had returned from America; this school was intended for teaching laws to working students in Japanese. In 1881, Meiji Horitsu Senmon Gakko was opened by Japanese jurists in French laws. 43 44

In 1882, highly influential law school called Tokyo Senmon Gakko was opened by Okuma Shigenobu, a leading British-type liberal politician, in cooperation with Ono Azusa. From its inception the school was intended for more than just the study of laws. Two major features of the school were, in addition to the provision of lessons in laws, the establishment of the Section of Political Sciences and Economics and the Section of Natural Sciences, and an

42 Hosei Daigaku hachijyu-nen shi (A Eighty Years' History of Hosei University), (Tokyo, 1961), pp. 14-17.
43 The NRDJ, op. cit., Vol. VI, p. 198.
44 Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 222.
exclusive use of Japanese language in the classroom. Both features were politically as well as nationalismally motivated. The first feature was meant not only as an encouragement of the study of Anglo-American liberalism, but also as a blow to French-dominated People's Rights circles and German-dominated government offices. The second feature was not an indication of Okuma's parochialism, because he also had the Section of English in his school; rather, it was intended for the attainment of academic freedom in Japan. Okuma believed that as the Japanese spoke foreign languages at institutes of higher learning, everywhere, particularly at Tokyo University, the people could never obtain academic freedom. Because of such highly attractive goals and Okuma's respectable standing in Japanese politics, the school grew rapidly, competing

Fukuzawa's Keio Gijuku. Four years after the opening of Tokyo Senmon Gakko, Igirisu Horitsu Gakko (English Law School) was built by those who felt that "few persons know applications of laws which are most advanced in Anglo-American laws." In summary, all the law schools mentioned so far were opened in Tokyo and all have grown into leading


Quoted in Chuo Daigaku shi (A History of Chuo University), (Tokyo, 19--), p. 4; pp. 1-5 are referred to for the rest of information contained in this paragraph.
private universities today: Tokyo Hogakko into Hosei Daigaku, Senshu Gakko into Seshu Daigaku, Meiji Horitsu Senmon Gakko into Meiji Daigaku, Tokyo Senmon Gakko into Waseda Daigaku, and Igirisu Horitsu Gakko into Chuo Daigaku. And all of them, with the exception of earliest days of Tokyo Hogakko, were started by the Japanese without any direct assistance from Westerners.

The popularity of the English study, the continuous growth of mission schools, and emergence of private law schools indicate that despite reactionary policies of the "Outline", people were free to open whatever types of school they chose. But this was not always true. In many places, the government did interfere with individuals who made an attempt in their own schools in conflict with the "Outline". Take a school opened by Kageyama Eiko in 1882, for instance. It was located in Okayama Prefecture for the purpose of "teaching (local) girls from poor families" and the promotion of the "status of females", thereby "eliminating one of the old customs of our country." The teaching methods employed were progressive, including public debates and speeches. Seeing the increasing Western influences and possible conflicts with them, the local officials arrested Kageyama by trickery in 1884 and thus put an end to her school.  

---

47 Tamashiro Hajime, Meiji Kyoiku shi (A History of Meiji Education), (Tokyo, 1949), pp. 116-119; Kagaeyama later changed her name into Fukuda following her marriage and became a leading figure in the movement calling for equal rights for Japanese women; NRDJ, Vol. VIII, pp. 304-305.
This incident gives a somewhat different interpretation of the discussions so far. It is possible to speculate that the study of English was popular or left unchecked because the government needed it for its unfinished modernization efforts; that the presence of the mission schools helped the government cater to Western nations to remove the unequal treaty; and that the government could not do anything effective to prevent private law schools from opening, simply because all of these were established in Tokyo, a stronghold of the People's Rights movement. If the present speculations are true, the government, indeed, showed a substantial control of schools of all types in this period, and the enforcement of the "Outline" was essentially successful.

In conclusion, Western influences on Japanese education during this period are more selective in terms of certain educational ideas and more diversified in terms of the countries which brought such influences to Japan than the previous era. German influences were seen in preparation of the "Outline", the most important rules which gave practical guidelines for the Revised Ordinance. The French, indirectly and along with the Anglo-Americans, contributed to the opening of private law schools. Both England and America helped the Japanese learn about modern educational theories and methods. America, in particular, provided valuable assistance in opening mission schools which offered
the English study and which expanded female education. But overall, the most outstanding feature of the period was not alien influences themselves, but the increasing Japanese initiative to form education inline with their traditions or the Japanese effort to "naturalize" education; and it was only for this purpose that the Japanese introduced with a relatively high degree of success, Western educational ideas and methods which fit the framework they prepared. This is why the adoption of things Western became increasingly selective.

The Revised Ordinance was revised again in order to alleviate the financial burdens imposed upon parents. Obviously, the financial assistance which the Ordinance prescribed was nominal. And with financial difficulties mounting day by day, it was soon brought to naught. The revision was carried out in August 1885 under the new name of the New Revised Ordinance. However, as the country's economy went from bad to worse, it was revised within less than a year in April 1886, this time under the strong leadership of Mori Arinori.

*The Consolidation of Japanese Education, April 1886-October 1890*

The years between 1886 and 1890 were the time when the Primary School Ordinance prepared by Minister Mori Arinori was in effect. Mori took office as the first
Minister of Education under the country's first modern cabinet system put into effect in December 1885. The present Ordinance was just one of four major Ordinances, three others being for the Imperial University, the Middle School, and the Normal School, all of which were prepared and proclaimed by Mori in quick succession. Before we undertake our discussions, we should realize that although the Primary School Ordinance shall remain to be our major concern, its relationship to other Ordinances should not be omitted. Such treatment is particularly important, because Mori, in order to consolidate Japanese education for the first time, proclaimed separate Ordinances for different schools, each having definite goals but united as one organism striving for higher common goal under his strong leadership. We shall resume our discussions on Ordinances in some details shortly afterward. For a moment, it is sufficient to say that Mori, as an author of these Ordinances, shall draw our great attention; in fact, the period is more adequately characterized by Mori's era rather than by the Primary School Ordinance's.

The period started essentially as a continuation of the former period, the country finding its equilibrium between ultra-conservatism and extreme foreign disposition for anything. But the continuation did not last long. For one thing, the People's Rights movement again became politically active with the introduction of the modern
cabinet system, with the formation of political parties, and with the prospect of oncoming proclamation of the Constitution and opening of the popular Diet. But as the government tightened its control exactly for the same reasons, the more vulnerable People's Rights leaders became desperate and increasingly violent, staging riots in several places, all in vain. The frustrations mounted, but their protests against the land taxes, restrictions on free speech and congregations, or on the terms of the revision of the unequal treaty continued and more frustrations followed. Naturally, newly emerging conservatives and ultra-nationalists became extremely alarmed by such developments and they, like the government, too, embarked upon counterattacks. Eventually, both the government and the ultra-nationalists even cooperated in suppressing the People's Rights movement and at the same time in denouncing all kinds of outright Westernization which the People's Rights movement never totally represented. In a word, the country became nationalistic. It is true that balls of Ballroom of Deer Belling still continued, but its activity reached its climax in April 1887 when Ito Hirobumi, now Japan's first modern Prime Minister, sponsored a masked ball with over four hundred guests, both Japanese dignitaries and Western diplomats. But the ball no longer signified the general mood of the country, and the so-called "Rokumeikan Era" (An Era of the Ballroom of Deer Belling) ended suddenly
when the negotiations of the revision of the unequal treaty, the prime purpose of the opening of the Ballroom, were not materialized after all. It was, then, not totally surprising for us to hear that in the very same year of the closing of the Ballroom, notorious "peace regulations" were issued, with the intent of suppressing the People's Rights movement. Further, it is true that the new form of moderate, but ambitious, democratic movement known as *heimin shugi* (Commoner's Representative Government) started with the publication of a monthly periodical called *Kokumin no tomo* (A People's Companion). Although the magazine was a considerable success and enjoyed a wider circulation than its rival nationalistic *Nippon jin* (The Japanese), it still failed to start the active political movement it had hoped for. Once again, then, the country during this time was characterized by emerging self-consciousness or by, what is loosely termed, nationalism.

This increasing conservatism had several effects on the general educational scene. In the first place, several influential nationalistic schools were opened. Among these were Seiritsu Gakusha, the largest private girls' school in Tokyo which was opened in 1887 for girls of government officials, soldiers, and businessmen; Nihon Horitsu Gakko (subsequently Nihon University), which was opened in 1889

---

for the advancement of Japanese laws and culture; and Kokugakuin, which was developed in 1890 from an institution devoted to the study of national polity of Japan and moral cultivation. The nationalistic mood in the country also had a subtle effect on existing schools, particularly private ones. The curriculum had been revised in many schools with more emphasis on the traditional studies and on national characters. Even the names of some schools had been changed. Igirisu (English) Horitsu Gakko, for instance, changed its name to Tokyo Horitsu Gakuin "in response to (changing) conditions inside and outside of the school."

