

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

This thesis concerns English teaching practice during the Meiji Period (1868-1912) in Japan, and its relation to Western theory at the time about modern language teaching methodology. The study concentrates on the teaching of English as a foreign language in middle schools during this historic period. The focus is on the pedagogical content of Western methodology as interpreted and implemented in Japanese middle schools, a resultant national standard of English teaching, and actual English teaching practice in the classroom. Attempting to make connections between received Western methodology, policy-making, and practice forms a key task of the study, and a category to interconnect the three elements is ‘speech primacy’, which is the fundamental principle of the so-called Natural Method. This entails a range of concerns to explore a historical development of Western style modern language teaching reforms, to analyse the issues and imperatives faced by policy makers, and to look into actual practice in English teaching in middle schools. The study regards a revised English teaching guideline issued in 1911 (Meiji 44) as the Meiji’s ‘national standard’ and puts the period between the 1902 (Meiji 35) and 1919 (Taishō 8) English guidelines under investigation. Even today, Japan’s contemporary English language teaching reform still, for the most part, has taken the form of modelling Western knowledge and practice. It is hoped that this study will shed new light on the issues involved and draw lessons from it.

#### Broader Context of the Study

The Meiji Period achieved its modernisation of industry mainly through state financing of combines (*zaibatsu*) and labour force recruitment and the suppression of labour demands, but in part through a highly centralised education by the Meiji Government. It is said that its success in modernisation was driven by several factors distinctive to Japan’s political leaders. The first factor was the heavy transfer of Western knowledge within a nationalistic context triggered by both the pride of the Japanese and a sense of national crisis (Nagai, 1969, pp.15-18). The second was a historical view as historical

materialism (pp.18-20). Political leaders believed that social change could be made through the development of science and technology, which would achieve industrial developments and promote the progress of Japanese society. A policy for enhancing the wealth and military strength was established in this connection, and it was also in this context that the modernisation of education was pursued. Furthermore, its smooth implementation was made possible by the unity of education and politics and by the predominance of elite politics over education (pp.23-26). Education and politics were intimately linked from the beginning of the Meiji Period, and Japan used its received Western knowledge as the driving force behind education.

### **Nature of Japan's Education System and Middle School**

The first half of the Meiji Period saw some gropes over the establishment of an education system, but its fundamental structure came to a completion with the promulgation of School Order (*Gakkō Rei*) led by the first Minister of Education Arinori Mori in 1886 (Meiji 19). Its nationalistic nature in tension with Western knowledge was established with the making of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) in 1890 (Meiji 23). From then onward, the Meiji Government continued to frame Japan's education on this system and educational character. The gropes involved Japan's first education system, called Education Order (*Gakusei*), in 1872 (Meiji 5) — this was based largely on the French system. This system was standardised and centralised in nature, which soon conflicted with common people's premature awareness of education and the shortage of the national education budget. This was followed by Education Law (*Kyōiku Rei*) in 1879 (Meiji 12), which was based around the decentralised American education system, surrounded by the rise of the democratic rights movement, which was again objected to by nationalists and revised in the following year. Thereafter, Japan's education was consistently directed to the Imperial Rescript on Education, which continuously framed it until the Second World War ended in 1945 (Shōwa 20).

Mori's School Order (*Gakkō Rei*) was a reflection of the German education system. He divided education into primary, middle and university education, along with technical and military education, prepared an order separately, and gave them a coherent structure

to achieve strong national capitalism. He concentrated the education of subjects (*Shinmin*) on primary compulsory education on the one hand, and promoted an open academic research function in university education on the other. The logic that connected these seemingly contradictory functions was that nationalistic compulsory education would work as a safety device to prevent human resources from becoming anti-establishment later on. The national elites were allowed to be free as far as their activities would substantiate the established political system. Middle school education stood between the two, but its nationalistic emphasis gradually became dominant as Japan saw a successful industrial revolution in the Meiji 40s after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). This revolution saw the emergence of the commercial class and the middle class (bureaucrats, white collar employees, technocrats, and better-off farmers), who supported middle school education and thus its popularisation. From the late Meiji Period onward, nationalism and militarism in middle school education were increasingly strengthened.

### **Development of Japan's Middle School System**

Having stated Mori's primary emphasis on compulsory and university education at its beginning stages, the political involvement in establishing a secondary education system was relatively delayed until a revised Middle School Order (*Chūgakkō Rei*) in 1899 (Meiji 32). Mori's Middle School Order articulated the conditions to be met and strictly restricted the establishment of middle schools, but it did not have a specific direction in curriculum.

In 1899 (Meiji 32), a revised Middle School Order was promulgated along with Vocational School Order (*Jitsugyōgakkō Rei*) and Girls' Higher School Order (*Kōtō Jogakkō Rei*), constituting a multi-track education system within the secondary education system, with middle schools catering with five years of schooling only for boys. The compelling issue concerning middle school was to determine its function between vocational or liberal and preparatory instruction for higher education, but this revision made it that of 'higher liberal education'. By this, middle school was given a high academic nature and a prestigious status, and it assumed a rigid centralised

administration regardless of locally varying educational needs. Attempts to change the fundamental nature of middle school education were made in 1911 (Meiji 44), 1919 (Taishō 8), 1931 (Shōwa 6), and 1943 (Shōwa 18) before the Second World War ended, but they did not have substantial impacts on it. In this sense, the Meiji 1899 Order marked a crucial foundation for Japan's middle school education.

Table 1.1, below, shows the process of expansion in middle schools during the mid to late Meiji Period under investigation.

Table 1.1: Middle schools, teachers and pupils in the Meiji Period

Year (Meiji)	Middle Schools	Teachers	Pupils
1891 (24)	55	735	13,355
1892 (25)	61	802	16,189
1893 (26)	69	998	19,563
1894 (27)	73	1,100	22,515
1895 (28)	87	1,324	30,871
1896 (29)	100	1,722	40,778
1897 (30)	118	2,200	52,671
1898 (31)	136	2,608	61,632
1899 (32)	166	3,102	69,179
1900 (33)	194	3,748	78,315
1901 (34)	216	4,233	88,391
1902 (35)	236	4,681	95,027
1903 (36)	249	4,793	98,000
1904 (37)	254	4,839	101,196
1905 (38)	259	5,113	104,968
1906 (39)	271	5,338	108,531
1907 (40)	278	5,462	111,436
1908 (41)	290	5,719	115,038
1909 (42)	297	5,891	118,133
1910 (43)	302	5,902	122,345
1911 (44)	306	6,092	125,304
1912 (45)	317	6,220	128,973

Source: Reproduced from: Mombu Kagakushō, 2001, pp.1-13.

Table 1.1 reveals that the ‘one school per one prefecture’ policy under the Mori administration in 1886 (Meiji 19) gradually collapsed. Toward the late Meiji 20s, middle schools rapidly increased, reflecting the increase in middle school candidates in small towns and farming areas. From the Meiji 30s on, they began to win support from middle class employees and small business people replacing the former samurai class. Simultaneously, due to its academic nature and inflexible administration, middle schools started to lose support from those in farming areas. As a result, the abolition of some middle schools, or their reorganisation into vocational schools, took place tacitly.

The special features of modern Japan’s middle schools should be mentioned, since they framed the fundamental nature of middle school education including English teaching. Firstly, secondary education in pre-war Japan was geared to a limited segment of pupils who were expected to become national elites or leaders of the middle class, while other types of post primary education (i.e. higher primary school, supplementary school for technical instruction) stood side by side. The secondary education system was connected to primary education, which was open for all. As a consequence, Japan’s secondary school system incorporated both European multi-track systems (e.g. Gymnasium – Germany; Lycée – France; Grammar school – Britain) in terms of post primary education and the American single-track system (high school) with regard to its direct connection with primary education.

Secondly, Japan’s middle school system was established upon the collapse of the feudalistic social order, and so did not correspond to any specific social class, unlike the European system. In reality, the samurai class dominated middle school in the beginning, but by the Meiji 30s the commercial class in particular replaced the mainstream. This entailed the fact that Japan’s middle school curriculum was based on modern and practical subject matters from its foundation, whereas European equivalents were founded on a humanitarian focus in their curriculum. In this respect, the teaching content was rather similar to that of American high schools, which were more pragmatic and immediate to vocations and daily utilities, while some were more liberal. However, unlike most American equivalents, Japan’s secondary education was affected to a large

degree by university's academism and turned out to be unpractical in nature (Yoneda, 1992, pp.3-4).

Thirdly, having said that middle schools were geared to educating the national elite, the discontinuity from any social class made them open for *all* primary school graduates, at least formally, and this meant that limited opportunity was distributed according to scholastic abilities rather than to a particular type of social class. In reality, middle school education functioned as a place for severe competitive selection toward elite higher education institutions (Yoneda, 1992, p.4). European secondary systems, which responded to a specific social class, did not have a selective function as severe as this. Due to its pragmatic nature, the American system was not as competitive either. Additionally, a selective function for higher institutions was not originally expected or planned in Japan's middle schools, but the academic nature of middle school education was seen by universities as an appropriate indicator for eligibility (p.4).

### **English Teaching in Middle School**

The English language was regarded as a crucial foreign language for Japan's modernisation from the start of the Meiji Period. It was the language of Western advanced nations and was a vital route through which Japan could learn from Western civilisation in order to maintain paradoxically political, economic, and cultural independence. In fact, Arinori Mori once proposed that a simplified version of English, which he called 'Japanese English', be established as the official language of Japan. The English language became not merely a subject to be learnt for individual success, but an essential driving force for change in Japan's modernisation. In the late Meiji Period, when Japan directed itself towards the policy of imperialistic expansion after the Russo-Japanese War, the study of English in middle schools was increasingly regarded as instrumental for elite technocrats.

German and French were also provided in the early Meiji Period, but they were eventually excluded from middle school curricula and came to be taught in higher schools. Instead, English teaching became authoritatively stressed in secondary

education. It was taught in military schools, supplementary schools for technical instruction, and in some of the higher primary schools, but it was in middle schools that most instructional hours of English were distributed. The task of Japan's modernisation was expected of those who had the fortune of studying in middle schools, and English was apparently the language of modernisation and one of the requirements for the imperialistic expansion of the nation.

The foundational nature of competitive selectiveness and a multi-track system of middle schools was laid during the Meiji Period, which still frames that of junior and senior high schools of present-day Japan, even though it was reframed since the Second World War ended by the American single-track system. Additionally, contemporary English teaching has inherited the nature of English teaching developed in this period. This study reveals how Japanese educators largely failed to incorporate the teaching of oral English, as well as how a fixed pattern, which is still familiar, has emerged.

### **The Purpose of the Study**

Reforms in English teaching in middle school education during the Meiji Period were attempted through the transfer of Western knowledge. This reconstructed knowledge was generated by the reform movement in some Western countries with different school systems and cultural backgrounds. Foreign educational information about modern language teaching was brought in through several major routes. Around the start of the Meiji Period, American missionaries were already engaged in English teaching, including as private tutors. Translations of foreign works and publications into Japanese were another source of information, and a centrally driven way of obtaining Western knowledge was through sending scholars overseas.

Those scholars sent overseas, particularly to Western countries, were eventually involved in policy-making processes and secondary teacher training of both pre- and in-service teachers. 'National standards' of English teaching were then transmitted through a teacher licensing system based on an examination system, training courses, and following national guidelines. Teachers of English were therefore given an official

English teaching method with a conspicuous aim. Developments over this period prompt several fundamental questions concerning the processes of policy-making formation and the English teaching practice which resulted. Three questions in particular have shaped the present investigation:

- 1) What Western knowledge concerning language teaching was transferred to Japan during the Meiji Period?
- 2) What national standards resulted from this transfer of Western knowledge?
- 3) What is special about the English teaching practices that emerged in middle schools, — and how does this relate to the national standards and to contemporary Western approaches of language teaching?

Previous studies reveal that the Meiji Period has only been treated lightly in terms of its educational history. Matsumura (1997) stated that only inadequate attention has been paid to historical studies of English teaching in Japan as a whole, because English teachers tend to be more concerned with immediate practical issues, while neglecting to draw lessons from the past (pp.3-4). When it comes to the Meiji Period, English teaching has captured minimal interest from historians. Firstly, some attributed this to the absence of expert international advisors like Harold E. Palmer and Charles C. Fries (Itō, 1984, pp.22-24; Matsumura, 1997, p.403; Ozasa, 2001, pp.10-11). Secondly, others saw the change in actual practice as more essential rather than the Western knowledge such advisors introduced (Deki, 1994, p.23; Ishibashi, 1948, pp. 191-192, 204). Ishibashi (1948) claimed that “the same sort of theory as Palmer’s had been introduced before he came. [...] The only difference was its pervasive impact on classroom practice” (p.192). Further, the interpretation of English teaching in the late Meiji Period is not fixed. While many saw it as an epoch of Westernisation, Deki (1994) judged it as the ‘era of independence’ because English was generally taught by the Japanese, and they also came to write textbooks for themselves (p.23). He looked at translation as the Japanese traditional learning method and saw Western knowledge as being only of secondary importance. This sharply contrasts with the view that English teaching reform in this period was driven by Western knowledge.

I undertook a study of Japan's English teaching practices during the Meiji Period to address the above three central issues. This study attempts to shed new light on the Meiji's English teaching by understanding it as integrating Western knowledge, policy, and practice, and by making connections between them, while acknowledging that each element did play a significant role in shaping English teaching during the Meiji Period, and to provide a comprehensive picture of how it was shaped by Western achievements. The study focuses on educational policy documents, curriculum design, examination papers, and investigations of key individuals in positions of power. It also draws on relevant educational journals of the period and histories of schooling, as well as owing much to relevant previous studies, without which making the connections would have been impossible. The most critical and comprehensive source is Matsumura (1997), but while providing a rich source of information concerning English teaching during the Meiji Period, its exploration of the influence of Western knowledge is not explicitly in sight since it is focused chiefly on domestic developments.

This investigation shows both that the reform attempts were driven strongly by the Meiji authorities and yet how scarcely they changed actual practice. The framers of official policy in the Meiji Period accelerated them in direct response to the changing international circumstances which surrounded Japan. This resulted in the selective transfer of some of the elements of Western style methods, which were later put into policy-making processes, and the national standard of English guideline was transmitted to individual middle schools. But, English teaching practice showed a pedagogical connection to the incentives that pupils engaged with in English learning — the incentive of entering higher institutions.

The 'new method' transferred from a German version of the Natural Method was rooted in modern educational thought: It aimed for individual and human liberation by establishing an inductive, developmental learning process. (In this study, all labels under the tradition of modern educational thought suggested by Pestalozzi, such as the Direct Method, the Psychological Method, the Practice Method, the Phonetic Method, and the Mastery System, are called the 'Natural Method', while each label carries in it a distinctive focus of language proficiencies or instructional procedures.) Awareness of

‘methods’ was raised by considering how developmental learning could be made possible in the classroom. However, modern educational thought, as such, would run counter to Japan’s pre-modern, racial ethics — ‘Familial Nation’, where the Emperor was regarded as as the object of parental piety from the Japanese and the source of Meiji’s educational value —, which blocked it from being transferred.

The eclecticism in the transfer of Western modern language teaching methodology thus entailed English teachers accepting the national standard without an understanding of the principles of modern educational thought from which ‘methods’ were derived. This resulted in the national standard of English teaching coming down to inflexible teaching procedures. As a consequence, this research study identified English teaching as ‘text-centred’ learning, distorted from the principle of ‘speech primacy’, resulting from reforming attempts during the Meiji Period. Consequently, this resulted in the transmission of knowledge which was disconnected from the learner, while better suiting institutionalised tests and entrance examinations for higher institutions.

### **Researching English Teaching Reforms during the Meiji Period**

English teaching during the Meiji Period formed a point of departure toward making an official teaching methodology for middle schools. However, this did not occur until the late Meiji Period. In fact, powerful reform movements were identified in stages from the Meiji 30s through to the end (Meiji 45) (1897-1912) of the Meiji Period. As mentioned earlier, understandings of English teaching during the Meiji Period are still varied, and the perceptions of Western knowledge in connection to it are also uncertain.

There have been several scholars and politicians who provided a comprehensive overview of the history of English teaching in the Meiji Period. The earliest reflection on its history was made by Sawayanagi (1910), an important education bureaucrat of the Meiji Period, who divided the period in 1910 (Meiji 43), into three terms of teaching methodology. In the first period (1868-1887), Japanese teachers paid no attention to English pronunciation, but focused exclusively on absorbing Western knowledge through reading original texts by word-for-word translation, and all subject matter was

taught via English texts, regardless of specialty, by Japanese scholars who simply understood English (pp.204-205). In the second period (1888-1895) subject matter was taught independently by specialist teachers, focusing on Japanese translation using grammatical analysis. During this second period, textbooks authorised by the Japanese government, using the Japanese language, were gradually replacing English textbooks. This resulted in English being used only when teaching the subject, English (pp.205-206). The third Meiji Period (1896-1910) was characterised by the ‘new method’ which was stimulated by the trend towards European foreign language teaching, which was based on the fundamental principle that the basis of language was not in written texts but in sounds (p.207). This principle was generally approved (p.208). Textbooks for teaching English in this period were written largely by the Japanese themselves (p.208), and with them, grammar was to be taught inductively and translation was to be avoided through the use of objects and intuition, encouraging the direct association of objects with their meanings (p.209).

A decade later in 1923 (Taishō 12), Kaneko (1923) showed his understanding that there was a change in English teaching methodology during the Meiji Period by dividing the period into four timelines. The first period was indicated as being up to 1887 (Meiji 20), and it saw the coexistence of conversational English in a colloquial manner and a translation method that absorbed Western knowledge from originally English books. In this initial period, English was learnt only by those considered to have a higher intellectual ability (p.385). The second period, lasting until around 1897 (Meiji 30), marked an era in which English teaching was increasingly compartmentalised into translation, grammar, composition, etc., leading to it being taught in a disconnected way. The overall focus of teaching was still placed on translating high-brow content in literature, history, and legend. Pronunciation was introduced, but was not based on linguistic underpinnings (pp.386-387). The third period, from the Meiji 40s to the Taishō 5 (1907-1916), featured two changes. One change was that English teaching began to be scientifically based on phonetics as Western reform experiments. Kaneko saw this as “... nothing but the milestone in Japan’s history of foreign language teaching” and “the golden age” (p.388) and judged it as the shift toward teaching spoken English. On the other hand, Kaneko also saw that the English discipline had

become the barrier through which to pass entrance examinations, distorting pupils' motivation to learn English as a functional language (p.388). He observed that the phenomenon had penetrated every corner of the classroom. Finally, the fourth period, until 1916 (Taishō 5), featured more stress on the teaching of pronunciation (p.389).

Sadamune (1936) made a similar observation in terms of a growing attention to the improvement of teaching methodology. He divided the Meiji Period into three developmental stages. The first stage of that development, until 1897 (Meiji 30), was dominated by the translation method. He stated that up until the Meiji 30, English was taught exclusively by way of translation in quite a similar way to the grammar translation method prevalent in Western countries. New methods, such as the practice method and the mastery system spreading throughout America, were used only partially in missionary schools in Yokohama (p.17). However, the second stage, until the end of the Meiji Period, he judged, was the period in which Western new methods were imported one after another, and teaching methods based on the phonetic method were approved (p.18). This was followed by the third stage of the Taishō Period (1912-1925) when the stress on English phonetics was further emphasised with the assistance of a British advisor, Harold E. Palmer. This assistance was largely in response to the environment of international relations at the time (p.18). Thus, Sadamune summed up the overall transition by paralleling it with the developments of modern language teaching methodology in the West.

The methods outlined above were made before the Second World War, and all agreed that Western knowledge about modern language teaching marked an important transitional epoch that started to affect Japan's indigenous teaching styles, from around 1897 (Meiji 30). The transition was characterised by a change from a stress on translation to a stress on spoken English. When it comes to reflections on the history of the Meiji English teaching made from a more recent perspective, however, the impressions and understandings of it appear to be varied and inconsistent.

While Ishibashi (1948) agreed that the 'direct translation method' was inherited from the way Chinese classics was taught, and that no attention to theories for the

improvement of teaching was paid until the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 (Meiji 27), he set the second stage to include a wider period, of up to 1922 (Taishō 11), when Harold E. Palmer undertook a reform of English teaching in Japan. While looking at the 'direct translation method' as the 'Japanese premature method', Ishibashi understood Western knowledge as a crucial driving force to acquire theoretical underpinnings (p.196) and characterised its stage as "the era of awakening and theory" (p.191). What he took more seriously was, however, his observation that the theory did not affect actual practice at all (p.203). Thus, Ishibashi differentiated the third stage (1911-1945) from all the others in that theory began to affect practice (p.204); the driving force in this stage was Palmer's leadership.

Ogawa (1964) attempted to explain the transition of modern language teaching from a broader and universal perspective by paralleling both Western and Japanese developments. He set the four stages of development as beginning with the "era of translation", through to "naturalism", to "science", and then to "synthesis" (pp.5-8). He stated that these four stages developed side by side both in Western and Japanese contexts. The "era of translation" lasted until early in the twentieth century, in much the same ways as classic languages were taught (p.5). The "era of naturalism" occurred as a reaction against the preceding era, in which the Natural Method, like the Berlitz method and the Gouin method, were invented (p.6). This was then followed by the "era of science", which was also a reaction against naturalism, where the Scientific (phonetic/grammatical) Method was advocated by Henry Sweet of England and Otto Jespersen of Denmark (p.7). The principle of the Natural Method lay in its conversational approach through imitation and memory, whereas the Scientific Method took the system more seriously by converting sound into visible phonetic symbols, seeking to teach a new language accurately. In other words, while the Natural Method simply focused on whether the learner could remember and imitate, the Scientific Method tried to show the learner *how* they could learn the language (pp.7-8). According to Ogawa, the Phonetic Method was grounded on the development of modern linguistics, whereas the Natural Method possessed no such scientific backgrounds (p.8).

In terms of what constituted English teaching, Itō (1983) categorised the period from

the beginning of the Meiji Period to the year 1983 into three stages. In the first stage, called the “era of English study”, the focus was on the study of English itself, whereas the second stage, called the “era of English teaching”, looked at how it should be taught. The third stage of the “era of English education” treated both the teaching and learning of English more or less as parallel (p.20). Itō included the whole Meiji Period in the first stage. He broke down this first stage into another set of three stages, mentioning that the transfer of modern language teaching reforms in the West had occurred from the Meiji 30s on.

Like Ishibashi, Deki’s (1994) attention also focused on actual practice. He went as far as declaring that the grammar translation method was the Japanese traditional method of teaching foreign languages. He reflected on the practice of English teaching from the Meiji Period onward by pointing out that contemporary English teaching in junior and senior high schools is still dominated by the grammar translation method (pp.14-15). Deki argued that historical studies of English teaching should aim at discovering the original methods in which the Japanese have been learning English and establishing its originality, insisting on the independence of Japanese English teaching. In his argument, Western knowledge, which Japanese still rely on, was regarded as something to be overcome and something which would never last long in the Japanese background (p.29). In this context, Western knowledge affecting the reform movement during the Meiji Period was not looked at as something from which to learn. In fact, he did not praise Palmer’s work as positively as many others and limited his contribution to the study of compulsory vocabulary, idioms, and sentence patterns rather than to English teaching skills (p.29). Thus, Deki classified the Meiji Period into two periods and named the former (the period 1888-1896) the era of “import of English teaching” and the latter (1897-1912) the era of “independence of English teaching” (pp.23-24).

Figure 1.1, below, shows the different characterisations of English teaching focusing on the Meiji Period in connection with Western knowledge, based on the discussion above. It is clear that the late Meiji Period was the period in which intense contact with Western new methods occurred. While English teaching before the Meiji 30s functioned as a vital route to implant Western knowledge through a heavy translation method, it

appeared to have assumed an additional or different role towards the end of the Meiji Period by looking at Western modern language teaching methods. The contact had already started much earlier, but it was during the period, too, that Western knowledge began to be put into policy-making processes. From a long-term perspective, it was the origin of the contact with the West in English teaching policy in Japan's modern history.

Figure 1.1: English teaching and its different characterisations during the Meiji Period

	1887 (M20)	1897 (M30)	1907 (M40)	1917 (T6)	
Sawayanagi (1910)	word-for word translation	translation, analytical grammar subject 'English'	new methods		
Kaneko (1923)	conversation English heavy translation	compartmentalised teaching	scientific Western knowledge exam English	pronunciation	
Sadamune (1936)		grammar translation	the phonetic method	speech emphasis	
Ishibashi (1948)		the Japanese premature method		the era of awakening and theory	
Ogawa (1964)		translation	naturalism	science	synthesis
Itō (1983)			English study	English teaching	
Deki (1994)		imported English teaching	independence of English teaching		

### **Significance of the Study**

The study examines English teaching practice during the Meiji Period (1868-1912) in Japan, as a result of the contacts with Western culture and knowledge about modern language teaching methodology. While there has been attention to Western knowledge as a driving force for change in English teaching practice, no previous study has focused on the connection between Western knowledge and resultant practice. Education policy fits somewhere between the ideological assumptions of educational theory, and the reality of educational practice within the classroom. What is necessary is to craft the questions in a way that answers all three levels: Western knowledge, policy, and practice.

The study addresses the development of modern language teaching methodology in the West and how Japanese scholars understood Western knowledge in the political context of producing human resources who could contribute to capitalistic and military expansion. English teaching was exclusively required to provide practical, scientific, and technical knowledge and its application was taken more seriously than its historical significance. In this context, teaching practice was viewed as a technical application of predetermined teaching procedures, and English teaching and learning as the acquisition of usable skills and knowledge.

This research study takes a human development perspective in exploring the features of English teaching practice. Therefore, it centres on the genealogy of modern educational thought: This addresses what kind of human capacities were expected to grow. Modern language teaching in the West was rooted in modern educational thought, proposed by the Pestalozzian Natural Education. In the modern tradition, modern civil ethics was the fundamental goal of education, and it was by the education of human developmental capacity that it was to be achieved in the classroom. Establishing an inductive, developmental learning process, which was an integral component of the Natural Method, was the real issue to be addressed in looking into the transformation of English teaching practice. Previous studies tend to summarise that practice was not affected by Western knowledge, with the Grammar Translation Method being dominant in the classroom. However, it did affect practice, although practice did not change much. The question to be addressed in this study is not whether practice became practical, but how the Meiji Government's view of nationalistic English teaching in the late Meiji Period met and fused with the modern tradition of educational thought.

Whatever consequences may have resulted, Meiji's pursuit of reforming English teaching laid down the initial foundation on which the subsequent reform movements were prescribed. Understanding the structure of English teaching practice from the above mentioned perspective could provide us with historical insights and pedagogical lessons on the present-day issues of English teaching in Japan.

## **Background to the Period**

Policy-making processes for English teaching were accelerated in the late Meiji Period. The national standards thus drawn up were imposed on individual middle schools, by way of local governors, and began to be translated into prefectural teaching regulations and English syllabi. However, local English syllabi underwent a deviation from the national standards to suit a different educational need, which was, in part at least, caused by the pressure to prepare pupils for entrance examinations.

The second half of the Meiji Period saw drastic changes both in the international relationship and in the domestic socio-cultural orientation of youth, which led to the awareness of a new educational goal and the renewal of a national standard of English teaching. The victory of the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) marked the beginning of these changes, and the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) further promoted internationalism in politics and economy. Simultaneously, Japanese society was faced with the rise of a new youth generation. This post-war generation, stimulated by individualism and socialist ideas, was looked at by authority as a lapse in patriotic spirit. The Meiji Government began to stress the view of nation as the ‘Familial Society’, while maintaining the ‘expansion of the nation’ policy in Japanese capitalism and militarism.

The Minister of Education Nobuaki Makino swiftly promulgated the *Boshin* Imperial Rescript (*Boshin Shōsho*) in 1908 (Meiji 41) to tighten up the youth and place them back into the national order. Controlling the youth’s individualistic thought and stressing patriotic sentiment were strengthened in middle school education. Additionally, internationalism in the economy and military sections stressed pragmatism in educational goals in the context of winning further trust and recognition in international society. As a consequence, for English teaching, awareness of applied English abilities was raised. The revision of Middle School Teaching Guidelines in 1911 (Meiji 44) was an outcome of policy-makers’ ‘nationalistic internationalism’ as the Meiji’s final national standard.

However, middle school's strong orientation to liberal education and academic nature (closely related to academism in imperial university) did not easily allow pragmatism to penetrate middle school education. On the other hand, 'higher liberal education' was not easily achieved, either. Preparatory education for higher schools was increasingly added to the primary 'higher liberal education' role of middle school education toward the late Meiji Period, and on the surface, middle schools came to be seen primarily as preparatory schools for entering higher institutions, and therefore, emphasising rote learning for tests.

### **Research Themes and Questions**

The key research questions for this study draw directly on a set of underlying themes. The questions have been organised under the key themes of, (a) the transfer of Western knowledge and Japanese understandings of it, (b) the nature of the national standards that resulted, which includes deliberate political interference in curriculum and structures, and (c) the distinctive features of English teaching practice that emerged.

#### **The Transfer of Western Knowledge and the Requisite Japanese Understanding**

Japan's modernisation during the Meiji Period was driven by making reference to Western achievements through varying routes. Employing expert advisors, translating original works, and sending representative scholars overseas were the major methods that the Government adopted. In the history of English teaching, these routes were important, as well. Even before the turn of the Meiji Period, foreign people were employed to teach the English language in higher educational institutions, and in some secondary institutions. As the Japanese had accumulated Western knowledge and acquired the capacity to teach in their own language, foreign teachers were gradually being replaced by Japanese by the early Meiji 30s. Since modernisation first focused on higher education, this replacement occurred first in universities. In secondary education, foreign teachers more or less continuously taught English throughout the period, although the emphasis on English teaching varied from one period to another. Publications of translated works on English teaching, as well as those written by

Japanese scholars of foreign languages also began to appear from the mid Meiji Period onward. Further, after the Meiji 30s, the Government sent scholars chiefly to Western countries at the government's expense directly to obtain useful educational information and to meet the Japanese educational demand. Thus, the Japanese began to seek a more suitable teaching method, while making reference to Western knowledge about modern language teaching.

Key Japanese actors in these transfer activities were Naibu Kanda (1857-1923) and Yoshisaburō Okakura (1868-1936). Kanda was the first scholar sent overseas and a strong advocate for the Natural Method and English as practical utilities. He saw language as a united whole that cannot be studied separately. This language view led him to believe that the four modes of language function should be developed harmoniously and that imitation and habit formation is an integral part of language learning processes. Okakura was also given the chance to contact Western knowledge directly after Kanda. He was originally a linguist of the Japanese language and continued to see English teaching in connection with the establishment of the 'national language'. Okakura is often summarised to be an extreme nationalist and was convinced that the 'Japanese spirit' would be strengthened by contacting the culture of advanced Western civilisations. He believed that Japan had advanced because each time it had encountered the great culture of the advanced nation, Japan had adopted the good to make up for its deficiency. His view of English teaching, therefore, indicated a strong inclination to the Natural Method as a methodology, while concentrating its aim on the acquisition of Western culture (British culture, among others) through reading. Both of them gave crucial input to the processes of education policy-making. In fact, their involvement with policy-making was significantly influential and as a consequence, they will appear from time to time in the discussions of this study. It was impossible to focus on the two figures in an independent chapter, so a detailed account of Kanda's and Okakura's view of English teaching is included in the Appendices (see Appendix 1.1, pp.332-345).

Educational information obtained from Western countries was rooted in the so-called 'reform movement' in modern language teaching. They attempted to introduce practical

approaches to teaching a new language. The Natural Method, the Direct Method, the Practice Method, the Phonetic Method, the Mastery System, and the like were all terms representing an opposition to the Grammar-Translation Method in language teaching, and were grounded on the language view that speech is the primary substance. The emphasis on pragmatic advantages of language was derived from the counter-reaction to the dominant focus on *formale Bildung* of the Grammar-Translation Method, which was applied from Latin to modern language teaching until it was attacked by the reform movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

It is known that the reform from grammar-focused language teaching to speech-centred, applied methods was rooted in Pestalozzi's educational ideas of social reformation. The modern educational thought, called 'Natural Education', proposed by the Swiss educator Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827), grew as a strong antithesis to the European conventional education exclusively directed to the privileged ruling class in higher education and dogmatic religious teaching in the common school curriculum. It advocated the establishment of the individual and human liberation, particularly that of poor people, by enabling them to achieve intellectual, cultural, and economic independence. The teaching of mother tongues was encouraged in place of studying classical languages like Greek and Latin, and learning foreign languages was valued in terms of its practical utility, which would give one freedom and powers to fulfill one's life. The Natural Method was rooted in the tradition of Natural Education and aimed at this modern educational goal. To realise this educational goal, the Natural Method maintained that language learning should begin with *Anschauung*, intuition, or perception and involved an inductive, developmental process, standing on the view that 'nature' is an orderly system. In modern language teaching, *Anschauung* could be made possible by providing speech; thus, the Natural Method was grounded in the principle of 'speech primacy'. Thus, in the natural tradition speech was the key component, which would provide a totality of language for the learner intuitively to recognise it toward an increasingly clear understanding of the language.

Pestalozzi's school was visited by policy makers, educational researchers, and practitioners from other Western countries and North America, and his educational

practice was transmitted and diffused into a range of teaching patterns. In reality, Pestalozzi's methods were used most by upper middle class schools. His liberalism and enlightenment as individual and human liberation were accepted as bourgeois individualism. They eventually became a pedagogical foundation for the making of modern curriculum at primary, secondary, and higher education levels in Western countries. Expanded curriculum, less Classics (except for elites), and some recognition of instructional stages were some of the transformations, while tests, rote-learning, and the like were still used. This movement was promoted as democratic and economic liberalism rose in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.

This carried with it much debate about curriculum design between the tradition of humanism and the modern reformists, and the demand for the teaching of modern languages in secondary schools was made and resisted in this context. It involved a debate between the classical tradition, emphasising *formale Bildung*, through the Grammar-Translation Method, and the modern reformists, with their focus on practical utility and oral teaching. German and British practices were a diffused version of the original Natural Method emphasising technocratic utility over scholasticism. It was an outcome of these reformed methods in Germany and Britain that Japanese educational reformers met and attempted to transfer. This context prompted several questions:

- 1) How, when, and from which countries was Western knowledge about modern language teaching methodology transferred?
- 2) What was the content of the Western knowledge?
- 3) How was the Western knowledge developed in the West?

#### The Nature of the National Standards that Resulted

The original Middle School Order was promulgated in 1886 (Meiji 19) by Arinori Mori with the dual aims of vocational and preparatory functions, which were virtually ambiguous in practice. The fundamental nature of the middle school system was established by the revised Middle School Order in 1899 (Meiji 32), after much controversy between a vocation-focused reformation and an academism-oriented

curriculum. It was the first settlement of this controversy between Dairoku Kikuchi, the Minister of Education from the academics who insisted on 'higher liberal education', and the Vice-Minister of Education Masatarō Sawayanagi, who followed the former Minister of Education Kowashi Inoue's vocation-oriented view and attempted to pull back middle schools' focus to local needs. Kikuchi recognised that 'higher liberal education' was an independent entity, which should be differentiated from preparatory functions for higher institutions (Yoneda, 1992, p.14) and expected to transform middle school education to cultivate the powers of wide and deep recognitions and insights; he was worried about the fact that it had ended up with cramming instruction and rote learning.

Consequently, policy-makers' involvement in mandating individual middle schools became rigorous. In 1901 (Meiji 34), the Enforcement Regulation was drawn up, in which municipal governors were instructed to prepare their own middle school regulations. Individual middle schools were also ordered to prepare their school by-laws based on it, including a detailed teaching syllabus. From then onward, rigour in middle school administration became the norm. Thus, the Middle School Teaching Guideline (*Chūgakkō Kyōju Yōmoku*), the first and key educational instruction, was drawn up in 1902 (Meiji 35), defining the aim, method, and content of middle school instruction. In the 1902 Guideline, English teaching was characterised by the introduction of 'speech primacy' to the national teaching method and the stress on spoken English in initial instruction. It also incorporated teaching foreign cultures in the course of English teaching. The institutionalisation of an English teaching method grounded in 'speech primacy' and geared to immediate practical advantages was first driven by this guideline.

But, this only marked the beginning of policy-makers' attempts to explore the direction of the 1902 Guideline. It was in this process that Western knowledge came into play more boldly than ever. From the 1902 English guideline on, the Ministry of Education's activities for investigating Western modern language teaching methodology were continuously carried out and strengthened. The major route for the investigation, after 1902 (Meiji 35), was through students overseas at government expense, and the

dispatch was carried out every year toward the end of the Meiji Period. As the content of Western knowledge spread and was shared by those concerned with teaching English, varied understandings concerning the nature of Western new methods were heard. The English Teachers' Association (*Eigo Kyōjuhō Kenkyū-bu*) attached to the Imperial Educational Society (*Teikoku Kyōiku Kai*), the sole nation-wide professional teacher organisation, revealed them. However, as a whole their view of Western new methods was formalised and did not capture their essential features of the so-called Natural Method as an inductive, developmental learning process. That is, for the most part, English teaching practice was shallowly taken as the application of a patterned procedure into practical and applied situations, and the view of a selective, deliberate application of the new method was contextualised by this 'technical application' view of practice. Hence, a partial modernisation as an 'add-on' was approved for English pronunciation and penmanship. The real issue to be faced by the practitioners would be how the traditional 'Sodoku' method could be structurally transformed by 'speech primacy' in a nationalistic education context.

The Minister of Education, Nobuaki Makino, began investigating middle school education to determine the deficiency, and what the substance of 'higher liberal education' should be. A Ministry of Education inspector Yoshinobu Ōshima drew up his investigation in 1908 (Meiji 41) and pointed out that the deficiency consisted in scientific thinking styles.

The next step Makino took was to found the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English (*Eigo Kyōju-hō Chōsa Inikai*), in February 1907 (Meiji 40), to make a blueprint for reforming English teaching by taking advantage of Western input obtained. The Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools (*Chūtōgakkō ni okeru Eigo Kyōju-hō Chōsa-iin Hōkoku*) was drawn up by seven leading scholars of English teaching, of whom Naibu Kanda and Yoshisaburō Okakura were members and made public in *The Official Gazette* in January 1909 (Meiji 42). It was transmitted across Japan by several English journal magazines. Makino was of the opinion that English teaching should be geared towards applied utilities in response to the 'expansion of the nation' policy. It turned out

that the Mombushō Report stressed aural-oral proficiencies and writing skills by apparently introducing the principle of ‘speech primacy’.

In the following year, Okakura led the preparation of the English teaching syllabus for practice middle school attached to Tokyo Higher Normal School in January 1910 (Meiji 43), and it was distributed nationwide. This was a significant movement, since the syllabus is said to have affected the 1911 national guideline. Consequently, this was regarded by other middle schools as a prescription. The 1911 English guideline was promulgated in the context of the Mombushō Report and Tokyo Higher Normal School English syllabus’s fundamental direction. This marked the Meiji’s final settlement for middle school English teaching.

With the settlement of the national standard, the Ministry of Education’s attempts to transmit it to secondary schools across Japan began by putting it into several institutional routes. One such route was through teacher licence examinations for pre-service teachers. The content of examinations was modified and revised in accordance with the focus of the national standard. For in-service teachers, lectures and training courses, sponsored by the Ministry of Education, were provided by professors at Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools during the summer when schools were closed. Attendees were chosen from across prefectures, becoming the source of knowledge for their own region and school. Further, English journalism played a part in the transmission of central educational information. One such example was *Eigo Kyōju* (*The English Teachers’ Magazine*), which started in 1906 (Meiji 39) as the first professional magazine specifically for English teaching methods.

The following questions arise out of this context of the preparation of the national standard and its transmission:

- 1) How did the Japanese understand Western knowledge?
- 2) What was the political driver for making the 1911 national standard?
- 3) What was the fundamental nature of the 1911 national standard in relation to Western knowledge?

4) How was the 1911 national standard transmitted to teachers and schools?

#### The Distinctive Features of English Teaching Practice that Emerged

An examination of multiple historical studies of local middle schools revealed that individual prefectures and middle schools across Japan set out to organise their teaching in accordance with the 1902 English guideline, and later with the 1911 national standard. In prefectural administration, education regulations were drawn up, and annual, term, and weekly teaching plans were deemed mandatory and censored by a principal. A study group within schools was also established, with the purpose of changing teaching practice accordingly to the national standard in tension with local pragmatic needs.

However, what was happening in the classroom was not an accurate translation of the national standard, but rather a more distorted pattern of teaching that derived from the pressure to prepare pupils to pass entrance examinations for higher institutions.

Traditionally, Japanese schools — both primary and middle schools — were structured on rigorous examinations. It was customary in some prefectures for a competition in scholastic abilities to be regularly held among the middle schools within a prefecture. How many pupils were admitted to higher schools was a key concern for teachers, and was considered to be an important outcome of middle school education.

Pupils' options after graduation included commercial schools, technical schools, medical schools, military academies, and higher schools, being the sole routes to enter into one of the imperial universities. There were some pupils who chose a working career, such as primary school teachers, local public servants, or business. It was observed that what types of English examinations and the nature of English knowledge these higher institutions required of them would affect how and what teachers would teach in middle school education. Term examinations given by middle schools reflected a close relationship with both the formal and the substantial nature of entrance examinations. This parallelism was also a reflection of how English was taught in middle school classrooms. In this circumstance, the roles played by foreign teachers

came to be limited by the nature of entrance examination questions. Middle schools were faced with deciding between speech-focused, practical English and grammar-translation focused, examination English. The following questions arise from this context:

- 1) What were the pedagogical features of English entrance examination questions and term examinations?
- 2) What was the fixed pattern of English teaching?
- 3) What were the pedagogical features of English teaching practice in middle schools in relation to the national standard?

### **Research Methodology**

A fundamental characteristic of the study is that of qualitative research, largely involving an interpretive approach. This is a historical study of the past approximately 100 years ago. This required focusing on the archives that exist today, as well as relevant previous studies. The major methodology applied for the historical study of English teaching generally consists of researching literature, documents, and interviews. The majority of historical research on English teaching in Japan has been done through literature and document analysis (Deki, 1985, p.2). Interviews are used with people related to a research topic, including the person under investigation (pp.4-5), but this study used researching literature and documents only.

The study focused on researching the following aspects of investigation involved in English teaching during the Meiji Period:

- 1) Policy documents,
- 2) Key individuals in positions of power,
- 3) Curriculum designs and teaching plans,
- 4) Examination papers,
- 5) English textbooks, and
- 6) Works on foreign language teaching methods in Japan and modern language

teaching methods in the West.

The key policy documents included Middle School Order (1886 and 1899), Middle School Enforcement Regulation (1901 and 1902), Middle School Teaching Guideline (1902 and 1911), and Gazette notifications. The Report of the Committee of the Curriculum for Ordinary Middle School (1898) prepared by the Ministry of Education, The Report of the Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools (1909) prepared by the Ministry of Education, and the English syllabus drawn up by the practice middle school of Tokyo Higher Normal School (1910) were not legislation but possessed a prescriptive nature and impacted the subsequent policy-making processes. Thus, they were put under investigation. The key individuals were scholars of English language teaching, such as Naibu Kanda and Yoshisaburō Okakura, and politicians like Dairoku Kikuchi, Masatarō Sawayanagi, and Nobuaki Makino, and their own works and memoirs, as well as works on them, were consulted. Examination papers ranged from teacher licence examinations, entrance examinations for higher educational institutions, and middle school term examinations. The English textbooks chosen for investigation were those of a high adoption ratio. Works on foreign language teaching methodology included *Gaikokugo Kenkyū Yōran* (essentials of foreign language studies, 1891), *Gaikokugo Kyōjuhō Kairyō Setsu* (reformed methods in foreign language teaching, 1893), *Gaikokugo Kyōju Shinron* (a new theory of teaching foreign languages, 1894), *Eigo Kyōjuhō Kairyō An* (ideas for reforming English teaching, 1896), *Eigo Kyōjuhō* (the English teaching method, 1897), *Gaikokugo no Kenkyū* (a study of foreign languages, 1899), *Eigo Kenkyūhō* (how to study English, 1902), *Saishin Eigo Kyōshūhō* (the latest method of teaching and learning English, 1903), and *Eigo Kyōiku* (English education, 1911). There were some translated works, such as *Gaikokugo Kenkyūhō* (*The Study of Languages brought back to its true principles, or the art of thinking in a foreign language*, Claude Marcel, 1869), *Gaikokugo Kyōjuhō* (*The Practical Study of Languages*, Henry Sweet, 1899), and *Gaikokugo Saishin Kyōjuhō* (*The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany*, Mary Brebner, 1898).

The major types of literature and documents used in this study included:

- 1) Previous works,
- 2) Educational journal magazines, and
- 3) Historical studies of individual middle schools.

Previous works on major aspects of English teaching during the Meiji Period included a history of middle school system in modern Japan, an educational history and modern language teaching of the West, and a history of English teaching as a whole during the Meiji Period. Educational journal magazines focused both on policy-making processes relating to the middle school system, and on the reform movement of English teaching. The major sources belonging to the former included *Dai Nippon Kyōikukai Zasshi* (*Journal of the Educational Society of Japan*), *Kyōiku Kōhō* (official report on education), and *Kyōiku Jiron* (educational review). The latter included *Eigo Seinen* (*The Rising Generation*), *Eigo Sekai* (*The English World*), *Eigo Kyōju* (*The English Teachers' Magazine*), *The Chūgwai Eiji Shimbun - A Fortnightly Magazine Devoted to the Study of Practical English*, *Nippon Eigaku Shinshi* (*The New Magazine*), and some others. In this study, sources were collected from the total number of 114 historical studies of individual middle schools that existed in the late Meiji Period across Japan, which were all municipal schools. This number accounts for approximately 38%, given that the number of municipal middle schools in the period was approximately 300:

Hokkaidō, 0	Kansai, 9
Tōhoku, 15	Chūgoku, 11
Kantō, 22	Shikoku, 10
Hokushinetsu, 22	Kyūshū and Okinawa, 13
Chūbu, 12	

The 114 covered eight of the nine regions across Japan. This was important in order to capture correctly the overall picture of English teaching practice in middle schools across Japan, considering varied local conditions in population, occupations, and so on. No historical studies of middle schools in the Hokkaido region could be obtained, however.

## **Document Analysis**

This study focused on the analysis of curriculum designs, teaching plans, and examination papers of several kinds, in addition to educational legislative documents. Since these were public documents, the method used was document analysis. There are some basic principles that apply to the analysis of documents, and these are discussed as authenticity, reliability, meaning and theorisation (McCulloch, 2004, p.42).

The first step is to establish the authenticity of the document. No judgment can be made on the quality of the data until the document has been validated (Scott, 1990, p.6). In analysing a document on education policy, it is important to first ascertain what type of document it is, who produced it, and what institutions or actors are involved. The relationship between individuals or agencies can reveal much about the underlying network of agencies involved in the policy process. Once the authenticity of the document has been established, it is necessary to check the reliability of the document in terms of subjectivity. Subjectivity, once identified, is valuable to the researcher in understanding the issues involved. However, to overcome problems of bias and reliability, it is necessary to make use of a wide range of documents (McCulloch, 2004, p.44).

Understanding the meaning of the document is the next stage of analysis. Looking beyond the written word to the background or context of the time, as well as the implied values of the document, will reveal more about the author/s. In the case of a policy, it is important to examine it carefully and to assess whether a particular political affiliation might influence the tone or emphasis of the document. Consideration of meaning impacts the final stage of analysis — theorisation, which involves developing a framework through which to interpret the document (p.44).

Understandably, similar suggestions may also apply to the field of historical research in English teaching in Japan in particular. Deki pointed out two suggestions for an accurate interpretation and assessment of a historical figure; collecting multiple sources and

considering meaning in a comprehensive context (Deki, 1985, pp.2-4). As for the importance of multiple sources, he warned a researcher to be aware of the possibility that an assessment of the same historical figure could vary in accordance with a change in their age or political position (p.3). With regard to contextual interpretation, Deki directed our attention to the importance of the background that a certain work grew out of. He pointed out the risk of misinterpretation of the work by taking up an example in which a work written for classroom use was criticised from the perspective of an academic background and condition (p.4). Erikawa warned us to be aware of the limitation of legislative documents as a source for considering its impact on actual practice, and instead pointed out the importance of using historical studies of individual schools or historical sources produced by the prefectural sector (Erikawa, 2006, p.12). Hence, he recommended that not only deduction from central policy makers but also induction from a diversity of local situations should be employed (p.12).

In this study, an interpretation and selection of reliable documents were based on the following considerations. For policy documents such as Middle School Order, Enforcement Regulation, and Teaching Guideline, it was important for the researcher to investigate the background and conditions in which they were written. Specifically, it was a key task to interpret what the change meant in terms of education policy, while paying attention to subtle changes between the guidelines, for instance. To do this, it was an indispensable task to make use of multiple works and to understand the development of the middle school system. In this task, keen attention was paid to the view of English teaching and education policy of the Ministers of Education, in the context of national policy of the Meiji Government as a whole. Further attention was paid to the socio-cultural background in which the ideas of socialism and naturalism had spread among the young generation, and had been seen as problematic by policy-makers during the late Meiji Period. The direction of education policy was closely connected with the rise of socialism, as well as the needs of imperialism and national development.

Besides policy documents on the education system, educational journal magazines played a crucial role in informing the researcher of ongoing progression in education and English teaching policy making. Educational journal magazines used in this study

refer to magazines related to education in general and English-related magazines. The major magazines examined have already been referred to, above. Among others, *Dai Nippon Kyōikukai Zasshi* and *Kyōiku Kōhō* were published by the Imperial Educational Society, which played a supportive role for the Ministry of Education, and *Kyōiku Jiron*, which advocated enlightenment education and introduced the Pestalozzian educational principles to Japanese educational circles. All of these journals represented the central movement of education policy making in this period, as well as carried a rich source of information on English teaching policy-making processes. In this regard, English magazines, such as *Eigo Seinen* and *The Chūgwai Eiji Shimbun*, also played a crucial role, in addition to providing English-specific information.

Investigating some key individuals in positions of power was an important task in interpreting educational thought embedded in policy documents. The person's own works and memoirs were examined as central sources, which were further investigated to secure consistency, integration, and objectivity, using a wide range of previous works and articles. Finally, reliability in selecting particular sources was secured. That is, in selecting samples of curriculum designs, and examination papers for analysis, documents that typified them, as well as presented the whole picture of a sample, were deliberately chosen.

### **Research Design**

This study deals with a history of education in Japan, but the purpose lies in researching education. The central concern of the study is with pupils who were in the process of development toward their future, and its connection to foundational policy development using a key historical moment. A historical study constitutes an area of educational research, and therefore, it is one of the approaches to educational research that connects and gives insights into contemporary issues. In this sense, methodology taken in a historical approach to educational research can be something to be created, rather than applied, in relation to the researcher, educational facts, and themes, while focusing on the actual concern with present-day educational issues.

The focus of the study is on educational practice and educational facts. Practice or facts are a phenomenon that occurs in the classroom, which can also be seen as a structured and complex phenomenon (Inagaki, 1970, p.169). To take the example of educational practice involving a teaching/learning situation, the phenomenon is a complex structure composed of the three elements of pupils, teaching materials, and teachers. Each element carries its own structured background and conditions with it. In the case of understanding pupils, the conditions, such as classes, schools, communities, society, life conditions, life history, and even the view of children in their society will be considered. In teaching material, the curriculum design in which the material is selected and sequenced, the cultural standard, and education policy on the teaching content will be taken into account as determinant conditions. Likewise, for teachers the standard of teaching skills in a society, social views attached to them, and political regulations on teachers will all direct teaching practice. Thus, the complex structures of educational practice make it impossible to understand educational facts if methodology, curriculum designs, or educational legislations are fragmented and independently treated. Due to a structured complexity of educational practice, therefore, a method to find a structure needs to be created in order to ensure that the risk of the intended aim becoming diffused, resulting in presenting the mosaic facts of conditions and backgrounds may be overcome. What we need is a type of method that binds a complexity of educational practice.

Inagaki (1970) suggested the need of finding and setting up a 'category' that embraces elements of educational practice and consistently connects to present complex educational facts, allowing a researcher to identify a structure embedded in them (p.170). A 'category' is to be found through a two-way thinking in which a 'category' is one that allows a researcher to discover and capture educational facts, and facts are in turn to develop the 'category' in its tentative form into a fuller one. This is an interactive process involving a researcher in a sense of vulnerability, ambiguity, and complexity (p.171). Thus, Inagaki showed four conditions that a 'category' should satisfy:

- 1) A connection to human development as the central concern,
- 2) An analytic focus that is not general,

- 3) A structural connection to the whole (it should not be self-contained or compartmentalised in itself), and
- 4) A condition in which the concept of a ‘category’ is not reduced into an element of another educational fact, but gives further insight and perspectives to the fact and thus binds other educational facts together (p.171).

When one loses sight of complex structures of educational practice and the need for a ‘category’, educational research is likely to become subordinated to other themes, reduced, fragmented or self-contained into an element without a structure, and to prove itself will become an aim.

This study focuses on the structure of English teaching practice in middle schools during the Meiji Period with a view to identifying the structure of issues and difficulties with which English education in junior and senior high schools in contemporary Japan is faced. The Meiji Period formed a point of departure from the reform in English teaching in an institutionalised school environment, and a range of reform activities involved the structure of contemporary issues and could reveal it very clearly. In other words, the methodological structure of the Meiji’s reform movements, which were based on Western achievements and motivated by political and economic initiatives, has not changed fundamentally even today. In this sense, the focus of the study will promote a structural understanding of contemporary issues on English education in Japan.

In this study, the research method was based on the structural and complex nature of educational practice described above. The research involved was composed of three phases; the introduction and intake of Western knowledge; the institutionalisation and transmission of the national standard of English teaching; and approaching English teaching practice in the classroom. For the first phase of introducing Western knowledge, English teaching practice in this period was structured by the introduction of Western educational culture into the special features of Japanese educational culture. With regard to the second phase of institutionalisation, educational practice in middle schools was structured by its academic and privileged nature, being the sole route leading up to imperial university or a few opportunities to be trained into the middle class leaders in

local towns. The academically demanding curriculum designs and teaching methods chosen were structured by education policy, which was selected by policy-makers in response to the transition of the international environment. Thus, the third phase of English teaching practice was structured by the idiosyncrasies of middle schools and the pragmatism and Imperialism, in conjunction with the impact of Western thought and input.

A ‘category’ set to bind the elements involved and to capture the complexity of structures in the Meiji Period’s English teaching practice in this study was the principle of the Natural Method called ‘speech primacy’. ‘Speech primacy’ was grounded on the modern view of language that speech should be looked at as the primary substance in the development of a new language. As a consequence, it made it possible to rationalise a teaching process by interconnecting a variety of teaching matters on the principle of ‘from sound to its written form’ and to design a systematic ‘method’. Thus, ‘speech primacy’ provided the researcher with a consistent analytical perspective on the abovementioned three phases and with a stable and solid framework for this study. Furthermore, ‘speech primacy’ also worked to identify the structures of the contemporary issues facing English education in Japan.

The following chapters will present findings under the three aims of the study. Chapters two and three will focus on the first aim, each dealing with Japanese contacts with Western knowledge during the Meiji Period. Chapter two will look at how Western knowledge about modern language teaching methodology was introduced into Japanese English teaching, focusing on the three major routes of transfer. This chapter sets the stage on which the interactions between Western knowledge and English teaching policy-making were gradually concentrated in the late Meiji Period. Chapter three will deal with the sources of Western educational information by tracing back to the making of modern educational thought in the West and identifying the distinctive features of German and British practice which resulted from it.

Chapters four, five, six, seven, and eight will discuss the policy-making processes in which the national standards were institutionalised and transmitted to local middle

schools. Chapter four will look at the nature of the 1902 English guideline to mark the beginning of policy-making processes toward the 1911 national guideline, in relation to Western knowledge. Chapter five will examine the Japanese understandings of the transferred Western knowledge and point out inconsistencies, which became the policy-makers' motivation to further propagate English teaching directed chiefly by German practice, which will be discussed in chapter six. Chapter seven will focus on the 1911 national standard as an outcome of the foregoing policy-making attempts. Chapter eight will identify the transmission routes of the national standard into local teachers and schools by looking at changes in the content of teacher licence examinations and teacher training courses, as well as examining English journal magazines as a supplementary transmission route.

Finally, chapter nine will look at the third aim of approaching the nature of actual English teaching practice in middle schools. This chapter will examine the changes of structures in middle schools imposed by the national standard, and focus on entrance examination papers, term papers, and English textbooks. It will also be supplemented by retrospective accounts of teaching and learning experiences stated by teachers and pupils. This chapter will be followed by a conclusion.

### **Limitations**

This study involved a wide range of aspects of the history of English teaching during the Meiji Period, by attempting to connect with the central focus on cultural features of modern Western knowledge — the view of modern language as ‘speech primacy’ — between its introduction, institutionalisation, and teaching practice. Naturally, the study owed as much to the findings of the past as to those newly found, and an excavation and scrutiny on further relevant sources for some of the chapters in this study was needed. This is particularly true of Chapters two and nine, which constitute some of the most essential parts of the study and present the most serious shortage in the relevant sources found so far. In chapter two, in which the transfer routes of Western knowledge are discussed, more detailed information on the inspection activities of Naibu Kanda and Yoshisaburō Okakura in Germany and England was necessary. In addition, information

on other inspectors in Western countries was desirable to support and verify the chapter's conclusion drawn from the analysis of these two key actors.

More sources were needed for chapter nine to learn about the structure of English teachers' actual practice. The study made reference to historical studies of schooling compiled by individual middle schools (contemporary high schools). One of the most relevant sources for this purpose was English teaching syllabi and teaching plans made by individual schools and teachers. Some English teaching plans were found in *Chūtōgakkō Genkō Kyōjuhō Ruisan* (a collection of contemporary teaching methods in secondary schools), compiled by the Imperial Educational Society in May 1909 (Meiji 42), and others made by Hiroshima Higher Normal School during the Taishō Period. They consistently showed a version of the Herbartian five-step teaching ('Preparation', 'Presentation', 'Association', 'Systematisation', and 'Application'), which was highly formalised into 'Preparation', 'Teaching' and 'Practice', while losing the essential nature of the Natural Method that language learning is an inductive, developmental process. These represented a prescriptive role for local English teaching practice, and valuable sources for identifying the special features of the Meiji English teaching practice. However, they did not provide a coherent amount of information so as to draw generalisations about English teaching practice as a result of the impacts of the 1911 national standard. What was needed was those prepared between the 1911 and 1919 English guidelines, but few such sources were found in the historical studies of individual middle schools collected for this study; they could have been found by visiting schools across Japan. However, this was not pursued, as it was considered beyond the scope of this research. According to some of the historical studies of schools, schools hardly possess English teaching syllabi or teaching plans today.

Finally, selecting English textbooks of a high adoption rate after the 1911 English guideline could not be approached accurately. There were quite a few English textbooks for middle school use then, and the Ministry of Education did survey their adoption rates. Unfortunately, it did not have the precise data for the period of investigation, which made it hard for the researcher to specify the ideal types of English textbooks to be examined.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **TRANSFER OF WESTERN KNOWLEDGE**

Meiji's modernisation relied heavily on Western theories — from natural to social and cultural fields. Modernisation in English teaching was not an exception. In chapter two, our concern is to identify how and what Western theories of foreign language teaching the Japanese appropriated in order to modernise it. Generally speaking, the transfer of Western theories during the Meiji Period occurred in three ways: through the pedagogical activities associated with the employment of foreign teachers, through translations and publications, and by sending students overseas. Below, each route will be examined with a focus on middle school English teaching.

The three routes of transfer were already evident at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate (Ogata, 1961). Political leaders were faced with the task of directing Japan in a certain political system after Perry used gunboat diplomacy to open Japan's long-closed door and to participate in the international capitalist world. What the Meiji Government had in mind was to centralise the technology and knowledge coming into Japan within the framework of the Imperial system. Employing foreign teachers, translations and sending people overseas were begun mostly simultaneously, but the Government had a plan of eventually replacing foreign teachers working inside Japan with Japanese returning from abroad for the independence of education (Miyoshi, 1986, p.270). Attempts to transform English teaching practice were made in line with this political context.

#### **Employment of Foreign Teachers**

Foreign teachers, employed by the Government and by the municipalities, as well as private sectors, made a variety of contributions towards Japan's modernity in many fields; this included medicine, agriculture, engineering, commerce, art, music, as well as defence forces (Ogata, 1961, pp.103-110). In the case of foreign language teachers, they comprised missionaries sent to propagate Christianity, mostly from America, individuals who arrived by chance, or those called in at the Government's request (Miyoshi, 1986,

p.35). All this started after the Treaty between Japan and America was signed in 1858 (Ansei 5) and throughout the Meiji Period. They were employed as English teachers at the Shogunate schools, the clan schools, and a variety of government schools, including universities, engineering schools, agricultural schools, and foreign language schools. They also taught at private schools, and later at secondary schools as these were gradually established. Those who arrived as missionaries made major contributions to foreign language teaching; they taught mostly in secondary education.

At the time of the Meiji Restoration (1868), it was considered urgent by the Meiji Government to prepare teaching staff for universities to produce a national technocratic elite. The teaching staff was usually supplied from amongst foreigners already residing in Japan. It was not unusual that they were hired with high salaries simply because they could speak a foreign language (Kawazumi, 1978, p.11). But, as demands were placed on universities for the human resources needed to handle wider specialised fields of instruction, this ad hoc method was gradually altered by a direct visit abroad by a VIP in the Meiji Government, or through diplomatic contacts (Miyoshi, 1986, pp.44-45). Parallel to this, the Meiji Government increasingly established regulations on foreign teacher employment to secure the quality of their teaching and to reinforce the Government's control over them. Submission of academic certificates was made mandatory for such teachers, control was extended over municipal and private schools in addition to governmental schools, and missionaries who engaged in Christian evangelism were expelled from their teaching positions. Behind this was the idea of the separation of religion from education (Miyoshi, 1986, pp.46-47). Thus, their contribution to foreign language teaching was undertaken along with the systemisation of foreign teacher employment.

### **English Teachers in Higher Education**

According to Hiroyasu Ogata's (1961) study of foreign teachers employed during the Meiji Period, approximately 500 foreign teachers taught in Japanese classrooms. That is, a total of 169 foreign teachers were employed at the university or other higher technical institutions, and another 330 in other lower educational institutions run by the

governmental, municipal or private sectors (p.101). For university education, in terms of academic fields and nationalities, natural science and social science teachers were dominated by German nationals, and the nationality of the humanities teachers, where language teachers belonged, was dominated by the British (see Appendix 2.1, p.346).

While the Meiji Government's orientation towards German expertise was evident in the overall fields of academic disciplines, the humanities were occupied by quite a few foreign teachers employed for English teaching. English teachers comprised 50% (32) of all the foreign language teachers. Their numbers rapidly decreased in the first five years; by the year 1877 (Meiji 10), 24 English teachers were dismissed (see Appendix 2.2, p.346). This rapid decrease in numbers was a general trend, and did not take into account areas of specialty; 142 (84%) of all the 169 were dismissed (Ogata, 1961, pp.102-103). This phenomenon suggests that teachers at the university level were swiftly replaced with Japanese nationals. For English teaching, the English language was considered to be the imperative medium for receiving technical instruction, which was the central goal of university education. This meant that English teaching had not become an independent school subject at this time. Students learnt English by directly tackling technical textbooks imported from Britain (and from Germany and France too), and 'English teaching' was still a fragile entity. This made it possible for foreign 'English' teachers to be replaced quickly by teachers of content area subjects. I have included a detailed list of the English teachers at the university level identified by Ogata in the Appendices (see Appendix 2.3, pp.347-348). The majority were employed by Tokyo Imperial University, and it is clear that most of them left their institutions after quite a short time of teaching.

It is difficult to learn how English teaching was conducted by foreign teachers in higher education. Except for a few anecdotal accounts, there are no Japanese sources of information on the situation. Understandably, English teaching was seen as a basic requirement for the subsequent technical studies in higher education, and consequently became the task of middle schools. The focus of university education was on what was written in books. The need for conscious efforts and concerns for English teaching methodology in higher education did not capture the Meiji authorities' attention.

## English Teachers Employed by Middle Schools

Who taught English in middle schools, and how did they teach it? The majority of foreign English teachers who worked for middle schools had arrived as missionaries from the United States of America around the turn of the Meiji Period (Miyoshi, 1986, pp.134-149; Mozumi, 1989, pp.136-144; Sakurai, 1936, pp.63-68), or had been re-employed after the termination of their contracts with the Governmental institutions (Miyoshi, 1986, p.150). The majority of middle schools, which educated a tiny proportion of youth, were municipally or privately established, and foreign teachers were employed by individual private middle schools; in some cases, municipally. This makes it very difficult to grasp the overall picture of foreign teachers employed by middle schools. An accurate total number employed during the Meiji Period does not seem to be known, even at present.

Table 2.1: Employed foreign teachers during the Meiji Period (middle schools)

Period	Britain	America	Canada	Unknown	Others	Total
1868-1872	15	14			3	32
1873-1877	30	20			3	53
1878-1882	3	3				6
1883-1887	9	4	2	4		19
1888-1892	13	12	2	9	2	38
1893-1897	1	4		2		7
1898-1902		4		8		12
1903-1907	3	12	2	10		27
1908-1912	3	7	1	18		29
Total	77	80	7	51	8	223

Table 2.1, above, is based on Matsumura's (Matsumura, 1997, pp.346-357) industrious work on foreign English teachers who were employed by municipal middle schools, including several governmental middle schools and foreign language schools. He indicated the term of employment, names, nationalities, and institutions they worked for, on a yearly basis, while acknowledging that it is still incomplete. I have reworked it into

numerical data and divided the Meiji Period into a five-year period.

From Table 2.1, it can be noted that British and American teachers dominated the foreign teachers employed at middle schools. This reflects the fact that English was regarded by the Meiji Government as the first foreign language at middle schools. It would seem from their names that the majority of 'Unknown' teachers could also have been British or Americans. 'Others' included Australia (1), Germany (3), Holland (2), Austria (1), and Switzerland (1). Matsumura analysed his outcomes by dividing the whole Meiji Period into three periods (1872-1885, 1886-1901 and 1902-1912) and concluded that there was consistent employment throughout the three periods (Matsumura, 1997, p.357).

Although employment did continue for the whole period, the following trend can also be noted. More foreign teachers were employed at the beginning of the Meiji Period, which indicates a similar trend to the teachers employed at universities. But, in the early 10s (1878-1882) their employment rapidly decreased. The second peak lasted to the first half of the 20s (1888-1892), which again declined until the third peak arrived and lasted for the final 10 years (1903-1912) of the Meiji Period. This movement characterised the situation of foreign teacher employment in middle schools, and it is possible to make connections between this movement and the Meiji authority's foreign language policy. The strong inclination in the early Meiji Period toward 'Enlightenment thought' and the rise of nationalism and consolidation of central power in the early 10s would explain the first cycle. The second cycle would represent the then Minister of Education Arinori Mori's stress on foreign language teaching in the context of modernising Japan's military and economy. This policy was then replaced by the following Minister of Education Kowashi Inoue's de-emphasis on English teaching, reflecting the rise of imperialism. Finally, keen concern with middle school English in the final ten years would mark the promulgation of the Middle School Teaching Guideline in 1902 (Meiji 35). This concern would also correspond to the Minister of Education Nobuaki Makino's English teaching policy, promoting a more pragmatic orientation in the context of seeking diplomatic normalisation after the Russo-Japanese War.

Apart from the Government's foreign language policy, there was always a financial issue at middle schools (Matsumura, 1997, pp.338-345). Religious education or, broadly speaking, 'disciplinary education' was also a matter of debate at middle schools, which led to the dismissal of a certain number of foreign teachers. Some local people were cautious of foreign teachers engaging their pupils in a 'Bible Class' for Christian propaganda (pp.339-341). The trend reflected in Table 2.1 shows that, even so, middle schools attempted to respond to the Meiji Government's foreign language teaching policy.

#### Samuel Robbins Brown's 'Natural Education Methodology'

Mozumi (1989) gives a brief sketch of how these teachers taught English. For instance, John Liggins used oral work in his teaching with practical English phrases and sentences in a repetitious method (pp.312-316). Samuel R. Brown taught essentially in the same way with a rigorous emphasis on English pronunciation (pp. 310-311), and Guido Fridolin Verbeck would have employed oral work but lectured on Western scientific knowledge and technology rather than pronunciation, reading-aloud or grammar, in response to the students' passionate desire for such knowledge (pp.311-312). The commonality in the way they taught English was to teach languages as living entities and to see them as highly valued. They saw listening and speaking as essential, and the missionaries in general all devised their methods grounded on the view of the importance of language as such, resulting in the common method of teaching English to Japanese students (p.315).

Among those earnest language teachers, Samuel R. Brown was dominant in his theoretical underpinning and organised methodological approach. This was reflected in his textbook called *Prendergast's Mastery System, Adapted to the Study of Japanese or English* published in 1875 (Meiji 8). He developed his method based on a French language teacher's work: Prendergast's Mastery System. What characterised his ideas was his rigorous emphasis on memory, imitation, and repetition of English sound. The underlying principle was that 'sound comes before letters.' A closer look at some of his lesson examples is below, in order to see the fundamental feature of his system. The

following example focused on the study of a colloquial expression ‘*Will you do me the favor*’ (Mozumi, 1989, pp.329-330):

Section I <i>Sore wo nas'te kudasaru ka</i>	Section I <b>Will you do me the favor</b>
1. <i>Sore wo nas'te kudaisaimasho ka?</i>	1. Will you do me the favor?
2. <i>Sore wo nas'te kudasaru no wa oiya desho?</i>	2. You perhaps do not like to do me the favor.
3. <i>Naze sore wo nas'te kudasaranu ka</i>	3. Why will you not do me the favor?
4. <i>Naze sore wo nas'te kudasaranu to kimete oide ka?</i>	4. Why are you resolved not to do me the favor?
5. <i>Sore wo nas'te itadakitai. . . .</i>	5. I wish you to do me the favor. . . .
16. <i>Sore wo sh'te kudasaru yo negaimas.</i>	16. I desire you to do me the favor.

Section I consisted of sixteen ‘variations’ for the target sentence ‘*Will you do me the favor*’ with the corresponding Japanese representations on the left column. The pupils were to be provided with only a Japanese translation ‘*Sore wo nas'te kudasaru ka*’, so that they might rely solely on the English sound the teacher pronounced. By a ‘back-up technique’ through a thorough imitation and repetition of each sentence, the pupils were to master the pronunciation, intonation, rhythm and speed, and to acquire colloquial English idiomatically with fluency and accuracy. In the back-up technique, for instance, Brown suggested the teacher lead the pupil to read a few words at a time backwards from the end of a sentence. So in this case, T: *the favor?* P: *the favor?* T: *me the favor?* P: *me the favor?* T: *do me the favor?* P: *do me the favor?* T: *you do me the favor?* P: *you do me the favor?* T: *Will you do me the favor?* P: *Will you do me the favor?*

Brown, as a strong critic of the Grammar-Translation Method, did not believe that grammar is an introduction to a language. He insisted that it be in a proper place: after the sentences have been spontaneously practiced and used. Below is a sample of grammar teaching. The focus was on the relative pronoun ‘that’ (p.337):

Section IV <b><i>The English book <u>that</u> I bought</i></b>
1. When did you buy the coat <u>that</u> you gave him?
2. Will you please let me see the book <u>that</u> you bought yesterday?

3. The book that I bought is not English, it is French.
4. When will you bring the coffee that I ordered?
5. That boy bought a book that he wished to read.
6. I received it from the man who bought it in Main Street. . . .
18. The teacher that I have engaged is forty-six years old.

When the eighteen variations had been mastered through imitation and memory, it was predicted that the pupils' grammatical understanding of the relative pronoun would have been unconsciously promoted without a conscious analysis of the grammatical structure. To Brown, grammar as an introduction to a language was only an obstacle that would prevent the pupils from concentrating on pronunciation and memorisation. Throughout his book he suggested inductive rather than deductive grammar teaching, which the traditional Grammar-Translation Method conventionally adopted.

His book was the core language material, but Brown also introduced how to read and write the alphabet before starting to use the book. Once the book had been learnt and mastered, he let his pupils engage with a Reader and grammar learning in an inductive manner, and, further, he encouraged them to practice written composition (p.319).

His principle of accurate acquisition of English sound through repetitious imitation and memory of practical, colloquial sentences, before resorting to eyes and hands (letters, grammar, text) was explained in his *Preface*. His view of adult foreign language learning was grounded on Thomas Prendergast's analogy to the process of the child's first language acquisition. Brown observed that "the secret of the child's success is the reiterated practice of oral composition on the basis of a few sentences at first learned by rote" (p.324). He was simultaneously aware of the danger of applying this natural process to adult foreign language learning. He proposed that adults could still benefit from it, because "under this system, he does adopt the best part of it, namely, repetition, imitation, and the interchange of words" (p.324). Brown described this view of his in the language learning process provided by the Mastery System as "more consonant with reason" and called it "a rational method" (p.323). It was rational because "nature invented it" (p.323). Here, it can be noted that his idea that language teaching starts with

listening and speaking, and that languages are to be treated as living languages was grounded on Natural Education, which advocated absolute trust in reason and human nature.

The English teaching methodology of only a limited number of foreign teachers has been identified, but it appears that none of them played an advisory role or engaged in a policy-making process with the Meiji Government in English teaching reform. Miyoshi (1986) categorised the responsibilities of foreign teachers into four types:

- 1) 'Teacher (*Kyōshi*)', where teaching of Western knowledge and technology was the major role,
- 2) 'Head teacher (*Kyōtō*)', where they were involved in management and organisational matters of schools while acting as a supervisor of foreign teachers,
- 3) 'Advisor (*Komon*)', where they were involved in a decision-making process by responding to policy-makers' requests for advice, and
- 4) 'Researcher (*Kenkyū-sha*)', where research was conducted to perform their educational responsibilities efficiently, or from their personal interest in Japanese arts (pp.242-247).

Only Verbeck acted as an advisor while being a teacher and head teacher, but he was not in the field of English teaching (p.244). In fact, as Japan's secondary school system was gradually established and regulated by the Meiji authority from the 20s onward, Japanese scholars and teachers of English increasingly became aware of the necessity of reforming English teaching for themselves and took on an influential role instead. But still, Mozumi (1989) evaluated that English education in Japan, particularly English teaching methodology, had been affected by the organised and active English teaching conducted by the missionaries (p.316). Contacts with Western methods, which missionaries and others brought in, cannot be underestimated. In fact, they formed a milestone that directed Japan's subsequent reform, and those foreign teachers still continued to engage in middle school English teaching during the Meiji Period, and even after.

## **Books and Translations on English Teaching Methods**

The introduction of Western knowledge into Japan during the Meiji Period was also attempted through producing translations and writings. With regards to English teaching methodology, books and translations were not very exhaustive. Akasofu (1938) compiled works on foreign language teaching in various fields, including textbooks, linguistics, and methodology. According to Sakurai (1936, pp.189-192) and Akasofu (1938), the following books appeared during the Meiji Period (Table 2.2):

Table 2.2: Books on English teaching methods

Year	Title & Author
1891 (Meiji 24)	<i>Gaikokugo Kenkyū Yōron</i> (new ideas of studying foreign languages) Yaichirō Isobe (ed)
1893 (Meiji 26)	<i>Gaikokugo Kyōju-hō Kairyō-setsu</i> (the reformed method of teaching foreign languages) Motokichi Sakiyama
1894 (Meiji 27)	<i>Gaikokugo Kyōju Shinron</i> (a new theory of teaching foreign languages) Yoshisaburō Okakura
1896 (Meiji 29)	<i>Eigo Kyōju-hō Kairyō-an</i> (the reformed method in teaching English) Kenzō Shigeno
1897 (Meiji 30)	<i>Eigo Kyōju-hō</i> (the English teaching method) Masakazu Toyama
1899 (Meiji 32)	<i>Gaikokugo no Kenkyū</i> (the study of foreign languages) Kanzō Uchimura
1902 (Meiji 35)	<i>Eigo Kenkyū-hō</i> (the method of studying English) Henry Satō
1903 (Meiji36)	<i>Saishin Eigo Kyōshū-hō</i> (the latest method of teaching and studying English) Gorō Takahashi
1911 (Meiji44)	<i>Eigo Kyōiku</i> (English education) Yoshisaburō Okakura

Sources: Akasofu, 1938, pp.79-110; Sakurai, 1936, pp.189-192.

Note: My English translation of the book titles is included in the parentheses.

After many foreign teachers had gone by the Meiji 10s, Japanese scholars and teachers

gradually began to articulate their version of foreign language teaching methodology, based on their experience of teaching English as well as on the knowledge of modern science like philology and linguistics gained from the West. Table 2.2 indicates that it began in the 20s and continued to appear until 1903 (Meiji 36), leaving some interval before Okakura's *Eigo Kyōiku* in 1911 (Meiji 44). These works were all written from the Japanese teachers' perspective. An examination of the works reveals that they were increasingly stimulated to look critically at the Japanese traditional learning style called 'Sodoku' — an extensive reading of the Chinese classics of Confucianism without adequate understanding involved — and to become aware of its limitations when applied to teaching English. Their awareness of this limitation concentrated on the need for analytical grammar teaching, an appropriate use of Japanese translation, and for developing textbooks for Japanese use. The process of this development suggests their instrumentalism in looking at Western knowledge. Among others, Yoshisaburō Okakura's two works took a different approach; he formulated his theory of middle school English teaching from a national education perspective. Below, each of the works will be reviewed briefly.

