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PRE-MEIJI EDUCATION
IN JAPAN

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A Study of Japanese Education previous to the
Restoration of 1868

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TO THE MEMORY
OF
JEROME DEAN DAVIS, D.D.,
THIRTY-FIVE YEARS A DIRECTOR AND TEACHER IN DŌSHISHA,
THIS STUDY IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED.

NOTE:—In the pronunciation of such Japanese words as have been employed, it should be remembered that the language is free from accent except such as is given by the length of its vowels, which are sounded as upon the Continent of Europe. Each syllable contains but one vowel or diphthong which concludes the syllable except when followed by “n,” or a double consonant, the first of which should be pronounced with the preceding vowel. The names of individuals, when written according to the custom of the country (the family name followed by the personal), have been united by “-.”

CONTENTS

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION	I
CHAPTER I	
The First Intellectual Awakening	23
CHAPTER II	
The Government System of Education (662-1603)	47
CHAPTER III	
The Government System of Education (1603-1868)	67
CHAPTER IV	
Individual Effort in Education	93
CHAPTER V	
Literary Culture and the Education of Women	125
CHAPTER VI	
Social Education	155
CHAPTER VII	
Physical Training and Ethical Culture	185
CHAPTER VIII	
Foregleams of the Second Great Awakening	201
CHAPTER IX	
Educational Problems	227
BIBLIOGRAPHY	255
INDEX	259

FOREWORD

Since 1868, the Empire of Japan has increasingly attracted the world's interest. Amazement has given way to respect. Yet there remains a surprising ignorance of that past in which roots deeply, and from which has developed by processes of natural evolution, all that is most characteristic of New Japan. The part which education has played in the progress of New Japan is generally recognized; but this is not a matter of fifty or of one hundred years. The Ancient Japanese were not an uncultured, untrained people. Rather are their culture and training still vitally influential; and this study of their education has been undertaken with the thought that some aid might hereby be given students of education and others wishing truly to understand the Japanese Nation which beyond most appears to have preserved the student-mind.

To the need of such a study the writer's attention was first called in his own class-room by the discovery that there existed for the student of education, especially

for one ignorant of the Japanese language, no outline of Japan's ancient education worthy of reference.

The indebtedness is great. The printed works of others, both in English and in Japanese, have been freely consulted; and the concluding bibliography, while far from complete, is an acknowledgement of the assistance which has been received from many. Particular acknowledgement is here rendered to the Delegates of the Oxford University Press, and to the translators, for permission to quote from "Primitive and Japanese Texts" by Mr. F. V. Dickins, and from "A Hundred Verses from Old Japan" by Mr. W. N. Porter.

Special thanks are due many Japanese students, especially Mr. Yoshimatsu Yoshioka for assistance in research and the initial translation of the Japanese slumber-songs; Professor Chonosuke Nakamura and other professors in Dōshisha for translating many pages of Japanese text; President G. Stanley Hall and Professor William H. Burnham, of Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, U.S.A., in whose seminar several of the chapters were first presented; and, in particular, Dr. Inazo Nitobe of the Tokyo Imperial University for valuable suggestions in connection with the preparation of the manuscript.

The book is sent forth with the modest hope that by its very short-comings and errors it may incite others to correction, and by its measure of value afford some true interpretation to the life and character of a great people.

FRANK ALANSON LOMBARD.

Dōshisha University,

Kyoto, Japan,

October 1, 1913.

AN APPRECIATION

From President G. Stanley Hall, written without opportunity to read
the finished manuscript.

As a student of the history of education, and from having had almost continuously for twenty-five years students from Japan in my laboratory, classes and seminar, as well as from conferences held at Clark University on Japan and Eastern questions, I have come to feel that the educational influences and institutions of old and feudal Japan before 1868 were mines of the very greatest interest and value to all students of education. I have never been able to find at all adequate presentation of the treasures that must lie hidden to us of the West in this field. It cannot be that Japan, which has so recently taken her place among the foremost nations of the earth, has really, as she seems to the unthinking, been made within the last few decades. She must have been great before, though perhaps in a somewhat different way than now, and in ways that every student of the life of nations wants to know. I understand too that Japan has herself realized the necessity of recording in an adequate way

AN APPRECIATION

the life and spirit of the old days, has realized that while assimilating much that is new she must see to it that the great good things of the past be not lost or allowed to fade from memory. I understand that the volume of my friend, Professor Frank Alanson Lombard, is an attempt to meet the growing curiosity and interest of Occidentals like myself in this wonderful and obscure phase of the life of a great new nation. I know that not only his years of residence but his professorial position and his attainments make him a competent guide for us in this field, and so bespeak for this book a hearty and wide welcome.

G. STANLEY HALL,
Clark University,
Worcester, Massachusetts.

October 1st, 1913.



A Writing School of the Shogunate Time.

Nihon Fuzokushi.

INTRODUCTION

The term New Japan is misleading. The Japanese are neither a modern nor an ancient people. Their ruling dynasty is the oldest in the world ; but there are people far older. Their entrance into the sisterhood of modern states is recent ; but their civilization is the product of a continuous development through many centuries. The life of Japan, properly understood, reveals nothing unnatural that she should be judged as distinct from other nations ; but rather is there evidenced the most universally human elements which constitute on the one hand her ground for fellowship in working out the problems of modern life and thought, and on the other the hope of her contributing something of distinctive value to world-progress.

Varied elements have entered into the composition of the Japanese race. Archeological research shows the islands to have been the home of cave-dwellers ; and following them the Ainu possessed the land.* These

* Scholars are doubtful whether these cave-dwellers were a distinct people or merely the Ainu in an earlier stage of development.

Ainu of Aryan stock, entering from the north, were in turn driven back or in part absorbed by blending streams of immigration from the west and south. The earliest of these streams, coming from Northern-central Asia or even further west, seems to have entered Japan by way of Korea and to have settled in Izumo. Its representatives were in the bronze age of civilization, and of refined physical type. A later stream, taking its rise further south, advantaged by experience of a higher civilization, somewhat Malay in character, was borne north to the shores of Yamato by the Black Tide. Still later from the same general region of the south came settlers, who had probably reached the iron age of civilization, to the Island of Kyushu. These later settlers, under a leader who figures in history as the first Emperor of Japan, gradually gained the supremacy and forced their authority first over the settlers from the west and then over the Yamato men, who acknowledged their kinship and rule.

Very early in the development of this people into national unity, they were subjected to the influence of China's more ancient and superior civilization, together with a not-inconsiderable addition of Korean blood. This influence they gladly accepted; but with its first fruits, the written character, sought to embody the record

of their own past lest it should be lost in the superior greatness of their neighbor. Thus the *Kojiki* was written in 712 A.D.

The early historians of every race have sought a universal back-ground against which they might paint the development of their own, as the essentially favored of Heaven ; and historians of even recent times have been unable to rise superior to the patriotic, religious, or other motives that have inspired their work. In this the Japanese chroniclers were no exception ; but, more than most, were driven to seek in divine activity the origin of land and people, since apparently all tradition that antedated their life upon the Japanese Islands had been obliterated. It is difficult to say what may have been the source of these initial myths ; it has been pertinently suggested * that they may have been taken in germ from China, since the composition of the *Kojiki* in which they were first embodied was undertaken after contact with Chinese literature in which Japan figures "as the abode of genii, the land of immortals possessing the elixir of life." At the time of greatest submission to Chinese culture influence, nothing would have been more natural than to find in Chinese writings the hint which,

* Captain Brinkley : Oriental Series. Vol. I, p. 81.

united to local tradition, should be wrought out for the glory of the race.

So important has been the influence of the *Kojiki* upon later Japanese thought and life, so central have been made its supposed teachings in the rise of modern 'Mikadoism,' that more extended consideration may be justified. The *Kojiki* or "Record of Ancient Matters" is the earliest record of Japanese history and purports to give the story of beginnings from the Beginnings of Heaven and Earth to the death of Empress Suiko who reigned from 593 to 628 A.D. This work has been translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain * with an introduction which for the English reader is authoritative. In this introduction he gives the *Kojiki's* own explanation of its origin, as found at the close of its preface.

"The Emperor Temmu (673—687 A.D.), in what portion of his reign is not mentioned, lamenting that the records possessed by the chief families contained many errors, resolved to take steps to preserve the true traditions from oblivion. He therefore had the records carefully examined, compared and weeded of their faults. There happened to be in his household a person of marvelous

* Basil Hall Chamberlain: Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan, Supplement to Vol. x.

memory named Hiyeda no Are* who could repeat without mistake the contents of any document he had ever seen, and never forgot anything that he had heard. Temmu Tenno took the pains to instruct this person in the genuine traditions and old language of former ages, and made him repeat them until he had the whole by heart. Before the undertaking was completed, which probably means before it could be committed to writing, the Emperor died, and for twenty-five years Are's memory was the sole depository of what afterwards received the title *Kojiki*. At the end of this interval the Empress Gemmio ordered Yasumaro to write it down from the mouth of Are."

The Preface itself, as translated by Chamberlain, concludes: "Altogether the things recorded commence with the separation of Heaven and Earth, and conclude with the August reign of Woharida, (628 A.D.) Reverently presented by the Court Noble Futo no Yasumaro, an Officer of the Upper Division of the Fifth Rank and of the Fifth Order of Merit, on the 28th day of the first moon of the fifth year of Wada." (March 10, 712 A.D.)

According to Griffis,† the opening sections of the *Kojiki* "treat of *Kami* that were in the minds even of the

* Evidently one of an hereditary body of Kataribe or reciters whose duty it was to recite before the Emperor.

† Griffis: The Religions of Japan. Scribners' Sons, N.Y. 1901.

makers of the myths little more than mud and water—the mere bioplasm of deity. The seven divine generations are born, but do nothing except that they give Izanagi and Izanami a jewelled spear. With this pair comes differentiation of sex.” “To express the opening lines of the *Kojiki* in terms of our own speech and in the moulds of western thought, we may say that matter existed before mind and the gods came forth, as it were, by spontaneous evolution. The first thing that appeared out of the warm earth-muck was like a rush-sprout, and this became a *Kami* or god. From this being came forth others, which also produced beings, until there were perfect bodies, sex, and differentiation of powers.”

Sections three to thirty-two of the first volume are filled with the generations of these divinities, so-called, who from the Plain of High Heaven formed the earth and gradually subdued it. The remaining sections of volume one relate how Ama-Terasu-O-Mi-Kami (Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity) sent Tori-Bune-No-Kami (Heavenly-Bird-Boat-Deity) and Take-Mikadzu-Chi-No-Wo-No-Kami (Brave-Awful-Possessing-Male-Deity) on a mission to earth to demand the allegiance of the dwellers therein to one who should be sent to rule over them. “Therefore

these two Deities, descending to the little shore of Inaza in the land of Idzumo, drew their swords ten hand-breadths long, stuck them upside down on the crest of a wave, seated themselves cross-legged on the point of the swords, and asked the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land, saying: 'The Heaven-Shining-Great-August-Deity and the High-Integrating-Deity have charged us and sent us to ask, (saying): 'We have deigned to charge our August child with thy dominion, the Central-Land-of-Reed-Plains, as the land which he should govern. So how is thy heart?' He replied saying: 'I am unable to say. My child the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master will be the one to tell you; but he is gone to Cape Miho to pursue birds and catch fish, and has not yet returned.' So then the Deity Bird-Boat was sent to summon the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master who, on being graciously asked, spoke to the Great Deity his Father saying: 'I will obey. (Do thou) respectfully present this land to the August child of the Heavenly Deity;' and thereupon he trod on the edge of his boat so as to capsize it, clapped his heavenly departing hands in the fence of green branches, and disappeared.'**

* Basil Hall Chamberlain: Transactions of The Asiatic Society of Japan, Supplement to vol. x. p. 121 ff.

The one remaining son of the Great Earth Deity was asked and he at first refused ; but finally submitted at the point of the sword, declaring : "I will obey. Slay me not, I will go to no other place but this, neither will I go against the command of my father the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land. I will not go against the words of the Deity Eight-Fold-Thing-Sign-Master. I will yield up this Central Land of Reed-Plains according to the command of the august child of the Heavenly Deities." His children having thus submitted, the Deity Master-of-the-Great-Land agreed to yield up the Central Land of Reed-Plains, stipulating for a place of residence and promising the allegiance of all the earth deities. Thereupon the contract was concluded ; and Ama-Terasu-O-Mi-Kami, who ruled in the Plain of High Heaven sent down her grandson, Ni-Nigi-no-Mikoto with the commission to rule over the Luxuriant-Reed-Plain-Land-of-Fresh-Rice-Ears. This heaven-sent ruler landed on Mount Takachiho in Kyushu, after which the battle ships of Japan even to-day are named, and from there his great-grandsons pushed northward until one was killed, and the other, Iware-Hiko-no-Mikoto, subdued Yamato and ruled Japan as the first Emperor, whose canonical name of Jimmu Tenno signifies

Emperor of Divine Valor. This is declared to have been in 660 B.C. *

Thus a superior people gained supremacy over the possessors of the land, and all their children were *Kami*, subordinate to the higher *Kami* of the Imperial Family which traced its lineage to Ama-Terasu-O-Mi-Kami. Those whom they overcame also were *Kami*, earth-*Kami*; and the land itself was *Kami-no-kuni*, the land of the *Kami*.

Two ideas, which in reality are one, especially concern us here: the idea expressed in the word *Kami*, and its expansion in the unique theory of Japanese nationalism. What is the meaning of the word "*Kami*"? Essentially, in brief, that which is superior. Says Prof. Chamberlain, in his introduction to the *Kojiki*, "Of all the words for which it is hard to find a suitable English equivalent, *Kami* is the hardest." "The proper meaning of the word *Kami* is 'top' or 'above;' and it is still constantly so used. Thus it may be understood how the word was naturally applied to superiors in general and especially to those more than human superiors whom we call 'gods.'" This simple and essential meaning has

* For selection of this date, clearly unestablished, see Asakawa The Early Institutional life of Japan. Tokyo, 1903.

been enriched by centuries of thought ; but to follow its development would take one through Japan's entire religious evolution,* and we are here concerned more with its primal and persistent meaning.

Secondly, what is the expansion of this idea in the unique theory of Japanese nationalism? Says Baron Kikuchi † “From the first Emperor Jimmu, there has been an unbroken line of descent to the present Emperor. This unique character of our Imperial dynasty, together with the fact that all Japanese (with the insignificant exception of the subjugated aborigines and naturalized Koreans and Chinese) are regarded as descended either from the Imperial Family or from those who came over with it from the Taka-Ma-ga-Hara, may be said to constitute the fundamental character of our nationality, as distinguished from other nations. Our nation is, as it were, one family of which the Emperor is the head or patriarch, and this relation has subsisted from the first foundation of our Empire down to the present time.” ‡ The Japanese are a superior race ruled by one whose

* See (Aston) *Shinto: The Way of the Gods*. Tasuku Harada: *The Faith of Japan*. (Lamson Lectures, Hartford, 1910.) N.Y., 1914.

† Kikuchi: *Japanese Education*. Murray, London, 1909.

‡ This one-tribe theory—commonly held—seems quite unnecessary to account for the supremacy of the Imperial Family. See Asakawa: *Early Institutional Life of Japan*. Tokyo, 1903.

superior lineage reaches the most remote antiquity and who exercises an authority that is essentially paternal and divine.

Through the centuries of national development the germ of these ideas doubtless had influence, but was for the most part sub-conscious; and the doctrine of *Mikadoism*, as emphasizing the unique nature of Imperial sovereignty, is a modern expression. *Mikadoism* is something which the unsympathetic foreigner finds difficulty in appreciating, yet which contains elements of beauty, of strength, and of truth which are to be admired in proportion as they are appreciated. To it I refer in connection with the *Kojiki* because it roots itself historically in that ancient record, and because it has been developed during a period of foreign intercourse just as was the *Kojiki* itself. To say that a historian has a motive is not to impeach the accuracy of his history; and to say that the formulation of the *Kojiki* and the modern expression of *Mikadoism* are alike prompted by a similar subconscious motive is no necessary denial of the essential truth which lies behind the forms of their expression. The sphere of truth is far greater than the plane of fact; and the truth expressed in the ancient myths and in modern *Mikadoism*, the truth which has

been and is the source of Japan's peculiar strength, the truth that God through all the years has led her rulers and leads them still, that God through all the ages has had for her people a great mission and has it still, will remain a source of vital power even more fruitful when the historicity of the early tales has long since ceased to be regarded.

A few years ago many Christian thinkers trembled lest the findings of literary criticism should weaken the authority of the Bible, as the stories of the early days were seen to be poetic embodiments of spiritual truth and of racial movements rather than statements of historic fact concerning individuals. Now it is recognized that the authority expressed in the Bible has been strengthened, not weakened, by a proper realization of the distinction between truth and fact. Thus I regard the present emphasis placed by some upon the historic elements of *Mikadoism*, the conscious formulation of a unique basis of authority, as the last apologetic of conservative patriots who feel called upon to defend that which in the nature of the case needs no defence. After the great naval victory over the Russian fleet, the Japanese Admiral, in his message, attributed all success to the merit of Imperial Grace through ages past; and he was right beyond his thought.

“ By merit of Imperial Grace through ages gone ! ”

So said the Admiral ; and from his heart

Expressed the faith that maketh one and great

The Land for which his heroes lived, his heroes died.

Land of the gods on high and heaven-born men below,

Truths that ye now in ignorance confess

Shall in the coming days be fully known.

He, who without a witness no nation yet hath left,

From before earth's foundation e'en until to-day,

Here hath in secret wrought, through lengthening line of kings,

A will of good, until His Kingdom come.

Prominent among many facts, noticeable to even the most casual observer of Japanese development, is the significant part taken by the government, in the name of the Emperor, in leading every reform and step of progress. This is as clearly seen in the history of education as elsewhere ; and constitutes the truly unique element in Japanese nationalism. In illustration may be noticed the proud boast of the Japanese that their nation alone possesses a Constitution granted freely by the Emperor, unforced by popular demand. This boast is both true and false. It is true that on October 12, 1881, the Emperor issued a proclamation in which he promised to call a national assembly in 1891, reserving for himself its organization. It is true that on the 11th of February in 1889, that promise was fulfilled with the following oath :

“We, the Successor to the prosperous Throne of Our Predecessors, do humbly and solemnly swear to the Imperial Founder of Our House and to Our other Imperial Ancestors that, in pursuance of a great policy co-extensive with the Heavens and with the Earth, We shall maintain and secure from decline the ancient form of government.

“In consideration of the progressive tendency of the course of human affairs and in parallel with the advance of civilization, We deem it expedient, in order to give clearness and distinctness to the instructions bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors, to establish fundamental laws formulated into express provisions of law, so that, on the one hand, Our Imperial Posterity may possess an express guide for the course they are to follow, and that, on the other, Our subjects shall thereby be enabled to enjoy a wider range of action in giving Us their support, and that the observance of Our laws shall continue to the remotest ages of time. We shall thereby give greater firmness to the stability of Our Country, and promote the welfare of all the people within the boundaries of Our Dominions; and We now establish the Imperial House Law and the Constitution. These

Laws come to only an exposition of grand precepts for the conduct of the Government, bequeathed by the Imperial Founder of Our House and by Our other Imperial Ancestors. That We have been so fortunate in Our reign, in keeping with the tendency of the times, as to accomplish this work, We owe to the glorious Spirits of the Imperial Founder of Our House and of Our other Imperial Ancestors.

“We now reverently make Our prayer to Them and to Our Illustrious Father, and implore the help of Their Sacred Spirits, and make to Them solemn oath never at this time nor in the future to fail to be an example to Our subjects in the observance of the Laws hereby established.

“May the Heavenly Spirits witness this Our Solemn Oath.”

This oath was freely and graciously given ; and a constitutional form of government established. But for twenty years, throughout the nation, prominent men had been forming a public opinion increasingly urgent that such action be taken. The significant thing is that the government seized the psychological moment and checked the rising tide long before it became a menace and reserved for itself the initiative, to be taken at its own

pleasure and in its own way, thus maintaining unique government supremacy and at the same time fostering progress.

The constitution, thus granted by Meiji Tenno in 1889, became a part of the sacred heritage left unto his people when the throne descended to his son in 1912. Sanctioned as a form, it awaited still other progressive commoners to insist upon a substance to correspond which should in reality close the history of bureaucracy in Japan. That struggle is now in progress, clearly, as every such struggle has been, possible of interpretation as a struggle for the realization of an Imperial ideal ; and this struggle, as others in the past, will be settled by an act of Government itself, now gaining recognition as something distinct from the throne, as a champion of progress. So does the inevitable appear to embody an Imperial Will.

Recent years have seen every popularly accepted reform in Japan first sanctioned and approved, if not actually inaugurated by authority ; and the principle may be traced in more ancient history as well, making a study of every movement closely related to a study of government changes and explaining, at least in a measure, the habit of the people in waiting for opportunity to be

prepared and initiative to be taken by the government in every sphere, be it of education or of business.

Certain racial characteristics which have *significance to the student of pedagogy* may well be considered briefly, with the recognition that such characteristics, here brought into varied emphasis and unusual prominence, are but elements common to general humanity. I cannot admit the importance of the probable admixture of Aryan blood in the Japanese race as though that constituted a claim to kinship which our common humanity could not afford. Doubtless there are influential strains of Aryan origin in the Japanese stock; but the student of anthropology is coming increasingly to recognize the essential oneness of the human family which entitles each branch to a part, a fellowship, in humanity's evolution. Each race has by its evolutionary experience, quite apart from its racial inheritance, developed or retained certain characteristics which, in proportion as they are evolutionary in nature, are of supreme importance in the study of even a section of its history.

The Japanese are essentially young, as individuals having preserved the mental attitude which is characteristic of youth. This youthfulness is quite independent of years, and is consistent with the dignity of manhood.

It is racial adolescence, a trait of more than usual importance, a prime essential to students, which by nature and experience the Japanese are.

The Japanese are precocious. The testimony of all teachers is in harmony to the effect that Japanese students are eager to grasp abstract and philosophic ideas, and to express themselves upon subjects concerning which the Western youth of the same age has no thought. They are not only eager ; they are able, surpassing their western fellows at least upon certain levels. The ancient education of the schools, at whatever age undertaken, was an education of the man not of the child. Form, expression, was the first point of emphasis, while the substance behind that form, when grasped, was invariably found to be a vague abstraction of the Classics. Thus, for the technically educated, forms of expression for philosophic thought were the one and only medium. A logic-chopping ability, deceptive to self and often to others, was the sure result. This is characteristic of ancient school education and its effect in the West as well as in the East ; but in the East it has been intensified and continued, as may be observed by a study of the nature of Japanese school texts, until the most recent years, even into the period when school education is for the most part con-

fined to the culture of children and youth. Whatever be the reason, the Japanese of secondary school age is gifted with a poise and "fatal facility" of expression upon abstract themes far beyond the Western youth of the same age. His ability to speak gives him self-confidence as to the substance of his remarks which again differs greatly from that of one trained to scientific exactness. This precocity, if attended by an arrest which precludes deeper thinking in later years, is peculiar in that its arrest takes the form of a continued youthfulness that prevents the set and fixity commonly characteristic of maturity.