The most conspicuous effect, however, can be seen in the decline of mission schools. But the period began with hope. In fact, "the year 1885 was the time of full hopes and a good prospect for the mission schools." The mission schools continued to grow all over the country. In 1886 alone, at least ten mission schools for girls were opened, followed by seven more in the next year.

49 The NRDJ, op. cit., VII, p. 543.
50 Ibid., IV, p. 472.
51
52 Aoyama Nao, Meiji jogakko no kenkyu (A Study of Girls' School in the Meiji Era), (Tokyo, 1970), p. 484.
53 Kato, op. cit., p. 207.
Nevertheless, as the mood of the country changed, attacks and criticism of new schools became increasingly common. Subsequently, from 1878 on, fewer number of new schools had been opened. Enrollments at existing schools everywhere had declined sharply. Some had even been forced to close their institutions.

Japanese attitudes toward oyatoi (employed foreigners) were too changed. The most influential foreigner during this period in the field of education other than German advisors who will be dealt with later, was Ernest Francisco Fenollosa. Fenollosa first came to Japan in 1878 to teach phylosophy, ethics, and political sciences. However, his interest in arts led him to write a book on Japanese paintings and to praise them with superlatives. The Japanese were highly flattered. As a result, Fenollosa was appointed in 1885 to investigate painting education. The arrangement was undoubtedly due in a great part to the nationalistic sentiment of the time but also to the necessity of industrialize dyeing, potteries, and ceramics for exports. Thus, Fenollosa's praise of Japanese arts resulted in opening in 1889 the first public school of arts, Tokyo Bijutsu Gakko which revolutionlized drawing education in Japan.

But the center of the conservatism was no other than Mori Arinori himself. During the earliest years of the Meiji, Mori was the country's leading diplomat, man of enlightenment, and educator. As we recall, he was Japan's first Chargé d'Affaires in Washington, the founder of Meirokusha, an advocate of the abolishment of carrying the sword by the former samurai class, and of equal marriage between man and woman, an author of Education in Japan, and the founder of a commercial school. And until he was summoned by Ito in 1884 from his diplomatic mission in London in anticipation of becoming the first Minister of Education, Mori was widely regarded as a liberalist. But after he took office, Mori's so-called "liberalism" perished in his highly nationalistic approaches to education. For others, he was a apostate, but for himself, he was true to only what he had always believed in.

The appointment of Mori for the Minister of Education actually began in March 1882 when Ito took a trip to Germany to investigate the Constitution with German scholars, Rudolf von Gneist, Albert Mosse, and Lorenz von Stein. In summer of the same year, Ito and Mori, long-time associates, met in Paris to discuss the role of education in running the modern state. They agreed that education was indispensable to running the state in peace and order.  

---

55 This was expressed in letters exchanged shortly afterwards between them. See Kimura Tadasu, Mori Sensei den (A Life of Honorable Mori), (Tokyo, 1957), pp. 131-134.
For Ito, this view was quite natural; in fact, the purpose of the whole trip was to investigate how Japan could survive as a constitutional monarchy in the midst of attacks from People's Rights leaders. For "liberalist" Mori it was not unusual. From his early days as a student in England and America, he had harbored a view that both laws and education constituted the core of the modern state, laws in that they guided people to appreciate their rights as modern men and to understand their relationship to the state, and education in that it functioned as a determinant to the level of the people's awareness of their rights and ultimately to the level of the state itself. He said: "Laws are guardian of our freedom; however, the complete guarantee of this freedom depends upon the nature and degree of common education."  

Mori, then, could not condone violent tactics of People's Rights leaders. Instead, he felt that he could prevent the people from becoming violent by transforming them into good law-abiding citizen with the help of education, and that for this reason education had to be under the direct control of the state. For Mori, education should be conducted by the state and for the state, an unlikely position for a "liberal" educator but most likely for an enlightened (if not "liberal") official, such as Mori. Education for the

---

56 Quoted in Motoyama Yukihiro, "Mori Arinori no Kokka shugi to sono kyoiku shiso (Nationalism and Educational Thoughts of Mori Arinori)", Jinbun Gakuho, (March, 1958), pp. 90-91. For excellent discussions on this view of Mori, see Ibid., pp. 85-92.
state is the idea underlying all the four Ordinances of Mori and was the common denominator of goals in all types of schools.

Mori's efforts to consolidate national education at all levels were derived from his state-centered views of education. More specifically, he believed that as "the state is an organism of an infinite number of lives ... and its prosperity depends on the advancement of a sense of devotion to the state which all people of the state possess." Thus education is an organism of an infinite number of schools and the prosperity depends on the advancement of a sense of devotion to the state from all students. Like the state, education is also an organism, consisting of four parts: university education for the head, middle school education for the body, primary education for the limbs, and normal school education for the guardian of the latter two. The purpose of the head of the organism or the university was "to meet the needs of the state" as the new name Imperial University Ordinance itself fully suggests. Consequently, under Mori the president of the university was placed under the direct charge of the Minister of

57 These are Mori's own words. See Mombusho, ed., Rekidai mombu daijin shikiji shu (Collections of Ceremonial Speeches Delivered by the Ministers of Education), (Tokyo, 1969), p. 53.

58 The quotation was taken from the Imperial University Ordinance adopted in Matsumoto and Suzuki, op. cit., p. 85.
Education; and its professors, particularly those in the Department of Laws, were subject to the constant supervision of the president. This restatement of the purpose of the university and the state's control of the institution are, as we have pointed out, in complete agreement with Mori's idea. For this highly important idea, Mori may have had support or suggestions from Lorenz von Stein through Ito; Stein had told Ito exactly the same purpose and role of the university.

After the proclamation of the Imperial University Ordinance the Primary School Ordinance was issued. The prime purpose of this Ordinance was not necessarily to set a new goal of patriotic education, which had already been done in the previous era, but rather to improve the national education system further, producing more patriots. But the achievement of this purpose required, as always, adequate solutions for the problems of financing and of the extension of the period of compulsory attendance without hampering the attendance rate. Mori's solution for the problem of financing was to use tuition as a major source of income, assisted by local taxes and the government subsidies; and for the second problem, to open half-day and free schools in poor localities where the period of compulsory attendance could be extended to three or four years without seriously hampering the attendance rate. Aside from these major

---

59 Kaneko, op. cit., pp. 289-290. Motoyama too mentions this possibility. See op. cit., p. 102
changes, Mori also made several alterations: to introduce a primary vocational school, to set the number of students in one primary school class at eighty, and to initiate a yearly rather than a semi-yearly grade system. Not all of these changes were originated in Mori, though he virtually prepared the Ordinance by himself. A close analysis shows that these were all discussed in Hermann Techow's "Replies to Questions concerning Education" and "The Primary School System", both prepared during the preliminary stage of the Ordinance at the request of Ito Hirobumi. Techow was one of the three legal advisors to the Prime Minister, two others being Carl Rudolph and Gramatzki. Ito originally planned to invite Stein, who rejected the invitation for the reason of an advanced age; thereupon, Ito secured the services of the three. Techow was assigned to the field of educational administration, but he also worked for judicial and administrative areas. Similarities between Mori's changes and Techow's suggestions were well-founded. However, what is more important is the nature of the similarities. In the first place, most of Techow's suggestions had already appeared in various literatures; certainly any educational administrator, including Mori, had a good knowledge of them. Secondly, not all Techow's suggestions were put into practice. Mori dropped many of them, using his own ideas. It is, then, hard to determine exactly how much Mori was influenced by Techow. It may be possible to conclude that
Mori took Techow's suggestions into consideration in executing his own policies ... and that Mori's own beliefs and hopes together with conditions of the country were such that he could not allow himself to lean completely on Techow's advice and German education in general. However, similarities between Mori's ideas and German educational laws (prepared by P. L. A. Falk but handed to Mori by Techow) deserve our attention.

The new teacher education set forth by the proclamation of the Normal School Ordinance was probably the most spectacular among Mori's efforts. Never before or since had the teacher training changed so dramatically but traumatically. As we have mentioned, Mori had two major tools of running the modern state in mind: the proclamation and maintenance of the laws and education of the law-abiding populace. As the Minister of Education, Mori reorganized the university for the training of preparators, executors, and judges of the laws; thus the institution was named the "Imperial" university and the department of laws received

60 The quotations are conclusions of Techow's influences on Mori and made by Inoue Hisao, in his Kindai Nihon Kyoiku ho no seiritsu (The Formation of Modern Japanese Educational Laws), (Tokyo, 1969), p. 546. His discussions leading to the conclusions are laborious and persuasive. For them, see ibid., pp. 527-547. Incidentally, Carl Rudolf did make a few suggestions: abolition of Chinese characters from school, opening of ten gymnasiums after German models for the training of technicians. Of the two, the latter suggestion may have some effects on Japanese education. See ibid., pp. 547-552.
highest honor and greatest attention. In the area of the training of the law-abiding citizens, Mori, as we have just mentioned, reorganized the primary school system. However, in actuality this reorganization was but a corollary to the teacher training. Mori believed that as the "enlightened" bureaucrats shaped the minds of people by the guidance of laws, so did the teachers form the hearts of children by the manipulation of educative behaviors. The teachers were, then, petty bureaucrats who addressed themselves to the training of the earliest years of the future citizen. Mori, as one of leading "enlightened" bureaucrats, was naturally more interested in training the bureaucrats than the populace, and more in the teachers than in the children at large. We repeat, therefore, that in the final analysis the Primary School Ordinance was a subsidiary to the Normal School Ordinance.