### **Examination of Books**

The first work, which referred to foreign language teaching, appeared in 1891 (Meiji 24). *Gaikokugo Kenkyū Yōron* was edited by Yaichirō Isobe based on the lectures delivered by Tetsujirō Inoue and Kenzō Wadagaki. Inoue insisted that Japan's foreign language curriculum should be designed on the traditional foundation centred on Japanese and Chinese Classics, and that it could become the foundation on which English, French, and German could be taught (Wadagaki & Inoue, 1891, p.17). His criticism derived from the fact that Japan's language curriculum was directly transferred from the West (pp.18-19), losing its traditional foundation. Its loss meant that Japanese scholars of European languages tended to study only their specialised field of language. As a result, they lacked an impartial attitude to a diverse range of foreign countries. To Inoue, foreign languages should be studied in order to gain an 'idea of fairness' towards foreign countries. He also proposed that pupils study more than one foreign language, but pointed out their lack of motivation to do so.

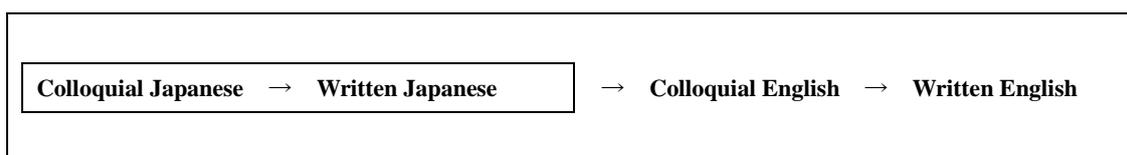
Wadagaki criticised pupils' tendency to reach out for too lofty texts, their subsequent poor reading ability, and the consequence of ignoring more immediate, basic and daily English knowledge. He attributed it to the Japanese traditional learning style '*Sodoku*'. He metaphorically pointed out that because pupils tended to 'eat inappropriate food', they ended up with 'indigestion'. As a result, it did not lead to 'the growth of a body' (p.44). Likewise, if they were provided with an appropriate level of reading materials, the outcome — conversation and composition — would also be appropriately gained (p.44). What Wadagaki was suggesting was the need to reconsider the method of learning English and, specifically, the importance of beginning instruction that would suit the Japanese learner. Awareness of the Japanese tradition can be observed in these reflections.

Motokichi Sakiyama's *Gaikokugo Kyōju-hō Kairyō-setsu*, published in 1893 (Meiji 26), also attacked the typical Japanese learning style '*Sodoku*', whilst his target was primary school English, as well as middle school. Sakiyama agreed with primary English and criticised the idea of abandoning it because of its poor outcomes. He observed the dominant way of teaching English to pupils as 'not any different from '*Sodoku*' of Chinese classics' (Sakiyama, 1893a, p.3). Hence, he insisted that improvements could be made if a bad teaching method, a bad textbook, and a bad use of Japanese used in translation were corrected (pp.2-3). Pointing out that imported textbooks for native children were directly given to Japanese pupils without modifications, and that Japanese word-for-word translation created a type of Japanese translation which did not exist in normal Japanese usage, he urged the development of a new type of textbooks that would take Japanese features into account, also in which the Japanese language was the base and the basics of English could be taught (p.8). Thus, he published an English textbook for Japanese beginning students called *Eigo Kyōju-sho* (a book of English teaching). In preparing the textbook, he also hoped that teaching matters in English — penmanship, reading-aloud, translation, grammar, composition, and conversation — were to be taught in an integrative manner (pp.10-11).

Yoshisaburō Okakura's *Gaikokugo Kyōju Shinron*, which came out in 1894 (Meiji 27),

took a different approach to reforming English teaching methods. Rather than basing his argument on experience and setting language teaching as the goal, he deduced his theory of foreign language teaching from his peculiar type of philology to teach national character. (For Okakura's view of philology and linguistics refer to Appendix 1.1, pp.333-334) In his formulation, the Japanese language (the national language) had to be the basis, on which the teaching of foreign languages would be possible (Okakura, 1894, p.6). He called the reader's attention to the fact that the teaching of colloquial Japanese had been neglected, whereas written Japanese was over-emphasised. He claimed that colloquial Japanese should be the basis of language teaching (p.8). Thus, Okakura gave a hierarchical relationship between the Japanese language and foreign languages and between colloquial and written languages.

Figure 2.1: Yoshisaburō Okakura's view of Japanese and foreign language teaching



Ironically, what justified the hierarchical relationship in his system was a principle of modern educational thought that teaching should proceed 'from the simple to the complex' and 'from the near to the far'. He explained that a new thing should be compared with the old, which would lead pupils to understand the differences between them (p.6). From this principle, he extensively introduced suggestions for pronunciation, penmanship, reading-aloud, translation, grammar, composition, and conversation in his teaching. Naturally, awareness-raising of Japanese as the base of foreign language teaching was necessary in teacher training, so that the ability to explain both languages and to teach them in connection with each other would be made possible (pp.6-7).

Unlike others, Okakura did seem to agree with imported textbooks, in that they were compiled so that content developed 'from the present to the past' and 'from spoken to written language'. For rule learning, he suggested that simple rules of grammar be introduced in beginning instruction, while exceptional rules should be taught only after the regularities of grammar had been thoroughly learnt (p.40). As we will see in chapter three, Okakura's principle of teaching from the 'near' to the 'far' and of looking at

learning as an inductive process was based on modern educational thought. When it came to reading matters, however, he contradicted this principle, proposing that foreign situations should be introduced instead of things Japanese, because ‘it would be wrong to attempt to rouse national sentiment directly by providing Japanese topics’ (p.40).

Like many others, he pursued ways of implanting national character through English teaching. Understandably, his formulation was contextualised in a nationalistic framework. However, he was a rare figure, in that he attempted to structure English teaching in a way based on Western enlightenment thought, and made English teaching another opportunity for national education. His methodology was deduced from this goal. It is said that Okakura attempted to standardise colloquial Japanese to establish the ‘national language’ and took advantage of English teaching for this purpose (Kobayashi & Otozai, 2009). His English teaching theory was built from this perspective.

Kenzō Shigeno’s *Eigo Kyōju-hō Kairyō-an* insisted on the improvement of reading instruction, its integration with other English branches, and conversation in ways that would suit Japanese pupils. Shigeno based his argument on Western reform movements, as well as his own teaching experience. For reading improvement, like others, Shigeno pointed out the perceived inadequacies of general imported textbooks, in that they tended not to suit the Japanese pupils’ mental development or to stimulate their interest and concern (Shigeno, 1896, pp.172-173), and if these conditions were to be met, it would not matter whether materials were imported from Britain, Canada, or America (p.179). He also pointed out an established practice that English teaching matters were separately taught, so that, for example, grammar teaching was disconnected from reading and pupils got no credit for its application to reading (pp.1-4). Shigeno mentioned the improvement of ‘conversation’ as well, while referring to the advantage of utilising Western knowledge. He referred to Western individual reformers like Ollendorff and Gouin, but was cautious of any direct application of their methods. He stated that they were devised where European languages had more similarities than differences from each other (p.157).

It should be mentioned that Shigeno seemed to fail to differentiate historical roots

between Ollendorff's and Gouin's methods. As we will see in chapter three in greater detail, as the practical study of Latin was replaced by the Grammar-Translation Method around the turn of the 19<sup>th</sup> century with its primary focus on *formale Bildung*, this then began to be applied to the study of modern languages. Ollendorff's grammar-focused method had grown out of this context (Titone, 1968, pp.26-29). Western reform movements toward teaching modern languages as living languages were the reaction to the Ollendorff tradition, and Gouin's psychological method was an individual attempt at this transformation (Howatt, 1984, pp.147-149). In Shigeno's argument, Ollendorff's principle of constructing artificial sentences to illustrate a grammatical rule was understood as an example of a reformed practical approach. It was not only Shigeno that revealed 'confusion' in a historical context.

Masakazu Toyama's *Eigo Kyōju-hō* in 1897 (Meiji 30) also suggested the need for local textbooks for Japanese use. Unlike Shigeno, however, Toyama looked at initial drill and practice in basic grammar as more urgent than reading matters, and he referred to Ollendorff's grammar approach for improvement. To Toyama, foreign-made textbooks were suitable only for native children who already understood spoken English, and naturally, long and complex sentences appeared from the beginning. Japanese pupils needed practice in sentence patterns; otherwise, the teacher would inevitably be led to a teacher-centred, translation method, no matter how competent they might be (Toyama, 1897, pp.9-10). Thus, Toyama proposed the need for a type of textbook that stressed practice and drill in the beginning stages of instruction, and it was this insight that led him to resort to Western theories. It included Ollendorff's New Method, Prendergast's Mastery System, and Dreyspring's Cumulative Method (p.7). He believed that the latter two would be more appropriate for younger learners, while Ollendorff's method would suit upper grades due to its deductive nature in treating grammar (pp.24-25). His *The Mombushō Conversational Readers*, published earlier in 1889 (Meiji 22), were grounded on this principle of practice and drill.

Toyama, too, understood Ollendorff's method in the context of a Western reforming tradition, as his *Conversational Readers* suggested. He stated that while the 'new methods' had both similarities and differences in their details, all of them were

fundamentally the same in that their focus was on practice (p.7), and that Ollendorff's method was the ancestor of this view (p.24). As we have seen earlier in Brown's example, Prendergast's Mastery System originated in Pestalozzi's principles of Natural Education, which was the ancestor of 'this sort' and the powerful driving force for promoting a 'natural' language teaching method which attacked the Grammar-Translation Method.

Kanzō Uchimura's *Gaikokugo no Kenkyū*, which appeared in 1899 (Meiji 32), was written as pieces of personal advice to individual learners of English. His pieces of advice were founded on his own experience as a Japanese learner and on the Japanese learning tradition. As a devout Christian and a critic of Japanese politics and society, standing outside of the education sector, Uchimura pointed out the fundamental way teachers should relate to their students. He argued that the Japanese Ministers of Education, who did not have a command of English, should not force it on the people because, he said, disciples could not exceed their teachers, and teachers should be the models in the first place (Uchimura, 1988, pp.90-91). Uchimura did not see language learning as scientific study, nor did he mention Western theories in the development of his ideas, which comprised eight pieces of advice (pp.91-100):

- 1) Be patient,
- 2) Be determined,
- 3) Do not neglect pronunciation,
- 4) Memorise four to five hundred words,
- 5) Master regular verbs,
- 6) Recite at least one poem every day,
- 7) Try to use what you already know, and
- 8) Be obstinate.

To Uchimura, the English language was not a language of Japanese imperialism or of Western worship. In fact, his *Gaikokugo no Kenkyū* should be read not as a proposal of English language teaching methods but as a social critique to enlighten the reader to a healthy view of the world.

Henry Satō made his proposals in a way that attempted to improve the Japanese traditional learning style in his *Eigo Kenkyū-hō* published in 1902 (Meiji 35). His claim focused on initial emphasis on repetitive drill and practice in the form of a comparative study of simple English structures, with Japanese counterparts in the beginning stages of instruction, by way of translation between Japanese and English (Satō, 1902, pp.59-66). In this sense, he believed that word-for-word translation was indispensable throughout the learning process, because without it an accurate understanding of English structure would never be possible (p.22). Simultaneously, he insisted on the importance of recitation (pp.73-74). Hence, Satō's principle of English study consisted in repetitive training, memorisation, and a conscious analysis (Takenaka, 2001, p.65).

We saw earlier that, unlike Satō, Sakiyama strongly opposed word-for-word translation because it tended to give pupils the habit of producing inappropriate Japanese usage, while distracting their attention from a clear understanding of text. But, Satō took the advantage of teaching English structure more seriously. In this context, Satō also referred to Ollendorff's grammar-method for a comparative study of both languages (p.67). *Formale Bildung* in Ollendorff's method was replaced by Satō with teaching English structure directed towards application in novel circumstances.

Gorō Takahashi's *Saishin Eigo Kyōshū-hō*, published in 1903 (Meiji 36), agreed with the forgoing authors, in that a suitable method should be invented for Japanese pupils, that repetitive drill and practice were the key to mastering English, and that Japanese translation was necessary (but, word-for-word translation should not be used). However, what characterised his work was his inaccurate understanding of the natural tradition in the West. Nevertheless, his work did surpass other authors in its scope of Western knowledge, including the development of natural approaches from Rousseau to Pestalozzi and his critics to such Western language scholars as Gouin, Ollendorff, Ahn, and Prendergast.

In short, Takahashi's argument centred on a thorough opposition to the natural orientation in modern language teaching. Firstly, like many of the foregoing authors,

Ollendorff was understood as one of the ‘natural’ tradition. Takahashi pointed out that Ollendorff had used ‘unnatural’ sentences to illustrate a grammatical rule, thus lacking psychological (meaningful) connections with the sentences, which Ollendorff might have believed were ‘natural’ (Takahashi, 1903, pp.191-192). However, Ollendorff did not intend the sentences to be ‘natural’ in the first place. Secondly, Takahashi looked at Prendergast’s Mastery System as an eclectic combination of Ollendorff’s and Ahn’s methods and evaluated it positively (p.192). The Mastery System was rooted in the ‘natural’ tradition, which suggested Takahashi’s confusion over the natural tradition as a whole. In fact, inconsistency in his criticism of the natural orientation could easily be seen, including the confusion that, while he targeted one of its corollaries — that a new language should be learnt as the child learns a mother tongue (p.167) —, when it came to referring to a type of textbook to be used, he concluded that teaching materials should be built on the principle of proceeding from the ‘simple’ to the ‘complex’, from the ‘easy’ to the ‘difficult’, and from the ‘concrete’ to the ‘abstract’ (p.309), even though both corollaries were rooted in the Pestalozzian Natural Education. After all, for Takahashi, ‘the best method’ could be obtained by collecting what appeared to work selectively from amongst various elements (p.197).

For about 10 years after Takahashi’s work in 1903 (Meiji 36) until Okakura’s *Eigo Kyōiku* came out in 1911 (Meiji 44), no books appeared. As will be shortly seen, the activities of students overseas were activated by the Ministry of Education during these 10 years. All this suggests that reform attempts had already been directed in a certain direction by then. Unlike other authors, who based their argument on the Japanese traditional learning style ‘*Sodoku*’ or recitation and memorisation, Okakura formulated his theory of English teaching from a national education perspective *a priori*. We saw earlier that he had written *Gaikokugo Kyōju Shinron* as a linguist, and he wrote *Eigo Kyōiku* as a policy-maker and English scholar after returning from an inspection tour in European countries. *Eigo Kyōiku* was written based on his ‘personal view’ of English teaching (Okakura, 1906, Appendix, pp.3-4), which went public in 1906 (Meiji 39) as attached to his translation of Mary Brebner’s observational report on German reformed practice called *The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany*. This report was intended to introduce German reform attempts into Britain, and Okakura’s

translation of it became the first work to introduce it into Japan (Matsumura, 1997, p.225). His ‘personal view’ was drawn up with German practice in view.

In his ‘personal view’, Okakura began his argument with a brief overview of the German reform movement coming from an earlier liberal protestant critique of dogmatic rote learning, pointing out its rise as a reaction against the Grammar-Translation Method, in order to claim that the Japanese should take the same path as the Germans did (Okakura, 1906, Appendix, p.9). Okakura’s ‘personal view’ was based on an analogy between the German reform and the Japanese future path and, naturally, it consisted of the fundamental features of the German reformed method. Okakura summarised his ‘personal view’ on Japanese middle school English into the following five corollaries (p.26):

1. Pronunciation should be correctly mastered.
2. Conversation in English should be encouraged.
3. Grammar should be taught inductively.
4. Students should be acquainted with foreign things.
5. Reading ability should be the goal of instruction.

Stress was placed on the mastery of spoken English. Inductive grammar teaching and the study of foreign culture were newly introduced. Reading ability was looked at as the central goal, among other aspects of language competence. It can be noticed that none of these principles had been inherited from the traditional teaching and learning styles, and it had cut off the claims made by the foregoing authors based on the Japanese tradition and their teaching experience.

*Eigo Kyōiku*, published five years later, was an elaborated version of his ‘personal view’. It was actually based on his oral statements. The table of contents is included in the Appendices (see Appendix 2.4, p.349). Okakura comprehensively explained a wide range of middle school English from the perspective of nationalistic education. He claimed that “the full development of the individual should be expected in harmony with the fundamental character of the nation” (Okakura, 1911, p.24). The outcome of

education of the individual had to be properly subordinated to the national goal. He set two kinds of values in English teaching, educational and practical. The educational value comprised expanding one's horizon by getting in touch with foreign 'Realien'—real things or realities—, and the acquisition of scientific thinking through observing grammatical rules. The practical value was to come from reading ability and from learning about foreign culture (p.39). How would spoken English fit in with reading-centred instruction? Okakura explained using the principle of 'speech primacy'. Listening and speaking ability was the prerequisite for the mastery of written language (reading and writing). Written language was a transcription of what was spoken, and reading was a means of understanding what was spoken with the eyes (pp.44-45). From this logic, stress on spoken English in initial grades was regarded as crucial. In 1907 (Meiji 40), Okakura wrote his English textbook, called *The Globe Readers*, to put his 'personal view' to actual practice grounded in a culture epoch theory. The goal of this instruction was to cultivate community ethics he called the 'Japanese Spirit', by concentrating reading materials on an imperialist culture British 'Realien'. Okakura's theory of English teaching thus featured modernity of 'speech primacy' within a nationalistic education goal.

It should be noted that, in *Eigo Kyōiku*, there was one new chapter added to his 'personal view', which discussed 'Caution to Over-reliance on a Method' as shown in bold in Appendix 2.4, p.349. He proposed a highly systematic method based on 'speech primacy' in this book. However, why did he have to warn the reader against over-reliance? He traced this back to the origin of 'method' in the West and explained that 'method' emerged along with the development of modern concepts such as freedom, equity, and individual (p.23). He was aware that 'method' was inseparable from its 'aim', namely the development of the individual, and that understanding 'method' meant educating modern humans, while discarded individuals were subordinated to the national benefit. Hence, Okakura added this chapter to *Eigo Kyōiku*. (For Okakura's view of English teaching in greater detail see Appendix 1.1, pp.334-340)

Okakura was essentially supportive of the idea that Japanese character could and should be enriched through contact with Western advancements (Hirata, 1998; Saitō, 2001;

Yoon, 2005). He included a list of reference books for Japanese teachers of English to conduct the type of teaching he hoped to see. The list contained a wide range of fields of literature, the majority of which were works by foreign authors, such as phonetics, linguistics, theoretical grammar, etymology, letter writing, dictionaries, quotations, synonyms, the Bible, English literature, novels, history of English literature, contemporary authors, operas, mythology, and ‘*Realien*’, let alone methodology. He also attached a brief introductory remark to each work. Some of the works he listed that were more directly related to English teaching are included in the Appendices (see Appendix 2.5, pp.349-350). In his list, works by Ollendorff and Ahn did not appear. It is quite clear that the focus was on the transfer of Western new methods, and against the Grammar-Translation Method. Okakura’s proposal for English teaching methodology was formulated on the basis of a massive amount of educational information from the West, in particular, from Germany and Britain, but not from Ollendorff and Ahn.

### Examination of Translations

The transfer of Western knowledge through translations was the most widely employed method during the Meiji Period. This was particularly true of textbooks for school use at all levels. However, as far as English teaching methods were concerned, the number was small; three foreign works were translated (see Table 2.3). The commonality was that all of them related to the Western reform movement against the Grammar-Translation Method.

Table 2.3: Translations on English teaching methodology

Year	Translations
1887 (Meiji 20)	<i>Gaikokugo Kenkyū-hō</i> , Naotarō Yoshida (trans) <i>The Study of Languages brought back to its true principles, or the art of thinking in a foreign language.</i> (Claude Marcel, 1869)
1901 (Meiji 34)	<i>Gaikokugo Kyōju-hō</i> , Sadatoshi Yasugi (trans) <i>The Practical Study of Languages</i> (Henry Sweet, 1899)
1906 (Meiji 39)	<i>Gaikokugo Saishin Kyōju-hō</i> , Yoshisaburō Okakura (trans) <i>The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany</i> (Mary Brebner, 1898)

Sources: Akasofu, 1938, pp.79-110; Sakurai, 1936, pp.189-192.

Note: The third edition of Brebner's original work (1904) was referenced in this study.

Claude Marcel was an individual reformer in a transitional period toward the 'natural' oriented reform movement in the West. In his *Preface to The Study of Languages* published in 1869, Marcel made it clear that his method originated in the tradition of the natural method by stating that:

“International exchange of ideas is the greatest want of the age. With a view to supplying this want, we have endeavored to render the knowledge of foreign living languages accessible to everyone by taking for our guide the natural method by which all so infallibly acquire their native tongue. [...] It will be found consistent with the working of the mind, the nature of language, and the requirements of modern society (Marcel, 1869, pp.ix-x).”

Along Pestalozzian lines, Marcel stressed spoken rather than written language in the beginning of instruction. Unlike other Natural Methodists, however, Marcel restricted its scope by concentrating primarily on reading. For in those days in the United States, learning to read a foreign language was a more practical and useful objective than learning to speak, and also offered a greater intrinsic reward in the form of access to knowledge and literature of the foreign language (Howatt, 1984, p.154). Marcel modified his programme to meet that demand and that of the majority of ordinary language teachers. Accidentally, this led the public to misunderstanding him as advocating a reading approach that neglected everything else, and subsequent reformers to the underestimation of his contribution (p.155).

The translator of Marcel's work, Naotarō Yoshida, naturally introduced his ideas into Japan as a reading approach in 1887 (Meiji 20). Or, more precisely, Yoshida did it, simply hoping that the work would contribute to aiding the Japanese in studying English in an effective way (Yoshida, 1887, pp.4-5). He did not have the intention of enlightening them with the natural orientation in foreign language teaching, but rather, he believed that Marcel's 'reading approach' would be realistic and appropriate to the

Japanese circumstances of Meiji 20. However, Yoshida's work was not widely read or mentioned much by subsequent writers, because Marcel's work was a theoretical rather than a 'know-how' book and the Japanese wanted practical tips rather than theoretical underpinnings, which featured in the work (Takenaka, 2000, pp.8-9). The instrumental attitude of the Japanese to the transfer of Western theories was pointed out earlier when local books were examined. The same seemed to be true of works translated by Japanese.

Unlike Marcel, Henry Sweet, a British linguist and phonetician, was one of those who led the Western reform movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. His *The Practical Study of Languages*, published in 1899, was intended as a guide to the 'practical study' of languages based on scientific research through induction. That is, "its object is to determine the general principles on which a rational method of learning foreign languages should be based and then to consider the various modifications these general principles undergo in their application to different circumstances and different classes of learners" (Sweet, 1899, p.vi). This was to be realised by determining "the lines of abstract research and practical work along which the path of progress lies" (p.vii). For Sweet, this implied that he did not necessarily agree with the radical reformists. Instead, a scientific attitude was the core in his approach to the study of languages. His attitude towards the traditional methods was "a mean between unyielding conservatism on the one hand and reckless radicalism on the other" (p.vii), which "keeps him from either yielding to the old practices or blindly accepting the new brand of reformed methodology" (Titone, 1968, p.48). It was in this framework that Sweet's fundamental principles, such as basing all study of language on phonetics and starting from the spoken rather than the written language were insisted upon. The translator Sadatoshi Yasugi wrote of his intention to introduce Sweet's work in his *Preface to Gaikokugo Kyōju-hō* that "when he was disappointed at the inefficient outcome of foreign language teaching in Japan, he was looking around for anything seemingly useful for the improvement of learning and teaching a new language, and he found Sweet's work" (Yasugi, 1901, p.1). His motivation sounded quite a general one. In fact, he did not show particular interest in or awareness of Sweet's scientific approach to the study of languages.

Yoshisaburō Okakura's *Gaikokugo Saishin Kyōju-hō*, published in 1906 (Meiji 39), was an abridged translation of British scholar Mary Brebner's observational reports on the German reformed practice and the first introduction of German practice to Japanese, which this study touched on earlier. Brebner had spent half a year in Germany as a travelling scholar to investigate the German situation in 1897 (Meiji 30). She wrote in her *Preface to The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany* that "There is every reason to believe that this is a time of transition and reform in English Secondary Education generally, and more especially in the teaching of Modern Languages" (Brebner, 1904, p.iv). Brebner was attempting to learn from German practice and bring her insights back to England to reform English secondary schools. As we will see below, Okakura had the chance to inspect German reformed practice from 1902 (Meiji 35) to 1905 (Meiji 38). By translating and introducing her work, Okakura had hoped that Brebner's reports on German practice would provide examples for reference for those who were feeling dissatisfaction with the current practice of English teaching in Japan (Okakura, 1906, Preface). Her work contained a rich source of German information, including concrete illustrations of actual lessons conducted by the reformed method. Thereafter, Okakura took on formulating his framework for middle school English teaching based on the German version of the Natural Method.

### **Students Overseas by the Ministry of Education**

Sending students overseas was the third crucial method of transferring Western technology and culture back to Japan. Institutionalisation of an overseas student system into the Government scheme, and its quantitative and qualitative expansion was the Meiji Government's central concern during the Meiji Period, as the Meiji Government's interests in areas of investigation became increasingly extended. This policy became further apparent as the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) made it clear to the Meiji authority that a wider and quicker transfer of modern science and culture would be necessary to further Japanese capitalism (Watanabe, 1978a, pp.21-22).

Sending students abroad for these purposes was initiated by the Tokugawa Shogunate

after the Treaty between Japan and America was sealed in 1859 (Ansei 6). Local clans such as the Satsuma and the Chōshū clans also attempted it. Modernisation through sending students abroad had become an important national policy by the turn of the Meiji Period. Not only that, it was also a concern to a wider range of individuals. There were individuals going abroad at private expense, as well as government officials at government expense, which made the phenomenon diverse. This was another motivation for the Meiji Government to centralise the system under governmental control to gain optimal outcomes for the national benefit. Key actors for English teaching reform were mostly students sent at government expense within the national policy scheme. This study concentrates on them.

### **Student Overseas Policy**

The most vital epoch for establishing student overseas policy was the revision of *Mombushō Gaikoku Ryūgakusei Kisoku* (the Ministry of Education Regulations on Students Overseas, first issued in 1875) re-issued in 1901 (Meiji 34), in that it expanded entry to include students from private institutions. Under *Mombushō Taihi Ryūgakusei Kisoku* (the Ministry of Education Regulations on Students Overseas on Loan) in 1875 (Meiji 8), the Ministry of Education had already begun sending students at government expense. In 1882 (Meiji 15), entry was concentrated on professors and students at the Imperial University only, who were obliged to work for the Government after they returned. In 1885 (Meiji 18), entry was expanded for technical schools and the Higher Normal School, but was still restricted to government schools. It was the abovementioned 1901 Regulations that declared further entry expansion to allow graduates of private institutions after fourteen years.

This development entailed the Minister of Education's increasing authoritarian intervention in student selection processes (Watanabe, 1978a, p.853). Virtually, the Minister of Education was authorised to select directly candidates on his own judgement. Principally, candidates were to be graduates or professors of the governmental schools and were to pass a selection examination. Depending on his judgement, however, the examination could be omitted, or an academic background was

not counted as a condition. What was more crucial was that the Minister was able to determine a specialised field of investigation, countries to be visited, and length of time for the student to be sent; the obligation to work as a government official after returning was also applied. In this way, outcomes were centralised to contribute to a national goal.

### **English Teaching Methodology Majors**

Improving English teaching was a key issue throughout the Meiji Period. Sending English teaching methodology majors abroad was naturally promoted. This policy was strengthened toward the end of the period, while target countries were specified. Let us briefly take a look at how matters stood in terms of English teaching methodology majors compared to others.

According to Watanabe (1978a, Appendix), a total of 713 students were dispatched throughout the Meiji Period. There were 16 specialised fields of investigation for their studies. I have included a table showing the number of students according to specialised fields of investigation in the Appendices (see Appendix 2.6, p.351). Overall, natural science was more stressed, and, among others, Engineering, Medicine, Physics stood out in number. Education majors were in third place with 57 students, preceded by Literature and Law majors in social science. When looked at from the timeline, towards the second half of the Meiji Period, students increased dramatically. Literature, Engineering, and Medicine helped this trend to occur. For Education, of which ‘English teaching methodology’ was part, a similar trend was observed, although the number itself was comparatively small.

To which countries were the 713 students sent? I have included a table of countries visited by these students during the Meiji Period and the number for each country, in the Appendices (see Appendix 2.7, p.351). The number of countries visited by one student varied from one to five countries. For ‘One Country’, the number of countries visited was 10, which included some Asian countries like Russia, China, and Korea. Germany was visited the most times, which surpassed Britain, America, and France. When looked at from time-transition, the increase in Germany increased from 44 to 165, whereas that

of British, America, and France significantly decreased or remained unchanged at best. The large number of students who visited Germany, as well as the high rate of its increase, was remarkable. For ‘Two Countries’, which focused on Germany in relation to Britain and America only, Japan’s bias to German modernisation was clearly shown here too. The total of ‘Germany + Britain’ counted the largest number, followed by ‘German + America’ and ‘Britain + America’. The Meiji Government’s inclination toward Germany, and then Britain, was apparent.

Table 2.4: English teaching methodology majors and others (1896-1912)

Major	96	97	98	99	00	01	02	03	04	05	06	07	08	09	10	11	12	Total
Botany	1														2			3
Math			1										1					2
Chinese				1	1													2
Elementary			1															1
Pedagogy			2								1							3
<b>English</b>					<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>		<b>1</b>			<b>9</b>
Science					1													1
Chemistry										1					1			2
History													1	1				2
Moral														1				1
Geography																1		1
Linguistics																1		1
<b>Total</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>28</b>

Sources: This table is created from Watanabe, 1978a, Appendix; Tsuji, 2010, pp.225-265.

Note: (1) English teaching methodology majors are highlighted by boldfaced figures.

Note: (2) ‘Year’ indicates that of notification received, not departure. Students departed several months after notification, usually the next year.

Note: (3) ‘English teaching methodology majors’ excludes majors in English literature or English linguistics.

In the overall trend of Japan’s strong concern with natural science, as well as German and British modernisation toward the second half of the period, sending English

teaching methodology majors abroad was promoted and emphasised by the Ministry of Education. Table 2.4 is based on Watanabe (1978a) and Tsuji (2010) to show the Ministry of Education's English teaching policy in terms of students overseas when compared to other methodology majors. 12 specialised fields of methodology were identified. 28 students in total were sent abroad throughout the Meiji Period. No students of methodology majors were sent abroad until 1896 (Meiji 29), but a range of specialised fields was increasingly expanded and the number of dispatches steadily continued to grow to the end of the Meiji Period. Policy-makers' concern for teaching methods was strengthened after the mid Meiji Period.

Looking at 'English' teaching methodology, the total number of nine was remarkable when compared with the other methodology majors. Furthermore, the Ministry of Education continuously carried out the dispatch from 1900 (Meiji 33) through to 1910 (Meiji 43), unlike all the other fields of majors. It is suggested that English teaching continued to be a critical national issue from the Meiji 30s onward. Then, who were the actors abroad? What kinds of people were they? Table 2.5 summarises details of the nine people identified in Table 2.4. A table showing English literature and linguistics majors is included in the Appendices so that the characteristics of the former may be clearer (see Appendix 2.8, p.352).

Table 2.5: Actors of English teaching methodology (government expense)

Name (age at departure)	Country	Period (year. Month)	Title after return
Naibu Kanda (43)	Germany·Britain	1900.8-1901.12 (1.5)	Prof. of Nobles' School, Prof. of Tokyo Higher Commercial School
Mitsu Okada (26)	America	1902.3.20-1905. 6.30 (3.4)	Prof. of Tokyo Girls' Higher Normal School
Yoshisaburō Okakura (34)	Germany·Britain	1902.4.14-1905.4.14 (3.1)	Prof. of Tokyo Higher Normal School (Head of English Dept.)
Kenjirō Kumamoto (34)	Britain	1902.?-1905.? (3.?)	Prof. of Tokyo Higher Normal School
Kiichi Hirata (30)	Britain	1903.4.13-1907.10.13 (4. 7)	Prof. of Tokyo Higher Normal School Prof. of Nobles' School

Buichirō Nagano (?)	Britain	1904.4.7-1906.4.7 (2.1)	Prof. and Teacher of Hiroshima Higher Normal School
Junji Nagaya (32)	Britain · America	1907.1.13-1909.1.13 (2.1)	Prof. of Hiroshima Higher Normal School
Yoshio Noda (34)	Germany · Britain · America	1908.11.20-1911.11.20 (3.1)	Prof. of Nara Girls' Higher Normal School
Sadajirō Kobinata (37)	Britain · America	1911.5.11-1913.8 (2.4)	Prof. of Nara Girls' Higher Normal School, Prof. of Hiroshima Higher Normal School

Sources: This composite table is created from Sakurai, 1936, pp.185-186; Watanabe, 1978a, Appendix; Tezuka & National Education Centre, 1992a & 1992b; Tsuji, 2010, pp.225-265.

Note: Mitsu Okada is a female.

From Table 2.5, several points in terms of English teaching policy-making can be noted. Firstly, the trainees were sent in their 30's or younger (with the only exception of Naibu Kanda at age 43), and the period spent overseas roughly averaged as long as three years (except for Kanda). They were expected to bring back the outcomes upon their arrival and, during the three years, they were expected to engage in a thorough acquisition of their specialised knowledge of English teaching methodology.

Secondly, despite the fact that the general inclination in terms of countries visited was for Germany, many of these English teaching methodology majors were sent to Britain. This was also true of literature and linguistics majors. Germany was visited by Naibu Kanda (1900-1901), Yoshisaburō Okakura (1902-1905), and Yoshio Noda (1908-1911). Despite the general tendency towards Britain, the fact that elements of the German reformed methods were eventually modelled for English teaching policy-making by Kanda and, particularly, Okakura after they returned home suggests that pragmatism in British society and nationalism in German education (Ogata, 1961, pp.9-14) were instrumentally learnt by the Meiji Government.

Thirdly, the sending of students overseas began around 1902 (Meiji 35) and was continuously carried out every year. In 1902, the first national standard of middle school

education was drawn up. This standard stressed spoken English in initial instruction. This suggests that students overseas were expected to act more as a driving force to make it work, and that it was not drawn up as an outcome of the dispatches. Policy-makers' activities after the 1902 national standard will be discussed in chapter six.

Fourthly, titles after their return should be noted. All of them (other than Kanda) were professors at Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools. The primary role they were expected to play was that of secondary teacher training. They acted as the core centre for middle school teacher training and engaged in experiments and the development of methodology. Graduates were to transmit new methods through their own teaching practice in a middle school classroom. Tokyo Higher Normal School, whose origin dates back to 1875 (Meiji 8), led this job, and Hiroshima Higher Normal School, which was opened later in October, 1902 (Meiji 35), began to undertake the same role in teacher supply for the Western area of middle schools. While they did not engage in English teacher training (Sakurai, 1936, p.177), however, Tokyo and Nara Girls' Higher Normal Schools also provided girls' education with English teaching based on new methods.

Yoshisaburō Okakura, Kenjirō Kumamoto, Kiichi Hirata, Buichirō Nagano, and Junji Nagaya were expected to bring fresh input into their teacher education from Britain and Germany. Okakura was head of the English department at Tokyo Higher Normal School. Mitsu Okada, Yoshio Noda, and Sadajirō Kobinata also brought back Western knowledge from America, Britain, and Germany to reform English teaching for girls' education. Naibu Kanda, who had been teaching at Tokyo Higher Commercial School, returned and continued to engage in English teaching in business education, as well as for the nobles. When it came to English literature and linguistics, however, professors in higher education, particularly, those at Higher Schools were dominant rather than those at Higher Normal Schools. Higher Schools, generally regarded as preparatory institutions for Tokyo Imperial University, were more geared toward humanistic cultural studies and less so toward practical studies.

## **Individual Contact with Western Modern Language Teaching Practice**

What kind of Western modern language teaching methodology and culture did they encounter in Britain and Germany? Was there any difference between German and British practice? The Japanese have only limited sources to inform us of the direct contacts by students overseas with Western modern language teaching practice. Among the nine students, Naibu Kanda kept journal diaries while visiting German and British classrooms and scholars, from which some of his investigative activities can be learnt. Also, the researcher has found Yoshisaburō Okakura's correspondence (through a letter sent from London), although it is only brief. Otherwise, no information has been found as to what the other seven did.

The Japanese, however, do have some sources informing some of their individual interpretations of Western language teaching methodology within a Japanese pedagogical context, rather than their direct experiential accounts. This was introduced to Japanese teachers of English when they spoke about their experiences in a lecture at the English Teachers' Association in the Imperial Educational Society after they returned, and it provided an opportunity for English teachers to address policy-makers' English teaching policy, which will be examined in chapter five. Here, instead, Kanda's and Okakura's direct experience based on the abovementioned sources will be touched on. The two figures continued to play a leading role in policy-making processes for English teaching after their trips and into the end of the Meiji Period.

### Germany: 'Realien' by *Anschauungsunterricht*, Britain: Phonetics

Naibu Kanda stayed chiefly in Germany and Britain from 1900 (Meiji 33) to 1901 (Meiji34). This fell during the period in which the 1902 national standard of middle school education was being drawn up, and after his return, he participated in the policy-making processes for English teaching (Ichikawa, 1962, p.200). Part of his inspection of activities in German and English secondary schools were recorded in English in his journal entries entitled 'A Trip around the World', which was later compiled into *Memorials of Naibu Kanda* after his death. In his journal entries, his

observations of German and English reform attempts can be found.

In Germany, Kanda illustrated in detail some of the German classroom practices. For example, he witnessed an English lesson at a *Gymnasium* engaging in the study of ‘*Realien*’ through a dialogue between a teacher and pupils (Kanda, 1927, p.392):

**Tertia (English). 30 boys, 13-14 yrs. old. Prof. Salter.**

In this class the class was made to talk about a picture hung up before them. “What do you perceive in the background?” “What is looking from among these trees?” “What do you perceive on the river?” “Is the steamer going along the current of the stream?” “What kind of man is on the bank?” “By what is the light nourished?” “Corn is thrashed at autumn.” “We only know part (without the article) of the farm.” “What is he willing to do with the plough?” “Kite is flying in the country.” I asked the boys why they could not fly kites in the city. One of the boys answered: “because there are trees.” “Are there no trees in the country?” “There are telephone lines.” “And what else prevents?” “Houses are high.” I was pleased to see they understood me so well. Pictures for class-room use are by Hölzel in Wien.

Kanda did not give a reflective comment of any sort to it. The students were 13 to 14 years old (fourth or fifth year). Spoken language was the means for conversing about the cultural facts of a town in a neighbouring foreign country. The lesson was conducted by using Hölzel wall charts about ‘*Realien*’ of Wien. Conversation was run in the target language, English. The teacher’s questions centred on the facts in the picture, with no cohesion involved. The goal appeared to be practice in spoken English.

Kanda visited *Realschule* (a vocation-oriented secondary school) and *Realgymnasium* (a liberal education school with partially vocational elements) more often than *Gymnasium* (the traditional liberal education-dominated school). At one of the *Realschules* he visited, a dialogue was again used for conversing about what they read. The following was Kanda’s observation record of that lesson (p.392):

**Prima in Realschule. 34 boys, 16-17 yrs. old.**

They were reading English History. Conversation on the topics suggested by their reading. “The Tudors?” “To whom was guilty of the crime?” “Why did he commit it?” “Did not Mary love her husband?” “Who was Rizzio?” “Queen Elizabeth and Mary?” “In what castle was Mary imprisoned?” The boys in their answers used such

expressions as “she led her execute,” “Did he nothing do (sic.) in defence of his mother?” “He were (sic.) the head of an army.” They also read a few lines, about 15 lines, and translated; after which grammar questions were asked; such as, the use of “only” as an adverb and as an adjective, and students gave readily examples: only friend, only convinced; the principal parts of lay and lie; the difference between through and by. ...

The students were a bit older than the first example (eighth or ninth year), and this teacher was not using Hölzel wall charts but still engaging in a conversational dialogue using an English-history book as material for the study of English ‘*Realien*’. The questions were focused on historical facts, as in the first sample; conversation in English was sustained by a chain of questions. In this class of older students, German translation was also used, and grammatical analysis on the passages they read was done. In both lessons, the culture of neighbouring countries was the centre of instruction mediated by a spoken target language. Based on his observations of German practice, Kanda had summarised its ‘Principal Features’ of the ‘New Teaching’ in one of his notebooks during his stay in Germany, as follows (p.168):

- 1) Purely oral teaching at the beginning.
- 2) The use of the foreign tongue, as much as possible, from the beginning and throughout.
- 3) The absolute or partial exclusion of translation from the native into the foreign tongue, except in the higher classes.
- 4) The reduction to a minimum of translation from the foreign tongue into the mother tongue.
- 5) The extensive use of pictures in the younger classes, and generally as concrete a way of putting things as possible.
- 6) The extensive teaching of *Realien*, i.e. the life, customs and institutions, geography, history and literature of the foreign nation.
- 7) Constant conversations on the reading-book, either in the form of preparation, or, more frequently, by way of revisal.
- 8) The use of the reading-book as material for learning grammar inductively.

As will be discussed in chapter three of this study, it appeared that these features of the

new method could be observed more extensively in application-oriented *Realshule* or *Realgymnasium* than in the traditional, academic *Gymnasium*.

Kanda's visit to Britain revealed a somewhat different experience of British secondary schools. During his stay in Britain, Kanda attempted to observe lessons in British secondary schools, but he could not seem to observe as much as in Germany. He wrote, "it was rather difficult to see the inside work of English schools, because teaching was not a profession as it is in Germany" (p.451). He first learnt that teaching had not been an established profession in Britain; he ended up learning why British schools did not have *Anschauungsunterricht* (intuitive teaching):

"On the subject of modern language teaching [...] it is difficult to teach English boys with the "*Anschauungsunterricht*", because English boys thought the work was childish and would not work. To make older persons become like children in order to learn a foreign language was easy, but it is impossible with boys. German boys have no problem here. In England some experiments have shown that for the first two years they got along wonderfully well, but there they stopped, because they had no solid foundation to build upon. The new method is very wearing on the teachers, it requires splendid constitution like Hausknecht's and Walter's" (p.452).

*Anschauungsunterricht* in this context meant teaching using a conversational dialogue between a teacher and a pupil(s), as we have just seen in the German examples. Kanda learnt that difficulties with conducting *Anschauungsunterricht* were in addition to English boys' indifference to it, due to a potential overburden from the new method on English teachers.

In Oxford, he called on Henry Sweet on June 4<sup>th</sup>, 1901. Kanda learnt that "Sweet believed the *Neue Methode* would prevail in Britain in the end, and that he thought he must find out where all the advocates agreed, for while the so-called reformers in Germany made so much of *Anschauungsunterricht*, he did not think it was an indispensable part of the New Method teaching" (p.453). Kanda asked Sweet how

conversation could be taught without pictures, and Sweet answered that “conversation was not a necessary means of teaching, but that instead, he would begin with the spoken language, using phonetics for a year [...] He would teach sounds first, then words, then meaning in one’s own tongue” (p.453).

For Sweet, initial teaching using spoken language with phonetics was the centrality of his reformed method. It may be remembered that Sweet’s claim against the Grammar-Translation Method consisted of the lack of a scientific approach to language teaching, and from his point of view, mere procedural teaching techniques, such as *Anschauungsunterricht*, were not of primary importance. On June 9<sup>th</sup>, 1901, Kanda visited Merton College and attended Sweet’s private class, consisting of three students, to receive phonetics instruction. Kanda described how Sweet taught the phonetics lesson: “He was explaining by means of drawing on the blackboard certain sounds and drilling the class. Next he dictated, then wrote, phonetically, on the blackboard for the class to correct by; finally he made the class read from a phonetic reader” (p.454).

We are not sure whether Kanda understood Sweet’s reforming spirit was to teach pupils scientific methods to learn a new language. For *Anschauungsunterricht*, object lessons were an integral part of the teaching process, with its roots being traced back to Comenius, and this method was perfected by Pestalozzi. In Germany it was inherited by Herbart. Its educational aim lay in concept formation and the formation of self-motivated individuals through inductive, developmental learning processes. Kanda did not make a comment as to a potential connection between the *Anschauungsunterricht* he observed in Germany and Pestalozzi’s Natural Education, but as a strong Natural Methodist, he appeared to recognise this connection (for a detailed review of Kanda’s English teaching theory see Appendix 1.1, pp.340-345).

Thus, what Kanda saw in Germany was teaching with *Anschauungsunterricht* through a dialogue about ‘*Realien*’, which mainly penetrated emerging vocation-oriented secondary school *Realshule*. British practice in general did not regard it as an essential component of reformed methods, except for such limited cases as in Henry Sweet’s private classes, where the initial teaching of spoken language using phonetics was seen.

## Meeting Japanese Nationalism in English Teaching

Yoshisaburō Okakura left Japan soon after the 1902 national standard was issued. He also visited Germany and Britain staying for more than three years, and returned in 1905 (Meiji 38). According to Hiroshi Muraoka's biographical sketch of Okakura (Muraoka, 1928), Okakura stayed in London, Paris, and Berlin, and he consistently attempted to understand cultural backgrounds (p.401). Other than that, his keen interest was in the study of phonetics. In London, Okakura spent his first year meeting with Walter Rippmann and investigating language teaching methodology. After this, he moved to Paris for half a year and studied Experimental Phonetics with Rousselot, the founder of Experimental Phonetics, at his laboratory. He then stayed in Berlin, where he also engaged in the study of English teaching methodology, visiting schools for observing teaching practice and collecting publications on phonetics (pp.401-402). Before he left Europe, Okakura had the chance to speak about Japanese culture at London College. His lectures were eventually published as *The Japanese Spirit* (p. 402).

Okakura evaluated that German practice in English teaching had not adopted an extreme reformed method, and that Germany had excellent language teachers, such as Rippmann and Klinghardt, but they could not be the models of German practice (p.402). Okakura believed that Japan should learn from Germany what could be practiced by ordinary teachers. According to Muraoka, after returning to Japan, Okakura introduced his interpretations of German practice (p.403).

Essentially, the same conclusion was referred to in his letter that appeared in an academic journal, a letter that he sent over from London (Okakura, 1902, pp.119-120). His overall evaluation of the situation in London was that the direct method, which was already prevailing in Germany, was also gradually prevailing in Britain. However, he was cautious of transferring it into Japan directly because of unprepared conditions such as a lack of well-equipped English teachers, textbooks suitable for the direct method, and the discrepancy in national character between Japan, Britain, and Germany. Okakura's introduction of Western practice will be discussed in chapter five of this

study. His introduction focused on the Natural Method, learnt from German practice and phonetics. His distinctive contribution was his attempt to design English teaching in a nationalistic context using all the components of modernity. By incorporating elements of German and British practice, Okakura attempted to design English teaching which was demanded by a new national policy after the Russo-Japanese War.

The transfer of elements of Western foreign language teaching methods by Japanese educational scholars and Meiji leaders showed diversity in its forms. The first layer was formed by the input from American and British teachers who arrived in the early Meiji Period. Their common ground in English teaching derived from the Pestalozzian Natural Method, and they continued to be involved in secondary English teaching throughout the period, outside of policy-making processes. In the Meiji 20s, Japanese teachers of English began to articulate their individual reform ideas based on experience, and on Western knowledge in the 30s. Their reformed ideas were largely based on the Japanese traditional learning style ‘*Sodoku*’, and focused on analytical grammar teaching and improvement of translation. They took advantage of Western knowledge as far as it would supplement deficits. This ‘*Sodoku*’ based approach formed the second layer. In the mid 30s, a second hand transfer of Western knowledge began in the form of sending students overseas within the Government scheme. Unlike the ‘*Sodoku*’ based approach, this third transfer route attempted to introduce Western knowledge without negotiations on the traditional learning style. The targets of investigation were mainly German and British practice, and this educational information had crucial impacts on policy-making toward the national standard in 1911 (Meiji 44).

Chapter three of this study looks directly at German and British practice. A key task is to identify the content of Western knowledge that Japanese scholars saw during their stay in Europe. It also traces back to the origin of the Natural Method in order to capture the distinctive features of the German and British versions of the Natural Method.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MODERN LANGUAGE TEACHING REFORM IN THE WEST

This chapter examines the development of the Natural Method in the West. The aim is to gain information about the sources of Western knowledge that the Japanese transferred into Japan. A particular focus is on the special features of German and British modern language teaching practice, as they were to impact policy-making for English teaching in the late Meiji Period. German and British reformed practice was more or less impacted by the modern language teaching reform movement in the West, which was driven by the rise of modern educational thought. The so-called Natural Education (*Gōshizen no Kyōikugaku*) proposed by Pestalozzi was a crucial trigger for this transformation. Chapter three attempts to understand German and British practice by tracing it back to Pestalozzi and by putting his educational thought in context.

#### Making of Foreign Language Teaching in Secondary Schools

The rise and development of modern educational thought during the Enlightenment did not readily transform the school curriculum until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, when certain social conditions matured. One such condition was the democratic revolution and the liberation of common people through political and economic liberal movements. Another was the development of modern industries driven by the Industrial Revolution. Political liberalism spread from Britain through John Locke's *Essay Concerning the True Origin, Extent and End of Civil Government* into the world, which, along with other considerations, impacted the United States of America to result in the Declaration of Independence in 1776. This stimulated French people leading to the French Revolution in 1789, which inspired other European countries, including Germany. F. Quesnay of France, and Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham of Britain promoted economic liberalism through several economic theories. Their influences extended into France and Germany (Sato, 1972, pp.313-317).

The new era required a new form of education for mass education, in which civic

virtues were to be taught in order to maintain and strengthen the democratic order in the modern nation, while the progression of liberalism in politics and economics resulted in the gradual deconstruction of the church's autocratic education of common people and the classic-despotic tradition of higher education. The preparation of people for the industrial world was also required of the new education, and the cultivation of human intelligence and the culture of pragmatism were emphasised. It was in this context that the modernisation of the school curriculum took place. It started in Germany and gradually spread into other countries (p.319). The modernisation expanded and included geography, national history, and the development of technical education. The introduction of a mother tongue and foreign languages into school curriculum came to be demanded in this context.

The introduction of the mother tongue, and then foreign languages, involved a long-term process in which Latin and Greek were gradually replaced by modern languages. The demand for the teaching of the mother tongue in school curricula embodied the maturation of modern literature in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (after the Reformation, which advocated 'universal priesthood'). Natural Educationists, who insisted that a mother tongue was a language 'given by Nature' and should be used as the medium to teach subject matters, aroused the demand. Ratke and Comenius claimed that by so doing, knowledge useful throughout one's life could be taught 'easily', 'clearly', and to 'all people' (p.250). The idea of teaching one's mother tongue at school gradually became a standard concept amongst educators thereafter. Natural Educationists also demanded foreign languages in secondary school. Comenius stated in his book *Didactica magna* that "the study of languages would not end as part of the cultural knowledge but as a means of acquiring the culture and of conveying it to others. [...] Only necessary languages should be learnt. They would include...foreign languages of neighbouring countries" (p.250). It was the rise of the middle class as an emerging social force in the West that had led to and propelled this curricular expansion.

The demand for modern languages in the school curriculum led to part of the dispute against the traditional curriculum as a whole where the mimetic, grammar-translation study of classics dominated. But, modern language teaching did not readily win

inclusion or lead to the abandonment of classic languages, Latin and Greek, but marked only the beginning of the dispute. The study of classical languages continued to be supported by the idea of *formale Bildung* (formal cultivation) of new humanism, which had emerged from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century through to the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *Formale Bildung* took the acquisition of reason and intellect more seriously than of an amount of knowledge and skills, because it was regarded as continuous, objective, and fundamental. Thus, a mimetic study of the past in humanism was replaced by New Humanism, in which a new educational goal of creating and advancing a new identity of their own culture and languages through contacts with the classics was emphasised. The cultivation of general human character had become the central educational goal of New Humanism. Yet, the growth of political and economic liberalism gave strong support for the development of natural-science-dominated pragmatism in the school curriculum. Modern languages, including foreign languages for practical utility, were increasingly demanded and resisted, and the exploration of teaching methods, which would better suit this practical direction, began.

### **The Emergence of the Grammar-Translation Method**

According to Titone (1968), speech emphasis language teaching was the norm rather than the exception in European history from ancient civilisation (p.9). In the Middle Ages, the universal foreign language was Latin, which was an indispensable part of the common curriculum, from the elementary grades to the university, and was taught intensively to very few like the mother tongue. Latin was a 'living' language and taught in a living way, first orally and then through reading and composition. From the Renaissance period onward until around 1800, French began to be studied by handfuls of the elite as a foreign language as well, especially for diplomats and later by merchants. There, too, the aim of learning French was essentially practical: To acquire the ability to get along in the ordinary circumstances of daily life. The only norm was the immediate utility that mastery of a foreign language could bring into social intercourse, business, and foreign travels. The way to teach it was also practical and was based on the way Latin was taught in schools.

As Latin had ceased to be a normal vehicle for communication and fell out of daily use after the Renaissance, and as the pressure from Natural educationists to put the mother tongue and modern languages in the school curriculum became stronger, the study of Latin became justified in middle class schools as a ‘mental gymnastic’ and the Grammar Method, in tension with the ‘living language’ approach, prevailed in the teaching of Latin. As a result, it was applied to the teaching of modern languages in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Titone, 1968, p.26). This entailed the publication of grammar textbooks that mainly codified the foreign language into frozen rules of morphology and syntax to be explained and eventually memorised, and oral work was reduced to an absolute minimum (p.27). Works authored by such teachers as Karl Plötz, Johann Frantz Ahn, and H. G. Ollendorff were some of the representative textbooks. Ahn’s and Ollendorff’s textbooks did adjust to a practical orientation in response to a new class of language learners, who had emerged from developments in transport (a railway system and shipping lines), but it was merely “the grammar put into a conversational shape” (Howatt, 1984, p.145). It is likely that this practical flavour in textbooks led some Japanese scholars to misunderstanding them as modern reformers. After all, the Grammar-Translation Method in the academy had laid a heavy hand on the teaching of languages in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The development of natural language teaching in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was the reaction to the rise of the Grammar Method, as Titone (1968) put it:

“The reassuring of a more natural approach was not only the result of loyalty to a long-standing tradition that dated back to ancient civilizations and had been consciously affirmed especially during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was more particularly the emergence of new ideas within the ranks of such newly born sciences as linguistics and psychology. Representatives of the soundest portion of this educational heritage are such teachers as Heness, Marcel, Sauveur, and Gouin. On the linguistic side, Viëtor could be considered as the pioneer of a more scientific reform that arose toward the end of the nineteenth century” (p.31).

As we will see shortly, modern language teaching reform in the West was first attempted

by the so-called individual reformers such as Heness, Marcel, etc. Their experiments and inventions led to the foundation on which the Reform Movement in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century was made possible, involving language scholars, teachers, as well as politicians. We will first examine in great detail, below, the original principles of the Natural Method, originated in Pestalozzian Natural Education.

### **Pestalozzi's Modern Educational Thought and Educational Principles**

The Natural Method, rooted in Pestalozzi's Natural Education, was established inseparably with his educational thought. In this sense, it is important to understand Pestalozzi's educational thought and his methods, including his language teaching methods. German and British practice will be examined from these perspectives later.

Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, the famous Swiss educator, was among those who sought to establish an educational philosophy based on nature. He was influenced by both the romantic appeal of the 'natural man', who was unspoiled by social corruption and the rationalism of the Enlightenment science, as an instrument that would work to change the misty world of primeval nature into clear ideas (Guttek, 1972, p.191). Pestalozzi, a social reformer, was a humanitarian. He was a lover of all mankind, and 'love' was the centre of his educational theory and practice. He was convinced that a regenerated society depended on the presence of naturally educated individuals (p.194). To Pestalozzi, the proper education or the regeneration of children was the most powerful way to regenerate society itself. By 'naturally educated individuals' Pestalozzi meant that the educator should capitalise on the child's need for activity by providing exercises that stimulated vocational, moral, and intellectual development. His interest in providing children's vocational exercises and skills was based on his observation that it would contribute to their self-respect and economic independence. In this sense, Pestalozzi's Natural Education aimed at the establishment of the individual and human liberation.

Pestalozzi understood 'nature' (from which humans were to be liberated) as an orderly system underlying the physical world. Guttek (1972) explained that 'nature' was the

totality of the physical environment that appeared to the senses as a vast array of seemingly discrete and independent objects. To Pestalozzi, although appearing as a misty sea of multitudinous objects, nature was a highly organised process, governed by its own intrinsic operations, or natural laws, which were uniform, universal, unchanging, and orderly, and were known through sensation and our subsequent reflective organisation of sensory data (pp.198-199). Nature was an objective order of reality consisting of myriad objects, and as a set of operations that controlled and directed development. Based on the concept of 'nature' as such, Pestalozzi formulated his natural philosophy into the following five principles (p.199):

- 1) Man as a part of nature is subject to its laws.
- 2) Human nature is distinguished from brute nature by possession of intellectual, moral, and physical powers.
- 3) The development of these powers should follow the natural laws.
- 4) A natural education will facilitate the harmonious development of these natural powers.
- 5) The existence of accidental variations among men does not contradict the essential laws of human development.

To Pestalozzi, nature was not a chaotic entity but rule-governed. Additionally, man was a part of nature, and therefore subject to natural laws. This suggests that when the education of human liberation and the individual was pursued, methods to achieve it would involve man in an inductive, developmental learning process toward understanding a structure of a given reality.

### **Education for the Individual**

The beginnings of Natural Education date back to the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Sato (1972) indicated that awareness of education based on a return to nature first appeared in Montaigne's (1533-1592) objections to humanistic education. Ratke (1571-1635) attempted to systematise an education based on the same principle. His assertion was relayed by Comenius (1592-1670), Locke (1632-1704), Rousseau (1712-1778), and

Basedow (1723-1790) and was finally proposed by Pestalozzi (1746-1827) (pp.153-154).

Natural Education was established as a strong antithesis to the tradition and the custom of conventional education in European countries. It targeted the fact that conventional education was exclusively directed to the privileged ruling class in higher education and dogmatic religious teaching in the common school curriculum. Natural Education advocated that education should capitalise on the child's intuitive potential and that educational methods should be harmonised with the natural developmental processes of the child. By doing so, a free, peaceful world ruled by natural and rational order could be built (p.161). Natural Education insisted on universal education. It acknowledged the dignity of all human beings, and that all people should be respected equally, regardless of sex and economic drivers, whether adults or children (pp.165-166). It was an education particularly for common people who needed to be helped to become intellectually and vocationally independent. Hence, Natural Education was regarded as education for social regeneration.

### **'General Method' and 'Special Method'**

Pestalozzi's educational methods were composed of two phases, or instructional stages: The General Method and the Special Method. The General Method was the stage in which the learner's emotional security was achieved. This was necessary because the success of the Special Method depended on a love relationship between teacher and student, and that was the foundation for all of man's moral, social, religious, and aesthetic values (Guttek, 1972, pp.205-206). He saw this phase as particularly important because, in his mind, the family should be secure and full of a love relationship; a notion that had been weakened by the ravages of the Napoleonic Wars and the changes brought about by industrialisation (p.206).

### *Anschauungsunterricht (Intuitive Teaching)*

In order for man to apprehend reality clearly and for the proper cultivation of man's

inherent moral, intellectual, and physical powers, Pestalozzi believed that the art of instruction was needed. He called it the “psychologising of instruction” (p.200), on which the Special Method could be built. In the psychologised instruction, a single, unitary operational process was the source of all human knowledge, which he called *Anschauung*, or ‘intuition’, ‘observation’ or ‘sense impression’ (pp.201-202). This was the fundamental developmental process that embraced all and any of the various stages of conceptualisation (Curtis & Boulton, 1953, pp.340-341). Thus, Pestalozzi viewed learning in terms of three basic phases: sensation, perception, and concept. He explained the developmental progression of the three phases as follows:

“Through *Anschauung*, the mind recognises the form underlying the diffused sensory data and organises the sensations into structures. Perception – awareness of the object as a structured whole – is based on the material and formal qualities of the object. Whereas sensation refers to the impinging of the object’s material qualities upon man’s senses, perception refers to the mind’s consciousness of the existence of a form giving structure to these qualities” (Guttek, 1972, p.203).

#### From the Near to the Far

In the Special Method, instruction was directed by two corollaries. First, instruction should ‘begin from the near and move to the far’. In a broad context, this meant that it was to begin with the learner’s direct experience with concrete objects found in the environment, which were familiar to the child. It followed that ‘since man comes to know reality through sensation, the nearer he is to the objects, the clearer his perception of the objects’ (p.208). He distrusted the conventional school’s emphasis on books and words by claiming that when information was introduced verbally and indirectly, the appreciation of reality remained unclear and confused (p.208). The learner’s immediate experience with concrete objects was also a part of a larger one, providing the child with gradually, slowly, and steadily more remote experiences. Pestalozzi referred to this continuity of experience as the ‘widening circle of mankind’ (p.208).

#### From the Simple to the Complex

Another corollary of the Special Method was that instruction should begin with ‘the simple to the complex’. One connotation was that instruction should go ‘from the basic to more intricate and sophisticated’ arts. For example, in his language lessons, the learner went from the simple to the complex by speaking sounds, then words, then phrases, and finally sentences. It also meant that the teacher should begin with concrete objects before developing abstract generalisations, and in skill-learning, ‘simple’ meant ‘easy’ (p.209). His famous ‘object teaching’ grew out of these corollaries, which should have a certain pedagogical principle. That is, “in leading a child to form clear concepts, the teacher must first expose the child to objects possessing the most essential characteristics of the class to which they belong. [...] The child learns to subordinate the accidental properties of an object to its essential nature” (p.204).

Pestalozzi’s educational thought and methods were grounded on his love of all mankind. His major concern was the education of poorer people, from which the art of instruction by which all people could cultivate their moral, intellectual, and physical powers through *Anschauung* was constructed.

### **Pestalozzi’s Natural Language Teaching Method**

The driving force for natural language orientation was the spread of Pestalozzi’s educational principles in Natural Education from the late 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Howatt (1984) pointed out the origin of natural language teaching by stating that “it was in the works and examples of a teacher of genius, Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi that the modern tradition of natural approaches originated” (p.197). According to Kelly (1969), “it was Pestalozzi who formulated the principle of complete reliance on oral-aural training in the first stages of a new language” (p.313). Consistent with the Pestalozzian educational principles, the underlying philosophy of the Natural Method is that learning to speak a new language is an intuitive process for which human beings have a natural capacity, which can be awakened provided only that the proper conditions exist. In the natural tradition, the process of language learning is of an inductive, developmental nature.

## **‘Speech Primacy’**

Which language teaching would bring about the establishment of the individual and human liberation? For Pestalozzi, who saw nature as an objective orderly system, language would also be understood as a rule-governed system. His view of language development was of a generic conception of human development, on which his framework for language teaching was grounded. That was, the development of individual languages correlated to the historical development of the human race. Therefore, language teaching must follow the same process by which human beings developed their languages (Hirose, 1996, p.171). This suggested that language teaching must begin with spoken language, then move to words, and then complete with sentences (p.171). Hence, the principle of ‘speech primacy’ in modern language teaching was originated in this generic conception.

## **Teaching Methods**

Pestalozzi did not systematically articulate language teaching in Pestalozzianism. Toshio Hirose paid attention to Pestalozzi’s philosophy of language education and its methods and recently published his work *Pestalozzi no Gengo Kyōiku Shisō* (Pestalozzi’s philosophy of language education) in 1996. Hirose indicated that Pestalozzi’s language teaching methods underwent a substantial modification in their developments. We will examine the finalised version of his method, below.

### Teaching of Speech

Pestalozzi psychologically formulated the system by basing teaching speech on ‘natural sounds’. ‘Natural sounds’ meant the voice of the child’s mother, the cry of a dog, the song of a bird, the sound of rain, knocking sounds, etc. In Pestalozzian language teaching, the role of a mother was crucial. Through hearing the mother’s utterances, the child would learn to identify the mother with her voice. This association or ‘relationship’ would become the crucial core on which a range of ‘relationship’ would

be increasingly expanded. He stated that “Just as your child learns to identify you with your voice, as his range of association expands, increasingly, he learns to associate the relationship between the song of a bird and the bird, the cry of a dog and the dog, and the sounds of a spinning wheel and the wheel” (p.179). The child also had to learn to imitate the sound they heard in order to acquire the ability to recognise concepts clearly (p.180). Thus, Pestalozzi’s exploration for speech instruction set out to acquire the ability to recognise clear concepts.

### Teaching of Words

Speech instruction was followed by the second stage of teaching words. Pestalozzi set the aim of word teaching to lead the child from ambiguous *Anschauung* to clear concepts. He observed that human beings first give an object a name on the basis of general recognition, and that gradually, they learn to name it based on its peculiarities (p.186). This becomes the driving force, the reason for demanding more words and for teaching them. This way, words can contribute to helping us acquire clear concepts. His method acquired further speculations into the possibility of educating the child to be a self-motivated learner. That is, he stated that once the child learns a name in association with the object represented by it, they become inclined to demand more and more objects and to name them, and that this meant that word teaching could contribute to fostering the child’s independent and self-motivated attitude to exploring truth (p.207).

Understandably, ‘the object lesson’ was the key component in his system. Pestalozzi explained this connection in the following way. One was that words are generated corresponding to objects in the first place, and the other was that objects rouse in the child the desire to give them a name (pp.193-196). He saw that children in general have the tendency to name an object or to want to know the name once they see the object. However, it was not adequate simply to present the child with a word through an object. To Pestalozzi, objects should be something that the child already knew about but did not know the name of, or something that they desired to possess (pp.197-198). He observed that the object to be presented should be carefully selected, so that the child naturally wants to give it a name. This implied that the mother (presenter) was required to

develop the ability to select the appropriate objects. Such objects included objects that were within the reach of the child's immediate experience, which the child had encountered through their practical experience with them, or of which the child had a sense impression through acting upon them (p.201). Further, the importance of when to present it to the child should be addressed (p.202). Only when the child is inclined and ready to receive the mother's talk, can her attempt at the object teaching become instructive. This involves the mother's insight into the child's psychological conditions; of when to talk to her child and when not to.

The essence of the object lesson, and word teaching through it, lies in the teacher's insight into the child's mental state. Without it, the object lesson becomes a mechanical application of the predetermined question-and-answer format, which we will see happen in the Mayo's version of the object lesson later in this chapter (see pp.104-105).

#### Teaching of a Language (Sentences)

For Pestalozzi, the final stage of teaching a language was teaching sentences. In teaching sentences, his aim was, again, to lead the child to acquire clear concepts and the ability to express thoughts clearly, and to become an active seeker of knowledge about the world (p.220). He formulated his methods of teaching sentences based on the principle of from 'the simple to the complex' and later reformulated it by adding to it the principle of from 'the near to the far', i.e. of capitalising on the child's experiential knowledge, impressions, and images.

His method was to begin with focusing the child's attention on the subject and the predicate of a sentence, which then moved onto the expansion of the sentence by substituting them with other options. The expansion practice was increasingly strengthened by complex sentences, along with the addition of adverbs, phrases, conjunctions, adjectives, etc. For example, the mother would present something like the following sentences to the child and have them imitate them (p.210) (the italic style indicates my English translation):

Der Vater ist gütig. (*The father is kind.*)

Der Schmetterling ist buntgeflügelt. (*The butterfly has wings of a lot of colours.*)

When the child had learned to imitate them easily, the mother would ask questions focusing on the subjects and the predicates (p.210):

Wer ist gütig? (*Who is kind?*) Was ist buntgeflügelt? (*What has multi-coloured wings?*)

Was ist der Vater? (*What is the father?*) Was ist der Schmetterling? (*What is the butterfly?*)

The child was to answer them in the form of sentences. Sentences with a subject and a predicate were then to be expanded by substitution practice (p.210):

Wer ist? (*Who is?*) Was ist? (*What is?*)

Die Raubtiere sind fleischfressend. (*The wild animals are flesh-eating.*)

Die Hirsche sind leichfüßig. (*The deer walk with a light step.*)

The expansion from ‘the simple to the complex’ sentences was extended by the addition of further parts of speech (pp.221-212):

Ich werde. (*I will.*)

Ich werde erhalten. (*I will maintain.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich gelitten, nicht anders erhalten.  
(*I will not maintain my health differently after all my suffering.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich in meiner Krankheit gelitten, nicht anders erhalten. (*I will surely not maintain my health differently after all suffering from my disease.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich in meiner Krankheit gelitten, nicht anders als durch Mäßigung erhalten. (*I will surely not maintain my health differently after all my suffering from my disease in any other way than with moderation.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich in meiner Krankheit gelitten, nicht anders als durch die größte Mässigung erhalten. (*I will surely not maintain my health differently after all my suffering from my disease if not by extreme moderation.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich in meiner Krankheit gelitten, nicht anders als durch die größte Mässigung und Regelmäßigkeit erhalten. (*I will surely not maintain my health differently after all my suffering from my disease if not by extreme moderation and regularity.*)

Ich werde meine Gesundheit, nach allem, was ich in meiner Krankheit gelitten, nicht anders als durch die größte Mässigung und eine allgemeine Regelmäßigkeit erhalten können. (*I will surely not maintain my health differently after all my suffering from my disease if not by extreme moderation and entire regularity.*)

The principle of ‘from the simple to the complex’ generated for Pestalozzi language instruction of a series of expansions. What was involved in this process was that of an inductive, perceptive nature, which was systematic in a purely intuitive way at this level. Namely, *Anschauung* or sense impression, was the basis of language development (p.216). If we failed to recognise this, the use of any pictures or narratives would lack quality as teaching materials. He insisted that the mother ask or talk to her child about what the child always sees, hears, or feels — the child’s experiential knowledge and feelings (p.221). He also called our attention to the fact that the child’s sensory impression was not limited to the range of language use necessary only for the child’s domestic lives, but would easily go beyond it to form a larger linguistic world of their own (pp.224-225). Pestalozzi’s Natural Method was grounded in the view of *Anschauung*, or sense impression, as the basis of language development involving an inductive, developmental process.

### **Individual Attempts by ‘Natural’ Language Teaching**

Pestalozzi’s idea of the ‘natural method’ was translated into modern language teaching methods and diffused, into Europe and America in particular, by individual reformers

like Marcel, Prendergast, Heness, Sauveur, and Gouin. Claude Marcel (1793-1876), a French teacher, taught French in America. In chapter two, we saw that Marcel's method grew out of the natural language learning tradition, as well as his primary focus on reading (see Chapter 2, pp.58-59). Marcel thought of mastering a language as consisting "not simply in the ability to manipulate forms, but more radically in the ability to 'think' also in the foreign language" (Titone, 1968, p.32). His 'rational method' dictated that "the mind should be impressed with the idea before it takes cognizance of the sign that represents it" (Howatt, 1984, p.153), implying the prior importance of reading and hearing over speaking and writing. He also made a distinction between 'analytic methods' (from example, practice, and experience to general truths by a process of induction) and 'synthetic methods' (principles and rules), stating that a good method would use both of them, but in different proportions depending on the characteristics of the learner and the relationship between the immediate learning task and the general aims of education (p.153). In his rational framework, rather than an imitation and habit formation formulation, the child learning its mother tongue, therefore, did not provide a model for the foreign language classroom, though he did believe that it did, for learners under the age of 12 (p.153).

Unlike Marcel, an Englishman, Thomas Prendergast (1806-1886) formulated his 'Mastery' system of natural language teaching, by attempting to elaborate a psychological theory of child language acquisition and applied it to the teaching of foreign language teaching. He observed that the most notable characteristics of the child's process is that "he speaks fluently and idiomatically with a very small number of words" (Howatt & Smith, 2000a, pp.vi-vii). For Prendergast, the crucial feature of language was the capacity of human beings to generate an infinite number of sentences from a finite set of means (Howatt, 1984, p.149). To attain idiomatic fluency, he saw the action of 'memory' and 'thoroughness' as the key principles for language learning processes (Howatt & Smith, 2000a, p.viii). He used detached sentences as his basic learning data, which shared many of the characteristics of the Grammar-Translation Method. We saw in detail Samuel R. Brown's adaptation of Prendergast's system, which centred on memory, imitation, and repetition in chapter two (see pp.42-45).

Gottlieb Heness applied Pestalozzi's complete reliance on oral-aural training in earnest and Lambert Sauveur (1826-1907) publicised it (Kroeh, 1887, p.178). Heness was one of Pestalozzi's disciples and a schoolteacher in Germany. He applied the object-lesson technique to the teaching of standard German (*Hochdeutsch*) to his dialect-speaking pupils in south Germany (Howatt, 1984, p.198). His success encouraged him to think of broadening the method to the teaching of German as a foreign language. He started a small private school of modern languages at New Haven in America in 1866 and was soon joined by another capable teacher, Sauveur who taught French (Titone, 1968, p.32). They moved to Boston in 1869 and opened summer schools of modern languages.

It appeared that Sauveur looked at the process of second language learning as compatible with first language learning (Howatt, 1984, p.201). However, he saw teaching as a psychological practice, as Pestalozzi believed. Sauveur was a gifted and immensely enthusiastic language teacher, possessed with boundless energy, whose self-confidence communicated itself to his learners. He *expected* them to understand, so they did. What he was able to do, and most people find difficult, was to talk to his students in such a way that they did not fail to understand what he was getting at. He had an intuitive knowledge of his students' 'internalised competence' and succeeded in organising and controlling his own discourse in such a way that it 'matched' the interpretive capacities of his learners. Thus, Sauveur was able to provide ample oral input in a way comprehensible to the learner, based on his two basic principles of his natural method — *earnest questions* and *coherence* (pp.199-201). The following excerpt is an example of his oral technique (p.200):

Here is the finger. Look. Here is the forefinger, here is the middle finger, here is the ring-finger, here is the little finger, and here is the thumb. Do you see the finger, madame? Yes, you see the finger and I see the finger. Do you see the finger, monsieur? – Yes, I see the finger. – Do you see the forefinger, madame? – Yes, I see the forefinger. – And you, monsieur? etc.

It can be said that Sauveur's capacities of looking at learners' 'internalised competence' and their 'interpretive capacities' paralleled Pestalozzi's speculation on learners'

psychological developmental stages, which would direct what the teacher should talk to them about, and when. In this respect, it was likely that Sauveur did not look at the essential process of second language learning as that of mimicry and habit formation.

François Gouin's (1831-1896) 'Gouin Series' was "in strict accordance with the principles which have guided the work of Pestalozzi and of Froebel, as of Herbert Spencer" (Howatt & Smith, 2000b, p.xi). Like Prendergast, Gouin studied the way in which children use language and achieved insights into the processes of language acquisition and development. He brought into the teaching of modern languages intense activity through dramatisation of the sentences to be drilled. Association, mimicry, and memorisation constituted the pivotal activities of language learning (Titone, 1968, p.36). His emphasis on the importance of the structure of experience in the organisation of language was totally original. However, his addiction to the belief that all experiential organisation was sequential, blinded him to the true significance of his insight (Howatt, 1984, p.149).

In summary, the individual reformers' ideas translated Pestalozzi's principles of natural orientation into varied methodological approaches. Many of them tended to feature translating the developmental learning process inherent in the Pestalozzian Natural Method into the analogy of a child's mother tongue learning and into teaching techniques focusing on mimicry, memorisation, and habit formation. As Kelly (1969) pointed out, the tendency of translation into habit formation was indeed a more general one. He explained it in the contemporary context that demanded an efficient acquisition of a foreign language, as follows:

"Habit formation was rather brutally brought to the attention of many nineteenth-century teachers and pupils by the necessity to learn languages that did not conform to the pattern of those hitherto learned. The extension of trade and missionary activity in America, Asia, the Pacific, and Africa demanded that the appropriate languages should be learned quickly and efficiently without recourse to either grammar or written analysis" (p.312).

## The Natural Method in the Reform Movement

In the background of the so-called 'Reform Movement' were the abovementioned individual reform attempts. Though being limited to private attempts on a relatively small scale, as applied mainly in the middle class (in small private schools), they did form a necessary foundation. It was when the new science of phonetics stepped in that the Reform Movement came to be officially recognised (Titone, 1968, p.37). It took place quite suddenly and lasted for about 20 years (1882-1904). It began with Wilhelm Viëtor's pamphlet *Der Sprachunterricht muss umkehren!* (Language teaching must start afresh!) under the pseudonym Quousque Tandem in 1882 (Meiji 15). The beginnings of the movement were remarkable. According to Howatt (1984), not only did many of the leading phoneticians of the time co-operate towards a shared educational aim, but they also succeeded in attracting teachers and others in the field to the same common purpose. These specialist phoneticians took as much interest in the reformation of classroom practice as the teachers did in phonetics. This was partly due to the fact that three out of the four major phoneticians, who were Viëtor in Germany, Paul Passy in France, and Otto Jespersen in Denmark, began their careers as schoolteachers (p.169). The fourth principal figure, Henry Sweet in England, remained a private scholar, somewhat limiting his teaching career. During the 20 years, a large amount of pamphlets, articles, and works were published, and professional associations and societies were formed, one of which was the International Phonetics Association (IPA). The publication of *How to Teach a Foreign Language* by Jespersen in 1904 (Meiji 37) signalled the final stage of the activity.

As Viëtor himself admitted, the Reform Movement shared points of similarity in significant respects with previous reform ideas. However, the distinctive features of the reformed ideas led by the abovementioned phoneticians were observed in the importance attached to pronunciation and the adaptation of phonetic study to elementary instruction (Gideon, 1909, p.480). Adherents to the ideas were united in regarding pronunciation as of prime significance to beginners and in aiding them through training their ears and organs of speech to gain a mastery of the foreign language.

Darian (1969) pointed out Sweet's differentiation between his understanding of the Natural Method and his theory of language study. The 'Natural Method' presupposed the same process in first and second language learning, while the more mature learner learning a second language is possessed with greater powers of concentration and methodological perseverance, and generalisation and abstraction. Under the 'Natural Method', thus, mature learners were put in the position of an infant, without allowing them to use their own special abilities (p.545). In the Reform Movement, the analogy between first and second language acquisition, which was presupposed by individual reformers at large, was weakened and, instead, abstract thinking was regarded to compensate for the decreased power of imitation, which increasing maturity brings. In fact, special attention to logical thinking styles, such as abstraction and generalisation, was not only Sweet's observation but was true of the distinctive features of the attitudes shared by the Reformists in general. Howatt (1984) summed up the role of the Reform Movement by stating that "The Reform Movement offered language teaching something it could hardly refuse — a scientific approach" (p.175). The Pestalozzian psychological view of language learning as an inductive, developmental process, which was frequently transformed by individual reformers as imitation and pattern formation, was scientifically rationalised, particularly by phonetics, in the Reform Movement.