The Japanese are periodic. Capable of great effort, they suffer sudden depression. Lacking the power of sustained and persistent labor in the face of failure, they are subject to discouragement. If their attitude before Port Arthur be quoted in denial, it may rather be claimed in evidence, for past history and the spirits of the dead made it literally impossible that that fortress should not have been taken ; and the Japanese themselves admit that the troops fought there as they would have fought on no other field, actually inspired to a persistence foreign to their nature. Success seems necessary to their success, and that attained by masterful action rather than by drudgery. Periods of relaxation, of inaction, of apparent despondency are not

however, of necessity valueless. On the contrary they are times, or may be, of actual preparation, quiet and unobserved, in contrast to the periods of expressive energy. Rhythmic activity is normal ; and the higher the realm of effort the more emphatically is this principle true.

The Japanese are idealistic. The thinking of the Japanese student-mind, except as forced by the economic pressure of to-day, is unpractical. The life is more than meat ; and man does not live by bread alone. This acceptance of the reality of the ideal, as beyond that of the actual, is naïve and childlike, the occasion of much misunderstanding and censure, as well as evidence of that fertility of intellect which quickens whatever seed-thoughts find lodgment.

The Japanese are sensitive to environment and extremely susceptible to suggestion. Thus almost without effort they are the world's best imitators and, what is better, capable of independent attainment along lines of great expectation. Generally held to be imitators and nothing more, their original powers have been underestimated. Their imitation possesses a degree of adaptation that places it far above mere slavishness ; and their power of realizing what is expected of them is a faculty of prime value.

The Japanese are super-sensitive to criticism and opposition, to be led not driven. Leaving much to the idealistic comprehension of others, their expression is often incomplete and, like their art, suggestive, making oneness of view-point and sympathy of heart peculiarly essential to any accurate understanding and successful guidance.

The Japanese are communal. They lack individual personality with its attendant sense of personal responsibility and consequent strength of character. The basis of Japanese morality is individual self-sacrifice; and to lose one's self in accomplishing the will of the race, its supreme expression. Thus the sense of individuality, the strife for self-realization, which may almost be termed the goal of Western ethical endeavor, is lacking or at least condemned as evil, while in its place is a racial consciousness and a glad acquiescence in that which is believed to be the will of the *Kami* and for the good of the *Kami* Land.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST INTELLECTUAL AWAKENING

IN every recent history of Japanese education emphasis has been placed first upon the wonderful educational development of the Meiji Era and secondly upon the ancient introduction and effect of Chinese culture. The initial influence of Chinese culture evidently reached Japan at a very early period ; but there appears a strange tendency to push it back as far as possible as though to make the resultant development more essentially Japanese, although by so doing, scant justice has been paid to the primitive culture indigenous to the race. Great was Japan's debt to China in the past, as her present debt to the West is great ; but, then as now, the foreign culture found a soil vital for its reception:

As we have seen, the *Kojiki* was one of the first products of the art of writing. This art came from abroad ; and in its exercise may naturally have been embodied many foreign ideas ; but, nevertheless, the *Kojiki*, granting its inaccuracy in the matter of dates, the

highly unreliable character of its portrayal of events, and its possible philosophic debt to China, shows by its very language and concrete expression evidence not only of its early origin but also of its essential truthfulness to early social conditions, conditions which must have obtained previous to its embodiment in written form; while archeological research confirms all that in it is pertinent to a study of early Japanese education. The existence of written records and of schools for teaching such records of religion, of history, or of science, has so long been regarded essential to what we have chosen to call education, that it is difficult to conceive of anything worthy the name apart from them; yet we are gradually awakening to a realization that the essentials of education need not be to-day, and surely were not in early ages, conditioned by either books or organized institutions of instruction. With this in mind we may expect to find elements of educative value in the life of the Japanese people previous to what we shall call the first intellectual awakening, meaning thereby the first conscious effort to work with symbols of intellectual life.

The primitive Japanese were democratic in spirit. All were children of the *kami*. No special reverence was accorded the chieftain or his immediate family,

beyond what his own deeds called forth. An impersonal pride of birth seems to have characterized all ; and in this family, which was racial rather than individual, the position of woman was important. Though often an object of passion and pleasure, upon her rested heavily the requirements of family honor ; and in the control which she exercised over her children, she in many cases became a determining factor in community and public life.

As social organization took form, the chief or emperor became also priest ; and the declared identity of the family with divinity in its origin perpetuated the union of religion, or obedience to the will of the ancestor-gods above, and government, or the authority exercised by the gods below. The Japanese were nature-worshippers, finding in the sun their chief deity, and only later ancestor-worshippers, identifying the founders of their race with the deities of heaven.

The superiority of that civilization which absorbed the Yamato race and took its name consisted partly in the weapons of an iron age and skill in their use. Through the early years, training and practice in the use of arms occupied much attention and afforded a real, though rough and rude, form of education. The chase

became something more than a means of securing food. The story of Ama-Terasu, offended at the pranks of her impetuous brother, affords some revelation of life in the prehistoric period, showing that, then as now, rice was grown through artificial irrigation and that weaving was an occupation of the home. "Impetuous with victory, he broke down the divisions of the ricefields laid out by Ama-Terasu, filled up the water conduits, and moreover strewed dung in the palace where she partook of sacrificial food." Yet she upbraided him not but sought to find some excuse for his action until, apparently made more over-bearing by her forgiving spirit, as she "sat in her sacred hall seeing to the weaving of the august garments of the deities, he broke a hole in the top of the weaving-hall and through it let fall a heavenly piebald horse which he had flayed with a backward flaying."

Softer if not more refined arts were common. Music and dancing, with attendant song, were among the earliest remembrances of the race. The *kagura*, or sacred dance, still performed before Shinto shrines at times of festivals, loses its origin in prehistoric times as is evidenced by the description of the dance said to have been performed for the fascination of the deities before the hiding-place of Ama-Terasu.

Scattered throughout the *Kojiki* are snatches of verse that show the early beginnings of literary expression. Their extreme artificiality as *tanka*, in five lines of thirty-one syllables, makes it doubtful if they could have antedated the composition of the *Kojiki* to any considerable extent ; but F.V. Dickins, in his introduction to translations of the Manyoshu, says : “ It seems even probable that the memory feats of Hiyeda no Are were confined to the lays of the *Kojiki*, and that in some cases the text of the Annals was written up to the lays and in others old lays were more or less remodelled to suit and illustrate the text.” However this may have been, they afford evidence of literary effort probably before the use of written symbols ; and some possess a measure of poetic worth, making appeal even to modern hearts.

The first chieftain, Emperor Jimmu, is credited with the gift of song. When the maid whom he had first loved upon the wild moorland came to the simple palace of her lord, he sang in memory of those other nights :

Spreading the sedge-mat
There on the damp, reed moorland,
Layer on layer,
Close in the hut we early
Rested in slumber sweetly.

Yamato Take, at the point of death far from home on his wanderings, poured from a homesick heart words witnessing to something sweeter than the love of strife.

Clouds from the Homeland,
Than all things fairer, sweeter,
Clouds from the Homeland,
Are rising o'er the heaven,
Are coming, Oh, are coming.

Thus we may say that filial piety, ceremonial etiquette, physical prowess, hunting and fishing, sericulture, agriculture, domestic arts, music, dancing, and literary composition afforded scope for a form of culture among the prehistoric Japanese which, however unorganized, was truly educative, developing in the people conformity to an ideal in which blended the essential elements of evolving manhood.

What we have seen fit to call the first intellectual awakening, as distinct from the unformulated, unorganized, and largely unconscious development taking place among the people, appears to have been caused by influence from Korea, many of whose people came to Japan, and with whose civilization the Japanese seem long to have had some slight contact. The first historical reference to Korea records the fact that, in the century preceding the dawn of the Christian era, Korean

freebooters came in great number to the island of Kyushu and settled in the deserted villages of the Japanese who had been rendered helpless through pestilence. It is quite impossible to say when the Chinese language and literature were first known in Japan. As early as the reign of Kaika (157-97 B.C.) there is evidence of intercourse with China; and, according to Nakano in his *Nihon Kyoikushi*, the latest time to be assigned for the introduction of letters must be the reign of Sujin (97-29 B.C.); but at that date they can have been known only as the forms of a foreign speech understood by a few interpreters, if at all. Until some time later Japan possessed no schools, no written records, no set symbols of written speech.

According to the Chronicles (*Nihongi*), Ajiki came from Korea in 284 A.D. as private tutor to Prince Waka-iratsuko. Through him the Emperor Ojin learned of a more renowned Korean scholar, Wani by name, who was thereupon invited to the court. Following Wani several other Koreans came and were naturalized, all being made official recorders. Wani spent the rest of his life in Japan as an Imperial tutor; and is said to have been the ancestor of the *Fumi no Obito* or Chiefs of Writing, an hereditary class of official clerks and chroniclers. He brought with him the *Rongo* (Analects of Confucius) and

the *Senjimon*, a Chinese poem in one thousand different ideographic characters ; and under his instruction Prince Wakairatsuko is said to have become proficient in Chinese.

S. Wells Williams in "The Middle Kingdom," in writing of the "classics" used as texts by the students of China, says : "The third in the list is the Tsien Tsz-Wan, or Millenary Classic, unique among all books in the Chinese language, and whose like could not be produced in any other, in that it consists of just a thousand characters no two of which are alike in form or meaning." This is the *Senjimon* ; but Dr. Williams goes on to state : "The author, Chow Hinz Tsu, flourished about A.D. 550, and according to an account given in the history of the Liang dynasty wrote it at the emperor's request." Here is a discrepancy of 250 years or more. Exactness in early Japanese history cannot be expected ; and I am inclined to accept the later date, especially in view of the clearly discernable tendency in Japanese writings to push back as far as possible the period of Chinese influence.

Furthermore the official recorders' office was first created in 404 A.D. ; and, although by 450 the chroniclers managed the revenues also and several learned

teachers of Chinese are said to have come from Korea between 500 and 525 A.D., the Japanese court had great difficulty in reading messages sent from Korea as late as 575 A.D. It seems just therefore to infer that, although the beginnings of Chinese influence through Korea reached Japan before 284 A.D., perhaps even as early as the dawn of the era, the first real study of the language began much later, and that the *Senjimon*, when known and recognized as a classic model, was pushed back in association with the traditions of an early Korean teacher.

Whenever this unique poem may have reached Japan, it evidently took its place among the educational factors that moulded her Chinese culture; and is, therefore, worthy of consideration. It treats of man and his duties in an address or collection of admonitions. The whole is metrical, four characters or words to a line, the even lines being rhymed. I quote selections from the translation as given in *The Chinese Repository* Vol. IV.

The heavens are of a sombre hue; the earth is yellow.

The whole universe (at the creation) was one wide waste.

The sun reaches the meridian and declines; the moon waxes and
wanes.

In divisions and constellations the stars are arranged.

Heat and cold (summer and winter) alternately prevail.

The autumn is for ingathering; and the winter for hoarding up.

Now this our human body is endowed
With four great powers and five cardinal virtues ;
Preserve with reverence what your parents nourished.
How can you dare to destroy or injure it ?
Let females guard their chastity and purity ;
And let men imitate the talented and virtuous.
When you know your own errors, then reform ;
And when you have made acquisitions do not lose them.
Forbear to complain of the defects of other people ;
And cease to rely (too much) on your own superiority.
Let your truth be such as may be verified ;
Your capacities as to be measured with difficulty.
Observe and imitate the conduct of the virtuous ;
And command your thoughts that you may become wise.
Your virtue once fixed, your reputation will be established ;
Your habits once rectified, your example will be correct.
Sounds are reverberated in the deep valleys ;
And are re-echoed through the vacant halls ;
Even so misery is the recompense of accumulated vice ;
And happiness the reward of illustrious virtue.
A foot of precious jade stone is not to be valued ;
But for an inch of time you ought earnestly to contend.
In aiding a father and in serving a prince
Are alike required both gravity and respect.
The duty of filial piety demands every energy ;
And fidelity to one's prince extends even to a sacrifice of life.
Be watchful as though near an abyss or walking on ice,
Always rising early to attend to the comfort of your parents ;

Then your virtue will rival the Epidendrum in fragrance,
And in rich exuberance be like the luxuriant pine ;
In constancy it will resemble the ever-flowing stream,
And in purity the waters of the limpid, unruffled lake.
Let your deportment be always grave and thoughtful,
And your conversation calm and decided ;
Close attention at the commencement is truly admirable ;
Assiduity to the end is equally becoming and excellent.
Such conduct is the basis of every glorious profession ;
Its praises are great and without limit.
Excel in learning and you will ascend to official station,
Obtain rank and you will be charged with the affairs of gov-
ernment.

Then your memory will be cherished like the sweet pear tree
And when you are gone it will be treasured up in song.

Delight in reading and in studying books found in the market ;
When you find new ones diligently treasure up their contents.
Be very cautious in speaking hastily or rashly,
For even to the walls of your apartment ears may be attached.
In epistolary correspondence be concise, speaking to the point ;
And in verbal answers be discreet and explicit.

To support fire add fuel ; so cultivate the root of happiness,
And you will obtain eternal peace and endless felicity.
Let your step be even, and keep your head erect ;
And looking up or down maintain the respectful demeanor of
courts and temples ;

Let your dress be complete, and your deportment sedate,

Sustaining a modest, retiring, unobtrusive manner.

A recluse, vulgar and uninformed person

Will meet the same ridicule as a thorough ignoramus.

The principal auxiliary particles are these four :—

Yen, tsae, foo, yay, how, indeed, it is so, yes.

The introduction of Chinese learning wrought a wonderful transformation in Japan. It gave the country a written language ; but at the expense of mental effort which no Westerner can comprehend. So difficult was the task of adopting and adapting the Chinese ideograph that centuries passed before it was attempted in any practical way ; and when it was undertaken a compromise was effected on the one hand by the invention of the *kana* syllabary, of which we shall speak later, and on the other hand by the use of the ideograph according to its meaning but with a modified pronunciation. To discuss the effect upon the Japanese language of its new acquirement would take us far afield and where the best of authorities differ and where arises a modern conflict between the classicist and the educator who would emphasize scientific and practical training ; but whatever the value possessed by Chinese as a mine of vocabulary elements for a growing language, its half-and-half

adoption by the Japanese dualized their language and was accomplished by a process of marked difficulty.

The influence of the new culture was not alone or chiefly upon the language in affording a form for written expression. The influence of Confucian and Buddhist ideas, entering Japan from China through Korea, can scarcely be over-estimated, nor the fact that it brought a contribution of positive good, be doubted ; but a question may well be raised concerning the total effect of a foreign influence which dominated and for the time checked every form of native culture characterized by greater freedom and spontaneity. The misfortune may have been inevitable ; but it was no less a misfortune, in arresting development and fettering the intellect of Japan in bondage to an alien past. So far-reaching were the effects of this inundation by foreign ideas upon the development and education of later years that a further consideration of its entrance is here necessary. "China had already passed her great climacterate, and had begun to fossilize in the moulds of Confucianism." Korea was a mere channel, an unsatisfactory one at that, a negligible quantity as she has ever been. Buddhism was the most vital of all the influences but not for that reason the most powerful at first, for the calm

strength of China's greatness made impressive the principles of her statehood which were, moreover, less antagonistic to the instincts of the Yamato race. Confucianism was purely ethical and supplied a real need in formulating ideas latent in, rather than opposed to, the Yamato Spirit, especially as both laid emphasis upon ancestral claims expressed in forms of government. Buddhism was more truly a religion or a philosophy which, as then existing, certainly was not in accord with the native unformulated faith. Little by little, however, it gained popular acceptance, in part because of its foreign prestige ; more, because it had genuine gifts to bestow ; but no general recognition was accorded it until, in 552 A.D., Emperor Kimmei received a personal letter from the Prince of Kudara, in Korea, together with an image of Shakyamuni and certain Buddhist scriptures. Even then Buddhism made little headway in comparison with Confucian principles of ethics and government.

Although Imperial recognition had been passively accorded by the reception of these princely gifts, some more active assent to the value of Buddhism seemed needed, not so much to overcome any conscious sense of opposition, as to give unmistakably the sanction of

authority without which the Japanese have never as a body moved. From 570 to 645 A.D. members of the Soga family, claiming descent from one who under Empress Jingu had been influential in dealings with Korea, formed as it were an hereditary ministry of foreign affairs. This family embraced Buddhism, against the opposition of the other government leaders, for what reason is not clear, for though they established its position they were in turn by its influence overthrown. Prince Toyotomi, otherwise known as Shotoku Taishi, was regent from 593 to 621 A.D. During that period Soga no Umako was his minister; and to the united efforts of these two may be attributed the status gained by Buddhism which for many years thereafter was forcefully upheld by Imperial sanction and favor. Despite opposition, the victory of foreign thought was surprisingly easy, due in part to its incorporation of native ideas, leading one to judge that those ideas were not formulated in consciousness as they have been in later years.

Shotoku Taishi is credited with having been a precocious child. When a mere infant he could speak well, and while still a youth could listen to ten legal complaints at once and give wise and sympathetic judgment in respect to each. To some extent he had

prevision ; and was well versed in the Chinese classics. An apocryphal story is told of how the Emperor upon one occasion consulted Prince Shotoku about Confucianism and Buddhism, saying that he could not accept them as they were foreign religions. To this the Prince replied that while Shinto was the foundation of the national life, Confucianism and Buddhism which followed it were the proper developments as branches and fruit. In the twelfth year of Empress Suiko (605 A.D.) he formulated a so-called Constitution of seventeen articles which may be regarded as instructions given by him as regent, to all under him. Their content is moral rather than legal ; and the appeal is to the authority of the individual conscience. Thus they may be regarded as didactic rather than legislative. In this Constitution which, while not legal, served as the earliest written code or body of national regulation, no distinction is drawn between politics and morality ; but practical morality is set forth as the essence of political duty, Confucian ethics being here harmonized with the national spirit by the aid of certain Buddhist sanctions.

* Practical morality in Japan found its first systematic

* In 608 he established the Horyu Yakumonji Temple in connection with which was a school, the oldest in Japan, for the training of Buddhist Priests.

expounder in Prince Shotoku Taishi ; and here two facts may be noted ; first, an ethical element is prominent in the teaching of every great Japanese educator ; and, second, Japan has never had an original teacher of ethics but masterly adapters, the ethical instinct of the race appearing to be intuitive rather than systematic.

CONSTITUTION OF SHOTOKU TAISHI (Condensed)

- I. Prize civil harmony above all things, for obedience to established principles is the first duty of man.
- II. Respect the three principles of Buddha, Truth, and the Priesthood. Few are so absolutely evil that by teaching they may not be corrected.
- III. Honor Imperial Edicts. The Emperor must be regarded as heaven, his subjects as earth. Heaven broods over all ; the earth supports it from beneath. The Emperor uttereth speech ; the people obey his will.
- IV. The observance of social distinction, in strict conformity to propriety, is the foundation of administration.
- V. Judges should judge fairly without bribery, that justice may be done the poor as well as the rich.
- VI. The Classics teach to punish evil and reward virtue, however slight.

- VII. Square men are to be placed in square holes. It is most important to find suitable men for public office that the country may prosper.
- VIII. Officers should attend from early morning until night that business be not neglected or delayed.
- IX. Trust is the foundation of righteousness. Good and evil, success and failure come from confidence and the lack of it.
- X. Be not provoked to anger. If thine enemy be right, thou art wrong ; and if he be wrong, thou art right. Right and wrong are not of thy creation. Thou art not of necessity perfect ; neither is he of necessity foolish. The sure path is that followed by men walking together.
- XI. Act with an even hand, dispensing justice to the evil and the good.
- XII. There is but one king, the master of his people ; therefore should subordinate officers avoid oppression.
- XIII. All officers should be so informed that business need not be delayed by the absence of any.
- XIV. Officers should avoid jealousy, for only so may true service be given.
- XV. Yield private to public interest, for without co-operation nothing great can be accomplished.

XVI. Instruct officers to employ the people upon public works only in seasons of leisure, never in the spring or summer, for if they can grow no rice what shall they eat, and if they can plant no mulberry what shall they wear.

XVII. In judging important matters, take counsel of others ; in minor matters, judge alone.

Many of these are an expression of Confucian ethics ; and far-sighted indeed was the regent who foresaw that the check could be given usurping families of the nobility only by exalting the personal authority of the Emperor, governing according to fixed and recognized principles inherent in his position.

Important as was the influence of this Constitution in preparing the way for the Taikwa (Great Change) Reformation which ushered in a new period of history some twenty-five years later, Shotoku Taishi made more direct contribution to learning as the patron of those students (*Ryugakusei*) who from the court were sent abroad for study. The culture of the Korean people at large was not at this time greatly superior to that of the Japanese ; and the Prince was not satisfied with approach to Chinese culture by way of Korea. He sought to bring Japan into direct contact with China. In the

fifteenth year of Empress Suiko (608 A. D.) Ono no Imoko was sent to China. In the following year he returned, bringing books and twelve Chinese instructors. He went again, and the custom of sending students to China continued until a change in dynasty there broke off the intimacy of intercourse. Upon one occasion, in 654, as many as two hundred and forty students thus went abroad. These students, upon returning to Japan, were prime movers in the great reformation which culminated in the reign of Emperor Tenchi (662-672), drafting the new code which made for the centralization of the Imperial power, even as centuries later students guided the reforms of the Meiji Era ; and here we may note, in passing, the beginning of a practice which, renewed in recent years, has given Japan in every department of life a better understanding of every other civilized nation than any other nation possesses of her life and thought.

It is said that Emperor Tenchi, when but a prince, studied Chinese Literature with a fellow patriot-conspirator as a cloak to his planning, and in the palanquin on the road to his teacher's house formulated the plot which over-threw the Soga family and opened the way for the closing acts of the Reformation. Dr. Griffis in "The Japanese Nation in Evolution" tells the story as follows :

“Nakatomi, chief of the Shinto religion and the future regent and founder of the Fujiwara family, who was counted as twenty-first in descent from one of the companions of Ni-ni-gi, who came down from heaven, was a man of upright and loyal character and of a reforming disposition. He was indignant with Soga-no-Iruka for breaking down the order of Prince and Vassal, and for cherishing evil designs upon the State. Associating with the princes of the Imperial line to discover a wise ruler, he fixed upon Naka-no-Oye (afterwards the Mikado Tenchi) but for want of intimate relations with him had been unable to unfold his inner sentiments. Happening to be one of a foot-ball party in which Naka-no-Oye played at the foot of a Keyaki tree near the temple of Hokoji, he observed the Prince's leather shoe fall off with the ball. Placing it on the palm of his hand, he knelt before the Prince and offered it to its owner. The Prince, also on his knees, respectfully received it. From this time forth they became mutual friends and told each other all their thoughts. There was no longer any concealment between them.

“To avert suspicion the two conspirators took into their hands yellow rolls (Chinese books) and studied personally the doctrines of Chow and Confucius

with the learned teacher Shoan just returned from China.”