Mori regarded disciplinarism as part and parcel of the teacher training. He reflected that the three basic elements of education, i.e., intellect, mind, and body failed to be cultivated in Japan; the intellectualism of the Code merely resulted in memorization, and Confucian morality (or mind) of the Revised Ordinance had a danger of leading children to anachronisms rather than to modernism. Obviously, he felt that what was lacking most in Japanese education was the training of the body. In a letter to Ito in 1882 shortly after their meetings in Paris, Mori stated: "... the
training of the body has been most neglected in our country from time immemorial, and even today people do not seem to comprehend how essential and important it is ... if the body is strong, the mind will grow of itself without laxity; and if the body is trained, it is also indispensable to the training of the mind." And he concluded, on another occasion, that "... (in education) the best way is to change heavy gymnastics to military drill and to widely propagate it." Naturally, Mori deemed the training of the body as most essential at the normal school. And for this reason the military drill, not "heavy gymnastics" was introduced to the school.

However, the practice of the military drill had graver implications. In the first place, the campus was instantly converted to a drill ground, and the whole school to a military camp. With these changes, students were transformed to petty officers. Though Mori was probably not aware of

\[\text{61} \quad \text{Quoted in Motoyama, op. cit., p. 97. For the discussions leading to the quotation, see ibid., pp. 95-97.}\]
\[\text{62} \quad \text{Quoted in ibid., p. 96.}\]
\[\text{63} \quad \text{This process of the transformation of the physical training into the military drill was understandable in light of: (1) the Meiji government's slogan: "rich and strong nation," (2) the issuances of the Conscription Laws in 1872 and of the Imperial Instructions on Soldiers in 1882, and (3) the rising militarism in the mid 1880's as the country's growing capitalists started showing a great interest in a Korean peninsular.}\]
it, these changes fundamentally incompatible with his initial ideas of the teacher education; he transformed petty officials into military-type officers, "enlightened" bureaucrats into snapping and nagging officers, leaders of children into commanders of them, and above all, the gymnastic-oriented school into the military camp. Incompatible with his original ideas, these changes all took place under the direction of Mori.

As a first step, one Higher Normal School was opened in Tokyo for the training of the principals and teachers of the Regular Normal School, which was to be opened in each prefecture. Colonel Yamakawa in active service was assigned to the principal of the Higher Normal School, Lieutenant Matsui to the instructor of gymnastics. Also, the students of all the Normal Schools were required to live in a dormitory, which was actually a military camp with all its severity, discipline, and cruelty. Officers and soldiers in active service were assigned to the dormitories, too. The students' letters were censored, their visitings restricted, and their books selected. They had frequent marches, all in soldier-like uniforms. They were all trained under the slogans of "Dignity, Friendship, and

---

64 This is what Kiba Sadanaga, then a secretary to Mori said. See Kokumin Kyoiku ..., ed., op. cit., pp. 93-94.

65 Ishiyama Shuhei, et. al., Kyoiku no shiteki tenkai (A Complete Historical Collection of Cultural Endeavors Related to Education), (Tokyo, 1952), pp. 456-471. For more information concerning the normal school, see Karasawa, op. cit., pp. 57-68.
Obedience." It is true that these slogans were originally used at the utopian Christian colonies of Thomas Lake Harris in America and Mori was aware of their religious connotations; nevertheless, Mori used them neither in the context of religion nor of school teachers but of soldiers. Mori succeeded in making a good soldier out of a student, for people soon discovered a new type of person or teacher among the Normal School students and its graduates and called them, with a touch of despicableness and awe, "shihan type" or "Normal School Type" or a person of high discipline, of diligence, but also of cruelty and of obsequiousness, all in one.

In his Middle School Ordinance, Mori authorized the opening of five public middle schools throughout the country, all preparatory schools for the Imperial University. Thus, we notice that Mori envisioned a dual school system, one leading to the Higher Normal School (which Mori ranked as the highest among technical and middle schools, only next to the University in status and prestige), and another leading to the middle schools and to the Imperial University or the elite course. In the final analysis, Mori faithfully

68 See Ishiyama and Karasawa's discussions on the normal school education in their different writings, op. cit., passim.
put his belief of the dual tools in running the modern state, i.e., laws and education, into practice, but somewhat in the wrong way.

Aside from the proclamation of the Ordinance, Mori initiated several other changes. The most important of these was the introduction of the "Instructional Books Inspection Regulations." The "Regulations" required that all the text-books of the primary and middle schools be subject to the government inspection. And at the same time, Mori ordered the editing of model texts within the framework of the "Regulations". Thus, Mori prepared the way for the public's complete dependence on the Ministerial standards of book-making and teaching; the Minister now, more than ever, was in a better position to start an official pedagogy and and text.

We have stated at the outset that Western influences on Japanese education during this period can be more adequately analyzed in the Western influences on four Ordinances of Mori as an organic entity. And taking this

At least two of the most influential model texts owed some of their contents to Western sources: (1) the Dokusho nyumon, an introductory text for primary reading, to a German reader (see Kokumin Kyoiku ed., op. cit., p. 106. It was prepared in 1886 by Yumoto Takehiko, who furnished this information); (2) Rinrisho, a text for middle school ethics, to numerous Western thinkers; (this text was prepared by Mori Arinori in 1888. See Inada Masatsugu, Kyoiku chokugo seiritsu katei no kenkyu (A Study of the Process of the Formation of the 'Imperial Rescript on Education'), (Tokyo, 1971), pp. 134-143.
approach, we have now reached some conclusions. In the first place, there are some indications that Mori might have been affected by Techow and even by Stein, in preparing the Imperial University and Primary School Ordinances. But as Mori was very much his own man, it is hard to determine the exact extent of these alien influences on him. Further, Mori prepared the Normal School and Middle School Ordinances by himself, without any hinted foreign indebtedness; the three slogans of the Normal Schools looked too remote from their original meanings to be called a foreign connection. Probably, the question of foreign influences on Japanese education would eventually lead us to the analysis of Mori himself as an enlightened Meiji leader; and that would probably furnish us with a better picture of education during the period. But Mori's era was quickly over when he was assassinated in February 1889 by a fanatic nationalist for his allegedly disrespectful conducts against the Emperor. On the very same day, the long-waited Constitution was proclaimed.

Before we close our discussions of this period, we shall take a brief look at translations of Western literature on education. As we have indicated earlier, the "Inner Development" which swept the educational scene during the previous period, was now dying out because of its increasing formalism. By the middle of the current period, the movement was virtually over. Reflecting this gradual demise
of the movement, imported books on education were not sought after any longer. Nor were they enticing or revolutionary enough to catch the eye of Japanese educators. This does not mean, however, that no foreign books were translated. The Japanese, always looking for something new, could not let that happen. And in fact, there were numerous minor translations, from the contemporary Japanese viewpoint at least, from American and some English sources.

However, the beginning of a new era of education came while the "Inner Development" was ebbing and when the general mood of innovations in educational methods and ideas were at the nadir. This change was inevitable so

Among these were the translations of Joseph Baldwin's (an American) The Art of School Management (1872) under the title of Baldwin shi gakko kanri, in 1885; of Ira Mayhew's (an American) Universal Education (New York, 1867) under the title of Mayhew shi kyoiku ron, in 1885; of James Raiche's (Romanized) (an Englishman) book on great Western educators under the title of Hiichi-nin kyoiku-ka retsu-den, in 1885; of Bennett's (an American) lectures on educational philosophy under the title of Kyoiku tetsugaku shi, 1887; of Franklin V. N. Painter's (an American) A History of Education (1886) under the title of Kyoiku zenshi, in 1887; of Johnmot's book under the title of Kyoiku-zaku, in 1888; of James Greenwood's (an American) Principles of Education Practically Applied (1887) under the title of Greenwood shi oyo kyoiku shi, in 1888; of William Harold Payne's (an American) Contribution to the Science of Education (1887) under the title of Payne shi kyoiku gaku, in 1889; and of Amos Markham Kellogg's (an American) School Management (6th ed., 1884) under the title of Kellogg shi gakko kanri ho, in 1889. In addition, there were at least a few minor translations from German sources, Kaikoku Hyakumen, ed., op. cit., pp. 271-274, 276, 279; Mombusho, Gakusei go-ju nen shi, op. cit., p. 86; Obara, ed., op. cit., I, p. 53.
long as the Japanese kept looking toward Germany for innovations. The seed of the new era was Herbartianism, the most publicized contemporary German educational philosophy. It began to take root in Japan when Emil Hausknecht was invited from Germany in 1887 to give lectures on pedagogy at the Imperial University. He was the first Westerner ever invited by the government to teach educational sciences at the university level. He talked on Herbartianism. But his influences did not show in a definite form until 1890. Also, from around 1887, the Japanese, while making routine checks of German texts, unwittingly borrowed German ideas and put them into some of their own texts. So the greatest feature of the next period, Herbartianism, started unconspicuously during the middle of this period.