As a consequence, Howatt (1984) identified three basic principles on which the reformed 'Natural' Method was founded:

- 1) The primacy of speech,
- 2) The centrality of connected text as the kernel of the teaching-learning process,  
and
- 3) The absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom (p.171).

However, an adherence to these principles raised many practical issues.

### **Speech Primacy**

The first principle of the primacy of spoken language required of the teacher a

preliminary training in general phonetics. To the reformers in general, it was essential that the learner's pronunciation should be corrected before moving on to texts, and that these texts should be printed in a scientifically accurate notation. Hence, in many teachers' minds, modern methods of language teaching were synonymous with 'using phonetics', and 'phonetics' in turn meant learning a notation system. As a result:

“Some teachers claimed this imposed an extra learning burden, and most reformers found themselves having to defend its use at some time or another. With hindsight, the transcription issue may have done more harm than good, and distracted attention away from the broader aspects of reform” (p.172).

### **Connected Text and Associationism**

The second principle of the connected text targeted disconnected words and sentences frequently found in the Grammar Method textbooks. The claim for connectedness in the text was made by the current infant psychology of Associationism, an extension of Pestalozzi's *Anschauung* psychology and on which the Herbartian pedagogy was grounded. The notion of association (in which a 'concept' was regarded as a unit of consciousness, and 'learning' as an increasing expansion of 'association' brought about by the linkage of one concept with another), called for a kind of texts where the linguistic elements were correctly assembled so that the learner could make the necessary associations between one element and another. The use of translation was prohibited, because it could lead to the formation of 'cross associations' and hinder the development of the foreign language (p.173).

Associationism also claimed the selection and grading of suitable topics. Connected texts on worthwhile topics were clearly preferable to the pointless sentences of traditional textbooks, but this raised awareness of issues in the selection and grading of suitable texts (p.173). Additionally, the psychology of Associationism implied an inductive method of teaching grammar. In this view, the language of the text was seen to provide the data for grammatical rules rather than being used to exemplify rules previously learnt out of context. Some reformers stressed the naturalness and

authenticity of the text over a controlled presentation of grammatical points; some, however, stressed a closer relationship between grammar and text. This issue was manifested in another problem (p.173).

### **Oral Methodology**

The third principle of the absolute priority of an oral methodology in the classroom, especially in the early stages of learning, meant that the text provided the starting point for question-and-answer work, retells etc., which required the learners to use the new language. Naturally, the teacher was expected to speak the foreign language as a normal means of classroom communication, retaining the mother tongue only for glossing new words and explaining new grammar points. Teachers were generally non-native speakers of the foreign language. They did accept the basic sense of the monolingual principle (no translation into the mother tongue), but they did not see any advantage in an extremist view of monolingualism (p.173).

Hence, the practitioners did not accept the reformers' claims peacefully. Titone (1968) pointed out several reasons for this. Aside from irrational attachments to old practices on the part of teachers and scholars, it was because of the initial chaos caused by the unsystematic and rigid applications of the new precepts to differing teaching situations, and by enthusiastic but unprepared novice teachers (p.39). 'The unsystematic and rigid applications' meant a lack of clear objectives and flexibility, which frequently led to students not passing examinations or failing to get a firm grasp of the language they were supposed to be studying. Consequently, some teachers reverted to the old grammar-grid tactics, such as the Plötz approach. Others tried some sort of compromise between the oral approach and the use of reading and grammar (p.39). Titone called it a "tamed" direct method (p.39). As a result, the outcome would seem like the following:

"In making mastery of the spoken language the chief objective, the nature and function of secondary schools was overlooked, because such an objective under normal conditions of mass instruction is only attainable in a modest degree. The reform method requires not only a teacher who possesses a perfect mastery of the

foreign language, but makes such claims on his nervous and physical energy as to entail premature exhaustion. Average pupils, not to mention weaker ones ... are overburdened and revolt. Early adherents of the new method, after their enthusiasm has been dashed by stern realities, have gradually broken away” (pp.39-40).

This sounds pessimistic, but it might reveal a general picture of the outcome. In fact, classroom applications of the natural language teaching principles of speech primacy, connected text, and oral methodology encountered several difficulties in Western countries, as the above statement reveals. In England, reform attempts were resisted at large. In Germany, the reform was quite successful in the end, but in a peculiarly unique form. Below, we will look closely at the situation in these countries.

### **Modern Language Teaching Reform in Germany**

Pestalozzi’s educational thought, because of his stress on moral, physical, and intellectual powers, has frequently been understood in a new humanistic tradition rather than as pragmatism in a Western education history (Yoshida, 1919). However, his humanistic educational principles were diffused into various forms of formalisation and transformations, as they were carried throughout Europe, North America, and Japan. Direct observations were made by a number of visitors to Pestalozzi’s school, and by his associates after his death in 1827, in the context of an emerging instrumental world and of particular individual political and cultural circumstances. What commonly happened was the loss or neglect of the General Method phase of his principles. Since the General Method depended upon the ‘gentle Pestalozzi’ personality of the practitioner (Gutek, 1972, p.212), his followers failed to implement this phase and focused instead on the instructional components of the Special Method. As a result, the original impetus of Pestalozzianism towards human liberation tended to be lost when practiced in individual countries and an individual education value was given.

The Pestalozzian educational principles were studied most by German educators, particularly those from Prussia, by sending them to Pestalozzi’s school (Yoshida, 1919,

p.587). The interpretation of Pestalozzianism was comparatively accurate, but it showed different pictures of diffusion, partly because Pestalozzi was a German-speaking Swiss and his works were readily available in German language editions (Gutek, 1972, p.213), and mainly because of the three major German educational theorists' introductory attempts. They were Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Johann Friedrich Herbart, and Friedrich Froebel. In the context of Japan's English teaching, Fichte, and particularly Herbart, may be more important.

Herbart, a leading philosopher and educational theorist, had visited Pestalozzi's school, written about Pestalozzi's educational principles, and familiarised German educators with the method of Natural Education. He accepted the Pestalozzian emphasis on sensory perception, vocational education, and civic responsibility. While he inherited Pestalozzi's psychological process of 'from *Anschauung* to clear concepts', he systematised it into four, and later five, distinctive developmental processes; consisting of 'Preparation' (revision of old material: *Yobi*), 'Presentation' (imparting new facts: *Teiji*), 'Association' (of the new with the old: *Hikaku*), 'Systematisation' (recapitulation of the new network in its context: *Tōkatsu*), and 'Application' (practice: *Ōyō*). Herbart's theory of education and learning were the basis of the teaching practice of the Natural Method. As language was a matter of organised perception, teaching it involved observation lessons (*Anschauungsunterricht*), which gave the pupil direct experience of the language and its reality (Kelly, 1969, p.312). Herbart's pedagogy became a powerful format for Japan's educational practice at large. I will discuss its influence on Japan's pedagogy later.

Another educator who blended the Pestalozzian modern ethics with a nationalistic education value in Germany was Fichte, whose *Addresses to the German People* delivered in 1807 and 1808 stimulated general interest in Pestalozzian education (Gutek, 1972, p.213). His series of fourteen *Addresses* was essentially a plea for the regeneration of Germany after the defeat at the Battle of Jena in 1806 during the Napoleonic Wars. He believed that Pestalozzi's education could be used to secure the German national sentiment and to inspire patriotism under the oppression of France (Yoshida, 1919, p.588). In Fichte's nationalistic pedagogy, moral order was found in the

racial development of German history and community. Therefore, “the German must act on the ground of the inheritance and development of the German race” (p.588).

Pestalozzi’s themes of sense perception, physical education, practical vocational skills, and moral principles attracted him to inspire the German race and for the post war social reformation. In Germany, Pestalozzian pedagogy was reorganised by the national sentiments into a pedagogical framework based on racialised, ‘community’ ethics.

### **The Reform Movement in Germany**

The reform movement in modern language teaching (French and English) in German secondary schools did not proceed smoothly at first, but as the instrumentalism curriculum gradually penetrated the schools, modern languages also won inclusion in the school curriculum. From the late 19<sup>th</sup> century onward, there was an increased demand for vocation-oriented curriculum, which eventually led to the establishment of *Oberrealschule* and *Realgymnasium* by 1901, besides the traditional classics-dominant *Gymnasium*. *Oberrealschule* attached French and English, and they were natural science-dominant without any classical studies of Latin or Greek, whereas *Realgymnasium* stood between the two, partly incorporating modern languages and natural science subjects. Inclusion of modern language teaching was first seen in these vocation-oriented institutions, and French was introduced and slowly expanded in *Gymnasium* as well, particularly in Prussia.

### Nationalistic Goals in Language Teaching

In 1895 (Meiji 28), British educators, Mathew Arnold and Michael Sadler, brought back favourable reports of the impressive results of language teaching in Germany. In this report, stress on oral language in the beginning stages, as well as pictures, *Realien*, conversation, and inductive grammar teaching were all salient. They reported:

“In Germany, all the teachers were using some version of the new method. Teaching was purely oral in the beginning stages. The lesson was conducted in the foreign language, using pictures and *Realien* to aid comprehension.

Conversation between teacher and pupils was central to the lesson, and the reading book was used as a means of teaching grammar inductively and of stimulating class discussion. The teaching was practical to an almost incredible degree” (Bayley, 1998, pp.47-48).

In 1897 (Meiji 30), another British scholar, Mary Brebner, after six months of investigation as a traveling scholar, also reported the Prussian government’s seemingly swift transformation. According to Brebner (1904), by 1884 (Meiji 17), the new method had already begun to find its way into the schools and, in 1891 (Meiji 24), regulations were drawn up by the Prussian educational ministry that enforced the main principles of the Reform. After 1892 (Meiji 25), 10 years after Viëtor’s attack on the old method, the new teaching was practically established by law (p.2). It was mentioned in chapter two that Brebner’s report was later translated by Yoshisaburō Okakura in 1906 (Meiji 39) and became the first source of information on German practice for the Japanese reform movement.

What principles and practice were directed by the Prussian ‘law’? The Prussian ordinance, issued in 1892 (Meiji 25), read as follows:

“The direct object of instruction in foreign languages is to enable the pupils to understand fairly easy French and English authors, and to comprehend spoken English and French, also to use with a certain amount of fluency the simple forms of daily intercourse both orally and in writing. Its indirect object is to open up to the pupil’s minds, as far as possible, the culture and civilisation, the life and customs of both foreign nations” (Sokol, 1934, p.39).

The aims of French and English were prescribed as practical utility (‘easy’ text and ‘fluency’ orally and in writing) and cultural studies (to ‘open up the pupils’ minds’). Sokol (1934) explained the intention of the cultural aim in French and English from an outward and inward perspective. For the outward reason, the German trade and the ever more complicated political relations with other peoples, rapidly became apparent during the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (p.39). The new political circumstances demanded a

better understanding of the ‘psychological’ characteristics and ‘cultural peculiarities’ of foreign nations. This awareness resulted in the introduction of *Kulturkunde*, or rather *Auslandskunde*; the study of foreign civilisation (p.40).

Inwardly, a domestic force called the Youth Movement strengthened it. This movement was inspired by a hopeful idealism that sought the fundamental renewal of the German national character, a genuine patriotism, and real national unity (p.40). A revival of the native virtues of the German race, love of the homeland, and of simple, natural life was among the chief aims of the Youth Movement (p.40). From this time onward, Germany increasingly declared itself in favour of a more pronounced nationalism, while the ultimate aim of language instruction also stressed the thorough introduction of the cultural and intellectual life of neighbouring foreign countries through well grounded language training (p.41). Oral methodology and cultural focus in German reformed practice were sought in the context of political relations and the domestic rise of nationalism, driven by the Youth Movement.

#### Culture as the Common Ground

In Germany, the study of foreign cultures was not simply a response to the current demand. There was the traditional German idea that foreign language teaching is part of formal education and has goals beyond the utilitarian ones. Hüllen (2006) explained in detail how ‘culture’ had become the common ground for both the traditional humanists and the modern reformers. In the tradition of humanism, in which formal education (*formale Bildung*) through the study of the grammar of Greek and Latin was the ultimate goal of language instruction, teaching modern languages was denounced as expedient and superficial, because it was motivated only by “the trivial needs” of communication (p.7). It was only in 1901 (Meiji 34) that French and English were recognised as proper subjects for the traditional grammar schools. In the long controversy over the inclusion of modern languages and modern teaching methods, the treatment of *formale Bildung* was always the centre of dispute. This was also the path in which a compromise was sought.

Appeasement from the old languages still insisted on the formalised and stressed teaching of French and English grammar as the classical languages were taught. They also insisted that rational faculties could be improved by language learning itself. They claimed the focus on the historical rather than the present-day culture of France and England should be stressed (Hüllen, 2006, p.7). The representatives of the modern languages made reference to the neighbouring cultures, which were in competition with the German one. They also claimed that they could teach formal thinking (p.7). For practical purposes, they insisted that they were eager to teach only the phonetics of modern languages, so that they would stimulate spontaneous speech in the classroom (p.7), while refraining from mentioning the practical advantages of communication with foreign speakers.

As a result, an agreement was reached that languages could be taught and understood only in the context of their cultures (pp.7-8). At this point, they did not differentiate between an old, finalised and perfected culture on the one hand, and a new culture in progress with all its unfinished traits on the other (p.8). Hence, the present-day culture of the foreign language eventually came to be taught in the modern language classroom in Germany, and this was how the teaching of '*Realien*' emerged. This had emerged as a common ground between the humanistic tradition and the modern reformists. In German practice, this common ground was the core of language teaching, and 'speech primacy' and oral methodology represented the reformed method.

### **German Reformed Practice**

A general picture of the reformed German practice was presented by Brebner's (1904) observational report. The number of schools she visited was 41, and that of the lessons observed was 268 (Brebner, 1904, Appendix A). Since the schools were biased to girls' schools (22 schools; 163 lessons) because of Prussia's not allowing the admittance of adult women to boys' schools (p.v), it may not give a fully balanced picture of modern language teaching in Germany. But, Brebner stated that it had been dominated not only by their absolute merit, but also by their representative nature (p.vii). In Germany, foreign languages and liberal education gained a foothold first in girls' schools because

the role of Classics was considered less important for elite women. Her observations will still give us an idea of what was generally practiced in the classroom of the elite middle classes. According to Brebner (p.3), the following 10 items were the general features of German practice:

- 1) Reading forms the centre of instruction.
- 2) Grammar is taught inductively.
- 3) The foreign language is used as much as possible throughout.
- 4) There are regular conversation exercises at every lesson.
- 5) The teaching is connected with the daily life of the pupil.
- 6) Objects and pictures are used in the earlier stages.
- 7) *Realien* are extensively taught, especially in the later stages.
- 8) Great attention is paid to pronunciation throughout, but more particularly in the beginning.
- 9) Free composition is largely substituted for translation into the foreign tongue.
- 10) Translation into the mother tongue is reduced to a minimum.

While Brebner cautiously acknowledged that there were still considerable differences of opinion on certain points, and a still greater diversity in the prominence given to the different elements that were considered essential by all, one of which was the question of phonetics (pp.2-3), it is apparent that the principles of 'speech primacy' and the priority of the use of oral language in the classroom were dominant, or at least given a greater role than the Grammar-Translation method. As for textbooks, reading was regarded as the centre of instruction, and the content was constituted by '*Realien*'. In addition, grammar was to be taught inductively. The use of phonetics was not mentioned in her observation, since the systematic teaching of phonetics was discouraged (p.24), although several sample lessons, in which initial pronunciation was taught with phonetics, were observed (p.24).

According to Russell (1899), understandably the reform in *Gymnasium* was not as successful as in *Realschule* and *Realgymnasium*. In fact, modern language instruction in the *Real*-schools was quite another thing, where there was life and vigour and ability,

and most excellent results in Berlin, Altona, Leipzig, and many other cities (pp.274-275). The government prescribed the course and, in that respect, the schools had no choice in the matter. However, schools did have the freedom to choose the ways and means to achieve the ends that were officially prescribed (p.278).

Russell gave an outline of the lessons conducted in 1892 and 1893 in *Realschule* (nine-year schooling) in Bockenheim. Some of the lesson outlines for the beginning (Sexta), middle (Tertia), and upper (Prima) French classes (the first foreign language) are shown, below, to illustrate the overall picture of actual practice (pp.275-277):

**Sexta (1<sup>st</sup> year). French, 6 hours weekly.**

(a) **Oral exercises:** Exercises for ear and tongue; phonetic charts and phonetic spelling are used exclusively during the first months; special stress laid upon clear and correct pronunciation. In the second quarter, beginning of orthography. Learning by heart and singing of easy poems. Thorough explanation of the reading material; home and school life are subjects for conversation, in conjunction with Hölzel's *Pictures (Auschauungsbilder)*. The most important grammatical laws (numerals, possessive and personal pronouns, plural of substantives, feminine forms of adjectives, declension of nouns, ... - indicative, ..., agreement of subject and predicate ... ) were taught inductively from the material used in conversation and reading, and fixed by independent exercises.

(b) **Written exercises:** Beginning with the second quarter, weekly exercises in class – dictation, writing from memory, arithmetical problems, answers to questions in French and simple descriptions. Grammatical exercises: Text-book, *Französisches Lesebuch* by Kühn. (The following poems from the reader were committed to memory: ... The selections for reading were as follows: ... )

**Tertia (4<sup>th</sup> & 5<sup>th</sup> years). 6 hours weekly.**

Three stories were read from Souvestre, *Au Coin du Feu* and *Les Clairières*. Conversation on the contents of the readings, and practice in speaking in connection with Hölzel's *Pictures* and the daily experiences of the pupils. Repetition of previously learned poems and songs. Memorizing of new poems. Grammar: Review of the irregular verbs and syntax of subjunctives, adjectives, adverbs, numerals and prepositions; use of modes and tenses. Two written exercises in class each month – conversations, descriptions, dictations, translations. Text-books: Ploetz's *Schulgrammatik der französischen Sprache*.

**Prima (8<sup>th</sup> & 9<sup>th</sup> years). 5 hours weekly.**

Readings: *Tartarin de Tarascon*, by Daudet; *L'Avare*, by Molière. Free oral and written exercises, in connection with the literature and object-lessons; transposition and repetition of stories read or recounted in class; exercises in

dictation, condensation and translation. Class essays and letter-writing. One written exercise biweekly. Drill in grammatical forms.

The scope and the content of German practice are clear. In the beginning level (Sextra), correct and clear pronunciations of French sounds were stressed with the use of a phonetic chart. Written French was introduced in the second quarter through memorising and singing poems, as well as the reading material. The focus was both on content and practice in conversation. Grammar and written exercises were also treated even in lower classes. As pupils advanced (Tertia, Prima), the principle of the reader (*Realien*) as the centre of instruction became more apparent and consistent, while the content of the reading material continued to be treated in connection with conversation in the foreign language.

As Hagboldt stated (1932), the reformed German practice was characterised not as a mere 'tool subject', but as equipped with a well-grounded knowledge with an independent value (p.629). These lessons outline well-revealed integrity in teaching with the reading material at the centre of instruction. Overall, 'speech primacy', oral methodology, and '*Realien*' were precisely practiced amongst other things. However, it should be noted that it is doubtful whether the treatment of '*Realien*' in the target language was actually promoting the formation of clear concepts of the '*Realien*' in question. Let us have a second look at Naibu Kanda's observational record of the German classrooms examined earlier in chapter two (see pp.67-70). I commented that the teacher's questions were focused on historical facts, and that conversation in English was sustained through a chain of questions with no cohesion involved. In those lessons, the '*Realien*' provided objects as a source for conversational dialogues for the teacher and pupils. However, that object lesson was quite formalised and artificial, precisely in the sense identified in Elizabeth Mayo's example of a formalised object lesson, which will be seen shortly (see pp.104-105). In Kanda's German lesson, too, it can be questioned whether the concept of the target culture was being induced or formed in the pupils' brains. As a consequence, it appears that the conversation simply featured aural-to-oral practice in spoken language, just as advanced Classics pedagogy did.

## Modern Language Teaching Reform in Britain

In Britain, retrogression from the original Pestalozzian educational principles was quite salient, in two ways. First, the phase of the General Method was ignored. Second, the Special Method was highly formalised and verbalised. Pestalozzianism was introduced to Britain by several people, including Andrew Bell, the inventor of ‘monitorialism’, Robert Owen, who developed his own educational system in New Lanark in Scotland, James Pierrepont Greaves, a former assistant of Pestalozzi at Yverdon, and Charles Mayo and his sister Elizabeth Mayo, who founded the Home and Colonial School Society in 1836 and established a model school and a normal school in London to popularise their conception of Pestalozzianism. However, there was great resistance to these ‘foreign’ methods because of their perceived ‘revolutionary’ taint, just as there was great resistance to the provision of mass schooling in England.

Perhaps the most influential figures in popularising Pestalozzianism in England were the Mayos. But, their conception also lost sight of the ‘love environment’ of the General Method. Additionally, the object lesson in the Special Method was over-emphasised and was distorted into a mechanical, rote and catechetical method. The following, developed by Elizabeth Mayo, illustrated a formalised version of the object lesson on ‘glass’ (Gutek, 1972, pp.214-215):

**Teacher:** What is this which I hold in my hand?

**Children:** A piece of glass.

**Teacher:** Can you spell the word ‘glass’? (The teacher then writes the word “glass” upon the slate, which is thus presented to the whole class as the subject of the lesson.) You have all examined this glass; what do you observe? What can you say that it is?

**Children:** It is bright.

**Teacher:** (Teacher having written the word “qualities” writes under it – It is bright.) Take it in your hand and feel it.

**Children:** It is cold. (Written on the board under the former quality.)

The example of the object lesson, above, was widely imitated in middle class schools in England as well as in America (p.215). In this lesson, a series of questions about the quality of 'glass' were being presented to pupils in the form of a conversational dialogue, but it seems that the pupils were simply responding with formal features of 'glass' rather than trying to connect the object with their individual spontaneous concept and experiential knowledge of it. The pupils' short answers suggest they were probably disembedded from their relevant knowledge of 'glass'. More apparently, the teacher did not appear to be making efforts to connect the pupils' 'empty' verbal responses to their spontaneous knowledge of 'glass' as a relevant and crucial source for meaning and generalisation. It is highly questionable that the concept of 'glass' was taking any shape in the pupils' brains through this dialogue, and the process seemed to fail to be an inductive one. Additionally, as will be examined below, in modern language teaching, object teaching was not incorporated into British practice.

### **The Reform Movement in Britain and British Reformed Practice**

Like Germany, Britain underwent a controversy over the inclusion of modern languages in the secondary school curriculum. However, unlike Germany, it yielded a quite different outcome. A detailed account of England's reform attempts made by the political administration and schools was shown in Bayley's (1998) *The Direct Method and Modern Language Teaching in England 1880-1918*. Bayley concluded that the Direct Method, another term for the Natural method, was not as fully implemented in England as it was in Germany (p.54). In England, it was in the 1860s (later than Germany) that modern languages won their first inclusion in public schools (elite private schools) but taught in a similar way to how the classical languages were taught. In the 1880s, reformers pointed out that they could be more than intellectual exercises to sharpen the mind, train the memory and perpetuate the wisdom of the past, and that they had a practical value which differentiated them from Greek and Latin (p.39). Thus, the Direct Method was insisted upon in place of the Grammar-Translation method.

However, modern foreign languages continued to be marginal because English reformers felt they were winning the inter-imperialist competition with their existing

system. As a result, the elite private schools, as well as the universities, did not accept the Direct Method, saying that it denigrated the value of modern languages to reduce their teaching to a mastery of everyday speech (p.42). They, instead, held that they had to be taught like the classics in the worst case exclusively, by memorisation, recitation, parsing and translation. To the classical school, conversation skill was only a trifling accomplishment that could be picked up during a few months of foreign residence, which the elite, of course, could do any time. The inefficiency of modern language teaching in many schools, the presence of a German model, as well as the increased need by the middle class and government demands of modern languages for career training in commercial, military etc., however, worked to bring the Direct Method to public and professional attention. The reform in the way modern languages were taught thus continued at all levels of schooling.

Implementation of a speech-oriented teaching method did not yield a favourable impression on officials, nor did it have a positive impact on the schools. Even a 1912 (Meiji 45) circular by the British Board of Education acknowledged that “practice by a direct method in secondary schools was often faulty, grammatical accuracy suffered, and that literary work was neglected due to conversation” (p.51). As a result, the 1912 circular endorsed the use of phonetics but not the inductive instruction of grammar, and ended up not recommending a full-scale adoption of a communication-centred approach (p.51). The Education Reform Council in 1917 (Taishō 6) also recommended the use of a phonetic script, the avoidance of English (the native language) where possible, and more oral work and free composition, but that translation should be retained (p.51). Oppositions came from secondary schools, and the universities. Opponents did not consider oral teaching as a part of language instruction (pp.51-52). After all, the new humanities were deeply embedded in the liberal-classical educational tradition, with its focus on reading and scholarship, and colloquial language skill did not fit into this model.

The impact of the Direct Method on actual practice in schools was only piecemeal and diluted, too. In preparatory schools surveyed by the Board of Education in 1900 (Meiji 33), few of them employed the Direct Method, partly due to the curricular dominance of

the entrance examinations for the elite private schools and partly due to the fact that most of the teachers were British (p.52). In addition, those who responded favourably only paid lip-service to the method. In secondary schools, generally, the Direct Method was most thoroughly adopted in lower grades, but in middle grades and beyond most of the schools discontinued the reform method and returned to the Grammar-Translation method, restricted by the preparation for external examinations (p.53). In England, the university-led system of examinations was continually dominant, which meant that grammar-translation was likely to remain entrenched in schools so long as the exams stayed the same (Howatt & Smith, 2002, p.x). The heavy demands on the teachers in terms of skill and time were another factor that hindered the reform method. Hence, it was summed up that the greatest impact was limited to an increase in oral work and phonetics (Bayley, 1998, p.53) in initial grades.

The partial implementation of the reform method in England may be explained by several institutional and socio-cultural circumstances. One concern was teacher autonomy: While teachers in Britain were less professionalised and more autonomous, in the German system the state had a high degree of regional control over education, and German modern language teachers were highly trained and had a practical command of their languages (Kaneko, 1935, pp.77-87). The importance of 'technical' and even 'technocratic' training, and a greater massification of schools there to compete with Britain led to a more 'applied' focus in curriculum and teacher training. On the other hand, Bayley (1998) pointed out that British teachers were given considerable freedom in matter of teaching, and this *laissez-faire* attitude and reality left teachers in the position of judging for themselves whether to adopt the Direct Method and, if so, to what extent (p.55). The more decentralised educational system in Britain also meant that official views on teaching methods were presented as recommendations to follow, rather than regulations to be carried out (p.55). Another factor, which also relates to the educational system, is in the fact that Britain had no equivalent of *Realschulen* in Germany with their 'modern,' relatively vocational curricula (Howatt & Smith, 2002, p.x). In England, the reform attempts were implemented chiefly in grammar schools, which tended to pay an excessive attention to classical languages.

The socio-cultural differences between England and Germany concern a prevailing male-constructed image of modern languages as subjects for girls and young ladies in England. In this kind of British societal culture, speaking a modern language was considered by many men as unmanly, even unpatriotic (Bayley, 1998, p.56). Pragmatic requirements in Japan neutralised this sexism, and so foreign languages displaced Classics. Finally, the progress of the Direct Method may have been impeded by British public feeling towards Germany (p.56). The naval race and stiffening trade competition made Britain less receptive to German ideas.

### **Transformation of Pestalozzianism in Japan**

Japan's transfer of Pestalozzianism involved two routes. One was through the American formalised version of Pestalozzianism in the early Meiji Period (Takeda, 1963, p.14). In 1876 (Meiji 8), three teacher educators were sent out to America. Hideo Takamine was educated at Oswego Normal School, and the other two, Shūji Izawa and Senzaburō Kōzu learnt at Bridgewater Normal School and Albany Normal School.

The American contributors to the popularisation of the Pestalozzian principles included Joseph Neef and Edward A. Sheldon, but the most impacts were made by the 'Oswego Movement' in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which brought popularity to the English version of Pestalozzianism (Curtis & Boulwood, 1953, p.350). The work of Sheldon, superintendent of the Oswego Normal School, and his associates constituted a major phase of the Pestalozzian movement in the United States, but he introduced American teachers to the English conception of the formalised object lesson. His plans on the object lesson were much formalised and followed a pre-structured, question-answer approach developed by the Mayos (Guttek, 1972, p.220). Guttek (1972) stated that it was true that the Oswego object lesson plan was an improvement over the memorisation of highly verbal materials and it organised instruction to the degree that the teacher could exercise greater planning and control in classroom teaching (p.221), but the Oswego method was not a 'natural' method as it had been conceived of by Pestalozzi.

The other was, as briefly touched on earlier in the examination of the German reform movement, through the German route by way of the Herbartian pedagogy in the second half of the Meiji Period. His pedagogy transformed Japan's school education, and he was one of the most influential educationists. Emil Hausknecht introduced Herbart's extension of Pestalozzian pedagogy into Japan in the early Meiji 20s, when he engaged in secondary teacher training at the Imperial University. Hausknecht was also a renowned modern language teacher at *Realschule* in Germany, and his modern language methodology was introduced into Japan in the early Meiji 30s. His method featured the reformed German method characterised by speech primacy, oral methodology, phonetics, and 'Realien' (Isobe, 1900, pp.226-228). It should be noted that Herbart's and Hausknecht's education value was rooted in modern civic ethics (Inagaki, 1995, pp.383-385). However, Herbart's civic ethics was replaced by those of his successors Tuiskon Ziller, and particularly, Wilhelm Rein, who reorganised Herbart's four-step into a five-step teaching grounded on a racialised, community-ethics. Japan's education reform, including English teaching, was most deeply affected by their nationalistic pedagogy, after it was introduced by professors at the Higher Normal School in the late Meiji 20s and began to penetrate actual practice into the 30s (pp.422-429).

For English teaching in particular, modern language teaching in the 'natural' tradition was introduced into Japan, through several individual reformers' ideas in the West. Claude Marcel's work on a reading-focused methodology was translated by Naotarō Yoshida in 1887 (Meiji 20), as we saw in chapter two. His work, however, did not seem to be read by many in Japan. Prendergast's mastery-stressed method was practiced by S.R. Brown, only locally, at the turn of the Meiji Period. Sauveur's translation of the Natural Method was directly learnt by Naibu Kanda when he was at Amherst College and became an important methodology for the earlier English teaching policy. It appeared that Kanda translated Sauveur's object teaching, which maintained Pestalozzi's psychological assumptions into the learner's developmental stages, into processes involving imitation and habit formation. Additionally, Gouin's version of the Natural Method was introduced into Japan through his works and demonstrations by his disciple, Howard Swan, with the help of Naibu Kanda in 1902 (Meiji 35), at English summer training courses sponsored by the Ministry of Education. After this, German

and British practice was introduced into Japan by students overseas.

Let us summarise the above discussion. The origin of the Natural Method dated back to Pestalozzi's reforming spirit embedded in his Natural Education. The Pestalozzian Natural Method advocated the establishment of the individual and human liberation of a bourgeois type. Also, it aimed for universal education and for intellectual and economic independence of common people of a pre-industrial type. To realise these educational goals, the Natural Method maintained that language learning should begin with *Anschauung*, intuition, or perception and involved an inductive developmental process, standing on the view that 'nature' is an orderly system. In modern language teaching, *Anschauung* could be made possible by providing speech; thus, the Natural Method was grounded in the principle of 'speech primacy'.

Derivatives of this rather obscure Pestalozzian 'Method' were applied in constraining circumstances. The abovementioned individual reformers attempted to transform the Grammar-Translation Method into a practical method, which started with spoken language and used conversational techniques. It should be noted that, in their attempts, these reformers tended to understand Pestalozzi's educational principle of an inductive developmental teaching (which was inseparably connected with his major theme in his Natural Education — the establishment of the individual and human liberation) as that of mimicry and pattern formation based on an analogy to the process of the child's first language acquisition. Additionally, it appears that Pestalozzi's humanistic emphasis, e.g. civil ethics and inductive thinking, was weakened by the contemporary stress on the pragmatic aspect of language teaching and imperialist racism.

German practice was constructed on the ground of racialised, community ethics, transformed from Pestalozzi's, and then Herbart's original civic ethics. The German reformed method inherited the Pestalozzian object teaching and 'speech primacy', and these penetrated the vocation-oriented schools. Oral methodology was practiced by well-trained teachers. The study of '*Realien*' was included as the common ground for traditional humanism and modern realism, and therefore, was regarded as central to the teaching process. However, due to the German nationalism and community ethics,

German practice lost the bourgeois education value of the formation of independent individuals, which was cut off from the inductive cognitive method of *Anschauung*, and object teaching (oral methodology) was formalised and institutionalised into an artificial question-and-answer format and mere practice in spoken language about '*Realien*'.

In elite middle schools in Britain, the General Method was ignored, and object teaching in the Special Method was highly formalised and verbalised. After all, in modern language teaching, object teaching was treated lightly, or even discarded. As a result, 'speech primacy' was introduced only partially on a narrow scale. Oral teaching with the use of phonetics was restricted to beginning levels. Additionally, the traditional Grammar-Translation method continued to prevail.

To put this development in the context of Japan's educational transfer, the Western theory that Japan learnt before the Meiji 30s had been transferred from the development of modern language teaching, translated by the abovementioned individual reformers in the West. However, from 1902 (Meiji 35) onwards, Japan's direct transfer of Western knowledge began through students overseas within the Meiji Government scheme toward the 1911 English guideline, and it was chiefly German and British practice that was affected by the Reform Movement, impacting on the subsequent policy-making processes. It can be concluded that Naibu Kanda and Yoshisaburō Okakura, and other scholars, saw the Western knowledge that included both a transformed German and British version of the Pestalozzian Natural Method.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### NATURE OF THE 1902 ENGLISH GUIDELINE

The first guideline for middle school English teaching in the Meiji Period was issued in February, 1902 (Meiji 35). This was called Middle School English Teaching Guideline (*Chūgakkō Eigo Kyōju Yōmoku*, hereafter the 1902 English guideline). This chapter aims to identify the nature of the 1902 English guideline, with a particular focus on how, if at all, it related to the features of German and British practice, which were examined in the previous chapter. The 1902 English guideline laid down the foundation of English teaching practice thereafter (Matsumura, 1982, pp.99-104), and identifying its nature is a necessary task in order to understand the Meiji's final national standard of English teaching in 1911 (Meiji 44).

#### Academism versus Vocational Education

In a broader sense, the nature of middle school English teaching depended on what role middle school should play. In the Meiji Period, it was debated as the choice between academism and vocational education. In Middle School Curriculum Outline (*Chūgakkō Kyōsoku Taikō*) in July, 1881 (Meiji 14), the role of middle school was first prescribed as follows: "Middle school provides higher liberal education for pupils wishing to engage in occupations of the middle class and beyond or entering higher educational institutions" (article 1) (Mombushō, 1938a, p.282).

In 1886 (Meiji 19), the first Minister of Education Arinori Mori attempted to integrate all levels of schooling by enacting Elementary School Order, Normal School Order, Imperial University Order, and Middle School Order (*Chūgakkō Rei*). Under Mori's Middle School Order, however, the objectives of middle school education remained essentially the same: "Middle school provides education required for those wishing to go into business, or to go onto higher educational institutions" (article 1) (Mombushō, 1938b, p.150). At this point, middle schools tried to respond to the two substantially different goals: Preparatory and vocational education. In Mori's administration,

municipal middle schools were limited to one per prefecture, which resulted in pulling up middle school standards and virtually making its nature more academic. Having declared its dual aims, Mori did not provide a vocational course in the curriculum, either (Yoneda, 1992, p.24). After his death in 1889 (Meiji 22), the issue was left to the following Minister of Education Kowashi Inoue.

Inoue was of the opinion that middle school should be more vocational and provide complete education. He revised Mori's Curriculum and Standard for Ordinary Middle School (*Jinjō Chūgakkō no Gakka oyobi sono Teido*) in 1894 (Meiji 27) so that a more vocation-oriented curriculum called Vocational Course (*Jikka*) could be added to 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades, aside from the regular academic curriculum. Further, he allowed Vocational Middle School (*Jikka Chūgakkō*) depending on local needs. Higher School Order (*Kōtō Gakkō Rei*) issued in June, 1894 (Meiji 27) was derived from the same intention. By turning over Higher Middle School (*Kōtō Chūgakkō*) into Higher School, where higher vocational, technical education was to be provided instead of conventional preparatory education, Inoue attempted to produce quickly a larger amount of human resources of a certain type. Inoue did not forget to add an opportunity for preparatory education called University Preparation Course (*Daigaku Yoka*). The rise of capitalism after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) had convinced him to invent efficient ways of having two curriculums in one school system to produce human resources in a shorter time.

However, in middle schools the idea of Vocational Course was not largely accepted, and Vocational Middle School did not become popular. For Higher School Order, pupils enrolled into University Preparation Course, but not the regular vocational course: The public demanded routes to the Imperial University. Soon after Higher School Order, Inoue died on 29<sup>th</sup> August, 1894 (Meiji 27), and Inoue's middle school reform lacked a successor.

### **The Committee to Investigate the Curriculum for Ordinary Middle School**

#### **Academic Curriculum**

After Inoue's death, an investigation of middle school education began, initiated by the Ministry of Education. A draft guideline was made public in an educational journal magazine from September, 1894 (Meiji 27) through July, 1896 (Meiji 29). The Ministry of Education had appointed some scholars of subject areas to draw up the drafts, which were then handed in to the Committee to Investigate the Curriculum for Ordinary Middle School (*Jinjō Chūgakkō Kyōka Saimoku Chōsa Inikai*, hereafter the Committee) of the Ministry of Education founded in September, 1897 (Meiji 30). Debates over the function of middle school were thus brought into policy-making processes. 41 members were appointed by the Ministry of Education, which included 15 Professors from the Imperial University (Masakazu Toyama, Chairman of the Committee, President of the Imperial University included), 13 from the Higher Normal School, seven from First Higher School, four from Higher Commercial School, and one from middle school (Yoneda, 1992, pp.45-46). The number of members from the Imperial University dominated.

In April 1898 (Meiji 31), the Committee drew up *the Report of the Committee of the Curriculum for Ordinary Middle Schools (Jinjō Chūgakkō Kyōka Saimoku Chōsa Hōkoku*, hereafter the Report), and this was the foundation of the 1902 English guideline. According to Yoneda (1992), the nature of middle school education in the Report had been changed to an academically oriented one. Vocational course options were deleted from Inoue's curriculum, and natural science subjects were subdivided to make them more specialised and academic (pp.46-47). (Also refer to Appendix 4.1 and 4.2, pp.353-354, for the comparison of the subject matters and distribution in the Report and Inoue's curriculum) Consequently, academicism in middle school education had been strengthened.

### **English Teaching in the Report**

How was English teaching directed under the academically oriented curriculum? The English syllabus (*Eigo-ka Kyōju Saimoku*) of the Report was drawn up by four members of the Committee. They were Ryōkichi Yatabe (Higher Normal School), Naibu Kanda (Higher Commercial School), Noriyuki Kojima (First Higher School), and Hōjō

Hasegawa (Higher Commercial School) (Mombushō, 1898, p.24), who had all been involved in English teaching policy during the early Meiji Period. Yatabe and Kojima majored in botany and in architecture at Cornell University in America and had seven to eight years of experience abroad — but they were not English teaching majors. Hasegawa’s professional background is obscure. Only Kanda was a professional English teacher. We will examine, below, how English teaching was directed by these four scholars.

### ‘Ordinary’ English

The English syllabus was dominant in three ways. Firstly, it articulated an objective of middle school English instruction for the first time. It stated that “the objective of ordinary middle school English teaching is to enable pupils to understand and use an ordinary level of English at the time of graduation” (Mombushō, 1898, p.1). The term ‘ordinary’ was key in this statement. It implied that pupils tended to be given books that were too difficult and lofty, and resulted in a shallow grasp of content and English structure. This had continued to be a conventional issue since the Japanese began to reform English teaching, as identified in the examinations of the methodological works in chapter two in this study. In the English syllabus, the use of an appropriate textbook for Japanese pupils was suggested.

### Integration of Speech, Meaning, and Text

Secondly, several important changes in teaching content were made from Mori’s Curriculum and Standard, and minute suggestions were added. Table 4.1 shows subject content and distribution together with Mori’s. From Table 4.1, the following points can be noted. The first change was that spoken English was emphasised. ‘Pronunciation’ was introduced to 1<sup>st</sup> grade, along with ‘Spelling’, for the first time in middle school English. Stress on initial pronunciation was accompanied by ‘Essentials for Teaching Pronunciation’ (*Hatsuon Yōkō*) which exemplified how and what should be taught. For example (Mombushō, 1898, pp.20-24):

1. The teacher should take care that pupils practice vowels and diphthongs such as below:

- (1) Eel; be, thee, three, seat, etc.
- (2) Ale; name, slate, cake, came, etc. ...

2. The teacher should take care that pupils practice consonants, and liaison of consonants and vowels such as below:

- (1) f, v; si, zi; th(thin), th(then); sh, zh; ti, tu, too; di, du, doo; l; n(final), etc.

Table 4.1: Subject content and distribution of the English syllabus (1898)

Grade	Mori's curriculum (before 1898)	The English syllabus (1898)
1 <sup>st</sup>	Reading-aloud, Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ) Dictation, Conversation, Spelling	Reading-aloud, Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), <b>Grammar</b> Conversation, <b>Composition</b> , <b>Spelling</b> , <b>Penmanship</b> , Dictation
2 <sup>nd</sup>	Reading-aloud, Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), Dictation, Conversation, Composition	Reading-aloud, Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), <b>Grammar</b> Conversation, Composition, Dictation
3 <sup>rd</sup>	Reading ( <i>kōdoku</i> ), Conversation, Composition, Grammar	<b>Reading-aloud</b> , Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), Grammar Conversation, Composition, <b>Dictation</b>
4 <sup>th</sup>	Reading ( <i>kōdoku</i> ), Formal translation ( <i>honyaku</i> ), Conversation, Composition	<b>Reading-aloud</b> , Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), <b>Grammar</b> Conversation, Composition, <b>Dictation</b>
5 <sup>th</sup>	Reading ( <i>kōdoku</i> ), Formal translation ( <i>honyaku</i> ), Conversation, Composition	<b>Reading-aloud</b> , Translation ( <i>yakukai</i> ), <b>Grammar</b> Conversation, Composition, <b>Dictation</b>

Sources: Matsumura, 1982, p.99; Mombushō, 1898, pp.8-10.

Note: 'Pronunciation' was to be taught along with 'Spelling' in 1<sup>st</sup> grade of the English syllabus (Mombushō, 1898, p.1). Changes from Mori's curriculum are emphasised in boldface type.

Another stress on initial instruction was the introduction of 'Penmanship'. It appeared only in 1<sup>st</sup> grade, but it was actually suggested that it be taught not only independently but also throughout five years together with dictation and composition (pp.3-4).

The second important change was seen in an extended adoption of 'Reading-aloud', in which pupils were first to understand text aurally, while being read to by the teacher, and were then to imitate the way the teacher read it aloud, so that ultimately they could

express their understanding with accents, inflection, modulation, and with grammatical and rhetorical pauses (pp.2-3). It should be noted that the integration of sound with meaning was attempted, unlike the separation of the mere exercise of reading from meaning, often observed in '*Sodoku*'.

The third change was that grammar instruction was emphasised both in lower and upper grades. It was suggested that in lower grades, it be taught in conjunction with conversation, composition or translation, without setting a separate hour for grammar instruction. However, in upper grades, the use of a grammar textbook was suggested but in a way that the memorisation of grammatical rules should not be the aim. Learning was through examples so that rules could be applied to practical use (pp.7-8).

Integrative and inductive ways of grammar instruction were introduced.

The fourth change was that 'Dictation' was consistently recommended, particularly in upper grades. Dictation aimed at getting pupils accustomed to English sounds and to mastering correct spelling (pp.4-5), and it was another way of connecting spoken English, meaning, and written language. Further, as will be seen shortly, dictation was regarded as the central way to assess pupils' standard of achievement.

The fifth change concerns 'Translation (*yakukai*)', an activity in which the meaning of English text was expressed accurately in Japanese (pp.2-3). It was suggested that general translation be appropriately used in case word-for-word translation would not work (p.3). The issue of Japanese translation had been debated over its roles of promoting structural understanding of English by focusing on linguistic differences in the original text or by focusing more on meaning and direct understanding. The suggestion in the Report revealed that the latter had won more emphasis. In addition, two other activities for understanding text, 'Reading (*kōdoku*)', and 'Formal translation (*honyaku*)', shown in Mori's curriculum were shaved off in the English syllabus, suggesting less stress on reading and more on a balanced approach to teaching English.

A further change was the connection of speech with the written form being suggested in the view of 'Composition' instruction. It was explained that languages like English,

which is written in a colloquial style, develop in harmony with conversation (p.6). It was then suggested that ‘Conversation’ and ‘Composition’ be taught interdependently (p.6). The integration of ‘Conversation’ with ‘Composition’ was established, with the view that speech is the basis of language development. In the English syllabus, ‘Composition’ was added to 1<sup>st</sup> grade to reinforce the integrative teaching throughout. On the other hand, ‘oral composition’ and ‘written composition’, based on Japanese sentences, were suggested for the independent development of each (pp.5-6). Hence, an extreme oral methodology was avoided. The connection between speech and written English was also pursued in the way ‘Conversation’ was to be conducted. In the English syllabus, ‘Conversation’ was integrated with the Reader in the beginning (after ‘Translation’ had been done), in such a way that the teacher would ask questions about the topics in the lesson already understood; gradually, conversation would be expanded to include daily events apart from the Reader (p.5).

### Dictation in Assessment

Finally, standards of achievement were suggested and exemplified for each grade. Illustrations were presented as a general idea, and it was instructed that appropriate modifications should be taken into consideration (p.10). It can be noted that ‘Dictation’ was the basic assessment technique. Let us take a look at how it should be done. The following was the illustration for 5<sup>th</sup> grade (pp.19-20):

1. The teacher reads aloud to pupils a text of this sort two or three times and has them dictate it.  
*He then asked his mother if he might eat one of them. But she shook her head, looked wise and said: “No, my dear, I think you had better not”, for the doctor had forbidden her to give him anything solid as yet. The boy felt he should do as he was told; and the consequence was, he soon got so well that he could eat whatever he liked.*
2. The teacher has pupils read the text aloud and makes sure that they can utter such words and phrases as ‘one of’, ‘think’, ‘consequence’ with accurate pronunciation, inflection, and modulation.
3. The teacher has pupils translate the text into Japanese.
4. The teacher prepares a Japanese version of the above text and has pupils translate it into English.
5. The teacher has pupils explain the usage of infinitives, participles, *might, could, would*, as well as the differences between them, has them convert the direct into the indirect narration and vice-versa, or makes sure that they understand such idioms as ‘had better not’.

The procedure was sequenced by five components:

- 1) Dictation,
- 2) Reading-aloud,
- 3) Japanese translation,
- 4) English translation, and
- 5) Knowledge (grammar, idioms, etc.).

Indeed, these steps equally applied to all the other grades and systematised consistently. It did not stress any particular aspects of English, but attempted to assess the overall aspects of achievement levels, including oral English. It also represented integration in teaching. From a practical point of view, this could be taken as an example of the prescribed teaching procedure, while potentially maintaining the quality of teaching outcomes.

The English syllabus in the Report featured a stress on drill and practice in pronunciation and penmanship, the use of speech throughout all the grades, meaning-focused reading, inductive grammar teaching, and a balanced treatment of aspects of English. Essentially, the English syllabus was aimed at integration among speech, meaning, and text (written language). Speech was the key element that provided 'natural' language ingredients. It should be noted that in the English syllabus, speech was introduced not in a natural form but from text (i.e. reading-aloud, dictation, oral composition). In this sense, the English syllabus marked a distinctive development of English teaching in the Japanese cultural context, from the earlier version of text-based, translation-dominated approaches with speech disconnected from meaning, to integration based on speech in a relatively moderate, conservative way.

### **Naibu Kanda's Version of the Natural Method**

What can this tell us in relation to Western theories? I would conclude that the English syllabus strongly reflected Naibu Kanda's view of language teaching. Kanda, a Natural

Methodist, possessed the language view that language cannot be taught by breaking it into parts, and that aspects of language develop interdependently. Learning, therefore, should begin with imitation, and language forms can be learnt largely by habit formation. Initial drill and heavy use of reading-aloud and dictation characterised his principle (for a detailed review of Kanda's English teaching method see Appendix 1.1, pp.341-343). Kanda's articulation of the English syllabus had been developed based on his teaching experience and the inspiration he received from the so-called 'individual reformers' of the Natural Method, Sauveur and Heness. At this point, impacts of German and British practice were not seen in this policy-making process. The English syllabus thus developed became the blue print for the 1902 English guideline.

### **Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation (1901, 1902)**

On 7<sup>th</sup> February 1899 (Meiji 32), Middle School Order was revised for the first time since Mori's Order in 1886 (Meiji 19). The revision entailed the following changes. First, the objective of middle school education was focused on 'higher liberal education' (*kōtō futsū kyōiku*). The conventional vocational function was attached to a newly designed secondary school called Vocational School (*Jitsugyō Gakkō*). At this point, the secondary school system was composed of three different types of secondary institutions, which were Middle School, Vocational School, and Higher Girls' School. Second, the Minister of Education had obtained a wider range of regulative authority. Curriculum, standards and textbook approval systems were already regulated by the Minister of Education in Mori's Middle School Order, so now regulations on teacher licencing, as well as middle school management and facilities, approval and abolition were put under the control of the Minister of Education.

The revision of Middle School Order, which had shaved off a vocational role, triggered the revision of curriculum and the preparation of teaching guidelines. In March 1900 (Meiji 33), Masatarō Sawayanagi, Director-General of General Education Bureau, took over the task. Sawayanagi was of the opinion that middle schools should be vocational. Sawayanagi attempted to make middle schools more closely connected to the 'reality' of society. In this respect, he was a successor of former Minister of Education Inoue.

Sawayanagi insisted that middle school curriculum be more integrated and synthesised, and that it not be the transmission of subdivided, specialised academic content (Sawayanagi, 1900, pp.56-57). For him, middle school should be a complete education and not a preparatory institution. It had to be simple, practical and useful. Additionally, behind it was his social view that middle schools should ‘create’ the middle class, without which national wealth could not come (Sawayanagi, 1901, pp.3-5). To Sawayanagi, the absence of a middle class, which had been a feature of Japanese society, was the real issue, and he expected middle school education to herald its creation.

Sawayanagi’s struggles to change the curriculum in the Report centred on the integration of some subjects and inclusion of vocational elements. The former included integration of ‘Physics’, ‘Chemistry’ and ‘Natural History’ into ‘Natural Science’ and of ‘Chinese classics’ and ‘Calligraphy’ into ‘the National Language’ (*Kokugo*). For the latter, addition of ‘Law and Economics’ and of ‘Essentials of vocational training’ (*Jitsugyō Yōkō*) were proposed. Further, he proposed making ‘English’ an elective subject (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1900, pp.31-34). He insisted upon ‘Law and Economics’, amongst others. His plans of reform underwent the Nation-wide Conference for Middle School Principals (*Zenkoku Chūgakkō-chō Sōdan-kai*) held in November 1900 (Meiji 33), and then the 5<sup>th</sup> Higher Education Conference (*Kōtō Kyōiku Kaigi*) held in December 1900. In the end, ‘elective English’ and ‘Natural Science’ were not approved, but the integration of ‘Japanese’ and ‘Chinese classics’, and ‘Law and Economics’ were realised. Hence, Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation (*Chūgakkō-rei Sekō Kisoku*, hereafter the Regulation) was drawn up and issued on 5<sup>th</sup> March 1901 (Meiji34).

However, as soon as Dairoku Kikuchi, a former member of the Committee as Director-General of Professional Education Bureau and professor of Imperial University, took office as the Minister of Education in June 1901 (Meiji 34), he attempted to pull the debate back on to the academic track and took on revising the Regulation toward a more academically oriented curriculum. Kikuchi’s criticism against Sawayanagi’s plans rested on several directions, but particularly, as a mathematician, he criticised the rudimentary treatment of algebra (Kikuchi, 1901, pp.30-31). ‘Higher liberal education’

was an ambiguous term, but Kikuchi distinguished it from the conventional preparation education. He explained that in ‘higher liberal education’, the aim should not be set in response to external conditions, like vocational education that Inoue had in mind, or such social functions as preparation for higher education (Yoneda, 1992, p.48). To him, middle school pupils must reach a certain level of academic achievement. Otherwise, their education would mean nothing (p.95). He was aware that middle schools were playing a preparation role, but to him, it was only secondary to ‘higher liberal education’. Also, Kikuchi criticised Sawayanagi’s indifferent attitude to the connection to higher educational institutions (Kikuchi, 1901, pp.30-31). Thus, the revision resulted in the revival of trigonometry (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1901, pp.38-40), and for English the final grade was stressed by increasing class hours from 7-7-7-7-6 to 6-6-7-7-7, strengthening the connection to higher educational institutions. The revised Regulation was soon issued on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1902 (Meiji 35).

Table 4.2 shows the curriculum and distribution in the revised Regulation. I have included, in the Appendices to this study, the former Curriculum and Standard for Ordinary Middle School (1894), for comparison purposes (see Appendix 4.2, p.354).

Table 4.2: Curriculum and distribution in the revised Regulation (February, 1902)

Subjects	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	Total
Moral Training	1	1	1	1	1	5
Japanese & Chinese C.	7	7	7	6	6	33
<b>Foreign language</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>33</b>
History & Geography	3	3	3	3	3	15
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	20
Natural History	2	2	2	1-2		7-8
Physics & Chemistry				3-4	4	7-8
Law & Economics					2	2
Art	1	1	1	1		4
Song	1	1	1			3
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3	15
Total	28	28	29	30	30	145

Source: Mombushō, 1938c, pp.181-182, 191-192.

Note: The numbers indicate class hours per week (one class hour = 50 minutes).

‘Foreign language’ meant English, German or French, but normally English was chosen.

The subject matters were concentrated on ‘Moral Training’ (*Shūshin*) and were structured around it. Middle school curriculum was composed of largely four basic components:

- 1) Ethics or moral training,
- 2) Languages,
- 3) Modern science (social and natural), and
- 4) Vocational training.

From Table 4.2, several points may be suggested. Firstly, ‘Moral Training’ was changed from ‘Ethics’. Secondly, ‘Law & Economics’, which dealt with an understanding of a Japanese legal and financial system, was added. ‘Law & Economics’ was Sawayanagi’s attachment. Thirdly, ‘Natural History’, ‘Physics & Chemistry’ was divided into two separate subject matters, indicating specialisation of natural science. Finally, Inoue’s ‘Vocation’ (*Jikka*) and Vocational Middle School were abolished. From all this, it can be identified that the Kikuchi administration’s orientation to academicism was clearly expressed in the revised Regulation. The examination of the 1898 English syllabus revealed its integration of speech, meaning and text. What did this specifically mean? How was the integration reflected in the 1902 English guideline? Let us look at the objectives of the subject matter (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Objectives of the subject matter in the revised Regulation (1902)

Subject	Objectives
Moral Training	Moral training cultivates moral thought and moral sentiment based on the aim of the Imperial Rescript on Education and expects to equip pupils with dignity... , it teaches ... responsibilities for self, family, society, and our nation, and general ethics.
Japanese & Chinese classics	Japanese and Chinese Classics enables pupils to understand ordinary sentences and express their thought accurately and freely, cultivates interest in literature and enlighten knowledge and morality. It teaches ... practical, and simple and easy sentences, and the gist of grammar and history of Japanese literature ... .

Foreign Language	Foreign language teaches an ordinary level of English ... and enables pupils to understand and use it, and contributes to the promotion of <u>knowledge</u> . It starts with pronunciation, spelling, and moves to reading-aloud, translation, dictation, and composition of <u>simple and easy</u> sentences, and advances to <u>ordinary</u> sentences, and also teaches the gist of grammar, <u>conversation</u> and penmanship.
History	History teaches important events in history and enables pupils to understand the causes for social changes, Japanese and vicissitudes, and particularly, the details of <u>Japan's advancement</u> and <u>the peculiarities of the national character</u> .
Geography	Geography enables pupils to understand the shape, the movement, and the surface of the earth, as well as the conditions of human life and teaches the state of our nation and foreign countries. It teaches Japanese geography and the general idea of foreign geography that has important relationships and general physiography.
Mathematics	Mathematics teaches the relations between number and quantity, enables the mastery of calculation and precise thinking. ..., and teaches arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry.
Natural History	Natural history gives knowledge about things in the natural world and enables pupils to understand the relations among them and with life. It teaches general knowledge about important plants, animals, and minerals, and the gist of the structure of human bodies, physiology, and health.
Physics & Chemistry	Physics and Chemistry gives knowledge about natural phenomena and enables pupils to understand the laws and their relations with life. It teaches important physical and chemical phenomena and rules, structures and functions of machinery, and knowledge about elements and compounds.
Law & Economics	Law and Economics teaches knowledge about laws and economy necessary for <u>citizen life</u> . It teaches the gist of <u>the present law and finance</u> .
Art	Art enables pupils to observe an object precisely and draw it accurately and freely and to cultivate an elaboration and a sense of beauty. It teaches freehand drawing and instrumental drawing. In freehand drawing, a sketch is mainly taught and a model drawing is also treated. Drawing from their own elaboration is occasionally encouraged. In instrumental drawing, geometric drawing is taught.
Song	Song enables pupils to sing songs and to cultivate a sense of beauty and noble feelings, and morality. It teaches monophony, and rounds and polyphony are taught as appropriate.
Gymnastics	Gymnastics enables a balanced development of parts of a body, a strong body and a prompt movement, and a lively, <u>resolute, indomitable, and enduring</u> spirit. It teaches <u>ordinary gymnastics</u> and <u>military gymnastics</u> , ... .

Source: Mombushō, 1938c, pp.179-181.

Several features can be found in the objectives, above. Firstly, the revised Regulation quite clearly expressed a nationalistic nature. In ‘Moral Training’, the source of moral education was the virtues of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*) — Emperor Worship. Individuals were deemed to be responsible for themselves, family, society and nation. (Note that in Inoue’s curriculum, it was termed ‘Ethics’ — a general

academic term). ‘Moral Training’, on the other hand, focused on Japanese peculiarity. Moral training was expected in other subjects as well. In ‘Japanese and Chinese classics’ and ‘History’, the acquisition of morality and Japan’s historical peculiarity, were overtly emphasised. In fact, these two subjects were regarded as central subjects for moral training based on the Imperial Rescript on Education.

Secondly, a practical orientation can be noticed, and particularly languages and ‘Law and Economics’ assumed this trend. In ‘Japanese and Chinese classics’ and ‘Foreign Language’, starting with ‘simple’ and ‘easy’ languages, an ‘ordinary’ level of English was regarded as the goal. Initial stress on pronunciation and spelling were also mentioned. It can be noted that the distinctive features of the English syllabus examined earlier were introduced into this new regulation. ‘Law and Economics’ also emphasised practical connection to direct utilities in daily life, as Sawayanagi might have conceived.

Finally, it can be noticed that academicism was retained mainly in natural science subjects like ‘Mathematics’, ‘Natural History’, and ‘Physics and Chemistry’. The cultivation of ‘precise thinking’ in ‘Mathematics’ clearly expressed Kikuchi’s view of ‘higher liberal education’.

After the revision of Middle School Order, middle schools had multiple ideological assumptions and functions, characterising Japan’s middle school education, like most other Western industrialised countries. A moral training role was given to all teaching. However, unlike primary education where moral emphasis penetrated the subject matters for the most part, middle schools were dominated by academicism in natural science subjects, as well as nationalistic emphasis in social science. Additionally, languages were to be taught in an ‘applied’ context.

### **Middle School English Teaching Guideline (1902)**

Middle School English Teaching Guideline (*Chūgakkō Eigo Kyōju Yōmoku*, hereafter referred to as the 1902 English guideline) was issued on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1902 (Meiji 35), and enacted on 1<sup>st</sup> April the same year. It was mentioned earlier that it was based on the

English syllabus (1898). However, it was actually prepared by a new group of policy makers. They were: Sawayanagi from the Ministry of Education (Director-General of General Education Bureau), Naibu Kanda, Inazō Nitobe (Principal, First Higher School), Eiji Asada (professor of English, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), Yoshisaburō Okakura (chief professor of English, Tokyo Higher Normal School), and Kinsaku Shinoda (English teacher, Tokyo Higher Normal School) (Ichikawa, 1962, p.200). Only Kanda remained from the 1898 Committee. The Minister of Education was Kikuchi. This time, the members were leading scholars of English teaching majors, and it should be noted that two were from Tokyo Higher Normal School.

Prior to this, in November 1900 (Meiji 33), Sawayanagi had spoken nationwide to middle school principals about his view of the future of English teaching. He stated that “it is not necessary to teach a high level of English but to teach your pupils so that they might not make mistakes on spelling or common idioms” (Sawayanagi, 1900, pp.56-57). He was simply emphasising the mastery of basics. Indeed, he was consistent that he took the connection to real life more seriously than to higher education institutions.

On the other hand, soon after the 1902 English guideline was made public in April 1902, Kikuchi delivered a speech to middle school principals. He reminded them that “you should teach your pupils so that they can form the habit of thinking through learning English. [...] This commonsense — educating the habit of thinking — should be more important in middle school teaching” (Kikuchi, 1902, p.44). He was also consistent with his view of learning in general — *formale Bildung*. He was always objecting to ‘cramming’ instruction in middle schools and was never satisfied with pupils simply memorising shallow knowledge (Isobe, 1901b, pp.263-264). Conflicting views obviously existed among the policy makers. Therefore, what characteristics did the 1902 English guideline present?

Table 4.4, below, attempts to show how teaching matter and its distribution in the 1902 English guideline were systematised from the English syllabus (1898):

Table 4.4: Teaching matter and distribution (the 1902 English guideline)

1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>
Pronunciation Spelling				
Reading-aloud Translation Conversation Dictation <b>*simple and easy English</b>	Reading-aloud Translation Conversation <u>Composition</u> Dictation <b>*simple and easy English</b>	Reading-aloud Translation Conversation <u>Composition</u> Dictation <b>*simple and easy English</b>	Reading-aloud Translation Dictation <b>*ordinary English</b>	Reading-aloud Translation Dictation <b>*ordinary English</b>
Penmanship (separable one hour a week)			Conversation Composition (separable up to two hours a week) <b>*simple and easy English</b>	Conversation Composition (separable up to two hours a week) <b>*as ordinary as possible</b>
		Grammar (separable one hour a week)	Grammar (separable one hour a week)	
6 hours per week	6 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week

Source: This table is created from Mombushō, 1938c, pp.207-210.

Note (1): Recommended textbooks were cited, which were *The Mombushō Conversational Readers*, *The National Readers*, *The Longmans Readers*, and *The Swinton Readers*.

Note (2): For 3<sup>rd</sup> grade grammar, ‘nouns, pronouns, verbs and their inflection, comparative forms of adjectives and adverbs, articles, parsing’, and for 4<sup>th</sup> grade, ‘usages of pronouns, verb tenses, prepositions, and articles, and rhetoric’ were designated.

While the 1902 English guideline inherited all the teaching matter from the 1898 English syllabus, this showed the policy makers’ intention of how English should be taught. The following trends can be pointed out. Firstly, patterns of dealing with teaching matter emerged and varied according to grades. Initial stress on the basics of

English was expressed. In 1<sup>st</sup> grade, ‘Pronunciation’, ‘Spelling’, and ‘Penmanship’ were introduced. It appears that up to the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, integrative teaching was pursued, which was then divided into two sets of teaching matters in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades by combining ‘Conversation’ and ‘Composition’ and separating them from ‘Reading-aloud’, ‘Translation’, and ‘Dictation’. Thus, in upper grades, the receptive and the expressive (productive) skills were to be taught separately.

The combination of ‘Conversation’ and ‘Composition’ was based on the language view that spoken English was the basis of its written form, which was examined earlier in the English syllabus. It should also be noted that this view was, to a certain extent, applied to the other set of ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Translation’, as well as ‘Dictation’ in itself. ‘Reading-aloud’ was not intended to provide ‘oral understanding’ of the text but more conservatively to practice expressive citation. However, as will be seen in Table 4.5, ‘speech primacy’ and the view that spoken language is the basis of English comprehension were gradually strengthened. ‘Dictation’, which was stressed throughout five years, was placed *after* reading comprehension activities, most probably providing opportunity for reviewing.

The treatment of ‘Grammar’ in initial grades seemed to be weakened compared to the English syllabus, first appearing in the 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. Principally, the view of grammar teaching was not changed, as this would imply that it should be taught inductively after pupils have had a certain amount of experience with English. In fact, grammar was to be taught interdependently with other branches. Alternatively, it could be treated independently one hour per week.

Finally, the distinctive use of ‘easy and simple’ and ‘ordinary’ English should be mentioned. The former was regarded as the goal up to 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, indicating the mastery of basics in initial grades. Examples of ‘easy and simple’ and ‘ordinary’ English were cited in the 1902 English guideline. This stress on the basics of English was likely to come from Kanda’s and Sawayanagi’s view of English teaching.

The 1902 English guideline also had an improved version of teaching suggestions,

which revealed several changes and clearer articulations (see Table 4.5):

Table 4.5: Remarks on teaching (the 1902 English guideline)

1. Mastery is vital. Do not advance without pupils' understanding.
2. 'Pronunciation', 'Spelling', and 'Penmanship' should be taught in connection with 'Reading-aloud', 'Conversation', and 'Dictation' after 2 <sup>nd</sup> year.
3. 'Pronunciation' should be rigidly taught in initial years. Special attention must be paid to sound not in Japanese.
4. Objects and pictures, as well as translation, should be used to explain the meaning. In advanced years, it can be done in English.
5. Correct Japanese usage must be used in 'Translation' and it should correspond to the original meaning precisely. Differences in character, customs and institutions between Eastern and Western culture should be taught.
6. In 'Reading-aloud', repetitious practice must be done on the text already understood. Citation should be used to enable pupils to read expressively using correct pronunciation, inflection, modulation, and pauses.
7. In 'Dictation', texts in the Reader easy enough for pupils to understand must be used in order to familiarise them with English sound and to help them master spelling and strokes.
8. In 'Conversation', the Reader can be used first and eventually pupils should be helped to understand English and express themselves without text.
9. In 'Grammar', pupils should be taught to apply grammar to sentences freely. It should not be a mere memorisation of disconnected pieces of knowledge.
10. The use of a dictionary should be introduced when appropriate. Pupils should learn to use an English-English dictionary.

Source: Mombushō, 1938c, pp.210-211.

10 items of remarks were suggested for each of the teaching matters. Overall, the 1902 English guideline was grounded in the English syllabus's initial emphasis on pronunciation, spelling and penmanship, but the following features can be found. Firstly, 'mastery' was stressed as the first remark. This reflected Kikuchi's attachment to the importance of mastery as his abovementioned criticism against cramming instruction in middle schools. In fact, his insistence upon mastery concerned all middle school teaching.

What was totally new to the 1902 English guideline were 'objects' and 'pictures'. In the Pestalozzian principle, grounded in Associationist psychology, they were invented as the central method for concept formation based on *Anschauung*, which played an instrumental role in providing a conversational dialogue between teacher and pupil in

German practice. In this Japanese guideline, it was further transformed into a way to ‘explain the meaning’ of text in ‘Translation’ without using Japanese. A direct association of language with meaning was directed in the English syllabus in 1898 (i.e. the elimination of formal translation (*honyaku*), translation for meaning), but it marked an epoch as the first introduction of a non-traditional component in the sense that object teaching does not begin with or mediate written language (text).

Together with objects and pictures, the use of ‘correct’ Japanese and ‘*Realien*’ teaching (the present-day culture of neighbouring countries) were introduced in ‘Translation’, as well. It is most likely that the former was derived from Okakura’s theme of establishing ‘the national language’ as a nationalist and linguist. ‘*Realien*’ teaching was given the role of educating the patriotic sentiment in Germany. The combination of ‘correct’ Japanese and ‘*Realien*’ in English teaching suggested a nationalistic element given to English teaching.

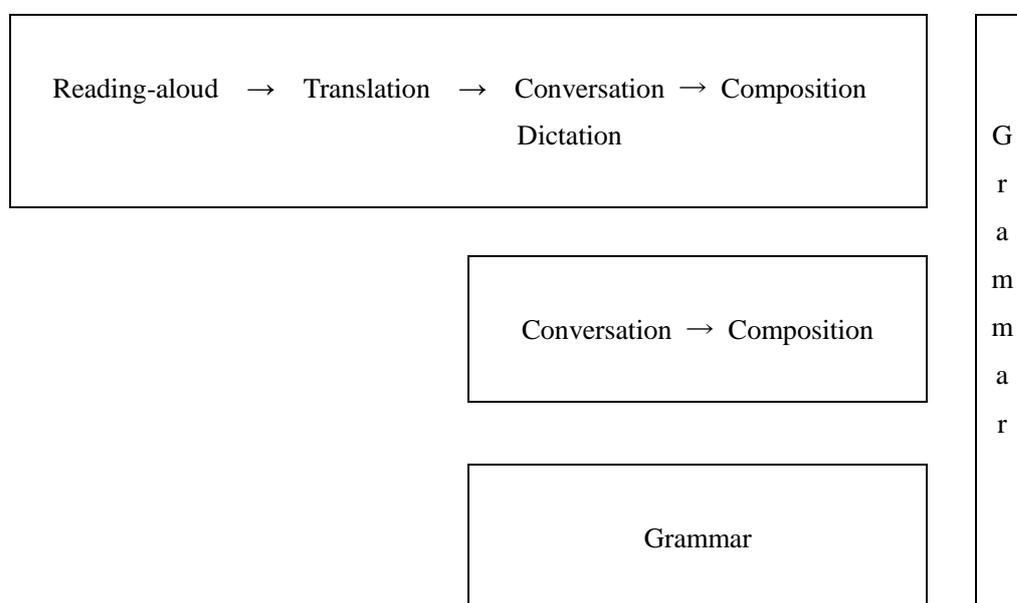
### **Nature of Middle School English in the 1902 English Guideline**

The 1902 English guideline was made within the academically oriented middle school curriculum, although vocational emphases were sought by politicians like Inoue and Sawayanagi. For English teaching, oral proficiency was emphasised, while an extreme reading-emphasis dominated in Mori’s English teaching plan was integrated with spoken English. As a consequence, the following pattern of English teaching practice can be identified in the 1902 English guideline (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1, below, attempts to show a pattern of English teaching practice directed by the 1902 English guideline. In lower grades, teaching matters were to be taught more interdependently, but beyond 3<sup>rd</sup> grade the pattern would emerge clearly. ‘Grammar’ began to be separated in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades. (The vertical box shows it was to be taught inductively, while penetrating other teaching matters.) The same could be true of ‘Conversation’ and ‘Composition’ in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades. This figure also indicates that an introduction of ‘speech primacy’ principle was realised between ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Translation’ and between ‘Conversation’ and ‘Composition’. For the former, oral

methodology was attempted by way of ‘Reading-aloud’ for ‘aural understanding’ of the text. For the latter, ‘speech primacy’ was attempted on the recognition that written English develops in harmony with its spoken form. The source of speech was the text already learnt, from which conversation was expected to emerge, and it would eventually lead to practice in its written form. What was in common both in ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Conversation’ was that the pedagogical nature of speech provided was to aim at learning through mimicry and memorisation based on text (by vocalising written language).

Figure 4.1: Pattern of English teaching in the 1902 English guideline



The 1902 English guideline was founded on Kanda’s imitation and habit formation view of language learning. That is, he had attempted to transform the earlier reading-dominated teaching methodology into a ‘natural’, behaviourist method in a moderate, conservative way by emphasising pupils’ role of imitation and habit formation particularly in the extensive introduction of ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Dictation’. In this respect, this transformation would go comparatively well with the Japanese cultural orientation, as represented by the ‘*Sodoku*’ method. The emerging pattern of English teaching standard in the 1902 English guideline was further transformed by the transfer of more Western theories and practice. The introduction of objects, pictures, and

teaching '*Realien*' — a present-day neighbouring culture — marked this transfer, and, unlike Kanda's mimicry view of language development, these elements were new and unfamiliar to Japanese language teaching tradition. However, they were not regarded as topic providers for sustained conversational activities, as was seen in German practice, but simply as another way to explain the meaning.

The 1898 English syllabus — the blue print for the 1902 English guideline — was impacted by the inventions of individual reformers in the West, which was a long way from Pestalozzi's pure prescriptions and method, and was mediated by Kanda's view of language development. Additionally, it is possible to find the connection between the 1902 English guideline and German practice as a translation of Western knowledge. Note that when he acted as a task force member, Kanda had already met with German and British practitioners (1900-1901). Another key actor for his task force, Okakura was due to leave for Germany and Britain in April 1902, and had therefore not seen them yet. However, it was said that he was already quite familiar with Western reform movements (Muraoka, 1928, p.402). I would assume that it was Okakura rather than Kanda that introduced these two elements and combined the use of 'correct Japanese' and '*Realien*' teaching as the key components of 'Translation' for nationalist education. The 1902 English guideline was thus overtly prescribed by nationalistic education on top of the general applied orientation newly given to English teaching.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### **THE ISSUE OF WESTERN ‘METHOD’ IN ENGLISH TEACHING**

The English guideline was completed in February 1902 (Meiji 35), but this did not guarantee its direct implementation in middle school classrooms. Rather, it marked the beginning of heated debates involving teachers, scholars, and policy makers. The Ministry of Education’s dispatch of students overseas really began from 1902 on, which continually stimulated the 1902 English guideline to be modified in the classroom by further Western knowledge. Domestically, the first national teachers’ organisation for English teaching reform was established in November 1902 as a branch of the Imperial Educational Society. It was called ‘The English Teachers’ Association’, in which perceptions and reactions to Western language teaching methodology were shared and discussed on a national scale. Additionally, while returnees from abroad introduced their observations and interpretations of Western practice, the audiences, teachers, scholars, and politicians articulated their agreements and objections to them. Chapter five focuses on these varied perceptions and attempts to identify how Western methodology was understood by Japanese teachers, from an educational practice perspective. This presents the central issue to be addressed by policy-makers’ further attempts to transform English teaching practice in the subsequent years, which is dealt with in chapter six.

#### **The Beginning of Controversy over Western Methods**

The English Teachers’ Association (*Eigo Kyōju-hō Kenkyū-bu*, hereafter the Association) was attached to the Imperial Educational Society (*Teikoku Kyōiku-kai*, hereafter the Society) in November 1902 (Meiji 35), and acted until December 1907 (Meiji 40), with the explicit aim of improving English teaching. The Association’s influential power over local middle schools, and as the source of education information, can be found in the Society’s nature itself. After its foundation in 1896 (Meiji 29), the Society largely functioned as the sole nationwide educational group for teachers at all levels. Elsewhere I have written (Nishihara, 2010a) that it assumed a supportive nature

for the Meiji Government's education policy, a leadership role towards local education groups, and a revolutionary nature towards education reforms (pp.31-34). Activities and information produced by the Society was made public and transmitted by its periodical journal *Kyōiku Kōhō*.

The Association collected a wide range of participants. According to the Association regulation, enrolment in the Association required membership of the Imperial Educational Society (Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902b, pp.38-39), but this rule was soon objected to (Isobe, 1902b, p.264), resulting in allowing membership regardless of Society membership. Regular meetings were to be held five times annually: January, March, May, September, and November. Non-members could also participate as an audience, in addition to membership holders; as a consequence, the audience counted on average 100-200 people each time. Students from teacher training schools, like Tokyo Higher Normal School and Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, were frequently part of the audience (Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1904, p.3; Isobe, 1903c, p.149). Hence, the system made the activities more open and directly provided education information to future teachers as well.

The major means of conducting regular meetings comprised lectures, together with occasional discussions and debates. Each lecture usually lasted approximately an hour, but some lasted as long as two hours. The introduction of Western knowledge chiefly took the form of lectures, and the discussions or debates did not deal directly with it. A summary of the whole activities, and the discussions and debates are included in the Appendices (see Appendix 5.1 and 5.2, p.355). A total of 44 lectures was delivered, and foreign speakers, who centred on their teaching experience in Japan, delivered 24 of these lectures. Table 5.1, below, summarises the details of the lectures delivered.