The students sent to China were for the most part Buddhist priests ; and Buddhism rapidly became the avowed faith of the court and hence of the people. None questioned its harmony with the native faith, in part, it may have been, because of the practical patriotism of the Buddhist leaders as a whole, which carried the movement forward until, when necessary in the middle of the eighth century, the Priest Gyogi effected a partial reconciliation of creeds by the declaration that Ama-Terasu and all the *Kami*, worthy of high reverence, were indeed but Japanese incarnations of the one great Buddha ; but also in part because of the plastic unformulated condition of the more indigenous ideas. Yet Buddhism seems to have had little or no influence upon the principles of government even in the minds of those who most firmly professed its faith as a religion ; and it never became a dominating factor in education as fostered by the government, however great may have been its influence in the sphere of private, educational effort, especially during the so-called Dark Ages. In fact, even during the years when Buddhism held most undisputed sway as the religion of the court and the

nobility, the moral sanctions of Confucianism, giving vitality to vague Shinto conceptions of duty, alone were regarded essential from the point of view of government education.

On the other hand, the influence of Buddhism was inexpressibly great in broadening the mental and spiritual horizon of the people. Its prime tenet of universalism, including all beings of the past and the future as well as of the present in its fellowship, emphasized in all its ritual, appealed to the artistic sentiment and quickened social service in deeds of mercy, meritorious not for the individual or his immediate family alone but for the inclusive brotherhood, that all might thereby be brought nearer to the consummation of *Buddhahood*.

After the reformation the stream of students continued to flow back and forth for many years despite the difficulties and dangers of the journey, well expressed in the recollections of Chonen, a *Bonze*, who as late as 984 A. D. travelled to the court of a Sung Emperor. He says: "I turn my face to the setting sun, and journey westward over a hundred thousand li (33000 miles) of boundless billows. I watch for the monsoon and return Eastward, climbing over thousands of wave-

mountain peaks. Toward the end of Summer I raise my anchor at Cheh Kiang, in the early Spring I reach the suburbs of my metropolis."*

The work of direct education effected by these men trained abroad will be considered more fully in the next chapter, for by them was built up the first government system of schools; and by their sons of a later day the light of learning was kept burning during Japan's dark ages.

* Brinkley : Oriental Series, Vol I. p. 71.

CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (662-1603)

THE Miracle of Japan lies not in its material advancement, not in its intellectual accomplishment, not in its prowess in arms nor yet in its international diplomacy, but in the unique character or spirit of that relationship in which the people are bound in loyalty to an authority which in their ideal has from the beginning sought expression through an unbroken line of superiors. Even during the centuries of military usurpation, the authority then exercised clothed itself in the sacred mantle of Imperial sanction, then as always jealously guarding the right of initiative which from time to time at critical moments has been put forth for the advantage of the people.

Emperor Tenchi (662-672), by whom, under the influence and inspiration and with the efficient co-operation of associates trained in China and by Chinese teachers, the work of the Taikwa Reformation was made effective,

has been called the "Father of Constitutional Monarchism" in Japan. He established his capital at Otsu and developed his administration on lines laid down in China. With his fourth successor, Emperor Mommu (697-708), ended the autocracy based, according to that ruler, upon the peoples' will; and the real control passed again into the hands of a family or clan, the Fujiwara, whose founder under the name of Kamatari had been instrumental in overthrowing the Soga House, and in laying for his own descendants the foundations of an influence which, exerted through the emperors, practically ruled Japan for nearly five hundred years and is expressed to-day in the family name of more than half the Japanese nobility. Yet the principle of Imperial authority, laid down in the Taikwa Reformation, was suited to the Japanese mind, and, strengthening more indigenous Shinto conceptions with the sanction of Confucian ethics, remained theoretically inviolable.

Chinese influence continued to shape Japanese society in many details. This influence, exerted by diplomatic agents experienced in China and by students who had returned from years of training there, led to the establishment of schools and completely dominated their purpose and course of study. Under Tenchi a school was opened

at the capital during the years 668-671; and a Korean, Kishitsu-Shushi, was appointed superintendent of education. Tenchi's second imperial successor, Tenmu, was fond of literary study and especially of mathematics. In 681, a university, so called, was established by him; and an observatory was erected in charge of a professor. Teachers of penmanship and of Chinese pronunciation also were appointed. At about the same time the first educational beginnings were noticeable in the provinces.

Under Emperor Mommu (697-708) a code of laws called the Taiho Ritsu Rei was drafted, in 701. Of this code, the Taiho Ritsu treated of criminal offences, in twelve volumes, while the Taiho Rei was a compilation in thirty volumes containing from four to eighty-nine articles bearing upon classified subjects. Volumes eleven and twelve concerned education and the selection of government officials, and contained twenty-two and thirty-nine articles respectively. According to these, schools of two grades were to be established. In the capital was to be a University to which might be admitted children of all families of the fifth rank or over, together with the children of the *Fumi no Obito* (hereditary recorders). Children of families between the sixth and eighth rank might be admitted upon petition. In each province was

to be a provincial school to which might be admitted the children of the provincial officials. All these, as well as the University, were intended for the training of government officials.

These regulations remained for some time a mere ideal ; but, none the less, they mark the beginning of the first real system of education under government administration, for by the time the court removed to Kyoto in 794, a reorganization of the University had been effected, and departments of classics, which included the reading and interpretation of the Analects and other Chinese writings, of history, which included the study of Chinese history and rhetoric, of law, which included the study of the different edicts and laws of the Empire, and of mathematics, which included the study of military and astronomical books as used in China, were established. This University was situated near where the Kyoto Second Higher School for girls now stands, not far from Nijo Castle. Provincial schools were organized in most of the provinces with courses in Classics, law and mathematics. Schools of medicine also were established.

The faculty of these schools consisted of a Superintendent or President appointed by the Daigaku Ryo, or University Board, composed of high officials under the

direction of the state department of etiquette. He was, in case of the University, often an Imperial Prince ; and, of the provincial schools, a provincial governor. Under the President there were in the University, one doctor and one or two instructors for each department ; and in the provincial schools, one doctor in charge and teachers appointed from among the graduates of the University. Most of the doctors and instructors held the key to their positions by right of inheritance, subject to examination. Their relative rank appears at times to have been determined by the number of their lecture courses ; and then as now the question of salary appropriation often determined the number and efficiency of the teaching force. University graduates became teachers, or, failing an appointment, were employed as officials by the government or even engaged in more secular labor.

The hereditary system, with all the dangers of privilege involved, appears to have borne its natural fruit. Only sons of leading families were admitted to the schools. They were expected to specialize along the lines of their fathers' positions ; and for such, in turn, teaching posts were provided accordingly. On this point a little compilation, prepared for the International Exhibition at Philadelphia, in 1876, states that in 716,

“An Imperial decree declared that the professorships of the provincial schools should not be filled by students of the University who hunted office while they were yet imperfectly educated. So serious did the condition become that in 757 a decree was issued to the effect that many of the professors and physicians in the several provinces are found to have obtained their offices not by virtue of their abilities, but merely by begging them.” “This being not merely an impediment to the administration of government but also a disadvantage to the people, should be put an end to. Students hereafter will not be admitted into the public service unless they have learned all the books required to be studied in their respective offices.”

The University could admit only 430 students; and the provincial schools could admit from 20 to 50 according to the size of the province, making a possible enrollment throughout the empire of about 3000. Students were admitted at about the age of fourteen and, with rare exceptions, only from families of rank. They were usually provided with food and books, as far as they had any, and were exempt from all military services, public labor, and taxation.

As early as 704 an appropriation was made from the public reserve fund for the support of the University ; and a system of loaning rice to farmers on interest, under the supervision of provincial governors, was at one time common, the interest, collected in rice, being set apart for the miscellaneous expenses of the University ; but no regular and systematic source of government income had been found, so naturally the appropriations for education varied and depended largely upon grants made by those families whose sons were most advantaged thereby.

The practice of granting student aid appears to have become general from the middle to the last of the eighth century ; and during the next one hundred years we find various grants for that purpose. In 794 one hundred and two cho (a *cho* is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) of rice land in Echizen were set apart to meet the wants of the increased number of students in the University. In all, at that time, one hundred and thirty-two *cho*, known as the Educational Land Grant, were thus appropriated. For how long a period this grant served as a source of income is unknown ; but by the beginning of the eleventh century education had ceased to be an object of government interest.

By the middle of the ninth century, A.D., there were in Kyoto six schools of importance, distinct from yet apparently allied with the Imperial University. These were family schools founded and maintained in particular for the training of promising members and followers of leading families who for government reasons made the capital their chief residence. These schools, while not strictly a part of the government system, may properly be mentioned here because of their connection with those prominent in government affairs. The first of these was the Junnain, named for the Summer Palace of the Emperor Junna and intended as a peers' school. It was situated to the west of the University where the village of Saiin is now situated, at the western end of Shijo. The second was the Shogakuin, established by Arihara-Yukihira for the members of the Minamoto family and the Arihara family, near the site of the present Nijō Station. The third was the Kwangakuin for the Fujiwara family, just east of the Shogakuin. These two, side by side to the south of the University, were called "Nan So," southern departments of the university. The fourth was the Gakkwanin founded for the Tachibana family by the Empress Saga. Its location is not known. The fifth was the Kobunin, established

by Waki-Hiroyo for the members of his own family. It stood between the Kwangakuin and the University. The sixth was the Monjoin, of two departments, for the Oe and the Sugawara families, within the grounds of the University. This last was of particular importance through the influence of its greatest president, Michizane, of whom later mention will be made.

Upon admission to the schools or the University, students were expected to present gifts to their respective teachers, not as remuneration, though they often formed no small part of the teacher's income, but as tokens of that respect and reverence in which to an even greater extent teachers later came to be held. The first instruction consisted merely in teaching the pronunciation of the Chinese characters, quite regardless of their significance.

The affinities of the Japanese language have not been satisfactorily determined. Because of its agglutinative character, and certain likenesses in syntax, it is usually regarded as akin to the great group of Altaic languages geographically adjacent; but for any actual bond of unity there is not sufficient evidence. Although modern Japanese is rich in words of Chinese origin, and able at any time to coin new expressions to meet new ideas from this remarkable storehouse of word-elements

that compound most readily, the two languages, as languages, have nothing in common beyond this vocabulary which is one merely in the written character expressive of the word elements, not in pronunciation. The language of China is not and never has been a unit, but rather a loose federation of many dialects which are, each to each, as foreign tongues, the difficulty of intercourse being overcome only by the educated who use an official speech. From 206 B.C. to 264 A.D. the Kan dynasty ruled Northern China; and according to the pronunciation there used the Japanese were accustomed to hear Chinese spoken during the first years of their intercourse. The term "Kan" still appears in Japanese compounds to denote China, as in "kanji" Chinese characters. This pronunciation is in Japan regarded as standard; but in China and in Japan the actual pronunciation has been so modified that the people of neither land can understand the other. The substance of thought that first came to Japan from China may be divided into two parts, that relating to history and government, which would naturally be expressed in the dialect to which we have referred, and that connected with Buddhism which in some measure at least may have borne the pronunciation of more southern provinces, using a dialect known

as "Go" at the time of Japan's first acquaintance with Chinese literature. These two pronunciations, modified by phonetic changes, are current in Japan; and such were doubtless the systems taught in these early schools.

The course of study in the University included :

- (1) Classics : Kokyo, a Primer of Ethics ; and Rongo, the Analects of Confucius.
- (2) History : Zenkwansho and Kokwansho, texts of Chinese History. No written history of Japan existed in a form deemed worthy of study. The *Kojiki* had been prepared (712), but it was in colloquial not classic style ; and all interest centered in China, not unnaturally requiring that all subjects taught in the University be in the language of China.
- (3) Law : the Taiho Constitution and Regulations.
- (4) Mathematics : Soushi, a Chinese text on Military Science, and Goso, the work of a Chinese mathematician said to have included conic sections, in the teaching of which blocks cut for illustration were employed.
- (5) Penmanship : the art of producing the Chinese characters with artistic grace.

- (6) Composition : largely the use of the Chinese characters, with no attention to anything but Chinese style.
- (7) Phonetics : that of the Chinese language.

All students were examined in reading the texts and in exposition. The examinations were oral and conducted by the professor in charge, previous holidays having been given for preparation. Annual examinations of a more formal nature for promotion were held. Students answering two thirds of the requirements were passed as excellent, those above one half were graded as fair, while those falling below 50% were judged poor and not allowed to advance. Students who failed in their annual examination three times in succession were advised to withdraw from the school and those not eligible to try the graduation examination after nine years in school were dismissed.

Little data can now be obtained concerning the daily conduct of the schools ; and that phase of the subject must be deferred to the following chapter, treating of a later period.

In addition to the University and family schools at the capital, there were provincial schools, as has been noted, differing in no marked particular except in being of a lower grade, and institutes of special knowledge.

These institutes of special knowledge included a school of medicine, teaching both men and women acupuncture, massage, divination and pharmacy; a school of music giving instruction in Japanese, Chinese and Korean music and pantomime; and a school of divination including astrology and almanac compilation.

These schools were government institutions in the strictest sense of the term; and, although Buddhism was the recognized religion of the Court, they were so firmly founded on Chinese principles for the purpose of training officials to the service of an administration organized upon Chinese models, that Confucianism, as a doctrine of political ethics, was their dominating influence. Thus, though the festivals to Confucius were celebrated in Spring and Autumn with great reverence in all these schools, religion in the sense of a super-human sanction was from the first excluded from the Japanese system of education.

Imperial messengers continued to be sent to China until the close of the ninth century. They were selected from among the most learned and cultured; and usually took students in their train. The difficulties of the journey were great, many lost their lives in the undertaking, and, as civil war broke out in China hastening

the downfall of the Tang Dynasty, the custom of sending ambassadors was discontinued by Emperor Uda (889—897) on the advice of Sugawara-no-Michizane. Thus conditions in China and the attitude of the government practically checked student movements abroad.

Sugawara-no-Michizane, beyond most educators of his day, left an abiding influence; and under the name of Tenjin Sama is still honored throughout Japan, in particular at Kitano, a temple erected and dedicated to his spirit in the reign of Emperor Murakami (947-968). Michizane was born June 25th, 845, in the reign of the Emperor Jimmyo, in Kyoto. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had been Imperial lecturers, holding the degree of doctor of letters and presiding over the Monjoin School in connection with the Imperial University.

According to tradition, the early name of the family had been Nomi. Nomi-no-Sukune, in the time of the Emperor Suijin (29-23 B.C.), advised against the ancient custom of burying the living with the bodies of the dead, and suggested the substitution of clay images (Haniwa). In commemoration of this humane counsel, the family received the name 'Hani' which, three generations before Michizane, was changed to Sugawara, the name of the village in which the family then lived.

Michizane's mother was of the Ōtomo family, one of four which had access to the throne by marriage and were privileged to the highest court appointments. He is said to have had the graces natural to such a birth ; and, at the age of eleven, to have composed a poem at the request of his father who was entertaining friends in his garden of blooming plum-trees.

The moonlight is as sun-reflecting snow,
The plum-blooms are like to the shining stars ;
How beautiful upon the water
The quivering shadows of the shining stars,
While all the garden fills with sweet perfume !

At the age of eighteen he entered the Monjoin, a private school established for the family by his great-grandfather within the grounds of the University. After receiving his first degree, in 867, he was made Provincial Governor of Shimosuke and, in 870, passed the highest civil service examination. The following year he was made an official of the Department of Home Affairs. In 877, he received the degree of doctor of letters and was made an official of the Imperial Household, being at the same time president of his family school, the Monjoin. His political advancement was rapid until he incurred the enmity of the Fujiwara family which at the time held the

monopoly of every court position from that of Empress down. In spite of retirement to the governorship of Sanuki in the Province of Shikoku, upon the death of the Premier Fujiwara-Mototsugu, he continued to increase in influence, his daughter having been received as an Imperial consort and himself considered for the office of premier. Again by slander which availed itself of the superstition concerning an eclipse, he was accused of treason for the sake of enthroning his grandson, and degraded to the Governor-generalship of Kyushu, narrowly escaping assassination upon his journey to that province.

He died an exile from the Court in 903 ; but twenty years later his honor was restored and his sons recalled. The rank which was denied him in life was accorded him in death ; and in the reign of Murakami (947-968) a shrine to his spirit was erected. Thereafter on the twenty-fifth of each February, a messenger of the Emperor bears royal offerings to the patriot statesman and scholar who sought to free the throne from the shameful dominance of an aggressive family. During his presidency over the Monjoin and his connection with the Imperial University, as head of the Department of Education, he not only had many pupils under him but also established schools in

various sections of the country, sending to them many of his own pupils to be teachers at his own expense. His own scholarship was evidenced in the writing of histories and in poetic literature. He was recognized as the first real organizer of education in Japan, and later gained the name of Father of National Education.

The present temple to his honor is an attractive building surrounded by gardens in which bloom in great abundance the plum trees of which he was so fond. At the time of festivals it is thronged by those who come for pleasure and to pay respect to the spirit of one who, according to the present high priest, is revered primarily for his aid in loyal and patriotic endeavor and secondarily for his fostering interest in literary pursuits.

From the beginning of the eleventh century, education received less and less attention on the part of the central government or the clans. Centuries of turbulence followed and forms of military training were developed; but for general culture the Kamakura Period (1186-1332), the Muromachi Period (1333-1573), and the Sengoku Period (1573-1615) form the dark ages. During the Kamakura Period, while Kyoto retained a form of effeminate culture among the nobility, the more vital training of the now dominant military class was motivated

and guided from Kamakura where the Regents held the actual sovereignty. Schools as such ceased to be ; and popular education, such as given in the Sogei Shuchiin, was discontinued. The buildings of the Imperial University in Kyoto were reduced to ashes in the great fire of 1177, and intellectual culture throughout the Empire reached a low ebb.

In the Muromachi Period likewise military influence prevailed ; but the members of the Ashikaga family which then held the Shogunate were patrons of a school for the training of its own sons. Its founding is obscure. It may have been a survival of an old Kokugaku or Provincial School, or it may have been originally established by Ashikaga-Yoshikane. In 1439, Uyesugi-Norizane, Governor-General of the Kwanto, wishing to make the school more worthy as it bore the Shogunate name, contributed land, gathered a library and called Kwaigen, the abbott of Engakuji at Kamakura, to be master of the school. Kwaigen was an able man and made the school a centre of increasing influence. The son and grandson of Morizane, who succeeded him, continued his educational policy ; and the school remained in the control of the priesthood. Of the books belonging to the library of this school those of the Sō or Sung dynasty are considered to have been the

most precious. At the time of Xavier's coming to Japan, in 1549, the school ranked high ; and is mentioned in his letters as one of the three great universities, Hiei, Kōya and Ashikaga, to which priests went in great numbers for the study of their sacred writings and the Chinese Classics. Xavier appears to have been much impressed by the intelligence of the Japanese, by their ability to read and write, and by the reports of their schools which yet were not to be ranked in systematic instruction with the schools of Europe. Frois, who came to Japan in 1563, also writes of Ashikaga as the location of a university.

During the Tokugawa Period the school attracted little attention, though it evidently was continued as a school for priests ; but the head of the clan, Tadayuki, in the first year of Meiji (1868), petitioned for its restoration and was allowed to open its lectures to the children of the clan to whom he gave dormitory privileges and to the older students, ¥1.50 a month. He fostered local primary schools conducted privately and allowed the children of the common people as well as of the Samurai to attend the clan school, sending some of the best to Yedo for Western learning and permitting others interested in classical study to attend the schools of other clans at their own or at the clan's expense.

At the risk of again anticipating chapters of later history, attention may here be given to another institution which through the dark ages fostered learning as did the monasteries and their libraries through the Dark Ages of Europe. In connection with Shomyoji, a Buddhist Temple in Kurakigun, Musashi Province, Sanetoki Hojo, the Governor of Echigo, established a library in the later part of the Kamakura Period, about 1270. The institution flourished under three generations of patrons and collected a large mass of valuable literary material. A map of the temple (1323) shows three buildings in the "Library Valley" back of the temple. Though called a library, this was also a school and exercised a wide influence through its collection of writings, both Japanese and Chinese. In 1602 it was moved to Fujimi Tei, south of Edo castle, by Shogun Ieyasu Tokugawa; and over four hundred volumes of its books are still extant in the Naikaku or Cabinet Library in Tokyo.

CHAPTER III

THE GOVERNMENT SYSTEM OF EDUCATION (1603-1868)

FIVE hundred years of unrest, of civil strife and anarchy were brought to a close by successive efforts of genius on the part of Nobunaga (1533-1583), Hideyoshi, the Taiko, (1536-1598) and Iyeyasu (1542-1616) who established the House of Tokugawa in the Shogunate to rule the land for two hundred and fifty years. Interesting as is this period of political confusion to the student of general or of social history, and astonishing as are its accomplishments in art, it has nothing to contribute to the story of education as fostered by the government. As we shall have occasion to see later, education had not ceased to exist; but it flourished only in the retirement of temples and under the fostering care of those who escaped the enervating luxury of the Court on the one hand, and the rude might of unorganized soldiery on the other. The slender thread of literary culture was held unbroken by Buddhist priests who made

their abiding place a school and gathered into careful keeping books that would otherwise have been lost. To a study of individual efforts during this period we shall return ; but for the present pass to the period when again government took an interest in schools and their instruction.

The story of Hideyoshi is the story of a determined will, the most masterly, perhaps, that Japan has yet produced. To him in large measure Nobunaga owed the success with which he rose from a petty lordship over the Province of Owari to the control of the entire Central Section of Japan. Nobunaga in 1582, was overpowered in an assault of an offended follower (Mitsuhide) and forced to committed suicide. Hideyoshi caused Sambōshi, an infant grandson of Nobunaga, to succeed him ; and, rapidly overcoming all resistance, had himself declared Regent and put an end to the nominal Shogunate of the deposed Ashikaga. In 1592 he caused himself to be proclaimed Taiko ; and before his death, in 1598 had established his authority over the entire country. To Tokugawa-Iyeyasu, the ablest and most powerful of his barons, he sought to entrust the interests of his reputed son, Hideyori ; but the responsibility was declined ; and the charge of the child, together with the administration of the government, was given to a Board of five Regents of whom Iyeyasu was

one. As might have been foreseen, as Iyeyasu clearly did foresee, such an arrangement could not long endure. Mutual jealousies, plots and counter-plots, led to the battle of Sekigahara, October 21st, 1600, in which Iyeyasu gained a determining victory. This battle, while not the last in establishing the House of Tokugawa, saved Japan from falling back into the turbulence from which Hideyoshi had lifted it, and, perchance, from foreign domination. By rearranging the feudal map of Japan, Iyeyasu insured control of the country; and in 1603 caused himself to be declared Shogun in the line of the last of the Ashikaga House who, deposed by Nobunaga in 1593, had died in 1597. Within three years he resigned and had his son, Hidetada, appointed his successor; but in true Japanese fashion continued to be the real power guiding the administration which he had instituted to a position of unquestioned stability. This consummation was accomplished in part by the Great Osaka Struggle of 1615 in which, on faked charges and because of real ability but recently recognized, the son of the Taiko was conquered, leaving none to dispute the supremacy with the House of Tokugawa. All of these changes were wrought without regard for the Emperor but in his name and with his formal sanction to each completed move.