The Culmination of Conservatism in Japanese Education, October 1890-August 1900

The years between 1890 and 1900 were the time when the Revised Primary School Ordinance was in effect. In the political scenes, the period was the culmination of conservatism, which started around the 1880. But also it was the beginning of fanatic nationalism as the Constitution had already been proclaimed in 1889 and the revision of the unequal treaty was expected. However, both conservatism and nationalism were interwoven so intricably and so symbiotically that they were often indistinguishable. Yet, we can say with certainty that both were intensified
further and further as Japan won the war with China in 1894, a victory which resulted in the completion of the twin brothers of capitalism in Japan, i.e., the First Industrial Revolution and the expansion to the continent.

The educational scene during the period was no doubt the reflections of political development as Mori had already defined education as a servant to the state. But that mutual relationship became even stronger, because the newly-enacted Constitution gave sanction to it this time. For this purpose, as the drafts of the Constitution show, the business of education was decided to be placed outside of the realm of the legislatures and to be directly subject to the administrative powers. This means that since the Emperor himself was now defined as the "axis" or sovereignty or supreme power of the country, education was directly connected to the Emperor, therefore to the state itself, without having legal checks and public voices. The chief author of the drafts was Inoue Kowashi. But it is believed that he obtained advice from his German advisors Roesler and Mosse. Inoue was also advised not to define school attendance as the right of the people. This is to say that people had only obligations but not rights to receive education. The Constitution, when completed, carried out the ideas of the drafts; it left the educational affairs of

---
71 Ebihara, op. cit., pp. 101-111.
the country almost untouched, because they were in the hands of the Emperor and his chief delegates, the Privy Council, and the Ministry of Education.

The proclamation of the Revised Primary School Ordinance in October 1890 was the first major educational move taken by the government during the period. The Ordinance was a general continuation of the former, with revisions concerning details. The continuation can best be shown in that the attendance rate steadily grew from the previous era and by 1892 reached over seventy percent for boys and fifty-five percent for girls. But there were two significant changes, if not differences, in the Revised Ordinance. One was that the Ordinance, for the first time in the history of modern Japanese education, defined the purposes of primary education specifically as the "cultivation of the body, moral instruction, and provision of knowledge and techniques essential to daily life of children."

72 See the First Article of the Ordinance in Matsumoto and Suzuki, ed., op. cit., p. 99. There was one more feature about the Revised Ordinance, not in the contents but in the manner it was declared; that is, lengthy and hot debates were held between the Privy Council and the Ministry of Education as to how the Revised Ordinance was issued, by the Imperial Ordinance or by law. Eventually, the Privy Council won with minor compromises with the Ministry. Thereafter, as the Constitution had already suggested, most of the important and central statutes of education took the form of the Imperial orders. Kaigo Muneomi, et. al., Kindai kyoiku shi (A History of Modern Education), (Tokyo, 1959), pp. 79-80.
Particularly notable in the purposes was the inclusion of the moral instruction. It is not that the emphasis on the moral instruction was new; as we have learned, it had been a prime feature in the educational scene for the past decade. But rather that it was specified in the Ordinance. The statement of the purposes was prepared by Egi Kazuyuki, who believed that "the essence of the moral instruction at the primary school is to make pupils loyal to the Imperial household, love the country, filial to the parents, respect the order ... " But preparing the statement, Egi investigated primary school ordinances which were put into effect around the mid 1870's in such German states as Saxony, Weimar, and Hesse.

But more decisive than the Ordinance in setting the direction of education during this period and, thereafter, till the end of World War II was the Imperial Rescript on Education proclaimed in the same month as the Ordinance. It was prompted by an alarming recognition that although morality had been emphasized for a decade, many people still adhered to Confucian morality, unable to apply it to the contemporary setting between a modern monarch, the

---

73 These are Egi's own words in an article in Kokumin Kyoiku, op. cit., p. 126.
74 Kaigo, (et. al., ed.) op. cit., pp. 81-82
Emperor, and subjects. Such failure on the part of people was detrimental to the proper execution of the constitutional monarchy just declared. The Emperor took notice of it and immediately urged the Ministers of Education to prepare Imperial guidelines for a national morality. In response, Nakamura Masanao prepared a draft for the Ministerial office. Motoda Nagazane, a lecturer to the Emperor, and Inoue Kowashi, a chief drafter of the Constitution, prepared their drafts. Eventually, Nakamura's draft was abandoned because he equated his attempt with the great religious or philosophical doctrines, failing to grant an extremely high authority to the Emperor which the Ministry expected. Instead, Inoue's draft was modified by Motoda and Yoshikawa Akimasa, the Minister of Education, and proclaimed, with strong backing from Yamagata Aritomo, a chief promoter of the issuance of the Imperial Rescript on Soldiers in 1882. The whole process of the proclamation is indicative of the development of governmental views on education. The abandonment of Nakamura's draft can be interpreted as the government's outright denunciation of Anglo-American liberalism represented here by the drafter; the dropping of Motoda's draft can signify the similar

---

75 Egi's recollections in *ibid.*., pp. 157-158.
attitudes of the government toward a strong advocacy of traditional morality. But as Mori won the Ministerial office as an enlightened bureaucrat, so Inoue won the governmental favor in preparing the Rescript as a similar type of administrator. However, although Mori saw education as a tool in running a country, he did not view children as miniature soldiers of the state—he did this only with the normal school students; Inoue, however, by being influenced by Yamagata, wittingly or unwittingly initiated the practice of the soldier-child relationship. Incidentally, Motoda later recalled that the proclamation of the Rescript was possible with Yamagata but there had been some difficulties with Ito Hirobumi, Mori's chief supporter. Anyhow, there is no doubt that the Rescript had some Western elements, along with traditional moral teachings; yet to pinpoint such elements is as difficult as to identify Western influences in Inoue's thoughts. Both Mori and Inoue internalized alien thoughts to the extent that these were hardly distinguishable from their native thoughts. To illustrate the point, the Rescript should be quoted as follows:

... Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual

---

See Matsumoto and Suzuki's commentary on the Imperial Rescript on Education in their book, op. cit., p. 103.
faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth ... 78

No doubt that this is an excellent mixture of Confucian morality and modern code of citizenry under a modern absolute monarchy, the mixture which Inoue (and Mori) demonstrated in their work.

Immediately after its proclamation, a copy of the Rescript, together with portraits of the Emperor and Empress, were sent to all the schools throughout the country to be worshipped with utmost reverence. In January the following year, a treatise describing an official interpretation was published by the Ministry. It was called Chōgūko Engi (Interpretations of the Rescript) and prepared by Inoue Tetsujiro. Since Inoue had just returned from his seven-year study in Europe, particularly in Germany, it again means that only those who were knowledgeable about Western ideas and at the same time deeply concerned with the survival of their mother state were qualified to perform such an important task as writing Chōgūko Engi. And as expected, Inoue was articulate enough to satisfy both

---

progressive and conservative circles of the government, though somewhat antagonizing ultra-nationalists.

In addition, there was one more unhappy group of people when the Rescript and Inoue's *Chokugo Engi* appeared: the Christians. The Christians' work had already been curbed by the rise of the traditional morality, but they now faced an abominable dilemma: to worship the portraits of the Emperor and Empress at public places and on public occasions in order to survive in disgrace, or to denounce such acts and perish in hardship. Some Christians, such as Uchimura Kanzo, one Okumura, and Oshimura, chose the latter and were denounced by the officials as a lése-majesté affair. The highlight of the all-out denunciations of the Christians took place when Inoue Tetsujiro raised a question, in his magazine article called "On Religion and Education", as to whether or not Christianity was in agreement with the national polity. The question caused immediate responses, and, as expected, the arguments which followed all ended in Inoue's favor. The similar verbal denunciations also occurred throughout the country, generally to the Christians' disadvantage. Even resident Westerners, such as American novelist and correspondent Lafcadio Hearn, attacked

---


81 For details, see *ibid.*, pp. 233-267.
Christianity and its missionaries. The effects of such hostility against Christian education were obvious. As had already happened in the previous period, even more mission schools were closed down or lost their students during the present period. But the strongest blow on mission schools was the legalization of that hostility. The Minister issued the Ministerial Directive No. 12 in August 1899, preventing all schools from teaching religion. Some institutions, such as Rikkyo Gakuin, made an arrangement to maintain the official status of school, giving up religious teachings; but some, such as Aoyama Gakuin and Meiji Gakuin, insisted on the religious instruction and faced the sharp decline. It is believed that the Directive was intended chiefly for keeping foreigners, particularly missionaries, from opening schools; such worries were caused by the authorization

---


83 Rikkyo Gakuin hachijyugo-nen shi (A Eighty-five Years' History of Rikkyo Gakuin), (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 53-59. Prior to the issuance of the Directive but shortly after the proclamation of the Rescript, Naruse Jinzo opened a highly influential female university called Nippon Joshi Daigaku. Naruse was a former Christian minister in Japan and a student of theology at Andover Union Seminary. But when he opened the school in December 1890, he declared a Universal God, taking no side with denominational teaching at his school. See Nihon Joshi Daigaku yonju-nen shi (A Forty Years' History of Nihon Joshi University), pp. 12-25. Naruse's decision could have been resulted simply from changes of his religious views; but it may also be possible to assume that the changes were caused by his observations of public hostility against Christianity at that time.
of residential freedom for the foreigners, followed by the completion of the revision of the unequal treaty in 1899.