Table 5.1: Lecture contents at the English Teachers' Association

Year	Speakers	Titles
1902 (Meiji 35)	Naibu Kanda Yaichirō Isobe	<i>English Teaching Methods</i> <i>An Overview of the New Teaching Methods</i>

1903 (Meiji 36)	Yaichirō Isobe	<i>On General Meetings at Modern Language Association in Britain</i>
	<b>Kenjirō Kumamoto</b>	<b><i>What Constitutes So-called Japanese Flavour in Our Pronunciation of English Words?</i></b>
	Ikkitsu Matsuda	<i>Effects of Phonographs in Studying Languages</i>
	Naoyuki Nagai	<i>On Tickel's English Grammar</i>
	Kenjirō Kumamoto	<i>A New Plan for Teaching English to Beginning Classes</i>
1904 (Meiji 37)	Howard Swan	<i>English Teaching Methods</i>
	<b>M. C. Leonard</b>	<b><i>My Experience as an English Teacher in Japan</i></b>
	Wickers	<i>The Dos and Don'ts for English Teaching and Teachers</i>
	<b>Dairoku Kikuchi</b>	<b><i>On English Teaching</i></b>
1904 (Meiji 37)	<b>Kakichi Mitsukuri</b>	<b><i>The English Teaching Method at 'Nankō'</i></b>
	<b>Kotarō Yamaguchi</b>	<b><i>English Lessons in Germany</i></b>
	Ryō Ikehara	<i>How to Teach and Learn the English Penmanship</i>
	Ruse	<i>My Experience and Opinion Concerning English Teaching</i>
	Cox	<i>The Difficulties of English Teaching</i>
	Caday	<i>System in Teaching English</i>
	<b>G. N. Potdar</b>	<b><i>How English Is Taught in India</i></b>
	Hartshorne	<i>On the Berlitz Method of Teaching English</i>
	Arthur Lloyd	<i>On My Experience of Teaching English</i>
	Swift	<i>My Impressions of Japanese Students of English</i>
1905 (Meiji 38)	Kinta Ogimura	(title not found)
	Asatarō Miyamori	<i>On the Method of Teaching English that Can Be Used Easily</i>
	<b>Yoshisaburō Okakura</b>	<b><i>The English Teaching Method at Middle Schools</i></b>
	Race	<i>The Teaching of English</i>
	Cassidy	<i>The Essentials of the Study of English</i>
	I. W. Kate	<i>My Difficulties of Teaching English to Japanese people</i>
	Howard Swan	<i>The Situation of English Teaching in China</i>
1906 (Meiji 39)	<b>Yaichirō Isobe</b>	<b><i>Teaching Methods for the English Penmanship</i></b>
	<b>Kenjirō Kumamoto</b>	<b><i>The English Atmosphere</i></b>
	Tanefumi Inoue	Demonstrations: Uses of Phonographs
	<b>Nobuaki Makino</b>	<b><i>An English message (read by Naibu Kanda)</i></b>
	Playfair	<i>A Method of Teaching English Sentences</i>
	Clement	<i>English Teaching Methods</i>
	E. B. Clark	<i>The Study of Languages</i>
	Dehaviland	<i>My Experience of Teaching English</i>
	Fardel	<i>On the Teaching of Foreign Languages</i>

	Tucker Wang Zheng ting	<i>My Experience of Teaching English at Middle Schools</i> <i>My Method of Studying English</i>
1907 (Meiji 40)	<b>Ryō Watabe</b>	<b><i>English Teaching Methods in Britain</i></b>
	<b>Kiichi Hirata</b>	<b><i>Miscellaneous Reports from Britain</i></b>
	Takizō Takasugi	<i>My Experience of Teaching Conversation</i>
	Florence	<i>On the Significance, the Origin and the Making of Skeat's 'Concise English Etymological Dictionary' and 'New English Dictionary'</i>
	Krautz	<i>On English Teaching</i>
	<b>Arthur Lloyd</b>	<b><i>Drama and English Teaching</i></b>

Sources: This composite table is created from Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902-1907, Isobe, 1902-1907, and Eigo Seinen Sha, 1902-1907.

Note: The boldface type indicates that detailed contents appeared in any one of the above sources. Otherwise, only a short account or none appeared. The lectures below the dotted lines each year were delivered by foreign speakers.

From Table 5.1, it is clear that the Association and the Ministry of Education were still continuing to debate Western input and practical, spoken English. Japanese lecturers tended to speak about their new inventions in English teaching or new Western knowledge. 15 lecture contents (see the boldface-typed lecture titles) were recorded in detail in the sources investigated, and 12 of them centred on Japanese speakers. This suggested that the Association was concerned more with Japanese perceptions of Western knowledge.

### **Deliberate Reactions to Western Methods**

The foundation of the Association was triggered by the founder and former principal of the Training College for Teachers at Cambridge, Miss E.P. Hughes (Nitobe, 1901, pp.3-4). Hughes was once a teacher of Mary Brebner (Isobe, 1902a, p.181). Hughes was visiting Japan to give some lectures on Japan's female education at Tokyo Higher Normal School (Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902a, advertisement column). On July 5<sup>th</sup> 1902

(Meiji 35), she was invited to a welcome reception by the Society, at which she had the chance to lecture on ways of reforming Japan's English teaching based on a 'natural', direct method (Hughes, 1902, pp.20-24). It was in this lecture that Hughes proposed setting up an English teachers' group to regularly meet and discuss English teaching reform (pp.24-26). Her proposal won immediate consent from Chairman of the Society Shinji Tsuji and other reformers in the audience, and this swiftly developed into the founding of the Association on November 19<sup>th</sup> 1902 (Nishihara, 2010a, pp.34-36). The organisers included Naibu Kanda (professor of Tokyo Higher Commercial School), Yaichirō Isobe (editor of *The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun* and the founder of *Kokumin Eigaku-kai*), Umeko Tsuda (professor of Women's English School), Eiji Asada and Tomoyoshi Murai (professors of Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), Sakunoshin Motoda (principal of *Rikkyo* Middle School) (Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902c, p.33).

Controversy stirred up despite the Association's seemingly smooth launch. Isobe, in his *The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun*, reported some 'extreme nationalists' anger' at the fact that the Association began as a foreign lady's initiative (Isobe, 1903a, p.10). To this, Isobe, editor of the journal, hurriedly gave a helping hand by saying that "Japan's English teaching is already at a stage of reflection and synthesis, the time has already ripened" (p.10). However, its future still looked quite dark to him. He had put the following remark in the previous volume of the journal:

"The Association has now been established somehow. I do not doubt that there will be quite a few difficulties ahead of us. [...] Some of the members of the Association are teachers at government schools, some are those at private institutions, and still others are leading scholars. Each one of them has his or her view about English teaching and is an advocate for that. Therefore, it will obviously be difficult to arrive at a certain agreement when they all meet together at one place" (Isobe, 1902b, p.264).

The foundation of the Association made it apparent to the members that under the surface, there existed varied views and beliefs about Western methods as against Japanese ways of teaching and learning languages. In fact, as soon as the Association

began its activities, their complex and deliberate attitude toward Western practice rose to the surface and continued to be heard throughout its five years of activities.

Isobe, who did not object to the Association itself, kept his distance from Western knowledge and emphasised the necessity of independent decision-making on the part of Japanese teachers and scholars of English. In 1902 (Meiji 35), he gave a fairly detailed introduction to the situation in Germany, England, the United States, France, Switzerland and others, by pointing out how the new methods were being employed (Isobe, 1903b, pp.1-12). However, he called the audience's attention to the fact that Western methods were a result of selectively adopting elements of the 'new methods' and concluded that "since even Western countries are in trial-and-error stages, we cannot adopt Western knowledge as it is, either. [...] The best we can do is to select only what is appropriate to us by using our gifted talent and adopt it" (p.11). Isobe was essentially positive about learning from Western experiments, and his stance was shared by a few others, including Yamaguchi.

Kotarō Yamaguchi, a specialist in the German language, targeted the Meiji authorities' policy-making rather than their practitioners. In his lecture in 1904 (Meiji 37), Yamaguchi focused on the historical development of English teaching at German secondary schools. He reviewed how English came to enter the school curriculum as a compulsory subject, touched on the general English teaching methods currently employed and introduced the 1901 Prussian English Teaching Guideline and Curriculum for Higher Schools. Yamaguchi concluded that the German authorities' stance in establishing the official method was based on a selective way in which advantages were collected from various new methods (Yamaguchi, 1904, pp.16-24). From this, he drew a suggestion for the Meiji Government that "even if the German radical reformists are not contented with this curriculum or even disappointed, the Ministry of Education in Germany will not easily follow what they insist on" (p.21). Yamaguchi hoped to put a check on policy-makers who were hastening English teachers to change.

Kiichi Hirata's perception of Western practice was more a rejection than a deliberation.

He observed British practice and stimulated the audience to ponder the most appropriate way to suit Japanese pupils, while critically comparing it with the Japanese teaching context (Hirata, 1908, pp.164-166). Hirata warned against a direct adoption of the Western reformed method, which stressed practical purposes, and instead he was willing to adhere to the traditional translation method. He stated that “In my opinion, methods devised just for immediate practical needs should not be employed in Japan, just as they are employed in the West. The Japanese should still rely on reading industriously, no matter how inefficient it might look. This is the steady way for us” (p.166). After he returned from England, Hirata was not surprised when he heard critics complain that the new method was the cause for the poor result of middle school English:

“When I returned from England, I was curious to see what reform attempts had been made for the improvement of English teaching by English scholars in Japan, and I found some counter-reactions against the new methods; in fact, some do say that it is the new methods that have invited the increasing poor results of English at middle schools which we face today” (p.166).

Hirata’s perception more clearly revealed that the adoption of Western practice into Japanese teaching circumstances involved conflicts, with the aim of teaching English in the context of the Japanese ‘tradition’ of teaching and learning a new language. As a result, he completely rejected it. In this respect, Merton C. Leonard of Tokyo Higher Normal School, showed a different view of ‘methods’. He stated from a teacher educator’s perspective that “The greatest service which can be rendered to a teacher or a normal school student, is not to give him a cut-and-dried method of teaching a subject, but to imbue him with the spirit of investigation” (Leonard, 1903, p.154). He then introduced several practical ways in which he combined a variety of elements from the new methods in order to create an opportunity for his students to engage in conversation in English in the classroom. To Leonard, the study of ‘methods’ meant a means of creating his own methods of teaching, rather than a pattern to be followed.

The contentiousness over transforming the Japanese traditional method was manifested in the statements above. What would the selective adoption of the components of

Western methods mean? How would the creation of one's own teaching methods be made possible? What understanding would lead one to completely reject it altogether? In examining the Japanese understandings of Western methods from a pedagogical perspective, two distinctive views on 'methods' could be observed. One view looked at the structure of Western methods, and the other saw the transformation as a technical application of given procedures to the teaching process.

### **Imitation and Habit Formation**

Naibu Kanda looked at the fundamental structure of the teaching process involved in Western methods as imitation and habit formation. His lecture in 1902 (Meiji 35) centred on German reformed practice (Kanda, 1902, pp.14-20). At the outset, like Isobe and Yamaguchi, Kanda emphasised the importance of independent teacher judgment. He then centred on introducing his objective illustrations of teaching practice in several German secondary classrooms, in which he repeatedly touched on oral methodology involving a question-and-answer method, the use of Hölzel's wall charts for '*Realien*' instruction and phonetic charts. He summed up that the new method took speaking, reading, writing, and the teaching of '*Realien*' more seriously. Kanda's lecture was later summarised by a popular English magazine, *Eigo Seinen*, as follows: "The speaker declared that he had noticed everywhere that the teaching was carried out in accordance with what was popularly called the rational method in which the students were made to learn languages through the ears and eyes" (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1902, p.16).

For Kanda, 'the rational method' meant a method that would promote the four modes of language function harmoniously and in an interdependent manner. The complexity of language development and its totality led him to believe that languages could not be studied analytically, and therefore, imitation should be the integral part of language learning processes — and habit formation was the goal (Kanda, 1894, p.315). He was convinced that the habit of listening to English would lead pupils to understanding it without translation (p.316), and it would also enable them to pick up and use the language 'naturally' by practice in paraphrasing in their own expressions (p.317). The role of teachers thus constituted providing oral input by frequently reading the text

aloud. Grammar would be learnt by imitation and habit rather than an analytical study (p.318). Kanda's understanding of the so-called Natural Method was thus characterised by his conviction of imitation and habit formation.

Kenjirō Kumamoto, professor of Tokyo Higher Normal School, maintained the view of the process of language teaching as imitation and habit formation. He attempted to show the audience a variety of reformed teaching techniques that incorporated a 'natural' orientation. In his lecture entitled 'The English Atmosphere' in 1906 (Meiji 39), Kumamoto based his formulation on the conventional understanding of the Natural Method: that a language should be learnt like a child's first language acquisition. But, based on the Japanese pedagogical condition characterised by the teacher's inability to conduct all classes in English, with such large class sizes and pupils' intellectual variations (Kumamoto, 1906, p.12), Kumamoto translated the Natural Method into what could be called 'instructional principles' that would guide the teacher's practice. He stated, "What is fundamental in this method lies in putting pupils into the atmosphere of the target language, in making them forget that their first language is Japanese, and in making them believe as if theirs were English" (p.12). Kumamoto metaphorically explained that "just as the Japanese plate a metal with gold, the teacher should plate pupils with English" (p.13). For Kumamoto, language development would come from quantitative accumulation and habit formation rather than internal cognitive operations.

Kumamoto believed that for Japanese pupils, the major aim of studying English should be to acquire the power of reading. Thus, he devised a variety of ways in which pupils would be 'coated' with English in the English atmosphere, so that they would learn to read 'from left to right' just like an English native speaker (the Japanese traditionally read from right to left). The difference in word order often caused pupils to read 'backward' from right to left when they interpreted English text. In order to avoid 'backward' reading (*kaeri-yomi*), he recommended occasional recitation and listening comprehension activities and discouraged the use of an English-Japanese dictionary (Kumamoto, 1906, pp.14-15; 1907, pp.8-12). Kumamoto came up with a practical, instructional principle as the 'coating metaphor' — which can also be interpreted as an immersion metaphor in the present-day term — from the Natural Method.

### **Inductive, Developmental Processes**

Yoshisaburō Okakura had the chance to speak about his observations of Western practice in 1905 (Meiji 38), two months after returning from Britain and Germany as a student overseas. Unlike Kanda's and Kumamoto's understanding of Western methods, Okakura articulated his own understanding of the Natural Method derived from his insight into the internal operations of the language learner. That was, he captured the Pestalozzian view of language development as the awareness of the learner's psychological process.

For the awareness of the learner's psychological process, Okakura pointed out that what differentiated the new method from the traditional, old method was the insight that the new method "takes into full account of psychological and physical conditions, interests and advantages of the learner" (Okakura, 1905a, p.19). He explained that the inability to observe the learner's psychological process had prevented the abandonment of the Grammar-Translation Method in Western countries, which resulted in formal grammar teaching of disconnected sample sentences to illustrate a grammatical point; this insight was the driving force for change to the reformed method (p.19). From this, Okakura emphasised to the audience that the new method did not necessarily require a new language be learnt exactly as children acquire their first language, and that this misunderstanding had led Japanese teachers to reject the new method (p.20). It should be noted that Okakura had precisely captured the modern view of the learner as being capable of cognition and the modern education value of the individual. Okakura viewed the shift-change to the modern type of learner as a more vital task than introducing the formal features of teaching procedure and activities of the Western reformed method.

In light of the modern-learner view, a certain principle for language teaching had to be observed. Okakura explained that language teaching should begin with providing the learner with spontaneous language exposure to promote an intuitive grasp of how English worked. He emphasised giving pupils the opportunity to actually speak it from the beginning (p.22), and he encouraged the teacher to use the language as much as

possible in the classroom (p.23). Therefore, object teaching and speech primacy were vital components. He stated that in the new method, pupils “are asked a variety of questions and to answer them, and listen to stories in a foreign language before moving to text” (Okakura, 1905b, p.28). The advantages of phonetic knowledge were emphasised in this connection. He reminded the audience that “phonetics is not something which the teacher will teach the pupils but which should help them only when needed” (p. 26). Along this line of thought, grammar should be taught inductively in a heuristic manner (p.27). Okakura was most likely the only scholar who saw the fundamental nature of the Natural Method as the learner’s internal, higher psychological process involving an inductive, intuitive, and developmental learning process. Overall, it appeared that scholars like Kanda, Kumamoto, and Okakura, who attempted to capture the essential feature of the Natural Method, were unusual. More generally, many saw them as a fixed pattern of teaching and an application of a given set of procedures, as will be discussed, below.

## **Technical Applications**

### **A Method as a Pattern**

There was another view of Western methods, which was rooted in a strong sense of distrust in the new method, because, they argued, it threatened the traditional Japanese view of teacher professionalism. Additionally, it appeared that this understanding of Western methods as a threat was connected to the tacit view held by some Japanese scholars and politicians that transforming teaching practice would involve the technical application of a given set of procedural activities and techniques. Isobe, Dairoku Kikuchi, and Kakichi Mitsukuri were concerned about this point.

Isobe discerned that the English teacher view was gradually perceived differently by the public than in the early Meiji Period, in the face of the ‘new method era’. He termed the emerging teacher view as the ‘technical expert’. Isobe was indignant that the English teachers looked at themselves as a technician or interpreter (Isobe, 1903b, p.1). What he was contrasting with the technician view was that of the ‘educationist’. He reflected on

teachers of Chinese classics who were possessed with more prestige some time ago, as educationists (p.1). This prestige originated in the view that the teacher was not a technician but an educationist. Isobe claimed that in teaching English too, the Japanese “must place more emphasis on the educational aspect — something loftier [than on the technical aspect]” (p.1). Thus, Isobe attacked the view of teacher as technicians, which was derived from an instrumentalist education, powerfully driven by the Meiji Government.

Isobe’s view of English teachers as educationists was not very clear substantively, but Kakichi Mitsukuri, a zoologist and a professor at the Imperial University of Tokyo, explained the general view of the ‘new’ English teacher much more clearly. He contrasted the value of the ‘personality’ of the teacher with that of a ‘method’. He reflected on his experience of being taught English when he was at *Nankō* (South School [1869-1871], formerly Tokyo Imperial University), by referring to one of his English teachers’ teaching methods. Mitsukuri summarised what should constitute a good English teacher:

“The basis of what constitutes a good teacher lies in his personality. It is true that we need a method, but too much reliance on a method results in a mechanical teaching and in the formal procedure of teaching. [...] What matters most is the teacher him/herself. In this sense, the teacher must be alive” (Mitsukuri, 1904, p.27).

What he meant by the teacher’s being ‘alive’ was their capacity to display independent, practical judgement based on experience and belief. The teacher should be able to “find the weaknesses unique to individual pupils based on his or her commonsense and to give the appropriate exercises to each of them” (p.27). “Rich commonsense and flexibility to the situation are the keys” (Isobe, 1904, p.189), but they tended to be hampered by formalised teaching, which came from too much reliance on a ‘method’. Thus, Mitsukuri closed his lecture by cautioning the audience that “it may be necessary for Japanese teachers to study teaching methods, but teachers themselves must be excellent in the first place without too much dependence on teaching methods. I believe

that techniques become only effective when they are used by the excellent teacher” (Mitsukuri, 1904, p.27).

The ‘educationist’ and ‘technical expert’ in Isobe’s terms might correspond to the teacher who is ‘alive’ and who depends too heavily on a ‘method’ in Mitsukuri’s terminology. In their contrasts, a ‘method’ was illustrated more as a threat to the teacher’s autonomous judgement in the classroom than a potential source of informed teaching. It is evident that in their articulation, a ‘method’ was understood as a pattern and as an independent entity, and the connection between a ‘method’ and an education goal and value would not be seen.

Dairoku Kikuchi also looked upon a ‘method’ as a threat. Baron Kikuchi, the former Minister of Education, was known to be one of those who had strong views about English teaching. At the outset of his lecture delivered in 1904 (Meiji 37), Kikuchi approved the significance of English teaching methods. He acknowledged that it was a difficult task for the Japanese to master English, given that it was difficult even for Westerners to master Western languages. Therefore, “For Japanese teachers of English, it is quite natural to seek a better method. [...] However, it is wrong to stick to methods or systems. [...] A method is only a means of reaching a goal, but not anything that limits the teacher’s freedom” (Kikuchi, 1904, p.13). Here, too, the potential pit falls of the formalisation of teaching methods were emphasised and criticised.

### **Conflicts with the Traditional Language Learning Styles**

The claims made by Isobe, Mitsukuri and Kikuchi suggested that the new ‘methods’ were taken in by Japanese teachers in general as a formalised pattern to be technically applied to practical situations. This limited understanding of a ‘method’ often led them to conflicts with the Japanese traditional language learning styles. One such criticism was already seen in Kiichi Hirata’s claim for a reading-centred, translation method as against an oral methodology, which saw the poor results of middle school English in connection with the new method.

In fact, Hirata was not the only one who advocated the connection. The anti-new method view came to prominence after the Association ceased to operate after December 1907 (Meiji 40). Regardless of the Association's influence, there were continuing views of a preference for and the conservation of text-centred, traditional learning styles. A strong critic of the new method and proponent of text-centred learning was Shūkotsu Togawa, a scholar of English literature. He had repeatedly publicised his concern to retain the Translation Method. At the time when Hirata spoke about the conservation of the Translation Method at the Association, Togawa also made his claim in the journal *Eigo Seinen* that the study of English teaching 'methods' had made pupils' achievement even poorer. He stated that the principles of the new method, 'from the simple to the complex', 'from the near to the far', might sound right, but when it came to actual teaching, pupils' brains could not be disciplined by such a lax method and declared that he would use the old translation method and ignore the new method (Togawa, 1907, pp.21-22). Behind this declaration was his belief in the Japanese tradition. Togawa stated that "it was a consistent fact that the Japanese history of studying foreign languages had always taken the irregular, text-centred method, and that this was the method that best suited the Japanese character" (*Eigo Seinen* Sha, 1907c, p.119).

Tsunego Baba, a reporter with *The Japan Times*, revealed the same view. He judged that there was only one method of teaching English for the Japanese; the Translation Method (Baba, 1909, p.172). He explained that "the Japanese do not naturally possess the basics of English, which is spoken English, and it is a thorough translation that can build this foundation; the Japanese must build this foundation using written English" (p.172). Further, Baba emphasised the Japanese tradition of '*Sodoku*' as the best method. Teachers of Chinese classics used extensive reading-aloud of the Chinese classics of Confucianism without understanding meaning at all. He insisted that results would be better if '*Sodoku*' was applied to middle school English teaching throughout the five volumes of the Readers (p.173). Togawa's and Baba's claim for a return to the traditional translation method and '*Sodoku*' might never have been an extreme idea at the time. Kochō Baba, also a scholar of English literature, showed his agreement with Tsunego Baba's view and said that "a colleague, a literary man, Bin Ueda had a similar

idea” (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909b, p.198). Kunitarō Kuroyanagi, principal of First Higher School, also revealed an objection to a reliance on a new method in favour of the Translation Method (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1910a, p.247). The idea of a return to the traditional method was still quite prevalent, even in the Meiji 40s.

### **‘Add-on’ Introduction of Western Practice**

While objections to transforming the teaching process with ‘speech primacy’ might still have been widely held and tense except for some scholars like Kanda and Okakura, a partial introduction of Western inventions began relatively smoothly in the late Meiji 30s. Initial training in English pronunciation and penmanship was agreed to without too many overt objections at the Association. This was also one of the most salient features of change introduced into the 1902 English guideline.

#### Pronunciation

Advocates for accurate pronunciation in particular included Kenjirō Kumamoto (1903), Ikkitsu Matsuda (1903), and Tanefumi Inoue (1906). Kumamoto’s lecture was focused on the specific English sounds that Japanese pupils tended to find difficult to pronounce, and on how the Japanese ‘flavour’ in pronunciation could be avoided or remedied. He showed the mechanism of how the Japanese tended to produce such ‘flavour’ based on actual samples he had collected from his teaching experience (Kumamoto, 1903, p.92). According to Teikoku Kyōikukai (1903), following Kumamoto’s lecture, five scholars, including Kanda, consecutively stood up and made voluntary addresses about the issue of English pronunciation (pp.36-37). The strong awareness was raised that teaching correct pronunciation was an issue. Matsuda introduced phonographs as an effective instructional device to practice English pronunciation. He extensively explained its usefulness over a period of two hours, covering the history of its invention, structure, and effectiveness as a self-study device. He also demonstrated to the audience how to use two phonographs. After the demonstration, Matsuda went so far as to call for the foundation of an association for the study of phonographs (Matsuda, 1903, pp.30-31).

## Penmanship

The other positive introduction concerned English penmanship. This was referred to by Ryō Ikehara (1904) and Yaichirō Isobe (1906). (Ikehara's source was not found). Isobe's claim is introduced in detail here, since it was developed into a proposal to the Ministry of Education. His insistence on the improvement of penmanship teaching was derived from recent pupils' poor performance, as compared to the performance in the beginning of the Meiji Period, and his aim was to raise the awareness of its importance in a changing political situation between Japan and the international community. He stated, "as a result of the Russo-Japanese War, international trades will be more activated, and so will our communications with foreign people; therefore, we need to become better writers of English, as well as better speakers" (Isobe, 1906, p.9). For him, poor penmanship skills would make a bad impression on foreign people and fail the Japanese in building a good relationship with them.

Isobe thus urged an English letter type to be uniformed into a block letter type from an italic letter type. His discussion was extensive, indeed, ranging from the recent trend of the block letter type prevalent in England, but also three-hundred years' history of the italic letter type there, merits of the former, instructional proposals on how to teach it, such as the importance of good models to be imitated by pupils, how to sit in a chair, how to hold a pen and even its appropriate length. Finally, Isobe introduced to the audience 20 pieces of practical advice for teachers' classroom use. Item 20, which he took most seriously, was: "When writing penmanship, you must calm down and simply give body and soul to the act of writing; this is the most essential thing to follow" (pp.16-17).

Isobe's claim for penmanship teaching made on February 3<sup>rd</sup> 1906 (Meiji 39) was taken over and further discussed by about 50 participants at the 11<sup>th</sup> regular meeting on May 12<sup>th</sup> in the same year (Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1906, p.6). A proposal draft was finally drawn up and presented to the Ministry of Education on May 25<sup>th</sup> (pp.6-7). The draft included:

- 1) Test pupils' penmanship skills at trimester examinations,
- 2) Test their penmanship skills at entrance examinations for government schools through composition and dictation,
- 3) Test pre-service English teachers' penmanship skills at teacher licence examinations, and
- 4) Instruct the methods of teaching penmanship in greater detail in the 1902 English guideline.

Pronunciation and penmanship were the basic elements of practical English. Unlike the transfer of the new method, they could be 'added' onto the text-based, traditional instruction and would not affect the whole structure into a 'new' method. These two elements did not cause a conflict in Japanese teaching reform.

The examination of the perceptions held by English teachers, scholars, and politicians about Western methods after the 1902 English guideline revealed that many of them had a keen interest in the new methods. However, understandings of it varied amongst lecturers and the audience at the English Teachers' Association, as well as other people outside it. As we saw in chapter three, in modern pedagogy, a method is grounded on an educational goal. In the Natural Method, 'speech primacy', which called for an intuitive, inductive, and cognitive teaching and learning process, was inseparably grounded on the education value of the individual and human liberation as conceived in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The issue of the transfer of the Natural Method meant creating inductive, higher-order thinking environments which would involve a reflective and transactional practice among teacher, pupil, and teaching content. In this regard, Okakura showed an essential understanding of the Natural Method. Kanda and Kumamoto attempted to incorporate spoken English as the key ingredient for language development, but saw the process of language acquisition as habit formation through imitation. This can be regarded as a moderate departure from the traditional Japanese language learning style. However, for the most part, English teaching practice was shallowly taken as the application of a patterned procedure into practical and applied situations, and the view of a selective, deliberate application of the new method was contextualised by this 'technical application' view of practice. Hence, a partial modernisation as an 'add-on' was

approved for English pronunciation and penmanship. In the 'technical application' view, teaching tends to get formalised and the teacher can hardly act as an independent decision-maker; as a result, they tend to be alienated from decision making about the teaching process. When an education goal was given *a priori* by the authorities, the alienation would be strengthened. The claims for a return from the 'technician' teacher to the 'educationist', and to the translation method and the traditional '*Sodoku*', were an expression, in part, of the threat from this alienation. But, it was also policy making conservatives and nationalists who propounded this view because it signified a loss of authority if a 'tradition' was lost.

Towards the revision of the 1902 English guideline in 1911 (Meiji 44), attempts by policy-makers to reorganise English teaching with the principle of 'speech primacy' learnt from German practice were to be accelerated. Additionally, Okakura's presence in English policy-making increasingly stood out, rather than Kanda's. The real issue to be faced by the practitioners would be how the traditional '*Sodoku*' method could be structurally transformed by 'speech primacy' in a nationalistic education context.

## CHAPTER SIX

### **ENGLISH TEACHING POLICY AFTER THE 1902 ENGLISH GUIDELINE**

The English Teachers' Association made it apparent that despite much concern and interest in the new method, perceptions of it were varied. This chapter focuses on a series of policy-making activities attempted by authorities during the period 1907-1910. These activities involved investigating deficiencies in secondary education as a whole. For English teaching, they took the form of drawing up detailed, prescriptive English syllabi while basing them more explicitly on the principle of 'speech primacy', learnt from German practice. These attempts had connection with the revision of the 1902 English guideline in 1911 (Meiji 44). Consequently, this investigation provides insights into the nature of the Meiji Period's final national standard of 1911.

#### **Investigating Secondary School Education**

The Minister of Education, Nobuaki Makino, began to take on secondary education reform as the Association was winding down. His reform took the form of redefining the role of middle school education and identifying its fundamental deficiencies. In the background was policy-makers' concern about an increasingly preparatory role of middle schools, which disconnected them from elementary education. Their concern also included how a vocational education role could be incorporated. Further, responding to local needs was perceived as a vital issue (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1906, p.36). Kikuchi's 'higher liberal education' was virtually distorted and failed, as demands for mass meritocratic schooling grew from two sides: new middle class and imperialist-minded governments. The conflicting roles of academic or vocational education were still the issue to be addressed. Investigation of methods for secondary education thus began, and English teaching reform was a part of this broader context.

Let us note the emergence of varied functions of middle school education between large cities and farming areas in the early Meiji 30s. Institutionally, every middle school was to provide education of equal quality and content. To summarise Yoneda's analysis

(Yoneda, 1992, pp.120-141), middle schools in large cities (with a population of 50,000 and above) were able to collect highly motivated pupils and could maintain a high ratio of graduates and of those going onto higher educational institutions. But, middle schools in small towns and farming areas (with a population of 25,000 and below) had to accept less motivated pupils because of comparatively fewer applicants, which tended to result in a high ratio of drop-outs. This meant that middle schools were no longer meeting the local needs of farming areas. Middle schools in large cities were supported by the emerging commercial class in the 1900s. In other words, the academic nature of middle school education was gradually neglected by small towns and farming areas, and as a result, middle schools in general managed to maintain an academic and largely preparatory role. Yet, a regional difference in pupils' aspiration and expectation did exist and made it difficult for middle schools both to respond to it and to conform to a single standard.

Hence, Makino attempted to sort out 'the greatest common measure', which would become the substance of 'higher liberal education' for all education roles: Preparation, vocation, and locality. In August 1907 (Meiji 40), Makino ordered a Ministry of Education inspector Yoshinobu Ōshima to investigate the cause of the perceived deficiency. Ōshima collected entrance examination papers answered by middle school pupils for analysis (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1907, p.36) and, in April 1908 (Meiji 41), he drew a conclusion and pointed out the following cognitive abilities as deficient: First, comparison (*hikaku*) and induction (*suiiri*) in knowledge production; second, application (*ōyō*) of one piece of knowledge to another; and third, accurate common knowledge (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1908a, pp.36-37). The tendencies of rote-learning, an inability to differentiate a higher concept from a lower concept, an inability to draw higher generalisation, and a lack of confidence were additionally pointed out (p.37). In short, such scientific thinking styles were abstracted as the common deficiencies for secondary education.

### **The Report of the Mombushō Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools**

Parallel to this investigation, Makino began to plan English teaching reform. In February 1907 (Meiji 40), he appointed seven English scholars, who drew up the Report of the Mombushō Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools (*Eigo Kyōjuhō Chōsaiin Hōkoku*, hereafter the Mombushō Report) and made it public on 20<sup>th</sup> January 1909 (Meiji 42). The members were Inazō Nitobe, Naibu Kanda, Yoshisaburō Okakura, Eiji Asada, Kinsaku Shinoda, and Yasuto Nakanishi (teacher of English, Tokyo Fu First Middle School), and Yoshinobu Ōshima (Mombushō-appointed inspector). In fact, “they were the ones who represented Japan’s English circle at that time and were the leading scholars of the age” (Matsumura, 1997, p.95). Nitobe, Kanda, Okakura, Asada, and Shinoda were again appointed in addition to their preparation of the 1902 English guideline.

### **A Method Structured by ‘Speech Primacy’**

The Mombushō Committee was to meet every Wednesday, and had a total of 34 meetings to complete the mission (*Kyōiku Jiron*, 1908b, p.34). The final draft of the Mombushō Report was submitted to the Minister of Education Eitarō Komatsubara on October 29<sup>th</sup> 1908 (Meiji 41) and, without any modification, the Mombushō Report was made public in the *Official Gazette* of the 20<sup>th</sup> of January 1909 (Meiji 42).

Elsewhere I have written (Nishihara, 2010b) that, during that time, the following discussions as to the direction of the Mombushō Report were heard from the press release. It appeared that there were two main issues to be solved. One was the inadequacy of practice and drill in English classrooms, where too much stress on cramming abstruse sentences was dominant. The other concerned English teacher training. In relation to practice and drill, on June 13<sup>th</sup> 1907 (Meiji 40), the need for thorough practice of pronunciation in lower grades was discussed and it was agreed that it should be taught before pupils ever began to read a text (p.43). On June 27<sup>th</sup> 1907, penmanship teaching was discussed. According to the Mombushō Committee, the key to better penmanship skills depended on the teacher’s skill and this led to an agreement that future teachers should be tested on penmanship at teacher licence examinations (p.43). In August 1907, Kanda commented on the importance of a thorough stress on

pronunciation and penmanship (p.43). The agreed stress on these two basic skills at the Association, which was identified in the previous chapter, corresponded to and influenced these discussions.

Once the general direction in initial grades had been made clear, discussions began to focus on teaching content and methods for each grade. By February 1908 (Meiji 41), the Mombushō Committee had finished up to 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and were already working on 3<sup>rd</sup> grade. At this point, the Mombushō Committee approved that the aim of English teaching was reading ability and spoken English (p.44). In order to achieve both, they discussed ways for effective teacher distribution, including foreign teachers (p.44).

Further, in April 1908, Kanda stated his intention to propose to the Mombushō Committee the idea of prescribing some thousands of vocabulary items to be mastered before pupils finished middle school. All of these vocabulary items had to be covered in middle school English textbooks and that no other items should be used in entrance examination papers for higher schools (p.44). He stressed methods for a thorough mastery of basic knowledge.

On the second issue of teacher training, by August 1908 the Mombushō Committee had extended discussions about training competent English teachers and suggested three measures for teacher training, as follows:

- 1) Test-exempted teachers must engage in one to two years of in-service training, and selection should apply to be allowed to teach full time.
- 2) The test-exemption system should gradually be abolished; all candidates should take test-based teacher licence examinations to teach full-time.
- 3) Selected English teachers must be sent abroad to study. (Nishihara, 2010b, p.44)

It can be noted that practical teacher training was stressed in this plan, in which ‘competent’ teachers were expected to provide pupils with ‘practice’ beyond mere knowledge. By sending selected teachers overseas, it was expected that they would acquire spoken English in order to provide practical applications in the classroom.

How were initial stresses on pronunciation and penmanship, ‘compulsory vocabulary’, and teacher training reflected in the Mombushō Report? It consisted of five chapters:

- 1) Introduction
- 2) Teaching Matter and its Distribution
- 3) Remarks on Teaching
  - a. General
  - b. Special
    - i. Pronunciation and Spelling
    - ii. Oral Exercises
    - iii. Reading
    - iv. Penmanship
    - v. Composition
    - vi. Grammar
- 4) Remarks on Students’ Private Study
- 5) Teachers and Class Management

In order to identify what methodology was directed by the Mombushō Report, let us look at ‘General’ in ‘Remarks on Teaching’.

- 1) It is not enough if students merely understand what they have been taught; they must be thoroughly familiar with it.
- 2) Revision should not be limited to what has been done in the previous lesson; it must cover the whole of the subject already taught.
- 3) Teachers should speak English within the limits of their students’ understanding.
- 4) New words and phrases are to be taught first orally, and then in their written form.
- 5) The student’s ability to understand should be facilitated by the comparison of parallel examples, to give the necessary *sprach-gefühl*.
- 6) No single period should be devoted to a particular branch of the subject entirely, with the exception of Penmanship, or, as in the teacher’s opinion, circumstance

may require.

- 7) Besides the two languages, Japanese and English, objects, pictures, and gestures may be used in giving explanations.
- 8) The Reader should be the centre of all instruction.
- 9) Introduce students as early as possible to the differences between Eastern and Western customs, institutions, etc. (Mombushō, 1909, pp.355-357)

Several emphases can be noticed. Firstly, the Mombushō Report clearly articulated a practice and drill-oriented direction. More ‘familiarity’ with what they learned than a ‘mere understanding’ was stressed in Item One, and Item Two referred to a thorough revision of ‘the whole’ of what was studied. Secondly, it put heavy emphasis on a particular interpretation of ‘speech primacy’. Item Three should be noted: It mentioned teachers’ constant use of spoken English in the classroom. Item Four introduced ‘speech primacy’ in the teaching of words and phrases. Thirdly, inductive ways of acquiring linguistic knowledge were suggested in Item Five. Fourth, ‘objects, pictures, and gestures’ were recommended as additional ways of explaining the meaning. On the other hand, the use of Japanese was taken for granted (Item Seven). The Reader was regarded as the central source of teaching matters, and the study of ‘*Realien*’ was suggested in the form of comparison with Eastern culture. In short, a strong orientation to the mastery of English basics and to applied English dominated, while attempts to raise the awareness of the Japanese language and Japanese culture were maintained.

How would this orientation take shape in teaching practice? The Mombushō Committee provided this in ‘Teaching Matter and its Distribution’ (Table 6.1). From Table 6.1, several salient developments beyond the 1902 English guideline can be noted. Firstly, initial stress on pronunciation and penmanship was clearly reflected in the Mombushō Report. When compared with the earlier teaching matters in the 1902 English guideline (see Table 4.4, p.127), it is apparent that the stress was strengthened: These basics were extended into 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. Secondly, the courses of study were arranged according to ‘prescribed vocabulary’, instead of the Reader. This also suggested the thorough teaching of basic knowledge of English. Thirdly, inductive grammar teaching penetrated the whole course without separating its hour from other branches. Fourthly, the most

fundamental change can be seen in the reorganisation of teaching matter into a set of function-oriented terms: Listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Additionally, the four language functions were given a certain instructional sequence in teaching them. According to the teaching suggestion for 1<sup>st</sup> grade, oral exercises, reading, and writing were to be in this order and connected with one another when the essentials of pronunciation and spelling were mastered — all the other grades were to follow the same method (Mombushō, 1909, pp.355-357). The Mombushō Report attempted to establish a moderate form of ‘speech primacy’ by interconnecting the four modes of language function in a way that proceeded from ‘listening’ to ‘speaking’ to ‘reading’ and to ‘writing’. Overall, the Mombushō Report reflected a strong emphasis on the mastery of English basics and a practical and applied orientation, as ‘a. General’ in ‘Remarks on Teaching’ instructed. On the other hand, the awareness-raising of Japanese culture was not quite apparent in ‘Teaching Matters and Distribution’, as the Reader was no longer the standard of progress.

Table 6.1: Teaching matter and distribution (The Mombushō Report)

1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>
Pronunciation Spelling				
Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing <b>One-fifth of the vocabulary</b>	Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing <b>Additional one-fifth</b>	Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing <b>Additional one-fifth</b>	Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing <b>Additional one-fifth</b>	Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing <b>Additional one-fifth</b>
Penmanship	Penmanship			
*Grammatical explanations when necessary	*Grammatical explanations when necessary	*Grammar (textbook only for reference)	*Grammar (textbook only for reference)	*Grammar (textbook only for reference)
6 hours per week	6 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week

Source: This table is created from Mombushō, 1909, pp.355-357.

The Mombushō Report gave practical suggestions on how this orientation could be

practiced in detail in ‘b. Special’ (see Appendix 6.1, pp.356-357). Let us first look at the attempt at how one language function could be linked with another in practice, based on the principle ‘from speech to text’. The suggestions were crucial statements for Japanese teachers, given the fact that the integration of ‘speech primacy’ in English teaching was the first challenge, and they were the least likely to conceive of how speech and text would be connected in practice.

For the new treatment of spoken English, the former ‘conversation’ was changed into ‘listening’ and ‘speaking’ (‘oral exercises’) and they were repositioned before ‘reading’, unlike the 1902 English guideline, where ‘reading-aloud’ preceded ‘translation’ (‘reading’) for pupils to accustom themselves to English sounds, by imitating a teacher’s oral reading, and ‘conversation’ was linked to ‘composition’. For the linkage between ‘listening’ and ‘speaking’, given its apparently reciprocal nature and simultaneity, then ‘(ii) Oral Exercises’ suggested that ‘a clear understanding of what pupils hear comes before speaking’ (Item One), and ‘the Reader, pictures, and objects’ were recommended as topic providers (Item Two).

Given this, then how could ‘oral exercises’ be linked to ‘reading’ in the Mombushō Report? According to ‘(iii) Reading’, ‘exercises in speaking should precede reading’, and ‘exercises in speaking were to be conducted based on textbooks but with them closed’ (Item Two). Pupils were expected to understand the Reader through oral work before reading texts (thus, ‘from speech to text’), resulting in reduced emphasis on ‘translation’ as ‘only one of the ways of explaining the meaning’ (Item Four). Reading without using Japanese translation was also stressed by suggesting repetitious reading practice (Item Six). The new relationship between spoken English and reading changed the role of ‘reading-aloud’ (Item One), while shaving off an introductory role to ‘translation’ by listening to and imitating the teacher’s model reading-aloud, which the 1902 English guideline stipulated. In the Mombushō Report, ‘oral exercises’ were aimed at providing an opportunity for independent aural-oral activities, which would not rely on mimicry or repetitious practice.

Let us now look at how speech would be connected with ‘Writing’. Here too, it was

suggested that ‘Composition should be closely connected with oral exercises and spelling’ (Item Two, (v) Composition). Nine ‘composition’ activities were exemplified. Among them, the first two sample activities showed the connection, in which ‘dictation’ was a key example. Otherwise, the third and fifth activities could be regarded more as grammatical exercises, and the fourth and sixth would be more connected with text and Japanese. Original composition could be demonstrated by the seventh, eighth, and ninth, but the connection with oral English was not articulated explicitly, while these three activities could be combined with prior oral exercises.

For the other attempt at the awareness-raising of the Japanese language, translation into Japanese was no longer an independent branch. However, this did not declare that the use of Japanese would do harm. It was still taken for granted and, in fact, the correct use of Japanese was suggested in the form of comparative translation (Item Four, (iii) Reading). Attention to its correct use was also mentioned in the teaching of English pronunciation, by stating that ‘[Japanese] dialectal peculiarities which hamper the English work should be carefully corrected’ (Item Seven, (i) Pronunciation and spelling). Thus, the use of phonetic diagrams, observations of positions of teeth, tongue, and lips were encouraged. For Japanese culture, no particular mention was made as to what should be taught in the textbook. Instead, it was suggested that in translation the Japanese reading should exactly correspond to the English original, and that English sentences should be analysed and all new grammatical constructions should be explained. In the Mombushō Report, particular attention was paid to the comparative study of sound, translation, and grammar between the two languages, unlike Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School’s English syllabus, which will be examined later in this chapter.

### **The Nature of the Mombushō Report and German Practice**

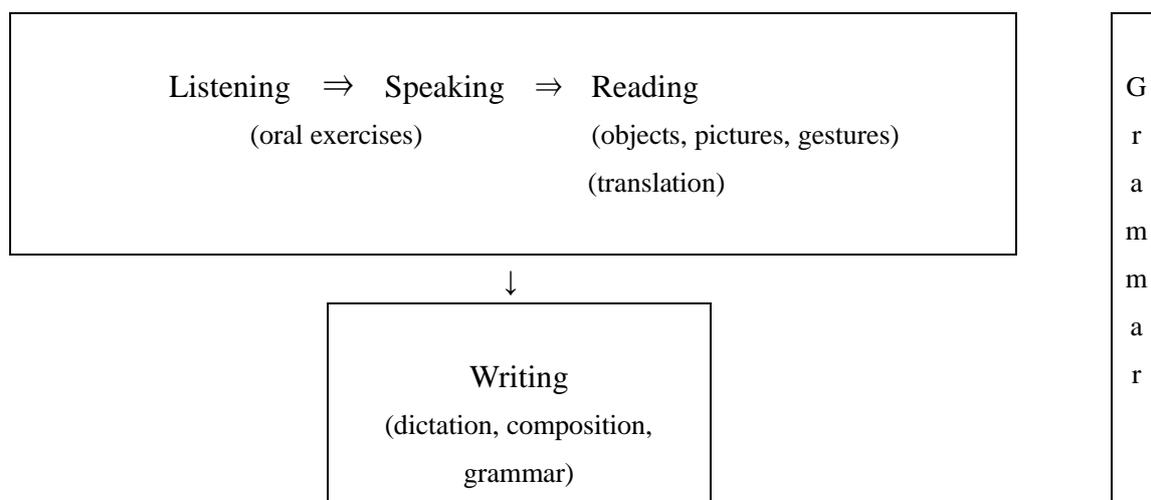
Based on the above analysis, Figure 6.1, below, attempts to represent how a pattern of English teaching directed by the Mombushō Report would look in practice.

Firstly, it attempts to show that the Mombushō Report explicitly introduced ‘speech

primacy' and attempted to structure the 1902 English guideline and English teaching practice in this direction. The most fundamental change was the establishment of 'listening-speaking' activities before 'Reading' and their integration to 'Reading'. Objects and pictures were to play a new role of topic providers for 'oral exercises' rather than simply other ways of explaining the meaning. In this relation, 'translation' was no longer an independent branch. Secondly, it shows that the idea of inductive grammar teaching was thoroughly strengthened, as the vertical box on the right side indicates. No independent hour was envisioned in the teaching matters and distribution among five years. Thirdly, the teaching of 'Writing' was emphasised in ways that it connected not only with spoken English but also with the teaching of grammar, Japanese, and text (thus, 'Reading'). The figure indicates this extended connection, by 'Writing' being put outside. Greater stress was put on writing ability in the Mombushō Report. It also shows that 'Grammar' was to be treated not only inductively, in conjunction with other branches, but as part of 'Writing' activities as well.

It is suggested that two major types of practical English abilities — functional reading ability based on 'speech primacy' and writing ability — were aimed at in practice. Additionally, these aims were to be achieved through comparative processes of sound, translation, and grammar between English and Japanese.

Figure 6.1: Pattern of English teaching in The Mombushō Report



This examination of the Mombushō Report has revealed that the 1902 English guideline, which reflected Naibu Kanda's imitation and habit formation view of language development, had been impacted powerfully by the principle of 'speech primacy'. I would conclude that the Mombushō Report was founded on the distinctive features of German Practice. The set of nine general remarks clearly reveal this transfer when they are compared with the 10 general features Brebner observed (see Chapter 3, pp.100-101) and Okakura's five principles, which in his 'personal view' was derived from German practice (see Chapter 2, p.55). Correct pronunciation, conversation, inductive grammar, Western culture, *Realien*, and the Reader-centred instruction were all incorporated. Compared to the German lesson samples we saw earlier, 'speech primacy' in the Mombushō Report was achieved only to an extent; it was more speech as a starting point, which only captured part of the idea of primacy, and was speech as precursive rather than 'prime' as in primacy. The functional orientation in reading and writing still had elements of the Grammar-Translation method in practice. In all these respects, however, the Mombushō Report was transformed further by German practice. It is also the case that the Meiji authorities' pursuit of a national standard of English teaching took a further step, away from Japanese traditional language teaching styles and towards the Western 'reformed' method.

### **Minister of Education Nobuaki Makino's Middle School Policy**

#### **Pupils' Private-study and Teachers' Systematic Teaching**

Finally, it should be noted that the Mombushō Report added chapters which prescribed a methodology for practice from two directions: (1) encouraging pupils' independent study; and (2) teachers' systematic teaching through an in-school study system (see p.155). '4) Remarks on Students' Private-Study' instructed reviewing and home preparation, including the use of an English-English dictionary. In '5) Teachers and Class Management', the principle of 'One class, one teacher' and the new role of foreign teachers to teach flexibly and beyond the conventional pronunciation and conversation were instructed. For in-school study groups, a lesson study was suggested that involved frequent consultations with one another and with a responsible teacher

who was to ‘superintend the department’ and to ‘visit his colleagues in their class-rooms’ and afterwards criticise them, suggesting improvements where necessary’ (Mombushō, 1909, p.357). As will be seen in chapter nine, an in-school study group model of pupil control increasingly spread in middle schools in the Meiji 40s. The purpose was to embed a national syllabus into the classroom, implying the ascendancy of the Minister of Education, Makino’s, nationalistic education policy.

### **Makino Nobuaki’s Thought Control**

After he took office, Makino possessed a consistent and strong conviction that the underachievement of middle school English was due to pupils’ lack of awareness that English was the requirement for all, after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905). Makino once stated, in his letter sent to a meeting of the English Teachers’ Association on 27<sup>th</sup> October 1906 (Meiji 39), that the importance of English study “may be said to be universal throughout Japan” and “it would be a national shame if such expectation were not fulfilled”, so “the pupils themselves should co-operate with their teachers in this work” (Makino, 1906, p.32). What did it mean for pupils to co-operate? He explained:

“I mean by co-operation that the pupils should show better disposition to learn, and be made to understand the importance of seriously acquiring English systematically. [...] If, indeed, the pupils can be made to appreciate the practical advantages which even partial mastery of English would afford them later in life, the work of the teachers would be much more facilitated” (p.32).

Makino acknowledged that the current methods were not perfect and needed to be improved, but, to him, imperfect methodology was of secondary importance:

“It would be a little bit harsh to attribute the poor achievements of English study to the teaching methods alone. What should be blamed on is the overall tendency of the whole nation in general and the disposition of young pupils in particular who do not appear to understand the urgent need of English at all. [...] Isn’t it because they aren’t properly aware that English is the demand of the times?” (Makino,

1907, p.285)

Thus, Makino consistently attacked the pupils' 'blindness' to the timeliness of English, but in terms of a more critical phenomenon. He saw the rise of individualistic Epicureanism in the youth (Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Jigyōkai Hen, 1955, p.633), resulting in the youth's view of monetary wealth as success, a disposition towards hedonistic enjoyment, scepticism and anguish about life, individualistic thought, and the loss of nationalistic sentiment, or even indifference to the nation (Oka, 1992, pp.220-228). Makino cautioned that all these were symptomatic of a crisis of national unity. Makino kept his eyes on *Kōtō Yūmin*, among other things, who "have settled in an unhealthy boarding house, go to an ill-equipped private school and have ended up with decadent thinking" (Komatsubara Eitarō-kun Denki Hensan Jikkō Inkaikai Hen, 1988, p.106), while failing entrance examinations. *Kōtō Yūmin* meant those unable to recognise the urgent need for foreign language teaching. As an education-obsessed politician, Makino targeted pulling youth back to the national order to achieve a new national policy after the war — 'expansion of the nation'.

Makino took on getting rid of decadent youth through two measures. One was to cultivate 'the disposition of feudal simplicity and honesty' amongst youth by taking advantage of the Imperial Rescript on Education for its potential functions of instilling moral discipline and nationalistic education. The other was to promote vocational training in secondary schools (Motoyama, 1998, pp.340-343). For moral discipline, Makino promulgated *Gakusei no Shisō, Fūki Torishimari ni kansuru Kunrei* (Order concerning Control of Students' Thoughts and Morals) on 9<sup>th</sup> June 1906 (Meiji 39), only three months after he took office. This was the first attempt at thought-control through education and appeared after the Russo-Japanese War (p.347). This was followed by the promulgation of *Boshin Shōsho* (The *Boshin* Imperial Rescript) on 13<sup>th</sup> October 1908 (Meiji 41), and *Sankyō Kaidō Keikaku*, an attempt at fusing education with religion — Christianity, Buddhism, and Shintō — for moral discipline (Meiji 45). The foundation of nationalistic *Seinen-dan* (youth groups) in local areas was also intended to put 'immoral and unproductive' young people back into the national order, to awaken the national identity amongst them, and to help them concentrate on economic productivity

(Oka, 1992, pp.247-249).

For the stress on vocational education, Makino attempted to accelerate local government plans to found more supplementary schools and apprentice schools for technical instruction. He also promoted the foundation of higher technical institutions. He successfully extended primary education from four to six years of schooling, with vocational subjects added (Motoyama, 1998, pp.349-350). Emphasis on vocational education in this period was a response to what was identified by the Kinmochi Saionji Cabinet as *Sekai-shugi*: internationalism in economic competition. Strengthening vocational education was, then, coupled with moral discipline and motivated by advancing Japan's imperialistic capitalism.

### **Makino's Practical English View**

The emphasis on vocational education at all levels of schooling meant that Makino sought English teaching of a strong, practical nature. He projected his English teaching reform in relation to Japan's international role:

“When I think of the future, the Japanese must make further efforts in fields of diplomacy, academic areas, culture, and trade, in order to make up for the loss suffered during the [Russo-Japanese] war, to advance up to the international standard, and finally, to demonstrate the unique character of the Japanese”  
(Makino, 1948, p.225).

According to Makino, the establishment of international relationships would begin with personal contacts, and this was why English study was necessary (p.225). He explained why practical English must be the aim:

“There is more than one reason why English has to be stressed in the first place. They include communications with foreign people in the new era, reading newspapers, magazines for our own cultural development, or business. Therefore, we all should familiarise ourselves with immediate practical English anyway”

(Makino, 1907, p.285).

He acknowledged that the aim could be multiple and, to Makino, the basis for this multiplicity was ‘immediate practical English’, unlike some English scholars who saw reading ability as prime. Makino’s ‘immediate practical English’ view was derived from his connection to the world as a politician.

Makino had his own reform plan for higher school English. He later confessed that “it is unrealistic to expect that all of the students can become experts in English”. Therefore, “hours should be reduced”, and “English should be taught in two different courses. [...] One is an ordinary course, and the other is a special course that prepares students to actually use it in the future” (Makino, 1948, p.227). For Makino, it was ‘the special course’ that should be taken more seriously. He expected its outcomes, as follows:

“There will be a smaller number of students in the special course. Their ability and potentials will be more or less high and equal, and consequently, better outcomes will be achieved. [...] This will make a greater difference than teaching all the students of different aptitudes in the same way, just as we have been doing until today” (p.227).

By producing language elites through ‘the special course’, Makino intended to meet the demands made by the national policy. As a result, ‘immediate practical English’, the common ground for middle school English, was directly linked to the elite ‘special course’.

From the examination of Makino’s English teaching policy, it can be concluded that Makino attempted to turn the 1902 English guideline into a strong practical and applied orientation, within a strong nationalistic education context. He did not stress reading ability as much as oral communication and writing ability. This meant that for Makino, the Mombushō Report did not necessarily aim at strong reading ability, although it was affected by German practice. Its emphasis on writing instruction reveals his intention. English teaching policy toward the Meiji’s national standard in 1911 (Meiji 44) was

directed by an imperialistic internationalism in economic competition, in which English of a strong practical and applied nature — oral abilities and writing skills, and less stress on reading ability — was pursued.

### **The English Syllabus for Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School**

One year after the Mombushō Report, on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1910 (Meiji 43), Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō (Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School) drew up the English syllabus (hereafter, PMS 1910 English syllabus) and distributed it to all secondary schools across Japan. Tokyo Higher Normal School was the centre of Japan's secondary teacher education, and Practice Middle School acted as a laboratory where new teaching methods were developed and field-tested. Educational information distributed by Practice Middle School played an authoritative role in prescribing English teaching policy and PMS 1910 English syllabus was received as such. Matsumura (1993) stated that in the Meiji 40s, graduates of Tokyo Higher Normal School began to apply Western methodology to practice in their own classrooms (p.55). The key person for teacher training was Yoshisaburō Okakura, chief professor of the English department (Sakuraba, 1978, p.108). Naturally, PMS 1910 English syllabus was an approximation of Okakura's view of English teaching. What was his intention in preparing this syllabus soon after the Mombushō Report? Did he simply want to renew the older version of the English syllabus based on the Mombushō Report to make it easier for local secondary schools to put into practice?

According to Tokyo Bunrika Daigaku (1931), English teaching reform in the Meiji 40s at Practice Middle School was illustrated as follows:

“Tokyo Higher Normal School attempted to improve the translation-centred method into ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ by adopting the spirit of Western new methods. Spoken English was emphasised in the first place. In beginning years, listening comprehension was stressed, where the material was presented orally; after that, speaking was practiced, and reading and then writing were introduced. *The National Readers* were consistently used, and relatively

easy side-readers were supplemented upon pupils' choice outside the classroom in 3<sup>rd</sup> year and beyond, so pupils would become ardent readers" (p.288).

In this description, it is easy to find some commonalities with the Mombushō Report. The adoption of 'Western spirit', 'speech primacy', and the concurrent integrative teaching are the major commonalities. However, it may also be easy to notice the difference: Reading ability was regarded as the final goal of instruction. The goal was named 'Direct Reading and Direct Understanding', and the use of supplementary readers was encouraged for pupils' spontaneous reading habit formation, in addition to the main textbook, *The National Readers*.

Table 6.2 and Table 6.3 show teaching matters and distribution of PMS English syllabus both in 1907 (Meiji 40) and 1910 (Meiji 43). I have included in the Appendices the table of contents for both syllabi to show how the 1910 syllabus had become elaborated (see Appendix 6.2 and 6.3, pp.357-358).

Table 6.2: Teaching matter and distribution (PMS 1907 English syllabus)

1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Reading (5)</b> Reading-aloud, Translation, Dictation, Conversation, Grammar, Composition	<b>Reading (6)</b> Reading-aloud, Translation, Dictation, Conversation, Grammar, Composition Penmanship	<b>Reading (5)</b> Reading-aloud, Translation, Dictation, Composition ( <i>Side-readers</i> )	<b>Reading (4)</b> Reading-aloud, Translation, Dictation, ( <i>Side-readers</i> )	<b>Reading (3)</b> Reading-aloud, Translation, Dictation, ( <i>Side-readers</i> )
<b>Penmanship (1)</b>				
		<b>Grammar (1)</b>	<b>Grammar (1)</b>	<b>Grammar (1)</b>
			<b>Composition (1)</b>	<b>Composition (1)</b>
		<b>Conversation (1)</b>	<b>Conversation (1)</b>	<b>Conversation (2)</b>
6 hours per week	6 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week

Sources: This composite table is created from Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1907, pp.2-3, 201-218.

Table 6.3: Teaching matter and distribution (PMS 1910 English syllabus)

1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Reading (5)</b> Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing Grammar	<b>Reading (5)</b> Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing Grammar	<b>Reading (5)</b> Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing ( <i>Side-readers</i> )	<b>Reading (4)</b> Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing ( <i>Side-readers</i> )	<b>Reading (4)</b> Listening, Speaking, Reading, Writing ( <i>Side-readers</i> )
<b>Penmanship (1)</b>	<b>Penmanship (1)</b>			
		<b>Grammar (1)</b>	<b>Grammar (1)</b>	<b>Grammar (1)</b>
			<b>Composition (1)</b>	<b>Composition (1)</b>
<b>Other (1)</b>	<b>Other (1)</b>	<b>Other (1)</b>	<b>Other (1)</b>	<b>Other (1)</b>
7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week

Sources: This composite table is created from Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1910, pp.238-273.

In comparison, it can be noted that the intake of ‘the spirit of Western new methods’ transformed the organisation of teaching matters. ‘Conversation’ was treated independently toward upper grades in the 1907 version, but it was incorporated into ‘Listening’ and ‘Speaking’ as part of ‘Reading’ in the revised 1910 syllabus. Additionally, while the treatment of speech tended to be in strong conjunction with ‘Reading’, it appeared to have less connection with writing, which resulted in a relatively independent treatment of writing. The use of side-readers featured in both syllabi. They were introduced in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, which suggested that the stress on reading instruction was strengthened as early as this.

PMS 1910 English syllabus is analysed below, with a particular attention to the new developments which were not apparent in the Mombushō Report. This way, the intentions of PMS 1910 English syllabus will be made clear. The new developments of PMS 1910 English syllabus can be divided into supplementary explanations for the Mombushō Report and its original developments. Let us first examine the former.

## Reorganisation into a Functional Framework

The Mombushō Report did not give an explanation for its reorganisation into ‘listening’, ‘speaking’, ‘reading’, and ‘writing’. PMS 1910 English syllabus pointed out ‘three demerits’ of the conventional branches. That is, there were other ways of explaining meaning besides ‘translation’, engaging in oral exercises except for ‘conversation’, and practicing writing except for ‘(original) composition’ (Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1910, p.225). Practice Middle School first identified a distinction in language modes between ‘speech’ and ‘text’. Additionally, they distinguished the language function of ‘understanding’ and ‘expression’ for each mode (p.225). The transformation into the four modes of language function was thus deduced. This was an attempt to change from the conventional ‘task’ language to ‘function’ language. PMS attempted to explain this transformation of the conventional branches into a functional framework. Table 6.4 shows this explanation.

Table 6.4: Reorganisation into a functional framework

Conventional task framework	Function-oriented
Conversation, Dictation	Listening
Reading-aloud, Conversation	Speaking
Translation	Reading
Dictation, Composition, Penmanship	Writing
Grammar	Pronunciation, Spelling, Grammar

This transformation attached relative importance to conventional tasks. ‘Pronunciation’, ‘Spelling’, and ‘Grammar’ were regarded as encompassing ‘Listening’, ‘Speaking’, ‘Reading’, and ‘Writing’ throughout the learning process (p.226).

## Inductive Grammar as Mental Discipline

One of the original developments of PMS 1910 English syllabus was that it looked at inductive grammar teaching as mental discipline (*Shinteki-tōya*) in English teaching. For PMS, inductive grammar enabled pupils to acquire ‘generalisation, reduction, and so on’ (p.225). They explained that the acquisition of generalisation and reduction might

not be the primary goal, but the side effect, which could be acquired in the process of achieving the practical abilities like reading, composition, and conversation. However, it should not simply be expected that it would somehow happen naturally. In fact, without the teaching of grammar, even practical abilities would not be achieved, nor would any accuracy in knowledge be reached (pp.224-225).

Naturally, PMS 1910 English syllabus strictly warned against rote learning and the memorisation of grammatical rules detached from language facts (p.237). Grammar and language — principle and fact — must be treated in an inseparable fashion, since “the aim of teaching grammar at middle schools is not to educate linguists but to help pupils read and write accurately” (p.236). A practical sample of how this would work was concerning the rules on plural forms of countable nouns. The induction of more general rules of adding ‘s’ to countable nouns should be encouraged by showing examples, and less general rules of adding ‘es’ to certain types of countable nouns must not be preceded by more general rules (p.237). In fact, a thorough application of such logical thinking should penetrate the teaching of regularities between pronunciation and spelling, and accents and syllabication, as well. It should start from words of a single syllable, to those with double syllables, and then to those with multi-syllables (Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzokoku Chūgakkō, 1907, pp.197-198). Thus, inductive rule learning was consistently explained toward the primary aim as mental discipline.

### Independent Hours for Upper Grammar Teaching

PMS’s awareness of mental discipline’s role of inductive grammar teaching stressed conscious learning styles more than the Mombushō Report, which did not consider separating hours for grammar teaching. In PMS 1910 English syllabus, grammar was to be taught in conjunction with ‘Reading’ and ‘Writing’ in a less conscious and more supplementary way in the beginning years. However, in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond, as pupils were exposed to more and more English, it was to be consciously taught using a grammar textbook to synthesise what was taught in lower grades. PMS illustrated this process: “in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> years, grammar is to be introduced through dialogues, examples, or in comparison with Japanese grammar as appropriate materials come up ... while

avoiding the use of theoretical explanations or grammatical terminology” (pp.236-237). But, “In 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, teaching should start from sentence patterns and move onto parts of speech. [...] This process is to be repeated again in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades in a spiral manner” (p.236).

### **Reading Ability as the Goal of Middle School English**

The most salient difference was its heavy focus on reading as the ultimate goal of middle school English, whereas the Mombushō Report believed oral abilities and writing to be more important. PMS acknowledged that the rationale of the 1902 Regulation did not specifically focus on reading ability. While pointing out its ‘ambiguity’, they set their own independently. The explanations were as follows:

“When looking at the present situation, English is used by the majority of middle school graduates for reading books, newspaper, magazines and the like, whereas the opportunity for listening, speaking, and writing is rare; therefore, the cultivation of reading ability should be the main aim, and the other language abilities should be positioned as the means to achieve it” (p.223).

According to PMS, the standard achievement for reading ability was set according to pupils of ‘an average’ academic ability (p.223). Considering that Makino was looking for the elite practical English, PMS was pursuing English teaching as the common ground for all middle school pupils.

#### ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ and ‘Speech Primacy’

Chief professor Okakura insisted on a particular type of reading ability called ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’. PMS 1910 English syllabus explained that “If reading ability were considered as if to read Chinese classics apart from spoken Chinese, then listening and speaking would have no substantial connection with reading” (p.224). The type of reading ability to be aimed at was “that of reading in which meaning can be directly reached” (Okakura, 1906, p.8) and “one which native speakers of English could

normally learn to do” (p.25). According to PMS, when English was learnt, it had to be learnt as a living language, and ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ was a term synonymous with a native-like proficiency in reading.

This native-like reading ability presupposed that “the ability to understand spoken English must first be cultivated as the basis for the power to understand written English” (Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1910 p.224). This presupposition in turn gave a structure to teaching reading. That was, “Listening ability must be the major aim in initial years; the teaching material is to be used for listening ability, then for speaking, next for reading, and finally, for writing” (p.224). The sequence in teaching the four aspects of language function was thus deduced, and an integrative pattern of teaching was structured. The sequence in which spoken English preceded reading was mentioned in the Mombushō Report in the broader sense that speech was the base for written language (reading and writing). But, in PMS 1910 English syllabus, speech was primarily the base for reading of this particular type, which suggested that spoken English was not as directly connected to writing as to reading.

#### Integrating ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ with *The National Readers* and *Side-readers*.

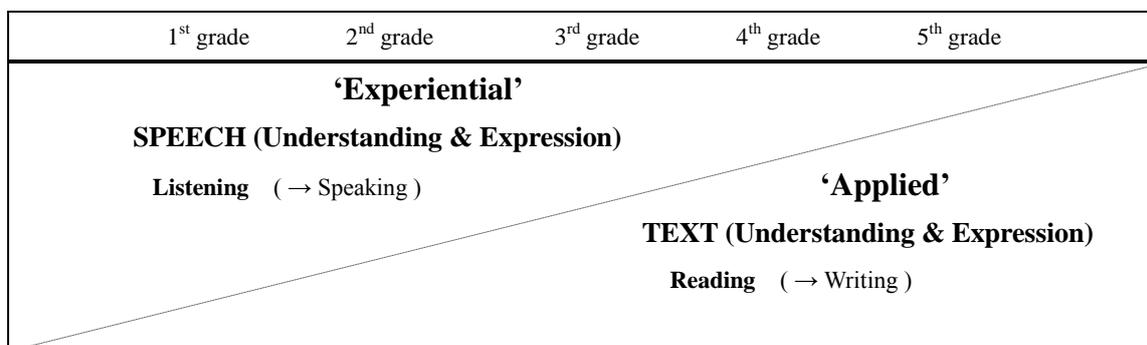
Reading-focused instruction of PMS 1910 English syllabus was formulated in great detail. The main textbooks for ‘Reading’ were American imported textbooks *The National Readers* (five volumes). Side-readers were also adopted. In the Appendices, a list of textbooks and their distribution is included (see Appendix 6.4, pp.359-360). ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ directed and restricted the use of *The National Readers*, the need of supplementary side-readers, and the selective use of these two.

PMS 1910 English syllabus illustrated the ideal use of *The National Readers* in beginning years: “*The First* and *Second National Readers* should be used thoroughly for listening activities in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> years, and only after this is done, should practice in

speaking, reading, and writing be followed” (p.227). However, it was advised that *The First and Second National Readers* contained too complex linguistic forms and expressions for speaking practice and even for listening training, so such complex forms should be left out in practice or be used for reading materials (p.227). Why did PMS not choose some easier textbooks? The reason was that “there are some textbooks available which control language forms for smooth speaking practice, but they in turn tend to be too easy for reading materials, which can often cause boredom among pupils” (p.227). PMS gave priority more to the naturalness and authenticity of reading matters than to controlling linguistic forms.

How about advanced grades? It explained, “As more literary language appeared in *The Fourth and Fifth Readers*, they should be used more for reading and less for listening activities” (p.230). Thus, the distinctive uses were made of *The National Readers* between initial and advanced years to attain ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’. Figure 6.2 is originally created to conceptualise the above discussion on how the uses of *The National Readers* were gradually altered.

Figure 6.2: *The National Readers* and different focuses of teaching



Source: This figure is created based on Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1910, pp.226-232.

Thus, *The National Readers* provided less opportunity for spoken input toward upper grades. ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ would need constant exposure to spoken input, however. Less chance for it in later grades must then be made up for, and this was where side-readers would come into play. Side-readers, simpler in language

form and more familiar in content, were regarded as relatively suited for oral exercises. Hence, they were to make up for *The Fourth* and *Fifth National Readers*, which contained too difficult language input for the purpose of practicing immediate, oral understanding and production (p.224). Also, it was expected that side-readers would familiarise pupils with everyday, normal written English and motivate them to be willing readers, as well (p.229). According to Tables 6.2 and 6.3, side-readers were to be used in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond in practice. *The National Readers* were to become the ‘reading’ material in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and strengthened the tendency to disconnect reading from oral exercises. Instead, side-readers were to be used in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond.

Initial focus on spoken English and a gradual shift to reading-focused instruction matched the structural features of *The National Readers*. They involved the features of ‘modern’ pedagogy, such as the transition from conversational to descriptive styles of language, inductive language knowledge acquisition, and the object lesson.

*The National Readers* (hereafter *NR*) were carefully structured on the ‘modern’ view of language teaching. They were characterised by ‘speech primacy’, inductive grammar teaching, and object teaching. The first character of *NR* can be found in the selective use of different language styles — the transition from ‘conversational’ to ‘descriptive’ styles. In *The First Reader*, “the lessons should be largely “conversational in style,” to cultivate flexibility of voice and to break up the dreary monotone so frequently heard among children” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.3). The same principle was followed by *The Second Reader*, and *The Third Reader* still maintained “the conversational character of a large portion of the reading matter, which serves to cultivate an easy and natural style of reading” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.4). However, when it came to *The Fourth Reader*, “the reading matter of the book is more of a descriptive than conversational style” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992b, p.5). Thus, *NR*’s initial focus on colloquial English and sound acquisition was gradually transitioned toward the teaching of literary language.

The emphasis on spoken language continued throughout all the books in the form of teaching clear pronunciation. In *The First Reader*, “thorough and systematic drill in

spelling is absolutely necessary. [...] The pronunciation of the words ... should be indicated by the diacritical marks of Webster ...” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.3), so that “pronunciation and corresponding spelling can easily be learnt simultaneously, and that the relationships between them can also be understood” (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.59). In *The Second Reader*, ““Vowel Exercises” have been prefixed to some of the earlier lessons” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.iii), where the vowel of words with the same pronunciation is to be practiced (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.43), as in [o = u / come, some, does, gun] for a review. Further emphasis on the teaching of pronunciation was attempted in such a way that words with more than three syllables were not included until *The Third Reader* (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.42). In this way, thorough practice for accurate pronunciation was stressed in middle years as well, as *The Third Reader* also suggested that the teacher should “never be satisfied with anything short of a clear, distinctive articulation” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.9).

Ultimately, practice in spoken language was connected to the teaching of elocution in *The Fifth Reader*. Extensive suggestions for elocution teaching were given under the headings, ‘Pronunciation’, ‘Articulation’, ‘Expression’, ‘Tone of Voice’, ‘Rate or Movement’, ‘Pitch’, ‘Transition’, ‘Emphasis’, ‘Pause’, ‘Inflection’, ‘Modulation’, ‘The Monotone’, and ‘Reading Poetry’ (Takanashi & Deki, 1992c, pp.15-31). Thus, the continuous focus on spoken language throughout the entire volumes was maintained, while the selective use of a conversational and descriptive style of language was intentionally made in accordance with pupils’ progress.

The second feature concerned inductive grammar teaching. *NR* were made for the use of native English speaking pupils, and they were not controlled in the selection or the grading of grammatical items. Therefore, priority was given to the authenticity and richness of the reading contents (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, pp.43, 47-61). Let us note that the number of lessons (and pages) contained in each Reader was 64 lessons (96 pages) in *The First Reader*, 56 lessons (176 pages) in *The Second Reader*, 59 lessons (240 pages) in *The Third Reader*, 77 lessons (384 pages) in *The Fourth Reader*, and 100 lessons (480 pages) in *The Fifth Reader*.

The uncontrolled nature of grammar meant that it was not treated in an overtly explicit manner. The conscious treatment of grammar only began in *The Second Reader*, and the major opportunity to call pupils' attention to word forms was 'Language Lessons' at the end of each lesson. In 'Language Lessons', pupils were to answer some questions about what they read in the lesson and were led to focus on grammatical points, so that the teacher was to "secure intelligent observation and lead the pupil to habits of thought and reflection" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992b, p.6). The principle involved was that "example and practice are better than precept and rule" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.10). Practically, language forms were to be taught in such a way "to lead the pupil, step by step, through the intricate changes of English word forms, without attempting to teach him the technical terms of grammar" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.5). This structure was likely to support Practice Middle School's emphasis on inductive grammar teaching.

Thirdly, *NR* were based on object teaching. In practice, *NR* adopted 'the Word Method'. According to *The First Reader*, "The Word Method is the most natural and practicable, because words are representatives of objects, action, etc., while letter or sounds, in the abstract, convey no meaning to the pupil, and devoid of interest" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, p.3). Specifically, pictures of objects and actions were inserted in the form of elaborate illustration in some lessons. The Word Method is a method of teaching reading in which words are first taken as single ideograms and later analysed into their phonetic and alphabetic elements. The authors of *NR* believed that "the school book of to-day must be beautifully and copiously illustrated [...] there must be variety as well as excellence, both in drawing and engraving" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The First Reader*, p.4), and that these should be "the productions of some of the best American artists and engravers — the finest and most artistic ever used in a schoolbook" (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.4). For example, in Lesson Seven in *The First Reader*, 'Object Exercise' appeared, in which a couple of written words in a sentence were replaced by small objects (illustrations), so that the pupil was encouraged to construct a concept directly from the objects and to associate that concept with the word which represented it (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The First Reader*, p.13).

In *The Third Reader* and beyond, the development of higher psychological processes was aimed for. In ‘The Language Lessons’, “the perceptive faculties of pupils are to be developed to stimulate investigation as the prelude to all accurate knowledge, oral expression is to be cultivated by giving the result of such investigation, the habit of giving written, as well as oral, expression to thought, and complete and connected statements are to be secured” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.5). For these purposes, pictures were also utilised from the perspective of composition teaching. “Procure simple pictures ... for pupils to examine and write stories about. [...] This stimulates them to draw on their imagination in giving reasons for what they see” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.11). In fact, with or without pictures and illustrations, the principle of object teaching — ‘from the simple to the complex’ — was consistently applied. Teaching was to proceed from “making analyses on a simple subject, asking questions while securing answers from pupils, uniting these answers and combining them into paragraphs, arranging them in logical order” (Takanashi & Deki, *The Third Reader*, 1992a, p.11).

Lastly, the principle of object teaching could also be observed in the control on the introduction of new words in each lesson. In *The First Reader*, “the lessons of a book of this grade should not average more than seven “new words” [...] this method secures careful gradation, and is in marked contrast with the old custom of having from fifteen to twenty-five” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The First Reader* , p.3). In *The Third Reader*, “the careful gradation [is] secured by introducing only an average of fourteen “new words” in each lesson” (Takanashi & Deki, 1992a, *The Third Reader*, p.4). By reducing the number of new words to be introduced at a time per lesson, the accessibility of pupils to understand the books was taken into consideration.

According to Kato (1948, pp.55-72), language textbooks used in the United States in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century were based on modern educational thought, and their foremost distinctive feature was that spoken language was taken more seriously than written language. He pointed out four major trends. The first trend was humanism, in which judgement and thinking power were to be cultivated through language education. The second concerned realism, in which an applied study was connected to the study of

language. The third consisted in its nature of social reformation, in which reading matters were rich in social topics, and the fourth trend was characterised by the nature of a child-centred approach to language education, in which textbooks were compiled to encourage children to study privately and independently. Kato summarised that these trends had inherited the tradition of neo-humanism which was advocated by Ratke, Comenius, and Pestalozzi.

### **Western Civilisation as a Mirror of Japanese Imperialism**

The Minister of Education Makino's intention of English teaching reform was contextualised by his nationalistic vocational education thought. We will identify an educational thought embedded in the English teaching formulated by Practice Middle School, below. An examination of *The National Readers* can provide a clue to answering this question. The National Reader that was adopted by Japan's secondary schools was its revised version *The New National Readers* (hereafter *NNR*), written by the American author Charles J. Barnes, published by A. S. Barnes & Co. in 1883 (*First and Second Readers*) and in 1884 (*Third, Fourth and Fifth Readers*). They were originally made for primary school use in the United States of America, and yet, they were among the most widely adopted English textbooks in middle schools throughout the Meiji Period (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p.56; Takanashi & Deki, 1994, p.61). *NNR* were gradually replaced after Meiji 30s toward 40s with textbooks by Japanese authors (Erikawa & Ozasa, 2004, pp.3, 6-7), but PMS continued to use the former textbooks. In fact, PMS first adopted them in the Meiji 20s, and they continued with them until they finally compiled their own textbooks in 1915 (Taishō 4) (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.58).