That by which the Tokugawa Shogunate stands characterized in the minds of most Europeans is the policy of exclusion and seclusion which was broken only at the Restoration of 1868. This is unfortunate, for, however large a part in influencing the development of Japan that policy may have had, it was not the original policy of the House but rather one forced upon it by dangers against which the country could not cope openly. That which Iyeyasu desired was foreign trade and foreign instruction for his subjects in matters of practical utility. Against ethical and religious influences, as such, he had no antagonism. But the foreign influences then beating upon Japan were European ; and it was a time when the entrance of Europe meant exploitation and political domination. Oriental as the Japanese may be, their thought, here as always, was directed to the practical ; and the policy adopted was one made necessary for self-preservation against the Occidental Nations which, then in ways more offensive if no less effective than now, sought territorial rights under the flag of discovery as though to such belonged the spoils of government and trade. To consider here the jealousy between Christian Sects, the plots between rival commercial powers, and the undoubted political intrigue which led to the full rigor of expulsion

and persecution would lead us far from the theme of our study, and is furthermore less necessary since thus the country was saved from a second conquest by foreign ideas and allowed a long period of seclusion in which to develop an intellectual life of its own, still unfortunately fettered by its early slavery to Chinese models.

For a view of the general attitude taken by the Tokugawa Shoguns to education I quote from Count Okuma, *Education under the Tokugawa Shogunate*.*

“The warlike disposition of Hideyoshi, the pacification of his own country, and his invasion of Korea, left him but little time to direct matters of interior administration. These were perforce left to his successor, Iyeyasu Tokugawa, who took a deep interest in the causes and effects of tranquility and disturbances, ancient and modern, and when establishing the Shogunate at Yedo, devised various executive measures which were put into practice under the third Shogun, Iyemitsu.

“Iyeyasu, though born in a time of great disorder, was both a student and a bibliophile, and much of the material for the administrative system which he built up was derived from old volumes and manuscripts. Immediately upon his elevation to the Shogunate he devoted

* Count Okuma: *Fifty Years of New Japan*. Vol. 2 p. 125 ff.

much time and effort to the printing and publishing of a number of Japanese and Chinese works. In his so-called 'Legacy' or 'Testament' it is stated that, the culture and learning of Japan being behind those of other countries, schools should be established in the interests of the country's reputation, and that, since from his youth to the assumption of the Shogunate, what he had always held most sacred was neither money nor jewels, but excellence of moral character, his descendants should carry out his intention by always observing the golden rule which says: 'Human happiness may naturally be found in learning and should be sought therein.' The measures he adopted for the encouragement of culture and learning were four, namely investigation of old books and documents, employment of learned men, establishment of schools and publication of books."

The history of modern education in Japan may be said to have begun in the year 1600. During the previous period of unrest all education had been included in the practical training of the warrior; but with the establishment of a settled government, a literary revival occurred and a broader culture. Hideyoshi's conquest of Korea and vision of continental expansion gave a new interest to foreign ideas. Books and types were imported.

European intercourse through traders and missionaries increased ; and there appeared great promise of a second awakening in which the sense of individualism, developed during the so-called Dark Ages, might expand. But the later policy of the Shogunate as determined by Iyeyasu, who feared the disintegration of Shogunate authority under the influence of freedom-inciting ideas, checked this movement and directed all its energies along the lines of stereotyped Chinese culture, holding liberty of study a peril to the Imperial House and more particularly to the supremacy of his own successors. So that almost from the start the education fostered by the government was conservative and orthodox along Chinese ideals even as a similar set had been given at the time of the first awakening.

An injunction known as the Kansei injunction, promulgated in the Kansei Era, drew a clear line of demarcation between the government schools and all not in accord with them. The opposition reached even to persecution as when Sokō Yamaka (1622-1685), a professor of military tactics and literature to whom flocked thousands of students in Yedo, was banished to his clan on the ground of his having written an evil book, the *Seikyo Yoroku* (1666), not in accord with the officially recognized interpretations of the Sage.

The years of the Shogunate were by no means years of intellectual stagnation ; but they were years in which, consciously or unconsciously, a government system of education worked against the free thinking of independent scholars, and held in check native instincts which in their growth nevertheless prepared the way for the overthrow of the usurping Shogunate and the Restoration of 1868. "The last half of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed in Japan unusual intellectual activity. The long peace and prosperity of the country under the rule of the Tokugawa Shoguns had fostered in every way the growth of literature and art. The Shoguns from policy or from taste, either to find a harmless vent for the restless spirit of the Samurai or from pure love of learning, had been constant patrons of literature. The Daimyo too, as a means of spending leisure hours, when not out hawking or revelling with their mistresses, gave no inattentive ear to the readings and lectures of learned men."* According to a Japanese writer upon Educational History,† Iyeyasu after the battle of Sekigahara (1592) was anxious to preserve the feudal government through future generations and

* Dr. Iyenaga : Constitutional Development of Japan Chapter II p. 2, as quoted by Dr. Uyehara.

† Tatsuzō Yokoyama : History of Modern Education in Japan.

encouraged education to enlighten the people so that social order might be maintained. The advice of the Yedo Government to the Imperial Court at Kyoto : " education should be the first concern of the Emperor," was intended to keep the Emperor and the nobles busy in study and allow them no time to think of political matters ; and the instructions given Samurai : " give heed to literature, tactics, archery, and horsemanship," was intended to preserve peace and maintain order.

Though long successful, this policy of fostering education in chains wrought its own destruction. To those educated under the influence of Confucianism, doubts of the Shogun's rightful authority presented themselves. These doubts led to historic research with the result that a growing body of patriots stood ready at any opportunity to rise in behalf of the nominal, that he might be more nearly the actual sovereign of the land. At the risk of anticipating, it may be said that the downfall of the Shogunate was due to the force of a movement in accord with the instincts of the race to which the pressure of American insistence formed but an occasion. It was a return to the old which, when wrought out in practice, necessitated an advance in the new which its chief advocates little foresaw or desired.

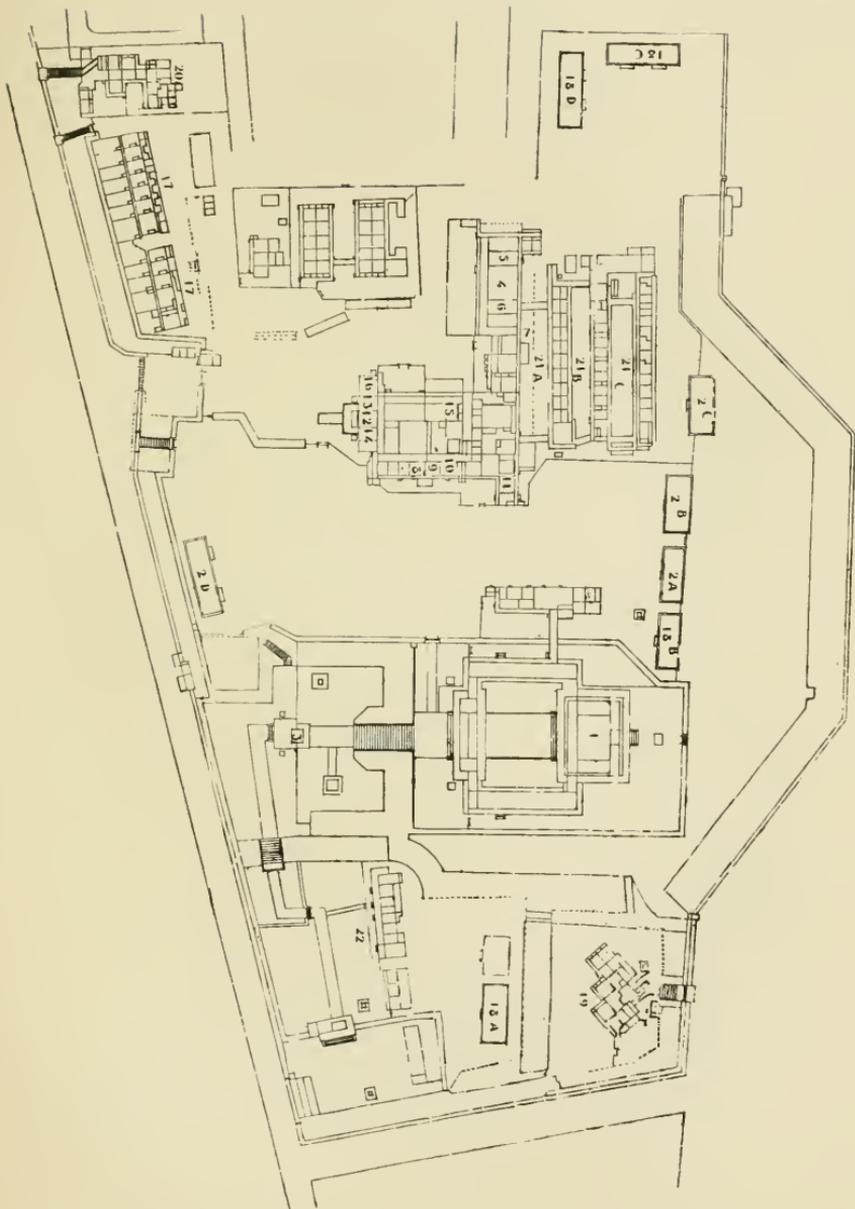
Turning now to the forms and institutions of education fostered by the Shogunate Government, we find an Hereditary Minister of Education in the Hayashi Family exercising authority over all intellectual activity and strictly checking such as might endanger the Shogunate, while greatly fostering such as would strengthen it and constantly occupy in harmless ways the minds and bodies of the Court Circle and the military retainers. The Buddhist Priests by whom education had been cherished during the long period of its neglect by the government, now seem to have become strangely weakened by their increasing wealth, and again education passed almost entirely under the control of Confucian scholars, entirely so as far as government education was concerned.

In 1601 Iyeyasu is said to have built a school called Enkōji at Fushimi near Kyoto; and in 1603, the year of his proclamation as Shogun, he sanctioned public lectures upon the Chinese Classics. Two years later he engaged Hayashi Dōshun (1583-1657) as historical counsellor in Nijō Palace, Kyoto; and from Doshun himself we have some idea of what his lectures before the Shogun may have been. "I was asked," he says, "many questions concerning Chinese rulers. I answered the questions by

SHOGUNATE SHOHEI SCHOOL (1844)

INDEX OF MAP.

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| 1. Confucian Shrine. | 13. West Waiting Room. |
| 2. (A.B.C.D.) Libraries. | 14. East Waiting Room. |
| 3. Gate entering the shrine. | 15. Nobles' Room. |
| 4. Lecture Hall. | 16. Guard Office. |
| 5. Lecturers' Platform. | 17. Officers' Barracks. |
| 6. Reading Room. | 18. (A.B.) Store-house for ceremonial regalia and equipment. |
| 7. Book Office. | 18. (C.D.) Store-house for official papers. |
| 8. Lecture Rooms for those of lower rank. | 19-20. Official Residences. |
| 9. Lecture Room for those of medium rank. | 21. (A.B.C.) Dormitory. |
| 10. Lecture Room for those of higher rank. | 22. Lavatories. |
| 11. Waiting Room. | |
| 12. Porch. | |



descriptive anecdotes about the rulers and sages. My answers seemed to gratify him, and he praised my wonderful memory.”*

In 1630 Shogun Iyemitsu gave a grant of land in Yedo to this Doshun for a school which, though private, was the beginning from which grew the government Shohei school. This was in what is now known as Uyeno Park, Tokyo. In 1632 Yoshinao, Lord of Owari, built a Confucian Temple in connection with the school and furnished it with sacred images and ceremonial vessels. Here in April, 1633, the first ceremony was held. The priests and officers attended in full regalia. The Shogun Iyemitsu was present and at his request Doshun lectured. The same year the Shogun furnished material and ordered Doshun to construct a private study. In 1634, at the second sacred ceremony, Doshun lectured exegetically from the first chapter of the Confucian Analects, thus beginning a custom of public lecturing thereafter most common. In the great fire of 1657 the school was burned, and its library of over one thousand books was destroyed. Toward the restoration of the

* In connection with this, as with all schools under the patronage of the government, the Sage's Hall, dedicated to Confucius, was of central importance. At first no images but paintings only were enshrined, though later, probably under Buddhist influence, images were often installed.

library the government gave sixty sets of books and five hundred pieces of gold. Within a few years books to the number of twenty thousand were catalogued.

In 1663 the name Kobunin was given to the institution; and in 1664 a department of history was opened during study in which students were given aid. In 1672 the government provided four additional halls, and increased the support given to students. The students in 1675 numbered thirty-eight, ranging in age from sixteen to forty-seven years. They were graded according to ability in first, second, and third ranks, few being enrolled in the first rank in any subject, and none reported as above the third rank in Confucian Classics.

In 1687 the head of the school was given an official title; and in 1690 the school was moved to Shoheizaka, being made an acknowledged school of the government under the name of the Shohei School. From this time it stood as the orthodox centre of education, teaching the Confucian philosophy as interpreted by Shushi.

Tsunayoshi, the fifth Shogun (1681-1709), was an enthusiast and under him, as we have just noted, the

private school of the Hayashi family was made a government institution. It is said that for eight years thereafter not a single day passed without lectures at which some passage of the Classics was expounded by scholars or priests in his employ. A memorial hall, or Confucian Temple, was dedicated at the school in 1691; and in the same year the Shogun in person conducted memorial services for Confucius before several hundred of the leading scholars and officers of his court. He also gave official recognition to Confucian teachers as a class distinct from the Buddhist Priests with whom they had been previously rated. This marked the growing ascendancy of the Confucian scholars in all matters of official education.

During the middle of the eighteenth century this university school of the Shogunate suffered decline; but toward the close of the century, under Ritsuzan as minister of education, the school was remodelled, Hayashi Iyussai appointed president and, in 1792 extensive repairs having been completed, additional scholars were called to its faculty. The school remained strongly classical, teaching the exegesis and exposition of the Confucian Classics, history and composition. The students were obliged to live in the school dormitories under the super-

intendence of monitors. They were forbidden to discuss current affairs or to consider heretical views of philosophy, which meant of government. In the annual examinations the students were called upon to read and explain selected passages before the president, teachers and certain officials.

In 1797 the school was further modified ; and now only the immediate vassals of the Tokugawa House were admitted as regular students while the retainers of different clans were enrolled as special students. The regular students were supported by the government ; and by this concentration of education upon the members of the Tokugawa vassallage it was hoped to turn out loyal officials and leaders to support the Shogunate which seemed in danger of deterioration. Management and discipline became increasingly strict and a genuine effort seems to have been made to increase the efficiency of instruction along purely classical lines however.

This narrow exclusiveness defeated its own ends, and further developed in opposition the schools of the various clans not in full sympathy with the House of Tokugawa, while from its own special students arose many of the reformers who prepared the way for the Meiji Restoration.

The military training which had developed spontaneously among the samurai was not neglected in the established schools. All were provided with grounds for archery and for the practice of horsemanship to which was added special instruction given by skilled teachers at their own homes. Military science was taught according to Chinese principles, but its teachers often possessed merely theoretical knowledge quite unable to cope with that of those having a genius for handling troops.

Nobunaga, when striving for supremacy, is said to have constantly drilled his followers and given them "special courses of instruction in sword and spear exercise. The best teachers that could be found were taken into the baron's employ; and his retainers vied with each other as to who should make the most progress." Walter Dening, in his life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi from which this is quoted, gives some little insight into the military methods of the period. Nobunaga was accustomed to the use of the eighteen-foot spear; and one day a dispute arose between Hideyoshi, then a rising follower of Nobunaga, and Mondo, Nobunaga's professional instructor in the use of the spear, who favored the shorter weapon. As it seemed likely

to result in no valuable conclusion, Nobunaga said " You two may go on far like this without settling anything. Suppose we put the matter to a practical test. Do you each take command of fifty soldiers and for three days let them be instructed in the use of your respective spears, after which you shall all meet and fence, and we will see who get the best of it."* The outcome justified the use of the long spear, but only through the skillful handling of troops by young Hideyoshi who on later occasions also made theoretical knowledge, however accurate, yield to that ability which mastered the circumstances and shaped resources accordingly.

But during the years of peace after the establishment of the Shogunate, military training became less and less vital and more a matter of tradition, though never dropping entirely into neglect, so strong were the influences of earlier ideals.

Returning now to the work of Shogun Tsunayoshi (1681-1709), by whom the Shohei school was made a government university, we find that in his intercourse with the lords and vassals he greatly fostered the spread of Chinese culture, making it almost obligatory that nobles should maintain scholars at their local courts and

* Walter Dening: *The Life of Toyotomi Hideyoshi*. Tokyo, 1906.

open schools for lectures. Thus the samurai class as a whole was led to associate literary culture with military training.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century, under the rule of Iyenari, education met further encouragement. Matsudaira-Sadanobu was premier and, being a scholar interested in education, associated scholars with him, and strengthened the clans in their purpose of local education, unwittingly it may be, through the policy of exclusion then fostered by the government university.

The Japanese are fond of travel. Within the boundaries of their native land, all places are in a very real sense "home"; and perhaps among no other people has the wandering spirit reached a higher expression within certain limits or wrought more powerfully for the unification of the race and ultimately of the nation. During the period of the first great awakening students, as we saw, young and old, dared danger real and imaginary for the sake of educational opportunity in China; and now to a marked extent the wandering spirit seems to have wrought in the disseminating of knowledge and in preparation for the still greater awakening of the last half century. "The rulers of different clans vied with each other in their eagerness to take into their service literati of fame and

profound learning, and the centres of erudition and culture gravitated to localities where the greatest number were domiciled, nor were there any artificial barriers placed in the path of learning. . . . Students flocked to any locality where noted literati lived, either to Kyoto or the capital of a fief, and instances were not rare of students from the northernmost province of Oshu migrating to the southern island of Kyushu. Among Buddhist priests it was an important part of their theological studies to travel the country in order to cultivate their mind and intellect; and there were not a few whose footsteps can be traced in every part of the Empire."*

The clan schools, which toward the close of the Shogunate numbered not far from two hundred and fifty, were encouraged by the central government in proportion as they were in harmony with its principles as expressed through the Shohei School; but many were strengthened in opposition thereto by the government's narrow and exclusive policy. The subjects taught were not particularly different from those in the Shogunate School, Chinese being given the first place in most while military arts were taught and practiced in all. Tuition was free to sons of the samurai within the clan. Examinations

* Okuma: Fifty Years of New Japan. Vol 2 Chap. XII

were conducted monthly by the teachers and semi-annually by high officials of the clan government. Prominent among the clan schools were the Kodokwan of Mito, the Meirinkwan of Hagi, the Jishukwan of Kumamoto, the Kojokwan of Yonezawa, the Zoshikwan of Kagoshima, the Yokendo of Sendai and the Clan School of Okayama.

The Okayama School flourished for the fifty years following 1790. It occupied a total area of 46,400 sq. yards; and for its support, during at least a part of the period, the Shogun granted annually about 5000 bushels of rice. The students for the most part lived in the school dormitories under the oversight of monitors. Each dormitory accommodated between forty and fifty students. At first only the children of the immediate vassals were admitted. Later others of samurai rank were allowed to attend; but none from the priestly, citizen or merchant classes were admitted except as day students on terms of self-support. Applications for admission had to be renewed annually.

Lectures in the central lecture hall were given on the *ichi-roku* (one-six) days, and on the *ni-shichi* (two-seven) days the pupils met for discussion of passages from the Classics under the direction of one of the teachers. In

the dormitories from time to time the students held less formal lecture meetings to which all the members of the school were invited; and in one of the dormitories for a time moral lectures were given daily as a kind of school extension to which the common people were invited.

The Kagoshima Zoshikwan was one of the few clan schools which, through varying changes and periods of inactivity, have survived at least in name to the present time. This school was founded by Shimadzu-Jūgo, the head of the clan, in 1773, in accord with the plan of a still earlier daimyo. He endowed the school that it might long continue and sought to make it a source of real ability for the service of the clan. The sons of samurai whether from the city or country were admitted and even the sons of the tradesmen and inferior vassals might occupy the lowest seats in the school hall.

The hall of this school, with a shrine to Confucius, was situated in the southern part of the city, having also an enclosure for military exercises. It was dedicated in the month of August, 1773, with Confucian ceremonies in the presence of the daimyo. Each year at the beginning of Autumn the Confucian ceremony called *Seki-Sai-no-Ten* was held. Of the nature of these ceremonies little is known. The name implies that offerings of water

cess were presented. Ceremonies of *Seki-Ten* and *Seki-Sai-no-Ten* were introduced into Japan, according to the *Nihongi*, during the reign of the Emperor Mombu (697-708). They were observed in both government and private schools, and were further perfected by the students returning from China. Neglected during the dark ages, they were revived under the Tokugawa Shogunate; and drawings are extant showing the elaborate processions that took part in the official observance, when the pictures of Confucius and attendant sages were honored.

At the opening of the Zoshikwan rules were posted in the school hall to the following effect :

- (1) The text books employed shall be the Shisho, the Gokyo, the Shogaku, and the Kinshiroku.
- (2) The standard of interpretation shall be that of the Chinese sage, Teishu.
- (3) Students shall not argue, placing their own interpretation against the accepted interpretation of the school.
- (4) Students shall be polite and diligent in study, avoiding frivolity.
- (5) Students shall consult upon questions of difficulty but yield to recognized explanation. They

shall not debate concerning ancient teachings and the opinions of the sages.

- (6) Ability should be honored, not jealously treated.
- (7) Even the poor, if earnest in study, shall be admitted to the school.
- (8) Respect shall be paid to all paper bearing the written character, and care shall be taken against fire.

In addition to the professor in charge, there were assistant teachers and tutors whose duty it was to read the Classics before the students. Boarding and day students were in attendance to the number of several hundred. School opened at ten in the morning, or at twelve upon the days when the Classics were to be construed, and closed at two in the afternoon. Twice each month clearly written exercises were to be prepared and submitted to the teacher. Teachers were instructed to teach with care to the students' understanding, yet with dignity exacting strict obedience. They were instructed to prepare outlines of their lectures in writing; and, on fixed days to hold public disputations. These disputations were considered most important; and in addition free debate was allowed to the teachers in the hall.

During the later years of the Shogunate the school suffered decline ; but in 1854, Nariakira became daimyo of the province. He was an earnest, able man who laid great emphasis upon education and in 1854 published new regulations urging the practice of virtue as taught in the Classics with less regard to mere form. He personally frequented the school, calling upon the students unexpectedly to interpret before him the meaning of their texts. To the best students he gave prizes and promotion ; and to the needy allotted four *koku* of rice a year. In villages he established schools and ordered the Zoshikwan teachers in turn to teach in them. In March, 1856, he issued further instructions, encouraging the study of the Dutch language and arranging for the examination and support of students wishing to study at the Capitol. He was broad-minded and began within his province a new educational era, setting as the ideal of education : to master self, to rule one's home, to preserve national peace, and to trust the Universal Power.