If the Rescript was the prime cause of the public denunciation of Christianity and subsequent decline of the mission schools, it also laid the basis for the editing of governmental texts. As we recall, Mori initiated the system of governmental inspection of texts. However, around the year 1894, arguments were made at the House of Representatives of the Diet by its thirty-two members that if there was only one basis of education, that is, the Rescript, there should be only one text for morality. Such arguments became increasingly popular and finally in April 1900, the Investigation Committee for Texts for Morality was instituted; but the Committee members were to make inquiries along with textbooks for morality, about other types of texts. In this atmosphere, it was natural that texts written or edited by the Japanese were predominant in the schools. When the editors used foreign sources, they usually did not declare their foreign indebtedness for an obvious reason; besides, the foreign materials were usually so elaborately incorporated into the native that the both were often indistinguishable.

As we have seen, the country's education was centered around the Rescript. But we should not overlook the fact,

---

84 Horimatsu, op. cit., pp. 260-262.
though far less dramatic than the Rescript, that the country's incipient Industrial Revolution made the training of technicians as necessary as it did the cultivation of patriotic students. The real issue of the period was not the magnification of the role of the Rescript but the successful combination of two seemingly incompatible tasks: cultivation of patriotic (often moral) men and training of technicians. As we recall, the Code was the prime example of the failure of this combination. Obviously the country needed a highly competent enlightened bureaucrat for the tasks, like Mori Arinori. And it found one without much difficulties: Inoue Kowashi. Thus, Inoue took office as the Minister of Education in March 1893 and during his sixteen-month term, he indeed laid the firm foundation for the successful combination of the two elements.

To implement and reinforce the Rescript's objectives, Inoue placed a great emphasis on Japanese (or Imperial) and Chinese (often Confucian) studies; at the same time, he abolished the requirement of foreign languages at the middle school. He further issued a directive concerning the teaching of morality. Moreover, he prohibited teachers from becoming involved in any type of political activity.

---

To effect the training of technicians, he first reorganized the middle school. Under Mori, the school had been more or less a preparatory school to the Imperial University. But Inoue upgraded the school to the high school, the prime purpose of which was now the provision of technical knowledge in the legal, medical, technological, agricultural, and commercial fields. But the school also offered a preparatory course for those planned to go to the Imperial University. However, these three things, i.e., the inauguration of the high school, the defined role of the secondary school in the total scheme of education, and the introduction of technical course at high school were not totally original to Inoue. The fact was that he conducted investigations of Western systems during the early stages of the reorganizations. The investigations took two forms: first, he secured written advice from Hamilton Sharp, an instructor at the Third Middle School; from Wilhelm Walz, a professor of German at the Imperial University; from one Reinholm, a professor at the same institution, and from Otto Rudorff, a professor of law at the same; secondly, he himself collected such materials as "Handwerker Schule zu Berlin (Handicraft School of Berlin)," Prussian ordinances concerning technical schools, outlines of French middle technical schools, New York trade schools, and one other. Of the written advice, Rudorff's was most
beneficial to Inoue. But these investigation materials were all used for his plans in one way or another, though not necessarily decisively. The second group of materials looked helpful to Inoue only in understanding technical education in general. With all these preparations, Inoue set out four different rules concerning technical education and prepared the epoch-making Technical School State Subsidiary Law, a great achievement for any single Minister. In conclusion, Inoue, like Mori, was fully aware of his responsibility, problems, and capability as the Minister of Education. Already setting his mind on solutions for various problems, he, like Mori, used the foreign informations for assurance and implementation of the solutions, but not the total imitation of it, as Tanaka Fujimaro did just a decade ago.

After Inoue, Yoshikawa Akimasa held office for just two months. Then came Prince Saionji Kimmochi. After studying for ten years in France (during which he witnessed the Paris Commune), he came back as a liberalist, but not so radical as some of People's Rights leaders who had also returned from France. He published a newspaper called Toyo jiyu shimbun (The Freedom Paper in the Orient) in 1881.

---
88 Ibid., pp. 350-360.
with Itagaki Taisuke, the champion of the People's Rights movement. But as this collaboration shows, both Saionji and Itagaki were, after all, a different version of Ito Hirobumi because both, unlike most of the movement leaders, took a cabinet post. However, as Ito Hirobumi would not have entirely agreed with the Rescript (and with Inoue for that matter), Saionji was different from Inoue in basic approaches to education; he intended to cultivate more affable, useful, and cosmopolitan children rather than patriots or petty soldiers. Unlike Inoue, he encouraged the study of natural sciences, vitalized English language study even at the expense of Japanese and Chinese courses, and set a new direction for female education. Above all, he made an attempt to revise the Rescript in lines of his liberal beliefs, with the consent of the Emperor and Ito. But he faced a severe opposition from Yamagata, and with his health declining, he was not able to revise the Rescript. After one studies Saionji, it is interesting to note that even among the strongly Western-oriented Ministers of Education (or enlightened bureaucrats for that matter) during the time of conservative and nationalistic education, there were differences: Inoue on the right, Saionji on the

89 Shima, op. cit., pp. 183-185.
left, and Mori in the middle.

Our discussions so far have been focused on Western influences on Japanese education in view of government policies and actions, i.e., the Revised Ordinance, Rescript, and Ministers of Education. But there was one more notable example of the Western influence during this time, involving not only top government officials but also scholars, teachers, and students. That was the Herbartian movement in Japan, probably the most extensive "Western" influence during the period.

As we mentioned earlier, the beginning of the Herbartian movement in Japan can be traced to the visiting of Hausknecht to the Imperial University in 1887. As we have also mentioned, the Herbartian theories also started appearing rather casually in texts and educational literatures around this time. In addition, Herbartian methodologies had already been tried at the primary school attached to the Tokyo Higher Normal School. Ariga Nagao, a translator of Johannott's Principles and Practice of Teaching

During the time we have now discussing, there were six different Ministers of Education: Hachisuka Mochiaki, Hamao Arata, Saionji (for the second term), Toyama Shoichi, Ozaki Yukio, Inukai Tsuyoshi, and Kabayama Sukenori. All of them, except uncertain Inukai and Kabayama, had studied either in England or America or both. It seems as though studying in Western nations had been a prerequisite for becoming the Minister.

which, along with Shirai and Wakabayashi’s *Kaisei kyojiho*, helped start the "Inner Development" movement, translated, in 1888, Gustav A. Lindner's book on Herbartian theories. Despite such developments, however, the Herbartian movement was still in the state of obscurity in the second half of the 1880's.

The real breakthrough for this obscure Herbartianism came when Hausknecht held a special class of twelve students for educational sciences starting 1889. The majority of the students were to come from the University students. However, only one student, Tanimoto Tomeri, registered for the class and the rest came from other institutions. They were graduated in the following year, and some of them, particularly Tanimoto, Yuhara Genichi, and Inagaki Suehiro, became actively involved in propagating the Herbartian theories they had just learned from Hausknecht. Also in the very same year, one of the two students who were sent overseas for the study of education by the Normal School, Nojiri Seiichi, returned from Germany and gave lectures on

---

91 Kobayashi, *op. cit.*, p. 89. It is significant to note that Japanese Herbartianism was initiated at the Imperial University, and not at the Normal School as happened before; thereafter, the University and its students played a leading role in introducing educational thought to Japan.
Herbartianisms at the School. However, what is more decisive than the efforts of these students was probably a Ministry policy itself. That is, the Ministry issued in November 1891, the "Outline of Primary School Rules" for the proper practice of the Revised Primary School Ordinance, made a clear statement in it that "a principal or head teacher has to determine the details of teaching at his school" in accordance with the "Outline". Naturally, the principal or head teacher desperately needed guidelines for their new responsibility. Their desperation was understandable particularly in light of the fact that the "Inner Development", the guidelines in the first half of the 1880's, was now gone. For them, then, Hausknecht and Nojiri's classes were indeed revelations. Thus, Herbartianism in Japan obtained from the outset, both official propagation and public support. The setting for the expansion was completed.