It is said that *NNR* expressed American nationalism by linking these structural features with their reading matters. In *The First* and *The Second Readers*, where the conversational style is dominant, the rural and domestic life of the United States occupies most of the reading matters. The basic picture is, as it were, that of a primitive life of the frontier America. In beginning Readers, the conversational style is intertwined with American rural life, with an immediate focus on 'here and now' with

the help of sophisticated illustrations. In *The Third* and *The Fourth Readers*, language style changes from a conversational to descriptive style, with the help of fewer illustrations. Simultaneously, the rural life of American people is replaced by scientific themes such as explanations and objective observations of animal life (Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.52, p.56), and history and geography (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p.65; Takanashi & Deki, 1994, p.66). Further, new themes, which expand students' horizons of thought into the life of foreign countries, appear (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p.65; Takanashi & Deki, 1994, p.64). Upper Readers are characterised by scientific, abstract themes about the natural world and by the geographical expansion and remoteness. In *The Fifth Reader*, literary themes of prose and verse are increasingly included (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p.66; Ozasa & Nakamura, 2001, p.61; Takanashi & Deki, 1994, p.68). Works include Shakespeare, Dickens, Scott, and Irving. They "are for the adults, and *The Fifth Reader* looks as if it were an anthology of British and American literature" (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p.65). In it, expansion toward the distant past is realised. Hence, language style inseparably interacts with the transition of the themes from 'here and now' of the American rural and domestic life to scientific, remote themes and then to literary subjects.

There is a way of looking at this thematic structure as representing American nationalism. For example, Fukuhara (1969) pointed out 'the frontier spirit' embedded in *NNR*, referring to *The First* and *The Second Readers*. He stated that "the frontier spirit meant Christianity ethically and the life of the country of the United States of America geographically" (pp.257-258). The life of a boy and a girl "unfolds all outdoors or outside, and everyone is running and moving" (p.259), and through the life of such countryside, the knowledge of nature — an observation of animal behaviour — and moral lessons — piety, maternal love, honesty, diligence — are taught (p.261). Fukuhara concluded that "the enthusiasm of that spirit is probably embedded in the book title "National"" (p.263).

Ikeda (1968) mentioned why *NNR* was accepted by the Japanese authorities at that time. He judged that they "intend to raise the national sentiment and to rouse patriotism among American people, and that the Japanese accepted them without much resistance

or even welcomed them, since it was the era when Japanese nationalism was uplifted” (p.368).

Shimoda (2006) made a similar observation and explained it in greater detail. Comparing the contents of *NR* with *NNR*, she identified two sets of commonalities. One was that both saw middle-class men and women as the model image of the entire American society and the other was that both adopted Noah Webster English. According to Shimoda, the former was intended to penetrate “the ideal quality of the American middle-class, where equal opportunity and American freedom were to be guaranteed” (p.5). The latter was intended to modify British English into a type of English which would be more accessible to every American, with the style of Benjamin Franklin’s English as the model and also to claim that an independent grammar of American English should be established and popularised (p.5). Shimoda claimed that *NR* represented American freedom and equality as American identity.

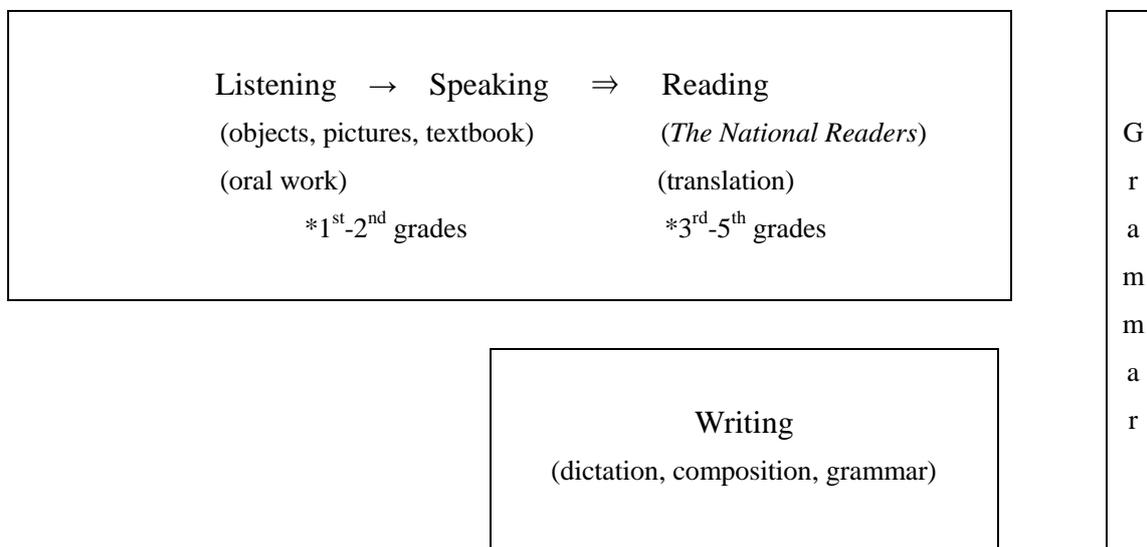
More importantly, Shimoda found two changes between *NR* and *NNR*. One was that while *NR* stressed religious virtues, *NNR* turned to the emphasis on natural science. The other was that whereas *NR* viewed the middle-class as the source of power for American national expansion, *NNR* saw American Anglo-Saxonism as its source in contrast with Native Americans (pp.15-16). Shimoda claimed that *NNR* had turned out to assume the American appreciation of civilisation — the development of natural science — and Anglo-Saxonism, which could lead American population to believe that Native Americans were an inferior people and at the same time that men rather than women in the middle-class were more important as the agent to play a leading role in promoting civilisation (p.14).

Finally, Shimoda connected American civilisation and Anglo-Saxonism to the fact that the Japanese continued to use *NNR* in middle schools. One was because science, rather than Christian virtues, was welcomed by them at that time. The second reason was due to Japanese imperialism. That is, Japan projected the vertical relationship between herself and other Asian countries onto that of the Anglo-Saxon Americans against Native Americans. This way, Japan tactically identified herself as a leader of world

history who advanced side by side with the civilised nations in the West (p.15). According to Shimoda, *NNR* played a role in bolstering and justifying Japanese imperialism in the youth's minds. PMS's emphasis on reading ability substantively meant nationalistic education using *NNR*.

Figure 6.3 attempts to show a pattern of teaching directed by PMS 1910 English syllabus. It had strengthened 'speech primacy' and redirected the Mombushō Report toward a strong reading-focused English teaching. The emphasis on the connection of speech with 'Direct Reading and Direct Understanding' was particularly strong up to 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. Speech's tighter connection with 'Reading' had in turn weakened its connection to 'Writing'. Note that 'Writing' is put independently from the 'Reading' framework. It had also generated a tendency to treat inductive grammar as an independent subject of study, making it less than inductive. PMS 1910 English syllabus was distributed to local middle schools.

Figure 6.3: Pattern of English teaching in PMS 1910 English syllabus



It was identified that, by the Meiji 40s, the perceived underachievement in terms of changing national goals (i.e. intensified inter-imperialist struggle) of middle school education had become a national issue in the eyes of education leaders. The investigation into secondary education attributed its deficiency to pupils' strong

tendencies of rote-learning and their lack of scientific thinking, such as comparison, induction, application, and inaccurate common knowledge. It is most likely that English teaching reform in middle school was attempted under the awareness of promoting pupils' cognitive abilities and the creation of a pool of foreign language experts for technocratic posts.

That is, both the Mombushō Report and PMS 1910 English syllabus were attempts to turn the 1902 English guideline into a more 'natural' orientation. A stronger penetration of 'speech primacy' was introduced in connection to the acquisition of written English. Inductive grammar teaching was also emphasised to penetrate the whole course of instruction. This also revealed that after the 1902 English guideline, a drastic introduction of a German version of the so-called Natural Method was pursued at a policy-making level.

However, in this policy-making process, conflicts between two plans became apparent. Makino intended to stress practical, applied utilities of English, such as oral proficiency and writing skills, but PMS emphasised reading (Direct Reading and Direct Understanding) rather than the others, and inductive grammar teaching was understood as a mental discipline besides serving a functional knowledge acquisition. 'Speech primacy' took on different meanings between them. They both shared nationalistic education values for English teaching practice, driven by imperialist competition, and claimed for moral, intellectual, psychologistic, and naturalistic education to justify them. However, technocratic language experts were demanded, on the one hand, by some modernists, and nationalistic character-forming was emphasised by other traditionalists, on the other. Thus, the conflicting views of the aims of English teaching between technocratic application and character-forming remained as an issue for the making of the Meiji's national standard in the following year — 1911 (Meiji 44).

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### NATURE OF THE MEIJI NATIONAL STANDARD (1911)

English teaching reform after the 1902 English guideline drastically turned to German practice and its theoretical justifications and attempted to restructure it based on ‘speech primacy’. The Makino reform and Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School embodied this in their own ways. The reform activities were also directed by the apparent promotion of middle school pupils’ general cognitive abilities. This chapter focuses on a Meiji’s final national standard of English teaching reform, with a special attention to what national standard resulted from Makino’s technical and applied and PMS’s slightly liberal view of English teaching.

#### The Structure of the 1911 Education Reform

According to Taniguchi (1988), middle school reform in 1911 (Meiji 44) was motivated by a reaction against the academic-led reformation in 1902 (Meiji 35) (p.138). Dairoku Kikuchi based his reform direction on ‘higher liberal education’, while attacking Masatarō Sawayanagi’s vocation-oriented view of middle school. What resulted in middle school classrooms was the memorisation of knowledge, which was disconnected from an applied focus. This was why the middle school reform in 1911 was led by education inspectors, rather than academics (p.138), and was framed by a vocation-driven direction to make school knowledge immediate and useful to daily life and vocational situations. In the background was the post-war national policy of internationalism, which was examined in the previous chapter.

In revising the earlier Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation, the Ministry of Education issued a ministerial order *Chūgakkōrei Sekō Kisoku Kaisei no Yōshi narabini Jisshijō no Chūi Yōkō* (aim of the revision of Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation and practical remarks) to implement the revision. Under the revised regulation, the aim of middle school education was to provide middle school boys with ‘higher liberal education’ to produce leaders of the middle class (Mombushō, 1940,

p.217). This inherited the earlier 1902 Regulation. However, the revision was based on the following emphases added by the education bureaucrats. First, the new era required middle school boys to strengthen the character appropriate for the leaders of the middle class and above. Second, middle school boys needed an ‘ordinary’ level of knowledge that was useful for ‘practical’ situations, such as applied in technocratic, bureaucratic, and business dealings. Third, the development of a sturdy and healthy body of middle school boys should be promoted (p.217).

A measure taken for the first emphasis was to make boarding residence mandatory for middle schools. Boarding residence was traditionally regarded as a place for disciplining pupils by emphasising collectivism, rather than for autonomous training. In the revised regulation, the discipline role was emphasised: “Students should be enabled to live a disciplined life and to learn to observe rules; thus, morals will be made solemn and a school tradition will also be made good-natured” (pp.217-218). The earlier rule for boarding residence, revised in 1904 (Meiji 37), instructed that “a middle school should be equipped with a student residence when necessary” (article 25) (Mombushō, 1938c, p.271), but to strengthen the discipline role, the revised rule dictated that “it is required that a middle school be equipped with [...] a student residence, unless there are any reasons beyond their control, in which case, the approval of the Minister of Education must be made” (article 25) (Mombushō, 1939, p.150).

For strengthening practical teaching, the revised regulation added ‘Vocational training’ (*Jitsugyō*) to the former curriculum. The addition of ‘Vocational training’ was justified as follows: “middle school is not a place for preparatory education, and [...] it is urgent that students acquire basic vocational knowledge and skill, and that they gain interest in it and cultivate the positive attitude of taking labour seriously” (Mombushō, 1940, p.218). ‘Vocational training’ suggested agriculture, commerce, or industrial arts, and could be an elective subject according to pupils’ needs (p.218).

For the promotion of a sturdy and healthy body, Japanese martial arts *Kenjutsu* (Japanese swordsmanship) and *Jūjutsu* (Jūdo) were the required course contents of ‘Gymnastics’. These martial arts were conventionally regarded to work as mental

training for pupils' body and soul (p.218). Strengthening moral, vocational, and physical training represented the central focus of the revised regulation in 1911. What English teaching was directed by these emphases?

### **English Teaching in Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation (1911)**

The revised Middle School Order Enforcement Regulation (*Chūgakkōrei Sekō Kisoku*, hereafter the 1911 regulation) was promulgated on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1911 (Meiji 44). Table 7.1 shows the curriculum and distribution suggested by the 1911 regulation.

Table 7.1: Curriculum and distribution in the 1911 regulation (July, 1911)

Subjects	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	Total
Moral Training	1	1	1	1	1	5
Japanese & Chinese C.	8	7	7	6	6	34
<b>Foreign Language</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>34</b>
History & Geography	3	3	3	3	3	15
Mathematics	4	4	5	4	4	21
Natural History	2	2	2	2		8
Physics & Chemistry				4	4	8
Law & Economics					2	2
Vocational Training*				(2)	(2)	(4)
Art	1	1	1	1	1	5
Song	1	1	1			3
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3	15
Total	29	29	30	31 (33)	31 (33)	150 (154)

Source: Mombushō, 1939, pp.148-149.

Note: The numbers indicate class hours per week (one class hour = 50 minutes).

‘Foreign Language’ meant English, German, or French, but normally, English was provided. ‘Vocational training’ was an elective (\*).

A large increase in class hours (by nine hours) occurred from the 1902 regulation (for the curriculum and distribution in the 1902 regulation see Chapter 4, Table 4.2, pp.122-123). ‘Vocational Training’, which now appeared in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades, added

four hours. ‘Japanese & Chinese classics’ and ‘Foreign Language’ (English) increased one hour each, and some natural science subjects, ‘Mathematics’, ‘Natural History’ and ‘Physics & Chemistry’, also increased by one hour each. Emphasis on vocational education, languages and natural science can be noted. In ‘Foreign language’ (English), one hour was added to 2<sup>nd</sup> grade and stressed initial teaching.

Table 7.2 shows the objective of each subject of the 1911 regulation. Let us take a look at how the objectives represented new developments, with a special attention to English. The dotted lines indicate the changes from the 1902 regulation (for the objectives of the 1902 regulation see Chapter 4, Table 4.3, pp.123-124).

Table 7.2: Objectives of subject matters (1911)

Subject	Objectives
Moral Training	Moral training cultivates moral thought and moral sentiments based on the aim of the Imperial Rescript on Education and hopes to equip pupils with dignity necessary for middle class boys and beyond ... It teaches the gist of morality and responsibilities for our nation, society, and family. Particularly, it teaches the peculiarity of our national morality.
Japanese & Chinese classics	Japanese and Chinese classics enables pupils to understand an ordinary level of sentences and express their thought accurately and freely, to cultivate interest in literature and to enlighten knowledge and morality. It teaches Japanese simple, easy and practical sentences ...
Foreign Language	<b>Foreign language teaches an ordinary level of English ... and enables pupils to understand and use it, and contributes to the promotion of knowledge and morality. It begins with pronunciation, spelling, and proceeds to reading-aloud, translation, speaking, composition, and dictation of immediate and easy sentences, and advances to an ordinary level of sentences, and also, it teaches the gist of grammar and penmanship.</b>
History	History teaches important events in history and enables pupils to understand the causes for social changes and Japanese vicissitudes, and particularly, the details of Japan’s advancement and the peculiarities of the fundamental character of Japan, and contributes to cultivating the national character. (Clause Two omitted)
Geography	(The same as the 1902 regulation)
Mathematics	(The same as the 1902 regulation)
Natural History	Natural history teaches knowledge about natural things and enables pupils to understand the relationship among them and between them and human life, and cultivates the powers of observation. It teaches general knowledge about important plants, animals, and minerals, and the gist of the structure of human bodies, physiology, and health and imposes appropriate laboratory experiment.

Physics & Chemistry	Physics and Chemistry gives knowledge about natural phenomena and enables pupils to understand the laws and their relations with human life and cultivates accurate observation and thinking. It teaches important physical and chemical phenomena and laws, structures and functions of machinery, and knowledge about elements and compound, and imposes appropriate laboratory experiment.
Law & Economics	Law and Economics teaches knowledge about laws and economy necessary for citizen life. It teaches the gist of the Imperial Constitution and knowledge about laws, economy and finance necessary for daily life.
Vocational Training	Vocational training teaches knowledge and skill about vocation, and cultivates interest in vocation and the habit of taking labour seriously. Vocational training includes agriculture, commerce, or industrial arts, according to local needs. In agriculture, practical training should be imposed.
Art	(The same as the 1902 regulation)
Song	(The same as the 1902 regulation)
Gymnastics	Gymnastics aims at a balanced development of pupils' body, strengthens it and develops a prompt movement, and a lively, resolute, indomitable, and enduring spirit. It teaches military drill and gymnastics, and includes <i>Kenjutsu</i> (Japanese swordsmanship) and <i>Jujutsu</i> (Jūdo).

Source: Mombushō, 1939, pp.146-148.

Firstly, the strength of moral education can be observed in Table 7.2's 'Moral Training', 'Foreign Language', 'History', 'Law & Economics', 'Vocational Training', and 'Gymnastics'. Virtually, it penetrated all subjects except for natural science subjects. The focus on moral training was already evident in the 1902 regulation, but the moral virtues derived from the Imperial Rescript on Education were specified in the revised regulation to centre on the peculiarities of Japan's national character. In 'History', 'nation' replaced 'family' and 'self' for a moral focus, and in 'Law and Economics', the focus on the Imperial Constitution was specifically instructed. In this broader trend of change, English teaching also assumed a moral training role by providing 'knowledge and morality' (*chitoku*). This revealed that English reading matters were closely connected to moral virtues and cultural contents as 'imperial-mindedness'.

For the emphasis on practical aspects of middle school education, the role was filled by languages, natural science subjects, 'Law & Economics', and 'Vocational Training'. 'Law & Economics' turned to more immediate, daily life knowledge. The same applied to 'Foreign Languages', which recognised 'immediate' rather than the earlier 'simple' English. In natural science, laboratory experiment was imposed for pupils to acquire

practical knowledge and to avoid ending up with a mere memorisation of scientific laws and so on. In ‘Vocational Training’, pupils’ agricultural background was taken into consideration, and also a newly emerging commercial and industrial class was recognised.

From the perspective of English teaching, moral training roles were added to English teaching by teaching *chitoku*, in addition to the conventional practical roles. Another important point to be noted is that teaching matters returned to the conventional branches, such as ‘Reading-aloud’, ‘Translation’, ‘Dictation’, etc. The four functional labels, which the Mombushō Report and PMS 1910 English syllabus used, were not adopted in the 1911 national standard, except for ‘Speaking’, replacing ‘Conversation’. ‘Translation’ was maintained and regarded as an independent teaching activity. ‘Oral exercises’ in the Mombushō Report and ‘Listening’ and ‘Speaking’ in PMS 1910 English syllabus as prerequisite activities for ‘Reading’ returned to ‘Reading-aloud’. Below, an examination of what the return to the conventional branches could mean is attempted with attention to how moral and practical orientations were incorporated into the 1911 English guideline.

### **Nature of the 1911 English Teaching National Standard**

Together with the 1911 regulation, Middle School Teaching Guideline (*Chūgakkō Kyōju Yōmoku*) was also revised and issued on 31<sup>st</sup> July 1911 (Meiji 44), of which the 1911 English guideline was part. This revised Middle School Teaching Guideline directed middle school education as a whole toward an apparent cognitive learning by stating that “Teaching must lead pupils to an accurate understanding and application of knowledge learnt and must never end up with knowledge cramming” (Clause Three) (Mombushō, 1939, p.154). This awareness precisely corresponded to the conclusion identified by an education inspector, Oshima’s investigation into the middle school education (see Chapter 6, pp.151-152). Under this general direction, English teaching was framed by the teaching matters, distribution, and content shown below (Tables 7.3 and 7.4) (for the comparison with the 1902 English guideline see Chapter 4, Table 4.4, p.127).

Table 7.3: Teaching matter and distribution (the 1911 English guideline)

1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>
Pronunciation Spelling				
Reading-aloud & Translation, Speaking & Composition, Dictation <b>*immediate and easy English</b>	Reading-aloud & Translation, Speaking & Composition, Dictation <b>*immediate and easy English</b>	Reading-aloud & Translation, Speaking & Composition, Dictation <b>*ordinary English</b>	Reading-aloud & Translation, Dictation <b>*ordinary English</b>	Reading-aloud & Translation, Dictation <b>*ordinary English</b>
Penmanship (separable one hour)	Penmanship (separable one hour)		Speaking & Composition (separable up to two hours)	Speaking & Composition (separable up to two hours)
		Grammar (separable one hour)	Grammar (separable one hour)	
6 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week	7 hours per week

Source: This table is created from Mombushō, 1939, pp.164-167.

Table 7.4: Teaching content (the 1911 English guideline)

Pronunciation, Spelling	single sounds and liaisons, ‘accents’, and letter combination
Reading-aloud & Translation	hearing, reading, and translation
Speaking & Composition	In ‘Speaking’, listening ( <i>kiki-kata</i> ) and telling ( <i>ii-kata</i> ) using direct and indirect narrations are practiced. In ‘Composition’, some of the following examples may be used: 1. Use the material for ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’ or ‘Speaking’. 2. Translate Japanese into English. 3. Give an outline or words to be used. 4. Give a subject.
Dictation	Write after a model or dictate the teacher’s recitation.
Penmanship	Write after a model
Grammar	Parts of speech, rhetoric, style

Source: Mombushō, 1939, pp.164-165.

From Tables 7.3 and 7.4, a consistent trend inherited from the 1902 English guideline can be noted in the 1911 English guideline. Firstly, in initial grades the basics of spoken and written English — ‘Pronunciation’, ‘Spelling’, and ‘Penmanship’ — were placed. ‘Penmanship’ was particularly stressed, since an hour could be separated for this particular instruction, which was to continue until 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. Otherwise, ‘Reading-aloud’ & ‘Translation’, ‘Dictation’, ‘Speaking’ & ‘Composition’ were to be taught interdependently. Secondly, toward upper grades, however, interdependency in teaching was to be gradually segmented into the three major categories: Reading (‘Reading-aloud’ & ‘Translation’, ‘Dictation’), composition (‘Speaking’ & ‘Composition’), and grammar (‘Grammar’). For composition instruction, a maximum of two hours could be separated in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades, and for grammar, one hour could be separated in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades.

What new developments can be found when compared with the 1902 English guideline? Firstly, the connection between the teaching matters was expressed in order to more thoroughly direct interdependent teaching based on apparent ‘speech primacy’. ‘Reading-aloud’ was connected with ‘Translation’, and ‘Speaking’ and ‘Composition’ were combined, as indicated by ‘&’ in Tables 7.3 and 7.4. This meant that ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Speaking’ were to precede ‘Translation’ and ‘Composition’ respectively, providing spoken language as the base for written English.

Secondly, due to the conventional branches being maintained, ‘Oral exercises’ or ‘Listening’ and ‘Speaking’ as in the Mombushō Report or PMS English syllabus were replaced by ‘Reading-aloud’. This meant that a more independent, sustained conversational activity function, which was given to ‘Oral exercises’ or ‘Listening’ and ‘Speaking’, was returned to an ‘aural understanding’ role based on text in ‘Reading-aloud’. In this respect, in the 1911 English guideline ‘speech primacy’ in the reading corollary had been weakened, with ‘Translation’ being dominant.

Thirdly, a ‘Translation’ dominant instruction was also suggested by the change that an ‘ordinary’ level of English began to be taught from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade instead of 4<sup>th</sup> grade in the 1902 English guideline. The earlier introduction of an ‘ordinary’ level suggested that

reading-centred instruction was to begin in the 1911 English guideline earlier than the 1902 version and stayed focused through to the 5<sup>th</sup> grade.

Fourthly, while ‘speech primacy’ in the reading corollary appeared to be weakened, it was maintained in the writing corollary. That is, ‘Speaking’ appeared in place of ‘Conversation’ and was combined with ‘Composition’. In ‘Speaking’, practice in listening (*kiki-kata*) and telling (*ii-kata*) using direct and indirect narrations was to be provided (see Table 7.4, p.186).

Fifthly, the one-hour increase, which we saw in Table 7.1, was added to penmanship instruction in 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. This increase did not strengthen or affect the overall structure of interdependent teaching, but simply marked an ‘add-on’ to the 1902 English guideline.

Finally, as a result, the three major corollaries of English teaching — reading, composition, and grammar — had become a fixed pattern of teaching after the 1902 English guideline and continued to be so in the 1911 English guideline.

Let us look more closely at English teaching as directed by the 1911 English guideline. Below, Table 7.5 reveals the teaching suggestions of each teaching matter.

Table 7.5: Remarks on teaching (the 1911 English guideline)

1. ‘Pronunciation’ should be stressed throughout the course, particularly in initial years.
2. In teaching ‘Pronunciation’, explanation of the position of a tongue, teeth, lips, and the use of a phonetic chart should be added when appropriate.
3. In ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’, explanation of the meaning should be made using objects and pictures, with which the differences in feelings, customs, institutions, etc between Eastern and Western culture should be taught.
4. Japanese translation should correspond to the original English precisely. Correct Japanese must be used.
5. Teachers should speak English within the limits of their students’ understanding.
6. Citation should be occasionally imposed with the text already learnt accurately and clearly.
7. The use of a dictionary should be introduced when appropriate to promote students’ private study.

Source: Reproduced from Mombushō, 1939, pp.166-167.

It can be observed that the fundamental emphases found in the 1902 English guideline

were inherited into and strengthened by the 1911 national guideline. The seven suggestions above all appeared in the 1902 English guideline, but with a slightly different usage. Their reappearance suggested that they were particularly stressed in the 1911 English guideline. Items One and Two mentioned pronunciation, in which the use of phonetic knowledge was encouraged for the first time. Item Three referred to 'Reading-aloud & Translation', where again the use of objects and pictures to explain the meaning as well as to promote cultural understanding was suggested. This revealed that the Reader contained cultural themes. Item Four directed comparison between Japanese and English in translation. Items Five and Six concerned the use of spoken English, which was encouraged after the text was read and understood. Item Seven related to pupils' independent study habit. To summarise the above:

- 1) A renewed emphasis on correct English pronunciation using phonetics, and on penmanship,
- 2) Object teaching (objects, pictures) and the Reader with cultural themes,
- 3) Translation as the central method to explain text,
- 4) Correct use of Japanese corresponding to the original English,
- 5) Use of spoken English and,
- 6) Pupils' independent study habit.

The above characteristics revealed that the 1911 English guideline was a composite of several distinctive components from different theoretical backgrounds. Correct pronunciation by way of phonetic knowledge was a feature of British practice. Object teaching, Reader-centred instruction, and cultural focus, as well as the use of the target language as an instructional language, were all characteristics of German practice. However, it featured Japanese-specific conditions as well. A translation method was positively approved, which was further marked by the 'correct' use of Japanese. The stress on pupils' self-study habits suggested middle schools' attempts to teach them *formale Bildung* (i.e. leaning how to learn), and a wish to turn school learning into a more developmental learning environment. Or, it suggested the Meiji authorities' motivation to put pupils under school order and to hold down individualistic so-called 'Epicureanism' and decadence in the youth. By incorporating further Western theory

and practice, the 1911 English guideline attempted to transform English teaching into a composite of both Western and domestic peculiarities, based on Japan's rulers' ideological assumptions.

Figure 7.1: Pattern of English teaching in the 1911 English guideline

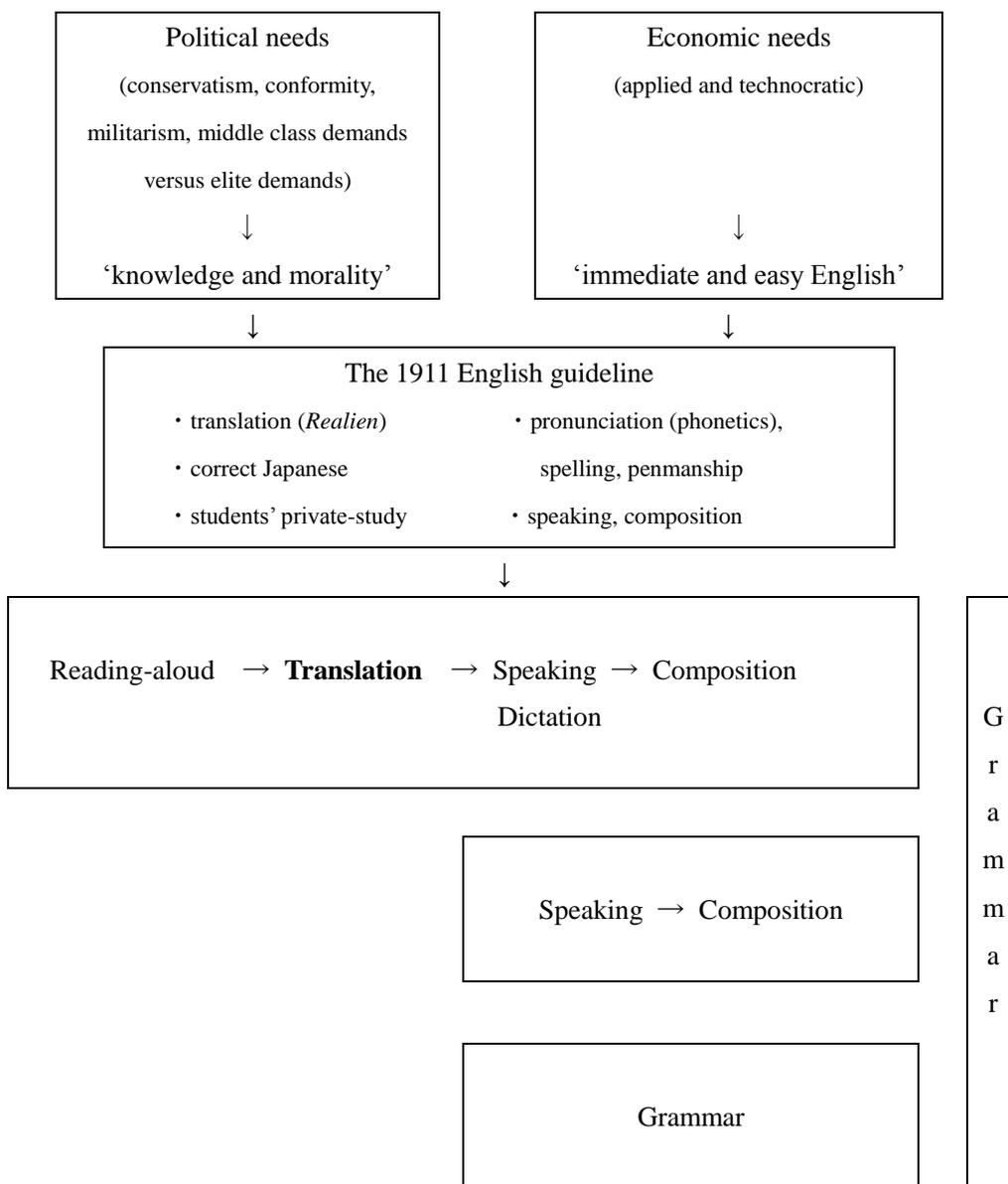


Figure 7.1, above, attempts to summarise the above discussion and to identify patterns of English teaching in connection with the ideological assumptions involved in English teaching during the late Meiji Period. The 1911 English guideline responded powerfully to the renewed political and economic demands of the post-war period. That is, it was

designed in accordance with an anti-academism of middle school curriculum reform. On the one hand, it responded to the post-war demands of further nationalism based on the 'Familial Nation view' framed by the Imperial Rescript on Education. On the other hand, this nationalistic view also framed a strengthened awareness of applied proficiency in language teaching. English teaching after the war was contextualised by the cultivation of further technical utilities, which were expected to contribute to the national benefits of expanding imperial ambitions in an international community.

The applied, technical emphasis was embedded in the initial stress on the English basics, such as pronunciation, spelling, and penmanship. It was also articulated by conducting lessons in English as much as possible. The stress on composition also indicated this emphasis. For the nationalistic emphasis, the inclusion of teaching foreign culture together with the stress on reading instruction with an increased level of reading material in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond should be noted. Nationalism in middle school education was emphasised across the curriculum. It could also be suggested that the stress on pupils' self-study was an attempt to put them under a more explicit and regulated school order, which Makino believed would help to eliminate young people who lacked the national sentiment and loyalty to the Emperor.

Patterns of English teaching, directed by the distinctive features of the 1911 English guideline, were suggested as follows. In lower grades, relatively interdependent teaching was pursued, which would proceed from 'Reading-aloud' and 'Translation' through to 'Composition', while 'Grammar' was to be taught more or less inductively, penetrating all branches (as indicated by the vertical box on the right side). However, from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on, 'Speaking & Composition' and 'Grammar' were gradually detached from the reading corollary to form an independent teaching category, while an inductive method of grammar teaching was accordingly weakened. Thus, what resulted was the emergence of the three types of 'standard' patterns of English teaching from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond:

- A. 'Reading-aloud' → 'Translation' → 'Dictation'
- B. 'Speaking' → 'Composition'

### C. 'Grammar'

The Meiji's final national standard was strongly policy-driven, within the domestic national context, structured by a reading-focused orientation with a careful use of the national language, Japanese. This was supplemented with elements of German-style foreign language teaching with some of its nationalistic overtones, with phonetics being transferred from the British 'scientific' approach. It did appear that 'speech primacy' was strongly pursued in the initial grades, but it was weakened as pupils advanced to upper grades. It did appear to be maintained between 'Speaking' and 'Composition', but it was weakened between 'Reading-aloud' and 'Translation', as 'Reading-aloud' no longer suggested 'Oral exercises' in Makino's Mombushō Report. As a consequence, 'speech primacy' structured the teaching process only fragilely.

Thus, the functional and instrumental orientation in English teaching practice, which had been pursued in Makino's Mombushō Report — and, to a less degree in PMS's English syllabus — impacted by the so-called Natural Method, was degenerated into a more academic and scholastic direction through conservatism and turned out to be a classics-style and an elitism-oriented type of English teaching.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### TRANSMISSION OF THE MEIJI NATIONAL STANDARD

The 1911 English guideline was characterised by several distinctive elements involving multiple political intentions. What had come to be seen as English basics, such as pronunciation, spelling, and penmanship, object teaching and culture, translation, and composition, were major features of the guideline. In order to implement the 1911 English guideline as originally intended, English teachers were expected to understand fully how each element could be practiced in their classroom. The Ministry of Education prepared to transmit the 1911 English guideline through several routes. This chapter focuses on the way English teacher training acted as one vital transmission route. Teacher training included both pre-service and in-service teachers. Teacher licence examinations and the Ministry of Education summer training courses were administered for these purposes. Additionally, English journalism played a supplementary role of transmission for a much wider group of English teachers. Special attention is paid, below, to those playing the leading roles, and how and what they actually transmitted to implement the 1911 English guideline.

#### Teacher Licence Examinations

Supplying teachers and securing teacher quality both proceeded with the Government's institutionalisation of a teacher licence system. The revision of Middle School Order in 1899 (Meiji 32) put all middle school teacher candidates under the Government's approval system. In April of the same year, Regulation for Licence concerning Graduates of Municipal, Private Schools and Foreign Universities (*Kōritsu, Shiritsu Gakkō, Gaikoku Daigaku Sotsugyōsei no Menkyo ni kansuru Kitei*) expanded teacher supply routes to include private and foreign schools, besides government schools (Mombushō, 1938c, pp.831-832). Teacher Licence Order (*Kyōin Menkyo Rei*) in 1900 (Meiji 33) then established a middle school teacher licence system, as follows:

- 1) Graduates of middle school teacher training institutions:
  - a) Tokyo Higher Normal School, Tokyo Girls' Higher Normal School, Hiroshima Higher Normal School, Nara Girls' Higher Normal School
  - b) Temporary teacher training courses (*Rinji Kyōin Yōseijo*)
- 2) Teacher licence examinations:
  - a) Test-based
  - b) Test-exempted – graduates of educational institutions designated by the Minister of Education (i.e. Tokyo Imperial University, and others).

The system involved two components: For 'Graduates of middle school teacher training institutions', a teacher licence was automatically approved on graduation from teacher training institutions. They included Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools, and Tokyo and Nara Girls' Higher Normal Schools. Special teacher training courses were attached temporarily (*Rinji Kyōin Yōseijo*) to five existing schools in March 1902 (Meiji 35) to respond to secondary teacher shortage. Of the five schools, English teacher training began at Third Higher School and Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and operated until they were closed in March 1906 (Meiji 39) (Sakurai, 1942, pp.367-368).

'Teacher licence examinations' comprised two routes of teacher training, administered by the Committee of Teacher Licence Examinations: Test-based and test-exempted. 'Test-exempted' meant that graduates of higher educational institutions were exempted from paper tests by the Minister of Education (Sakurai, 1936, p.180). Designated educational institutions included a wide range of private institutions (e.g. Waseda University, Keio Gijuku, Nippon University, Dōshisha University) (p.181). The 'test-based' licence system is the focus in this study. Candidates were to take paper tests prepared by the Committee of Teacher Licence Examinations and pass them to be licensed as middle school teachers.

Despite the initiatives in place, the shortage of secondary teachers continued and, in reality, non-licensed teachers were allowed to teach, but only upon the approval of the Ministry of Education (Sakurai, 1942, pp.371-372). Towards the end of the Meiji Period, further measures for quality control were taken. In July 1900 (Meiji 33), middle schools

would employ only a number of non-licensed teachers less twice that of licensed teachers. In 1905 (Meiji 38), the number of non-licensed teachers was to be the same as that of licensed ones, and it was further cut to half the number of licensed teachers in 1908 (Meiji 41) (Yoneda, 1992, pp.83-85). As a consequence, the ratio of non-licensed teachers gradually decreased toward the end of the Meiji Period. For example, the ratio of non-licensed was 42.4% in 1900, which dropped to 36.5% in 1905 and 28.3% in 1907 (for an overview see Appendix 8.1, p.361).

Table 8.1, below, shows how matters stood with regards to test-based licensed teachers in relation to the licensed teachers during the late Meiji Period.

Table 8.1: Test-based licensed teachers among the licensed teachers

Year	Test-exempted				Test-based (%)	Total
	Higher Normal	Temporary	Imperial U.	Others		
1907	589	194	404	1,008	<b>1,695 (43.6)</b>	3,890
1908	642	215	463	1,112	<b>1,794 (42.5)</b>	4,226
1909	696	205	436	1,249	<b>1,813 (41.2)</b>	4,399
1910	731	216	481	1,261	<b>1,828 (40.5)</b>	4,517
1911	786	220	535	1,323	<b>1,841 (39.1)</b>	4,705
1912	842	211	566	1,340	<b>1,811 (38.0)</b>	4,770

Sources: This composite table is created from Sakurai, 1942, p.441.

Note: Higher Normal (Higher Normal Schools); Temporary (Temporary teacher training courses); Imperial U. (Tokyo Imperial University); Others (Other designated institutions).

Looking at Table 8.1, test-based licensed teachers accounted for a comparatively high ratio of roughly 40% during the late Meiji Period. The ratio gradually decreased, due to an increase in the number of ‘other’ designated school graduates. From looking at these numbers, more test-based licensed teachers were produced than Normal Schools and Imperial University graduates during this period. It is plausible to conclude that test-based licensed teachers had a significant impact on the transmission of the type of English teaching methodology that test-based licence examination directed.

## The Mombushō Tests of English

Test-based teacher licence examinations were formally called the Ministry of Education Authorising Tests for Teachers of Normal School, Middle School, and Girls' Higher School (*Mombushō Shihangakkō, Chūgakkō, Kōtōjogakkō Kyōin Kentei Shiken*, hereafter the Mombushō Tests). At present, the Japanese no longer have the Mombushō Tests; today, pre-service teacher licences are normally issued by prefectural boards of education after completing universities which offer teacher training courses. The Mombushō Tests began in 1885 (Meiji 18) and continued up to 1949 (Shōwa 24) and were administered 81 times in total. The Mombushō Tests of English also began in the same year and were administered 64 times. More than 1,200 English teachers were qualified and contributed to the progress and development of English teaching in Japan (Mozumi, 2003, p.37). According to Terasaki and Bunken Kenkyūkai (2003, pp.526-527), the overall pass rate was quite low (see Appendix 8.2, pp.361-362). It is easy to see that the Mombushō Tests were never easy to pass, as the average pass rate was about 10% throughout this period. Consequently, approximately 30% got a teaching position at secondary schools (Takenaka, 2003b, p.357). As a result, it turned out that on average test-based licensed teachers occupied 10 to 20% of the teaching staff in any individual secondary school (Sugawara, 2003, pp.327-330). Table 8.2 centres on the examinees and the pass rate for the Mombushō Tests of English.

Table 8.2: Examinees and pass rates of the Mombushō Tests of English (1895-1918)

	Year	Examinees	First (%)	Second (%)	Final (%)
8 <sup>th</sup>	1895 (M 28)	60	26 (43.3)	10 (38.5)	6 (60.0)
9 <sup>th</sup>	1896 (M 29)	70	26 (37.1)	18 (69.2)	9 (50.0)
	Year	Examinees	Preliminary (%)	Final (1 <sup>st</sup> ) (%)	Final (2 <sup>nd</sup> ) (%)
10 <sup>th</sup>	1897 (M 30)	-	30	10 (33.3)	7 (70.0)
11 <sup>th</sup>	1898 (M 31)	-	-	15	-
12 <sup>th</sup>	1899 (1) (M 32)	-	20	-	9
13 <sup>th</sup>	1899 (2) (M 32)	-	-	23	16 (69.6)
14 <sup>th</sup>	1900 (M 33)	-	-	-	-

15 <sup>th</sup>	1901 (M 34)	262	44 (16.8)	30 (68.2)	21(70.0)
16 <sup>th</sup>	1902 (M 35)	290	86 (29.7)	36 (41.9)	24 (66.7)
17 <sup>th</sup>	1903 (M 36)	332	63 (19.0)	-	27
18 <sup>th</sup>	1904 (M 37)	339	59 (17.4)	29 (49.2)	22 (75.9)
19 <sup>th</sup>	1905 (M 38)	345	65 (18.8)	27 (41.5)	15 (55.6)
20 <sup>th</sup>	1906 (M 39)	373	65 (17.4)	32 (49.2)	24 (75.0)
21 <sup>st</sup>	1907 (M 40)	399	69 (17.3)	29 (42.0)	22 (75.9)
22 <sup>nd</sup>	1908 (M 41)	407	92 (22.6)	36 (39.1)	31 (86.1)
23 <sup>rd</sup>	1909 (M 42)	189	54 (28.6)	29 (53.7)	20 (69.0)
24 <sup>th</sup>	1910 (M 43)	196	42 (21.4)	23 (54.8)	16 (69.6)
25 <sup>th</sup>	1911 (M 44)	169	38 (22.5)	24 (63.2)	17 (71.0)
26 <sup>th</sup>	1912 (M 45 / T 1)	-	40	17 (42.5)	12 (70.6)
27 <sup>th</sup>	1913 (T 2)	-	34	18 (52.9)	11 (61.1)
28 <sup>th</sup>	1914 (T 3)	-	50	32 (64.0)	23 (71.9)
29 <sup>th</sup>	1915 (T 4)	128	42 (32.8)	26 (61.9)	-
30 <sup>th</sup>	1916 (T 5)	-	37	24 (64.9)	17 (70.8)
31 <sup>st</sup>	1917 (T 6)	-	31	24 (77.4)	9 (37.5)
32 <sup>nd</sup>	1918 (T 7)	130	28 (21.5)	12 (42.9)	9 (75.0)

Sources: This table is originally created from the following sources: *Dai Nippon Kyōikukai Zasshi (The Journal of the Educational Society of Japan)*, 1885-1896; *Eigo Kyōju (The English Teachers' Magazine)*, 1906-1917; *Eigo Seinen Sha*, 1898-1918; *Nippon Eigaku Shinshi (The New Magazine)*, 1892-1901; Mozumi, 2003, p.40; Mozumi, 2009, pp.1-20.

No sources have been found as to the numerical data on the 1<sup>st</sup> through to the 7<sup>th</sup> examinations. Although the table is incomplete, it shows the general trend of the number of passing candidates and their pass rate of English. Table 8.2 indicates that the Mombushō Tests of English were administered in a three-step selection method of 'First' — 'Second' — 'Final', before 1896 (Meiji 29) and of 'Preliminary' — 'Final (1<sup>st</sup>)' — 'Final (2<sup>nd</sup>)', after 1897 (Meiji 30). Candidates who passed 'Final' or 'Final (1<sup>st</sup>)' — 'Final (2<sup>nd</sup>)' obtained a teacher licence. This selection method had been established when the third step, in which candidates were tested on 'Teaching demonstration', was added in 1894 (Meiji 27). The majority of examinees were filtered out at the first step. At the

second step, less than half of them (an average of 41.7%) were selected. The final pass rate remained lower than an average of 10% of the examinees. When compared with the pass rates of the Mombushō Tests in general (see Appendix 8.2), it can be noticed that it was more difficult to be licensed as an English teacher than as a teacher of other subject areas.

Overall, the low pass rate revealed that high scholastic abilities and conformity to a scholastic process were demanded by the Mombushō Tests, including English.

According to Terasaki and Bunken Kenkyūkai (2003), by 1918 (Taishō 7) over 20 kinds of guide and reference books were already published (pp.517-518). One such reference book stated that “five hours of preparation a day for two years would allow you to pass the tests”, and Niwano (2008) estimated that candidates would have had to sacrifice all comforts and devote themselves in order to pass the tests (pp.198-199). As a result, the favourable evaluation of English teachers licensed by the Mombushō Tests of English was already heard among examiners by the year 1902 (Meiji 35) (Mozumi, 2003, pp.39-40). Candidates’ commitment to the preparation for the tests, including the ones who failed, would suggest that the features of the English teaching methodology that the tests directed had significant impacts on their mind-set about English teaching practice.

### **Analysis of the Mombushō Tests of English**

What level of skill in English, and knowledge of its teaching methodology, did the Committee of the Examinations require of those future teachers? Question patterns were gradually established from around 1897 (Meiji 30). Table 8.3, below, indicates the transition of question patterns.

Table 8.3: Question patterns in the Mombushō Tests of English (1894 – 1918)

<b>Pattern 1: 1894 (Meiji 27) – 1896 (Meiji 29)</b>		
< First >	< Second >	< Final >
Japanese translation	Oral translation	Teaching demonstration
English translation		(oral translation, grammar
Dictation		correction, conversation)

<b>Pattern 2: 1897 (Meiji 30) – 1907 (Meiji 40)</b>		
< Preliminary >	< Final (1 <sup>st</sup> ) >	< Final (2 <sup>nd</sup> )>
Japanese translation	Dictation	Teaching demonstration
English translation	Oral examination (reading-aloud, accents, pronunciation)	(grammar correction,
	Paraphrase (of poem, oral)	pronunciation, accent,
	Grammar (on paper)	conversation)
<b>Pattern 3: 1908 (Meiji 41) – 1918 (Taishō 7)</b>		
< Preliminary >	< Final (1 <sup>st</sup> ) >	< Final (2 <sup>nd</sup> )>
Japanese translation	Dictation	Teaching demonstration
English translation	Composition (oral reproduction in English)	(grammar correction,
<b>Pedagogy</b>	Reading, Translation and Grammar (reading-aloud, oral	conversation [ <i>‘Realien’</i> ,
<b>National Morality</b>	translation, grammar)	<b>object teaching</b> ])

Sources: This table is originally created from the following sources: *Dai Nippon Kyōikukai Zasshi (The Journal of the Educational Society of Japan)*, 1885-1896; *Eigo Kyōju (The English Teachers' Magazine)*, 1906-1917; Eigo Seinen Sha, 1898-1918; *Nippon Eigaku Shinshi (The New Magazine)*, 1892-1901; Mozumi, 2003, p.40; Mozumi, 2009, pp.1-20.

Note: ‘Pedagogy’ and ‘National Morality’ in Preliminary tests in Pattern 3 were added in 1909 (Meiji 42) and 1916 (Taishō 5).

From Table 8.3, it can be noted that question patterns were gradually systematised. First, concerning the first step of the examinations, the focus gradually moved to the evaluation of written English. ‘Dictation’ in Pattern 1 was moved into the ‘final (1<sup>st</sup>) examinations’ in Pattern 2 and Pattern 3. Also, ‘Pedagogy’ (*Kyōiku no Taii*) and ‘National Morality’ (*Kokumin Dōtoku no Yōryō*) were added to the written language focus in 1909 (Meiji 42) and 1916 (Taisho 5) to form the third pattern. In the first step, candidates were tested on written English, pedagogical knowledge, and aspects of the Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyōiku Chokugo*).

Second, concerning the second step of the examinations, the range of abilities and knowledge to be tested was widened toward a speech-focused direction. The second step in Pattern 2 added ‘Grammar’ and ‘Composition’ to ‘Reading’, but they were oral examinations, and ‘Reading’ included several types of questions such as reading-aloud,

oral translation, and conversation on the topic allocated by the reading material.

Finally, for the third step, the inclusion of '*Realien*' and object teaching in 1908 (Meiji 41) should be mentioned here. This final step — 'Teaching demonstration' — was to examine how candidates demonstrated their teaching style rather than their static knowledge and skills. It consisted of demonstrating teaching grammar correction and designing and sustaining conversational dialogues with pupils using objects ('*Realien*'), as well as the material for grammar correction. This phase also focused on pronunciation, accents, and the identification of syllables in a word. Object teaching using '*Realien*' continued to play a central part in this final stage of selection.

Hence, it is easy to notice that the Mombushō Tests of English corresponded to policy-making processes. Mozumi (2003) stated that the features of the 1902 English guideline, which he summarised as comprising integrative teaching and the introduction of the 'new method', were already in place in the question patterns of the Mombushō Tests of English before the 1902 English guideline had been completed (pp.44-48). The Mombushō Tests of English continued to strengthen the link with the subsequent policy-making. Object teaching and '*Realien*' began to be tested in 1908 (Meiji 41), prior to the making of the 1911 English guideline. Nationalistic emphasis which was salient in the 1911 regulation and the 1911 English guideline was also reflected in 1909 (Meiji 42), 1916 (Taishō 5), and thereafter. It is important to note the strong connection between the national standard and its implementation.

Table 8.4, below, lists the examiners in the period 1895 (Meiji 28) – 1918 (Taishō 7). Let us first note that all these examiners were leading scholars of English during the Meiji Period. Naibu Kanda's continuous contribution to the Mombushō Tests of English was salient. Native speakers of English began to be commissioned after 1904 (Meiji 37). They took responsibility chiefly for testing spoken English. Umeko Tsuda and Mitsu Okada were among the leading English teachers of girls' English teaching. Ryōkichi Yatabe, Kenjirō Kumamoto and J.T. Swift were from Tokyo Higher Normal School, and no examiners were from Hiroshima Higher Normal School — most likely because they were responsible for summer training courses, as will be seen shortly. Additionally,

Yoshisaburō Okakura of Tokyo Higher Normal School, who does not appear in the table, began to take part as an examiner from 1918 (Taishō 7) onward (Mozumi, 2003, pp.70-71).

Table 8.4: Examiners for the Mombushō Tests of English (1895 – 1918)

Examiner	Period at work	Administration
Ryōkichi Yatabe	1895 – 1899 (Meiji 28 – 32)	8 <sup>th</sup> – 12 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Naibu Kanda</b>	1895 – 1918 (Meiji 28 – Taishō 7)	8 <sup>th</sup> – 32 <sup>nd</sup>
<b>Noriyuki Kojima</b>	1895 – 1913 (Meiji 28 – Taishō 2)	8 <sup>th</sup> – 27 <sup>th</sup>
Kenjirō Kumamoto	1899 – 1902 (Meiji 32 – 35)	13 <sup>th</sup> – 16 <sup>th</sup>
Umeko Tsuda	1901 – 1903 (Meiji 34 – 36)	15 <sup>th</sup> – 17 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Eiji Asada</b>	1903 – 1912 (Meiji 36 – 45)	17 <sup>th</sup> – 26 <sup>th</sup>
<b>Seijirō Ibaragi</b>	1913 – 1918 (Taishō 2 – 7)	27 <sup>th</sup> – 32 <sup>nd</sup>
Mitsu Okada	1918 (Taishō 7)	32 <sup>nd</sup>
A. Lloyd	1904 – 1910 (Meiji 37 – 43)	18 <sup>th</sup> – 24 <sup>th</sup>
<b>J. T. Swift</b>	1911 – 1916, 1918 (Meiji 44 – Taishō 5, 7)	25 <sup>th</sup> – 30 <sup>th</sup> , 32 <sup>nd</sup>
W. Clement	1917 (Taishō 6)	31 <sup>st</sup>

Source: Mozumi, 2003, pp.70-71.

Note: Kanda was a student overseas in Europe in 1900 (Meiji 33). Tsuda and Okada were female.

Mozumi (2003) pointed out that except for Seijirō Ibaragi and Kumamoto, all the examiners were educated in English and had near native proficiency in English. Kanda and Tsuda spoke English better than Japanese. These people had acquired English naturally during their long foreign residence in their youth, and English was, as it were, a second ‘native’ language for them. It was in the period after Ibaragi that those who learned English as a foreign language started to become examiners: They were educated in Japanese while majoring in English or English literature. This suggests the examiners’ inclination to test candidates’ applied proficiency of English (pp.48-50).

According to a rule of the Committee of the Mombushō Tests (*Kyōin Kentei Iinkai Kansei*), examiners were to be supervised and appointed by the Minister of Education, and the preparation of examination questions and their administration were at their

discretion. This meant that the nature and focus of examination questions tended to depend on current trends in academic circles, as well as the examiners' doctrine or view on English teaching. Consequently, examinees had to be aware of these influences in order to successfully pass the examinations (Takenaka, 2003b, pp.362-364). The names in boldface type indicate examiners at work after the 1911 English guideline was made public. Kanda and Asada participated in drawing up the Mombushō Report. Ibaragi was a Ministry of Education inspector and a major in English literature. Kojima was among the members who drew up a draft syllabus for the 1902 English guideline together with Kanda. Examinees were thus required to understand these examiners' views, which were framed by the direction of the 1911 English guideline.

### **Nature of Test Questions**

A tight connection between the national standard and the Mombushō Tests can be observed in actual test questions. The focus is on tests administered after the 1911 English guideline. The test questions for the 8<sup>th</sup> administration (1895 [Meiji 28]) are included in the Appendices (see Appendix 8.3, pp.362-363) in order to show the earliest development of the Mombushō Tests of English. (The 'Dictation' portion of the questions is inserted from the 9<sup>th</sup> administration.)

For a general picture of the test, two sets used after the 1911 English guideline have been selected, below. The first set is taken from the 29<sup>th</sup> administration in 1915 (Taishō 4) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1915d, p.317; 1915e, pp.91-93) and the second is from the 31<sup>st</sup> administration in 1917 (Taishō 6) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1917a, p.349; 1917b, pp.154-155). My translation for 'Japanese into English', 'Pedagogy', and 'National morality' are inserted.

### **The 29<sup>th</sup> administration (1915)**

< The Preliminary Examinations > (28<sup>th</sup> July, 1915)

#### **ENGLISH INTO JAPANESE**

1. The idea of self-denial for the sake of posterity, of practicing present economy for the sake of debtors yet unborn, of planting forests that our descendants may live under their shade, or of raising cities for future nations to inhabit,

never, I suppose, efficiently takes place among publicly recognized motives of exertion. Yet these are not the less our duties; nor is our part fitly sustained upon the earth, unless the range of our intended and deliberate usefulness include, not only the companions but the successors of our pilgrimage. – *John Ruskin*.

2. The first element of contemporary popularity is undoubtedly the power of entertaining. If a man has anything to tell, the world cannot be expected to listen to him unless he has perfected himself in the best way of telling it.

People are not argued into a pleasurable sensation, nor is taste to be compelled by any syllogism, however stringent. An author may make himself very popular, however, and even justly so, by appealing to the passion of the moment, without having anything in him that shall outlast the public whim which he satisfies. – *James Russel Lowell*.

3. Beware of making your moral staple consist of the negative virtues. It is good to abstain, and teach others to abstain, from all that is sinful or hurtful. But making a business of it leads to emaciation of character, unless one feeds largely also on the more nutritious diet of active sympathetic benevolence. – *Oliver Wendell Holmes*.

#### JAPANESE INTO ENGLISH

(一) 我が国人は桜を鍾愛（しょうあい）すれども、西洋人は薔薇を鑑賞す。桜は西洋の土に植うれば、忽ちその固有の色彩を失ひ、薔薇は我が国に移すも、西洋に於けるが如き芳香を出さず。桜は畢竟我が国特生の花にして、薔薇は西洋に適応せる花たり。風土の民族を造る亦斯くの如きものあり。(Our people love cherry blossoms, but the Westerners appreciate roses. If a cherry blossom is planted in Western soil, it loses its original flavor, and if a rose is planted in our soil, it does not give the fragrance of its own. A cherry blossom is suited to our land, and a rose is suited to Western land. It is as if a climate creates its race.)

(二) 日本の家屋は平家若しくは二階建にして、通例一家族一屋に住し、且広き庭園を有する者多きが故に、近年に至るまで甚だしく公園の必要を感じることなかりき。我が国の都会に公園を設くるに至りしは、全く維新以後のお事なり。(The Japanese traditional house was a one- or two-story house normally for one family with a spacious garden, and Japan did not need to build a public park until recently. It is after the Meiji Restoration that Japan began to build ones in a city.)

(三) 朝起は心身の薬だといふが、全くさうだ。夜が明けるか明けない時分に起きて、裏の竹藪へ水を汲みに行く時の心地よさ。明けの明星が生え茂った木々の上で瞬いている薄くらがりの中で、暁の気を吸ひながら、苔蒸した古井戸の側に立っていると、真に仙境にある感じがする。(It is quite true that getting up early is medicine for mind and body. How refreshing it would be to get up around dawn and go into the bamboo bush at the back of the house to get some water! In the darkness with the morning star shining above thick leaves of a tree, I feel truly clean standing beside the mossy old well.) (Four hours)

#### 教育大意問題（二時間）

- (一) 境遇と教育との関係を論ぜよ。
- (二) 左の意義を説明せよ。 判断。 情操。 国民教育。 二部教授。
- (三) 教師の任務を説き、特に中等教員たるものの心得を述べよ。 (2時間)

#### PEDAGOGY (2 hours)

1. Explain the relationship between the environment and education.
2. Explain the following terms: *judgment* *aesthetic sensitivity* *national education* *instruction in two sessions*

3. Explain the teacher's responsibility and state the commonsense for middle school teachers.

**< The Final (1<sup>st</sup>) Examinations > (20<sup>th</sup> October, 1915)**

**DICTATION**

The women, with the quick insight that distinguishes them, have grasped this truth. Saturday's procession is an outward sign that they mean, consciously and deliberately, to do their part. They claim their part as a right, and should not only be allowed but helped to do it. They are more than half the nation, and they will feel very severely the effects of the war. The women of France, of Serbia, of Belgium – to say nothing of the women of Germany – are sharing in the effort and burden of the war to a greater extent than the women of England have yet been enabled to do. We are glad that Mr. Lloyd George gave the deputation a sympathetic hearing, and that his speech to the procession sounded the note of confidence and encouragement. Women themselves will gain much by the discipline of war work.

**COMPOSITION**

\*An examiner Swift (Prof. of Tokyo Higher Normal School) gave a 20-minute talk about the effect of The World War on the future of English. Candidates were asked to reproduce their understanding of it in their own words in English.

**READING, TRANSLATION AND GRAMMAR**

\*Candidates were asked to translate the dotted sentences.

To me, one of the most disgusting sights in the world is that of a young man with healthy blood, broad shoulders, and a hundred and fifty pounds, more or less, of good bone and muscle, standing with his hands in his pockets, longing for help. I admit that there are positions in which the most independent spirit may accept of assistance. --  
may, in fact, as a choice of evils, desire it; but for a man who is able to help himself, to desire the help of others in  
the accomplishment of his plans of life is positive proof that he has received a most unfortunate training, or that  
there is a leaven of meanness in his composition, that should make him shudder. J. G. Holland: *Getting the Right Start*.

**PRONUNCIATION**

alien	Arab	assuredly	belligerents	cannonade	deliberate	generosity
humiliating	indicate	initiative	machination	malign	moral	necessarily
occurrence	particular	preference	recompense	simultaneously	wax	

**< The Final (2<sup>nd</sup>) Examinations > (23<sup>rd</sup> October, 1915)**

**TEACHING DEMONSTRATION**

**Error Correction**

The greatest and severest war history ever record is now going on in Europe and its effect upon all the world is by no means disregarding. The German thinks that English language ought to be expected from all the world and their own tongue should be taken its place, in confidence that such a time will soon come after the war.

## Conversation



1. What does this picture represent?
2. Describe what these people are doing. (*He is sitting in a chair, reading a newspaper and has a pipe in his mouth.*)
3. What do you see behind his head? (*I see a gramophone.*)
4. What has happened to the window? (*It has been shattered.*)
5. What does that map represent?
6. What do you see on the cross? (*image of Christ*)
7. What is the nailing of a person on a cross called? (*crucifixion*)
8. What are there hanging on the wall below the cross? (*bayonets, a helmet, and a rifle*)
9. To whom did the helmet and other objects belong? (*Probably they belonged to the Germans, and are kept here as trophies of some battle.*)
10. What is this man doing? (*He is pouring some tea into a teacup out of a teapot.*)
11. What is this? (*jam pot*)
12. What are these officers wearing? (*uniform*)
13. Of what colour do you think is this uniform? (*khaki*)
14. What is this? (*frame, horse, rack, canteen, powder case, knap-sack, etc.*)

## The 31<sup>st</sup> administration (1917)

< The Preliminary Examinations > (16<sup>th</sup> August, 1917)

### ENGLISH INTO JAPANESE

(1) It is a grave thing when a State puts a man among her jewels the glitter of whose fame makes doubtful acts look heroic. The honours we grant mark how high we stand and they educate the future. The men we honour and the maxims we lay down in measuring our favourites show the level and morals of the time.

(2) All the letters which he wrote after his battles show awe rather than exultation; and he attributes the glory of these achievements, about which I have heard mere petty officers and men bragging with a pardonable vainglory, in nowise to his own bravery and skill, but to the superintending protection of Heaven, which he ever seemed to think was our special ally.

(3) Successful achievement depends largely on getting the right perspective, on judging the true value of things, on not mistaking the immaterial for the material. Because a thing is near you and covers a large part of the horizon it may seem very big, but the fact is the higher a mountain is the more it stand out as you go away, and the less conspicuous as you come towards it. If you stand in lower Broadway and look up at the skyscrapers, the Singer and the Woolworth buildings do not seem much higher than their neighbours, but when you are at a distance you can see the difference very plainly.

### JAPANESE INTO ENGLISH

(一) 「時は金なり」といふ古言あれども、今日の如く通信交通の機関発達し、社会の活動敏速なる時代にありては、時間は金銭より貴し。他人をして時間を損失せしむるは其の罪金銭を損失せしむるよりも重し。(We say 'Time is money', but time is more important than money in the present era when social mobility has become rapid due to the advance of correspondence and transportation. It is a heavier crime to rob time of others than to rob money.)

(二) 西洋では、障子の破れを繕ふ世話もなし、シャツやカラなどのよごれ物は洗濯屋へやるから、主婦の仕事は日本よりも少ないやうに思はれるが、窓硝子のふき清めや、絨毯の塵払や、部屋々々の整頓・掃除など、日々の仕事にも中々骨の折れることが多い。併し食事の時間に不意の来客もなく、客の来る毎に一々茶や菓子を出すといふ習慣は無いから、其の点は楽である。(Western wives may be seen to have less house work, since they don't have to repair a paper sliding door (shoji) and they use a Laundromat for dirty shirts. But, they do have quite a lot of work such as cleaning glass doors and wiping the floor. However, they don't have unexpected visitors or the custom of serving tea and sweets to them.)

(三) 太陽の光線は我々が日常余り慣れすぎているために、其の効力を忘れていた傾があるけれども、これほど廉価で殺菌に都合のよい物はない。科学の進歩によって光線の効力のあることが証明されるに及んで、我々は過去の経験を思ひ合せて、今更の如く其の力の偉大なるに驚くのである。(We take the sun light for granted and are not aware of its effects, but nothing is better than this which is cheap and good for sterilizing. Thanks to the advance of science together with our past experience, we are astonished to find that the sun light does so much good.)

### 国民道徳要領問題 (三時間)

- 一. 教育に関する勅語中の『咸其徳を一にせんこと』の意義を説明し且これに就きて感ずる所を述べよ。
- 二. 我が国に於て孝道の特に重んぜらるる理由を述べよ。
- 三. 国民道徳の見地より我が立憲政体の特徴を論ぜよ。
- 四. 国民道徳と人道との関係如何。

### NATIONAL MORALITY (3 hours)

1. Explain the meaning of 'to lay it to your heart in all reverence' in the Imperial Rescript on Education and state

your own view on it.

2. Explain the reason why filial piety is regarded particularly in high esteem in our nation.
3. State the distinctive features of our constitutional monarchy from the perspective of national morality.
4. What is the relationship between national morality and humanity?

#### 教育大意問題（三時間）

- 一. 養護と訓練との関係を述べよ。
- 二. 問答について注意すべき要件を示せ。
- 三. 左の意義を説明せよ。 情緒 気質 定義 教育的教授
- 四. 青年期の特質を挙げて訓練上の注意に及べ。

#### PEDAGOGY (3 hours)

1. State the relationship between care and discipline.
2. Indicate the important conditions for questions and answers.
3. Explain the following terms: *emotion disposition definition pedagogical teaching*
4. Show the features of the youth and consider the necessary conditions for their discipline.

#### < The Final (1<sup>st</sup>) Examinations > (10<sup>th</sup> November, 1917)

#### DICTATION

The war news tells us of unprecedented development of machine guns in both numbers and efficiency, of the vastness that trench warfare is assuming, of the machinery for digging trenches, of the speed and thoroughness of the work. Then we read of the hitherto unheard-of apparatus and methods for destroying life by means of novel hand grenades and bombs. Then we note that submarines are accomplishing results with an apparent certainty of operation which bears out all that the most enthusiastic advocates have ever claimed. We hear, too, of the long, swift, and sure flights of aeroplanes, and the precision with which they drop their bombs, of automatic tanks, or land battleships that cruise over and about the trenches of the enemy, showing that land fighting is continuously learning how to employ mechanism which can hold enormous units of offensive power concentrated and controllable in small spaces.

#### COMPOSITION

\* Clement (Prof. of First Higher School) gave a 20-minute talk under the title "Women's Work in the World War. Candidates were asked to reproduce their understanding of it in their own words in English.

#### READING, TRANSLATION AND GRAMMAR

An acre in Middlesex is better than a principality in Utopia. The smallest actual good is better than the most magnificent promises of impossibilities. The wise man of the Stoics would, no doubt, be a grander object than a steam-engine. But there are steam-engines. And the wise man of the Stoics is yet to be born. A philosophy which should enable a man to feel perfectly happy while in agonies of pain would be better than a philosophy which assuages pain. But we know that there are remedies which will assuage pain; and we know that the ancient sages liked the toothache just as little as their neighbours. A philosophy which should extinguish cupidity would be better than a philosophy which would devise laws for the security of property. But it is possible to make laws which shall,

to a very great extent, secure property. And we do not understand how any motives which the ancient philosophy furnished could extinguish cupidity.

< The Final (2<sup>nd</sup>) Examinations > (13<sup>th</sup> November, 1917)

### TEACHING DEMONSTRATION

#### Error Correction

Ginger is greatly produced in Formosa, but we regret to note that a little attention was given on this. After several years of study, we have at last succeeded to make a sweet meat from this product. This candied article is keeping its natural fragrant, and will never suffered any staleness or rottenness from many years storing. Taking the article as tea cake you will find its delicacy. We are, therefore, place this candies ginger on you, and beg your trial!

#### Conversation



Questions.

1. What do you think the left-hand picture represents?
2. What do you think the right-hand picture represents?
3. What connection, if any, is there between the pictures?
4. What view does the man get from his window?
5. Name some of the things which you see on the man's desk.
6. What is the woman doing?
7. Describe the room she is in.
8. Describe the next room.
9. Name some of the things that you see in the kitchen.
10. Name some of the things there are on the table in the dining room.
11. What relation is there between the two persons?
12. Whose work is the harder?
13. How does he communicate with the outer world?

14. What is the man doing? What has he in his left hand? In his right hand? What is the man called who does things with his left hand?

In 'English into Japanese' of the preliminary examinations, candidates were asked to translate the passages into Japanese on paper, and in 'Japanese into English' they were to rewrite the Japanese sentences in English. Four hours was allotted for these tasks. This was followed by 'Pedagogy' and 'National morality'.

The 'final (1st) examinations' would start with 'Dictation', in which candidates had the chance to listen to the examiner reading the passage aloud three times: The first was at a normal speed for candidates to comprehend it, the second was at a slower speed so that they could write it down, and the third was for correction and revision. In 'Composition', a 20-minute talk by a native English speaking examiner was to be given to them, and they were then asked to reproduce what they understood in their own words in English. Simultaneously, candidates were individually called on by the examiners for 'Reading, Translation and Grammar'. A 15-minute preparation on the passage was given to them, followed by reading-aloud and oral translation, and finally by grammatical questions asked by the examiners (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1917b, p.154-156). 'Pronunciation' was inserted into the 1915 administration.

In the final selection, 'Teaching demonstration', a 15-minute preparation was allowed, followed by the correction of grammatical errors intentionally included in the given passage, together with an explanation of the corrections. The passage used for grammatical correction was taken from an actual test paper from the dictation test in the first sample (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1915e, p.92) and a poster at a shop obtained in Taiwan in the second sample (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1917b, p.156). Finally, candidates were shown pictures and asked to answer the examiners' oral questions in English. The picture in the first sample was titled 'Afternoon Tea in a Ruined Farmstead behind the British Lines in the Upres District' and the second one was taken from *Literacy Digest*. The questions asked are also shown in the samples. As Mozumi (2009) concluded, the 'preliminary examinations' were aimed at examining candidates' scholastic abilities in written English, and the 'final (1st) examinations' tested their comprehensive English abilities,

including spoken English. In the ‘final (2nd) examinations’, they were tested on practical teaching aptitude, as well as conversational abilities in English (p.17).

### ‘Accuracy’ in Speech

The straightforward link between the 1911 English guideline and the Mombushō Tests of English could be observed in the stress on accuracy in speech, the introduction of ‘*Realien*’ and object teaching, and the inclusion of ‘Pedagogy’ and ‘National morality’. For accuracy in speech, pronunciation and accents, and phonetic knowledge were frequently tested. This became apparent much later than the 1902 English guideline appeared.

Examiners’ concern with accuracy in English pronunciation, accents, and syllable identifications, did already exist before 1902 (Meiji 35). For instance, after the 9th administration in 1896 (Meiji 29), an examiner, Kanda, mentioned that “when asked to pronounce the assigned words, they got the following words’ pronunciation frequently wrong, such as ‘rapid’, ‘solemn’, ‘horizontal’, ‘record’, ‘perishable’, ‘distress’, ‘injuries’, and indeed, their mispronunciation was derived from their wrong accent” (*Nippon Eigaku Shinshi*, 1896a, p.42).

However, a closer look at the transition of test questions revealed that this concern was first reflected in the test questions in 1904 (Meiji 37), in which Kanda chose some 30 English words and had the examinees pronounce them, such as ‘arithmetical’ and ‘arable’ (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1905, pp.17-18). It can be seen that from 1904 until 1916, examinees continued to be tested every year and were corrected on pronunciation, (such as ‘silt’, ‘eddies’, ‘impalpable’, ‘shoal’, ‘bilge’, ‘Emperor’, ‘liberty’, ‘photograph’) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1908a, p.271; 1910b, p.270), on accents, and occasionally, on syllable identification. In the 29th (Taishō 4) and 30th (Taishō 5) administrations, special questions on ‘Pronunciation’ (20 words each) were independently given and tested the examinees’ pronunciation and accent (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1915e, pp.91-93; 1916, pp.155-156) (also see the first sample question above). In the 25th (Meiji 45) administration, an examiner, J. T. Swift, tested examinees on their phonetic knowledge

and had them illustrate the positions of the tongue on the board for teaching the difference between an ‘r’ and an ‘l’ sounds (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1912a, pp.349-350).

Examiners’ concern with accurate pronunciation and accents was reflected in their evaluative accounts of examinees’ performance. Kanda referred to the poor performance manifested by some examinees at the 19<sup>th</sup> administration in 1905 (Meiji 38) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1906a, p.269) and at the 25<sup>th</sup> administration in 1911 (Meiji 44) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1912b, p.351). Lloyd commented with a surprise on their improvement in accuracy in pronunciation at the 20<sup>th</sup> administration in 1906 (Meiji 39) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1906b, p.21). At the 32<sup>nd</sup> administration, Ibaragi stated that “Japanese teachers of English of the times must be able to teach pronunciation, listening and conversation as foreign teachers do” (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1918b, p.151).

An accuracy-focused trend toward phonetics could be witnessed in the guide books examinees used for preparation. For example, Mr. ‘A.K’, who passed in 1908 (Meiji 41) in the 22<sup>nd</sup> administration, and Mr. Kihara both reported to *Eigo Seinen* a wide range of guide books (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909f, p.22; 1911a, pp.293-294), and what they commonly referenced were books on phonetics. Mr. K.G. had referenced McKerrow’s and Katayama’s book at the 22<sup>nd</sup> administration in 1908 (Meiji 41) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909f, p.22), and another who passed the 26<sup>th</sup> tests in 1912 (Meiji 45) had used Nobuta Kishimoto’s *Eigo Kenkyū Hatsuon no Genri* (principles of English pronunciation) and Yoshisaburō Okakura’s *Eigo Kyōiku* (English education) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1912c, pp.156-157). Sadaichi Shōno from Tokushima Prefecture had used both of them in 1913 (Taishō 2) and in 1914 (Taishō 3) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1914, p.221). Jiro Maeda had taken advantage of McKerrow and Katayama’s books, as well as Okakura’s phonetics books (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1915a, pp.221-222). Among others, Mckerrow and Katayama’s books published in 1902 (Meiji 35), which first introduced phonetics and phonetic symbols based on Henry Sweet’s broad romic and marked a new era of English phonetics in Japan, were most widely read. These retrospective accounts of how they prepared for English phonetics started to appear after the Meiji 40s.

### Object Teaching and ‘Realien’ as Conversational Tools

Another feature of the Mombushō Tests of English in relation to the 1911 English guideline was the inclusion of object teaching and ‘Realien’ in ‘Teaching demonstration’. Object teaching replaced a question-and-answer method that used text. In other words, its role was that of a topic provider for actual conversation practice. At the 25th administration in 1911 (Meiji 44), Swift took advantage of objects he could find in the room and asked questions about them. He also had the examinee describe the actions he demonstrated, such as taking up a pen, writing something with a pen, dropping a pen, and so on (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1912a, p.350).

Apart from objects, pictures from magazines (both domestic and foreign) were frequently used. Two such examples have been shown in the 1915 and 1917 sample questions above. Namely, a postcard showing a Portuguese woman in 1908 (Meiji 41), Yosemite Valley in 1909 (Meiji 42), Shakespeare in 1910 (Meiji 43), a caricature and a French village in 1912 (Meiji 45) were used. In 1913-1918 (Taishō 2-7), pictures from a magazine were continuously used, one of which included (at the 32<sup>nd</sup> administration) four pictures: ‘A Visual Materialization of the Entente’, ‘Officers of four Nations in a London Café’, ‘Daddy’s Christmas Dinner’, ‘With the Italians at the Taking of Corizia, and Mine-sweepers ‘Fishing’ for German mines’ (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1918a, p.124). The term ‘Realien’ was already well known to examinees by 1908 (Meiji 41), as an examinee Mr. K.G. reported to *Eigo Seinen* that when he was handed a postcard of a Portuguese woman, he soon recognised it and said to himself, “This must be a test on ‘Realien’” (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909e, pp.292-294).

However, it appeared that there was no distinction between object teaching and ‘Realien’, since both were aimed primarily at promoting conversation in English rather than at asking examinees about a structural understanding of foreign institutions, customs and feelings. Let us look at how ‘Realien’ was treated in the sample test questions for the 1915 and 1917 examinations above.

It can readily be noted that ‘Realien’ played a topic provider role. The questions

required examinees to describe the picture, and it turned out that the questions were dominated by interrogative sentences, containing, for example, 'what'. The expected answers revealed that the focus of the '*Realien*' test was on the possession of English vocabulary about the foreign '*Realien*', which was an 'encyclopedia type of knowledge' such as 'Christ', 'crucifixion', 'bayonet', 'teapot', 'jam pot', 'khaki', and 'canteen'. When he first tried the '*Realien*' questions at the 22<sup>nd</sup> administration in 1909 (Meiji 42), Kanda made a favourable comment about using this type of test: "...it made it possible for us examiners to learn how much vocabulary of foreign '*Realien*' the examinees possessed" (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909e, p.292). Another examiner, Kojima, also evaluated it positively, because "...it was a form of conversation tests and gave us the idea of how much stock of vocabulary they had built" (p.292). Kanda and other examiners viewed the role attached to '*Realien*' questions as evaluating language knowledge (e.g. vocabulary) and as introducing and sustaining English conversation in the classroom, rather than as a structural understanding of foreign '*Realien*'.

The other thing to be noted is the fact that the '*Realien*', which Kanda and others had chosen, included a wide range of foreign countries and did not centre on a specific culture. It included Portugal, the United States (Yosemite Valley), France (a village scene), as well as Britain (Shakespeare, a farmstead). In fact, Kanda's explanation of the motivation to introduce '*Realien*' questions when he first used a postcard of a Portuguese woman sounded rather arbitrary: "I just wanted to do something different, and a friend of mine who was travelling in a foreign country happened to send me a postcard of a Portuguese peasant woman, so I decided to use it" (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909e, p.292). This suggested that he was not particular about any cultural content.