He deemed education without morality to be nonsense ; and warned the students lest the study of the Classics weaken their loyalty, saying that the teaching of Confucius supported the Shinto Faith. He ruled the province only eight years ; and the confusion attendant

upon the Satsuma rebellion destroyed the old school records ; but evidence is clear to show the influence of the school both in the early and in the later years of the Shogunate and in the years of Meiji, until in 1888 the Seventh Government College was established in Kago-shima and given the name Zoshikwan.

The Kodokwan at Mito was typical of the best of the Clan Schools, standing independent and in some ways opposed to the central Shogunate Government. Founded by Mitsukuni and noted for its intensely patriotic and nationalistic spirit, it was unique in placing its emphasis on Japanese classical literature and regarding the Chinese as secondary. Here originated the "Dai Nihon Shi", History of the Japanese Empire. This school and especially this history were powerfully influential in arousing national consciousness and in impressing the people with the unique character of their nation under the rule of an unbroken dynasty.

This independence and loyalty to the legitimate authority of the throne, as established by historical research, is the more remarkable as the rule of the Mito Clan was in the hands of Tokugawa Princes. "When Iyeyasu, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, made a rearrangement of daimyates for political purposes

. . . . the Mito principality was given to a member of Iyeyasu's own family of Tokugawa. . . . But the second of the Tokugawa princes of Mito, a contemporary of Iyemitsu, was an intense admirer of the principles of legitimacy, and in spite of all private and family considerations which ought to have inclined him to be a staunch supporter of the Tokugawa Shogunate, he remained firmly convinced that the Emperor, virtually imprisoned at Kyoto, was the person who ought to rule. This was in the end of the seventeenth century. There was at that time no hope of altering the *status quo*, but the Mito prince appealed to history. He established at Mito a historiographical bureau to undertake the composition of a monumental history of Japan. This bureau commenced its labors in 1675; it finished them in 1707, when the history was completed and presented to His Majesty and the bureau abolished."

The authority of this school in matters of history seems to have overawed the Shogunate leaders even from the first. About 1663, Hayashi-Jo, head of the school that came to be recognized as the official school of the government, undertook a history of Japan commencing with the reign of Emperor Jimmu. This history was completed in about seven years by the united labors of

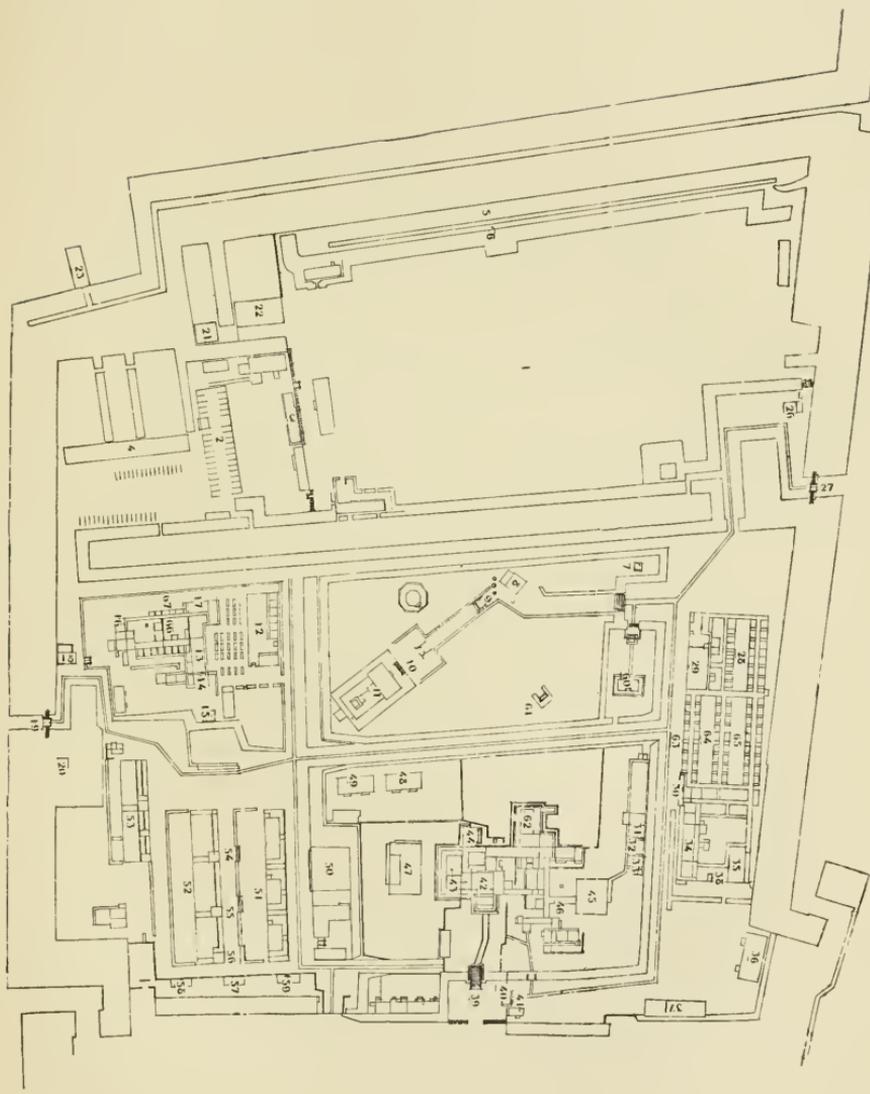
Hayashi, his two sons and thirty assistants of his own training all under government pay. Before publication, the work was submitted to the judgment of three princes, those of Owari, Kii and Mito. Of these Mitsukuni, of Mito, condemned it as lacking in loyalty in its treatment of the Imperial Founder and the line of his Descendants. That history was never published ; but it may have given the final incentive to the composition of the Mito history which we have mentioned as having been begun by the Mito scholars in 1670.

From the *Nihon Kyoikushi Shiryo* (Materials for the History of Japanese Education), the following may be gleaned concerning this school. Its main buildings covered 12312 *tsubo* of land ; and its offices 2057 *tsubo*. 320 *tsubo* served as grounds within the compound and outside there were 3024 *tsubo*. In 1793 the salaries of teachers were reckoned as 1523 *koku* of rice and in 1801 as 3000 *koku*. Students met for study on the *ni-shichi* (two-seven) days, beginning at five o'clock in the morning. During the period of examinations a day was assigned to each subject ; the *Shogaku*, (the Four Books) the Five Classics, History, and Essay writing. Prizes were given in the form of sheets of Chinese paper for the younger children and of cloth for the older students.

MAP OF MITO CLAN SCHOOL (KODOKWAN)

INDEX OF MAP.

1. Field for Horse Practice, and Military Exercise.
2. Stable.
3. Office for Stablemen.
4. Archery Grounds.
5. Riding Ground.
6. Race Course.
7. Bell Tower.
8. Hall for Kagura.
9. Wells.
10. Gate to Shrine.
11. Kashima Shrine. (Shinto)
12. Stable.
13. Lecture Hall.
- 14-15. Pharmacy.
16. Infirmary.
17. Room for the Study of Dutch.
18. Guard house.
19. Gate.
20. Observatory.
21. Gunnery.
22. Military Factory.
23. Guard.
24. Guard.
25. Guard House.
26. Guard House.
27. Gate.
28. Dormitory.
29. Lecture Hall.
30. Porch.
31. Music Room.
32. Military Science.
33. Poetry Room.
34. Editorial Room.
35. Reading Room.
- 36-37. Store House.
38. Recorders' Room.
39. Entrance Gate.
40. Gate for common entrance.
41. Guard.
42. Entrance Room.
43. Officers' Rooms.
44. Bath.
45. Kitchen
46. Passage.
47. Archery and Fencing Ground.
- 48-49. Store Houses.
50. Water Tank.
- 51-52-53. Military Halls.
- 54-59. Sheds.
60. Confucian Temple.
61. Sacred Stone.
62. Confucian Halls.
- 63-67. Dormitories.



CHAPTER IV.

INDIVIDUAL EFFORT IN EDUCATION

THE government system of education, as we have seen, was aristocratic in its ideal, seeking only to train the few, and those few of an hereditary class, to perform the duties of government in accord with principles adopted for the most part from China. Even for this the schools maintained by the government were not sufficient; and during the ninth century leading families, particularly ambitious for their sons, established schools where their own children and the children of those closely associated might be trained. This was encouraged by the government and apparently no particular favoritism was shown to students of the government institutions during this early period.

The oldest of these private schools was the Kobun-in founded by Wake-no-Hiroyo, near the beginning of the ninth century, in fulfilment of a plan already formulated by his father, Wake-no-Kiyomaro. This school was situated in Kyoto near the southern end of the Govern-

ment University. It came to possess a library of several thousand books, and, for endowment, forty *cho* of land, one half of which is said to have been given by its founder together with a part of his own residence. Other schools were established during the century: the Kwangakuin located at Sanjo by the Fujiwara Family (821 A. D.); the Junnain, by the Minamoto Family which also maintained the Shogakuin (844 A.D.); and the Gakkwanin by the Tachibana Family under the patronage of the Empress Saga (850 A. D.); but of these scarcely more than the names are known, together with the general fact that all were strictly limited to pupils from the circle of the respective families. The only school of the period open to the common people and for a more general education was the Sogei Shuchiin, founded by Kūkai, a Buddhist priest, in 828 A.D. at Kujo-Horikawa.

Real education is ever the act of men rather than of systems. History has been declared to be the record of great men; and the history of education may as truly be called the record of great teachers. These great teachers may or may not have presided over institutions and taught in class-rooms; but in every case they have been men of marked individuality which gave life to that which they taught, whether in class-room or field, whether as installed

instructors or wandering sages. Among no people has the power of personality counted for more than among the Japanese, for, while the family and not the individual is the unit of their society, they are essentially hero-worshippers; and abstract philosophy apart from its interpretation in life has never for long claimed their allegiance. In this chapter, therefore, it is my purpose to set forth the effort on behalf of education made by individuals rather apart from than in connection with the government system.

Kūkai, better known by his later name—Kōbō Daishi, the great teacher who spreads the law, was a Buddhist priest born in 774 A.D. In the tenth year of the Enryaku Era (791) an Imperial Edict urged upon students the study of Chinese; and Kōbō Daishi was among those sent to China for residential study in 804. Upon his return he was greatly impressed with the fact that, whereas in China there were many schools for all who had the leisure to devote to study, in Japan there were only those maintained by the government. Moved by the desire to make the possibilities of education accessible to the common people, he established the Sogei Suchi-in or school of classical doctrine and intellectual culture for training in both Confucian and Buddhist thought. Among

the teachers were Buddhist priests, Confucian scholars and secular doctors. Its library included both Buddhist and Confucian books. Thus, whereas the government system was aristocratic in ideal and strictly Confucian in influence, the first school for the people, democratic in ideal as far as possible in that day and measurably eclectic in philosophy, was opened by a Buddhist priest.

We have seen how gradually Japan adopted the written symbols of the Chinese to express her own thought; but we cannot realize the enormous difficulty of the undertaking. Because of this difficulty in using the Chinese characters, at a very early period certain simplifications were attempted for use as sound-expressing syllabaries.

Comparison with the Sanscrit affords evidence, conclusive to most, that these simplifications, following the order of the Sanscrit alphabet, were the work of scholars acquainted with that language. Such scholars were to be found only in the Buddhist priesthood; and Kōbō Daishi, skilled in the use of the brush with which Oriental characters are written, and known to have been a Sanscrit scholar, is popularly credited with perfecting if not with actually inventing the syllabary called *kata kana*.

This *kata kana** consists of forty-eight signs as follows :

ワ	ラ	ヤ	マ	ハ	ナ	タ	サ	カ	ア
wa	ra	ya	ma	ha	na	ta	sa	ka	a
キ	リ	イ	ミ	ヒ	ニ	チ	シ	キ	イ
wi	ri	i	mi	hi	ni	chi	shi	ki	i
ウ	ル	ユ	ム	フ	ヌ	ツ	ス	ク	ウ
u	ru	yu	mu	fu	nu	tsu	su	ku	u
エ	レ	エ	メ	ヘ	ネ	テ	セ	ケ	エ
we	re	ye	me	he	ne	te	se	ke	e
ヲ	ロ	ヨ	モ	ホ	ノ	ト	ソ	コ	オ
wo	ro	yo	mo	ho	no	to	so	ko	o

In addition to these, by the use of the so called *nigori*, are the following :

パ	バ	ダ	ザ	ガ
pa	ba	da	za	ga
ピ	ビ	ヂ	ジ	ギ
pi	bi	ji	ji	gi
プ	ブ	ヅ	ズ	グ
pu	bu	zu	zu	gu
ペ	ベ	デ	ゼ	ゲ
pe	be	de	ze	ge
ポ	ボ	ド	ゾ	ゴ
po	bo	do	zo	go

**Kata* side, from being formed from the side or part of a more complex character, or possibly from being used at the side of the ideograph to give the sound. *Kana* from *kari-na* borrowed name.

A second syllabary written cursively (*hira gana*) was also developed ; but in this there was great variety and a large number of signs which were reduced to a regulation form and number (48) only in recent times.

Though the part taken by Kōbō Daishi in the construction of the *kata kana* may be a matter of doubt, his interest in popular education gives good reason for the belief that he may have formulated them into the poetic composition known as the *iroha* by means of which even until to-day Japanese children find the task of learning them made more easy.

i ro ha ni ho he to
 chi ri nu ru wo
 wa ka yo ta re so
 tsu ne na ra mu
 u wi no o ku ya ma
 ke fu ko e te
 a sa ki yu me mi shi
 we hi mo se su.

or, connected in verbal form,

Iro wa nioedo
 Chirinuru wo
 Waga yo tare zo
 Tsune naramu

Ui no oku yama
 Kyo koete
 Asaki yume mishi
 Ei mo sezu.

Fragrant flowers are very sweet,
 But one day they will fade away.
 Who can say: This world's unchanging?
 Crossing o'er the Mount of Change to-day
 We shall find no dreaming nor illusion
 But enlightenment.*

Kōbō Daishi composed text-books also, making simple and practical the abstract doctrines of the schools. His Jitsuyokyo† (Practical Knowledge) long remained a text for elementary teaching in the primary schools which later developed for the education of the common people. It is a compilation of proverbs and aphoristic sayings embodying much practical wisdom, some of which approach the Poor Richard type. During the Dark Ages of Japanese History when political anarchy led the government to abandon all efforts for education, even as in Europe under similar circumstances, the monasteries

* Translation from "Messiah, the Ancestral Hope of the Ages."
 E. A. Gordon.

† For English Translation See Cornhill Mag. Aug. 15, 1876.

and temples constituted the shelter of learning and the only source from which it could be acquired. Though intended for the elementary teaching of the children of the neighborhood, these temple schools were, during this dark period, often attended by noblemen as well who went to practice penmanship; and still may be seen in large temples the *Daimyo tenari no ma*, the room in which certain *daimyo* learned penmanship. "The five principal monasteries of Kyoto and those of Kamakura were the centre not only of the Zen teaching but also of literature. The noted books published in and after the Kamakura period (1185-1332) were written almost entirely by priests; and general education may be said to have been only kept alive by the existence of monasteries where the children of military men received instruction."*

But these so-called temple schools (*terakoya*) were more often held in the "*anshitsu*" or retired cottage of the priest; and thus the name came to have the general significance of private primary school. The volumes of *Nihon Kyoikushi Shiryo* (Materials for the History of Japanese Education, compiled by the Educational Authorities) give the names of hundreds of these; but for

* Count Okuma: Fifty Years of New Japan Vol. II p. 122.

the most part only the names. They were often opened by public-spirited men or taught by *ronin*, soldiers of fortune, men for the time without feudal allegiance. Although in the later years, under the Tokugawa Shoguns many of whom were patrons of learning, the *terakoya* took on greater activity and were occasionally aided by the government, they remained essentially private schools, of worth largely according to the personality of their teachers and in general fostered from Buddhist and humanitarian rather than Confucian and governmental motives.

The *terakoya* were home schools; and the pupils, whether living from day to day with their teachers or returning to their parents at night, were as the children of a common father. They usually entered at the age of six or seven. Lucky days were determined upon; and the *Terairi*, entrance to the temple, became an occasion of great importance when the father took his child and, with gifts of cake for the other pupils and of garments for the master, led him to the man who was to be for him more than a parent. There, kneeling and asking to be received under instruction, the child promised to obey in all things and to submit to punishment as might be necessary.

Such was the strength of the ties thus formed that often in later years grown men turned to the teachers of their youth who still felt it a sacred duty to guide and counsel. In schools of higher grade, afterward established, this remarkable bond is even more clearly to be noticed. The teacher was held in high regard by the parents and by the community, as this early beginning of democratic education was entered upon largely for love's sake. As such a service, it was esteemed; and tuition was never a question of dollars, for value received, but of good will and of gifts toward maintenance which recognized the element above price, even where the service was secured by a founder for a school in the neighborhood of his home.

Here attention may be called to a fact, perhaps not generally known. The Japanese, uncontaminated by a commercial age and race, shrinks from putting a material value to things spiritual; and recognizes in all service a plus for which no charge may be made and for which no price can be paid but which must, never the less, be met by that which shall express a like personal quality.

The feeling of the Japanese for a teacher, which is rapidly passing in this age when even such a calling leads to a salaried position and all is commercialized,

may still be seen in the attitude of an old school gentleman, however lowly, if perchance you have received his son into your home and care while he is being educated directly or indirectly under your influence. "Treat him as your own son; and punish him as may be necessary. He shall serve you in all ways; and obey you fully." Such will be the form of his committal to your authority and care; and to you from time to time will come expressions of regard in the way of gifts that are tokens of real but spiritual indebtedness.

The *terakoya* were co-educational; and women taught in some of them the arts of the household; but for the most part the girls had to go to some private home for lessons in sewing and such matters as were not taught to boys also. The school hours were from eight in the morning to two in the afternoon; during the summer from seven until twelve. There were no stated long vacations; but the first and the fifteenth of each month and the great Confucian festivals were kept as holidays. The children were taught in small groups, or classes, in turn until all had received instruction sometime during the day. While these groups, one by one, were being taught, the rest took care of themselves for the most part, and read or wrote in copy-books.

The informality of a home appears to have prevailed in many particulars ; and the children were let out if lessons had been prepared.

The copy-books, still preserved in some homes, were made of large sheets of strong paper which could be used repeatedly and hung out to dry when wet by the strokes of the brush. Exercise in the use of the brush occupied much of the children's time ; and, the object being to perfect the stroke, a clean surface was not required, since against the dull black which the books soon took on the lines of the damp brush could be clearly seen. In certain places smooth boards covered with red lacquer were used instead of paper. Upon their smooth surface the written characters were drawn and shown to the teacher who made necessary corrections. Then all being wiped off with a cloth, the attempt was repeated. Paper was used only once or twice a month upon the great test days. The copies set were the *iroha* syllables and then Chinese characters and maxims from classics or from the occasional edicts of the government. For girls, rules of convention and behaviour were often set as copy. Children of merchants and traders were taught the forms of business letter writing.

Texts for reading appear in these schools to have

been selected with more reference to common daily life than was the case in the government schools. Yet these were often full of references and quotations from Chinese sources. Some were compilations of maxims that passed as proverbs into the life of the people.

“Human ears are listening at the wall, speak no evil however secretly ; human eyes are looking from on high, do no wrong, however secretly.

“They that do good in secret shall be rewarded openly, the names of such shall shine forth.

“When a leopard leaveth his skin ; so should man dying leave a name.

“When thou crossest the frontier, ask first what is forbidden within it ; when thou visitest a country learn of its ways.

“He that studieth but with inattention is as a drunken man talking in his sleep ; and he that readeth many books yet readeth them but once is as a moneyless man hastening to market.”

During the years of the early Tokugawas printing became common and used to some extent for school texts. Arithmetic was taught through the elementary principles and the computation of interest, but only to the lower classes for the most part. According to tradition, a

teacher by the name of Mori was sent to China by Hideyoshi to study arithmetic ; and upon his return the use of the *soroban* or abacus was begun in the schools. There is evidence however of its earlier use, though when it was introduced from China is unknown. Arithmetic was not encouraged in the *terakoya* and least of all in the government schools, attended by the higher classes. The occupation of trade was unworthy a samurai and only the introduction of Western science and the touch of Western commerce made modern Japan realize its value. Even as late as 1835, Hyakusuke Fukuzawa, the father of Yukichi Fukuzawa, famed as the patron of Western practical learning, had a private tutor for his children who was preremptorily dismissed because he taught the multiplication tables. This man was an accountant in his lord's rice exchange and lived in a city even then the centre of trade, but his samurai pride forbade that his children should be trained to the temptations of such a calling. On the contrary, another samurai, who through hard experience had learned the value of that practical knowledge which makes a man independent, sent his sons secretly to a distant city that there in spite of the prevalent contempt for figures they might learn mathematics.

Ethical teaching about obedient children, loyal retainers and faithful women was given in the form of talks and stories as well as by set maxims. That which was to be expected of one appears to have been a strong impulsion. In one school the following were forbidden girls: Regard for personal beauty, regard for finery in dress, regard for delicacy of food, willfulness, calling boys bad names, gossip, pulling ears, telling tales, loud talking, and laughing at others.

Here and there, throughout the country were teachers of special influence, stamping their pupils with the mark of their own personality; but among the teachers who left lasting impress upon the development of the people none is more worthy of study than Nakae-Toju, popularly known as the sage of Omi. He was born in 1608 in a farmer's home in Ogawa, Omi, on the western shore of Lake Biwa, but brought up under the care of his grandfather, an attendant of Lord Kato in the Province of Shikoku. His ambition appears to have been fixed at the age of seven by reading from the Great Learning of Confucius the declaration that "from the Emperor to the commoner man's chief aim should be the right ordering of life." As a youth in the service of a feudal lord of that period his time was largely employed in military exercises, and his

study was of necessity by stealth. After the death of his grandfather and father (1625), he continued in the service of Lord Kato, though often asking for release that he might return to the care of his now lonely mother. At the age of twenty-seven he felt it his duty to break from his service; and the remaining fifteen years of his life were the years of contribution to education.