The Herbartianism introduced was, however, not the

92 Kobayashi, op. cit., p. 90. The other was Shinota Toshihide, who studied with G. Stanley Hall in the U. S. In the same year when Nojiri returned, Kurota was sent to Europe by the Normal School and became an expert in single-grade class teaching method upon his return. Before these persons, many of those who gained distinction in teacher education was sent abroad for study. Fujiwara, op. cit., pp. 542-546.

93 Quoted in Inagaki, op. cit., p. 128. For the detailed discussions of the "Outline", see ibid., pp. 127-131.
original Herbartianism begun by Johann Friedrich Herbart but rather the one developed by Lindner and Hermann Kern. This was largely attributed to Hausknecht, who encouraged his students, notably Yumoto and Tanimoto, to translate Lindner and Kern's books. Yuhara's highly successful translations of Lindner appeared in 1893, and in the following year, Tanimoto wrote his own book (probably with the help from either Lindner or Kern's book or both) under the title of Jitsuyo kyoikugaku oyobi kyojuho. 94 Tanimoto, again in 1895, published Kagakuteki kyoiku gaku in a similar manner. However, with fewer influences, others also embarked upon the translations of Lindner and Kern's works. In fact, one year prior to Yumoto's book appeared two translations of Kern. And in the following year of 1893 two more translations of Kern were published. 95 The years around 1893 were the climax of the first phase of the Herbartian theories through the translated books.

However, the Japanese took Lindner and Kern's theories in a somewhat different way. But it should be also noted that both Lindner and Kern were, in their turn,

94 This is what Yumoto himself claimed. See Kokumin Kyoiku, ed., op. cit., pp. 182-183.
95 See the list made by Kimura Yasuo, in his Honpo kyoiku gakusetsu shi (A History of Japanese Educational Thought), (Tokyo, 1934), pp. 52-53. Aside from Lindner and Kern, there was only one more person whose book was translated: one Fureshrihi (Romanized).
different from Herbart himself in that they were concerned more with the methods of teaching than with the principles underlying them. In other words, their prime purpose was to inform readers of the Five Formal steps of teaching, i.e., preparation, presentation, association, generalization, and application, the steps which were originated in Herbart's Four Formal steps, i.e., clearness, association, system, and method. Of course, both movements were revolutionary, since they were developed in close connection with the new understanding of the psychological reactions of learners. However, for Herbart, the steps were merely tools in everyday classroom situation which helped the learners acquire the highest goal of education, or "morality," which was expressed in its turn in Five Moral Ideas, i.e., the Ideas of Inner Freedom, of Perfection or Completeness, of Good Will, of Rights, and of Equity. Here Herbart defined the "morality" not as the predetermined behaviors but as something which each learner strove to obtain by his own effort and responsibility. His "morality" was then, highly individualistic in nature. But for Lindner and Kern, the practical application of the Formal steps looked more sensible than the Five Moral Ideas, thus treating the latter.

in marginality. This had decisive effects on the Japanese educator. Having no complete knowledge of Herbart’s original rationales, they developed a tendency to separate and magnify the role of the Formal steps. Consequently, they perceived a mistaken notion of Herbart’s Five Moral Ideas. For example, Yuhara claimed in the preface of his first translation that Herbart’s Five Moral Ideas were essentially similar to the Confucian Five Virtues and that "Herbart’s ideas are much closer to our Rescript than to Christian doctrines." Tanimoto, too, had similar understanding. But the origin of these comprehensions can also be traced back to Hausknecht, for he seemed to have looked upon Herbart’s goals as nationalistic rather than individualistic acquisitions. But at the same time he emphasized the mastery of gymnastics, an area which had been greatly neglected by Herbart. And probably for such views, Hausknecht was on excellent terms with Ito Hirobumi. Anyhow, by defining Herbartianism as a "moral" theory which was supported by the clear-cut five steps and by an orientation in gymnastics, the Japanese could not expect to find a better theory than Herbartianism in practicing the

---

97 Quoted in Kobayashi, op. cit., p. 93. But for information of the rest of this sentence, see ibid., pp. 92-93.
98 Horimatsu, op. cit., pp. 220-221.
99 Ibid., pp. 214-217.
"Rules". It was not only in agreement with educational policies of the government but also satisfied public need for modern scientific methodologies. But, whatever virtues Herbartianism might offer, the Japanese emphasis on the practical aspect rather than the theoretical of Herbartianism caused various troubles in the classroom. By 1895, criticisms of Herbartianism as being too formal or too impractical appeared among teachers as well as among those who introduced it. The accusations were inevitable so long as the Japanese deemed the Formal steps and five virtues as the core of Herbartianism. A standing joke to indicate the failure goes: a district headman, visiting a school, asked the principal if his school adopted the Five steps, to which he answered, "No, sir, we use only three, because our school is small."

To revitalize the Herbartian movement, the translations of Wilhelm Rein's books appeared from 1895 onward. For example, Nose Sakae and Narutomi Seigi together translated Rein's *Pädagogik im Grundsiss*; in the following year, Yumoto Takehiko translated the same book. In 1900 the first translation of Rein's *Theorie und Praxis des Volksschulunterrichts* was made. Compared to Lindner and Kern's, Rein's books were more practical and thus gave teachers valuable

---

This is what Yuhara Genichi heard. See Kokumin kyoiku shorei kai, *op. cit.*, p. 185.
suggestions to their classroom teaching. It should also be noted that Rein's practical approaches were generally introduced by people of the Higher Normal School. Therefore, this phase of in vitalization of Herbartianism by means of Rein's works from 1895 on was apparently different from the previous one.

Another phase of the Herbartian movement started around 1898 when educational journals and books alike carried articles on teaching guides for various courses with great popularity among teachers. But as the similar articles continued to appear, the Herbartian teaching methods outlined in these guides were, through the interactions, modified, selected, and formalized. During this process, Ohse Jintaro wrote the highly influential Jitsu yo kyoiku gaku in 1901, helping the process further. In 1905 Makiyama Eiji published Kyoju no dankai ni kansuru kenkyu, which can be ranked as the "yardstick of formalization of teaching steps." As this formalization increased, the Herbartian movement fell to the same fate as the "Inner Development" movement. By the time Makiyama wrote his book, the heyday of the movement was almost over. But despite its fatal

102 This is Inagaki Tadahiko's evaluation. See his book, op. cit., p. 159. The discussions leading to this evaluation were also made in the same page.
formalism, the movement left a number of invaluable assets. For one thing, the general interest of scientific approaches to teaching was aroused. Secondly, as indicated in the last phase of the movement, an unaccountable number of teaching methods were explored and publicized; many educational magazines appeared and people became fairly comfortable with writing and reading on education. Thirdly, many educational terms which are used today were coined by the movement.

However, the movement did not perish because of formalism alone, or by its other chief defect, the negligence of practicality at the expense of morality of instructions. The demise was also caused by two new developments in educational theories. One was the emergence of social theories of education. The chief initiator of this development was Tanimoto Tomerī who now declared his departure from Herbartianism. He wrote his first book titled Shorai no kyoikugaku (Educational Sciences in the Future) in 1898. But in the same year Ohse Jintaro, another departing Herbartian, translated Schleiermacher's book, and Kumagaya Goro Otto Willmann's work. More books in social education

---

103 Summarized from Makiyama Eiji's observations. See Kokumin Kyoiku, op. cit., pp. 194-198.

104 However, Tanimoto was not the first Japanese who wrote on social theories of education. Ōdaka Shinjitsu wrote one as early as 1890. But his publication did not have any immediate followers. See Fujiwara, op. cit., pp. 620-622.
and consequently more developments were made in the next period of education. The detailed discussions on the developments shall be made shortly afterwards. Another new development was started by Higuchi Kanjiro. Under the influence of Francis W. Parker, he wrote a book titled *Togo shugi: Shin kyojyū ho* (A Synthetic Theory: A New Teaching Method) in 1899, in which he advocated children's self-activity and plays. It should be noted that both social and synthetic theories arose criticisms and even solutions to the avowed Herbartian weaknesses. In fact, the advocates of the social theories claimed that Herbartianism lacked a social or nationalistic aspect; but since their understanding of Herbartianism was highly nationalistic, they actually contradicted themselves. When Natorp attacked Herbart and Pestalozzi on this precise point in 1897 and 1898, he was fully justified. Curiously, it was Natorp's attacks which generated the above criticism and subsequently the new movement in Japan. Higuchi, too, accused Herbartianism of an absence of self as well as synthetic activity of learners. Again, the accusations were unfounded. Herbart might not have emphasized the importance of play as much as he should have, but surely treated self and synthetic activity to a considerable degree. Not surprisingly, Higuchi, after

---

106 Kimura, *op. cit.*, p. 82.
three-years study abroad, completely forgot his assertions and joined Tanimoto's group. So the innovation in educational theories undertaken by Higuchi was short-lived, but it was influential (at least at that time) enough to cause the quick decline of the Herbartian movement.