Examiners' views on '*Realien*', however, were not so straightforward. Kanda and others saw it as part of a practical ability in English (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1915e, p.93). However, a Mombushō inspector Ibaragi viewed it more from a humanistic perspective. He stated that it was an opportunity to become familiarised with English thought and classics, because examinees tended to look at English teaching merely as a practical study (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1918b, p.151). Ibaragi's view suggested the connection with Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School's 1910 English syllabus and paralleled the

'*Realien*' view of German practice. As will be seen shortly, it was after 1915 (Taishō 4) that the study of '*Realien*' became increasingly dominated by Britain as the target culture, when William E. L. Sweet delivered a lecture on British '*Realien*' at the English summer training course upon Yoshisaburō Okakura's request. Thereafter, Okakura's attention to British '*Realien*' began to form a pattern of structure for textbook construction. Okakura's intention was the cultivation of the Japanese imperialist spirit through cultural studies of other successful imperialist countries.

### 'Pedagogy' and 'National Morality'

The third feature of the Mombushō Tests of English was the addition of 'Pedagogy' (*Kyōiku no Taii*) in 1909 (Meiji 42) and 'National morality' (*Kokumin Dōtoku no Yōryō*) in 1916 (Taishō 5). The Japanese secondary school teacher training system traces back to the German system and evidently became a transformed version of it (Takenaka, 2003a, p.260). In the German system, Herbart's pedagogy was a vital component of secondary teacher training, but the inclusion of 'Pedagogy' manifested a unique background in the Japanese teacher training system. According to Kurematsu (2003), the preparation of 'Pedagogy' tests was made by professors of pedagogy at Tokyo Higher Normal School, and the following figures were identified: Jintarō Ohse, Toshihide Shinoda, Sadanosuke Hatano, Jirō Shimoda, Kumaji Yoshida, Iwazō Ototake, and Tsunezō Morioka (p.269). Hatano, Shimoda, and Morioka were known to transfer the Herbartian pedagogy, specifically, Tuiskon Ziller's and Wilhelm Rein's pedagogy (Inagaki, 1995, p.428). In Rein's pedagogy, the aim of education was the cultivation of moral character grounded on racial, community ethics, which was transformed from Pestalozzi's and Herbart's original modern civil ethics (p.164). It is highly probable that the nature of 'Pedagogy' tests was characterised by the stress on racial, community ethics for future secondary school teachers and so had very little to do with pedagogy.

The emphasis on racial character building in the Mombushō Tests during the late Meiji Period was linked with the change in a social view of youth, which frequently led to campus riots and school strikes by middle school pupils (Takenaka, 2003a, p.265). Chapter six saw the Minister of Education Nobuaki Makino's thought control for a new

generation apparently lacking in patriotic sentiment and loyalty to the nation. The introduction of ‘Pedagogy’ as ‘discipline’ was a direct response to this ‘moral crisis’ of the youth, in that secondary teachers must have appropriate student discipline to suppress the ‘crisis’. Indeed, the Ministry of Education took ‘Pedagogy’ seriously. Takenaka (2003a) identified that the Ministry attempted to induce even in-service teachers to take the ‘Pedagogy’ tests (pp.259-260).

Test questions for ‘Pedagogy’ comprised three major components: Educational principles (aim, goal), psychology, and pedagogy (Kurematsu, 2003, pp.270-274). The sample below is another set prepared for the first administration of ‘Pedagogy’ in 1909 (Meiji 42) (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1909f, p.284) to show that the pattern was fixed from the beginning and did not change until later. Compare this with the two sets of sample questions for the 1915 and 1917 examinations shown earlier.

#### **PEDAGOGY**

1. 普通教育の意義及び価値を述べよ。(Describe the significance and value of general education.)
2. 直感、観念、概念の意義を説明せよ。(Explain the significance of intuition, idea, and concept.)
3. 教授と訓練との意義を明らかにし、中等教育における両者の関係を述べよ。(Clarify the significance of teaching and discipline, and describe the relationship of the two in secondary education.)

Shimoda, one of the members who prepared the above questions, discussed how much thinking they had put into it, stating that this would be the mould for subsequent questions (Kurematsu, 2003, pp.270-271). Based on the analysis of test papers, Kurematsu (2003) concluded as to the secondary teacher view involved in ‘Pedagogy’ with the following three emphases: (1) to lead pupils to a full development, (2) to educate them into a middle class person, and (3) to build their moral character (p.284). These teacher traits were to be educated in the context of pre-modern community ethics to deal with a crisis of modernisation.

‘National morality’ was added by an identical motivation. In the background was Japan’s entry into the First World War in 1914 (Taishō 3). The uplift of militarism had led middle schools to raise awareness of the ‘majesty’ of the national character and

patriotism. The Emperor gave an instruction on the promotion of national morality through school education (*Kyōiku Shinkō no Osatasho*) to the Minister of Education Sanae Takata in December 1915 (Taishō 4). It was three and a half months after this instruction that ‘National morality’ was introduced (Takenaka, 2003a, p.289). Like ‘Pedagogy’, ‘National morality’ acted to fix and reproduce the moral virtues of the Imperial Rescript on Education (pp.290-300). The view of ‘Familial Nation’ was particularly emphasised during the late Meiji through Taishō Period, in which loyalty to the Emperor was regarded as consistent with the filial piety to parents, and patriarchy was the basis for ‘Familial Nation’.

The Mombushō Tests of English responded quite sensitively to the emphases of the 1911 English guideline. Attention to accuracy in pronunciation, to conversational skill by way of object teaching of ‘*Realien*’, and to the implantation of community ethics, was a dominant feature of this process. In particular, the Mombushō Tests of English’s stress on an applied orientation to English teaching examined by near native examiners should be noted. The combination of community ethics and a distorted so-called Natural Method was maintained and strengthened.

### **English Summer Training Courses**

Summer training courses provided by the Ministry of Education were a chance for in-service secondary teachers to access the national standard in the most direct way. Since they were already employed to teach English at a secondary school, the impacts of summer training courses on their teaching practice were more apparent and more straightforward than teacher licence examinations.

‘Teachers’ for summer training courses were gathered from all over Japan. The number itself was not large, but because of that, they acted as an important source of central information after they returned to their place to work. As early as November 1889 (Meiji 22), the Ministry of Education drew up *Jinjō Chūgakkō Kyōin Kōshūkai Jisshi Yōkō* (a guideline for the administration of training courses for ordinary middle school teachers). According to this guideline (Mombushō, 1889), the aim was to improve

teachers' teaching skills as well as scholastic abilities. Teachers were to pay for the course at their own expense, and Tokyo was the only location where courses were to be held. For the selection of participants, local governors were to select from amongst in-service teachers of high scholastic abilities or those who strongly desired to become middle school teachers (p.309). One teacher per middle school was picked (*Nippon Eigaku Shinshi*, 1896b, p.26) (There were 53 middle schools in 1889). As the number of middle schools increased, however, one teacher per prefecture was picked (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1906b, p.167). Sending a teacher to summer training courses was mandatory for municipal governments. Nevertheless, educational information obtained from training courses was valuable and was to be transmitted to other teachers.

Summer training courses were first administered for technical arts (*shukō*) teachers of normal schools in 1888 (Meiji 21). They later included middle school teachers in 1896 (Meiji 29) (Matsumura, 1981, p.76), as well as normal schools, girls' higher schools and advanced technical schools (*Kōshu Jitsugyō Gakkō*). In the same year, English training courses were administered, and from this time onwards, they were offered almost every year.

### **Higher Normal Schools as the Key Actors**

English summer training courses were held mainly at Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools. The courses lasted approximately three weeks, from late July through to mid August when middle schools were closed for summer holidays. The number of participants varied from year to year, ranging from 30 to more than 100, with being the exceptionally large number of 183 at Tokyo Higher Normal School in 1915 (Taishō 4). For further details, refer to the Appendices (Appendix 8.4, p.364). Table 8.5, below, is created from multiple sources and shows a list of lecturers and lecture content. The parentheses show the work place of the lecturer at the time of the delivery.

Table 8.5: Lecturers and lectures delivered at English summer training courses

Period	Lecturers	Lectures / Activities
1902 (Meiji 35) (25/7 – 14/8)	Howard Swan	(1) Introduction of Gouin's Psychological Method
1904 (Meiji 37) (?)	Edward Gauntlett (Fourth Higher School)	(?)
1905 (Meiji 38) (25/7 – 14/8)	Yoshisaburō Okakura (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) Overview of modern language teaching methodology (2) English pronunciation (3) Practice lessons
	Seijirō Ibaragi (Fourth Higher School)	(1) History of English Language and Literature (2) Common words mispronounced (3) Letter writing (4) Versification (5) English Novel (6) Practical Study of English (7) Manners and Customs (8) Dickens' Christmas Carol (9) Max O'Rell's John Bull and his Country
	John. N. Seymour (Fourth Higher School)	(1) Pronunciation – (a) Methods of pronouncing sounds difficult for Japanese speakers, (b) Spelling as a guide to pronunciation (2) Story-telling, with questions and answers
	William E. L. Sweet (Fifth Higher School)	(1) Phonetics and pronunciation - conversation, (2) The teaching of writing – dictation, composition - elementary (3) The teaching of grammar – composition – advanced (4) Books – what to read, and how to read them (5) The study of poetry (6) Question box and discussion
1906 (Meiji 39) (25/7 – 14/8)	Konoma Sugimori (Hiroshima Higher Normal School) Motoi Kurihara (Hiroshima Higher Normal School) Percy A. Smith	English phonetics (introduction to vowels and consonants, practice in pronunciation), Lecture on English literature

	(Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	
1907 (Meiji 40) (25/7 – 14/8)	Konoma Sugimori (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Introduction to phonetics
	Buichirō Nagano (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Applied English phonetics
	William Eliot (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Conversation, composition, and English literature
1908 (Meiji 41) (27/7 – ?)	<b>Yoshisaburō Okakura</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) <b>English teaching methodology and practice</b>
1909 (Meiji 42) (?)	Motoi Kurihara (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) History of English
	<b>Buichirō Nagano</b> (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) History of modern language teaching, (2) <b>Phonetics</b>
	Konoma Sugimori (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(?)
	Junji Nagaya (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(?)
1910 (Meiji 43) (16/5-18/6)	Motoi Kurihara (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) History of English
	Buichirō Nagano (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Applied English phonetics
	Percy A. Smith (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Reading and textbook analysis
	Genzō Nogami (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Classroom observation and review
1911 (Meiji 44) (22/5 – 24/6)	<b>Yoshisaburō Okakura</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) English phonetics (2) <b>English teaching methodology</b>
	<b>Sakae Shioya</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) History of English literature (2) <b>Methods of reading-aloud</b>
	Nobuyasu Sakuma (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) Reading with focus on grammar and composition
	William E. L. Sweet (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) Speaking (2) Practice lessons
	Kinsaku Shinoda (practice middle school)	(1) Classroom observation

1912 (Meiji 45) (25/7 – 7/8)	Konoma Sugimori (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) Applied English phonetics and practice
	Heiji Hishinuma (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) English literature studies
	J. C. Brinkley (Hiroshima Higher Normal School)	(1) English literature in 1911 (2) Reading aloud (3) Composition
1915 (Taishō 4) (25/7 – 7/8)	<b>Yoshisaburō Okakura</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) <b>English translation</b> (2) Practical English phonetics
	<b>William E. L. Sweet</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) <b>English ‘Realien’</b>
	Naibu Kanda (Tokyo Higher Commercial School)	(?)
	<b>Seijirō Ibaragi</b> (Ministry of Education, inspector)	(1) <b>Remarks on teaching the 1911 English guideline</b>
	<b>Hidesaburō Saito</b> (Seisoku English School)	(1) <b>English grammar</b>
	<b>Kenjirō Kumamoto</b> (Tokyo Higher Normal School)	(1) <b>Notes on pronunciation, citation, dictation, translation and English composition</b>
	Mitsu Okada (Tokyo Girls’ Higher Normal School) Matsu Okonogi (Tokyo Girls’ Higher Normal School)	(1) English translation (stylistics studies in English literature, woman writers in the 19 <sup>th</sup> century)

Sources: This composite table is constructed from *Eigo Seinen Sha*, 1905-1916 and *Eigo Kyōju (The English Teachers’ Magazine)*, 1911-1916.

Note: Mitsu Okada and Matsu Okonogi were female. The boldface indicates that these lectures were transmitted in detail by *Eigo Seinen* or *Eigo Kyōju*. No courses were offered in 1913, 1914, and 1916, most likely due to the English teachers’ conference run by a private sector. Between 1909 and 1912, courses were offered twice a year in June and July.

From Table 8.5, the following points can be noted. Firstly, professors and teachers of Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools played a central role in delivering courses. In addition, many of them had direct contacts with British and German reformed

practice when they were sent by the Ministry of Education as students overseas after 1902 (Meiji 35) (see Chapter 2, Table 2.5, pp.64-65 and Appendix 2.8, p.352). The English summer training courses were the very place to transmit Western knowledge to secondary English teachers. Secondly, it is apparent that English summer training courses became increasingly established substantively after the 1902 English guideline was completed. Between 1909 (Meiji 42) and 1912 (Meiji 45), courses were offered twice a year, which suggested a focus on the implementation of the 1911 English guideline. The knowledge that Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools possessed became the key to English teaching policy-making and its implementation.

With regards to lecture content, an emphasis on phonetic knowledge, on how to incorporate spoken English, on British culture and theoretical and practical lesson study can be noted. Phonetics, and their application to English pronunciation, were consistently dealt with by Okakura (1905, 1911, 1915), Sugimori (1906, 1907, 1912), Nagano (1907, 1909, 1910), Ibaragi (1905), and Seymour (1905). In particular, it was stressed toward the implementation of the 1911 English guideline.

The same was true of the treatment of spoken English. This took the form of conversation, reading-aloud and story telling, with questions and answers. These topics tended to be delivered by foreign lecturers such as Seymour (1905), Sweet (1905, 1911), Eliot (1907), Smith (1910), and Brinkley (1912).

The emphasis on English literature was continuous. It included its historical development, English poetry and history of English, which was lectured by Ibaragi (1905), Sugimori (1906) and Eliot (1907), Kurihara (1909), Shioya (1911), Hishinuma, Brinkley (1912), and Okada and Okonogi (1915). The Japanese inclination to English literature was a traditional part of English teaching since its beginning. This trend, however, became gradually focused on a particular aspect of contemporary British culture ‘*Realien*’. Ibaragi’s (1905) and Sweet’s (1915) lectures treated it as ‘Manners and Customs’ and ‘English ‘*Realien*’’. As it was reported that a one-hour lecture on English ‘*Realien*’ was offered in the 1910 training courses at Hiroshima Higher Normal School (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1910c, pp.70-71), ‘*Realien*’ was more consistently delivered

at training courses.

Besides the elements of emphasis, theoretical and practical attempts to unify them into a coherent methodology were another feature. The theoretical side was dominated by Okakura (1905, 1908, and 1911). His enthusiastic activities to deliver his theory of English teaching were concentrated on the period before the 1911 English guideline. The instrumental side was taken both by Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools, which involved Nagano's applied English phonetics (1907, 1910), Smith's textbook analysis (1910), Nogami's classroom observation (1910), Sweet's practice lessons (1911), Shinoda's classroom observation (1911), and Sugimori's applied English phonetics (1912). In Nogami's classroom observation, the participants had the chance to observe an English class at the practice middle school attached to Hiroshima Higher Normal School, and designed a teaching plan based on assigned material (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1910d, p.143). In Sweet's speaking and practice lessons, 'Speaking' and 'Composition', and how they could be integrated in practice, were demonstrated. Examples of running conversation activities using a common object (object teaching) and of connecting the Reader with questions and answers were demonstrated, as were ways of connecting oral activities as a preparation for composition (Eigo Seinen Sha, 1911b, p.95). As a whole, the summer training courses were designed in a practical orientation involving a pedagogical demonstration and practice, as well as providing new educational information.

The Mombushō summer training courses pursued phonetics for pronunciation, oral methodology, British culture, and theoretical and practical lesson study. These emphases were concentrated on the period around the promulgation of the 1911 English guideline. Below, some of the lectures are examined in relation to the implementation of the 1911 English guideline. The boldface in Table 8.5 indicates the lectures that were made public through education journalism. I would judge, among them, that attention should be given to some of the lectures delivered in 1915 (Taishō 4), as, in addition to the large number of student participants, Ibaragi revealed how inadequately the national standard had been implemented. Other lectures can be regarded as touching on the inadequacy of its implementation and as the emphases of the course.

## **Focus of English Teaching at Training Courses after the 1911 English Guideline**

A school inspector Seijirō Ibaragi revealed his overt dissatisfaction with English teachers' inconsistent and incomplete implementation of the 1911 English guideline, based on his number of inspection rounds to local middle schools. In his lecture in 1915 (Taishō 4), Ibaragi mentioned at the outset that there were still some middle schools that had not prepared a teaching syllabus based on the guideline, and doubted whether those middle schools had ever studied its underlying philosophy (Ibaragi, 1915a, p.5). Ibaragi first attempted to clarify it. Some of the focuses included the connection between 'Reading-aloud' and 'Translation', and 'Speaking' and 'Composition', and an inductive way of teaching grammar, because he observed that these remained to be improved (pp.6-9).

Additionally, he introduced several questions that he had received from local teachers and attempted to clarify them. The first question concerned the aim of English teaching in the first place. That was, they asked whether it would be the cultivation of reading or listening, speaking and writing. To this, Ibaragi responded that the Reader was the centre of all instruction, and 'Reading-aloud & Translation' should be the central aim, to which 'Speaking & Composition' and others was to be subordinated in the sense that the latter related loosely to the cultivation of reading abilities (Ibaragi, 1915b, p.1). The confusion expressed by these local teachers revealed the difficulty in understanding the view that spoken English was the basis for reading, and hence in connecting the two. Also, it suggested the difficulty in imagining how grammar could be taught inductively.

The second question manifested a real issue of local English teachers with regards to teaching English based on the 'new method'. For the disadvantages, Ibaragi acknowledged that pupils' grammatical concepts tended to be vague, that their vocabulary became weak due to less exposure to reading experience, particularly English literature, and that they tended to be less prepared for entrance examinations (p.2). To these realistic issues, Ibaragi responded that the advantages were that it could better get pupils interested in it because it would provide them with the chance to use it,

and that, therefore, the ‘new method’ could motivate them to study independently (p.2). His response revealed policy-makers’ perception of hard fact and their limitations in projecting the ‘new method’ into a realistic and existing institutional situation. Thus, he concluded by emphasising individual teachers’ commitment to devising more suitable teaching according to the local conditions (p.2).

In this connection, Ibaragi emphasised the creative use of English textbooks, suggesting that the principle and structure of an English textbook be studied so that teachers could ‘teach with it’ rather than end up merely ‘teaching it’. Furthermore, Ibaragi emphasised pupils’ private-study (p.3). Finally, the new role of moral education through English teaching was touched on (p.4). He was consistent with the emphases of the 1911 English guideline and kept transmitting them throughout his lecture.

In response to the hard fact manifested by Ibaragi’s talk in 1915 (Taishō 4), professors of Tokyo Higher Normal School prepared the lectures on translation by Okakura, ‘*Realien*’ by Sweet, grammar teaching by Hidesaburō Saito, and general remarks on teaching English by Kumamoto. Let us briefly examine them to find out their focus.

Okakura’s view of English teaching has appeared in chapter two in his role as a Japanese linguist, in chapter five as a witness of German practice, and in chapter six as the chief contributor to Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School 1910 English syllabus. His attachment to cultural learning as the aim of middle school was consistent. In his lecture at the summer training course, ‘*Realien*’ was given as the basis and it became clear that his theory of ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’, and the significance of practical English abilities were deduced from it: If this was not justified or understood by teachers, ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ would not be justified either, nor would the connection of reading with practical abilities be rationally explained. Okakura simply stated that translation of an English text quite often involved elements of cultural differences and there was a need for cultural explanations to reach the writer’s connotation (Okakura, 1915a, p.340).

To him, ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’ (*chokudoku chokkai*), a type of

reading achieved by unconscious, reflex action without the intervention of Japanese, was the most effective way to realise the study of '*Realien*' (Okakura, 1915d, p.79). Added to that, "unless one possesses practical knowledge, one will never be able to appreciate the cultural value of the practical knowledge, nor will one ever become interested in that cultural value" (Okakura, 1915c, p.24). That was why Okakura did not deny the value of conversation and composition and believed that these practical abilities must be a prerequisite for English capability.

Okakura mentioned some frequently asked practical questions, such as the selective use of general (free) translation (i.e. interpretation) or literal (word for word) translation. The conventional habit of teaching translation in the Japanese tradition tended to rely heavily on literal translation. He was aware that literal translation had a cultural value — the advantages of giving the learner the chance to consciously study English structure by comparison with Japanese — and that conscious learning of any foreign language was what had featured in the Japanese tradition of foreign language study. To this practical question, Okakura answered that general translation should be the first to try out because it would facilitate practical reading ability (Okakura, 1915e, p.113). The teacher should teach pupils the practical advantages of English first. Only later should they be taught that there is another way of reading a text called 'literal translation'.

Together with Okakura's enthusiastic lecture on translation and '*Realien*', Sweet talked about British '*Realien*'. His lectures were carried in *Eigo Seinen* with the title 'Talks on English '*Realien*' in a series of 12 numbers, from vol.33, no.11 (1<sup>st</sup> September 1915) through to vol.34, no.12 (15<sup>th</sup> March 1916). The contents were divided into nine sections, and each section had several subdivisions in it. Sweet included British people's life cycle from birth to death, focusing on the education system, getting a job, and marriage. There were a few occasional talks which would lead the Japanese audience to a theoretical understanding of British culture, such as when he explained the British family life and home that "The individual, not the family, is the unit. In their domestic life English people strive after the fullest freedom" (Sweet, 1915a, p.341). But, overall, Sweet was centred on the transmission of a large amount of vocabulary and information about material and physical aspects of English '*Realien*', likely to be found in an

encyclopaedia (for Sweet's lecture content see Appendix 8.5, p.365). English teachers were expected to know about British '*Realien*'.

According to Niwano (2008), it was Okakura that had requested that Sweet give a lecture on English '*Realien*' (p.298). In fact Okakura had obtained the idea of including lectures on English '*Realien*' in the summer training courses from the German teacher training system when he was in Germany as a student overseas (p.295). Okakura did find Sweet's lecture quite beneficial to the audience, and so he encouraged him to publish a book on his lecture. Later in 1918 (Taishō 7), Sweet successfully published it with the help of one of his colleagues, Tōtarō Iijima, and they also published a sequel to it in 1921 (Taishō 10) with a preface by Okakura. Sweet's works on the introduction of English '*Realien*' were regarded to be the milestones for later developments of the study of English '*Realien*' (Deki, 1985, p.135).

Hidesaburō Saitō's lecture on grammar was also made possible by Okakura's request (Saitō, 1915, p.25). His view of grammar teaching was not necessarily that of an inductive tradition but featured two points. First, Saitō presented the role of grammar for accurate translation. He cited the difference in meaning between 'He is sure of success' and 'He is sure to succeed' as one of the samples which Japanese pupils could hardly differentiate, and emphasised that teachers should be able to do so first and to explain it clearly (pp.27-28). In this relation, Saitō stressed that for clear explanation, teachers should use sentences from literature and the classics. He insisted that language could not exist without a 'nucleus' and a 'common culture' (pp.29-30). This would lead pupils to a clear understanding and was the way to study English for teachers (p.30). Saitō's attachment to grammar for accurate translation, and the substance of content to illustrate grammar, was attractive to Okakura.

Kumamoto's lecture was characterised by practical technique for teaching Japanese pupils pronunciation, recitation, dictation, and Japanese and English translation. He emphasised the importance of the working knowledge of the teacher, rather than studying English as a scientific, academic body of knowledge.

## Transmission through Journalism

The emphasis of the 1911 English guideline was transmitted by means of English journalism, as well. English journal magazines published during the Meiji Period were many, but few of them lasted long enough to cover the late Meiji Period and the Taishō Period. An examination of English journals reveals that before the 1902 English guideline the introduction of Western practice was dominant, but that toward the making of the 1911 English guideline, their concern with practical application became increasingly keen.

*The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun – A Semimonthly Magazine Devoted to the Study of Practical English* (1898 – 1918), started in 1894 (Meiji 27) under the title *The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun Kenkyūroku*, issued its first volume with the extensive introduction of the new methods in 1898 (Meiji 31) (i.e. Isobe, 1898, p.116). Into the 1900s, it became focused on German practice and phonetics (i.e. Isobe, 1901a, p.91). The enthusiastic spread of Western knowledge by *the Chugwai Eiji Shimbun*, however, swiftly decreased at the turn of the year 1902 (Meiji 35), and the concern shifted to the domestic discussions and debates at the English Teachers' Association in the Imperial Educational Society, as well as the investigation by the Mombushō Committee Appointed to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools. Into the Taishō Period, a series of small articles began to come out that introduced teaching situations in local middle schools, lasting up to September 1914 (Taishō 3). They played a role in sharing information, such as adopted English textbooks, teaching staff, and English policies of as many as 24 government, municipal, and private middle schools.

In Meiji 40s, *Shotō Eigo Kenkyū* (a study of introductory English) (1908 – 1911) focused on the initial stages of English teaching practice. *Eigo Sekai (The English World)* (1907 – 1919) also showed primary interest in initial instruction. Its inaugural issue stated that “If the pupils could spell a little more correctly, could pronounce a little more accurately and could write simple sentences a little more grammatically!” (*Eigo Sekai*, 1907a, p.2). Its mission was to contribute to middle school boys' mastery of the elementary rules of English. Okakura's eight-long series of introductory lectures on

pronunciation and spelling in 1907 (Meiji 40), Nobuta Kishimoto's serial introductions on syllabication in 1908 (Meiji 41), followed by a six-long series of articles on the English consonants in the same year marked its beginning. Also, in 1909 (Meiji 42), a 31-long series of introductory lessons using *The National Readers* appeared. The series was titled '*Kaihatsuteki Tokuhon Kōgi*' (developmental teaching), and attempted to introduce the Pestalozzian application of teaching *The National Readers*. The increasing attention to initial instruction in the early 40s' journalism corresponded to the emphases of the 1902 English guideline, and it strengthened them toward the 1911 English guideline.

*Eigo Kyōju (The English Teachers' Magazine)* (1906 – 1917) targeted English teachers alone (Sakuraba, 1978, p.77) and aimed specifically at the study of English teaching methodology (Fujii, 1982, p.152). The editors and the majority of contributors were professors of Tokyo and Hiroshima Higher Normal Schools. As the aim suggested, *Eigo Kyōju* comprised discussions and proposals of English teaching methods, which included composition, pronunciation and spelling, the Reader, side-readers, and '*Realien*'. As for composition, P. A. Smith of Hiroshima Higher Normal School presented his teaching procedure in 1910 (Meiji 43). In 1911 (Meiji 44), an outline of Walter Rippmann's *English Free Composition* was introduced. Both were based on 'speech primacy' (from speech to text), and were reactions against translating short Japanese sentences into English.

Kaku Jimbo discussed the teaching of pronunciation and spelling from a theoretical point of view in 1910 (Meiji 43), and he also proposed his pilot study on the use of annotated texts to promote 'mastery' in the classroom rather than spending hours on translation in 1912 (Taishō 1). Rinshirō Ishikawa reported effective uses of side-readers in 1912 (Taishō 1). Okakura's article on the necessity of '*Realien*' knowledge appeared in 1917 (Taishō 6). This came out after Sweet's lecture on the British '*Realien*' at the English summer training courses. All these attempts by *Eigo Kyōju* featured experiments with incorporating the Natural Method and '*Realien*' into text-centred, transmission-dominant English instruction.

The Mombushō Tests of English and summer training courses were linked with policy-making processes toward and after the 1911 English guideline. Towards the 1911 English guideline, the former began to stress accuracy in English sound, oral methodology based on object teaching and '*Realien*', and nationalistic moral education. The overall impression was a further stress on oral proficiency. A similar trend in transformation was observed in summer training courses. However, after the 1911 English guideline, a central concern of the lecturers was with translation of an English text, in relation to speech and '*Realien*'. As Ibaragi's talk manifested, actual practice was only tenuously penetrated by the national standard. The difficulty centred on integrating speech with text. It consisted also in creating a learning climate for inductive grammar teaching rather than transmitting a body of knowledge directly. To this practical issue, professors of Higher Normal Schools provided lectures on relevant topics. Okakura encouraged general translation for practical reading ability toward '*Direct Reading and Direct Understanding*', and Sweet illustrated a rather monotonous but concrete body of information of British '*Realien*'. Saitō focused on practical suggestions on grammar for accurate translation, and Kumamoto showed his teaching techniques within the framework of the national standard. Into the Taishō Period, these institutionalised sectors continuously provided a rich amount of information to promote the precise implementation of the 1911 English guideline. Journalism helped spread them to a wider range of readers as well. Thus, phonetics, conversation, British culture, '*Direct Reading and Direct Understanding*', and grammar were all explained.

It now depended on teachers' commitment to making them work in actual practice in individual teaching needs and conditions. Nevertheless, English teaching policies were produced with a tension between the '*progressivism*' of (heavily modified) '*new methods*' and the conservatising demands of a centralising and militarising state, where any '*free-thinking*' was equated to disloyalty and '*decadence*'. Teachers were simply the last conflicted site in this structure and understood only too well that a conservative approach would not be looked on negatively by their supervisors.

## CHAPTER NINE

### WHAT WAS REALLY PRACTICED?

The 1911 English guideline was an attempt to transform middle school English in order to achieve the national benefit of increased instrumentalism and applied language. It entailed a strong inclination towards German reformed practice, paralleling itself to German nationalism. For English teaching methodology, it was an attempt to structure to a greater extent the teaching process around ‘speech primacy’. For teaching practice, it was a challenge to transform English teaching into an inductive, developmental process. As such, the central task in this chapter is to examine actual English teaching practice from the perspective of methodology and theory, which the 1911 English guideline attempted to introduce into English teaching practice.

### Institutionalisation of an In-School Transmission Structure

#### **In-School Top-Down Structure**

The 1902 teaching guideline had instructed individual middle schools, by way of municipal governors, to prepare their own teaching syllabus based on its recommendations and guidelines. The same was applied to the 1911 English guideline. After 1902 (Meiji 35), daily work in middle school education became heavily framed by the national standard. This meant that there was more control of individual teachers’ practice. For example, in Seisei Kō Middle School of Kumamoto Prefecture, responsible teachers of subject areas were regulated in the following way (Seiseikō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Iinkai, 1982, p.196):

#### **Regulations on the Responsible Teachers (*Gakka Shunin Kitei*) 1902**

*Article 28.* The responsible teachers are to draw up an aim and standard of the teaching syllabus concerned, to submit it to the curriculum coordinator and get approval from the principal.

*Article 29.* The responsible teachers are to inspect lessons concerned and to make arrangements so that they are conducted consistently with the syllabus.

*Article 30.* The responsible teachers are to submit a weekly report to the curriculum coordinator.

*Article 31.* The responsible teachers are to examine regular examination questions and adjust them to an appropriate difficulty.

*Article 32.* The responsible teachers are to call a meeting regularly and make necessary arrangements for the improvement of teaching.

In Seiseikō, a hierarchical transmission structure was substantiated by way of the responsible teachers in the translation of an official school syllabus into a weekly teaching plan. Specifically, term examination papers were put under school inspection, and teaching practice was made to be consistent with the school syllabus through classroom inspection and regular meetings.

A top-down structure was increasingly established toward the Meiji 40s. In Wakimachi Middle School of Tokushima Prefecture, regulations were made for individual teachers' responsibilities. *Kōmu Buntan Kitei* (regulations on school duties) in *Honkō Shosaimoku* (school bylaws) drawn up in April 1910 (Meiji 43) stated the following four items of responsibilities for teachers (Wakimachi Kenritsu Kōtō Gakkō Sōritsu Hyakunen Kinen Jigyō Inkaï, 1996, p.833):

**Regulations on School Duties (*Kōmu Buntan Kitei*) 1910**

1. Teachers take full responsibilities for their teaching. Personal views on their teaching may be presented to the principal by way of the curriculum coordinator.
2. A study group is to be held where teachers are to arrange on all teaching affairs, and the outcome of the study is to be recorded. Proposals can be only made to the principal by way of the curriculum coordinator.
3. A weekly plan of the teaching syllabus is to be adjusted in due course. A teaching record is to be kept at the end of the week and submitted to the curriculum coordinator every week.
4. At the end of the term and the school year, the administration of the teaching syllabus is to be reported to the principal by way of the curriculum coordinator.

Teaching based on a weekly plan, which was translated from an official school syllabus, had become customary by the Meiji 40s, as other examples also suggest (For example see Kumachū Kumakō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï, 2000, p.256). Additionally, a principal approval system had also become prevalent by the beginning of the Taishō

Period (For example see Numata Kōtō Gakkō, 1997, pp.44-45; Tomichū Tomikō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Iinkai, 1985, p.420). An official teaching syllabus was to be revised every year based on actual practice (For example see Ōmachi Kōkō Kinenshi Iinkai, 1982, pp.236-237). In some middle schools, like Kanagawa Dai-ni Middle School, teachers were obliged to keep a daily record of practice (Kanagawa Kenritsu Odawara Kōtō Gakkō, 2002, p.176). Hence, from the Meiji 40s and into the early Taishō Period, an authoritative transmission structure of the national standard had become an established practice within individual middle schools in the form of ‘principal’ → ‘curriculum coordinator’ → ‘responsible teacher’ → ‘individual teacher’, and ‘the national standard’ → ‘an official school syllabus’ → ‘a monthly plan’ → ‘a weekly plan’. An official teaching syllabus was the source of daily practice, which was to be enforced in the form of monthly and weekly plans.

### **Spread of an In-School Study Group**

An in-school study group, as part of the in-school transmission structure, was rapidly spreading toward the Meiji 40s, as well. The trend corresponded to the socio-cultural change of Japanese society after the Russo-Japanese War (Hiroshima Kenritsu Miyoshi Kōtō Gakkō Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinenshi Henshū Iinkai, 2001, p.39). Its establishment is mentioned in quite a few school histories, which include those of Kumamoto (Kumamoto Prefecture), Shizuoka (Shizuoka), Ibaragi (Ōsaka), Yatsushiro (Kumamoto), Numata (Gunma), Tamana (Kumamoto), and Kishiwada (Ōsaka) Middle Schools. It had spread across Japan. Matsue Middle School of Shimane Prefecture had drawn up the following administrative remarks by 1908 (Meiji 41) (Matsue Kita Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunenshi Henshū Iinkai, 1976, pp.479-480):

**Administrative Remarks on ‘Teaching’, ‘Discipline’, and ‘Management’**

*(Kyōju, Kuniku, Kanri ni kansuru Jisshi Jikō)*

No. 1. Teaching

1. Regulations on teaching methods: The principle of a teaching method taken is to be clearly articulated. To achieve an expected outcome, regulations on the teaching method are to be agreed on, based on which teaching is to be conducted.

2. Teacher meeting: A meeting is to be held regularly, in which arrangements are to be made for consistent teaching with the agreed method, with other related subjects, as well as for solving on-going problems.
3. Study group: English teachers are to meet at a missionary Mr. Knight's house and study twice a week.
4. Mutual classroom observation: Mutual classroom observation is encouraged for the study of teaching methods. Teachers are to observe others teach at least one lesson a week and to give a review feedback.

Teachers were to meet regularly once every one or two weeks after school, where all affairs concerned with teaching were to be discussed; the primary focus was on the improvement of teaching methods. An agreed method was explored and teaching was made consistent with this method. Mutual classroom observations and reviews had become typical practices for this purpose. Wakimachi Middle School of Tokushima Prefecture had elaborate regulations on teaching methods for study groups. Some of the most fundamental remarks were as follows (Wakimachi Kenritsu Kōtō Gakkō Sōritsu Hyakunen Kinen Jigyō Jikkō Iinkai, 1996, pp.842-843):

**Regulations on Study Group for Teaching Methods (*Kyōju-hō Kenkyū-kai Kitei*)**

*Article 3.* At the 'whole school group', arrangements and exchanges of ideas on teaching are to be conducted, whereas at the 'section meeting', the development of teaching materials, the selection of textbooks, arrangements on the teaching syllabus, the study of teaching methods and consistent teaching with other subjects are to be discussed.

*Article 8.* A record is to be kept of the outcomes of the meetings, and within two days after the meeting, it is to be submitted to the principal by way of the curriculum coordinator.

*Article 9.* Teachers are to observe other lessons for the study of a teaching method. The principal and the curriculum coordinator may call on a teacher to observe a designated classroom and at a designated time.

The structure consisted of the 'whole school group', where arrangements with other departments were to be made and the 'section meeting' in which the study of a specific teaching method were to be handled, the preservation and censorship of recorded documents by the principal, and a mutual observation of lessons and review feedback were the basic and typical components of the study group in the Wakimachi regulations.

In fact, the institutionalisation of an in-school study group of essentially the same structure was found in other middle schools, such as *Jugyō Uchiawase Kitei* (regulations on lesson conference) of Maebashi Middle School (Maebashi Kōtō Gakkō

Kōshi Hensan Inkai, 1983, pp.545-546) and *Kyōin Kyōgi-kai Kitei* (regulations on teachers' conference) of Tokushima Middle School (Jōnan Kōkō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkai, 1975, p.123). On the other hand, in Kumamoto Middle School, its study group had been dismissed by 1930 (Shōwa 5), while others in small towns continued to have one, not only because the teachers were already over-burdened but also because review feedback system had become hollow with no substantial exchanges (Kumachū Kumakō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkai, 2000, p.267). From all these examples of different regions of Japan, an in-school study system was thoroughly institutionalised, but highly standardised, and its nature tended to be that of transmission.

### **Diffusion of the National Standard**

#### **Municipal English Curricula**

Prefectural governments took on preparing a municipal enforcement regulation based on the 1911 regulation. In Ōsaka Fu, the municipal governor requested the board of principals to prepare a draft, based on which the Ōsaka Municipal Middle School Regulation was drawn up (Ōsaka Furitsu Kishiwada Kōtō Gakkō Kōshi Hensan Inkai, 1997, pp.84, 175). In Nagano Prefecture, drafts prepared by individual principals were so inconsistent that the governor instead drew up a draft and requested the Ministry of Education's approval (Ōmachi Kōkō Kinenshi Inkai, 1982, pp.83-84). Prefectural regulations were mandatory and made under the governor's strong initiative, but these examples revealed that principals' judgment was also involved.

Table 9.1 shows the English curricula prepared by prefectural governments. The 1911 national standard is also included in the first column for comparative purposes. The sources used were newly discovered in individual middle school histories. These curricula have been deliberately selected to cover as many regions of Japan so that they would accurately represent the overall trend of middle schools nation-wide.

Table 9.1: English teaching matters and distribution in prefectural regulations

Prefecture	1 <sup>st</sup> grade	2 <sup>nd</sup> grade	3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	4 <sup>th</sup> grade	5 <sup>th</sup> grade	
<i>National Standard (1911)</i>	6 P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D	34
Yamagata	6 P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D	34
Gunma	6 P, R, T, S, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R, T, SP, D, C, PEN	7  R, T, SP, D, G, C	7  R, T, SP, D, G, C	7  R, T, SP, D, C	34
Nagano	6 P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D	34
Shizuoka	6 P, S, R, T, SP, C, D, PEN	7  R, T, SP, C, D, PEN	7  R, T, SP, C, D, G	7  R, T, SP, C, D, G	7  R, T, SP, C, D	34
Yamaguchi	6 P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D	34
Ehime	6 P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D, G	7  R&T, SP&C, D	34
Kumamoto	6 P, S, R, T, CON, D, PEN	6  R, T, CON, C, D	7  R, T, CON, C, D, G	7  R, T, CON, C, G	7  R, T, D, CON, C	33

Sources: This table is constructed from individual middle school histories.

Note (1): The abbreviations indicate the following English teaching matters; ‘P’ =

‘pronunciation’, ‘S’ = ‘spelling’, ‘R’ = ‘reading-aloud’, ‘T’ = ‘translation’, ‘SP’ = ‘speaking’, ‘C’ = ‘composition’, ‘D’ = ‘dictation’, ‘PEN’ = ‘penmanship’, ‘G’ = ‘grammar’ and ‘CON’ = ‘conversation’.

Note (2): ‘&’ indicates the two teaching matters were to be taught integratively.

Note (3): The numbers for each grade indicate instruction hours per week.

A glance reveals that all these municipal versions of the English curriculum strictly followed the 1911 national standard. First, for instruction hours, all of them perfectly matched the national standard (except for the Kumamoto curriculum, where one hour was reduced to allot six hours in the second grade, revealing that ‘penmanship’ was no longer taught in that grade). This conformity also applied to teaching matters and their distribution. Stress on ‘pronunciation’ and ‘spelling’ in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades and the introduction of ‘grammar’ in 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades were observed by all the prefectures (except for Kumamoto). ‘Reading-aloud’, ‘translation’, ‘speaking’, and ‘composition’ were all taught, as well as ‘dictation’. In addition, all the terminology for the teaching matters were adopted, except for the Kumamoto curriculum in which ‘conversation’ was still borrowed from the older 1902 national standard and used. Overall, at the municipal level, the Meiji Government’s top-down leadership directed and exercised a degree of constraint on how English could be taught.

### **Individual Middle School English Curricula**

The real task is to examine individual middle schools’ curricula. While strictly framed by a municipal enforcement regulation, middle schools were allowed to take local needs into account upon the local governor’s approval. Table 9.2, below, shows English curricula prepared by individual middle schools after the 1911 English guideline was issued. In selecting them, the population scale of the location in which they were located is taken into consideration, in addition to covering wider regions. In chapter six, citing Yoneda’s analysis on varied functions of middle schools among larger and smaller farming areas, I have pointed to a rigid nature of middle school administration (see pp.151-152). We will look at how this locality affected individual English curricula.

Table 9.2: English teaching matters and distribution of individual schools

P	School	1 <sup>st</sup> grade		2 <sup>nd</sup> grade		3 <sup>rd</sup> grade		4 <sup>th</sup> grade		5 <sup>th</sup> grade		
S	(Prefecture)											
A	Sakai (Ōsaka)	6	P, S R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	8	R&T, SP&C, D, G	35
	Kanazawa 1 <sup>st</sup> (Ishikawa)	6	P, S, R, T SP, C D, PEN	7	R, T SP, C D, PEN	7	R, T SP, C D, G	7	R, T SP, C D, G	7	R, T SP, C D	34
B	Hirosaki (Aomori)	6	P, S R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	8	R&T, SP&C, D, G	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	8	R&T, SP&C, D	36
	Matsue (Shimane)	6	P, S, R, T SP, C D, PEN	7	R, T SP, C D, PEN	7	R, T SP, C D, G	7	R, T SP, C D, G	9	R, T SP, C D	36
	Mie 2 <sup>nd</sup> (Mie)	6	P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	6	R&T, SP&C, D, G	6	R&T, SP&C, D	32
C	Uozu (Toyama)	6	P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	7	R&T, SP&C, D	34
	Kishiwada (Ōsaka)	6	P, S, R, T, CON, D, PEN	7	R, T, CON, D, PEN, C	7	R, T, CON, D, C, G	7	R, T, CON, D, C, G	7	R, T, CON, D, C, G	34
	Numata (Gunma)	6	P, R, T S, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R, T SP, D, G, C	7	R, T SP, D, G, C	7	R, T SP, D, G, C	7	R, T SP, D, C	34
	Wakimachi (Tokushima)	6	R, T, etc. PEN	7	R, T, etc. PEN	7	R, T, etc. G, C,	8	R, T, etc. G, C,	7	R, T, etc. G, C,	35

D	Kitsuki (Ōita)	7	P, S, T, CON D, PEN	7	R, T CON, C, D	8	R, T CON, C, D, G	9	R, T CON, C, D, G	9	R, T, D, CON, C	40
	Ibaragi (Ōsaka)	6	'English' PEN	7	'English' SP, G&C	7	'English' SP, G&C	7	'English' SP, G&C	8	'English' SP, C	35
	Haibara (Shizuoka)	6	P, S, R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, PEN	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	7	R&T, SP&C, D, G	7	R&T, SP&C, D	34

Sources: This table is constructed from individual middle school histories.

Note (1): The abbreviation system follows Table 9.1. In Ibaragi Middle School, its own expressions were used.

Note (2): The population-scale (PS) is of October 1904 (Meiji 37) based on Yoneda (1992, pp.120-125) and categorised in the following divisions: 'A' indicates that the population exceeded 50,000. Likewise, 'B', 'C', and 'D' indicate more than 25,000, between 25,000 and 10,000, and below 10,000.

As compared to the prefectural regulations' strong conformity to the 1911 national standard, English curricula made by individual middle schools revealed a certain amount of deviation. The most salient deviation can be observed in the increase (and decrease) in total instruction hours. Table 9.2 indicates that six middle schools allotted an additional one to two hours to the national standard, which included Sakai, Hirosaki, Matsue, Wakimachi, Kitsuki, and Ibaragi Middle Schools. In the Kitsuki curriculum, additional six hours were given. On the other hand, Mie Second Middle School allotted one hour less in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades each. In the Mie curriculum, 'Physics and Chemistry' and 'Gymnastics' were more stressed than those of the national standard (Yokkaichi Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï, 2001, p.102).

Further, increased instruction hours could be dominantly seen in upper grades (3<sup>rd</sup> year and beyond), but the most distinctive tendency is that hours were added to the final year (See the Sakai, Kishiwada, and Wakimachi curricula). In addition, the tendency of increased hours did not necessarily correlate to the population scale; rather, it was more likely to apply across Japan.

What aspects of English study were strengthened (or weakened, in the case of Mie Second) with the additional hours? From Table 9.2, it can be pointed out that ‘grammar’ tended to be increased, especially to the final grade. This trend was seen in Sakai’s, Kishiwada’s and Wakimachi’s curricula, and in Numata’s and Ibaragi’s curricula, and in some cases, ‘grammar’ was taught even in 2<sup>nd</sup> grade. I have indicated this trend with the boldfaced Gs in Table 9.2.

The other point to be noted is the fact that integrative instruction of ‘reading-aloud & translation’ and ‘speaking & composition’ instructed by the 1911 national standard was not translated into some of the curricula, such as Kishiwada’s, Numata’s, Wakimachi’s and Ibaragi’s curricula. The linkage of ‘speaking’ with ‘composition’ was grounded on the view that spoken language is the basis of language development, which was a guiding principle to structure the 1911 national standard. In fact, as will be seen shortly, the disconnection of ‘speaking’ from ‘composition’ did prevail over a wider range of middle school curriculum.

### **Constraints of Entrance Examinations on the Nature of Middle School English**

Several studies have pointed out that a competitive preparation for higher institutions was prevalent in middle school education in the late Meiji Period (Amano, 1986; Saitō, 1995a & 1995b). For English teaching, the emergence of the so-called ‘Examination English’ (*Juken Eigo*) was pointed out by Kawazumi (1978). In fact, it was not difficult to find, in school histories, that middle school English was affected by entrance examinations. For the most part, the influence was perceived by middle school teachers as a serious drawback to middle school education (for example see Komatsu Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Iinkai, 1999, p.57; Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, p.147; Kumachū Kumakō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, 2000, p.267), and there were some principals who endeavoured to transform provision in middle school to ‘higher liberal education’, which the former Ministry of Education Dairoku Kikuchi had termed as an educational aim not influenced by external demands, such as vocational education or preparation for higher institutions (for example see Kumachū

Kumakō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï, 2000, p.156; Matsue Kita Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Inkaï, 1976, p.481; for Kikuchi's explanation of 'higher liberal education' see Chapter 4, pp.121-122).

Constraints on English teachers' classroom practice were consistently mentioned by students (for example see Ōsaka Furitsu Shijōnawate Kōtō Gakkō Nawate Hachijūnen-shi Henshū, 1987, p.82), but the perception of classroom practice by teachers and students seemed complicated. For example, a graduate of Morioka Middle School later recalled that his English teacher Naoe Hirai 'kindly gave advice', saying, "It'll be on the test; don't forget that" (Iwate Kenritsu Morioka Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō Kōshi Henshū Inkaï, 1981, p.300). Another English teacher Kamitori made his 4<sup>th</sup> grade students rote-learn 200 English sentences, adding that "this will surely suffice to pass the test" (p.300). When the former student found that similar questions were on the test, he showed his gratitude to this teacher (p.300). It is inevitable that students took entrance examinations and teachers set the goal for studying English toward these examinations most strategically. It is quite natural, then, that the nature of English teaching was transformed by that of English examination papers. When the latter differs from the direction of the national standard, examining the pedagogical nature of examination papers is an indispensable task, as it is an influential factor on the 'natural methods'. The combination of increased class hours for grammar instruction in upper grades, regardless of the population scale, would most probably suggest that middle school English was restricted by the demand to prepare pupils for entrance examinations.

### **A 'Supplementary Course' (*hoshū-ka*) as an Institutionalised Preparation**

For preparatory instruction for higher institutions, a 'Supplementary Course' (*hoshū-ka*) was attached to middle schools. Examining its aims and teaching content will serve as a useful indicator, informing us of how teachers and pupils looked at learning in middle school in relation to the pressure from entrance examinations. 'Supplementary Course' was mentioned first in Middle School Order (Article 9) in 1899 (Meiji 32), but no specific aim was articulated by it. However, I have found in school histories that the

course was virtually playing a preparatory role for entry into higher schools (*Kōtō Gakkō*) (For example see Kōshi Hensan Inkaï, 1972, p.231). I have included several examples of student enrolment for a supplementary course in the Appendices (see Appendix 9.2, p.367). In 1899 (Meiji 32), there were seven higher schools that administered entrance examinations in July, followed by its opening of the first semester in September. A ‘Supplementary Course’ provided middle school graduates with the opportunity to review and prepare for the July entrance examinations after they had graduated in March. This practice was abolished toward 1919 (Taishō 8) when higher schools were to open in April instead of September under the revision of Higher School Order (*Kōtō Gakkō Rei*).

According to Middle School Order (Article 9), a ‘Supplementary Course’ was allowed for less than a year. Actually, many of the middle schools provided six months of the course (from April to September). There were some middle schools, even, that opened only for four months from April to July. Shibata Middle School was one of those (Niigata Kenritsu Shibata Kōtō Gakkō, 1996, p.60). In fact, even in middle schools providing longer than four months of the course, most of the pupils withdrew from the course voluntarily as soon as they had finished the higher school entrance examinations in July. For instance, in Iwaki Middle School of Fukushima Prefecture, almost no students completed the course out of an average of 20 pupils enrolled from 1901 (Meiji 34) to 1916 (Taishō 5) (Fukushima Kenritsu Iwaki Kōtō Gakkō, 1996, p.204). The same phenomenon could be seen between 1902 (Meiji 35) to 1913 (Taishō 2) in Aichi Daini Middle School of Aichi Prefecture (Aichi Kenritsu Okazaki Kōtō Gakkō Kyūjūshūnen Kinenshi Henshū Inkaï, 1987, p.129). Dropping out halfway had become an institutionally accepted practice.

Table 9.3, below, attempts to show how pervasive a ‘Supplementary Course’ had already become by the Meiji 40s, as well as its pragmatic teaching content. These four middle schools represent regional diversity and population-scale, as well.

‘Supplementary Courses’ appeared all over Japan by the Meiji 40s, whether the middle school was in a large city or in a small farming area. In Shibata Middle School of

Niigata Prefecture, there were two different types of ‘Supplementary Courses’. The one shown in this table was for pupils going onto higher education. The other one was for those going into business. However, most pupils took the former type (Niigata Kenritsu Shibata Kōtō Gakkō, 1996, p.60). It is suggested that in this way, the nature of middle school education had become characterised by competitive aspirations toward entering higher institutions across Japan.

Table 9.3: Spread of a ‘Supplementary Course’ across Japan

P	School	Moral	Japanese	<b>English</b>	History	Math	Natural	Physics	Law	Art	Gym
C	(Period)	Training	Chinese C.		Geography		History	Chemistry	Economics		
A	Aichi 1 <sup>st</sup> (1 year)		○ (4)	○ (7)		○ (6)		○ (4)	○ (2)		
B	Aomori (6 months)	○ (1)	○ (3)	○ (6)		○ (5)		○ (2)			
C	Iwaki (6 months)	○ (1)	○ (3)	○ (6)		○ (6)					○ (2)
D	Iwakuni (1 year)	○ (1)	○ (5)	○ (6)	○ (3)	○ (4)	○ (2)	○ (2)	○ (3)	○ (1)	○ (3)

Note (1): ‘A’ – ‘D’ indicates population-scale (PC). The divisions follow Table 9.1.

Note (2): The numbers in the parentheses show instruction hours per week.

With regard to subject areas and standards, they were offered according to the curriculum for 5<sup>th</sup> grade. At a glance, the most hours were allotted consistently to ‘Japanese and Chinese Classics’, ‘English’, and ‘Mathematics’, suggesting that these were considered as the most vital subjects for passing entrance examinations for higher schools. ‘English’ was the key subject. In ‘English’, the focus was essentially the same as that in 5<sup>th</sup> grade, which included ‘translation’, ‘dictation’, ‘grammar’, and ‘composition’, and it appears that ‘conversation’ was also included (For example see Kanazawa Nishikigaoka Kōtō Gakkō-shi Hensan Iinkai, 1993, p.32; Aichi Kenritsu Okazaki Kōtō Gakkō Kyūjūshūnen Kinenshi Hensan Iinkai, 1987, p.129; Nagano Kōkō Hachijūshūnen-shi Kankōkai, 1980, p.37).

## Nature of Entrance Examination Questions

In order to examine the nature of examination English, it is necessary to determine the types of higher educational institutions that middle school boys went onto, or aspired to. I have created and included in the Appendices a table to show middle school graduates' career path in the following year after graduation in the early Taishō Period (see Appendix 9.1, p.366).

The career paths of middle school boys were remarkably similar, regardless of the location of middle schools. A relatively small number of successful candidates for higher schools and a larger number for technical schools comprised most of the breakdowns of those going onto higher education, which occupied around 40% of the graduates. Graduating from higher schools was the prerequisite for entering Imperial Universities. Technical schools included Higher Commercial Schools, Higher Industrial Schools, Medical Schools, as well as Higher Normal Schools. A small number of pupils also went onto military schools. Those graduates who failed in entrance examinations are included in 'Undecided/Unknown'. Many of the graduates in this category were also those wanting to go onto higher institutions. According to Yoneda (1992), this category mainly comprised those who failed, and that more than one third (34%) of the graduates had been failing for the previous 10 years (pp.114-115). This suggests that passing higher institutions directly from middle schools had become quite difficult by the late Meiji Period.

Toward the Meiji 40s and from then onward, English professional magazines carried entrance examination questions extensively, along with model answers. Table 9.4 shows the patterns of examination questions prepared by higher institutions, which include higher schools, technical schools, and military schools, based on the sources I have collected from professional magazines which came out from 1897 (Meiji 30) to 1918 (Taishō 7). Although all the relevant magazines have not been covered, and some of the schools (higher schools, commercial schools, industrial schools, and military schools in particular) were introduced more extensively than others (medical schools, agricultural and forestry schools, mining schools), an identification of a general trend of the kinds of

English abilities these examinations tested can be made.

Table 9.4: Patterns of English entrance examinations

Question Patterns	Japanese translation	English translation	Dictation	Listening comprehension	Conversation	Grammar	Reading aloud
<Higher>	○	○	○				
<Technical>							
<i>Commercial</i>							
Otaru	○	○					
Tokyo	○	○	○	○			
Kobe	○	○	○		○		
Yamaguchi	○	○	(○)				
Nagasaki	○	○	(○)				
<i>Industrial</i>	○	○					
<i>Foreign L.</i>	○	○	○		○		○
<i>A &amp; F</i>	○	○					
<i>Medical</i>	○	○					
<i>Mining</i>	○	○					
<i>Maritime</i>	○	○					
<i>Higher N</i>	○	○					
<Military>							
<i>Navy</i>	○	○				○	
<i>Army</i>	○	○				○	

Sources: Isobe, *The Chūgwai Eiji Shimbun*, 1897-1917; Isobe, *The Chūgwai Eiji*, 1917-1918; *Eigo Sekai (The English World)*, 1909-1918.

Note: ‘A&F’ and ‘Higher N’ indicate agricultural and forestry schools and higher normal schools. ‘Navy’ includes a naval, engine, and accounting academy, and ‘Army’ includes a military and accounting academy.

‘Technical Schools’ included commercial, industrial, foreign language, agricultural and forestry, medical, mining, maritime, and higher normal schools. In commercial schools, the patterns differed from one school to another and so are shown individually. From Table 9.4, patterns of the English entrance examinations for higher institutions could be

categorised into seven areas of English. Out of these, five ('Dictation', 'Listening comprehension', 'Conversation', and 'Reading-aloud') concern spoken English in some form. In 'Higher Schools', the patterns consisted of 'Japanese translation', 'English translation', and 'Dictation', whereas in 'commercial schools' more stress appeared to be placed on spoken English, which was also true of a foreign language school (Tokyo). The other types of schools looked at 'Japanese translation' and 'English translation' as exclusively important. Stress on grammar seemed to be weaker than expected, but it was tested in 'English translation'. Overall, abilities of 'Japanese translation' and 'English translation' were the key to passing examinations regardless of the types of schools. On the other hand, 'Dictation' and some other types of questions were also required by some of the commercial schools, and by the foreign language school. In other words, the picture was all thoroughly pragmatic for scholasticism and academicism on the one hand and instrumentalism on the other. From the teacher's perspective, both translation skills and the command of spoken English were looked at as crucial teaching matters, and from the pupils' perspective, these were the target to be mastered as efficiently as possible.

Below are some of the sample questions given by higher schools, technical schools, and military schools during the early Taishō Period. The first sample is the questions for higher schools administered on July 1913 (Taishō 2) (Isobe, 1913, p.474). Model answers for 'English translation' taken from *Eigo Sekai* (1913, p.44) are included, which are indicated in italics:

## Higher Schools

### 1. Japanese translation

- (1) I like very well to be told what to do by those who are fond of me; but never to be told what not to do; and the more fond they are of me the less I like it. Because when they tell me what to do, they give me an opportunity of pleasing them; but when they tell me what not to do, it is a sign that I have displeased or, am likely to displease them.
- (2) A true gentleman is recognized by his regard for the rights and feelings of others, even in matters the most trivial. He respects the individuality of others, just as he wishes others to respect his own.

### 2. English translation

- (1) 前週の水曜日には学校の運動会があったけれども私は風邪の為め競技に加はることが出来なくて大層

残念でした。(Our school had an athletic meeting last Wednesday, but to my regret my cold prevented me from taking part in the sports. / It was my great regret that owing to a cold, I could not join the athletic sports held by our school last Wednesday.)

(2) 此度当市では山田さんが衆議院議員に当選しました。あのお方は学問もあり人物も立派だと叔父は申して居ます。(Mr. Yamada has been elected member of the House of Representatives for this city. My uncle says that he is a scholar and has a noble character. / Our city has elected Mr. Yamada member of parliament, who uncle tells me is a man of learning and noble character.)

### 3. Dictation

We should never despise any person, however humble his condition may be; but treat all persons with kindness, and endeavor to gain their favor and esteem; for we know not how soon we may stand in need of their assistance.

In ‘Higher Schools’, examination questions centred on ‘Japanese’ and ‘English translation’ and ‘dictation’, but the former two constituted the major emphasis. The relative importance amongst the three varied slightly, depending on the year, but it appeared that the ability of ‘translation’ was taken most seriously. For instance, in 1916 (Taishō 5) ‘Japanese translation’ was given 100 points, whereas ‘English translation’ and ‘dictation’ were allotted 60 and 40 points each (Isobe, 1916, p.472). In other words, spoken English was relatively less valued. This bias can be said to reflect the relative focus among them in higher schools. The following points can be noted as to the nature of higher school examination questions. With regards to ‘Japanese translation’, a distinctive feature consisted in the fact that the ability of understanding English text was measured through the mediation of the Japanese language. Second, ‘Japanese translation’ used relatively short English sentences, which were disconnected from a broader and ample context. The dominant use of Japanese in a decontextualised short English sentence in measuring English abilities could be also seen in ‘English translation’. Unlike these two types of translation methods, ‘dictation’ would feature a direct association of English sound with its meaning, without the intervention of Japanese, though the question sentences were still relatively short. The sentences were to be read three times with frequent pauses: In the first reading, pupils just listened; in the second, they were to write down what they heard; and in the third, they were to look for errors and fix them.

In some English professional magazines, detailed reviews and commentaries were

provided by a middle school English teacher. In the reviews made by Yusuke Ishikawa of Takahashi Middle School of Okayama Prefecture (*Eigo Sekai*, 1913, pp.43-44), salient attention was paid to such formal features as the grammatical construction of ‘what + to do’, ‘the more..., the less...’, the appositive function of the noun clause ‘that I have... them’ with the ‘sign’ in ‘Japanese translation’. In ‘English translation’, Ishikawa also pointed out such formal features as the use of ‘my cold’ as the subject as English usage in Question 1, because the Japanese normally do not use non-human nouns as a subject. In Question 2, it was explained that ‘此度’ was expressed by the present perfect tense and no Japanese equivalent word was used. An explanation of the reason for not adding an article ‘a’ to ‘member’ was also offered. Ishikawa’s commentary reveals to us what English teachers regarded as the key focus to lead pupils to the ‘right answer’. The key was a strong grammatical understanding and command of English usage, and a reading ability based on formal knowledge of English.

The trend in examination questions had generated an efficient strategy amongst pupils to look to specific English reference books. This was overtly mentioned by successful candidates in some of the abovementioned English magazines, of which Tsunetarō Nannichi’s instructional books on Japanese and English translation were among the most popular ones, as well as Naibu Kanda’s and Hidesaburō Saitō’s grammar books. English magazines such as *Eigo Sekai (The English World)*, *Eigo no Nippon (The Nippon)*, *Eigakukai (The Youth’s Companion for the Study of English)* were only some of those that were popularly studied for entrance examinations (*Eigo Sekai*, 1909, pp.47-48).

A similar trend of translation between Japanese and English — mediated by Japanese — using quite short, decontextualised sentences could be seen consistently in examination questions for technical schools and military schools, as well. But, in commercial schools, stress on spoken English was more dominant. For instance, the following sample is of Tokyo Higher Commercial School, administered in 1915 (Taishō 4) (*Eigo Sekai*, 1915, pp.14-16). The model translations for ‘English translation’ are taken from the same source, which are indicated in italics:

## Technical Schools (Tokyo Higher Commercial School) – 4 hours

### 1. Japanese translation

(1) He wandered up and down among the crowd in anything but a calm frame of mind, and was anxious to see what the rascal was like.

(2) No fortune can stand carelessness long, and we are on the high road to ruin the moment we think ourselves rich enough to be careless.

(3) Work is so much a necessity of existence that it is less a question whether, than how, we shall work.

### 2. English translation

(1) 氷の拂底が直に影響するのは夏冬打通して氷を用ふる魚市場と病院であらう。

*(The scarcity of ice may, perhaps, directly affect fish markets and hospitals where it is used throughout the year.)*

(2) 昨日久振りで上野の動物園へ行って見たら種々の珍しい動物が居った。

*(I found several curious animals there, when I went to the Zoo at Ueno yesterday, where I hadn't been for a long time. / I went to the zoo at Ueno yesterday when I had not been for a long time and I found there several curious animals.)*

(3) 仙台から一週間前に発送したといふ小包郵便がまだ配達されぬがどうしたのでせう。

*(The parcel posted from Sendai a week ago is not delivered yet. What is the matter with it? / What is the matter with the parcel posted from Sendai a week ago, which is not delivered yet. / I have received from Sendai a notice to the effect that a parcel was posted a week ago, but it does not come to hand yet. What is the matter with it?)*

### 3. Dictation

There is an amusing story of a visit that a great sufferer from chronic indigestion made to a celebrated physician. The physician made his butler bring a huge empty punch bowl. As the patient talked he saw the butler put one article of food or drink after another into the bowl. At last vessel was full. It held oysters, bread, butter, soup, fish, chicken (sic.), meat, vegetables, fruits, cakes, icecream, and coffee. Then the doctor gravely pointed to the vessel and (sic.) said: "This is your stomach after a full dinner. Can you wonder that it is after uncomfortable, and finally rebels against you?"

### 4. Listening comprehension

The teacher was telling his class about the conquests of Alexander the Great. Wishing to impress the children he said, "When Alexander had conquered India, what do you think he did? Do you think he gave a great feast to celebrate his triumph? No; he sat down and wept! Now, why do you think Alexander wept?" A little boy timidly answered; "Please, sir, perhaps he didn't know the way back!"

In 'Dictation', the text was much longer and more difficult than the higher school sample examined above. Here, too, the text was to be read three times, while pupils were to follow the same procedure as in higher schools. More stress on dictation in Tokyo Higher Commercial School than in higher schools seemed to be a general trend (*Eigo Sekai*, 1908a, p.38). In addition to 'Dictation', 'Listening comprehension' was given, where the text was to be read two or three times, and pupils were to summarise in Japanese what they had heard (*Eigo Sekai*, 1915, p.16). In Kobe Higher Commercial

School, some questions were additionally asked about the text in ‘Listening comprehension’, where pupils were to write down an answer to them in English, which was called ‘Conversation’.

Only military schools gave ‘Grammar’ independently, without ‘Dictation’ or ‘Listening comprehension’. Below is a sample from the naval academy, administered on the 23<sup>rd</sup> (Japanese translation), 25<sup>th</sup> (English translation), and 27<sup>th</sup> (Grammar) of July 1913 (Taishō 2) (Isobe, 1913, p.474). The italics indicate my translation:

### **Military Schools (Naval Academy)**

#### **1. Japanese translation** (2 hours and a half)

1) Explain the underlined parts only in the following sentences.

- a. He has fallen a victim to consumption.
- b. He was beside himself with anger.
- c. No one could put up with such rudeness.
- d. I can do without the dictionary.
- e. I must make up for the lost time.

2) The young English man of every class has a natural fondness and aptitude for the sea, and there is no cause to think that England is likely to want seamen at any hour of national need.

3) That person, old or young, who tries to be other than himself, makes a failure of life, yet many do this very thing.

4) The water we drink is next in importance to the air we breathe. It forms three-fourths of the weight of living animals and plants; is the most abundant substance we meet with on the face of the Earth; and covers to an unknown depth at least three fourths of its entire surface.

5) The most remarkable feature in this river is the regularity of its annual flood, which, so far as geographers have evidence, has remained unchanged for the last four thousand years.

#### **2. Grammar** (1 hour and a half)

(I) Change the Voice of the Verbs: -

1. The wind blew away the flags.
2. They will send me to France.
3. The boys laughed at him.
4. The milk was drunk up by the cat.
5. The lamps are put out at ten every night.

(II) Change the italicized parts to the Negative: -

1. I *have something to do* now.

2. You *should have done* so.
3. I told him *to come* tonight.
4. You *had better read* this book.
5. *Yes, I wound up* the clock yesterday.

(III) Correct the errors in the following sentences: -

1. My brother is going to school every day.
2. This is the house which we live.
3. He is the student of the Commercial School.
4. That is the man who I saw the other day.
5. You must write with ink.
6. Do you know what is it made of?
7. When have you arrived in Japan?
8. Our customs are different with yours.
9. The man killed him was sentenced to death.
10. I do not know when he is here next time.
11. Miyajima is noted with its fine scenery.
12. The “Kawachi” is larger than all the Japanese warships.
13. He told me that he will come again to-morrow.
14. If you came a little earlier, you would have seen him.
15. If it rained tomorrow, I will put off my departure.

### 3. English translation (1 hour and a half)

- (一) 今時分ハ天気ノ好イ日ガ少イ (*We have few good weathers this time of the year.*)
- (二) アナタノ宜シイ様ニナサイ (*Do it any way you like.*)
- (三) コノ文章ハ誰ニ直シテ貰ヒマシタカ (*Who has helped you fix this sentence?*)
- (四) 私ハ生レテマダ医師ニカカッタコトハアリマセン (*I have never been examined by a doctor in my life.*)
- (五) ココカラ横浜マデ汽車ハ一時間毎ニ出マス (*The train from here to Yokohama departs every one hour.*)
- (六) 何日程不在ニナルカト問ハレタカラ少クトモ一ヶ月ハ彼ノ地ニ滞在スルト答ヘタ (*I was asked how many days I would be away, so I replied that I would stay there at least for one month.*)
- (七) 彼ハ旅行ガ好キデ世界中有名ナ土地デ行カヌ所ハナイ位デス (*He loves travelling; in fact, he seems as if he had been in all the famous places in the world.*)

In ‘Japanese translation’, English idioms like ‘beside oneself’ and ‘make up for’ were asked in a disconnected sentence providing no meaningful context for inference. The text for Japanese and English translation was essentially that of the same nature. In this naval academy sample, extensive and explicit knowledge of grammatical rules — most

of them quite basic — were asked in a single sentence, illustrating a grammatical point in question.

From the above examinations, three points can be noted. The first concerns the formalisation in which English abilities were examined. Entrance examinations strongly required the mediation of the Japanese language both in understanding and in producing English text, and this trend took the form of ‘Japanese’ and ‘English translation’. These two exclusive methods of responding to examinations were consistently dominant across all the types of higher institutions. On the other hand, a command of spoken English, particularly listening ability, was required in order to be successful at ‘Dictation’ and ‘Listening comprehension’, though it was given inclusion in higher schools and commercial schools alone. From the teacher’s point of view, therefore, (1) reading comprehension through Japanese translation, (2) English translations of short Japanese sentences, (3) along with grammatical understanding, and (4) the exposure of pupils to spoken English were all necessary teaching matters at middle schools, but the core was (1) and (2).

The second point concerns the dominant use of Japanese. Japanese translation, mediated by Japanese, would involve more than just understanding English text. It would require pupils to express meaning in an appropriate Japanese usage, and it would also require understanding grammatical rules accurately. In this sense, it could test and promote pupils’ structural understanding of English. However, Japanese translation would potentially promote over-reliance on Japanese, while discouraging a direct association of English representations with their meanings. This ‘Associationism’ would run counter to the acquisition of ‘Direct Reading and Direct Understanding’, which Yoshisaburō Okakura continuously promoted and which the so-called Natural Method had as a core requirement.

The third point concerns the nature of the reading and writing ability attained when questions were given in a decontextualised manner. In such cases, questions would tend to require an excessive burden of inference for what the story was about, since making sense of them would heavily rely on the reader’s inferential process. In order for one to

acquire such inferential ability and to learn to make use of one's relevant knowledge to English text, one must actively engage in rich and meaningful reading experiences. However, when the pupils are presented with sentences that are so disconnected, they are more likely to resort to memorising snippets of language knowledge, or they would reverse to following formal rules in a Grammar-Translation process at best, rather than learning to use relevant knowledge they already have

It is frequently the case with Japanese learners of English that in interpreting English text, the accumulation of disembedded pieces of knowledge such as usage and idioms could potentially be a help to them who hardly possess ample natural language input in a usual learning environment. However, when pupils decisively lack in purposeful and meaningful reading experiences, reading means the quantitative storage and memorisation of bits and snippets of language knowledge, as a teacher Ishikawa of Takahashi Middle School emphasised.

This consequence also applies to 'English translation' and 'Grammar' in a decontextualised sentence. English translation would purport to test pupils' written expression, but in the classroom when it is presented and practiced in a single sentence, which illustrates a grammatical rule or focuses on a formulaic expression, writing in English tends to become that of putting together such formulaic English idioms, usage, and grammatical rules. As a result, without that memorised knowledge, pupils would not give the correct answer. Again, when purposeful and meaningful language use falls short in school, the acquisition would mean rote-learning of formalised pieces of knowledge. Hence, the nature of entrance examination questions would be less likely to promote English teaching that centres on a pupil's meaningful learning and higher order cognition. Criticism against the nature of examination questions had been brought to public attention by the Meiji 40s (*Eigo Sekai*, 1907b, p.62; 1908b, pp.28-30; 1908c, p.43), and the samples we have examined above were a result of attempts at improvement. However, the habit had died hard.

## Term Examinations

### Patterns of Integration of English Teaching Matters

The 1911 English guideline overtly articulated the integration between ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’ and ‘Speaking (formerly called ‘Conversation’) & Composition’. As we saw in individual middle school curricula, however, this integration appeared to be quite fragile. One of the ways to examine actual practice is to look at how the teaching matters were grouped and taught in a lesson. One of such indicators is a student’s report card (*seiseki-hyō*). An examination of the report cards revealed that the subject ‘English’ was generally taught by dividing the teaching matters into three major groups, to which a mark was given.

Table 9.5, below, is constructed based on the curriculum for a total of 24 middle schools. It attempts to show how individual middle schools divided the subject ‘English’, and that three dominant patterns of grouping have been identified. The numbers indicate the number of middle schools adopting either of the groupings. I have compared the two periods before and after the 1911 English guideline to see how it affected local English teaching.

Table 9.5: Patterns of the groupings of the English teaching matters in middle schools

	Pattern	1902-1911	After 1911
A	‘Reading-aloud & Translation’ ‘Speaking & Composition’ ‘Dictation & Grammar’	1	2
B	‘Reading-aloud & Translation’ ‘Speaking & Dictation’ ‘Composition & Grammar’	12	10
C	‘Reading-aloud & Translation (& Dictation)’ ‘Grammar & Composition & Speaking’	5	3

Note: ‘After 1911’ actually means 1911-1918 (before the 1919 guideline).

The first pattern, A (the top row), consisted of ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’, ‘Speaking & Composition’, and ‘Dictation & Grammar’. This was closest to what the 1911 English guideline aimed for: ‘Reading-aloud’ and ‘Translation’, and ‘Speaking’ and ‘Composition’ were to be combined, while ‘Grammar’ was to be taught inductively throughout and ‘Dictation’ was to be treated independently. The second pattern, B (the middle row), distinctively differed, in that instead of combining ‘Speaking’ with ‘Composition’, ‘Composition’ was combined with ‘Dictation’, and ‘Composition’ found its partner with ‘Grammar’. The third pattern, C (the bottom row), was featured by the combination of ‘Composition’, ‘Grammar’, and ‘Speaking’, while ‘Dictation’ was combined with ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’. I have included a detailed table which contains individual middle schools for each pattern in the Appendices (see Appendix 9.3, p.367).

Table 9.5 suggests that Pattern B had already become a fixed pattern by 1902 (Meiji 35), and that this was not much affected by the 1911 national standard, and continued after that. Second, although the number of middle schools under investigation was limited, this trend generally applied to middle schools in extended regions of Japan, regardless of population scale. What can be suggested by the transformation from the national standard to Pattern B? Figure 9.1, below, indicates this transformation.

Figure 9.1: Transformation of the 1911 national standard

<i>&lt; 1911 Guideline &gt;</i>	<i>&lt; Practice (Pattern B) &gt;</i>
Reading-aloud & Translation	→ Reading-aloud & Translation
<b>Speaking &amp; Composition</b>	→ Grammar & <b>Composition</b>
Grammar, Dictation	→ <b>Speaking</b> & Dictation

First, it suggests the separation of spoken from written English, and second, it reveals the marginalisation of spoken English. The integration of ‘Speaking & Composition’ in the national standard was an expression of ‘speech primacy’, in that ‘Speaking’ was

seen as opportunity for oral composition, and was given an independent stage to build the foundation for ‘Composition’, where ‘Composition’ was seen as written composition, as an extension of the former. When ‘Speaking’ was combined with ‘Dictation’, the former could act as the teacher’s reading-aloud English text to be dictated, thus losing its independent role for the foundation building for subsequent fluent written expression, and simply pay lip-service to ‘speech primacy’. This would be even more likely if the teacher was Japanese with little proficiency in English. On the other hand, by ‘Composition’ being combined with ‘Grammar’, as we will see shortly, the former could become an opportunity for practicing and applying grammatical knowledge, thus losing its independent role for written expression and being subordinated to grammar learning. Grammar teaching itself could become disconnected from others, thus losing its primary role for inductive knowledge production. A fixed pattern of English teaching, as in Pattern B, will be more closely approached by looking at term examinations — below.

### **Pedagogical Nature Embedded in Term Examination Questions**

When we look at term examinations prepared by middle schools during the late Meiji and the early Taishō Period, it is easy to find that the subject ‘English’ was tested independently on the basis of the patterns identified above, rather than in an integrative way. The ‘English’ term examination papers I have found could be categorised into three aspects of focus: ‘Japanese translation’, ‘English translation (Composition)’, and ‘Grammar’. Additionally, it could be generally observed that ‘English translation (Composition)’ and ‘Grammar’ were tested together. Other areas of teaching matters such as ‘Dictation’, ‘Reading-aloud’, ‘Penmanship’ and ‘Conversation (Speaking)’ were normally not tested by term examinations. According to historical studies of several middle schools, this was because these teaching matters were marked by on-going daily assessments (*nikka-ten*), such as quizzes, participation, attendance, etc. In fact, while samples of ‘Japanese translation’ and ‘English translation’ were easily found, no samples were found for these branches, except for ‘Conversation’ conducted in 1897-1899 by Fujioka and in 1905 by Kishiwada Middle Schools. Table 9.6 summarises the above discussion.

Table 9.6: How ‘English’ was divided and tested

Patterns of assessing ‘English’	Term examinations
Reading-aloud & Translation	‘Japanese translation’
Grammar & Composition	‘English translation (+ Grammar)’
Speaking & Dictation	None (* on-going daily assessment)

### ‘Japanese Translation’

The term examination papers presented below have been recently discovered, except for those from Shizuoka Middle School, which were referred to in Matsumura (1997, pp.268-271). Below, we will first look at ‘Japanese translation’ in order to compare before and after the 1911 English guideline.