In the letter which he left to explain his departure from the service of Lord Kato, he says: "I petitioned for release in part because my poor health prevents me from serving my lord as well as my associates can, and in part because my mother has for ten years lived a lonely life with no one to comfort her. My lord can hire any number of servants such as I, but I am her only son and support. She cannot trust any of her relatives. She pines for me and more than once she has been at the verge of starvation. Last year I planned to bring her hither, but she was too old and feeble to stand the journey, for she can hardly walk. Moreover, being a woman, she cannot bear to go so far from her old home. —So I am set on going home to ease her last years. I will return and serve my lord again after she passes away. This is my only motive in deserting, If I have told any lie in this letter Heaven will surely punish

me, and will not let me meet my mother in the next world.”*

From Shikoku he returned to his native village, to labor and poverty, giving his time increasingly to teaching the children of the community, having opened a school almost at once upon his return. At the age of thirty-three his philosophy became clearly that of the Yang Ming school with its monistic conception of the universe and its practical teachings. We have seen how under the education fostered by Iyemitsu (1623-1649) and Tsunayoshi (1681-1708) the philosophy of Confucius as formulated by Chu Hi became official orthodoxy in Japan. Over against this of the government schools, the interpretation of the Yang Ming type, known as the Oyomei, exerted a strong influence. Oyomei is the Japanese reading of the name Wang Yang Ming (1472-1528), the great Chinese protestant against the scholasticism of the Chu Hi Confucianists. Of this Oyomei system Dr. Griffis says: “Opposed to this Neo-Confucianism was the Oyomei system of philosophy, founded not on a late recasting, which had hardened after five hundred years into scholasticism, but on a re-reading

* From an article by G. M. Fisher in Publications of the Asiatic Society. Vol. XXXVI Part 1.

of original texts. It identified knowledge and action. In its modern form it fascinated inquiring minds and nourished those men of light and leading who have not only made the New Japan, but who in council, diplomacy, battle and initiative have surprised the world. Men who hungered for intellectual justification of life and duty read eagerly the writings of Nakae-Toju and Kumazawa-Banzan. Oyomei transformed mediæval Confucianism into an immediate working principle for the individual. It unshackled some Japanese minds from what was slavishly communal. It had in it a dash of personality and made its devotees willing to face change." *

Not unnaturally this was deemed a "treacherous learning" by the leaders of government education, especially by those of the Hayashi or Shoheiko school; but its principles seemed to impel Nakae from within. As a teacher he placed entire emphasis upon character and that virtue which found expression in practical living.

His writings, now collected and edited, form ten volumes of commentaries, lectures, essays, letters and poems. The commentaries are the most important of these; but his freedom in handling the classics shows him

* Griffis: *The Japanese Nation in Evolution* p. 291.

to have been not only independent of the recognized philosophy of his own time but a heretic in his own school. Uchimura-Kanzo in his *Representative Men of Japan* quotes him as saying: "These Discourses of the Holy Saints of old contain many things that are not applicable to the present state of society. The truth is distinct from the law. The law changes with time, even with saints in their own land,—much more when transplanted to our land. But the truth is from eternity. Before the name of virtue was, the truth was and prevailed. Before man was space had it; and after he shall have disappeared, and heaven and earth have returned to nothingness, it will abide. But the law was made to meet the need of time. When time and place change, even saint's laws, if forced upon the world, are injurious to the cause of the truth."

Nakae's idealistic monism led him to appreciate the essential equality and brotherhood of all men. "All things in the world come from one root," he says in a letter to a student, "and so all men in the four seas who are, so to speak, its branches, must be brothers one of another." The one thing Nakae-Toju esteemed was character. He unified the human conscience with that of the Ultimate and there rested his ethical teaching, making

self-will in the form of desire the root of all evil. For mere knowledge he had only contempt, holding a man, ignorant of letters and unable to read, truly educated if virtuous and in harmony with his conscience.

As a teacher Toju cared not for the number of his students but labored with devotion for the development of those who seemed slow of mind but earnest of spirit. His method was eminently personal and when men left his side they did not escape his influence, for by letters he followed them and bound them to him. For a time he conducted a school or lecture institute in Kyoto ; but this savored too much of institutionalism. His own humble home was his chosen lecture hall, and the force of example daily to be observed was his most forceful illustration. The likeness of Confucius hung in the room where he sat with his pupils ; and the study consisted solely of the Chinese Classics, calligraphy, poetry and history.

His students at no time numbered more than thirty-five or forty ; and it is evident from the stories of all the region that he taught by his life and conversation even more upon the street and to the laborers in the fields. It is said that within his village no man even to the present time will delay in paying his just taxes, so firmly fixed

became his teaching of practical righteousness. During the closing years of his life many sought him that they might learn; but he appears never to have realized the power of his influence or to have understood the secret thereof. Not a few of his pupils, like Kumazawa-Banzan, made practical use of his teaching in deep and wide reforms, some for instance declaring when the nation feared the political influence of Christianity that the new ideas should stand or fall upon their own merits.

His school, known as the "Koseisha" because on the west (*Sei*) of Lake (*Ko*) Biwa, was one of three centres of philosophic influence. Of these three, the official and orthodox was in Yedo under the presidency of Hayashi, the second was in philosophic harmony, and this third, the Lake School, in opposition to both, based its positions upon the interpretation of Wang Yang Ming.

"The salient difference between the two schools (of philosophy as held by the Government School and by Nakae-Toju) is that Chu's philosophy is inductive, Wang's deductive. . . . Chu taught that all knowledge is acquired, even the knowledge of good and evil; therefore any attempt to determine the moral law must be preceded by scientific investigation, any study of noumena by acquaintance with phenomena. Wang, on the other

hand, maintained that man possesses intuitive perception of the moral law ; that study of self is the highest learning ; that to know one's own heart is to have an infallible guide in all moral emergencies. Chu's cosmogony was dualistic. . . . Wang's theory was monistic.

“ Of these two creeds that of Chu commended itself strongly to the governing classes, while that of Wang seemed to their eyes heterodox and dangerous. For whereas the inductive philosophy of Chu led men to devote their whole attention to learning, and imbued them with reverence for the existing order of things and for established systems, thus educating a mood of conservatism and reverence, the deductive philosophy of Wang taught that all men are equal, that the promptings of conscience should be obeyed unhesitatingly, and that a knowledge of the right as indicated by a man's heart must be translated immediately into action. . . . The one system produced narrow-minded students and bigoted traditionalists, opposed to all progress ; the other produced not scholars indeed but heroes, men of action, of magnanimity, and of progressive patriotism.”*

*Oriental Series—Vol. 4. p. 127 Captain F. Brinkley.

In the development of Japanese education both democratic and aristocratic ideals have had their part. The instinct of the Yamato Race has ever been democratic as far as its own members were concerned. Despite ancient and sacred forms of monarchical government this cannot be denied, for not only is the Emperor a child of Heaven but all are his children, and the very land is *Shin Koku, Kami-no-Kuni*, the Land of the Gods. On the other hand, the humanistic movement, if such it may be called, initiated by the entrance of culture through Chinese channels, was largely aristocratic having the avowed purpose of training bureaucratic rulers. To be sure we never find Chinese as the spoken language of culture, as was Latin in Europe, but as a medium of written expression it long held undisputed sway. This use of Chinese involved more than a mere matter of script, difficult as that would have been. It was a matter of vocabulary and construction as well which formed a most practical problem in the production of books for the common people even down to recent years.

In the early years of the Tokugawa Shogunate most of the Classical scholars were mere scholastics lacking both practical sense and sound morals. The policy of

the Shogunate seems in many ways to have encouraged education ; but its actual influence for good may well be questioned, since the strengthening of central authority by weakening local communities could not but militate against the general advance of the people at large as well as of the samurai or warrior class against which the policy was directed.

Even for teachers independent of the 'system,' it was difficult to break away from the recognized conception and to direct educational effort to the cultivation of the common people. Among those who did most to make culture democratic was Kaibara-Ekken.

Kaibara-Ekken was born in 1630 in the family of a physician. He was a frail child, but studied medicine and the classics at home and later under the best teachers for three years in Kyoto. He held prominent positions in his clan at Fukuoka, becoming widely known for his works upon education : Doshikun—advice to children, Shogakukun—advice to beginners, Shinshiroku—notes upon meditation, and others. At a time when, as we have seen, all men of letters wrote in Chinese, he alone employed the *kana* (*kana-majiri*, mixed phonetic style) caring not the least whether his works were disparaged or not if only they could be understood by the common

people whom he especially desired to educate. His style for the same reason was most simple and repetitious. He was fond of travel and went all over the country observing different customs and manners in the various provinces. His educational interest centered largely in children; and this is the more remarkable since the education of his day concerned itself rather with the labors of adult students.

Many of his educational views appear quite modern; and many points of likeness may be noted between the life and views of Kaibara-Ekken and those of John Locke. Previously education had been confined for the most part to those of the upper classes, for even the temple schools and the private *terakoya*, growing out of the influence of Kōbō Daishi and fostered by the Buddhist priests could not reach many from the ranks of the people. Ekken pointed out that such a state of educational affairs was unbalanced and that no distinction should be made between the samurai and the common people. He seemed to realize more fully than others the relation of popular education to the economic condition of the state. He would divide schools into elementary and higher. In the former, children from eight to fifteen were to be taught reading, penmanship

and, what was remarkable for his day, arithmetic. In the latter, more specialized subjects were to be followed. But he would have real education begin before the period of the elementary school.

The following extracts are taken freely and with condensation from his *Wazoku Doshikun* (Popular Teachings about Children.)

“The education of the ancients began with the first speaking. Be careful in the selection of nurses. Children unconsciously learn that which is evil, and bad habits readily become fixed. By nature they are better than in their acquired habits. It is a cardinal duty that you know the aptitudes of your children and at the same time keep them from narrow-mindedness. Exercise your wisdom in such ways as not to discourage them in their innocent efforts. Provide them with proper means of learning such elementary subjects as reading, penmanship and arithmetic that they may not have time to turn their attention to bad manners. Get men of character as their teachers. Let them avoid bad company, remembering that ignorance is better than evil associations.”

To this point he is speaking of children under six years of age ; and from the seventh year he would have boys and girls taught in separate classes.

Concerning reading, which included a large part of his educational method so far as it pertained to the class-room, his counsel was that of a wise teacher. The old habit of pronunciation without comprehension made his insistence upon care and understanding more noticeable. He said: read not in a rapid, hasty manner, but slowly, carefully and with thought, that every word and clause may be impressed upon the mind and not one character be lost. Heedless reading is useless, for what is so read is at once forgotten, while what one repeats with attention is unconsciously engraved upon the memory. In reading one should not rush heedlessly forward; but endeavor each day to review what has been learned, going over the ground many times, for with little repetition one is sure to forget and the labor of his teacher also is lost. A single book completely mastered will give effective power. One may read much and make no progress.

Concerning matters of hygiene he was not indifferent; but seems to have made a serious attempt to use whatever of medical science he possessed for the good of students. He says: "Let children read early in the morning; but never allow them to do so after meals." There may be a reason for this in the rapid

eating encouraged as a part of the samurai's training. "Keep them not too warm; and let them not eat to satiety. In fine weather let them bathe in the sunshine. Music and dancing were employed by the ancients to keep body and mind in harmony. Do not sit too long; do not walk too long; do not lie down too long; do not look at one thing too long. Sitting on a bench will improve the circulation of the blood." This was directed against the exclusive custom of sitting on the floor with the feet folded beneath as the Japanese were wont to do while the Chinese used benches. "Keep your room dry, and do not neglect ventilation. Have your room opening to the south." He also recommended various forms of outdoor exercise and seems to have noted a reciprocity between mind and body, declaring that the secret of hygiene lay in a spirit of piety.

Beyond others of his time, Ekken gave attention to the education of women; and in this was in accord with the earlier instincts of the race, for in so far as woman has been subordinated in Japan it has been due to the influence of Buddhist theology and Confucian ethics which sum up her whole duty in unquestioning obedience to her father, her husband and her son. His views upon the education of women are given quite fully in the *Onna*

Dai Gaku, *Greater Learning for Women*, a text book from his pen to which extended reference is made under the topic of the Education of Women.

His home life appears to have been happy, amid a degree of poverty demanding great frugality, and his wife was a very real help-mate, being herself a scholar as well as woman of affairs. Living with the common people, his maxims of daily life are practical and adapted to influence the character of those with whom he associated. The following are among his common-place teachings: "Get up early. Do not forget that morning sleep is the cause of household ruin. Provide rice sufficient until the coming harvest. Have pity upon servants; and let them not lack food or clothing. Put things in their proper place. Do not delay to make necessary repairs on houses and tools. Be watchful against fire; and attend to little things."

In his more formal teaching, a certain utilitarian principle seems to have been united with his emphasis upon moral discipline as based upon the practice rather than the theory of Confucian Classics.

Of less fame than Kaibara-Ekken, Hosoi-Heishū (1727-1801) is of interest through his emphasis upon the rights of the individual in the process of education. A

man of no great eloquence, by strength and sincerity of character he won the following of many, and was nick-named the Living Buddha. Emphasizing the importance of education for children and of regard to the individuality of each child, he condemned the custom of giving the same attention and training to all. To the Lord of Yonezawa he wrote setting forth his belief in the broadening effect of education. As freely translated he declared: I believe it our first duty to teach the people to understand that an honest life is the chief of all duties; but we must not forget that each is endowed with distinct individuality. Uniformity in education should be maintained only through the living example of a virtuous teacher.

The Japanese have an expression (*jimbutsu*) characteristic of manhood, as man-stuff, which may be regarded as their nearest approach to the essence of individuality. It is a purely native expression and betokens that which was emphasized by all these great personal teachers as over against the passive allegiance to system fostered by men of the government schools. These independent teachers sought the development of *jimbutsu* within their pupils; and in proportion to their success in that endeavor have been remembered. The succession of virile teachers

did not cease at the point at which we now leave it ; but was evident in even more pronounced degree during the few years preceding the Restoration, as will be seen in a later chapter upon Foregleams of the Second Great Awakening.

CHAPTER V.

LITERARY CULTURE AND THE EDUCATION OF WOMEN

AS we have seen in other connections, no direct evidence can be brought forward concerning education in the early or mythological period ; but the position of woman among the early Japanese appears to have been essentially that common among primitive peoples : a position of equality with man, having an influence that was determining upon occasion. Despite the fact that the first records were compiled under the impulse of a culture and philosophy which subordinated woman, they show her possessing remarkable freedom ; and the entire range of history and social custom in Japan makes evident that the measure of subordination which she suffered from the force of Confucian and Buddhist teachings was unnatural to the instincts of the Yamato Race. Yet, as might be supposed, her place in formal education was not recognized in Japan until recent years.

In the Taiho Rei, the first code issued in Japan containing provisions for a university and provincial schools (701 A. D.), no mention is made of the education of women. Their first culture education, as distinct from the arts of the home, appears to have been gained by stealth as they gathered the crumbs of instruction which their brothers, often unintentionally, let fall. A modern Japanese Reader relates how one girl, in no very remote period, committed her lessons to memory from hearing her brother study aloud in the universal custom of the East; and we must believe that, long before the *terakoya* and similar schools were opened to girls, their brothers, if only out of mere superiority, taught them somewhat of their own learning. Furthermore the management of the home and its expenses, which from the first was the Japanese woman's duty and prerogative, must have made necessary the elements of practical education.

The schools of the government seem never to have been opened to women until after the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868). Instruction at home by relatives and tutors, in the *terakoya* and other private schools, included all that was within their reach until within our own day. The use of the *katakana*, or simplified syllabary, was taught to girls, and they were not expected to learn the

Chinese ideographs ; yet, strangely enough, it is from the literary productions of women that we first gain an idea of the education attained by them.

Increased attention was given to the education of girls as a result of the same general influences which brought about their social degradation ; or it might be more justly said that after Confucian and Buddhist ideas had subordinated woman beneath the triple law of obedience to her father, her husband and her son, the education of a pleasure-loving age trained her in accomplishments designed to entertain, accomplishments which brought her into conspicuous prominence so that we have the strange phenomenon of woman becoming more cultured in grace of intellect at the time when her personal inferiority was most clearly established, similarly as in Athens it was women supposedly without character who sought to enhance their charms by intellectual culture. During the Heian Period, after the removal of the court from Nara to Kyoto in 794, in part to escape the dominance of an increasingly arrogant and essentially unspiritual Buddhist Priesthood, literature and music were given the first place in the education of women ; and useful arts were scorned by all who aspired to position. The industries of the home were thought fit only for women

of low rank ; and tales of the period tell of a girl driven from home by an irate step-mother because she was skilled in the use of the needle.

This was a period of literary production within the limits of the Imperial Court and the circle of the higher nobility. As far as the education of the time extended, it gave the power to indite *tanka*, impressionist poem pictures of thirty-one syllables. Anthologies were compiled by imperial order ; and in one of these, the Manyoshu, or Collection of all the Ages, are gathered more than four thousand pieces forming a " discontinuous social epos of ancient Japan up to the establishment of the Capital at Kyoto in 794." The exact date of this compilation is unknown ; but the work is mentioned in 946 and is supposed to have been done by Tachibana-no-Moroe.* It contains *tanka*, *nagauta* varying in length from seven to one hundred and fifty lines and *sedoka*, or poems of thirty-six syllables arranged in six lines.

The following translations, taken from the work by Mr. Dickins, illustrate the character of the Manyoshu poems ; and, though composed by men, are not unlike those found in the writings of women.

* Primitive and Mediaeval Japanese texts : F. V. Dickins, Oxford 1906.

A LAY INDITED BY THE SOVEREIGN TEMMU

On high Mikane
in Yoshino's fair land
snow ever falleth,
and the rain it raineth ever—
at every bend
of the winding mountain pathway.
As ceaselessly
as falleth rain, snow falleth,
on thee my thoughts
dwell, dear!

ON A PINK.

To furthest march-land,
obeisant to my Sovran,
on royal service
have I the wild hills crossed,
to snowy Koshi,
and now for five long years
on fine-sleeved arm
I may not sleep, nor know
companioned slumber,
with still unloosed girdle
on lone bed tossing—

my heart to comfort somewhat
a wild pink brought I
to plant my garden midmost,
and from the moorside

a summer lily brought I
to flower beside it,
and so as lover-flowers
to bloom together,
and day by day I watch them
our bond recalling—

did I not so seek solace
my sorrow soft'ning,
so far from thee I could not
one little day abide here.

The fair pink flower
each time I look upon it
I think of thee, dear,
and in its beauty vision
the sweetness of thy smile!

As evidenced in the Manyoshu, the art of poetic composition had long existed; but from the seventh century it passed from being an accomplishment and became a necessary requisite for political as for social preferment. Skill in dainty expression was taken as evidence of skill in weightier matters; and none were too dignified or too absorbed in cares of State to engage in the composition of verses ephemeral as the flowers amid which they took form.

Flower festivals were celebrated with writing of

poetry. Competitive couplet-making was a common game; and poem-parties of great dignity were held at court. Michizane, the patron saint of letters, as of school-boy lore, boasted the democracy of letters, as he understood it, that to these gatherings of the poetic might come the skilled from every section of the land and world. Toward the close of the ninth century Emperor Koko organized poem-parties in the Horikawa Palace on an unprecedented scale at which men and women engaged in genuine contests of literary skill.

In the *Genji-Monogatari*, to which extended reference will be made later, a flower feast is described as follows: "All the Royal Princes, nobles and literati were assembled; and among them the Emperor made his appearance, accompanied by the Empress. When all the seats were taken the composing of poems, as was the custom, commenced; and they began picking up the rhymes. The turn came in due course to Genji. Many more followed including several aged professors who had often been present on similar occasions, with faces time-wrinkled and figures bowed by the weight of years"

These poetic gatherings were often held in one or another of the five great temples in Kyoto, or even where beauties of nature might well have seemed to invite to

such enjoyment. Light refreshments were served upon the arrival of the guests. Each presented a subject by way of suggestion and from these one was selected. This was written up behind the highest seat where all might see it. Paper was then cut into suitable strips and distributed, together with ink-stones and brushes, to each guest. Then as inspiration came, a thing of beauty, appealing to the eye by its artistic brush-work and to the ear by its restrained suggestiveness of expression, was brought forth to be publicly read ; and the festivity was over.

In 905 Emperor Daigo ordered a compilation of the best poems of the previous one hundred and fifty years ; and in 922 the Kokinshu was issued. This collection of over eleven hundred poems is composed of *tanka*, only five of the number being *nagauta* ; and became a standard work for educational as well as literary purposes. It might be said that a young lady's education during the early years of the eleventh century consisted of writing, music and the Kokinshu.

The composition of verse was by no means confined to men, though they for the most part seem to have frequented these gatherings where efforts in Chinese style were expected. Women even more generally were trained in the art of light verse making. The following

taken from among others by women, in the Hyakunin-issui* will illustrate their skill.

The spring has gone, the summer 's come,
 And I can just descry
 The peak of Ama-no-kagu,
 Where angels of the sky
 Spread their white robes to dry.

In this stanza the Empress Jita (690-696 A.D.) refers to a snow-capped mountain, and suggests the outline of an old *Nô* drama in which an angel of the moon hangs her robe of feathers upon a tree and rescues it from the hands of a fisherman only by dancing before him in her divine beauty.

The blossom's tint is washed away
 By heavy showers of rain ;
 My charms, which once I prized so much,
 Are also on the wane,—
 Both bloomed, alas ! in vain.

Komachi Ono, of the middle of the ninth century, "is remembered for her talent, her beauty, her pride, her love of luxury, her frailty, and her miserable old age."

Short as the joints of bamboo reeds
 That grow beside the sea
 On pebble beach at Naniwa,
 I hope the time may be,
 When thou'rt away from me.

This love lament is by Princess Ise, maid of honor at the Court of Emperor Uda (889-997 A.D.)

*A Hundred Verses from Old Japan: William N. Porter, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909.

My broken heart I don't lament,
 To destiny I bow ;
 But thou hast broken solemn oaths,—
 I pray the Gods may now
 Absolve thee from thy vow.

“The Lady Ukon is supposed to have been deserted by her husband, and in this poem she regrets, not so much her own sorrow, as the fact that he has broken his sworn oath, and is therefore in danger of divine vengeance.”

As fickle as the mountain gusts
 That on the moor I've met,
 'Twere best to think no more of thee,
 And let thee go. But yet
 I never can forget.

This stanza is by the daughter of Murasaki Shikibu, the author of *Genji Monogatari*, and in the original is beautifully onomatopoeic.

If I had made thy proffered arm
 A pillow for my head
 For but the moment's time, in which
 A summer's dream had fled,
 What would the world have said ?

Here a lady in waiting at the Court of Emperor Goreizei (1046-1068 A.D.) hints at the fickleness of one whose arm she declined during some tiresome state ceremony.

My doubt about his constancy
 Is difficult to bear ;
 Tangled this morning are my thoughts,
 As is my long black hair.
 I wonder—Does he care ?

From the close of the twelfth century Lady Horikawa reveals the anxious heart of a woman pondering the conduct of a careless lover.

Where ability to compose may have been lacking, some art to use these light attainments seems to have been acquired even among somewhat humbler classes. According to an old story, Ota-Dokwan, caught in a rain storm when hunting, called at a mountain inn to borrow a straw rain-coat. The maiden of whom he made request silently handed him in answer a mountain rose, a common flower of the hillside. Provoked at such trifling he was turning away in anger until reminded of the stanza :

Nanae yae
 Hana wa sake domo
 Yamabuki no
 Mi no hitotsu dani
 Naki zo kanashiki.

The yamabuki blossom has
 A wealth of petals gay ;
 But yet in spite of this, alas !
 I much regret to say,
 No seed can it display.

“ Mi no,” in next to the last line, taken as one word “ Mino ” would cause the verse to read : The mountain rose (the maiden) has no *rain-coat*. It was her silent and graceful apology for not being able to serve the stranger.*

* See Introduction to A Hundred Verses from Old Japan. Wm. N. Porter.