In conclusion, Western influences on Japanese education during this period were almost exclusively German. However, there was a slight difference between such influences on educational policies and pedagogy. The educational policies were influenced by Germany all right, but they were so much part of policy-makers that their clear-cut identifications were vague. But in the field of the pedagogy, the influences were explicitly German Herbartianism. Yet during the last phase of the Herbartian movement, the pedagogy too became increasingly the part of Japanese educators, and its originators, Herbart and a host of his followers, were often forgotten. The emergence of numerous periodicals and books bore witness to the process of this Japanese assimilation of the Herbartian movement.

The Completion of the National Educational System, August 1900—July 1912

The years between 1900 and 1912 were the time when the (New) Primary School Ordinance was in effect. More
precisely, however, the year 1912 was not the termination of the Ordinance itself but rather the Meiji period due to the death of Emperor Meiji; the Ordinance, in the meanwhile, continued to operate. The period was the last stage of modernization of education during the Meiji era. But it also signifies the culmination of the modernization of Japanese education launched in 1872 as well as the beginning of a long series of Japanese-style national education terminated in 1941. During the period, the attendance rate finally reached as high as ninety percent, a resounding success for the Japanese national education system. Also, the (New) Primary School Ordinance, together with subsequent several operational revisions, set the guidelines for primary education for many years to come; the Ordinance was replaced as late as 1941 by the fascist People's School Ordinance. In detail, the (New) Ordinance made the following changes: (1) the extension of the period of compulsory education to four to six in the 1907 revision years, (2) the reduction of regular primary school subjects to morality, Japanese, arithmetic, and gymnastics with local electives of drawing, singing, handicraft, or sewing, (3) the reduction of regular primary school hours to twenty-eight hours and (4) the reduction of the number of Chinese characters to around one thousand and two hundred; it should also be mentioned here that the national texts
system under which all texts were supplied by the Ministry was adopted in the 1903 revision.

As we have studied so far, domestic and international political affairs had a great impact on the educational scenes in the previous eras. Even a quick observation shows that this new period was full of political developments of great magnitude. With the First Industrial Revolution, war with China, and the revision of the unequal treaty in the previous period, the country, now internationally recognized as a modern nation, embarked upon a series of Imperialistic expansion to the Asian continent. As a first step, the country decided to cooperate with England in this matter and thus the Anglo-Japanese treaty was resulted in 1902. Quite expectedly, next came in 1904 the country's war with Russia, a hindrance to Japan's expansion. With Russia defeated, the country annexed Korea in 1910 and further expanded into Manchuria. On the domestic scene, Japanese capitalism was promoted considerably by the Second Industrial Revolution in the area of the heavy industries. The rise of large-scale industrial complexes, however, naturally produced conflicts between capitalists and emerging laborers. Further, their conflicts almost inevitably

---

108 See the (New) Primary School Ordinances adopted in Matsumoto and Suzuki, op. cit., pp. 161-165; and for information concerning their role of the Ordinance in the history of Japanese education, see commentaries to the Ordinance in ibid., pp. 158-161.
brought about socialism. But as happened in the last phase on the People’s Rights movement, emerging socialism was fatally crushed in 1910 by the government as an anathema to capitalism.

Curiously enough, such tumultuous events did not bring about any fundamental effect on education. Rather, education during this period was simply the continuation of conservative and nationalistic education initiated in the previous periods. It is true that national morality texts now included American and British figures, such as Benjamin Franklin, Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, Florence Nightingale, Isaac Newton, Sir William Napier, William Edwards, Sir Robert Innes, Haratio Nelson, and Edward Jenner, the presence of whom reflected international political developments and illustrated individual qualities of a modern man, such as freedom of man and freedom of speech. But they appeared in the texts for five short years from 1904 to 1909, and only several of them survived for different purposes. Also, among these men, the American and not British figures were most popular in spite of the Anglo-Japanese treaty. Further, Westerners of different nationalities, such as Franchman Henri-Francois d’Agesseau, Greek Socrates, and Italian Christopher Columbus, were
It is also true that as a result of a Japanese involvement in China many Chinese students came to Japan for study and some schools such as Waseda, opened a special office or department for them. But in the overall picture of education, their presence did not cause any fundamental change. Instead of emphasizing these changes, then, it is more appropriate, for the sake of the continuation theory, to refer to the practice of the national texts system, in which all primary school texts were made by the government. This practice started in 1904, covering all subjects by 1910. This was undoubtedly the culmination of the text inspection system initiated by Mori. Needless to say, the new system had a great impact on the contents of texts, incomparable to the brief appearance of Westerners in the morality texts or the coming of Chinese students to Japan. As symbolized in this new text policy, the new period essentially carried over what its predecessors


It is interesting to note that in the compilation of the first primary morality text, an effort was made to coin a catch phrase, equivalent to a British gentleman and French citoyen; the result was "yoi (good) child" or "yoi (good) Japanese." This is what one of the compilers, Watanabe Konosuke, recalled. See Kokumin Kyoiku, ed., op. cit., p. 247.

110 Sumeragi Shiro, Daigaku seido no kenkyu (A Study on the Organizations of the University), (Kyoto, 1955), p.407.
did, but with technical and operational changes. In the field of Western influences on education, the continuation was also the characteristics of the period.

At the Ministerial level, already ambiguous German influences were getting more uncertain, reaching almost the point of indistinguishableness. Besides, since no dramatic Ministers such as Mori and Inoue appeared during the period, even the study of Western influences on individual Ministers now became a relative impossibility. We should, therefore, focus our attention on what were the most outright Western influences in the previous period: Herbartianism and its immediate successors. We have mentioned that Herbartianism was superseded by two successors, i.e., social theories of education and Higuchi's self-activity theories. We have also pointed out that the social theories were carried over further, while Higuchi's theories faced immediate decline. Naturally, then, we should resume the discussions on the further development of the social theories of education.

In 1901, three years after the publications of Tanimoto, Ohse, and Kumagaya's translations on social theories of education, five more books appeared. These books not only gave a start to the social education movement but also explained the nature of the movement itself. That is, instead of Schleiermacher and Willmann, whom we have previously discussed, Paul Bergemann and Paul Natorp emerged as main choices of Japanese social education theorists.
For example, Sugiyama and Yoshida Kumaji wrote different translations of Bergemann's books. Kumagaya Goro also used Bergemann's in preparing his own book. Ohse, on the other hand, translated Natorp's book, while Ukita Kazutami wrote a book on social education, using unknown sources.

In the next five years, three more translations were done from Bergemann's sources: two by Kumagaya in 1902 and 1903, and one by Inagaki Suematsu in 1905. The years were, though brief, the highpoint of Bergemann's social theories. According to one analyst, the popularity of Bergemann was due in part to the contemporary demand of social education and in part to new approaches to education which Bergemann took. The need for social education was most strongly felt among the government circles for several reasons. First of all, they realized with an increasing rate that the success of their policies depended upon the degree of public awareness of social problems; secondly, they also noticed that their economic system required the cooperation of large group of people; and thirdly, they recognized that the solutions for various social reforms were closely related to education. Beyond such demands from the government officials, Japanese society had undergone tremendous changes, becoming more congenial to social education. In other words, with the advancement of modernization of the country, "socialization of people's life" advanced, while provincialism which had characterized their life in the past was
But the demand for social education was also made by teachers. With the government policy to exclude them from socio-political problems, the teachers, leading a frustrated and secluded life, now tried to reestablish a lost connection with the society.

However, Bergemann's theories attracted people not only because these needs but also for his approaches. In the preface to his Sozial Pädagogik (1900), Bergemann asserted that "social education is based on broad empirical sciences and formed by a thoroughly accurate method of induction." Thus he discarded all metaphysical possibilities; consequently, Bergemann concluded that "all the propositions of education should be obtained as results of empirical facts and observable experiences." This was obviously a departure from Herbartianism which, after all, dealt with an individual for what he ought to become rather than what he is becoming; and from this Herbartian a priori approach Bergemann departed. According to the same analyst, with empiricism emerging in various fields of science, Japanese educators found Bergemann's empiricism appropriate to their field. But they were equally drawn to some of the conclusions which Bergemann made. Since Bergemann did not

---

111 For details, see Tamashiro, op. cit., pp. 215-218.
112 Quoted in ibid., p. 203.
believe in metaphysical abilities of man, he was tempted to equate him to the simple creature, like an animal and a fowl; thus he maintained that the purpose of education could best be obtained through the study of biology. In his view, the human races whose highest purpose was to preserve and complete the essence of his species, or the culture of \textit{Homo sapiens} or the society; this means that the progress of an individual man or his education was subordinate to that of the groups he belonged to, nations and races in a narrow sense but to the human species in the broadest sense. In conclusion, according to Bergemann, men were simply helpless creatures with bestial instincts for self-preservation like any other creatures. They could become men only when they aggregated to successfully preserved their species. More succinctly, man's ultimate purpose is to preserve and advance the communities of his race; therefore, he had to be educated in such a way that he felt nationalistic as well as cosmopolitan, but void of feeling for himself as an individual. At the time when Japan obtained international recognition and experienced strong nationalism, Bergemann's views fit perfectly Japanese sentiments. However, as Yoshida Kumaji's writings in 1904 and 1909 indicated, Bergemann's social, nationalistic, and

\textsuperscript{113} The present discussions are based on information gathered from \textit{ibid.}, pp. 205-210.
cosmopolitan emphases in education tended to be exclusively nationalistic in Japan. Bergemann's "social" education theories were frequently called "national social" education probably because of the connection of the term "social" to socialism.