### **‘Japanese translation’ between 1902 and 1911**

<b>2<sup>nd</sup> grade <i>Eigo</i> (English)</b>	<b>Shizuoka Middle School (1909)</b>
<p>I. Translate into Japanese.</p> <p>A. The man saw that the lion meant to follow him until dark, and then spring upon him. He was not able to run away from the lion, for the lion could run faster than he.</p> <p>B. All at once this prisoner sprang away from the black men and ran to the place where Crusoe was hiding. They ran after him, to bring him backs (sic.).</p> <p>C. One of parcels was to be left at the Royal bank. As the boys did not know where the Royal bank was, they had to ask some one to tell them.</p> <p>II. Correct the Errors.</p> <p>A. The postman are knocking the door.</p> <p>B. We all entered in the room after playing an hours.</p> <p>C. Another black men run after him.</p> <p>III. Fill the Blanks.</p> <p>A. Rover ran_____the ball, and jumped_____the pond.</p> <p>B. I saw your father_____my way home yesterday.</p> <p>C. He has a white ticket_____his hand.</p>	

<b>3<sup>rd</sup> grade <i>Eiyaku-ka</i> (Japanese translation)</b>	<b>Toyama Middle School (July, 1911)</b>
<p>1. To feed so many mouths kept the mother bird hard at work. From dawn to dark, she flew here and there, to get</p>	

food for her young nestlings.

2. Elephants are of as much value to the people of India as the horse is to us.

3. a) Early to bed, and early to rise, makes a man healthy, wealthy, and wise.

b) Whatever man has done, man may go.

4. a) They were as poor as ever.

b) They all died, one after the other.

c) By and by, a man came along.

d) You may do as you please.

The first Shizuoka sample (Shizuchū Shizukō Hyakunen-shi Hensan linkai, 1978, p.234) was for 2<sup>nd</sup> grade, in which grammatical questions were asked together with Japanese translation. In Shizuoka Middle School, grammar was introduced and tested in 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, as the 1902 English guideline suggested. In 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond, grammar began to be tested independently and normally with English translation. The second Toyama sample (Tomichū Tomikō Hyakunen-shi Henshū linkai, 1985, p.154) was made for 3<sup>rd</sup> grade, in which pupils were to translate the passages into Japanese. The questions were all essentially the same in nature; the passages were short and also disconnected from context. It does appear that pupils were tested on the materials copied from the textbook, or from some other sources already learnt. In Toyama Middle School, the tests focused on the knowledge of idioms such as ‘so much ... as’ in Question 2, ‘as ... as’, ‘one after another’, and ‘by and by ...’ in Question 4 rather than meaning making out of the text. These samples suggested that the actual practice of English teaching in these middle schools was focused on the transmission of static knowledge.

The following example from Tonami Middle School (Nanajūnen-shi Kōshi Hensan linkai, 1979, p.44) is of 4<sup>th</sup> grade after the 1911 English guideline was issued. It is apparent that no substantial changes were made when compared with the above samples. Short question sentences in a disconnected context were still present in the upper grade. The shorter the sentences were, the stronger the tendency of asking static knowledge became. In Questions 1 to 3, such idioms as ‘due to’, ‘be the matter what may be’ and so on, which were in fact pieces of knowledge useful for people whose first language representations, if not concepts, would not readily lend the power of analogical transfer in understanding English text. As far as the transmission of decontextualised knowledge

was done along with ample opportunity to engage in meaningful reading experiences, fluency and underlying confidence in reading would be achieved. We cannot discover if this was the case or not, however.

### ‘Japanese translation’ after the 1911 English guideline

<b>4<sup>th</sup> grade <i>Eibun Wayaku</i> (Japanese translation)</b>	<b>Tonami Middle school (14<sup>th</sup> July, 1916)</b>
<p>1. I have no time to spare.</p> <p>2. His success was due to his diligence.</p> <p>3. Be the matter what it may, always speak the truth.</p> <p>(No. 4 is missing.)</p> <p>5. As wie (sic.) stand in the now deserted streets, looking up to the treacherous mountain above, and away the blue bay on the other side, we can realize what the ald (sic.) komon (sic.) life must have been.</p> <p>6. Cicero did not agree with suck (sic.) rashness on the part of one, whose life was yet so precious to rome (sic.).</p> <p>7. authority; epistle; vivid; on all fours; sooner or later; a statue in gold.</p>	

### ‘English Translation (Composition)’ and ‘Grammar’

Let us look at some samples of ‘English translation (Composition)’. The two examples below were prepared for 3<sup>rd</sup> grade before the 1911 English guideline (Tamana Kōtō Gakkō Kōshi Hensan Iinkai, 1973, p.78; Tomichū Tomikō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Iinkai, 1985, pp.154-155). Note that ‘Grammar’ was included together with ‘English translation’ instead of being combined with ‘Japanese translation’.

### ‘English translation (Composition)’ before the 1911 English guideline

<b>3<sup>rd</sup> grade</b>	<b>Tamana Middle School (1909)</b>
<b>Grammar</b>	
<p>I. Tell the <u>class</u> of each verb (with its object or complement), noun, and pronouns; and as for the nouns and pronouns, say their <u>cases</u>.</p> <p>(a) Time flies like an arrow.</p> <p>(b) That man was my father’s servant.</p> <p>(c) The captain soon told Mr. Fitzwarren its story of the cat.</p> <p>(d) We have made him a friend of ours.</p> <p>II. Tell the classes of adjectives with examples.</p> <p>III. (a) Name the six tenses.</p>	

(b) Change the voice.

- (1) The teacher will reward that boy.
- (2) Dick was tormented by rats and mice.

#### Composition

1. 正月、三月五月七月八月十月及十二月は三十一日で四月六月九月及十一月は三十日ですが二月は僅に二十八日です。(January, March, May, July, August, October, and December have 31 days, and April, June, September, and November have 30 days, but February has only 28 days.)
2. 日本海の大戦はいつでしたか。(When did the Battle of the Japan Sea take place?)
3. 私は君が云はれたことを殆んど信用することが出来ませんでした。(I could hardly believe what you had told me.)
4. あの人は病気のため勉学を廃さなければなりません。(Those people had to give up studying because of a disease.)
5. 私の叔父は私が洋行するのを許しません。(My uncle will not allow me to go abroad.)

#### 3<sup>rd</sup> grade Eibunsaku-ka (English grammar and composition)

Toyama Middle School (1911)

I. Fill in the blanks the appropriate word.

- a. Which is \_\_\_\_\_ way \_\_\_\_\_ station?
- b. He asked me \_\_\_\_\_ I knew \_\_\_\_\_.
- c. The student speaks English \_\_\_\_\_.

II. Correct the errors.

- a. I afraid that it will rain, for sky is a very cloudy.
- b. my shoe is six yens a pair.
- c. Himalaya is a highest mountain on earth.

III. Write the part of speech of each word in the sentence.

I feel very unhappy, for I have been sick for the last three weeks.

IV. Explain the 'preposition' and the 'complement' with examples.

V. Translate the following Japanese sentences into English.

- a. 正直ナル者ハ人ニ愛セラル。(Those who are honest are loved by others.)
- b. 人ハ何故能禽獸ヨリ貴キカ。(Why is it said that humans are nobler than animals?)
- c. 富山市ハ神通河畔ニ在リ。(Toyama City is located along the Jinzu River.)

With regards to 'Grammar', the questions centred on the parts of speech, the verb tenses, the voice, error correction, and these grammatical points were treated quite independently. What should be noted is that pupils were to answer them by explaining their understanding objectively while occasionally providing examples to illustrate the

point, rather than being tested on the use of grammatical knowledge in a meaningful context. As for ‘English translation’, the patterns of asking questions were identical between the two samples. The use of short Japanese sentences as the base for translation was consistently applied. In these cases, writing in English means applying pieces of learnt knowledge and putting them together in order. In other words, in the words of ‘Composition’, what was tested was grammatical knowledge and vocabulary. ‘English translation (Composition)’ was more like an opportunity for pupils to apply and practice such grammatical knowledge in a sentence format.

The focus in grammar learning (objective understanding and English composition in the application of grammatical knowledge already learnt) remained unchanged, even after the 1911 English guideline. The following two samples (Nanajūnen-shi Kōshi Hensan Iinkai, 1979, p.44; Chiba Kenritsu Sawara Kōtō Gakkō Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen Jigyō Jikkō Iinkai-nai Kōshi Hensan Iinkai, 2001, p.208) were made for 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> graders in the Taishō Period (The second one seems to contain only a part of the whole).

### ‘English translation (Composition)’ after the 1911 English guideline

**Tonami Middle School (July, 1916)**

**4<sup>th</sup> grade *Eibunpo*, *Wabun-eiyaku* (English grammar, Translation into English)**

1. Explain the usage of the ‘compound personal pronoun’ in two ways, with two examples for each.
2. Change the following sentence into one containing the same meaning using an abstract noun. ‘He is very diligent.’
3. Translate the following Japanese sentences into English.
  - a. 敵の死傷者は二千という程もあった。(The number of enemy casualties was as many as 2,000.)
  - b. 彼は近視ですから其の任には不適です。(He is near-sighted, so he is not suitable for the job.)
  - c. 一家無事ですから何卒御安心下さい。(We are all safe, so please do not worry.)
  - d. 僕は朝飯は一番分量が少ない。(Breakfast is the least of all my meals.)

**3<sup>rd</sup> grade *Eisakubun* (English composition)**

**Sawara Middle School (1926)**

- (1) 天気予報では明日は晴とあります。(According to the weather forecast, it will be fine tomorrow.)
- (2) 此の国では老人も青年も一日に二時間は散歩します。(In this country, both elderly and young people take a walk at least two hours every day.)

Objective grammatical explanations were demanded of pupils in the Tonami example, particularly in Question 1. The unchanged situation was the same with ‘English translation (Composition)’.

### ‘Conversation (Speaking)’

Although the samples found are few, they do reveal a similar trend in ‘Conversation’. In Fujioka Middle School of Gunma Prefecture, ‘Conversation’ was tested by term examinations, but it seems that it was done only in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades (Fujioka Kōkō Hachijūnen-shi Hensan Inkaï, 1975, pp. 161-162) (see below).

### **‘Conversation (Speaking)’ before the 1911 English guideline**

#### **1<sup>st</sup> grade, *Eikaiwa* (English conversation)**

**Fujioka Middle School (July, 1899)**

1. Listen to the following sentence and translate it into Japanese.

*Have you a good friend?*

2. Fill in the blank with the appropriate word.

*No, ( ) room ( ) not big.*

3. Correct the errors in the following sentence.

*We class is an good class.*

4. Translate the following sentences into English.

コレハ私ノ兄弟ノ本デアリマス (*This is my brother's book.*)

其ノ価ハ五銭デス (*Its price is five sen.*)

私ハ金時計一ツ持テ居マス (*I have a watch, too.*)

5. Make the plural form of the following nouns [sic.]. *He, this, boy, parent*

#### **2<sup>nd</sup> grade, *Eikaiwa* (English conversation)**

**Fujioka Middle School (July, 1899)**

Translate the following sentences into English.

1. 余ノ父ハ毎朝早く起キマス (*My father gets up early every morning.*)

2. 君ハ日本ノ中デ一番大キナ河 (ノ名) ヲ知ッテ居マスカ (*Do you know what the longest river in Japan is?*)

3. 君等ハ何ヲ為テ居タノカ (今マデ) (*What have you been doing up to now?*)

Listen to the following sentences and translate them into Japanese.

4. (a) No his things are dear, but they are all good.

(b) What do the boys learn at school?

Correct the errors of the following sentences.

5. (a) Osaka is one in the greater cities in Japan.  
(b) That boy catch ball skilfully.

The above two samples were for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades respectively. The 1<sup>st</sup> grade sample contained an assessment on spoken English, as in Questions 1 and 2. The pupils were asked to listen to the teacher's English and respond in Japanese translation, using English words. It is revealed that aural comprehension or dictation was done in a normal lesson in 1<sup>st</sup> grade. The 2<sup>nd</sup> grade sample also tested spoken English by having the pupils listen and answer in Japanese. Otherwise, the rest of the questions asked for English translation from short Japanese sentences and grammatical correction. Testing spoken English was attempted in lower grades, but it was an 'add-on' to the familiar patterns of English translation and grammatical questions.

Kishiwada Middle School tested 'Conversation and Composition' for 4<sup>th</sup> grade in 1905 (Meiji 38), which corresponded to Pattern A (the 1911 national standard) (see Appendix 9.4, p.368). In this upper grade sample, spoken English was not used and it was biased on English translation. However, it can be suggested that conversational components did exist in classroom activities, engaging pupils in a simple question-and-answer, since the interrogative sentences occupied the questions in this sample. Otherwise, English translation from short, decontextualised Japanese sentences still dominated.

The final sample was taken from the English examination prepared for the General Examinations (*kenka issei shiken*) held in December 1912 (Taishō 1) involving the 5<sup>th</sup> grade pupils enrolled in all of the eight middle schools of Nagano Prefecture (Ōmachi Kōkō Kinenshi Iinkai, 1982, p.284). Japanese Language, Chinese Classics, and Mathematics were also tested. This would therefore more clearly reveal a typical pattern and focus of English tests, since such unified tests as this one should be constituted by commonalities rather than diversities. The aim of this general examination was to "obtain feedback for the improvement of teaching and the promotion of pupils' scholastic ability" (p.283), but it was virtually a competitive examination between schools by comparing results. It can be suggested that through a continuing administration of this examination every year, a pattern of tests was increasingly

standardised. A general examination of a competitive nature involving multiple middle schools was held also in other prefectures like Shizuoka and Yamaguchi in the Taishō Period (for example see Shizuchū Shizukō Hyakunen-shi Henshū Inkaï, 1978, pp.567-568).

<b>5<sup>th</sup> grade Prefectural General Examinations</b>	<b>Nagano Prefecture (12<sup>th</sup> – 14<sup>th</sup> December 1912)</b>
<b><i>Eigo</i> (English) 2 hours</b>	
<b><i>Eibun Wayaku</i> (Japanese translation)</b>	
1. If we knew what a man really admire, we might form some guess as to what sort of a man he is, or at least what sort of a man he is likely to be.	
2. Strange to say, he found the same force which causes things to fall to the ground also causes the earth to move round the sun. This force is called gravitation.	
3. Much that I look on now for the first time seems strangely familiar.	
<b><i>Wabun Eiyaku</i> (English translation)</b>	
1. 其本ハ東京デ手ニ入ルカドーカ怪シイト思ヒマス ( <i>I doubt whether we can get the book in Tokyo.</i> )	
2. 乃木大将ハ頭カラ足サキマデ我帝国ノ模範軍人デアツタ ( <i>The general Nogi was the model soldier for our Empire from head down to toes.</i> )	
3. 雨天ノ為メ修学旅行ハ次ノ土曜日マデ延バサレタ ( <i>Our school excursion was put off until next Saturday due to the rain.</i> )	

Here again, translation into Japanese and English translation using the Japanese language comprised the whole test. In ‘Japanese translation’, one or two short English sentences were to be translated into Japanese, and the same pattern as examined above appeared in ‘English translation’. Unlike term examinations, it is less likely that the questions in this sample were taken from a specific textbook, which the pupils may already have covered. In this respect, the general examinations could test their general reading ability more accurately than the term examinations. But, when the questions were so short and disconnected from context, students could not help but rely more heavily on the knowledge of vocabulary and grammar than inferring appropriate meaning out of text. This inferential ability was required more by the general examinations, where a mere accumulation of disconnected pieces of knowledge would not help much, than by term examinations.

From the examinations above, it can be concluded that the integration of spoken and written English was not as successful as hoped. This meant that the principle of ‘speech primacy’, by which the 1911 national standard had attempted to structure the teaching process, was quite badly distorted in actual English teaching practice. What was happening instead was that, by the end of the Meiji Period, a pattern of testing middle school English had been fixed, which exclusively centred on translation skills of only a few, relatively short English sentences into Japanese and vice versa, and on the teaching of objective grammatical knowledge.

As a result, the following distinctive features of the fixed pattern of English teaching had emerged. First, English teaching after 1911 features the continuation of text-centred language learning and continuous estrangement from the principle of ‘speech primacy’. ‘English translation (Composition)’ meant the application and practice of already learnt English vocabulary, idioms and usage, and putting them together into a grammatically acceptable sentence. Written English was not regarded as being based on its spoken form. What was involved was the view of language development that English texts could be composed from a body of disconnected language knowledge, to which grammatical knowledge was applied to make a sentence. In other words, a written form of English can be acquired by a manipulation of written language alone. To the Japanese, written English could be learned in no connection with spoken English, and at the core was the knowledge of vocabulary, idioms, and grammar.

Second, the dominant use of Japanese was for understanding and producing English texts. Continual reliance on Japanese as a mediator to reach meaning embedded in English texts would hinder rather than foster a direct association of English representations with their meaning through higher-order cognition arising from an intuitive grasp of concepts.

Third, a disconnected, objective, and ‘encyclopaedia-like’ knowledge of language was taught and regarded as the basis for understanding and producing English texts, and inductive thinking to produce practical working knowledge was ignored or weakened at best. We have seen that pupils were tested on their understanding and production of

English texts in decontextualised short sentences. As a result, students' tendency to rely on learning grammar, idioms, and vocabulary as static knowledge would be strengthened, thus ending up forming the habit of over-reliance on the Grammar-Translation method via the reading process. When this reliance is taken for granted by pupils, they tend to attribute their failure in understanding and production of English text (and speech) to the lack of disembodied language knowledge, rather than to unsuccessful attempts at obtaining meaning from text. Hence, pupils' tendency to identify English learning with an accumulation of disconnected, encyclopaedia-like knowledge would be strengthened, which would in turn create a language lesson where the teacher's transmission of disembodied knowledge was dominant.

Finally, a text-centred learning style, the dominant use of Japanese, and the accumulation of disconnected knowledge found in middle school term examinations all perfectly match the nature of the entrance examinations, rather than the expected practical and instrumental orientation of the 1911 national standard. There were some higher institutions, like Tokyo Higher Commercial School and Tokyo School of Foreign Languages, which tested oral aspects of English, and 'Dictation' was normally tested in higher schools as well, but the point is that the provision of spoken English in middle schools did not seem to form the basis of English acquisition, upon which written English was to be established according to the 1911 English guideline.

### **Direct Transmission of External Knowledge and Memorisation, and Failure in Creating an Inductive, Developmental Process**

How did teachers and pupils alike perceive the way they taught and were taught English? Teachers' and pupils' retrospective accounts of teaching and learning experiences from 100 years ago may be subjective, but when they are looked at collectively, some consistency in their pedagogical experiences verifies the features of actual English teaching practice identified in the above discussion. In Yatsushiro Middle School of Kumamoto Prefecture, a former pupil recalled that Japanese translation was so stressed and reading the text and hearing practice were so deemphasised that he had trouble coping with the dictation questions at his entrance examinations (Yatsukō

Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï, 1997, p.85). Translation into Japanese was reported being conducted by calling upon a pupil to translate four pages per one pupil at a time from a textbook, while the others simply sat and listened (Akikō Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen Jigyō Jikkō Inkaï *Akikō hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï*, 1973, p.102). An English teacher Sugimoto of Kofu Middle School of Yamanashi Prefecture was consistently recalled by his former pupils as being a strong grammarian who demanded a thorough analysis of grammatical constructions of each sentence being read (Yamanashi Kenristu Kōfu Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō, 1992, p.165). Text-centredness — word-for-word translation through Japanese, learning as the memorisation and accumulation of static knowledge of grammar and translation — characterised the teaching and learning process of English teaching.

While the grammar-conscious, Japanese-dominant approach to understanding English texts did exist, pupils did not necessarily take this as an entire deficit. In fact, in some cases, this was indeed viewed positively. I mentioned the English teacher Sugimoto of Kofu Middle School earlier. Ironically, his stress on a thorough analysis of grammatical structure and word-for-word translation in order to ‘get’ the meaning out of the text was later perceived as a strength rather than a drawback by some of his pupils, who retrospectively stated that “Thanks to him, my basic ability to read English texts was established” (Yamanashi Kenristu Kōfu Daiichi Kōtō Gakkō, 1992, p.165). Sugimoto himself was aware that this way of dealing with English texts was not the only right way, and that there were more holistic and ‘natural’ ways to cope with it. He explained that:

“There are two ways in which we can study English, one of which is to interpret text based on a careful analysis of grammatical structure, and the other way is to read a lot of text while simply focusing on its meaning. Despite the fact that this latter is more beneficial than the former, the reason why schools have adopted the former is because the latter takes a lot more time. There is nothing schools can do about it. That is why I advise my pupils to read as much as they can on their own when they have the time; that way, they will be helped to improve reading more effectively” (p.165).

As Sugimoto was already aware, to the Japanese, and to people in those days in particular, whose first language internalises a totally different syntactic structure, it would be even more ‘unnatural’ to think that English could be mastered with the help of only ‘natural’ language input by attempting at directly associating English representations with their meanings. What would make up for the shortage of natural input was grammar-conscious approaches through a comparative analysis between the two languages and its potential grammatical ability to make connections between English representations and their meanings as efficiently as possible. It is quite likely that the need for a combined teaching of the ‘natural’ and the ‘unnatural’ method was strongly felt by the then English teachers, including Sugimoto. However, the ‘natural’ orientation was not successfully translated into practice. As a result, the ‘unnatural’ method was even more prevalent and sustained as the dominant pattern of teaching English. Further, pressure on English teachers from helping their pupils pass entrance examinations added to them a new role of providing strategies to get the ‘right answer’, while distracting them from exploring the possibilities of teaching in the ‘natural’, inductive, and higher order thinking way, which would contribute to acquiring functional English itself as a goal.

The following sample is an English teaching plan (Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, p.294), the only teaching plan I have discovered after examining more than 100 school history books, and which has not been cited elsewhere.

**1<sup>st</sup> grade, Higashi class, Subject: English, Teacher: Shōzō Hara**

Teaching procedure

1. Topic: *Fred and His Dog*
2. Preparation (*Yobi*): Practice in speaking the following words; ‘Fred’, ‘dog’, ‘like’
3. Teaching (*Kyōju*): Open the textbook and read aloud the text.
4. Generalisation (*Sōkatsu*):
  - (1) Practice in spelling the following words; ‘Fred’, ‘his’, ‘like’, ‘and’
  - (2) Understanding the inflectional rule on the verb ‘like’ in the following sentences;
 

私は犬を好む (*I like a dog.*)

貴方は犬を好む (*You like a dog.*)

彼れは犬を好む (*He likes a dog.*)

This teaching plan was prepared by Shōzō Hara, an English teacher of Numazu Middle School of Shizuoka Prefecture for a lesson given on 14<sup>th</sup> June 1911 (Meiji 44). This lesson, for a class of 1<sup>st</sup> graders, was visited by the Meiji Crown Prince, which made Hara prepare it. The occasion was such that the teaching plan may not reflect an ordinary pattern of daily practice but rather well reflects what the Numazu English teachers regarded as ‘the way they were supposed to teach’. In this sample, the characteristics of teaching as transmission would be quite clearly exemplified. The italic indicates my English translation:

Hara’s plan of teaching was framed by a formalised version of the Herbartian five-stage teaching. His emphasis consisted of three parts: (1) practice in pronouncing the new words, ‘*Fred*’, ‘*dog*’, and ‘*like*’, (2) practice in reading aloud the text, and (3) spelling exercises of the new words and the usage of the verb ‘*like*’ in a simple sentence — each of the emphases was allotted to the three stages. Apparently, the three stages did not constitute an inductive or higher order thinking process and were formally applied to his plan of teaching the material ‘*Fred and His Dog*’. The stage of ‘Teaching (*Kyōju*)’ could have focused on ‘understanding the inflectional rule on the verb ‘*like*’. In that case, some activities for ‘Generalisation (*Sōkatsu*)’ needed to be provided for comparing some other verbs to illustrate the inflectional rules on the present singular forms. What appeared to be focused on in this sample plan, however, is that the pupils ended up memorising the sounds, spellings, and meanings of several new words rather than resulting in the expansion of cognition in terms of the English sound and spelling system and of the verb’s inflectional rules.

The author of the school history of Numazu Middle School critically judged that the formalised three-stage teaching in general was used as a fixed teaching pattern to promote memorisation and rote-learning, and that this teaching plan, too, was intended for the pupils’ rote-learning, rather than helping them cognitively understand the structure of English, by chopping up short sentences into the elements of words and by repeating reading-aloud and spellings (Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, pp.296-297). In fact, the view of teaching as the transmission of disconnected

knowledge and of learning as its accumulation was dominant in virtually all other subject areas during the late Meiji and the early Taishō Period. The author's judgment was based on the analysis of further samples, as well (for the example of Chemistry see Appendix 9.5, p.368). Pupils of the time recalled some common occurrences in their experiences of English learning: Cramming instruction with a heavy stress on the explanations of elements of words and phrases, while disregarding what the whole was about (Ōsaka Furitsu Shijōnawate Kōtō Gakkō *Nawate hachijūnen-shi* Henshū, 1987, pp.81-82); learning by rote and testing as checking pupils' memory (Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, p.144); learning as copying from the board when attempts at logical and conceptual understandings failed (Chiba Kenritsu Sawara Kōtō Gakkō Sōritsu Hyakushūnen Kinen Jigyō Jikkō linkai-nai Kōshi Hensan linkai, 2001, p.197); and teachers' monotonous reading of texts in class (Aomori Kōkō Hyakunen-shi Hensan linkai, 2003, p.63), to name a few.

Nevertheless, it appeared that, under the surface, there were some secondary teachers and principals who hoped that middle school teaching would be reformed to provide pupils with a self-motivated attitude to seeking knowledge (Hachijūnen-shi Hensan linkai, 1986, p.156; Matsue Kita Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Henshū linkai, 1976, p.481); with a genuine understanding of subject matter (Kumachū Kumakō Hyakunen-shi Hensan linkai, 2000, pp.267-268); and with a 'scientific' and rational study based on ideas of liberal humanism (Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, pp.299-300). Principal Nishimura of Matsue Middle School explained in 'School News' (*gakkō dayori*) a 'middle school teaching method' being ways of teaching pupils to learn on their own (Matsue Kita Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Henshū linkai, 1976, p.481), and Noda, the Principal of Kumamoto Middle School, attempted to provide a descriptive assessment instead of a score to deemphasise learning as passing entrance examinations (Hachijūnen-shi Hensan linkai, 1986, p.156). These principals and teachers sought awareness of the necessity of transforming middle school teaching into seeking knowledge that would come along with the expansion and deepening of social and scientific horizons. Additionally, it was seen as important to enable one to connect to real life situations, and have awareness of self-liberation.

### **Limited Roles of Foreign Teachers**

In the tendency of a heavy focus on written English, what roles were given to foreign teachers of English? As we saw in chapter two, foreign teachers of English continued to be employed throughout the Meiji Period. Most of them were American missionaries and taught as part-time lecturers. Many school histories inform us that they provided additional opportunities for conversation skills outside the classroom, after school, or on the weekends, as a sort of consultant for Japanese teachers of English within an in-study group context, or as a lecturer of ‘Bible Classes’ for pupils. However, the teaching of spoken English in middle schools did not increase satisfactorily, despite all these attempts, trials, and errors (Matsumura, 1997, p.335).

There were on-going issues with the treatment of foreign teachers, including conflicts over the propagation of Christianity as being against Japan’s national character, and their high salaries which burdened financially many individual middle schools. But, the Meiji Government’s instrumental orientation to English teaching demanded that they teach spoken English — something which foreign teachers could far better supply than their Japanese counterparts. What they were assigned to do was teach ‘Speaking & Dictation’, while Japanese teachers taught ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’ and ‘Grammar & Composition’. ‘Speaking & Dictation’ were normally scored based on on-going assessments. This suggests that in the eyes of pupils, spoken English was relatively undervalued, since it did not have a crucial role in a test-dominated school structure. Having said that, the command of spoken English was still required as part of the entrance examinations given by some higher institutions. To some of the pupils, oral English abilities were something they could not disregard.

The relationship between foreign teachers and entrance examinations were, however, not self-evident. Their presence could do either good or harm to their effectiveness as a teacher. In one of the earliest examples, in April 1890 (Meiji 23), Fukushima Prefecture Jinjō Middle School was approved by the Prefectural Assembly to hire a British citizen, Thomas Edward Halifax, for three years for his potentially favourable effects on helping pupils pass entrance examinations. In the background, there was awareness of

inadequate teaching performance of Japanese teachers of English. In this case, the need for a practical command of English was more strongly felt than in others, due to the fact that Second Higher Middle School (later, Second Higher School), one of the target higher institutions pupils wanted to enter, gave ‘Dictation’ administered by a foreign teacher (Asaka Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, 1984, p.1223; Matsumura, 1997, pp.341-342). This had raised a stronger awareness of the need for a foreign teacher.

There were cases in which the employment of foreign teachers was rejected for its ineffectiveness for entrance examinations. Yamaguchi Prefecture established a prefectural employment system of foreign teachers for the five middle schools in 1901 (Meiji 34), suggesting the prefecture’s emphasis on conversational English. This was regarded as an unusually advanced decision indeed, but the reason for its abolition in 1917 (Taishō 6) was that qualified Japanese teachers of English would be more appropriate than foreign teachers as a countermeasure for improving passing rates. Yamaguchi Prefecture was fully aware that the teaching of pronunciation and conversational skills could benefit more from foreign teachers, but they insisted that it be more urgent and pragmatic to improve students’ reading skills. Hence, it was resolved that Japanese teachers of English who were well educated in the English language, possessed with a broader knowledge of culture, and who were qualified to teach at higher schools were to be employed (for example see Yamaguchi Kenritsu Tokuyama Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, 1985, pp.180-185). Similarly, in 1924 (Taishō 13) Takada Middle School of Niigata Prefecture proposed to the parents’ association that hiring a foreign teacher may be necessary to assist pupils in passing entrance examinations, and that a share of the expense be paid by parents. But this was rejected for the reason that the employment would not solve the problem. First, it was not plausible that all the parents had to share the expense because many pupils did not go on to higher education. Second, and more substantially, not all foreign teachers were qualified to teach, and trained Japanese teachers of English would be more beneficial (Takada Kōtō Gakkō Hyakunen-shi Kankō Iinkai, 1973, pp.219-221). Thus, the role of foreign teachers was limited and supplementary. They were not looked at as beneficial from the principle of ‘speech primacy’ — an addition in the 1911 English guideline.

## Nature of English Textbooks

In this final part, the nature of English textbooks, in particular the ‘Reader’, frequently adopted by middle schools will be examined, since they were supposed to be the central material for instruction and to integrate teaching matters. Our particular focus includes how ‘speech primacy’ was incorporated, how textbooks reacted to the pragmatic demands of entrance examinations, and how ‘culture’ was treated and taught. This last concern is derived from the analysis of the 1911 English guideline whose central focus in middle school education resided in the cultivation of nationalistic sentiment. The ‘Readers’ were to play a key role in this respect.

The cultural treatment of *The New National Readers* suggested that Pestalozzian educational thought and American nationalism pervaded the English syllabus of Tokyo Higher Normal School (see Chapter 6). *The Globe Readers* written by Yoshisaburō Okakura, head of its English department, and published in 1907 (Meiji 40) also embodied his ideal English teaching for his insistence on the ‘Japanese Spirit’ through transferring British ‘*Realien*’ into Japanese culture (see Appendix 1.1). In analysing English textbooks, below, the relationship of cultural dimensions of textbooks with Japanese nationalism will be the focus.

According to 27 middle school histories that indicate their adopted textbooks, four different kinds of textbooks were generally used across Japan in the late Meiji Period and the early Taishō Period. They were the ‘Reader’, ‘grammar’, ‘composition’, and ‘side-readers’ (besides ‘penmanship’, which was taught in 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> grades). This nationwide trend also matched the situation of the Tokyo area (10 municipal and 13 private middle schools) (For detail see Isobe, 1912-1914).

In selecting the ‘Reader’ to be examined, we need to determine the most frequently adopted ones in the period under investigation, but the Japanese do not possess sources indicating the situation precisely for that period. Erikawa (1997, pp.26-28) and Erikawa & Ozasa (2004, pp.11-12) provide data for 1910 (Meiji 43) and 1923 (Taishō 12), based

on the investigation by the Ministry of Education (see Tables 9.7 and 9.8). Table 9.7 shows the ‘Reader’ of some of the highest adoption ratio used by middle schools, normal schools, and girls’ higher schools in 1910 (Meiji 43). In 1910, the number of those secondary schools was 311, 80, and 193 respectively (584 in total). Table 9.8 indicates the situation specifically of middle schools in 1923 (Taishō 12). Note that in this table the numbers in the right hand column shows those of grades, not schools. So, if one middle school adopted a certain textbook throughout the entire five years of schooling, the number would be ‘5’ instead of ‘1’.

Table 9.7: Frequently adopted ‘Readers’ in 1910 (Meiji 43)

1910	Readers, Author	Number of schools (%)
1	<i>Standard Choice Readers</i> , Shōbidō (ed)	132 (21.5)
2	<i>Kanda’s New Series of English Readers</i> , Naibu Kanda	80 (13.0)
3	<i>Middle School English Lessons</i> , Hidesaburō Saitō	79 (12.8)
4	<i>Girls’ New English Readers</i> , Sakae Shioya	72 (12.3)
5	<i>The (First-Fifth) Step in English</i> , Gaikokugo Kyōju Kenkyū-kai	68 (11.6)
6	<i>English Drill Books</i> , Kenjirō Kumamoto	65 (11.1)
7	<i>The Globe Readers</i> , Yoshisaburō Okakura	64 (11.0)
10	<i>The New National Readers</i> , Barnes, A. S.	32 (5.5)

Source: Reproduced from Erikawa, 1997, p.26.

Table 9.8: Frequently adopted ‘Readers’ in 1923 (Taishō 12)

1923	Readers, Author	Number of grades (%)
1	<i>New Crown Readers</i> , Naibu Kanda	218 (36.2)
2	<i>Okada’s Middle School English</i> , Jitsumaro Okada	39 (6.5)
3	<i>Revised New Fountain Readers</i> , Genichirō Yoshioka	38 (6.3)
4	<i>Diamond Readers</i> , Meitatsu Okada	29 (4.8)
5	<i>New Champion Readers</i> , Tatsuo Kuriyagawa	28 (4.7)
6	<i>New Spring Readers</i> , Kunitarō Kuroyanagi	25 (4.2)
7	<i>The Culture Readers</i> , Tatsuzō Kamijō	23 (3.8)

Source: Reproduced from Erikawa & Ozasa, 2004, p.12.

The two tables do not show any clear-cut tendencies of textbook adoption during this

period, and it is not easy to determine the kinds of the 'Reader' to be examined here. In 1910 (Meiji 43), *Standard Choice Readers* were most frequently adopted, with *Kanda's New Series of English Readers* being second. According to Erikawa & Ozasa (2004), three years earlier in 1907 (Meiji 40), both of them had been adopted with the highest ratio, and Kanda's Reader had won high popularity (as well as 'grammar', 'composition', and 'penmanship') (p.11). However, in 1923, both seem to have been used far less frequently, while Kanda's new book *Crown Readers* replaced them and in fact overwhelmed the others. It is not known when *Standard Choice Readers* began to drop its ratio. Kanda's textbooks, however, continued to be frequently used.

Let us take a brief look at Okakura's *The Globe Readers* and *The New National Readers*. In 1910, the former occupied 11% and the latter, 5.5%. *The Globe Readers*, which were approved by the Ministry of Education in 1908 (Meiji 41), rapidly began to be used. However, they did not appear within the top seven in 1923, suggesting its relatively low adoption ratio during the Taishō Period. *The National Readers*, which ranked 8<sup>th</sup> at the time of 1907 (Meiji 40) (Erikawa, 1997, p.26), did not appear in 1923, either. From these, Okakura's (and thus Tokyo Higher Normal School's) principle seems not to have penetrated the classroom as deeply as Kanda's books or *Standard Choice Readers*. From this analysis, I would conclude that *Kanda's New Series of English Readers* and *Standard Choice Readers* need to be examined.

### ***Kanda's New Series of English Readers***

First approved by the Ministry of Education in 1899 (Meiji 32), *Kanda's New Series of English Readers* (Hereafter, *Kanda's Readers*) symbolised the beginning of the publication of English textbooks written by Japanese in place of imported ones. It was said that they were the first volumes among many of Kanda's books, but in fact the drafts were written by Iwazō Suganuma, an English teacher of Shizuoka Middle School, with Kanda proofreading. Being in an extraordinarily busy post, Naibu Kanda appointed Suganuma to assist (Erikawa & Ozasa, 2004, pp.57-58).

One of the characteristics of *Kanda's Readers* was that they were informed by the

principle of the so-called Natural Method, aiming for the harmonious development of four language skills. This orientation was well articulated in the structure of *Kanda's Readers*. *The First Reader* began with 'English sounds, Spelling and Pronunciation', where English pronunciation and its relationships with spelling were to be taught before pupils were introduced to reading English text. Three typical samples from *The First*, *Second*, and *Fourth Readers* are shown in the Appendices to illustrate *Kanda's Readers'* 'natural' orientation (see Appendix 9.6, 9.7 and 9.8, pp.369-373). Each lesson in them began with assigned reading material, followed by follow-up exercises such as spelling, translation, grammar, and dictation. It can be noted that in *The First* and *Second Readers*, a conversational style between two people was adopted. In the first sample, the teacher was expected to engage in a simple conversation with a pupil about body parts. Since the body parts are visible to both interlocutors, conversation would be easily conducted in a form of object teaching. In the second sample, the teacher was being asked by a pupil to teach him how to write a letter in English. I have selected this lesson deliberately, partly because teaching a letter format itself is a practical thing. More symbolically, in terms of the Natural Method, the teacher took advantage of explaining letter-writing in English to suggest to the pupils the primary role of spoken English in connection with written English (refer to the underlined part in the second sample). When it came to *The Fourth Reader*, however, the text was written in a descriptive style. This transition of style began in *The Third Reader* and continued up to *The Fifth Reader*. In lower years, the teacher's, as well as pupils', use of spoken English in the classroom was encouraged, and in upper years, conversation between people was increasingly replaced by the focus on the content of what was written in a descriptive style.

The second characteristic of *Kanda's Readers* is that drill and practice in English was emphasised. This is because reading a text in each lesson was followed by a rich range of exercises focusing on, for example, spelling, English translation, composition exercises using learnt idioms, grammar, and dictation, throughout the five volumes. While the focus was gradually placed on content towards upper readers, 'Translation' and 'Grammar' were consistently provided. Though a conversational focus was dominant in lower grades, what actually was focused on were illustrations of grammatical points. In the first sample from *The First Reader*, it is evident that the

focus was on the mastery of the usage of the 'be' verb and its interrogative forms, as this was further highlighted in 'GRAMMAR' later in the lesson. In fact, a repetitious pattern of conversation embedding a grammatical point as this one was consistently applied up to the end of *The Second Reader*. In *The Fourth Reader* sample, grammatical explanations of the English article system, the differences between the use of the past tense and the past perfect tense, and so on, were required of pupils, as well as the established practice in translation into English in a relatively short sentence. This pattern was maintained towards the upper grades.

The third concerns the cultural aspects of *Kanda's Readers*. While *The First* and *Second Readers* dominated immediate, life experiences in its content, culture — foreign 'Realien' — began to stand out in *The Third Reader* and beyond. Let us look at the table of contents for *The Third* and *Fifth Readers* to illustrate the general trend in cultural treatment (see Appendix 9.9, p.374). The following two points can be noted. First, *Kanda's Readers* treated a more diverse range of foreign cultures. This quite sharply contrasts with an exclusive emphasis on British 'Realien' in Okakura's *The Globe Readers* and with the selection and distribution of reading matter illustrating American civilisation in *The New National Readers*. For instance, *The Third Reader* predominantly focused on the teaching of moral values rather than the facts, events, or institutions of any foreign country. The diverse cultural treatment can be easily found in *The Fifth Reader*, as well. The earlier lessons dealt with the ancient histories of Egypt and Greece, and then to the Roman Empire, proceeding toward the modern times, emphasising German civilisation, and Russian, and the American Revolution. More recent histories of China and Korea were also introduced, followed by the Kamchatka peninsula and the life of Siberian exiles. Things British did not appear to be stressed. Towards the end of *The Fifth Reader*, moral values rather than 'Realien' were increasingly emphasised. In brief, *Kanda's Readers* were intended to lead one to the development of 'civilised' and 'advanced' societies which contained a moral lesson about the qualities of the peoples.

In relation to the third point, lastly, *Kanda's Readers* were strongly geared toward immersing pupils into a variety of modern moral values, and through them awareness of

the distinctive features of Japanese morality was aimed at. In *The Third Reader*, except for the lessons VI to IX, where scientific observations of animals such as snakes, elephants, eagles and so on, were illustrated in relation to human life, such moral values as ‘truthfulness’ and ‘efforts’ were introduced in the lessons I to V. In the lessons XI to the last, ‘punctuality’ (Lesson XI), ‘loyalty to the lord’ (Lessons XII to XIV), ‘self-sacrifice’ and ‘service to others’ (Lessons XV to XVII), and ‘perseverance’ (XVIII to XX) were dealt with. These moral values were introduced through Western anecdotes, and it appears that the moral values treated were based on modern ethics, outside of a nationalistic context or Confucius filial piety. In the case of ‘loyalty to the lord’, the loyalty was practiced as words to the boy’s farmer master but not to the Duke of Wellington, who first commanded this boy to open the sheep gate and was declined by him, was delighted to see the boy observe his master’s words.

In *The Fifth Reader*, this tendency remained essentially the same. In Lesson XXIX which was cited from a Scottish scholar John Stuart Blackie’s *On Self-Culture*, ‘obedience’ versus ‘liberty’, ‘truthfulness’, the denial of ‘vanity’, and ‘persistent will’ were emphasised, and these moral values were contextualised as individual responsibilities in society. In the final lesson of the Emperor’s address at the promulgation of the Imperial Constitution in 1889 (Meiji 22), which was taken from *History of the Empire of Japan* compiled and translated by Takatsu Kuwasaburō et al. and Brinkley, then naturally, the distinctive feature of the Japanese national character was mentioned. *The Fourth Reader* also dealt with moral values of the same sort such as ‘self-sacrifice’, ‘cooperation’, ‘justice’, ‘courage’, ‘self-control’, ‘contentment’, ‘generosity’, and ‘civility’, based on multi-cultural anecdotes, including from Germany, India, Holland, Iraq, and Japan. *Kanda’s Readers* did not appear to aim at implanting a given foreign ‘*Realien*’. Rather, a paradoxical approach to raising the awareness of Japanese virtues through modern ethics was salient, which was consistent with Okakura’s approach embedded in his *Globe Readers* and in his selection of *The National Readers*.

### ***Standard Choice Readers***

The characteristics of *Standard Choice Readers* (Hereafter, *Choice Readers*) in terms of ‘speech primacy’, the treatment of language knowledge and of foreign ‘*Realien*’ can be summarised in the following three points. First, *Choice Readers* were not necessarily grounded in the principle of ‘speech primacy’. They were composed of reading matter selected from foreign imported textbooks and modified for use by Japanese pupils. The original books included *The New National Readers*, *Swinton’s Readers*, *Longmans’ Readers*, and *Sanders’ Union Readers*, all of which were the popular textbooks and widely read before the Japanese began to compile their own English textbooks, and they were content-oriented with less emphasis on the deliberate teaching of spoken English to pupils of other languages. Three typical samples from *The Second*, *Third*, and *Fourth Readers* are included in the Appendices (see Appendix 9.10, 9.12 and 9.13, pp.375-378). Unlike *Kanda’s Readers*, the texts were written in a descriptive style from *The First Reader*, although the language was colloquial in *The Second Reader*. None of them were intended to involve a teacher and pupils in a conversation.

As a result, secondly, exercises for practice and drill in language knowledge were only included as insertions. An exercise called ‘Conversational Exercise’ was one such opportunity (see Appendix 9.11, p.375). According to the *Preface to The Second Reader*, it was explained that due to a general difficulty in teaching conversation using the Reader, ‘CONVERSATION EXERCISES’ by means of retranslation is newly inserted on an occasional basis. This can be looked at as an attempt to respond to the national standard’s instruction to include spoken English in conjunction with reading comprehension, but ended up being lip-service to it. As it turned out, the use of Japanese still dominated in the exercise called ‘conversation’.

In *The Third Reader*, ‘Review Sentences’ were picked up for ‘Dictation’, ‘Composition’ or ‘Conversation’ after the text was read by the class. However, no specific instructions on how to run this exercise were mentioned. It is likely that the focus was on the memorisation of idiomatic expressions shown in italics (see Appendix 9.12, p.376). This continued up to *The Fifth Reader*. It can be suggested that *Choice Readers* were used exclusively for reading for content and translation. Other teaching matters, such as grammar, composition, dictation and so on, were likely to be taught using grammar and

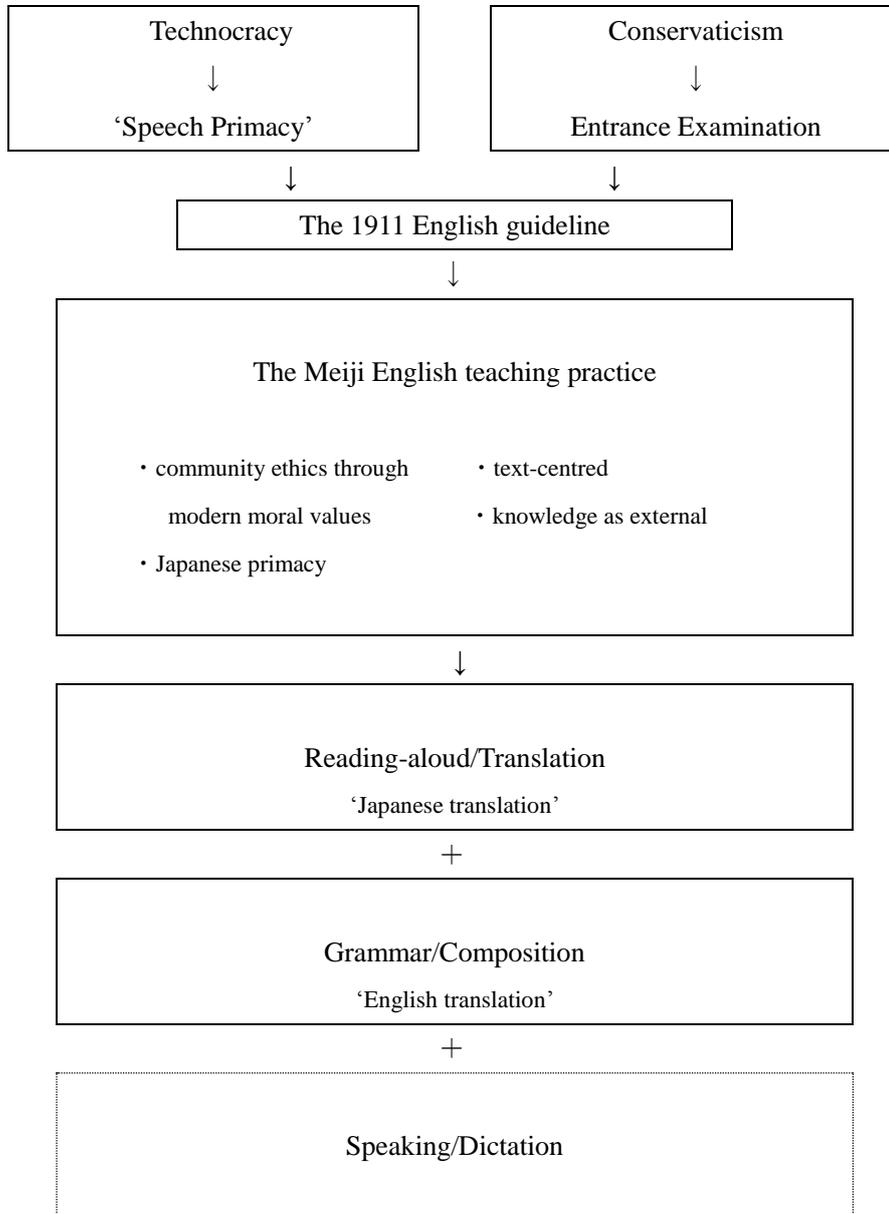
composition textbooks at different times.

Finally, the content-oriented nature of *Choice Readers* reveals the promoting of the expansion of pupils' horizons and deepening their insights rather than language learning as a goal in itself. This is understandable because *Choice Readers* were compiled by collecting pieces from the abovementioned foreign imported textbooks. As a result, moral ethics rooted in Western tradition were firmly introduced. 'Diligence' in *The Second Reader*, 'truthfulness' in *The Third Reader*, and 'public good' in *The Fourth Reader* are obvious. As in *Kanda's Readers*, the Japanese patriotic sentiment was promoted by filtering pupils' concepts through modern ethics.

Although Kanda was a key promoter of speech primacy or at least speech as precursive, *Kanda's Readers*, as well as *Choice Readers*, focused on text-centred English teaching. Spoken English was incorporated into the lower grades in *Kanda's Readers*, but stress on language knowledge was consistently emphasised. Also, both *Readers* centred on moral values as reading content. The cultural background did not reveal any particular 'Realien'. This suggested that the cultivation of national sentiment was promoted through a wide range of modern ethics of diverse cultural backgrounds. After all, these characteristics were contextually pragmatic for the real work of English teachers, including the preparation of pupils for entrance examinations.

The pattern and nature of the Meiji English teaching practice has been investigated, above. Figure 9.2 attempts to summarise this. English teaching during the Meiji Period was framed by the national education goals aimed at the economic international expansion based on Japanese patriotism, and this demanded practical English abilities. That is, Meiji's Japan as an imperialist state required more technocrats on the one hand, and conservative conformist education on the other. English teaching policy sought the effectiveness of the former through 'speech primacy' to structure the teaching process; the efficiency of the latter was pursued through a text-based, Grammar-Translation type of examinations.

Figure 9.2: The Meiji English teaching practice



The Meiji authorities' attempts to meet all the conflicting demands saw the issue of the 1911 English guideline. What resulted from this process was a strong inclination to text-centred teaching, a heavy reliance on the use of Japanese, teaching as the transmission of language knowledge as external to the pupil, and learning as memorisation of disembodied knowledge.

What was really practiced in the English classroom was that the methodological

principle of ‘speech primacy’ was shaved off from the teaching and learning process. That is, this resulted in a further formalisation of the 1911 English guideline into ‘Reading-aloud & Translation’, ‘Grammar & Composition’, and ‘Speaking & Dictation’, while disconnecting spoken from written English and limiting the methodological scope narrowly to ‘Japanese translation’ and ‘English translation’. In this transformation, spoken English was marginalised into ‘Speaking & Dictation’, and inductive orientation to grammar teaching, which would be expected to penetrate the teaching process, largely fell out of fashion — it was compartmentalised into ‘Grammar & Composition’. Hence, the challenge to transform English teaching into an inductive, developmental process was hardly met.

## CONCLUSION

This study has focused on English teaching practice in middle schools during the Meiji Period in Japan, with a particular emphasis on its connection with Western ‘modern’ language teaching methodology. The investigation revealed that policy makers in this period continuously attempted to learn from German and British reform attempts at modern language teaching, with a primary attention to introducing the principle of ‘speech primacy’, as a significant strategy to transform Japan’s middle school English teaching. In a pedagogical sense, this inherently involved a challenge for practitioners and policy makers with the state’s conflicting demands to reorganise the teaching process into an inductive, developmental process. The incentives for reform came from Japan’s increasing imperial expansion toward the end of the period, which demanded applied utilities in English teaching. However, the traditional view of reading as the goal, apparently redressed by the ‘modern’ method, co-existed. Eventually, the 1911 national guideline absorbed both the stress on reading and ‘*Realien*’, and on other applied abilities, while including a strong nationalistic orientation. Policy-makers’ endeavours to transmit the focus of the national standard through teacher training followed. What was actually practiced was, however, the transmission of disembedded pieces of language knowledge falling into a text-centred context with ‘speech primacy’ being marginalised. Hence, ‘speech primacy’ failed to structure English teaching practice significantly during the Meiji Period.

Japan’s reform in English teaching took the form of introducing particular interpretations of Pestalozzi’s so-called Natural Method. It dated back to an educational thought rooted in so-called Natural Education suggested by Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. The Pestalozzian Natural Method, starting from a bourgeois-romantic philosophy, aimed for universal education and intellectual and economic independence of common people, and this was to aim at establishing individual and human liberation. The Natural Method was characterised by educating in modern civic ethics. In that tradition, the primary substance of language was regarded as speech; hence, ‘speech primacy’. This implied that language learning involved an inductive, psychologistic process in which learning proceeds from *Anschaung* (intuition) to clear concepts. Thus, the proposed

transfer of the Natural Method into Japanese pedagogical culture was to put this apparently more effective method of teaching and learning into practice. In this sense, ‘methods’ can only be substantiated by their ‘aim’. Japan’s ‘modernisation’ of English teaching was the challenge that seemed to justify the transfer of the so-called Natural Method.

Models for the Meiji Government’s transfer of Western methods derived from this theory were largely German pedagogical practice, with phonetics being transferred from British practice. German practice itself was a transformed version of the Pestalozzian Natural Method. It was reframed by nationalistic education goals emphasising racialised, community ethics. It was a bowdlerised transformation of Pestalozzi’s, and then Herbart’s, original civic ethics. The German ‘reformed’ method inherited object teaching grounded on ‘speech primacy’ most obviously in the vocation-oriented secondary schools. The study of ‘*Realien*’ of neighbouring countries was a characteristic component, which was inherited from the traditional humanist curriculum. In German practice, the study of ‘*Realien*’ was emphasised in the context of raising the patriotic sentiment, which was supported by conservative movements of the time. In Britain, the Natural Method did not translate into actual practice. In modern language teaching, object teaching appeared not to capture theorists’ and practitioners’ attention, and it was treated lightly or largely discarded. As a result, a phonetic method as a supposed scientific study of language marked the major English reform, but was restricted to initial instruction, while the traditional grammar-translation method continued to prevail.

Naibu Kanda and Yoshisaburō Okakura, and other students overseas from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century onward, absorbed Western methods which included distorted German and British versions of what had been gleaned from the Pestalozzian Natural Method, and this knowledge was carried into policy-making processes in Japan in making the 1911 English guideline. This meant that English-teaching reform plans driven by policy-makers during the late Meiji Period marked in theory a dramatic departure from the Japanese traditional language learning style, ‘*Sodoku*’, centring on recitation and learning by rote. Before the change in policy, Japanese teachers of English gradually

began to articulate their reform ideas, and this frequently took the form of modifying the ‘*Sodoku*’ approach by taking advantage of Western methods, as far as this would counter its deficits. However, when Western theories and methods were brought back by students overseas and put into policy-making processes, the policy makers lost sight of the entrenched institutional nature of the traditional learning style and the reluctance of key officials to commit fully to speech primacy. English teaching policy resulting in the 1911 English guideline presented a new phase in which Western theory and methods were explicitly countenanced for adaptation to Japanese institutional language learning practice.

From this phase onward, the issue for policy-makers was to restructure English teaching towards a grounding in ‘speech primacy’. It was probably felt that this key principle could guide foreign language learning toward practical outcomes in support of a nationalistic and imperialist education scheme. It was identified that the 1902 English guideline, the first national standard for English teaching during the Meiji Period, was based for the most part on Naibu Kanda’s view, which was first apparent in the English syllabus in 1898 (Meiji 31), which acted as a blue print for the 1902 English guideline. At this point, while adopting a supposed ‘natural’ method, Kanda’s plan was still relatively moderate in terms of westernising the Japanese traditional teaching method, in the sense of still beginning with written English and providing speech from the teacher’s reading-aloud of texts. Convinced of imitation and habit formation as vital language learning principles, Kanda took reading-aloud and dictation very seriously. However, some changes had been made in the four years from the English syllabus of 1898 to the 1902 English guideline. The introduction of object teaching (objects, pictures) and ‘*Realien*’ (cultural) teaching marked the changes. These were new elements unfamiliar in the Japanese language teaching tradition. Object teaching would require a departure from beginning with written language (text) and ultimately require the use of English as a classroom language, while ‘*Realien*’ was also a new teaching concept with the partial inclusion of German features in the 1902 English guideline.

The reorganisation of English teaching for the adoption of ‘speech primacy’ really began at this point. The Minister of Education, Nobuaki Makino, led the reform after

the Russo-Japanese War, as part of advocating an imperialistic economic expansion. He and his Committee to Investigate the Methods of Teaching English in Secondary Schools drew up the Mombushō Report in January 1909 (Meiji 42). This was soon followed by the English syllabus for middle schools designed by chief professor Okakura of Tokyo Higher Normal School in January 1910 (Meiji 43). Both plans, which were practically the blue prints for the 1911 national standard, shared a stronger penetration of ‘speech primacy’. Inductive grammar teaching was also emphasised and expected to penetrate the whole course of instruction. This also made it apparent that it was expected that a drastic introduction of Western theory and methods, particularly German ‘reformed’ practice, would be implemented. In this policy-making process, conflict between two expectations became apparent. The Minister of Education Makino intended to stress practical and applied utilities of English oral proficiency and writing skills, but the English syllabus for middle schools emphasised reading (Direct Reading and Direct Understanding), while inductive grammar teaching was understood to be a mental discipline beyond providing functional knowledge acquisition. ‘Speech primacy’ took on different meanings between the two positions. The former saw it as the requirement for practical and applied outcomes, while the latter regarded it as the condition for native-like reading and conversational ability and cultural understanding. They both shared nationalistic education values, but the conflicting views between pragmatism and academicism remained an issue for the making of the Meiji’s national standard in the following year, 1911.

It turned out that the 1911 national standard, which resulted from these policy-making processes, was a mosaic of distinctive components of German and British practice with some elements of traditional Japanese practices continuing — hence, making it a blended form of Japanese-specific English teaching. The 1911 English guideline emphasised initial pronunciation with the recommended use of phonetic knowledge, object teaching focusing on ‘*Realien*’, and the constant use of English in the classroom. These had been clearly transferred from British and German practice. The first emphasis was a distinctive feature of the British method, and the second and the third were those from the German reformed method. What made it Japanese-specific was the conservation of Japanese translation as the central method to explain text and its

‘correct’ use in terms of corresponding to the original English. The stress on pupils’ self-study was also a peculiar feature to Japanese English teaching.

That is, the 1911 English guideline had a strengthened focus on reading ability, which implied that the English syllabus of the Okakura group had weakened somewhat the pragmatic and applied direction of Makino’s Mombushō Report, while at the same time connecting ‘speech primacy’ with ‘Translation (Reading)’ which had been introduced in the foregoing two attempts, was reduced. On the other hand, ‘Speaking’ was maintained in connection with ‘Composition’. As well, the stress on reading ability using object teaching with cultural themes corresponded to the nationalistic emphasis, while Makino’s applied-oriented emphasis was incorporated by the stress on writing skills over spoken English, along with basic English skills such as pronunciation and penmanship. The 1911 English guideline was an emphatic version of the 1902 English guideline with similar tensions and inconsistencies and included a response to the renewed nationalistic and technocratic, applied-practice policy of the post-war era.

This dual emphasis on the academic (reading) and applied (speech and writing) components perhaps was meant to strengthen more explicitly the integrative way in which they were to be taught. In lower grades, interdependent teaching was to be relatively maintained, which would proceed from “Reading-aloud’ to ‘Translation’ to ‘Speaking’ and then to ‘Composition’, while ‘Grammar’ was to be taught inductively, penetrating all elements. However, from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade on, the standard for reading was raised to an ‘ordinary’ level. ‘Speaking & Composition’ and ‘Grammar’ were gradually detached from ‘Translation’ to form an independent teaching category, while the inductive method of grammar teaching was weakened. As a consequence, the three categories and patterns of English teaching were more likely to occur in practice than in the 1902 version from 3<sup>rd</sup> grade and beyond, which were: A. ‘Reading-aloud’ → ‘Translation’ → Dictation, B. ‘Speaking’ → ‘Composition’, and C. ‘Grammar’. Thus, ‘speech primacy’ was reinterpreted as precursive speech to be discarded later for the Grammar-Translation method.

Thereafter, teacher training began to incorporate the 1911 English guideline’s emphases

on spoken English, object teaching, phonetics, and British '*Realien*'. Teacher licence tests and summer training courses were linked with these policy decisions. Teacher licence tests responded to the nationalistic emphasis by giving 'Pedagogy' and 'National Morality' examinations. Journalism helped spread the new ideas to a wider range of readers.

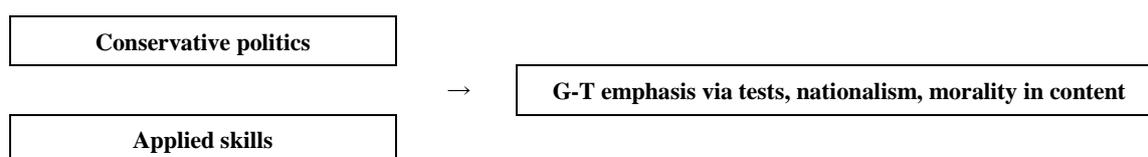
What resulted in practice from all these reform attempts made by the Meiji authorities was a further deterioration of the role of 'speech primacy' that had been embedded in the 1911 English guideline. That is, speech was disconnected from written English in the 'Speaking → Composition' corollary. Additionally, 'Speaking' was treated together with 'Dictation' and marginalised. As a consequence, the three patterns of English teaching emerged. They were: A. 'Reading-aloud' → 'Translation', B. 'Grammar' → 'Composition', and C. 'Speaking' → 'Dictation'. Thus, the methodological principle of 'speech primacy', which was inconsistently pursued by policy-makers, was largely shaved off in practice from written English and the teaching and learning process as a whole.

In actual practice, this division then limited the methodological scope exclusively to 'Japanese translation' and 'English translation'. English teaching continued to be characterised by a strong inclination to text-centred teaching; a heavy reliance on the use of Japanese; teaching as a transmission of language knowledge external to the learner; and learning as memorisation of disembedded knowledge. This was more consistent with the nature of the teaching and learning required to succeed at entrance examinations, which then restricted the scope of methodology and the nature of teaching and learning processes in both term examinations and middle school English teaching practice as a whole.

The analysis provided in this thesis suggests, first, that the expected goal, particularly an improvement in spoken English in the post-war circumstances, was limited at best, while the nationalistic goal led to the pervasive use of morally-oriented textbooks. It also suggests that the view of teaching and learning as an inductive, higher-order, and developmental process did not take shape, and that it did not allow the most challenging

features of the Natural Method to take root in Japanese classrooms during the Meiji Period.

The structure of teaching theory during the Meiji Period was characterised by the unidirectional relationship between ‘aim’ → ‘content’ → ‘method’. The agents of ‘aim’ and ‘content’ selection were the Meiji authorities, and these two were framed substantially by the Imperial Rescript on Education and the view of a ‘Familial Nation’, in which the formation of conformist subjects (*Shinmin*) was pursued. This restrictive framing was strengthened in tandem with the expansion of the middle school system toward the end of the period. For English teaching, the ‘content’ was restricted by the two fundamental axes of ‘immediate’ applied English and ‘knowledge of culture and morality’. In this framework, where these modern and pre-modern educational ‘aims’ were given *a priori* by the Meiji authorities, the enlightenment ‘aim’ was cut off from its modern, developmental ‘method’ and lost its original significance of the Natural Method. As a consequence, a ‘method’ in English teaching became a technical application of formalised teaching procedures of the Grammar-Translation emphasis. The issue of ‘modern methods’ did not result in a creative endeavour to achieve its enlightenment aim, but cut down to the procedural process to transmit a given aim and content.



What was happening with English teaching during the Meiji Period was that in the process of its diffusion from German practice into the Meiji’s national standard, the Pestalozzian reforming spirit was rendered something other than Pestalozzi and other reformists intended in Germany and Britain by a conservatising and conscious or unconscious political process then further impacted through Japanese authorities. In this process, the Pestalozzian enlightenment was thus expunged and the philosophy of certain pedagogies leading to individual and human liberation was lost. As a consequence, the modern method of ‘speech primacy’ lost its historical and pedagogical

significance, was formalised, and, in the end, its transfer largely failed.

Putting the formalised pattern of English teaching into the context of transferring Western theory of language teaching, reveals to us, first, that there was an attempt to introduce oral-aural exercises for understanding text before encountering written English, and second that there was also an attempt to incorporate oral composition before composing text in written English. The origin of the way English is taught in Japan in the present day is largely derived from the Meiji authorities' unwillingness to transfer fully Western theory of language teaching into the Japanese traditional teaching style and to transform it by 'speech primacy'. In the end, the degeneration from Pestalozzi's ideals witnessed in Germany and Britain reached a nadir. A fixed pattern of teaching, which comprised 'Reading-aloud' as sounding practice, followed by Japanese 'Translation' and 'Composition' as places for 'Grammar' exercises, is still a familiar picture of English classes in secondary schools in today's Japan.

The Meiji's patterns of English teaching practice have always been dominant throughout the Taishō, the Shōwa Period, and up until today. However, they have always been the target of criticism, as well. The Japanese had Harold E. Palmer in the late Taishō Period and Charles C. Fries in the Shōwa Period, and strove to transform the patterns into a practical and applied orientation. Communicative language teaching movements in Japan in the 1990s marked still another attempt at transformation. These reform attempts have partly been driven by the growth of Japanese expertise, but have been, for the most part, based on Western theories. This study suggests that the social and political circumstances inherent in Japanese society are important factors to consider in making designing future English teaching practice in Japanese classrooms a creative endeavour.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **Appendix 1.1: Meiji Authorities' Views of English Teaching**

Yoshisaburō Okakura's and Naibu Kanda's views of English teaching are examined and compared, below. Their impacts on the development of Japan's English teaching cannot be overestimated in terms of their working close to and as policy-makers, and of being strong advocates for practitioners. When they are compared to modern education thought, in which the Natural Method was rooted, it is clear that English teaching during the Meiji Period possessed Japanese distinctive features.

#### **Yoshisaburō Okakura's View of English Teaching**

Yoshisaburō Okakura (1868-1936) was a multi-faced educator during the Meiji Period. Probably, he was best known for being an English teacher educator at Tokyo Higher Normal School. He studied as a student of philology (linguistics) under Basil H. Chamberlain at Tokyo Imperial University. He started his career as a researcher of Ainu and Korean, and then Japanese philology, which further inspired him to study phonetics, during which he worked as principal at the first school of the Japanese language in a colony, Korea, for two years. Though he had taught English at middle schools before he was sent to Germany and Britain as a Ministry of Education overseas student in 1902 (Meiji 35), he was usually a Japanese teacher and researcher. Experience of investigation of English teaching methodology in the West led his career to further involve in the field of English teaching. Later in the Meiji Period, Okakura wrote *The Japanese Spirit*, which introduced Japanese culture to the West. His interest in English literature continued for the rest of his life. He was well-grounded as an English teacher and educator; he was enabled to look at English teaching from the perspective of Japanese teaching, as well.

## Okakura's National Education Thought

Interests in Okakura's view of English teaching have produced several studies on his education thought from a number of standpoints. In a word, the most general evaluation of Okakura is that of an ultranationalist and imperialist. As an English educationist, through writing his own English textbooks for middle school boys called *The Globe Readers*, Okakura "hoped that others would learn about the power of Great Britain for the purpose of furthering their appreciation of Japanese imperialism", and "to study the culture of Great Britain is to develop the Japanese spirit" (Yoon, 2005, p.49). As a scholar of linguistics and English literature, he invented 'Eastern Linguistics', in which the Japanese language could stand highest among those of the neighbouring Asian countries, as if to say that in Western modern linguistics the English language ranked highest. By comparing with and looking down on Asian languages, Okakura successfully discovered Japan on an equal footing with Britain (Saitō, 2001, pp.1-15). As a lecturer on Japanese culture, he defined the Japanese spirit as the belief in the Emperor — the core of *Shinto* (our Path of Gods) as superior to any other religious belief (Hirata, 1998, p.9). Okakura positively insisted that Western culture be learnt and brought into Japanese culture, because he believed that it was by doing so that the Japanese spirit had become further and further strengthened, and this belief was grounded in his everlasting and unchanging trust in the Japanese spirit' (p.9). The transfer of foreign cultures, however, cannot be unlimited. Okakura admitted the limitation of transfer to the degree of "adopting only the good so that Japan may make up for its deficiency with the good" (p.9). He stated that what was respectable for Japanese is the fact that "each time Japan has encountered the great culture of the advanced great nation, Japan has adopted the good to make up for its deficiency, if it is the West or the East, always with a disinterested attitude and without losing sight of self-esteem as the Japanese people" (p.9). Okakura constituted a strong nationalistic belief, while the transfer of Western culture, particular that of Britain, had to be fostered. In him, nationalism could be achieved through internationalism.

English teaching was also considered by Okakura as a practical means in the sense of making it possible for Japanese to contact with the great culture of advanced nations. He

once remarked on the purpose of English teaching that “we aim at ‘education’ through teaching English and the national language” (Okakura, 1919, p.369). English teaching was, along with the teaching of the national language, regarded by Okakura as one of the ways to strengthen the Japanese spirit. As long as the goal was not the study of a foreign language but strengthening the Japanese spirit, the term English ‘education’ had to be consciously differentiated from English ‘teaching’.

### **English Education for the ‘Japanese Spirit’**

How, then, did Okakura attempt to realise the Japanese spirit in middle school boys through English education? In his famous book, *Eigo Kyōiku* (English education), he made the relationship between the nation and the individual clear, as follows: “The full development of the individual should be expected in harmony with the fundamental character of the nation (*Kokutai*)” (Okakura, 1911, p.24). The outcome of education for the individual had to be subordinate to the national benefits.

#### ‘Methodology’ as a Threat to the ‘Japanese Spirit’

In *Eigo Kyōiku*, Okakura reminded the reader that the book only talked about the commonsense of English teaching because he was convinced that “most of what pedagogy and methodology propose is nothing but the product of commonsense, and this is particularly true of methodology” (Okakura, 1911, p.2). What was revealed in this remark was his sense of distance from methodology. Okakura criticised a positive, welcoming evaluation of methodology given by English teachers in general, by pointing out their over-reliance on methodology when it came to a discussion of teaching reform. As a result of the over-reliance on methodology, Okakura claimed, unsatisfactory results of teaching at school had emerged. That is to say, the underachievement had been created because teachers had come to only care about methodology, in other words, to make learning easier for pupils, which had in turn created in them a bad habit of avoiding difficult tasks and a tendency to choose the easy path (pp.24-26).

In other words, Okakura’s criticism against methodology came from his awareness of

the development of modern methodology in the West. He explained that it was common that before modern times, teaching meant that the nation simply imposed the national standard of what people ought to know upon the learner. But, after the Renaissance as the idea of freedom and equity was increasingly advocated, the aim of teaching shifted from the national benefit to the benefit and respect of the individual, and to the full development of individuality (p.22). Thus, “as it has become a more and more common idea that teaching means exploring a mental state of the individual, applying the appropriate teaching to it, and developing the full potential of each individual, methodology has come under a crucial attention” (p.23).

It appeared that Okakura was aware that the making of ‘methodology’ paralleled the Western awareness of the respect for the individual as a free and equal existence, and that he recognised that ‘methodology’ connoted the Western modern view of mankind. Then, it follows that the more one tries to understand ‘methodology’ and rely on it in teaching, the more one is implementing the Western practice; the more one does it, the more one has to deny or neglect the national goal — education of the national character. To Okakura’s eyes, the heated debate on Western new methods among Japanese scholars and teachers had to be cautioned. To his eyes, ‘methodology’ was not something to be adopted as the good. For English teaching ‘speech primacy’ — the essence of the Natural Method — was regarded by Okakura as a dangerous principle. As a consequence, he had to invent a new logic that would dilute the effect of ‘speech primacy’ and focus on something else.

### Concentration on Reading

Okakura understood that the fundamental nature of the ‘new method’ consisted in the modern view of the pupil as a potentially active, independent, and individual learner capable of cognition, rather than as an empty barrel to be filled up with the authorised knowledge. Nevertheless, he repeatedly advocated the transfer of Western methods into Japanese English teaching methods. How did he direct his English ‘education’ with such modernity toward strengthening the Japanese spirit?

Okakura started his explanation by defining the goal of middle school education. According to him, the outcome of middle school English education should be practical, but it did not mean conversation or composition, because the need of conversation and composition was only limited to a few segment of the population. He insisted that secondary education not connect directly to what the business world required of secondary pupils. Rather, to make middle school education more practical means educating pupils so that the outcome would work in a variety of fields after graduation and that middle school would not teach the bits and snippets of concrete knowledge in direct response to every segment of society (Okakura, 1911, p.38).

In this line of thought, Okakura took up two types of responsibilities of English education. The first type comprised two components, one of which was to learn about other cultures, by which to overcome the narrowness of our horizon, and to come to realise the equality of value in every culture, through reading '*Realien*'. The other component was the acquisition of intellectual functions, such as close observation, induction, categorisation, and application, through studying the structure, syntax, relationships and paragraphs of English, and through the manipulation of language, ultimately, to come to realise that there was another system of expression of thought other than Japanese (p.39). Okakura called this first type, made up of the two components, the 'educational value'. The second type of responsibility, — the ultimate goal in English teaching —, he insisted, should be to cultivate the power of reading comprehension, because without it the educational value could not be achieved. He called the cultivation of reading skills the 'practical value' of English teaching. For Okakura, the outcome of middle school English 'that would work in a variety of fields afterwards' was to give the pupils the power of reading comprehension, which enabled them to understand the '*Realien*' of a foreign culture. This implied that the common outcome of middle school education was to educate pupils into a nationalistic mind-set.

When reading comprehension was the goal of English teaching in Okakura's mind, how did he relate it to other branches of English, such as pronunciation, conversation, and grammar? Interestingly, these branches were not only all important but also the prerequisite for this final goal of reading ability (pp.42-44). Okakura explained that

written language was a transcription of what was spoken, and reading was, as it were, a means of understanding what was spoken with the eyes. Therefore, speed in reading comprehension was based on speed in listening comprehension. That was why speed and accuracy in reading required a certain amount of regular practice on listening and speaking. What was consistent in his underpinning was his view of language that language must be understood in its spoken form first — ‘speech primacy’. He cleverly subordinated ‘Speech primacy’ to the acquisition of reading ability.

To Okakura, reading had to be the central component, to which everything else was subordinate. In practice, for the first three years or so, the focus in teaching should be placed on listening and speaking, which would form the basis for reading comprehension. Later, in the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades, more and more focus would be shifted to reading itself, while all the other activities were to be continuously employed as a subordinate position to help promote reading comprehension with accuracy and speed (pp.44-45). On the other hand, Okakura did not stress writing (the other function of written language) as much as reading. Thus, Okakura’s design in English education was characterised by the structure of concentration on reading.

### Community Ethics

In order to understand the nature of Okakura’s national education thought in his English education more clearly, his textbooks made for middle schools called *The Globe Readers* (1907) will be appropriate documents to consider, as Okakura “compiled *The Globe Readers* in order to make his ideal come true” (Takanashi & Deki, 1993, p.231). In Book 1 (1<sup>st</sup> grade), materials covered an English boy, Henry, and his family, daily life, including his school life, holidays, birthday, and the like. Book 2 (2<sup>nd</sup> grade) talked about the four seasons in a rural town in England from spring to winter. A large picture which reflected the seasonal life of local people was inserted for each season for a dialogue. Book 3 (3<sup>rd</sup> grade) introduced another English native boy, James, residing in Japan and preparing for his trip to his native land England to complete his education. The reading matters in Book 3 introduced James’s encounters with various local people of different cultures on a steamer on his way to England. Book 4 (4<sup>th</sup> grade) developed

into James's experience in contemporary London after he got there. He also learnt about the history of England. Book 5 (5<sup>th</sup> grade), in a quite independent fashion from the preceding books, introduced a variety of foreign countries other than England, such as America, Canada, Australia, and Africa.

The following two points should be noted concerning the nature of *The Globe Readers* within Okakura's framework of English education. One concerns the selection of teaching content and its arrangement. As for the selection of teaching content, British 'Realien' was consistently chosen throughout the five books, and this made *The Globe Readers* stand out among many other English textbooks published during the Meiji Period. Furthermore, some cultural topics about Japan were also introduced in relation to British culture, as in Book 3, Lesson 1 (see below). In it, Japanese culture was not necessarily regarded as inferior; rather, Okakura seemed to treat both cultures with an equal value. As a result, as Erikawa and Ozasa (2004) and Yoon (2005) pointed out, *The Globe Readers* involved an extreme bias toward British culture. As for the arrangement of teaching content, *The Globe Readers* opened with the immediate life experiences of Henry. As they advanced, the themes expanded both in time and space, from seasonal life in England, to James's experiences in contemporary England as well as in its history, and to aspects of foreign countries other than Britain.

***The Globe Readers, Book 3, Lesson 1: A Letter from Japan I***

Tokyo, April 15<sup>th</sup>, 1908.

Dear Henry,

By the time you read this letter, I shall be a long way from the land of the Rising Sun. Perhaps I shall have reached the Island of Ceylon.

As I have already told you repeatedly in my former letters, I am to start for England in a fortnight, to complete my education among you. I am to enter one of the big public schools. Most probably I shall be a Harrow boy, as you yourself are.

Father is to take me to England himself, so I am not in the least afraid of my long voyage. I am indeed so glad to think that I am at last to visit my mother-country, which has been the object of my pride and love ever since my earliest childhood.

But you won't laugh at my funny affection, when I confess to you that it is not altogether with a joyous heart that I leave this country behind, though it is not for ever.

True to say, Japan has been my second father-land, where I have spent such a number of happy years among its beautiful scenery and my native friends. My present idea, therefore, is to come back here again, as soon as I have taken a degree, either at Oxford or Cambridge, to serve as a teacher under the Japanese government.

I have been very busy preparing for my departure. Besides buying and packing things for the journey, I have many books to read concerning the countries and peoples I am going to pass by on my way to England. I have already gone through many guide-books.

The second point concerns a principle of how reading materials were structured throughout the five books. Each book set a specific theme, around which the lessons in it were arranged, and a certain story developed with a thematic connection being maintained. Book 1, for instance, centred on English life through Henry's life experiences with his family, relatives and so on, and each lesson connected to the next lesson. I have included the table of contents for Book 1, below, to indicate this connection. Book 4, in turn, thoroughly introduced the British '*Realien*' of the present and the past as a theme of the book (see the table of contents for Book 4, below). What is more, all the five books were then integrated in the same way as in each book, based on the thematic relevance and progression from one to the next. The straightforward introduction of the British '*Realien*' through reading textbooks — Okakura's ideal of English education — was clearly reflected in the selection, arrangement of the reading matters, and in the connection between the five books. It can be noted that *The Globe Readers* were grounded on a culture epoch theory and a concentration method, which were the pedagogical principles of nationalistic German education developed by the Herbartian educator, Wilhelm Rein.