Attention has been called to the fact that such education as was given to girls was usually within their own homes. Certain families paid more regard than others to the education of their daughters. The Fujiwara family, which largely controlled the throne for centuries through the exclusive privilege of providing royal consorts from among its daughters, gave marked attention to the culture and training of women. Governesses of pronounced talent and accomplishments were sought; and many were thus introduced into the court circle where they continued to instruct in social graces and the arts that please. During the reign of Emperor Ichijo (987-1012) in particular a noted literary reputation attached to these ladies of the court.

Murasaki-Shikibu, the author of the *Genji Monogatari*, was the daughter of a court noble remotely connected with the Fujiwara family. Of her education we have no direct statements but from the fact that she was early a maid of honor to the daughter of the Prime Minister and was retained by her when she became the wife of Emperor Ichijo, as well as from her literary work which soon took high rank, we may judge her to have been among the most carefully trained. The date of writing the *Genji Monogatari* is not known; but probably

about 990 A. D. According to tradition, given by Baron Suematsu from whose translation* the following extracts are taken, the Empress was one day asked by the Sacred Virgin of the Imperial Shinto Shrine at Ise if she could not procure an interesting romance for her. The Empress urged the talented Murasaki-Shikibu to write ; and in preparation for the task she retired to the temple at Ishiyama overlooking Lake Biwa and its picturesque outlet down the valley of the Uji. In the light of an August moon she gazed upon the scene and dreamed until before the dawn in her calm clear mind had taken form the outline of the story. On many works of Japanese art Murasaki-Shikibu may still be seen in pensive mood, pen in hand, gazing at the moon's reflected beauty in the water of the lake.

The modern text of this romance which grew from the inspiration of a moon-lighted lake contains fifty-four brief chapters, one so brief as to be limited to a title. They are occupied for the most part with the adventures or love-affairs of Prince Genji. The story is disjointed and without plot, held together by the one abiding character, the Prince. The women characters are many ;

* *Genji Monogatari* (The Romance of Genji) translated by Baron Suematsu, London, 1882.

and the work might be called a series of feminine sketches in an age when the court circle was most effeminate. The scenes are laid in the early part of the tenth century, and may well have been drawn from observation of life. This constitutes the chief value of the story—its portrayal of social ideals and customs; and for its glimpses of educational ideals it is of interest here. The work was in Classical Japanese; and the real education of the author may have been idealized in Japanese history. Some have seen a political motive in the book; but that is unlikely. Neither is it probable that any special motive lay behind its writing, other than to entertain by mirroring the court circle of the time with its social intrigue. She makes her hero say: "Histories are the mere record of events, and are generally treated in a one-sided manner. They give no insight into the true state of society. This, however, is the very sphere in which romances principally dwell. Romances are indeed fictions; but they are by no means always pure inventions; their only peculiarities being these, that in them the writers often trace out among numerous real characters the best when they wish to represent the good, and the oddest when they wish to amuse."

The long series of chapters follows the experiences

of Prince Genji from his birth through about sixty years ; and are of significance as giving some idea of educational accomplishments and ideals. We are struck first with the profusion of utterance in verse. Not only is there evidence of the author's ability in this style ; but all her characters are likewise so endowed, the women even more than the men. Letters are filled with verses ; and every emotion finds expression in poetic form.

After the death of his mother, when he was very young, and a few years spent with his maternal grandmother, we read : "from this time the young prince took up his residence in the imperial palace ; and the next year at the age of seven he began to learn to read and write under the personal superintendence of the Emperor." "We need not allude to his studies in detail, but on musical instruments such as the flute and the harp he also showed great proficiency." As the child of a woman of comparatively humble station without strong backing in those days of masterly control of the court by the powerfully enforced women of the Fujiwara Clan, the prince had no hope of being declared prince royal ; and the Emperor created him the head of a new family thus removing him from all chance of imperial succession and stilling the jealousy of the court ;

but his regard for his education seems to have increased. "He took more and more pains with his education in different branches of learning; and the more the boy studied, the more talent did he evince, talent almost too great for one destined to remain in private station."

Chapters two and seventeen contain the most extended references to education; but in the fourth chapter Genji himself is reported to have composed the requiem prayer used at the service in behalf of a mistress whose sudden death had deeply moved him for the time. These prayers were revised by a professor of literature, one of his intimate friends. According to chapter five, he became devoted to a mere child who is first refused to him on the ground of youth with the declaration that she could not yet manage even the first lesson in writing. The nun having her in charge further declared:

Your heart admires the lowly flower
That dwells within our mountain bower.
Not long, Alas! that flower may last
Torn by the mountain's angry blast.

The nun dies; and Genji steals the child, who soon looks upon him as a parent. Taking her to a separate abode, "Genji did not go to the palace for two or three days, but spent his time in trying to train Violet (such being

her name). 'She must soon take lessons in writing,' he thought ; and he wrote several writing copies for her. Among them was one in plain characters on violet-colored paper, with the title Musashi-no (the Field of Musashi, famed for violets.)

Though still a bud the violet be,
A still unopened blossom here,
Its tenderness has charms for me,
Recalling one no longer near."

After due urging, with a deal of proper bashfulness, the child, in a childish hand but clear and plain, giving promise of skill, writes :

I wonder what's the floweret's name
From which that bud its charm may claim !"

He later takes great pleasure in teaching her to read and write.

Chapter seventeen reports a competitive exhibition of pictures in the palace. Prince Genji contributed to the exhibit and was highly praised by some. Refreshments were served and Genji in conversation reveals quite a little of his own educational experience and draws out the ideas of others. "As a lad I paid much attention to reading and writing. Perhaps my father observed my proficiency for he remarked that few very clever men

enjoyed worldly happiness and long life, perhaps because ability and knowledge were too highly prized to admit of other blessings. Though one whose birth assured him a certain success in life ought not to be devoid of learning, he advised me to moderate my exertions. Thereafter he took greater pains to instruct me in the ways and manners of men of rank than in the minute details of science. Thus, though I was not an ignoramus, I cannot say in what particular subject I was well versed and proficient. Drawing, however, was a favorite object of my taste and ambition, and I also desired to express my full thought in execution.

“Nothing can be well learned that is not pleasing to one’s natural taste,” replied his companion, “but every art has its special instructor, and thus his methods can be copied by his pupils though with difference in skill and perfection. Among the arts, however, nothing reveals one’s taste and nature more truly than the work of pencil and brush and the game of *Go*. Under the kindly care of the late Emperor, what prince or princess could fail to have attained a knowledge of such arts? To you in particular that care was directed. It is not needful to speak of literary study and culture. We all knew your accomplishment with the flute, the mandolin

and the harp ; but your productions with the brush we had supposed until now to be mere amusements rather than such masterly sketches as these."

In the second chapter, in the conversation between Genji and a youthful friend concerning love-letters and their ideals among women, certain interesting sidelights upon the education of girls appear.

"There are indeed," says his friend, "many who fascinate, many who are ready with their pens, and who, when occasion may require, are quick at repartee. But how often such girls as these are conceited about their own accomplishments, and endeavor unduly to disparage those of others. There are again some who are special pets of their parents and most jealously watched over at home. Often, no doubt, they are pretty, often graceful ; and frequently they will apply themselves with effect to music and to poetry, in which they may even attain to special excellence."

Another youth declares : "There may be some who are of high birth and to whom public respect is duly paid, yet whose domestic education has been much neglected. Of a lady such as this we may simply remark, 'why and how is it that she is so brought up?'"

As the conversation turned to the criticism of art we

have the following : " Take the case of draughtsmen in black ink. Pictures, indeed, such as those of Mount Horai (a mythological mountain in the sea) which was never seen by mortal eye, of some monstrous, raging fish in a rough sea, or of a wild animal native to a distant land, or of a demon in all imagined fury, are often drawn with such striking realism that people are pierced by the very sight ; but they are neither real nor rule. On the other hand, ordinary scenery of familiar mountains, of calm streams, lakes and dwellings, daily seen, may be sketched with an originality so charming and with such excellent skill as to rival nature. In pictures such as these the perspective of gentle mountain slopes and sequestered nooks surrounded by leafy trees are drawn with such fidelity as to carry the beholder to something beyond them.

" Similar observations are applicable to handwriting. Some people boldly dash away with great freedom and endless flourishes and appear at the first glance to be elegant and skillful. But that which is written with scrupulous neatness, in accord with the true rules of penmanship, constitutes a very different handwriting."

The blue-stocking evidently was not unknown, for one youth, telling of his experiences at the university,

relates how a daughter of one of his professors was a woman of unusual intelligence such that ordinary scholars were silenced by her genius and eloquence. The father in a poetic allusion offered his daughter in marriage; and for the sake of his teacher's favor, the student made himself as agreeable as possible, and in his report of this declared: "She seized every opportunity of pointing out to me the way in which we should steer, both in public and private life. When she wrote to me she never employed the effeminate style of the *kana* but wrote oh, so magnificently! The great interest which she took in me induced me to pay frequent visits to her; and by making her my tutor I learned how to compose ordinary Chinese poems."

With the general attention given to education during the Tokugawa Shogunate, women received some consideration. Nakae-Toju (1608-1648) seems to have been the first to declare that education was necessary for girls; and his disciple, Kumazawa-Banzan (1616-1697), would have them attain some measure of real intellectual development. Kaibara-Ekken (1630-1714) further emphasized the importance of their training; and in his *Onna Dai Gaku* (Greater Learning for Woman), as compiled by his admirers from the larger work,

Wazoku Dōshikun, he left a text-book of influence even until to-day.

Judged by the standards of a later day, the teachings of Ekken appear most narrow; but it was a step of great progress to maintain that women needed systematic instruction of any kind. His *Onna Dai Gaku* became a gift of standard value for every bride of good family, and a text of household admonition. This work, under the title of "Women and Wisdom of Japan" has been presented in thirteen pages of English with an introduction of nineteen pages by Shingoro-Takaishi.*

There are six chapters to this booklet treating of Girls' Instruction in general; The demarkation between the sexes; Seven reasons for divorce; The wife's miscellaneous duties; The treatment of servants and the Infirmities of women. In view of the difficulties of her position as daughter-in-law (to be) the first chapter concludes that "the only qualities that befit a woman are gentle obedience, chastity, mercy, and quietness." In the second chapter, an unnatural emphasis that could but produce abnormal self-consciousness is laid upon the principle that a girl "even at the peril of her life must harden

* *Women and Wisdom of Japan*. London 1905.

her heart like rock or metal and observe the rules of propriety."

The seven reasons for divorce, a condition most shameful to the woman, concerning which of course she must be carefully warned, are disobedience to father-in-law or mother-in-law; barrenness, the reason for this rule being that women are sought in marriage for the purpose of giving men posterity. (This harsh rule is, however, modified by the statement that she should be kept "if her heart be virtuous", and should not be divorced if her husband "have children by a concubine."); lewdness; jealousy; leprosy or any evil disease; gossiping; stealing.

A wife's miscellaneous duties include devotion to her husband as to heaven, absolute freedom from jealousy even under most trying circumstances, diligence and a retiring life, utterly losing self in the interests of her husband's family. The treatment of servants requires circumspection, self-control, firmness and a mind superior to the tale-bearing tendencies of ignorant girls, personal supervision over all matters, and personal attendance upon the needs of husband and his parents.

The particular infirmities of women are five: indelicacy, discontent, slander, jealousy and silliness. From these arises her inferiority to man.

Such is in substance the text embodying the highest consideration given to the formal education of women previous to the Meiji Era. The outline of Ekken's position as summarized by Dr. Naruse is as follows: "Up to the age of seven, girls were to be instructed in the same way as, and together with, boys; but beyond that age they were to be segregated. Thence onward, they were to be taught reading and writing principally through the medium of *kana* characters, while they were also to learn to make supplementary use of Chinese ideographs."* How repressive and narrow this appears in the light of modern ideals! Yet it must be admitted that even thus Japan led the Orient in her treatment of women, and that the actual condition of the favored few in families of good position was probably better than at first might be supposed, for, in addition to literary training which we have already seen to have been considerable, art contributed in no small degree to the culture of Japanese girls.

The artistic grace native to every Japanese lady to-day and found often possessed by those in the humblest walks of life, has not been attained without training nor

* Jinzo Naruse, President of the Nippon Women's University, on The Education of Japanese Women in Fifty Years of New Japan Chap. XI of Vol. II. Okuma, London, 1909.

yet by the training of a few years enjoyed by one generation.

Though Japanese gardening may be said to have been almost the expression of a philosophy, a man's garden the embodiment of his soul's ideal, and as such to be attempted only by men ; the arrangement of flowers was the work of women as well as of men and afforded no slight degree of spiritual as well as merely artistic culture. The art of flower-arrangement is called *Ikebana*, and is of ancient origin, an allusion to care in the arrangement of flowers being found in the Kojiki where it is related that, before the cave in which the offended Ama-Terasu had hidden, Ame-no-Uzume "binding the leaves of the bamboo grass—in a posy for her hand—danced as if possessed."

The greatest development of the art took place during the years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, new schools appearing early in the seventeenth century, at the middle of the eighteenth, and at the close of the eighteenth century. Yet the art was practiced much earlier, at the close of the fourteenth century a priest in Kyoto having originated a style that long remained the leading fashion.

The name *Ikebana* signifies the making of flowers

alive, or, according to another rendering, the making of flowers sentient. The flowers when arranged must in all their artificiality suggest the idea of actual life and appear to be growing, or, again, in their attitude they must appear endowed with feeling. The fundamental lines, upon which all developments are based, are three, signifying heaven, earth, and man between the two aspiring from earth to heaven. Though called *flower-arrangement*, the material of the art is more inclusive. The bloom is not alone or chiefly to be considered. Outline of branch and bend of bough are as important as harmony of color ; and linear effects are primary. Flowers may be entirely lacking.

Since the life of nature is to be preserved in all effects, the flower-holders are most various and afford in the history of their development an interesting side-light upon the growth of the art itself. Beautiful in themselves, their beauty must be absorbed within the total naturalness ; and, here again, behind all seeming artificiality is the governing principle of conformity to the highest art which is natural, not through reproduction but through suggestion which calls forth the artistic appreciation in the beholder which might not be awakened by the crudely natural.

The moral influence of the *Ike-bana* was considered of great importance and of educative value in lifting the thoughts of its devotee above the earth, in lightening the cares of life and in forming gentleness of character and unselfish-attention to things of the spirit. In a word, here was an art, dealing with the most common of natural objects, cultivated not for its own sake but for the sake of that soul-growth which also is artistic. This art, while perhaps less consciously a spiritual exercise, is still a subject of instruction in all schools for girls which pretend to afford any culture training ; and that it is not entirely confined to those possessing school privileges may be illustrated by the fact that the writer's own house-maid, upon a monthly wage of five dollars, hardly able to read the characters in which the daily paper is printed, spends one afternoon a week with a teacher of flower-arrangement.

In influence not unlike that of flower-arranging should be mentioned *Cha-no-yu*, or tea-ceremony, which during the luxury of the Ashikaga Shogunate became a favorite occupation of the nobility, and which from that day until this has been first a soul-calming art among the samurai and a grace of culture among both men and women in polite society. For it a special room,

often entirely separate from the dwelling, was constructed upon lines of the utmost simplicity; and the ceremony possessed all the dignity of a social sacrament. "The main stress is laid on ensuring outwardly a graceful carriage, and inwardly presence of mind." "Every move of the body and limb in walking and sitting during the whole ceremony has been fully studied and worked out so as to give it the most graceful form conceivable. At the same time the calm and self-control shown by the partaker in the rite is regarded as an essential element in the performance, without which ultimate success in it will be quite impossible. So it is more a physical and moral training than a mere amusement or a simple quenching of thirst.".....

"How to open the sliding-door; how to shut it each time; how to bring and arrange the several utensils, with their several prescribed ways of being handled, into the tea-room, how to sit down noiselessly in front of the boiling kettle which hangs over a brazier; how to open the lid of the kettle; how to put tea-powder in the cup; how to pour hot water over it; how to stir the now green water with a bamboo brush; how to give the mixture a head of foam; how and where to place the cup for the expecting drinker—this on the part of the

person playing the host or hostess; and now on the part of the guests—how to take a sweet from the dish before him in preparation for the coming aromatic drink; how to take up the cup now given him; how to hold it with both hands; how to give it a gentle stir; how to drink it up in three sips and a half; how to wipe off the trace of the sipping left on the edge of the cup; how to turn the cup horizontally round; how to put it down within the reach of his host or hostess, these are some of the essential items to be learned and practiced. And for every one of them there is a prescribed form even to the slightest move and curve in which a finger should be bent or stretched, always in strict accordance with the attitude of other bodies in direct connection with it.”*

An artistic pastime said to be of most ancient origin, now attracting considerable attention in certain circles, deserves mention together with flower-arranging and tea-ceremony as a form of education not lacking in culture influence. Incense tasting, in reality smelling, was an art demanding refined sense and associated with subtle spiritual emotions. The psychology of the sense of smell has perhaps been as little studied as any, though

* The Japanese Spirit P. 122 ff. Yoshisaburo Okakura, London, 1905.

some beginning has been made ; and yet the field is most promising, for odours and perfumes seem to penetrate to the very citadel of being, there to arouse associations more violent than can otherwise be attained. More than this, odour is a distinguishing feature of individuality to those, whether animals or men, who have senses sufficiently acute. Significantly, the Buddhist doctrine of Enlightenment declares that to the enlightened the senses become quickened ; and by the sense of smell are revealed wonders undreamed. Here a highly developed and refined sense of smell is regarded a blessing belonging to sainthood ; and in a similar temper the taster of incense cultivated his power as something more and other than a mere physical accomplishment. These and similar modes of culture were carried to great and often ridiculous extremes ; but they are, nevertheless, significant of that refinement which characterized the best elements in ancient Japanese education.

CHAPTER VI

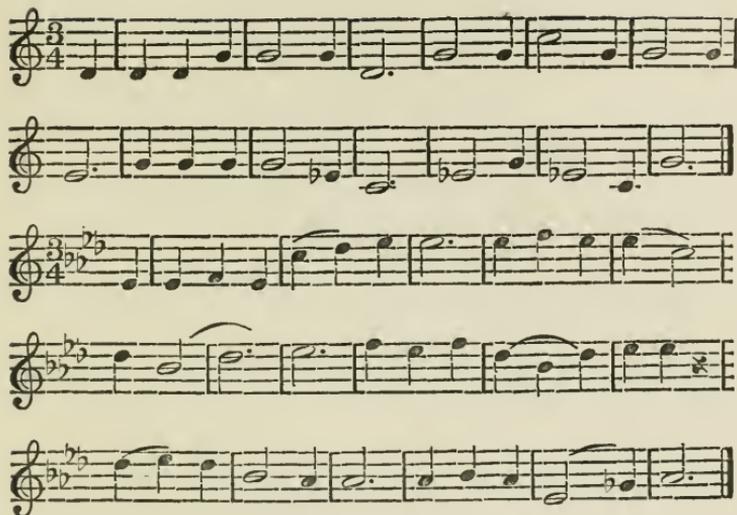
SOCIAL EDUCATION

MUCH, and often the best, education is fostered apart from schools or even the conscious efforts of individuals to impart knowledge or guide training. If education is gained through the "sum total of influences that mold the growing youth," the greater part, at any period of history, is derived from social customs and popular activity. The home is man's first school, racially and individually. Within it he learns more of vital importance than within any other institution; and to know the influences that "mold the growing youth" within the home, is to know what is most important in a study of his education. Especially is this true among peoples who have not organized in institutions for division of labor. There is an extreme which finds neither beginning nor end to the education of a single individual; but early infancy to say the least is not too soon for the operation of molding influences. Ancient education, whether in the East or in the West, concerned itself, so

far as a conscious subject was regarded, with the adult student rather than with the child ; but none the less a form of education, effective if unintentional, was operative within the home and through the daily activities of the growing children.

The following cradle-songs, the conscious origin of which has long since been forgotten, selected from those popularly known in many places throughout Japan, are of interest. Properly they may not be called cradle-songs for Japanese babies are cradled only upon the back of mother or nurse. They are for the most part, however, slumber songs ; and, as such, give some glimpse of early influences. In translation the originals have, for the most part, been followed as regards the number of lines and syllables ; but freedom has been taken in the matter of rhyme since it is entirely lacking in Japanese verse. All the songs, of the same syllabic length, are sung to one and the same tune which, however, varies geographically.

These songs, of which the Japanese as well as the English is given, are sung in the vicinity of Nara to either of the following airs.



(1) Nenne nasare mase
 Kyō wa nijūgo nichi.
 Asu wa kono ko no
 Tanjō-nichi.

Tanjō-nichi ni wa
 Akamama taite
 Issho kono ko no
 Mame na yoni.

(1) Hush aby, my baby, Oh!
 'Tis the twenty-fifth, O ho!
 And to-morrow, it will be
 My baby's birthday.
 On his birthday we shall make

Rice and red-beans in a cake,
 For our baby's sturdy health
 Throughout the year.

- (2) Nenne nasare mase
 Ichiya niya mo
 Niya mo sanya mo nete
 Nete okure

Ichiya mo niya mo
 Nete sae kurereba
 Oya mo tasuka rya
 Komo raku na.

- (2) Sleep to-night, O baby mine,
 All the night, till morning shine ;
 Sleep tomorrow and the next,
 Each evening sleep.

If you sleep without a wake
 Till the sunny morning break,
 Mother's duty will be light,
 And you all comfy.

- (3) Torori torori to
 Nemutai tokiwa
 Uma ni gojūda no
 Kane mo iya.

- (3) O so sleepy ! baby mine,
 Sandman s coming—that I guess ;

Not for fifty sacks of gold
Those eyes would open.

- (4) Nenne shita koni
Hagoita to Hane to,
Nenne senu koni
Hane bakari.
- (4) Shuttle-cock and battle-dore,
Both to baby will I give,
If she sleeps her nap-time o'er ;
Else, the cock alone.
- (5) Nenne nenne to
Nesaso to sureba
Hama no matsu kaze
Yuri okosu.
- (5) Blowing, shaking on the shore,
How the pine-tree branches roar !
They'll not hurt thee, baby mine,
Lie still and slumber.
- (6) Nishi no chō kara
Higashi no chō made
Utatte aru ku wa
Mori no yaku.
- (6) East to west, along the street,
West to east, along the same ;
Isn't it an awful shame
To sing for baby ?

- (7) Mori no tsurai no wa
 Shimotsuki shiwasu
 Ame ya arare ya
 Yuki ya shimo.
- (7) Rain and hail, and frost and snow,—
 Winter months are hard for me ;
 Still upon my back must go,
 The fretful baby.
- (8) Nenne shinasare
 Neta ko wa kawai
 Okite naku ko wa
 Tsura nikui.
- Tsura ga nikute mo
 Hobeta ga kawai
 Kawai hobeta o
 Tsumera ryo ka.
- (8) Hush aby, O shut your eyes!
 Lovely is a sleeping child ;
 But a child who waking, cries,—
 I hate it truly.
- Though I hate his snarling face,—
 Pinch it hard would like to do,—
 Yet his cheeks have such sweet grace,
 I cannot nip them.
- (9) Mori wa shomai zo
 Mitsugo no mori wa

Ohi no kurenu noni
Ino ino to.