Natorp's book was used as a supplement to Bergemannism. Natorp also placed a priority on social education over Herbartian individual instruction. However, his views of individuals in social education were closer to Herbart's than to Bergemann's. It is true, as he maintained, that the progress of the society precedes that of the individuals; however, the ultimate form of the society or what he calls "infinite society" is unforeseeable and it is the individual's conscious efforts which bring his society closer to the "infinite society"; in this view, all the conscious activities of the individual at home, school, and society are, quasi-"infinite" society behaviors, the basis for the real "infinite society". Thus, Natorp successfully replaced Bergemann's helpless, meaningless, and dehumanized individuals by his active, conscious, intelligent, and self-determined ones, artfully giving meanings to coordinated activities in the family, school, and society. Yet, Natorp's influences during this period never reached Bergemann's level, being appreciated after the Meiji with considerable

---

114 Ibid., pp. 211-213.
Also, about the time when Bergemann's and Natorp's theories were introduced, there was still another highly influential social theory of education, presumably belonging to neither faction. It was a "theory" developed by Higuchi Kanjiro. He wrote, not translated, four highly successful books on social education in 1904 and 1905 immediately after his return from studying in Europe. It seems, however, that Higuchi did more of the propagation than the initiation of the theories already existed. After this consolidation of social education theories made by Higuchi, the movement of social education was quickly superseded by the one advocating the experimental approach to education.

The change began when Konishi Shigenao wrote a book titled Jikken kyoikugaku (Experimentations in Education) in 1906. But it started as a movement with the appearance of Yoshida Kumaji and Ototake Iwazo, two different books with the same title in 1908. In the same year, Inagaki Suematsu also published a book titled Meumann shi jikken kyoikugaku nyumon koza (Introduction to Educational Experimentations of Meumann). The three were followed by

---

115 Ibid., pp. 22-27. For the discussions of Bergemann and Natorp's theories, the following sources were also used: Fujiwara, op. cit., pp. 607-622; Horimatsu, op. cit., pp. 277-281; Kimura, op. cit., pp. 83-89.
116 Fujiwara, ibid., pp. 615-617.
several other minor books or translated books dealing with the new approaches. As Inagaki's title indicates, the main sources of the new theories were either Ernst Meumann or Wilhelm August Lay, both of whom were also prime sources of Yoshida and Ootake's books. Despite the differences between them, Meumann and Lay shared the following ideas: advocations of psycho-physiology, child psychology, social statistics, and evolutionary theory of mankind. Both supplied Bergemann's empiricism with technical know-how, to meet the demands of teachers. And because of their technical suggestions, Meumann and Lay had more direct influences on the management of the classroom and the school than Bergemann and Natorp. For example, teachers paid more attention to the psychological make-up of children than to the amount of their work and more to their health than to their passive endurance. But their stronger influences came, like Natorp's, after the Meiji era. In fact, as far as four German theorists during this period are concerned, their overall influences were far less discernible than the Pestalozzian and Herbartian, being confined to the narrow

---

117 Tamashiro, op. cit., pp. 229-234. For the details, the following sources were also used: Kobayashi, op. cit., pp. 109-110; Kimura Yasuo, op. cit., pp. 105-134. Incidentally, to clarify the exact sources derived from Meumann and Lay, Ootake Iwazo gave us some valuable clues; he used Lay's Experimentelle Didaktik (1903) and Meumann's Vorlesungen für Einführung in die Experimentelle Pädagogik (1907). Tamashiro, ibid., p. 230.
circles of educational theorists we have discussed and their associates and admirers.

There were still other kinds of studies in relation to or under the influence of Western education, aside from the studies on the four German theorists. As we have already indicated, Higuchi's work on social theories of education was definitely one of these studies. However, there were two more notable examples, Ohse Jintaro's two books on the history of Western education which appeared in 1906 and 1907 as the first books of this sort ever written by a Japanese. The other was Konishi Shigenao's two highly successful books on his views of education, one of which was prepared from a great number of Japanese, English, and German sources in order to establish an "independent" theory of education peculiar to Japan, and published in 1908 under the title of Gakko kyoiku (School Education); and the other was a book dealing with three distinguished

118 Up to the point of the introduction of Herbartianism, teachers of the Tokyo Normal School and officials of the Ministry were the ones who introduced Western education, in both theories and practices, to Japan. But from the time of visiting of Hausknecht, many highly competent scholars of education appeared among students of the Tokyo Imperial University; they were, to name some, Ohse Jintaro, Tanimoto Tomeri, Yuhara Geninchi, Inagaki Suematsu, Kumagaya Goro, Yoshida Kumaji, and Konishi Shigenao. For the names of more scholars with the University background, see Fujiwara, op. cit., p. 619.

119 Umene Satoru, Kyoiku shigaku no tankyu (A Study of Historiography of Education), (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 433-439. But as we recall, the translations of the history of Western education had already been made by Nishimura Shigeki in 1869.
Japanese educators in the past but also with Pestalozzi, Thomas Arnold, and Horace Mann. Konishi's work shows that the Japanese by this time were ready for a critical view of Western theories of education in terms of their traditional thought.

The works of American educators also started appearing during the period, despite the fact that, as we have studied so far, the Western influences on the educational theories in Japan were exclusively German. For example, Ichikawa Genzo published translations of Francis Wayland Parker's *Talks on Pedagogics: An Outline of the Theory of Concentration* (New York, 1894). Also, in 1901 John Dewey's *The School and Society* was translated by Ueno Yoich. Further, Tanimoto Tomeri, the chief promoter of Herbartianism and one of the main contributors to the social education movement, wrote a book in 1906 which included discussions on Elen Kay and Preston Will's Search's writings. Finally in the following year, Search's *An Ideal School* was translated by Ohse and Yamamoto in 1907. However, their influences on Japanese education were far less than the Germans', but preparing a way for more substantial introduction of American education to Japan after the Meiji.

---


121 For details, see Kaikoku Hyakunen, ed., *op. cit.*, pp. 291-295, 428-432.
In closing the period, a few things should be mentioned about institutions of higher learning. The most notable was the opening of Kyoto Imperial University in 1908, the second university in Japan. Prior to the opening, four persons were sent to Europe for the investigations of the university management, and when opened, it had two features which the Tokyo Imperial University could not imitate: an absence of regular Western instructors and the open selection of the professorship. Tanimoto was the first professor of education at the institution. The other noteworthy change was the opening of Joshi Eigaku Juku in 1900 by Tsuda Umeko, one of the first Japanese females sent to the United States in 1871 for study; the school was partially sponsored by a Christian organization in Philadelphia and intended primarily for the training of female teachers in English. Since then, the Juku has made valuable contributions to advanced female education in Japan. But the opening of this institution was significant in another way, because it heralded the government's more flexible approaches to mission schools. In 1903, the government issued the Technical School Ordinance, which was not

---

122 Kyoto Daigaku bungaku bu gojyu-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of Department of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University), (Kyoto, 1956), pp. 6-10, 268-269.

123 For the details surrounding the opening of the school, see Tsuda Eigaku Juku yonjyu-nen shi (A Forty Years' History of Tsuda Eigaku Juku), (Tokyo, 1941), pp. 45-62.
specifically opposed to religious education at the technical school. Consequently, many mission schools reorganized their institutions and upgraded them to the technical school status.

In summary, Western influences on Japanese education during the period were almost exclusively German, and that only in the field of educational theories. But there were some potents for the future change, such as the appearance of American literatures on education, lenient policies toward the mission schools, and the opening of Kyoto Imperial University and Joshi Eigaku Juku. The question of what these signs resulted in education after the Meiji obviously requires another intensive study. Therefore, let us pause here, hoping that time will soon come for such study.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Japanese Books


Chuo Daigakushi (A History of Chuo University). Tokyo: Chuo Daigaku, 19--.


463


---


---


Kyoto Daigaku bungakubu gojyu-nen shi (A Fifty Years' History of the Department of Liberal Arts and Sciences, Kyoto University). Kyoto: Kyoto Daigaku Bungaku Bu, 1956.


---


---


Japanese Complete Works Series


Japanese Periodicals


Kaneko, Tadashi. "Gurifisu to nihon--so no I (Griffis and Japan--Part I)," Kyoto Daigaku Kyoiku Gakubu Kiyo, XII (March, 1966), pp. 197-214.


Japanese Pamphlet


English Sources


The Department of Education. Education in Japan. Tokyo, Japan: The Department of Education, 1914.


Yosaburo Takekoshi. *Prince Saoinji.* Kyoto: Ritsumeikan University, 1933.