***The Globe Readers, Book 1, The table of contents***

Introductory lessons to the English reading. Some monosyllabic words of irregular spelling

1. A boy. 2. An English boy. 3. My sister. 4. I have a dog. 5. A bird and a cage. 6. We love our parents.
7. London is a city. 8. We have an uncle. 9. Japan is an empire. 10. Uncle Charles has three children.
11. Mary and I go to school. 12. Here is a Japanese post-card. 13. It was a holiday yesterday.
14. Mary was born in 1898. 15. It will be my birth-day soon. 16. Look at this watch.
17. The chain is from my mother. 18. Here is a parcel for me. 19. I have been writing a letter. 20. Dear Grandpapa,
21. What a pretty book you have! 22. The Wise Young Mouse. I. 23. The Wise Young Mouse. II.
24. Now, Mary, how do you like the story?

### ***The Globe Readers, Book 4, The table of contents***

1. The land of the Britons. 2. *Home, Sweet Home*. 3. Walks in London I. 4. Walks in London II. 5. On the omnibus.
6. The enchanted sword. 7. In the parks. 8. Alfred the Great. 9. *Onward! Onward!* 10. Walks in London III.
11. The battle of Hastings. 12. The zoological gardens. 13. The “White Ship”. 14. The rhinoceros.
15. Oxford and Cambridge boat race. 16. *The windmill*. 17. A rowing match on the Thames. 18. A letter from London. 19. Robin Hood. 20. Walks in London IV. 21. The locomotive’s story. 22. Robert Bruce and the Scotch woman.
23. *My Mother*. 24. A Chat with the weather-cock I. 25. Prince Henry and the judge.
26. A Chat with the weather-cock II. 27. The first English printer. 28. A Chat with the weather-cock III.
29. *The choice of trades*. 30. The bloody tower. 31. The great fire I. 32. The great fire II. 33. The wandering boy.
34. The battle of Waterloo: holding the ridge I. 35. The battle of Waterloo: the old guard II. 36. David Livingstone.
37. The English in the Crimea. 38. *The soldier’s dream*.

The modern thought embedded in ‘methodology’, substantiated by *Anschauungsunterricht*, as Okakura himself was aware, had grown out of the Western awareness of the learner as a potentially active, independent individual, who is capable of cognition. The modern educational thought embedded in ‘methodology’ potentially aimed at educating in the ethics of modern citizenship. However, in *The Globe Readers*, a specific racial culture was authoritatively chosen and given to the learner as a ‘given value’ in a systematic way. By immersing the learner into British ‘*Realien*’ in comparison with some aspects of Japanese culture, they were to be induced into pre-modern community ethics and the Japanese spirit, rather than that of modern citizenship. As a result, the axis of self was assimilated into the axis of the nation. Modern ‘methodology’ — *Anschauungsunterricht* — was likely to get distorted, degenerated, and stunted in Okakura’s English education.

### **Naibu Kanda’s View of English Teaching**

Naibu Kanda (1857-1923) was another important figure in the development of English teaching during the Meiji Period. He taught at Tokyo School of Foreign Studies (*Tokyo Gaikokugo Gakkō*), Tokyo Higher Commercial School (*Tokyo Kōtō Shōgyō Gakkō*), as well as established the Model Preparatory School (*Seisoku Yobikō*) and acted as principal. Additionally, he was a compiler of a great number of English textbooks, and

also acted as a member of the board for a teacher licence examination for secondary school teachers. Unlike Okakura, Kanda committed himself to the field of English teaching throughout his career. However, there is a common impression that Kanda was not on the front line in this field, as the Meiji Period rolled on to the end. Our interest is in examining what it was that gives us just such images of Kanda as above.

Vital experiences that affected him in the development of his theory and view of English teaching and education can be depicted. According to Ozawa and Mizobuchi (1965), Kanda spent his younger days in the United States of America from 14 to 22 years old. He studied English, Latin, and Greek, as well as Natural history, at Amherst High School, and continued on with the study of French, German, and natural and social sciences at Amherst College. As a college student, he heard a lecture entitled “The Superlative or Mental Temperance” done by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and was strongly affected by his thought. He had determined to commit himself to education after he returned to Japan, and until his departure from the United States, Kanda attended the Westfield State Normal School in Massachusetts (pp.22-23). When he returned to Japan after eight years of study in the United States, he had self-awareness of wanting to work for Japanese education, and English had become almost his native language (p.25).

### **Imitation and Habit Formation**

What, in particular, awoke him as a future English teacher and scholar during his time in the United States was his encounter with ‘method naturelle’ used by Dr. L. Sauveur at the School of Modern Languages in Boston (Ozawa and Mizobuchi, 1965, pp.23-24). Sauveur had learnt the Natural Method from G. Heness, a German language teacher and one of Pestalozzi’s disciples, who used Pestalozzian object teaching (Sadamune, 1936, pp.29-30). Kanda had another opportunity to master Sauveur’s Natural Method when he later attended a summer school workshop at Amherst. The acquisition of “Teaching by conversation”, as he called it, “is said to have been a decisive moment directing his future development of English teaching theory and methodology” (Ozawa & Mizobuchi, 1965, p.23). When he returned home from the inspection trip in the West in 1901 (Meiji 34), “Kanda had further reconfirmed the usefulness of this method and hoped to

contribute to Japan's English teaching reform with it" (p.47).

Kanda recognised the English language as the world language and attached greater importance to practical use than cultural aspects of it. Behind this view of value was the general expectation of material progress in the field of industrial and commercial enterprises in Japan after the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). He stated that "Not the least of her weapons in this species of warfare is the knowledge of European languages, — especially English, the intellectual currency of the commercial world" (Kanda, 1896, p.231). From the perspective of the practical utility of English, Kanda believed that it was practical English that must be cultivated by all the middle school boys, regardless of whether they would go onto higher education, which occupied only a small percentage of the middle school graduates at that time.

For his theory of language teaching, Kanda described "one of the points which cannot be insisted upon too much" as "stress on the thoroughness of the elementary drill, in progressing very gradually from the simple to the complex" (p.234). His belief had derived from his criticism of the Japanese traditional method of learning languages, as the cause of the old method — translation — still prevailing in the middle school classroom, aside from the scarcity of the teachers of the right sort and the standard requirement in higher schools, which had never been based on practical knowledge. Namely, "In studying Chinese and even Sinico-Japanese the genius of the language necessitates the separation of the mere exercise of Reading from Meaning. This produces a bad habit in the mind of regarding the sound separate from the sense" (p.232).

Therefore, for Kanda, the four modes of language use — listening, speaking, reading, and writing — were all equally important. All of them were regarded by him to develop in harmony in an interdependent way, and they should not be studied separately. The nature of interdependency naturally came from the view of language in the Natural orientation that the substance of a language consists in its sounds and from its corollary that letters only reflect sounds of a language. Thus, he had come to a certain formula for his English teaching methodology, the principles of which were imitation and habit

formation. The complexity of language development in the four modes of language use could not be treated separately, and, for him, the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Hence, imitation had become the key principle. He explained that, in principle, a good method should involve pupils' imitation of a new sentence or phrase read out by the teacher. The pupils were to imitate sentences or phrases in the form of reading them out or of writing them down. He stated:

“The teacher should first pronounce short phrases and make the pupils imitate them. He should first write short phrases on the blackboard and make them imitate them in their notebook. He should read out a passage and make them write it down. He should write a sentence down and make them read it out. Only after this, should he analyse them into words [...]” (Kanda, 1894, p.315).

Through imitation, Kanda expected that “if the teacher reads out the textbook to the pupils constantly, they will gradually get accustomed to the language and finally be able to understand the meaning without translation” (p.316). As this imitative instruction proceeds, “after the pupils hear the teacher's reading out, they should be encouraged to paraphrase it in their own expressions in English, because through paraphrasing, they will naturally be led to picking up and using some of the words and phrases that they have heard in the teacher's reading out” (p.316). Thus, Kanda suggested that “the habit of listening to English will ultimately lead the pupils to expressing their own ideas, while picking up the language from listening” (p.317). Naturally, grammar, too, “will be learnt by habit and imitation rather than analytical study” (p.318). The harmonious, interdependent nature of language development in its natural process had led Kanda to constantly starting instruction from spoken English and un-analytically, and from understanding to production without mediating Japanese.

### **Liberal View of English Teaching**

It is not difficult to find the commonalities in Kanda's theory and methodology in English teaching when compared with Okakura's. They both saw spoken language as the primary substance of a language, hence, ‘speech primacy’, and spoken language had

to be the basis for natural, direct language acquisition. For both of them, the acquisition of language knowledge, vocabulary, expressions, and grammar, had to be treated inductively, although Kanda used ‘un-analytically’, instead of ‘inductively’.

What fundamentally differentiated them can be found in the education value of English teaching they espoused. While Okakura set the ultimate goal of English teaching as the cultivation of the Japanese spirit, which made him choose fluent reading as the central focus of English teaching, Kanda took it more as a process of acquiring English as a language, which led him to take all the four modes of language use seriously and saw them as equally important. In other words, whereas Okakura saw it more from a national education perspective, it appeared that Kanda saw English teaching more as liberal and culturally neutral.

These distinctive features can be contrasted in the principle of their selection of English textbooks. The British ‘*Realien*’ was chosen as the vital ingredient for Okakura’s nationalistic view of English teaching. Kanda revealed a standard for his selection of the appropriate English textbooks when he explained about the importance of getting the pupils to paraphrase what they had heard from the teacher’s reading out, to the extent that “the textbook should not be a difficult one so that they cannot paraphrase the text using their own expressions” (Kanda, 1894, p.316). He illustrated that “As they advance from the elementary stage, easy histories, biographies, books of travel, &c, books which they can read with *interest*, should be made the means of their progress in Conversation, Composition and Direct Reading” (Kanda, 1896, p.235). Whereas Okakura saw ‘content’ of the textbook as what must be prescribed, Kanda took the standard and the interest more seriously from the perspective of language learning.

In this line of thought, Kanda’s liberal view of education value embedded in the Natural Method would not be limited by any given authoritative manipulations. It was, indeed, expected to be promoted, as he stated that “the vocabulary which a student acquired by this method of cultivating the habit of direct reading is truly his own. Thoughts and their symbols are one in his mind” (Kanda, 1896, p.235, my emphasis). The cultivation of modern individuals inherently embedded in the Natural Method was maintained.

According to Kishigami (1983), what Kanda brought back into Japan was nothing but the Western culture, and he attempted to introduce it through language teaching (p.68). Kanda's enthusiasm for reforming English teaching meant his efforts to transfer modernity directly through modern 'methodology'. Okakura, too, designed his English education based on the Natural Method, but due to its potential threat to building the Japanese nationalistic sentiment, he directed it in a reading-centred orientation in the context of nationalism. It is likely that for many extreme nationalists during the Meiji Period like Okakura, Kanda's straightforward claim for the Natural Method was viewed as inappropriate and unacceptable.

Kanda's most prime and active period in his life as an English scholar and teacher only lasted from 1880 (Meiji 13) to 1900 (Meiji 33) (Takanashi & Omura, 1975, p.141). Instead, Okakura's presence increasingly became more dominant than Kanda's in his impacts on English making-policy making towards the end of the Meiji Period. Behind Kanda's retreat from the front line was the Meiji Government's turn from the liberal, democratic political system of Britain and America, to the German Empire as its political model (p.142). Kanzō Uchimura, one of Kanda's close friends, once stated, concerning the connection between the political circumstances and Kanda's retreat, that "Mr. Kanda was one of those who suffered from this and if he failed to achieve a greater success in his undertaking than he did, the fault, I am sure, was not entirely his" (Uchimura, 1927, p.75). Kanda continued to be active at technical educational institutions throughout the Meiji Period. He was also active as an examiner for teacher licence examinations. Additionally, his textbooks were still used in many middle school classrooms. Yet, Kanda's involvement in English teaching was contextualised by the ideological assumption of the national education policy.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Appendix 2.1: Employed foreigners' fields of instruction and their nationality (university)

	Cultural Science	Social Science	Natural Science	Total
Germany	<b>17 (25.0%)</b>	7 (31.8%)	39 (49.4%)	63 (37.2%)
Britain	<b>20 (29.4%)</b>	3 (13.6%)	15 (19.0%)	38 (22.5%)
America	<b>15 (22.0%)</b>	6 (27.3%)	13 (16.5%)	34 (20.1%)
France	<b>10 (14.7%)</b>	4 (18.2%)	9 (11.4%)	23 (13.6%)
Others	<b>6 (8.8%)</b>	2 (9.1%)	3 (3.8%)	11 (6.5%)
Total	<b>68 (100%)</b>	22 (100%)	79 (100%)	169 (100%)

Source: Created from Ogata, 1961, p.101.

### Appendix 2.2: English teachers in cultural science (university)

Period	Foreign Languages					Literature			Others	Total
	English	German	French	Italian	Latin	English	French	German		
1868-1872	<b>21</b>	6	5			1	1			34
1873-1877	<b>3</b>	7			3	2	1		2	18
1878-1882	<b>1</b>	3			1	1			3	9
1883-1887		2	1						3	6
1888-1892	<b>2</b>	1	1			1	1			6
1893-1897	<b>1</b>					1		1	1	4
1898-1902	<b>1</b>		1	1						3
1903-1907	<b>1</b>					1				2
1908-1912	<b>2</b>						2			4
Total	<b>32</b>	19	8	1	4	7	5	1	9	86
	64					13			9	86

Source: Created from Ogata, 1961, pp.103-104, 108.

Note: 'Others' included 'History', 'Geography', 'Philosophy', 'Moral Science' and 'Linguistics'.

### Appendix 2.3: Employed English teachers in higher education

	Teachers	Institution	Period (years. months)	Subject
German	Gottfried Wagner	Uni. Nankō	1869.1-1888.10 (18.1)	English, Liberal arts
	Johannes Bolljahn	Imperial Uni. School of Agriculture	1890.4-1891.7(1.4)	English, German
British	Meyer	Uni. Nankō	1869.8-1870.4 (0.9)	English
	Alexander Wilson	Uni. Nankō	1869.12-1870.7 (0.8)	English
	Charles H. Dallas	Uni. Nankō	1870.5-1870.11 (0.8)	English
	Bowring	Uni. Nankō	1870.8-1871.8 (1.1)	English, Liberal arts
	Rober	Uni. Nankō	1870.10-1871.10 (1.1)	English, Liberal arts
	Sandeman	Uni. Nankō	1871.1-1871.6 (0.6)	English
	Hall	Uni. Nankō	1871.1-1872.8 (1.8)	English
	Hymark	Uni. Nankō	1871.2-1872.8 (1.7)	English
	Alfred Major	Uni. Nankō	1871.2-1878.10 (7.9)	English, Liberal arts
	Thomas Johnston	Tokyo Kaisei School	1873.4-1875.1 (1.10)	English
	James Summers	Tokyo Kaisei School	1873.10-1876.8 (2.11)	English literature
	William Douglas Cox	Komaba Agricultural School	1876.6-1905.? (29.?)	English
	James Main Dixon	Uni. of Engineering (Kōbu Daigakkō)	1880.1-1892.6 (12.6)	English, English literature
	Basil H. Chamberlain	Imperial Uni. School of Literature	1886. 4-1890.3 (4.0)	Philology (Linguistics)
	Lafcadio Hearn	Imperial Uni. School of Literature	1896.8-1903.3 (6.7)	English, English literature
	John Lawrence	Tokyo Imperial Uni. School of Literature	1906.9-1912.12 (6.4)	English, English literature
	Henry F. Bray	Tokyo Imperial Uni. School of Law	1910.1-1912.12 (3.0)	English
Austin W. Medley	Tokyo Imperial Uni. School of Law	1911.9-1912.12 (1.4)	English	
American	Guido F. Verbeck	Uni. Nankō	1869.6-1873.9 (4.5)	Languages
	Edward Cornes	Uni. Nankō	1870.1-1870.7 (0.7)	English
	Thompson	Uni. Nankō	1870.8-1870.12 (0.5)	English, Liberal arts
	E. H. House	Uni. Nankō	1871.1-1883.1 (12.1)	English, English literature

	Crowninshield	Uni. Nankō	1871.2-1871.8 (0.7)	English
	Marion M. Scott	Uni. Nankō	1871.8-1874. 8 (3.1)	English, Liberal arts
	Horace Wilson	Uni. Nankō	1871.8-1877.7 (6.0)	English, Liberal arts
	Cressy	First Uni. Ward, First Middle School	1872.8-1873.2 (0.7)	English
	Gray	First Uni. Ward, First Middle School	1872.8-1873.9 (1.2)	English
	D. B. Macartee	First Uni. Ward, First Middle School	1872.9-1877.4 (4.8)	English
	H. N. Allin	Tokyo Kaisei School, Preparatory course	1875.2-1877.3 (2.2)	English
	William Smith Clark	Sapporo Agricultural School	1876.8-1877.4 (0.9)	English, Botany Agricultural science
	William A. Houghton	Tokyo Kaisei School	1877.3-1882.7 (5.5)	English literature
	Augustus Wood	Imperial Uni. School of Literature	1892.9-1896.7 (3.11)	English, English literature
	John Trumbull Swift	Tokyo Imperial Uni. School of Literature	1900.10-1912.12 (12.3)	English

Source: Ogata, 1961, pp.75-100.

Note: The development of University of Tokyo (established in 1877) was complex and changed its names as follows: To name only those that appear in Appendix 2.3, *Daigaku Nankō* (University Nankō) in 1869, *Dai-ichi Daigaku-ku*, *Dai-ichiban Chūgaku* (The First University Ward, The First Middle School) in 1872, *Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō* (Tokyo Kaisei School) in 1874, *Tokyo Daigaku* (University of Tokyo) in 1877, *Teikoku Daigaku* (Imperial University) in 1886, and *Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku* (Tokyo Imperial University) in 1897.

## Appendix 2.4: The table of contents in *Eigo Kyōiku* by Yoshisaburō Okakura (1911)

Chapter 1. Preface
Chapter 2. Can English Be Self-studied?
Chapter 3. Time to Start Teaching English
<b>Chapter 4. Caution to Over-reliance on a Method</b>
Chapter 5. Aims of English Teaching
Chapter 6. Preparatory Lessons
Chapter 7. Relationships among English Teaching Matters
Chapter 8. How to Write Letters and Practice
Chapter 9. Pronunciation and Reading-aloud
Chapter 10. On Translation
Chapter 11. On Conversation and Composition
Chapter 12. On Grammar
Chapter 13. English Teaching Matters and Their Interconnectedness
Chapter 14. Requests for the Teacher
Chapter 15. Reference Books
Appendices

## Appendix 2.5: Chapter 15. Reference Books in *Eigo Kyōiku*

### Methodology

- Breul: *How to Learn a Foreign Language*  
Findlay: *The Principles of Class Teaching*  
Collar and Crook: *School Management and Method of Instruction*  
Mary Brebner: *The Method of Teaching Modern Languages in Germany*  
Prendergast: *Handbook of Mastery System*  
Jespersen: *How to Teach a Foreign Language*  
F. R. Dawes: *Bilingual (sic) Teaching in Belgian Schools*  
F. Gouin: *The Art of Teaching and Studying Languages*  
Nelly Dale: *On the Teaching of English Reading*  
T. S. Cox: *The Suggestive Handbook of Practical School Method*  
Spencer: *Aims and Practice of Teaching*  
Rippmann: *Hints on Teaching French*  
Widgery: *The Teaching of Foreign Language*  
Henry Sweet: *The Practical Study of Languages*

### Journal Magazines

*Modern English Teaching*

『英語教授』 (*The English Teachers' Magazine*)

*Special Reports on Modern Language Teaching* (Educational Bureau, England)

### Phonetics

Henry Sweet: *A Primer of Phonetics*

Henry Sweet: *A Primer of Spoken English*

Daniel Jones: *Phonetic Transcription*

Rippmann: *Elements of Phonetics*

Rippmann: *Elements of Spoken English*

Rippmann: *Sounds of Spoken English*

Rippmann: *Specimens of English*

Lloyd: *Northern English*

Scripture: *Elements of Experimental Phonetics*

片山寛・マッケロー : 『英語発音学』 (Katayama & McKerrow: *Eigo Hatsuon-gaku*)

岡倉由三郎 : 『英語発音学大綱』 (Okakura: *Eigo Hatsuon-gaku Taiko*)

### Linguistics

A. H. Sayce: *Introduction to the Science of Language*

Giles: *Manual of Comparative Philology*

Henry Sweet: *A History of Language*

H. A. Strong, W. S. Logeman, and B. I. Wheeler: *The History of Language*

Whitney: *Life and Growth of Language*

Jespersen: *Progress in Language, with Special Reference to English*

### Grammar

Henry Sweet: *New English Grammar*

Morris: *Historical Outlines of English Grammar*

Morris and Kellner: *Historical Outlines of English Syntax*

### 'Realien'

Sims (ed): *Living London. 3 vols.*

Leopold Wagner: *Manners, Customs, and Observances*

Baedeker: *Great Britain; London and its Environs*

Baedeker: *United States*

Green: *Short History of English People*

MacCathy: *History of Our Own Times*

Source: Okakura, 1911, pp.216-233.

### Appendix 2.6: Specialised areas of investigation (1875-1912)

<b>Social Science</b>	1875- 1895	1896- 1912	Total	<b>Natural Science</b>	1875- 1895	1896- 1912	Total
Law	19	46	65	Physics	23	63	86
Literature	8	66	74	Engineering	26	119	145
Economics	3	12	15	Agriculture	4	36	40
Commercial	2	29	31	Fisheries	0	5	5
<b>Education</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>57</b>	Medicine	19	120	139
Fine arts	0	19	19	Dentistry	0	2	2
Music	1	5	6	Veterinary M.	0	5	5
Physical Education	0	2	2	Pharmacology	3	8	11
Total	43	226	269	Total	75	358	433

Source: This table is created from Watanabe, 1978a, Appendix.

### Appendix 2.7: Countries visited (1875-1912)

<b>One Country</b>	1875- 1895	1896- 1912	Total	<b>Two Countries</b>	1875- 1895	1896- 1912	Total
Germany	44	165	209	Germany + Britain	3	52	55
Britain	26	15	41	German + America	0	30	30
America	17	4	21	Britain + America	0	18	18
France	8	8	16	Total	3/9	100/181	103/190
Austria	3	2	5				
Belgium	2	2	4				
Holland	1	0	1				
Russia	0	1	1				
China	0	5	5				
Korea	0	2	2				
Total	101	204	305				

Source: This table is created from Watanabe, 1978a, Appendix.

**Appendix 2.8: Mombushō students overseas of English literature, English linguistics, and English majors at government expense**

Name (age at departure)	Country (major)	(Notification) Period	Title after return
Kinnosuke Natsume (33)	Britain (Literature)	(1900.6) 1900.10.28-1903.1.24	Lecturer of Tokyo Imperial University
Seijirō Ibaragi (25)	Britain (Linguistics)	(1901.9) 1902.4.14-1904.6	Inspector of the Ministry of Education
Kenjirō Awano (39)	Germany · Britain · France (Linguistics)	(1903.7) 1903.12.22-1906.3.10	Prof. of the Second Higher School
Konoma Sugimori (44)	Britain · America (Linguistics)	(1903.7) 1904.1.27-1906.1.27	Prof. of Hiroshima Higher Normal School
Matsu Tsuji (Okonogi) (24)	Britain · America (English, Literature)	(1906.12) 1907.5.20-1909.5.18	Teacher of Higher Girls' School affiliated to Tokyo Girls' Higher Normal School
Masujirō Honda (39)	Britain · America (English)	( ? ) 1905.7- ?	Unknown
Bin Ueda (33)	Britain (Literature)	(1908.3) 1908.4-1910.1	Lecturer of Kyoto Imperial University
Ryūji Komatsubara (34)	Britain · America (English, Literature)	(1908.12) 1909.5.1-1911.5.1	Prof. of the Eighth Higher School
Masanobu Ohtani (34)	Britain (Linguistics)	(1909.9) 1910.1.3-1912.1.3	Prof. of the Fourth Higher School
Kosaburō Itō (?)	Britain (English)	(1910.10) 1911.3.31-1913.3.31	Prof. of the Third Higher School
Kazunoo Nakamura (?)	Britain · America (Linguistics)	(1911.4) 1911.4.10-1913.7.3	Prof. of Otaru Higher Commercial School

Sources: This composite table is created from Sakurai, 1936, pp.185-186; Watanabe, 1978a, Appendix; Tezuka & National Education Centre, 1992a & 1992b; Tsuji, 2010, pp.225-265.

Note: Matsu Tsuji is a female. 'Linguistics' may indicate or include phonetics.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Appendix 4.1: Subject matters and distribution of the Report of the Committee to Investigate the Curriculum for Ordinary Middle School (April, 1898)

Subjects	1 <sup>st</sup> grade	2 <sup>nd</sup> grade	3 <sup>rd</sup> grade	4 <sup>th</sup> grade	5 <sup>th</sup> grade	Total
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1	5
Japanese	4	4	4	4	4	20
Chinese Classics	3	3	3	3	3	15
<b>English</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>34</b>
Geography	1	1	1	1	2	6
History	1	2	2	2	2	9
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	20
Natural History Physics & Chemistry	2	1	2	4	4	13
Calligraphy	1	1	1			3
Art	2	1	1	1		5
Bookkeeping					2	2
Song	2	2				4
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3	15
Total	28	28	29	30	30	145

Source: Mombushō, 1898, p.4.

Note: The numbers indicate class hours per week (one class hour = 50 minutes). In ‘Mathematics’, further subdivisions were made into algebra and geometry. Likewise, ‘Natural History, Physics and Chemistry’ was subdivided and hours were prescribed.

**Appendix 4.2: Curriculum and standard in the Inoue administration (March, 1894)**

Subjects	1 <sup>st</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup>	3 <sup>rd</sup>	4 <sup>th</sup>	5 <sup>th</sup>	Total
Ethics	1	1	1	1	1	5
Japanese & Chinese C.	7	7	7	7	7	35
<b>Foreign Language</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>34</b>
History & Geography	3	3	3	3	4	16
Mathematics	4	4	4	4	4	20
Natural History, Physics & Chemistry	1	1	2	4	4	12
Calligraphy	1	1	1			3
Art	2	1	1	1		5
Gymnastics	3	3	3	3	3	15
*Bookkeeping						
*Song						
(Vocation)	-	-	-			
Total	28	28	29	30	30	145

Source: Mombushō, 1938b, pp.200-205.

Note: The numbers indicate class hours per week (one class hour = 50 minutes). The asterisk indicates elective subjects. ‘Foreign Language’ meant English, German, or French, but normally, English was selected. ‘Vocation (*Jikka*)’ could be added to 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grades.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Appendix 5.1: Summary of the activities at the English Teachers' Association

Year	Meetings	Lectures	Debates	Total
1902 (Meiji 35)	1	1 (1/0)	1	2
1903 (Meiji 36)	5	8 (5/3)	5	13
1904 (Meiji 37)	4	11 (4/7)	0	11
1905 (Meiji 38)	3	7 (3/4)	1	8
1906 (Meiji 39)	3	11 (4/7)	1	12
1907 (Meiji 40)	2	6 (3/3)	0	6
Total	18	44 (20/24)	8	52

Sources: Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902-1907, *Kyōiku Kōhō*; Isobe, 1902-1907, *The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun*; Eigo Seinen Sha, 1902-1907, *Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation)*.

Note: The numbers on the left in the parentheses under 'Lectures' indicate Japanese speakers, and those on the right, foreign speakers.

### Appendix 5.2: Debates and discussions at the English Teachers' Association

Year		Themes
1902 (Meiji 35)	Debate*	<i>Whether Native Teachers Should Be Allowed to Teach Beginning Classes at Middle Schools</i> [continued]
1903 (Meiji 36)	Debate*	<i>Whether Native Teachers Should Be Allowed to Teach Beginning Classes at Middle Schools</i> (approved)
	Debate	<i>Whether Women Should Be Allowed to Teach at Boys' Schools</i> (approved)
	Debate	<i>Whether English Should Be Taught at Elementary Schools</i> (approved)
	Discussion	<i>How English Composition Should Be Taught</i>
	Discussion	<i>How Can the 'Regular Method' for Teaching English Be Encouraged</i>
1905 (Meiji 38)	Discussion	<i>On Teaching English</i>
1906 (Meiji 39)	Discussion	<i>On the Teaching of the English Penmanship at Middle Schools and Others</i> [proposed to the Ministry of Education]

Sources: Teikoku Kyōikukai, 1902-1907, *Kyōiku Kōhō*; Isobe, 1902-1907, *The Chugwai Eiji Shimbun*; Eigo Seinen Sha, 1902-1907, *Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation)*.

Note: The asterisks indicate that they appeared in detail in any one of the sources above.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Appendix 6.1: Remarks on Teaching, II 'Special' (the Mombushō Report, 1909)

#### (ii) Oral Exercises

1. Before being called upon students should understand clearly what they have heard. They should first be led to change words, phrases, and sentences, and later to express their own thoughts.
2. Teachers should ask and answer questions about the Reader, pictures or objects and incidents of daily life.
3. Each student should be given an opportunity to speak at least once in an hour.
4. Students may occasionally be allowed to read in chorus.
5. Passages which are thoroughly well understood shall occasionally be memorised.

#### (iii) Reading

1. Students must understand clearly what they have to read aloud that their reading may be understood by others. Attention must be paid to accent, inflection, and intonation.
2. Exercises in speaking should precede reading. Text-books should not as a rule be opened at the beginning of the hour.
3. "Translation" must not be considered a separate lesson. It is only one of the ways of explaining the meaning.
4. In translation the Japanese reading should exactly correspond to the English original.
5. Besides teaching the meaning of each word, the rendering of the statement as a whole should be given. Sentences should be analysed, and all new constructions explained.
6. To arrive at the meaning of a passage in English without employing Japanese the passage should be read over frequently.

#### (v) Composition

1. Composition exercises should in the earliest stages consist of transcription and dictation, which will familiarise students with the correct form of a sentence and the proper use of idiom. All mistakes in spelling must be corrected and attention paid to the right use of capitals and punctuation marks. Original composition work comes later in the course.
2. Composition should be closely connected with oral exercises and spelling.
3. Methods of teaching composition vary according to the standard of the student's proficiency. The following are some of them:-
  1. Easy dictation
  2. Rewriting from memory sentences that have been repeated two or three times.
  3. Supplying the necessary words in incomplete sentences.
  4. Reproduction of passages that have been read and explained in a previous lesson.
  5. Transformation of sentences, simple, complex, and compound, the passive to the active, direct narration to indirect, and vice versa.
  6. Translation from the mother tongue.

7. Composition from a given outline.
  8. Composition of sentences to include given words and phrases.
  9. Composition on a given subject.
4. The correction of exercises varies according to the standard of the student's proficiency. In some cases all mistakes must be corrected by the teacher and the rewritten by the students, while in others it will be enough to mark the mistakes for the students to correct themselves.

Source: Mombushō, 1909, pp.355-357.

## **Appendix 6.2: Structure of practice middle school (PMS) 1907 English syllabus**

### **1. Aim of the Syllabus**

1. *Pronunciation and Spelling*
2. *Reading and Translation (Listening and Recitation included)*
3. *Grammar*
4. *Conversation and Composition*
5. *Dictation*
6. *Penmanship*
7. *Preview and Review (Dictionary included)*

### **2. Syllabus**

1. 1<sup>st</sup> Grade, 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Grade, 3. 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade, 4. 4<sup>th</sup> Grade, 5. 5<sup>th</sup> Grade

Source: Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1907, pp.197-201.

## Appendix 6.3: Structure of practice middle school (PMS) 1910 English syllabus

### 1. Aim of the Syllabus and the Remarks on Teaching

1. Aim of Teaching
2. Levels to be Reached
3. Relationships among the Branches and their Distribution
4. Practical Value and Value of Mental Discipline
5. Organisation of the Branches
6. Distribution of Class Hours
7. Purposes, Materials and Methods
  - (1). *Listening and Speaking (Conversation included)*
    1. Purpose, 2. Material, 3. Method (1. Teaching in the 1<sup>st</sup> and the 2<sup>nd</sup> Grades, 2. Listening, 3. Practice on Listening, 4. Introductory Speaking, 5. Recitation)
  - (2). *Reading (Translation included)*
    1. Purpose, 2. Material, 3. Method (1. Beginning Reading, 2. Reading-aloud, 3. New Words, 4. Understanding (*Translation included*))
  - (3). *Writing (Composition, Dictation, Penmanship included)*
    1. Purpose, 2. Material, 3. Method (1. Writing, 2. Dictation, 3. Penmanship)
  - (4). *General Remarks on Teaching*
    1. *Pronunciation and Spelling*
    2. *Grammar* (1. Material, 2. Method)
    3. *Use of English and the National Language (Kokugo)*
    4. *Responsibilities of Foreign Teachers*
    5. *Preview and Review (Dictionary included)*

### 2. Teaching Matter and its Distribution

3. **Syllabus** 1. 1<sup>st</sup> Grade, 2. 2<sup>nd</sup> Grade, 3. 3<sup>rd</sup> Grade, 4. 4<sup>th</sup> Grade, 5. 5<sup>th</sup> Grade

Source: Tokyo Kōtō Shihan Gakkō Fuzoku Chūgakkō, 1910, pp.223-238.

## Appendix 6.4: Textbooks used by Tokyo Higher Normal School Practice Middle School

### <The Reader>

Grade	The 1907 English Syllabus	The 1910 English Syllabus
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>The National Readers;</i> <i>First Reader; Lessons 1 ~ 30</i> <i>Second Reader; Lessons 1 ~ 30</i>	<i>The National Readers;</i> <i>First Reader: Lessons 20 ~ 30</i> <i>Second Reader: Lessons 1 ~ 30</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>Second Reader (continued)</i> <i>Third Reader</i>	<i>Second Reader (continued)</i> <i>Third Reader</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>Third Reader (continued)</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>Aesop Fables</i> (to be used for listening comprehension 30 minutes per week)	<i>Third Reader (continued)</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>The Globe Readers</i> , vol. 2. <i>The New English Drill Books</i> , vol. 2. <i>The Steps in English</i> , vol. 2. <i>The Royal Prince Readers</i> , vol. 2.
4 <sup>th</sup>	<i>Fourth Reader</i> <i>Fifth Reader</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>The Prince Royal Readers</i> , vol. 3.	<i>Fourth Reader</i> <i>Fifth Reader</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>Popular Fairly Tales</i> (Tokyo-do). <i>Famous Stories</i> (Tokyo-do). Meiklejohn's <i>Fables, Anecdotes, and Stories</i> .
5 <sup>th</sup>	<i>Fifth Reader (continued)</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>Little Lord Fauntleroy</i>	<i>Fifth Reader (continued)</i> * Supplementary readers recommended: <i>Alice's Adventure in Wonderland</i> . Meiklejohn's <i>Fables, Anecdotes, and Stories</i> . <i>Fifty Famous Stories. Cuore. Arabian Nights</i> .

### <Penmanship>

Grade	The 1907 English Syllabus	The 1910 English Syllabus
1 <sup>st</sup>	(To be taught in a separate period) Barne's <i>National Vertical Penmanship Nos 1, 2 &amp; 3</i>	(To be taught in a separate period) Barne's <i>National Vertical Penmanship Nos. 1, 2 &amp; 3</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup>	(In conjunction with 'Reading') Barne's <i>National Vertical Penmanship Nos. 4, 5 &amp; 6</i>	(To be taught in a separate period) Barne's <i>National Vertical Penmanship Nos. 4, 5 &amp; 6</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup>	(In conjunction with 'Reading') Barne's <i>National Vertical Penmanship Nos. 7 &amp; 8</i>	

**<Grammar>**

Grade	The 1907 English Syllabus	The 1910 English Syllabus
1st	(No textbook to be used. To be taught in conjunction with 'Translation' inductively in comparison with Japanese grammar)	(No textbook to be used. To be taught in conjunction with 'Listening', 'Speaking', 'Reading' and 'Writing')
2 <sup>nd</sup>	(Same as above)	(Same as above)
3 <sup>rd</sup>	(To be taught in a separate period) Kanda's <i>Intermediate Grammar</i>	(To be taught in a separate period) Saito's <i>English Grammar for Beginners</i>
4 <sup>th</sup>	(To be taught in a separate period) Kanda's <i>Higher Grammar</i>	(To be taught in a separate period) Saito's <i>First Book of English Grammar for Middle schools</i>
5 <sup>th</sup>	(To be taught in a separate period) Kanda's <i>Higher Grammar</i> (continued)	(To be taught in a separate period) Saito's <i>First Book of English Grammar</i> (continued)

**<Composition>**

Grade	The 1907 English Syllabus	The 1910 English Syllabus
3 <sup>rd</sup>	(No textbook to be used. To be taught in conjunction with 'Reading')	(No textbook to be used. To be taught in conjunction with 'Reading')
4 <sup>th</sup>	Kanda's <i>English Composition for Japanese Students; First Book</i>	Kanda's <i>English Composition for Japanese Students; First Book</i>
5 <sup>th</sup>	Kanda's <i>English Composition for Japanese Students; First Book</i> (continued) Hanawa's <i>Text-Book of English Composition for Advanced Students</i>	Kanda's <i>English Composition for Japanese Students; First Book</i> (continued) Hanawa's <i>Text-Book of English Composition for Advanced Students</i>

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Appendix 8.1: Licensed, non-licensed middle school teachers (public and private)

Year	Licensed		Non-licensed		Total		Non-licensed (%)
	Japanese	Foreigners	Japanese	Foreigners	Japanese	Foreigners	
1897	1,229	0	936	15	2,165	15	43.6
1898	1,430	0	1,139	21	2,569	21	44.8
1899	1,706	0	1,347	30	3,053	30	44.7
1900	2,157	2	1,567	21	3,725	23	42.4
1901	2,402	2	1,808	21	4,210	23	43.2
1902	2,620	1	2,001	31	4,621	32	43.7
1903	2,764	1	1,962	43	4,726	44	42.0
1904	2,934	1	1,829	52	4,763	53	39.1
1905	3,227	1	1,811	45	5,038	46	36.5
1906	3,638	1	1,614	53	5,252	54	31.4
1907	3,886	4	1,480	56	5,366	60	28.3

Source: This table is created from Sakurai, 1942, p.375, p.441.

### Appendix 8.2: Pass rates of the Mombushō Tests (1899-1918)

Year	Candidates	Successful candidates	Pass rate (%)
1899 (Meiji 32)	2,101	359	17.1
1900 (Meiji 33)	2,920	375	12.8
1901 (Meiji 34)	3,964	465	11.7
1902 (Meiji 35)	4,331	468	10.8
1903 (Meiji 36)	4,323	416	9.6
1904 (Meiji 37)	4,053	403	9.9
1905 (Meiji 38)	4,067	410	10.1
1906 (Meiji 39)	3,982	378	9.5
1907 (Meiji 40)	4,720	414	8.8
1908 (Meiji 41)	4,969	594	12.0
1909 (Meiji 42)	3,160	394	12.5
1910 (Meiji 43)	3,377	427	12.6
1911 (Meiji 44)	3,668	417	11.4
1912 (Taishō 1)	3,392	373	11.0
1913 (Taishō 2)	4,021	358	8.9

1914 (Taishō 3)	3,854	368	<b>9.6</b>
1915 (Taishō 4)	4,243	415	<b>9.8</b>
1916 (Taishō 5)	4,044	344	<b>8.5</b>
1917 (Taishō 6)	4,175	342	<b>8.2</b>
1918 (Taishō 7)	3,932	308	<b>7.8</b>

Source: This table is created from from Terasaki & Bunken Kenkyūkai, 2003, pp.526-527.

### Appendix 8.3: English teacher licence test questions (The 8<sup>th</sup> administration in 1895)

#### The 8<sup>th</sup> administration

< The First Examinations > (13<sup>th</sup> May, 1895)

#### ENGLISH INTO JAPANESE

1. I was ever searching for some short cut to the temple of fame, instead of following the beaten road. – *Commercial Reader, III.*
2. It was not a time when even political enmity could with a good grace have ventured to visit on him the supposed offences of his party. – *The Opium War.*
3. The influence of our associates is so difficult to resist, in fact so completely irresistible in the long run, that people belong far less to the class they are descended from than to the class in which they live. – *Human Intercourse*
4. Their lamentations and moans completely take away any appetite which the horrors one has witnessed may have left. – *General Gordon*
5. There is no crime or enormity in morals which may not find the support of human example, often on a most extended scale. – *The True Grandeur of Nations*

#### JAPANESE INTO ENGLISH

- (一) 父は稚き時よりして栄耀栄華に打ちなれて殊には勇々敷武官の職さへ勤めたり
- (二) 彼は戸口に佇み煙草を燻らし憂さうち払ふ風情なり
- (三) 此子はや自然の美質を顕し些 (いささか) も我儘なる振舞なく喜んで玩弄物などを他の子供に分け与へたり
- (四) 人も親しからぬ内は全く他人なれども心を打明け親しく交はる時は愛情互に深くなり兄弟姉妹にも劣らぬものなり
- (五) 和田守菊次郎が獄中にて發明せる新記憶術は既に数ヶ所に於て講話を試みしが近来頗る学者間の一問題となりて同氏は去る三十日哲学会例月会の招待を受け文科大学講堂に於て記憶術の実験及び之に関する講話を為したる由

#### DICTATION

(JAPANESE FEMALE EDUCATION OF TODAY.)

The happy means seems at last to have been reached in the education of Japanese females. Scarcely more than a decade ago, remarks the *Waseda Literacy Magazine*, female education in Japan wore a lively aspect, being

distinguished by features alien to the country and repellent to parents and middle-aged people. Everything savouring of foreign origin was assiduously encouraged, the coiffures of girls and young ladies were done up after the European fashion, their short, slender bodies were draped in costumes fashioned after Western garments, and from their mouths proceeded a jargon resembling half-assimilated English. – *The Japan Mail*.

< **The Second Examinations** > (20<sup>th</sup> May, 1895)

**ORAL TRANSLATION** (for the morning examinees)

The condition of the English nation was at this time sufficiently miserable. King Richard was absent a prisoner, and in the power of the perfidious and cruel Duke of Austria. Ever the very place of his captivity was uncertain, and his fate but very imperfectly known to the generality of his subjects, who were, in the meantime, a prey to every species of subaltern oppression.

Prince John, in league with Philip of France, Richard's mortal enemy, was using every species of influence with Duke of Austria, to prolong the captivity of his brother Richard, to whom he stood indebted for so many favours. In the meantime, he was strengthening his faction in the kingdom, of which he proposed to dispute the succession, in the case of the king's death, with the legitimate heir, Arthur Duke of Brittany, son of Geoffrey Plantagenet, the elder brother of John. This usurpation, it is well known, he afterwards effected. His own character being light, profligate, and perfidious, John easily attached to his person and faction, not only all who had reason to dread the resentment of Richard for proceedings during his absence, but also the numerous class of 'lawless resolute,' whom the Crusades had turned back on their country, accomplished in the vices of the East, impoverished in substance, and hardened in character, and who placed their hopes of harvest in civil commotion.

< **The Final Examinations** > (24<sup>th</sup> May, 1895)

**TEACHING DEMONSTRATION**

1. Napoleon had the virtues of the masses of his constituents: he had also their vices. I am sorry that brilliant picture has its reverse. But that is the fatal quality which we discover in our pursuits of wealth, that it is treacherous, and is bought by the breaking or weakening of the sentiments; and it is inevitable that we should find the same fact in the history of this champion, who proposed to himself simply a brilliant career, without any stipulation or scruple concerning the means.

2. Napoleon was singularly destitute of generous sentiments. The highest-placed individual in the most cultivated age and population of the world, he has not the merit of common truth and honesty. He is unjust to his generals; egotistic and monopolizing; meanly stealing the credit of their great actions from Kellermann, from Bernadotte; intriguing to involve his faithful Junot in hopeless bankruptcy, in order to drive him to a distance from Paris, because the familiarity of his manners offends the new pride of his throne.

Sources: *Nippon Eigaku Shinshi (The New Magazine)*, 1895a, p.25; 1895b, pp.23-24; 1895c, p.16; 1896a, pp.42-43.

Note: The questions for 'Oral translation' were prepared for the morning and the afternoon examinees differently. In this sample, the questions for the afternoon examinees are omitted to avoid repetition; both were essentially the same in nature.

#### Appendix 8.4: English summer training courses (1896-1915)

Year	Location	Course Duration	Participant
1896 (Meiji 29)	unknown	29 days	31
1897 (Meiji 30)	Tokyo	unknown	29
1900 (Meiji 33)	Tokyo	unknown	59
1901 (Meiji 34)	Kyoto	unknown	91
1902 (Meiji 35)	Tokyo Higher Commercial School	3 weeks	111
1904 (Meiji 37)	Fourth Higher School (Kanazawa)	3 weeks	61
1905 (Meiji 38)	Tokyo Higher Normal School,	19 days	119
	Fourth Higher School (Kanazawa)	19 days	
	Fifth Higher School (Kumamoto)	19 days	
1906 (Meiji 39)	Hiroshima Higher Normal School	3 weeks	46
1907 (Meiji 40)	Hiroshima Higher Normal School	3 weeks	More than 40
1908 (Meiji 41)	Tokyo Higher Normal School	3 weeks	94
1909 (Meiji 42)	Hiroshima Higher Normal School	5 weeks	29
1910 (Meiji 43)	Hiroshima Higher Normal School	5 weeks	18
1911 (Meiji 44)	Tokyo Higher Normal School	5 weeks	55
1912 (Meiji 45)	Hiroshima Higher Normal School	2 weeks	Unknown
1915 (Taisho 4)	Tokyo Higher Normal School	2 weeks	183
	Tokyo Girls' Higher Normal School	2 weeks	17

Sources: Dai Nippon Kyōikukai, 1896, pp.4147-4149; Eigo Seinen Sha, 1907a, pp.117-119; 1907b, pp.262-263; 1915b, p.223; 1915c, p.316; Sakurai, 1936, pp.178-179; 1942, p.378.

Notes: For the number of students in 1908, Sakurai (1936) indicates '94', whereas Eigo Seinen Sha (1908, p.102) reported '104'. Summer courses were held twice from 1909 (Meiji 42) to 1912 (Meiji 45), one from May to June and the other from July to August.

**Appendix 8.5: William Sweet’s lecture contents of ‘*Realien*’ at the training course (1915)**

1. The Family	Introductory Remarks: The Classes; Family Life and Home: The children are independent; What a family consists of; Servants; The Birth of a Child: Registration; Baptism or Christening; Godparents; Confirmation; Baptism of Adults; Vaccination; Nursery Days; School-room Days; Birthdays
2. Education	Elementary Education: Elementary school; Hours; Classes; Curriculum; Co-education; Teachers; Kindergarten; Secondary Education: Secondary school; Public Schools: What we mean by “public school”; What the son of our typical family will do; Prize giving; Report; Monitor; Boarders and Day-boys; Forms; Subjects; Daily routine of work at the public school; Roll call or Call over; Universities: Course; Colleges
3. Choosing a Profession or an Occupation	Official Life; Professional Life; Business Life; To become a Schoolmaster; To enter the Church; To become a solicitor; To become a Barrister; To enter the medical profession
4. Marriage and Settling Down	The age at which a man usually marries; Celibacy; Proposal and Engagement; Preparations for the Wedding; The Wedding; Civil Marriage; Wedding-ring; Wedding Anniversaries
5. The Days of the Year	Sunday; Sunday Schools; The Established Church of England; Non-Conformists (Dissenters); Religious Festivals and Days: Lent; Good Friday; Easter; Ascension Day; Whitsunday; Christmas Day; Boxing Day; Days Little Observed: New Year’s Day; Twelfthnight; St. Valentine’s Day; All Fool’s Day; May Day; Gunpowder Day; The Days of the Patron Saints: St. David’s Day; St. Patrick’s Day; St. George’s Day; St. Andrew’s Day; The King’s Birthday; Bank Holidays; Quarter Days; Lady Day; Midsummer; Michaelmas; Christmas
6. The Summer Holidays	
7. Some Facts about our Food, Dress, and Houses	Food: Our Meals – breakfast, luncheon, dinner, supper; Table, Board, Plates, Trenchers; Knives, Spoons, Forks; Salt-cellar; Glasses (tumblers); Lord and Lady, Dairy, pantry, Larder; Ale, Beer, X, Double X, Treble X; Deer, Venison; Porridge, Currants, Marmalade; Dress: Dress for men; Dress for women; Houses
8. The Body and Its Illness	The Head; The Neck and Shoulders; The Trunk; The Limbs
9. Death and Funerals	Death; Funeral; Mourning

Sources: Sweet, *Eigo Seinen (The Rising Generation)*, 1915a, p.314; 1915b, p.376; 1915c, p.28; 1915d, pp.52-53; 1915e, p.88; 1915f, pp.117-118; 1915g, pp.151-152; 1915h, p.210; 1915i, p.247; 1915j, pp.277-278; 1915k, p.305.

## CHAPTER NINE

### Appendix 9.1: Middle school pupils' career paths after graduation

School (Year)	Higher School	Technical School	Military School	Teaching Profession	Government officer	Business	Undecided Unknown	Death	Total
N. A. (1909)	820 (7%)	3,241 (28%)	491 (4%)	1,111 (9.5%)	235 (2%)	1,740 (15%)	4,014 (34%)	56 (0.5%)	11,707 [39%]
Sakai A (1913)	3 (4%)	19 (26%)	0 (0%)	4 (6%)	0 (0%)	22 (30%)	25 (34%)	0 (0%)	73 [30%]
Hikone B (1909)	4 (6%)	16 (25%)	0 (0%)	11 (18%)		15 (24%)	17 (27%)	0 (0%)	63 [31%]
Kofu B (1910)	3 (4%)	29 (41%)	6 (9%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	10 (14%)	22 (32%)	0 (0%)	70 [54%]
Hirosaki B (1912)	6 (10%)	13 (21%)	3 (5%)	10 (16%)	8 (13%)		19 (31%)	2 (4%)	61 [36%]
Nagano B (1909)	8 (11%)	14 (20%)	2 (3%)	15 (22%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	31 (44%)	0 (0%)	70 [34%]
Yamaguchi C (1913)	11 (15%)	14 (19%)	5 (7%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	44 (59%)	0 (0%)	74 [41%]
Ojiya D (1907)	4 (11%)	17 (49%)	3 (9%)	1 (3%)	0 (0%)	6 (17%)	4 (11%)	0 (0%)	35 [69%]
Ibaragi D (1915)	1 (1%)	31 (43%)	0 (0%)	15 (21%)	6 (8%)	2 (3%)	17 (24%)	0 (0%)	72 [44%]
Tochiku D (1908)	10 (14%)	38 (54%)	7 (10%)	5 (7%)	0 (0%)	8 (11%)	1 (2%)	1 (2%)	70 [78%]
Takahashi D (1911)	5 (9%)	13 (23%)	0 (0%)	3 (5%)	1 (2%)	12 (22%)	22 (39%)	0 (0%)	56 [32%]
Kisarazu D (1909)	5 (13%)	18 (46%)	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	0 (0%)	6 (15%)	7 (18%)	0 (0%)	39 [62%]
Nozawa D (1912)	2 (5%)	15 (37.5%)	0 (0%)	3 (7.5%)	0 (0%)	12 (30%)	6 (15%)	2 (5%)	40 [42.5%]

Note: 'Teaching Profession' means primary school teacher. The ratios in 'Total' show those of pupils who moved onto higher institutions (higher school, technical school and military school). The first row indicates the national average (N.A.) in 1909, taken from Yoneda (1992, p.114). The total number of 11,707 in the national average means that there were 11,707 middle school graduates in that year across Japan.

### Appendix 9.2: Entry into a ‘Supplementary Course’

P	Middle School	1904 (Meiji 37)	1905 (38)	1906 (39)	1907 (40)	1908 (41)	1909 (42)	1910 (43)	1911 (44)
C	Shibata (Niigata)	21 (61)	11 (60)	10 (56)	20 (69)	13 (56)	16 (58)	13 (52)	12 (43)
D	Iwakuni (Yamaguchi)	18 (24)	25 (35)	29 (46)	19 (38)	19 (34)	19 (37)	17 (43)	22 (51)
D	Toyora (Yamaguchi)	33 (59)	35 (66)	30 (58)	14 (53)	16 (48)	17 (50)	16 (52)	24 (66)

Note: The numbers in the parentheses indicate the total number of the graduates.

### Appendix 9.3: Patterns of the English teaching matters in local middle schools

Pattern	Before the 1911 English guideline	After the 1911 English guideline
‘R&T’ ‘S&C’ ‘D&G’	Ōmachi (D: Nagano). (1)	Ōmachi (D: Nagano), Haibara (D: Shizuoka). (2)
‘R&T’ ‘S&D’ ‘C&G’	Tokushima (A: Tokushima), Shizuoka (B: Shizuoka), Numazu (C: Shizuoka), Fukuyama (C: Hiroshima), Yatsushiro (C: Kumamoto), Hida (C: Gifu), Kajiki (C: Kagoshima), Wakimachi (D: Tokushima), Haibara (D: Shizuoka), Fujioka (D: Gunma), Ōta (D: Gunma), Tokyo 4 <sup>th</sup> (Tokyo). (12)	Toyama (A: Toyama), Tokushima (A: Tokushima), Shizuoka (B: Shizuoka), Maebashi (B: Gunma), Marugame (B: Kagawa), Numazu (C: Shizuoka), Fukuyama (C: Hiroshima), Yatsushiro (C: Kumamoto), Shijō Nawate (D: Ōsaka), Numata (D: Gunma). (10)
‘R&T(&D)’ ‘G&C&S’	Sakai (A: Ōsaka), Marugame (B: Kagawa), Asaka (C: Fukushima), Tomioka (D: Tokushima), Sōma (D: Fukushima). (5)	Sakai (A: Ōsaka), Okayama (A: Okayama), Kōfu (B: Yamanashi). (3)

Sources: This table is created from historical studies of individual middle schools.

#### Appendix 9.4: Term examinations (Conversation) – before the 1911 English guideline –

<b>4<sup>th</sup> grade <i>Kaiwa-sakubun</i> (Conversation and composition)</b>	<b>Kishiwada Middle School (1905)</b>
2 hours	
I. Translate the following sentences into Japanese. And, answer them in English.	
(1) Who is the gentleman you spoke to just now?	
(2) Where have you been?	
(3) Have you been to Ushitaki?	
(4) Have you (ever) been at Atami?	
II. Translate the following sentences into English.	
(1) 羅馬ハ伊太利ニアル都会ナリ ( <i>Rome is a city of Italy.</i> )	
(2) 東京ハ日本ノ首府デアル ( <i>Tokyo is the capital of Japan.</i> )	
(3) 貴君ノ靴ハ損ジテ居ル 靴屋ヘ直シニヤリナサイ ( <i>Your shoes need repairing. Take them to the shoe store.</i> )	
(4) 停車場ヘ行クニドチラノ道ヲ行ッテヨロシイカ ドチラノ道ヲ行ッテモ停車場ヘ出ラレマス ( <i>Which street should I take to get to the station? You can take either one.</i> )	
(5) 今スグニ其レヲ作ッテ下サルコトガ出来マスカ イエ即席デハ出来マセヌ ( <i>Could you make it right away? No, I can't make it in a short time.</i> )	
(6) 私が東京ヘ来タ頃ニハ叔父ハ其家ヲ建テテ古イ家ハ既ニ売ッテ仕舞ッテ居タ ( <i>When I arrived in Tokyo, my uncle had built a new house and had sold the old one.</i> )	
* (7) and (8) are too unclear to be reproduced here.	

Source: Ōsaka Furitsu Kishiwada Kōtō Gakkō Kōshi Hensan Innkai, 1997, p.87.

#### Appendix 9.5: Teaching plan (Chemistry) – Numazu Middle School, 1911 (Meiji 44)

<b>5<sup>th</sup> grade, <i>Nishi</i> class, Subject: Chemistry, Teacher: Takezo Nakatani</b>
1. Topic: Experiment with detecting 'magnesium sulphate' in seawater
2. Preparation ( <i>Yobi</i> ): Give the students seawater from the Togo beach and have them divide it into two cups.
(1) Questions-and-answers about how to detect a sulphate ion.
(2) Questions-and-answers about how to detect a magnesium ion.
3. Teaching ( <i>Kyoju</i> ):
(1) Experiment to make sure that white sediment forms when 'barium chloride' is mixed with the seawater.
(2) Experiment to make sure that white sediment forms when 'ammonium chloride', 'ammonia', and 'sodium phosphate' are mixed with the seawater.
4. Generalisation ( <i>Sokatsu</i> ):
Students are to understand that when seawater is boiled down, 'magnesium chloride' and 'magnesium sulphate' are gained along with salt, and that 'bittern ( <i>Nigari</i> )' is a mixture of 'magnesium chloride' and 'magnesium sulphate'.

Source: Numachū Higashikō Hachijūnnen-shi Hensankai, 1981, pp.295-296.

## Appendix 9.6: Kanda's New Series of English Readers, First Reader

### LESSON II. (First Reader)

#### READING.

Is this a nose? No, it is not a nose. What is it? It is a mouth.  
What is this? Is it an ear? No, it is not an ear. What is it? It is an eye.  
What is this? It is an arm. No, it is not an arm. It is a hand. Yes, it is.

#### WRITING.

*Is this a nose? No, it is not. What is this? It is an arm. Yes, it is.*

#### GRAMMAR.

(Order of Words.)

This is a nose. Is this a nose?

It is a nose. Is it a nose?

What is this? What is it?

#### JAPANESE INTO ENGLISH.

##### NEW WORDS

Cap. Hat. Box. Bag.

1. Kore wa *cap* desu ka? (*Is this a cap?*) Iye, sore wa *cap* de wa arimasen. (*No, it is not a cap.*) Nan desu ka? (*What is it?*) Hat desu. (*It is a hat.*)
2. Kore wa hako desu ka? (*Is this a box?*) Hai, hako desu. (*Yes, it is a box.*)
3. Kore wa nan desu ka? (*What is this?*) Hako desu ka? (*Is it a box?*) Iye, hako de wa arimasen. (*No, it is not a box.*) Nan desu ka? (*What is it?*) Tesage desu. (*It is a bag.*)

#### SPELLING.

What is the English for "Empitsu"? It is "pencil." What is the spelling? p-e-n, pen, c-i-l, cil, pen'-cil. Boshi (*cap*)? Hako (*box*)? Tesage (*bag*)?

#### DICTIONATION.

*Dictate from the sentences learned by the pupils.*

#### HOME TASK.

Is this \_\_\_\_\_? Yes, it is \_\_\_\_\_. No, it is not \_\_\_\_\_.

*Let each pupil make new sentences like those in the Lesson, using the words learned hitherto. The sentences should be carefully written on paper with pen and ink.*

## Appendix 9.7: Kanda's New Series of English Readers, Second Reader

### LESSON XXV. (Second Reader)

#### 1. ASKING A FAVOR.

Excuse me for disturbing you, sir, but I wish you would do me a favor.

With pleasure. What can I do for you, my boy?

I wish to write a letter to a friend of mine in Tokyo. Would you kindly tell me how to write it?

You mean that you wish to write it in English?

Yes, sir, that's what I mean.

Very well. Letter-writing is a good exercise for those learning English. I will give you some hints in the first place.

Then, you must write the letter yourself. I will correct it for you afterwards, and explain the reasons why.

But sir, I am at a loss how to begin. We have not yet learned anything about letter-writing.

But, you can speak English, can't you? Well, write to your friend just as you would speak to him.

May I write just as I would speak to him?

Yes, in English that's the true and only way. In Japanese letter-writing, we make use of many words and phrases which we never use in conversation. But this is not the case with English.

Ah! Thank you, sir, I'll try.

Wait a moment. I will give you a form of an English letter. Where do you live?

I live at No 10, Honcho.

Let me see what day of the month this is. It is the 10<sup>th</sup>, isn't it? Very well; now take this. Here, you put the place of your residence; here, the date; here, your friend's name, and, after you've filled up the blank space in the middle with what you want to say, put your name at the end.

#### FORM OF LETTER.

	10 Honcho, Tokyo
	March 10 <sup>th</sup> , 1899.
My dear _____,	
_____	
_____	
_____	
	Yours very truly,
	_____

#### SPELLING.

disturb'    fa'vor    kind'ly    hints    correct'    loss    speak    words    phrases  
conversa'tion    form    tru'ly    mo'ment    blank    res'idence

## 2. JAPANESE INTO ENGLISH

### CONJUGATION.

#### VERB, TO CORRECT.

1. Sensei, anata wa watakushi no tegami wo o-naoshi kudasaimashita ka? Naoshi mashita. Kinō naoshimashita. (*Sir, have you corrected my letter? Yes, I have. I corrected it yesterday.*)
2. Eigo wa taigai no (*most*) bummei-koku (*civilized countries*) de wa hanasaremasu (*is spoken*). (*English is spoken in most of the civilized countries.*)
3. Anata wa ano gaikokujin (*foreigner*) to wa Eigo de hanashimashita ka? Hai, watakushi wa Eigo de are ni hanashimashita (*spoke*). (*Did you speak to the foreigner in English? Yes, I did. I spoke to him in English.*)

### IDIOMS.

#### I wish.

4. Boku wa kinō kore wo yatte okeba yokatta ni. (*I wish I had done it yesterday.*)
5. Boku wa tori (*bird*) nara yoi ni. (*I wish I were a bird.*)
6. Boku wa tori no yō ni tobaretara (*could fly*) yoi ni. (*I wish I could fly like a bird.*)
7. Watakushi wa otōto ga attara yokarō ga. (*I wish I had a brother.*)
8. Kimi mo yukeba yoi ni. (*I wish you could go too.*)

#### All right.

9. Boku wa kimi no jisho (*dictionary*) wo karimashita yo (*have borrowed*). Yoroshī. (*I have borrowed your dictionary. All right.*)
10. Sensei, watakushi wa empitsu de kakimashita. Yoroshī. (*Sir, I wrote in a pencil. All right.*)

#### At a loss.

11. Boku wa nan to itte yoi ka (*what to say*) komarimashita. (*I was at a loss what to say.*)
12. Boku wa kore wo dō shite yoi no ka wake ga wakaranai. (*I am at a loss how I can do this.*)

#### The case.

13. Boku wa jū ji mae ni nemuku (*sleepy*) naru (*become*). Boku wa sō de nai. (*I become sleepy before 10 o'clock. It is not the case with me.*)
14. Nipponjin (*the Japanese*) wa migi kara hidari ye (*from right to left*) kaku. Gaikokujin wa sō de nai. (*The Japanese write from right to left. It is not the case with foreigners.*)

#### Let me see.

15. Hatena, kyō wa nani yōbi ka na (*Let me see, what day of the week is it to-day?*)
16. Are wa itsu de atta ka shira. Sayōsa. Are wa Nigatsu itsuka goro de atta rō. (*When was it? Let me see, it was about 5<sup>th</sup> February.*)

### SPELLING.

Civ'itized      bor'rowed      become'      sleep'y      dic'tionary      for'eigner

### 3. GRAMMAR.

#### THREE FORMS OF THE VERB.

Present.	Past.	Past-Participle.
do	did	done
take	took	taken
speak	spoke	spoken
correct	corrected	corrected

### Appendix 9.8: *Kanda's New Series of English Readers, Fourth Reader*

#### LESSON I. (Fourth Reader)

##### A WILLING SACRIFICE.

regain' sever'ity hussar' deter'mine intense' tri'al endure' impos'sible pursuit' complete'ly  
exhaust' o'vercome' thatch protect' admira'tion

1. In that terrible retreat of the first Napoleon from Moscow, Prince Emile of Hesse-Darmstadt started at the head of his troops to regain his native country. In doing this he had to battle with the severity of a Russian winter. He was a man of great courage and of strong determination, and was greatly beloved by his soldiers. He tried by his example and cheering words to keep up the hearts of his followers.

2. By forced marches they reached the river Berezina, but in attempting to cross this river, a very large number of the men were lost. The Prince was the last to cross, and when he reached the other side, he found only ten men left of all the thousands who had started out with him. These ten hussars determined to stand by him to the bitter end.

3. The cold was intense. Snow lay deep upon the ground. To add to their trials, they had to endure the pangs of hunger and thirst. Delay, however, was impossible; the bands of mounted Cossacks were in keen pursuit. Sleep was out of the question, for even if they dared to stay, they knew that to lie down on the ground was certain death.

4. But at last they were completely exhausted, and unable to go any farther whatever might happen to them. The Prince then said, "My children, as long as I have been able to overcome the desire of sleep, which would have been death, I made you watch with me; but now so great is the need for rest that we must risk all. If God wills that we fight again, He will awake us in the morning."

5. They all prepared to rest. When the Prince awoke in the morning from a deep sleep and looked around him, he was greatly surprised to find himself alone in a thatched shed. And what surprised him still more was the fact that he was well protected from the cold by clothes beneath and around him. When he came to look at them more closely, he found that these clothes were the coats of his faithful followers. But if so, what had become of them?

6. He went to the door of the shed to find out where they were and how they had fared. And then he saw a sight which filled him with sorrow and admiration – the ten devoted men lay upon the ground stripped of their coats, and each one was frozen to the ground, quite dead!

7. They had of their free will, and for love's sake, given up their own lives to save the life of the Prince.

**Questions: -**

1. Who was Napoleon I.? Where is Moscow? Where is the Dnieper situated?
2. What sort of a man was Prince Emile?
3. How many of his men did the Prince find left when he reached the other side of the Berezina? What did the remaining soldiers determine to do then?
4. What was the state of the weather? Did they rest in their march? Why?
5. Where did the prince find himself when he awoke in the morning? How was he protected from the cold during the night?
6. What had become of his ten soldiers?

**Grammar: -**

I. *Learn the use of the Articles in* (\* The numbers refer to the paragraphs.)

- 1.\* – “In that terrible retreat of **the** first Napoleon from Moscow, etc.” “The severity of **a** Russian winter.”
3. – “**The** cold was intense. Snow lay deep upon **the** ground.”
5. – “When the Prince awoke ... from **a** deep sleep, etc.” (Cf. – “**Sleep** was out of the question,” - ¶ 3.)
6. – “**The** ten devoted men lay upon the ground, etc.” (Cf. – “*He found only **ten** men left of all the thousands,*” ¶ 2.)
- 2.) – “He went to the door of **the** shed, etc” (Cf. – “*He was greatly surprised to find himself alone in **a** thatched shed.*” ¶ 5.)

II. *Learn the use of the Past Perfect Tense in*

2. – “He found only ten men left of all the thousands who **had started** out with him.” Why not, “*who started out*”?
5. – “But if so, what **had become** of them?”
6. – “He went ... to find out where they were and how they **had fared**.” Why not, “*where they were and how they fared,*” or “*where they had been and how they had fared*”?

III. *Learn the difference between “would have been” and “was” in the following clauses:-*

- “As long as I have been able to overcome the desire of sleep, which **would have been** death, etc.” - ¶ 4.
- “Even if they dared to stay, they knew that to lie down on the ground **was** certain death.” - ¶ 3.

IV. *Why does the first **will** in the following sentence take an **s** while the second takes none?*

- “If God wills that we fight again, He will awake us in the morning.” - ¶ 4.

**Translation:-**

1. Kono ju nin no heitai wa, kannan-shin-ku no dekiru kagiri, Ō wo mamorimashita. Karera wa Ō no inochi wo sukuwan tame ni jibun no inochi wo sutemashita. (*These ten soldiers protected the Prince as hard as they could. They sacrificed their own lives in order to save the Prince.*)
2. Moscow ni todomarō to wa omoi mo yoranai koto de arimasshita. (*We never thought of staying in Moscow.*)
3. Watakushi wa me wo samashite mirebe tatta hitori ni natte imasu no de bikkurishimashita. (*I was surprised to find myself alone when I woke up.*)

**Appendix 9.9: Table of Contents in *Kanda's New Series of English Readers (Third and Fifth Readers)***

Third Reader (pages)	Fifth Reader (pages)
I. The Fox and the Grapes (1)	I. A Theban Dinner Party (1)
II. The Wolf and the Goat (9)	II. Egyptian Burial in Ancient Times (8)
III. The Boy and the Wolf (15)	III. Sparta and Athens (13)
IV. The Hare and the Tortoise (23)	IV. Manners and Customs of the Ancient Romans (20)
V. The Crow and the Fox (30)	V. (The same as above) Part 2 (27)
VI. The Snake (39)	VI. Assassination of Julius Caesar (33)
VII. The Elephant (47)	VII. Chivalry (39)
VIII. The Eagle (55)	VIII. Early German Civilization (45)
IX. The Camel (64)	IX. Peter the Great, Czar of Russia (52)
X. Coal (72)	X. Discovery of America (60)
XI. Incidents in the Life of Washington (77)	XI. America on the Eve of the Revolution (67)
XII. The Courageous Boy (84)	XII. (The same as above) Part 2 (73)
XIII. The Faithful Dog <i>Part I.</i> (92)	XIII. (The same as above) Part 3 (79)
XIV. (The same as above) <i>Part II.</i> (99)	XIV. (The same as above) Part 4 (85)
XV. The Manly Boy <i>Part I.</i> (106)	XV. George Washington (91)
XVI. (The same as above) <i>Part II.</i> (113)	XVI. Duke of Wellington (99)
XVII. (The same as above) <i>Part III.</i> (120)	XVII. The China-Japan War (107)
XVIII. Perseverance Wins <i>Part I.</i> (126)	XVIII. A Sketch of Korea (112)
XIX. (The same as above) <i>Part II.</i> (133)	XIX. Life of the Kamtchadales (119)
XX. (The same as above) <i>Part III.</i> (140)	XX. Exile (sic.) Life in Siberia (125)
	XXI. The Duel in England (130)
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	XXIV. Pleasure of Reading (147)
	XXV. Use of Metals (151)
	XXVI. Money (156)
	XXVII. Temperature in the Tropical Regions (161)
	XXVIII. Knowledge (167)
	XXIX. On Moral Culture (171)
	XXX. The Imperial Address (180)

## Appendix 9.10: *Standard Choice Readers, Second Reader*

### LESSON I. (Second Reader)

#### NEW WORDS

les'sons    noth'ing    build    ball    works    straw    hard    bee    hon'ey    would  
hair    ev'ery

#### FRANK AND HIS WISH

1. When Frank was a small boy, he went to school with his sister.
2. One very warm day, he said to his sister that it would be much more fun to play ball than to go to school.
3. "No, no," said she, "I have no time to play."
4. Then Frank saw a bee, and said, "I wish I were a bee, and had nothing to do."
5. "But the bee has much to do," said his sister. "It works hard all day to get honey."
6. Then he saw a bird in a tall tree, and said, "Well, I wish I were that little bird. It has nothing to do."
7. But his sister said, "See, Frank, the bird has a straw. It has to build its nest with straw and hair, and so has no time to play."
8. Then, when Frank saw that every bee and bird had to work, he ran to school and learned his lessons.

## Appendix 9.11: *Standard Choice Readers, Second Reader ('Conversational Exercise')*

### LESSON IV. (Second Reader)

#### CONVERSATIONAL EXERCISE.

*(By means of retranslation\*)*

1. Do you *go to school*?
2. Yes, I *go to school* with my sister.
3. Do you like *to play ball*?
4. Yes, I like it *very much*.
5. I *have no time* to play.
6. Does he *work hard*?
7. He works hard to *get money*.
8. Have you *anything to do*?
9. No, I have *nothing to do*, now.
10. Where *shall we go*?
11. Let us *go up* the hill.
12. Is the gate *left open*?

\* As indicated in the First Reader of this series, pupils should be required to close their books, and the teacher's own best **Japanese translation** is given for each of the sentences, so that the same may be **retranslated** by them into the **original English**. Questions in English may also be given to exact their prompt answers in English.

## Appendix 9.12: Standard Choice Readers, Third Reader

### LESSON I. (Third Reader)

#### NEW WORDS

trap      woods      ly'-ing      a-mid'      path      chased      heav'-y      es-cape'      beast  
bush'-y      hear'-ers      reach      snapped      bush'-es      laugh'-ter      whisk      use'-less

#### THE FOX AND HIS TAIL

1. A fox saw a trap lying in his path, and stopped to look at it.
2. "How very silly any beast must be," said he, "to be caught in such a thing as this!"
3. Then to show that he did not care for it, he whisked his tail into it.
4. But the trap was too quick for him, and his tail, of which he had been so proud, was snapped off in a moment.
5. At first he was very glad to escape at all, but before he reached home he began to think how his friends would laugh at him.
6. So he ran into the woods and did not show himself to his friends for a long time.
7. At last a happy thought came to him. He thought that if the other foxes would only lose their tails, he might then look as nice as any of them.
8. So he called them together and made a speech to them, standing all the time with his back against a tree.
9. "Good friends," he said, "Why do we all carry about with us these long, bushy tails? They are quite useless and also very heavy. They are always in the way when we run through the bushes. Let us cut them off."
10. His hearers were at first struck with this. But a little fox, who had been running about, cried out suddenly: "Oh, he has lost his own tail! That is why he wants us to cut off ours."
11. Then some one pushed the poor fox away from the tree, and every one saw that he had no tail. Amid the laughter of all he was chased off into the woods.

#### REVIEW SENTENCES.

(For Dictation, Composition, Conversation, etc.)

1. A fox saw a trap *lying in his path*.
2. The trap was *too quick for* him.
3. *In a moment* his tail was *snapped off*.
4. *At first* he was glad to escape *at all*.
5. He did not *show himself* to his friends *for a long time*.
6. He stood *all the time* with his back against the tree.
7. Why do we *carry about with* us these long, bushy tails?
8. Are they not always *in the way* when we *run through* the bushes?
9. His hearers *were struck with* this.
10. Amid the laughter of all he *was chased off* into the woods.

## Appendix 9.13: Standard Choice Readers, Fourth Reader

### LESSON II. (Fourth Reader)

career', *course of life*.      conven'ience, *accommodation, benefit*.      cul'prits, *wrong-doers*.      exploit',  
*noteworthy deed*.      mag'istrate, *judge*.      plight (plit), *condition, state*.  
prin'ciples, *rules of conduct*.      reproof', *rebuke*.      ver'ily, *truly*.

### BEN FRANKLIN'S WHARF.

1. When Benjamin Franklin was a boy he was very fond of fishing; and in the story of his life written by himself in later years he gives an amusing account of an exploit that grew out of this sport.
2. It seems that the place where Ben and his playmates used to fish was a marshy spot on the outskirts of the town of Boston. On the edge of the water there was a deep bed of clay, in which the boys were forced to stand while they caught their fish.
3. "This is very uncomfortable," said Ben Franklin one day to his comrades, while they were all standing in the quagmire. "So it is," said the other boys. "What a pity we have no better place to stand on!"
4. Now, it chanced that scattered round about lay a great many large stones which were to be used for the cellar and foundation of a new house. Ben mounted upon the highest of these stones.
5. "Boys," said he, "I have thought of a plan. You know what a plague it is to have to stand in the quagmire yonder - over shoes and stockings in mud and water. See, I am bedaubed to the knees, and you are all in the same plight.
6. "Now I propose that we build a wharf. You see these stones? The workmen mean to use them for building a house here. My plan is to take these same stones, and carry them to the edge of the water, and build a wharf with them. What say you, lads? Shall we do it?"
7. "Yes, yes," cried the boys: "that's the very thing!" So it was agreed that they should all be on the spot that evening as soon as the workmen had gone home.
8. Promptly as the appointed time the boys met. They worked like beavers, sometimes two or three of them taking hold of one stone; and at last they had carried them all away, and built their little wharf.
9. "Now, boys," cried Ben, when the job was done, "let's give three cheers and go home to bed. To-morrow we may catch fish at our ease." The cheers were given with a will, and the boys scampered off home and to bed, to dream of to-morrow's sport.
10. The next morning the masons came to begin their work. But what was their surprise to find the stones were all gone! The master-mason, looking carefully on the ground, saw the tracks of many little feet leading down to the waterside. Following these he soon found what had become of the missing building stones.
11. "Ah! I see through it," said he: "those little rascals who were here yesterday have stolen the stones to build a wharf with. And I shouldn't wonder if Ben Franklin was the ringleader. I must see about this."
12. He was so angry that he at once went to make a complaint before the magistrate; and his Honor wrote an order to "take the bodies of Benjamin Franklin, and other evil-disposed persons," who had stolen a heap of stones.
13. If the owner of the stolen property had not been more merciful than the master-mason, it might have gone hard with our friend Benjamin and his comrades. But, luckily for them, the gentleman was amused at the smartness of

the boys: so he let the culprits off easily.

14. But the poor boys had to go through another trial, and receive sentence, and suffer punishment, too, from their own fathers. Many a rod was worn to the stump on that unlucky night. As for Ben, he was less afraid of a whipping than of his father's reproof. And indeed, his father *was* very much disturbed.

15. "Benjamin, come hither," said the stern old man. The boy approached and stood before his father's chair.

"Benjamin," said his father, "what could induce you to take property which did not belong to you?"

16. "Why, Father," replied Ben, hanging his head at first, but then lifting his eyes to Mr. Franklin's face, "if it had been merely for my own benefit, I never should have dreamed of it. But I knew that wharf would be a public convenience. If the owner of the stones should build a house with them, nobody would enjoy any advantage but himself. Now, I made use of them in a way that was for the advantage of many persons."

17. "My son," said Mr. Franklin solemnly, "so far as it was in your power, you have done a greater harm to the public than to the owner of the stones. I do verily believe, Benjamin, that almost all the public and private misery of mankind arises from a neglect of this great truth, - that evil can produce only evil, that good ends must be wrought out by good means."

18. To the end of his life, Ben Franklin never forgot this conversation with his father; and we have reason to suppose, that, in most of his public and private career, he sought to act upon the principles which that good and wise man then taught him.