Ine ba oshusan ga
Hayai to osharu
Ina na koganaku
Nanto shō.

- (9) Deary me! I'm sick and tired!
'Tis not night, yet baby cries,
Teasing me to take him home,—
“ I want my mother.”

But if now I hasten back,
Master'll say—“ 'tis early yet; ”
In the future, this I know,
I'll tend no baby.

- (10) Uchi no kono ko wa
Ima neru hodo ni
Daremo yakamashi
Yute kure na.

Daremo yakamashi
Yuwasen keredo
Mori ga yakamashi
Yute okosu.

- (10) This wee baby 's now asleep,—
Fast asleep; I'll do my work;
Make no noise about the house,
Nor dare awake him.

Others bother not the child ;
 'Tis the nurse about the house,—
 Clatter here and clatter there,—
 Whose clamor wakes him.

- (11) Mori yo mori yo to
 Takusan ni osharu
 Mori ga ten kara
 Furumono ka.
- (11) Worthless creature. 'course I am,
 Nurse maid only fit for scorn
 Yet I dropped not from the skies,—
 I was human born.
- (12) Uchi no kono ko wa
 Yoi ko de gozaru
 Yoi ko sodate ta
 Oya mitai.
- (12) Baby mine 's a baby fine,
 None that 's better can there be ;
 Much I'd like the one to see
 Who 's had a better.
- (13) Uchi no kono ko ni
 Yaritai mono wa
 Chichi ka oman ka
 Akai bebe ka ?
- (13) Shall I give the baby, O,
 Milk that 's sweet and white as snow,

Buns with bean-jam that is fresh,
Or clothes all new ?

(14) Akai bebe kite
Akai jojo haite
Tsurete mairoka
Nono sama e.

(14) Tip to toe in very best,
Shall I dress this babe of mine,
Then upon my back to go
Up to Jizo's shrine ?

The following, of slightly different structure, also are common, while the last shows the effect of more modern influence.

Last night I dreamed of Hades ;
And funny 'twas to see
Old Satan pounding rice-cakes,
Busy as a bee.

The Judge of all the shadows
Was tearing sheets of dough,
While Jizo shaped it nicely,—
Children like it so.

* * * * *

Bylow baby, by !
Bylow baby, by

Sweetly slumber long to-day,
That on waking up you may,

Tied upon my back,
Fast and firmly ride
To the favorite shrine
On the mountain side.

In the garden there
Toys for children we shall find,—
Drums in colors fair,
And a flute with silver lined ;

There 's a doll with flowing hair,—
Blessed baby, baby mine,—
And a dress with flowers rare.
God be good to thee !

* * * * *

By low, Baby, by !

By low, Baby, by !

Mother's darling baby

Surely must not cry.

Mother will cuddle,

Mother will pet,

Good little baby,

Never must fret ;

Bylow, Baby, by !

Bylow, Baby, by !

The noticeable lack of melody is a serious defect,

reducing the value of these slumber-songs; but rhythm is evident and the emotional element is not wanting. The mother's back, serving as the child's cradle, translates the rhythm of the songs into rhythm of motion, or, perhaps, by her natural swaying sets the music for the songs; in either case conveying to the child through movement a rhythm which appeals to deeper and more ancient centres of being than can be reached in any other way. In passing, further attention may be given the racial custom of carrying the child for long periods, whether asleep or awake, strapped upon the back while the bearer engages in all forms of activity. Much physical discomfort is inflicted and of necessity endured, possibly giving a set to the temper of the child which is evidenced in later characteristics which are recognized as racial.

The nurse maid figures largely in these slumber songs; and this may be taken in evidence of her position in the Japanese household. Kaibara-Ekken, as has been noted, in his *Wazoku Doshikun* refers to her, and urges that care be taken in the selection of those who are to have the oversight of young children, saying that children unconsciously learn that which is evil, and that habits readily become fixed. Doubtless there was need of the

warning, for even until the present ignorant young girls of no education are employed, though high class families often secure nurse mothers whom the children are led to respect.*

Young children not only heard these songs and felt them, but they also sang them with their nurses as they grew older and in caring for their dolls, for dolls were common in Japan from of old as over all the world, especially where motherhood is woman's ideal, and thus they further perpetuated their rhythm. The music of Japan lends itself as an accompaniment to bodily movement rather than to sustained song; and as children left the care of the nurse or mother for play, their games were often attended and guided by it. Of such game-songs the following are examples:

Kobo Daishi!

In the centre of the ring,
 Why are you so fat and short?
 He was kicked by a butterfly.
 Who's behind you? Sing.

Little Peterkin!

In the centre of the ring,
 Why are you so fat and short?

* The slumber-songs which have been given are the best out of a large number; and the majority in use among the common people are vulgar in sentiment.

He ate fish forbidden him,
Who's behind you? Sing.

The playing of this game is quite evident. If the one blinded within the ring guesses correctly from the singing voice, his place is taken by the one so caught, otherwise the trial is repeated.

Open wide, open wider!
What's the name of the open bloom?
Lotus opens more and more,
Shutting now together soon.

Closing tight, closing tighter!
What's the name of the closing bloom?
Lotus closes more and more,
Opening now again so soon,

In this game, the circle gradually opens and then shuts with a swaying, dancing movement of the entire body.

"You want a child to bring up?
And what'll you feed the baby?"
"A bean-jam bun with sirup?"
"No, that will make him sickly, maybe."
"Boiled rice with beans and fishes."
"The fish have bones too many."
"I'll take them off the dishes."
"Yet there will remain too many."
"Then I'll give the child three fishes"

In hash made for his sake."

"Oh, that will meet my fondest wishes.

Which child will you now take?"

Games are educative, perhaps more in a state of nature than when institutionalized according to modern methods. Battledore and shuttlecock were mentioned in one of the slumber-songs. They are the instruments of a game essentially conducive to poise and grace of movement throughout the entire body, and may have contributed no little to the almost universal gracefulness of Japanese girlhood. The dance, accompanied by singing, antedated all written history in Japan, and was engaged in not only by professional dancers for the entertainment of others, but also by the younger populace for their own amusement upon moonlight nights in the streets and open squares.

Games of matching were common, and often tested accuracy of memory and intellectual ability as well as keenness of physical sense. Cut-puzzles were the simplest of the matching games. To match a proverb with an appropriate illustration or to unite two parts of a classical poem called forth other powers. *Hyaku Monogatari*, one hundred stories, consisted in telling a series of short tales at the end of each of which the children in turn

drew from the oil one of as many burning wicks as there were to be stories (supposedly one hundred), the last to draw, leaving the room in total darkness, being supposed to see some terrible face. Counting songs, for counting out, were numerous and not unlike those of the West ; while mathematical games of *Go*, elaborate checkers, of which there are over 360 varieties, occupied the wrapt attention of the old as well as the young.

The use of the light, bounding ball was carried to great perfection, two or more players often contesting in a debt and credit game of keeping up the bound as repeatedly as possible. Kite-flying has long been a favorite pastime for men and boys ; but for the most part the games of old Japan lacked the athletic element suited to growing boys. For that they turned to the more serious exercises connected with training in the arts of war.

Children, especially of the upper classes, were taught within the home a most complete system of social etiquette, not of polite behavior in association with others, but of manifold rules so ingrained as to become through training a second nature in all the activities of the household. There is a right way of doing the smallest thing and that right way is a way of grace. To discover it, to practice it, to teach it, is refinement, is

making life artistic ; and that the child was trained to become.

The Japanese are a pleasure-loving people among whom the emotions still find ready expression despite centuries of repressive effort inculcated by Buddhist teaching and samurai training. The very emphasis placed upon this conscious effort of repression is proof conclusive of the strength of that instinct against which it is directed. In matters of familiar experience, the *shiran-kaō*, the unknowing face, is easily assumed and utterly impenetrable ; but along unfamiliar lines or when no repression is thought to be called for, the emotion speaks through every lineament. Story-telling is an ancient profession ; and the Japanese are both excellent actors and devoted patrons of the drama.

It is significant that dramatic presentation has originated in so many lands in connection with the service of religion. Of the fact, the history of the English drama is a striking example ; and the plays of the Greek stage form the essential bible of that race. In Japan also the oldest plays were the *Kami-asobi* enacted for the amusement of the gods.

These plays consisting of music, pantomimic dancing, and song, still to be seen at Shinto festivals, seem to

have been known from the earliest period. The *Kagura* is clearly portrayed in the *Kojiki* myth where Ame-no-Uzume dances before the cave in which the Sun-Princess is sulking; and the *Nihongi*, referring to the year 671 A.D., speaks of the *Dengaku* or rice-field dance as the sacred dance of the rice-harvest. The Emperor Ichijo (987-1012 A.D.) is said to have selected thirty-eight *kagura* from those which had developed locally, and to have given increased importance to their presentation. From the time of Emperor Shirakawa (1081 A.D.) to the beginning of the Era of Meiji, *kagura* dances were performed annually.

Designed primarily for the entertainment of the gods, they were presented upon a stage enclosed upon all sides save that facing the shrine, and often continued from twilight until dawn. The element of fun was conspicuous, as in the Greek Bacchanalia, but this appears to have been early lost, the later plays being of most serious character. The song was brief, serving merely as the key to the pantomime which to the accompaniment of music was often of considerable length. About fifty recognized *kagura* are now extant; but among the number are some of later origin which again introduce the comic element, being taken from the *Saibara* or popular comic songs.

As a whole the *kagura* never made strong appeal to the popular mind; and its educative influence could not have been great except perhaps as in courtly circles and even among the emperors it gave opportunity for dramatic exercise.

As the early *kagura* lost its element of fun, there developed the *Sarugaku*, named from the Chinese comic dance. This seems to have run its course, and to have given place to *No* and *Kyogen*, through the addition of more extended dialogue under Buddhist influence. Within the *No*, which might be characterized as primitive opera, some didactic purpose is for the first time apparent, the promotion of piety seeming to have been their chief motive. The *No*, of which over two hundred are extant, are of indefinite authorship, having developed through generations by gradual modification from stories which were the common property of the people. In theme they were largely historical and appealed to the educated and cultured. The language was classical and scholarly allusions frequent. It resembled the Greek drama in the use of the mask, and had some likeness to the Masques of the European Renaissance.

From the fourteenth century these plays received special patronage from the Shoguns. They became a

ceremony of state, often acted by young samurai trained for the profession and even by the Shoguns themselves. Hideyoshi, the Taiko, and Tokugawa-Ieyasu are said to have been constant attendants upon *No* presentations and frequent actors. Many daimyos had local *No* stages and the actors were held in honor. The plays were almost a monopoly of the higher and military classes; and there was only one day in the year when they might be seen by the common people.*

The *No* was stately and solemn; but, even as in modern tragedy scenes of lighter vein relieve the overstrain of emotion, *Kyogen* (farces) were acted between the scenes. Some of these *Kyogen* date from the Ashikaga period and may have been a parallel development, following the *Sarugaku*, from the simpler dances which Buddhism had sought to convert to the sombre stateliness of the *No*. The *Kyogen* were presented by a different set of players, unmasked and without music. The character of events and passions portrayed by these dances, *No* and *Kyogen*, and their accompanying recitals is worthy of notice. No trace of the indecent or vulgar appears. They had been thoroughly purged

* For an enthusiastic forthsetting and translation of '*No*' see "Plays of Old Japan—The *No*." Marie C. Stokes. London, 1913.

by Buddhism; and, as amusements of the upper classes, they dealt, the one with sentiments of bravery and devotion, the other with the innocent blunders of common life.

In 1603 a modification of the *Kyogen* was made by a woman, named Okuni, to meet more popular needs, and herein may have originated the modern comedy theatre with which Japan is filled to overflowing.

During the Genroku era (1688-1703) *Ningyo Shibai*, or marionette theatres, became very common, the dialogue fitting the action of the puppets, being read to the accompaniment of the *samisen*. At first the presentations were highly moral and practical, appealing to the common people and giving suggestions concerning daily life and business. The rich young man, who through misfortune became poor and then by a life of filial devotion and moral conduct regained his fortune and honor, was a common character. The plays depicted daily human nature; and to move the emotions of the populace was the actors' design; yet so great was the reputation of some of the conductors that they were called to play before the court. At one time in Yedo the name *Yamaneke* (mountain cat) was given to these plays because of the custom of showing an

animal-skin to the children and at times frightening them. The plays later degenerated, as did the ordinary theatre, and depicted lower levels of life among trade people and harlots, appealing to the passions of the young.

A clear distinction must be made between the *No* and *Kyogen*, on the one hand, and the entertainments of the popular theatre, on the other.

The fondness of the people for dramatic pleasure led to the opening of many play-houses ; but from the first they appear to have been condemned as immoral in influence, usually, it may be supposed, living down to the expectation put upon them. Thus the culture influence of the *No* and the *Kyogen*, so far as they became amusements and passed beyond the patronage of the Buddhist priesthood under whom they were addressed to the common people, was limited to the aristocracy while the lower classes were left to find their pleasure in less refined types. A distinction between the actor of the *No*, as developed under the influence we have noted, and the popular dancer must also be noted. The dancers of the *No* and the *Kyogen* were men ; and the practices of the *Geisha*, however common, were as emphatically condemned, though with little avail, by the Shogunate in its

better moments as they have been by the sense of modern Japan. Yet it should be said that this condemnation was directed rather against any woman of family or character giving herself to a public life that presumed immorality than against the practices of those who were looked upon as mere entertainers, taking in society the place which the modest woman under the conventions of the day could not occupy and elevate.

For the dances under Shinto and Buddhist patronage, special open-air stages were constructed in the temple courts where the gods as well as men might behold and rejoice, for, as we have seen, their origin was as a form of service literally well-pleasing to divinity. These stages, often approached by an arched bridge from some near-by section of the temple, were roofed pavilions open on every side and entirely without adornment or setting, the rich robing of the dancers and their expressive acting being deemed sufficient to bring reality before a responsive imagination.

The educational value of the drama is now generally recognized, and, in view of what is felt to be its efficiency as a means of inspiration, as well as of instruction, a certain measure of emphasis must be laid upon the part taken by the stage in the education of old Japan, recog-

nizing the fact that the influence was confined for the most part to the members of the upper classes. The whole subject is worthy of careful study, especially before the material passes more entirely from our reach.

In connection with many temples, and before the shrines of tutelary divinities may be found similar halls with open sides in which are hung as votive offerings, pictures and implements supposedly pleasing to deity. These are called *Emado*; and some are very ancient. They serve as free play-rooms for little children and at times for semi-religious, semi-social revels. Of course, it is utterly impossible to estimate what may or may not have been the educational influence of these votive halls; but their pictures preserve many old legends and heroic tales which must thus have been brought more powerfully to the mind, especially of the country folk and common people, inculcating lessons of loyalty, fidelity and obedience to be wrought imperceptibly into the tissue of thought and life. The modern tendency to find educational aid in illustrative material and museums connected with primary schools here has an ancient example in which history, geography, legend, and above all patriotism were taught under the sanction of whatever influence the presence of kindly deity could afford. Of

these *Emado*, one of the most famous is that at Miyajima which is said at one time to have served practically as an art exhibition hall for writers and painters who wished that the journeying pilgrims from all Japan should there behold their production.

As the bard in Europe had his place at the courts of the mighty, and the wandering minstrel was welcomed at the cottages of the poor, so in Japan the story-teller afforded entertainment upon the streets, in public halls and in the homes of the people, by voice and gesture alone calling forth tears or laughter over stories of heroic or of foolish deeds. The pedagogic value of the story was early recognized; and a serious motive entered into its use. At about the beginning of the Tokugawa period (1603), story-tellers of wide reputation, clothing ethical principles in the tales of the Taira and Genji clans, gained great influence over the mass of the people. Later Shinto priests and masterless retainers recited their stories from door to door or upon public squares. Certain places became noted for such recitals. Battle-tellers, taking their material from the warlike days preceding the Tokugawa Shogunate, stirred the populace; and out of the stories and their telling grew lectures in charming style adapted to move public sentiment against social and

political corruption. The moralists of the orthodox school are said to have been alarmed by the vital influence of these popular appeals which manifested itself in a growing spirit of chivalry. These heralds of heroism were doubtless worthy of their hire ; but, here as everywhere in Japanese history, all reference to material reward, the barter of trade, is omitted. Some motive more noble moved them ; and many did not hesitate to copy the trappings of the dance the better to enforce their message. Goto-Matabei, a warrior out of service, used to speak in the courts of the Temmangu Temple in Osaka and at the corners of the streets wearing helmet and battle-armor, until he attracted the interest of the rulers of the city and was invited to recite before the mayor and his council. Later he moved to Tokyo ; and there his story-hall continued to be a place of popular amusement until the early years of the Meiji Era.

A story need not be of great intrinsic worth to become interesting and educative if well told with wealth of incident, in which lies half hidden, half revealed, a people's thinking. The Japanese are skilled to make much of little ; and without accessory aid the story-teller, seated upon the floor with but a folding fan in his hand, can depict upon his face the drama of passion and pain,

the comedy of errors, so that words are but little needed to relate the experience through which the listener is perforce led in sympathetic joy or grief.

In Chapter IV we have seen how the education of the common people was furthered by Nakae-Toju and Kaibara-Ekken, as over against the orthodox position and methods of the Government School which regarded the interests of the ruling classes merely, and how the only popular education was to be found in the ministry of such educators and the *terakoya* schools. An attempt to put in practice the principles of practical ethics as taught by Kaibara-Ekken resulted in the *Shingakusha*. The *Shingakusha* were preachers of heart knowledge, of practical ethics, in reaction against the scholastic indifference of the conventional teachers of the recognized schools. They attained their greatest influence during the middle of the eighteenth century. They were often men of means or at least of independent self-support. Their methods of appeal to the common people were despised and hence their social standing was low ; but they seem to have been inspired by a true spirit of devotion, giving themselves freely to popular education and using a plain, simple and direct style for the diffusion of practical moral teachings.

Baigan-Ishida was the chief of this school of practical moralists. He was born in the province of Tamba in 1685 ; and in his youth served as a merchant's apprentice. At the age of forty-five he opened a school which, after a series of reverses, developed into the school for *Shingaku-sha*. He seems to have been self-educated for the most part ; and to have inspired others to independence of thought and action and to devotion for the uplift of the common people. He died in 1744 ; but the school continued ; and from it went forth strong influences for good.

The educational theories of this school, if such there may be said to have been, were simple and to be summed up in the teachability of man and the ideal of harmony with nature to be gained through introspection. Its method was one of adaptation to the needs of the people ; and in the style of these lectures have been found suggestive models for Christian preachers of more modern times. At the height of its influence, this school possessed not less than two hundred lecture halls throughout the country.

An example of their lecture-hall announcements affords evidence of their informal and popular character :

Lecture Days are the third, thirteenth and twenty-third of each month.

Audiences need not dress. No distinctions of sex in seating. Admission free.

Smoking forbidden. Silence required.

Professional and occupational training in old Japan was generally through apprenticeship. We have seen that chairs of education were hereditary in the government schools. To an even greater extent were the arts and crafts handed down from father to son or taught to those who were adopted to the trade. While the fetters of cast have never shackled the children of Japan, family expectation was often, usually, compulsory in causing a son to follow the profession or occupation of his father; and, even in the present day of greatly increased individual freedom, many a youth is held to an uncongenial calling by the imperative of a family council.

Apprentices were received into humble service and slowly promoted until, if faithful and efficient, they were in young manhood set up in more independent business with the family name, while the elder became *inkyō*, retired, as a silent partner. In cases where a number of apprentices were in training, they were given a certain

number of the regular customers and supposed to secure others while building up a new business under the divided sign of the old firm.

Among employers of the better sort, evening classes were not uncommon for teaching in letter-writing, penmanship and arithmetic. Two text books (one a manual of letter-writing and the other of commerce) were employed ; but more advanced learning was thought unnecessary. The place of a tradesman was regarded as inferior ; and in consequence there grew up an inferior code of commercial ethics from the influence of which Japan has not yet escaped.

The arts and crafts were more honorable ; and in them the apprentice often received the best technical instruction which could be given, though of course such as pertained merely to his peculiar art or craft. The master often felt great pride in his profession, and sought for it a worthy perpetuator even as for his family he desired a son to bear his name and honor him through future years. Where he had no son, or none able to embody the ideal of his calling, adoption was gladly accorded one who gave promise of handing down the torch of life and the glory of art. Upon such artist pride is built in large measure the plot of " The Dragon Painter "

by Mrs. Fenollosa, which, while of doubtful accuracy in many details, may in this be taken as true to the ideal. Binding to him a wild but inspired painter of the hills by the promise of his daughter in marriage, old Kano, the famous artist, thought nothing of the sacrifice he supposed he was demanding of the beautiful girl. But to the passion of the wild painter was given also a passion of love in the delight of which, now that the object of his ideal was his own, all power to paint was lost; till the woman driven by duty as by love, saddened that she should by her own beauty forever obscure all other beauty in the eyes of her husband who had painted because he had had her not, fled, as he supposed, from him and life itself by her own act; and like a spirit presence led him back from the death he sought into a chastened sanity that could still love and paint, fulfilling the master's will.

CHAPTER VII

ETHICAL CULTURE AND PHYSICAL TRAINING

IN Feudal Japan society was divided into classes. At the head of these stood the samurai. It is hardly fair to call them soldiers for, although they were soldiers, they were far more. During the Shogunate, which was pre-eminently the period of samurai supremacy, they practically monopolized the educational opportunities afforded by the schools of the government; but one phase of their education is worthy of separate consideration. Their military training, however specialized in the case of individuals, was never narrowly special in character. Physical in form, it was ethical as well as physical in intent, and a recognized means of ethical culture. The Japanese have been considered a warlike, war-loving people. Such they are not. Rather are they a people of high spirit who have been led at times to manifest that spirit in the activities of war. When history is made the record not alone of government changes, wrought so frequently in tumult and

blood-shed, but also of the cultural efforts of individuals and society, it is clearly seen that war has played an insignificant part in the development and progress of the Japanese people. Their attainments have been the attainments of peace ; and the form of their ancient military training had for its goal culture of soul as inseparable from that of body.

Martial valor seems to have characterized the exploits of Japan's pre-historic days. The names of many of her ancient deities have reference to strife. The land was created or drawn from the foam of the sea by Izanagi and Izanami with a spear ; and a sword was among the sacred gifts granted unto the Imperial House by the Sovereignty of Heaven. The name *Bushi*, or *Buge*, designating a warrior class, is of ancient origin, first appearing in an Imperial edict of between 715 and 724 A.D. Such a class, as distinct from the mass of the people, developed gradually and naturally, at a time of Imperial weakness when a few families, notably the Fujiwara, had gained a monopoly of influence and discouraged martial valor that they might the more easily rule an effeminate court. Weakness at the Imperial centre compelled the outlying clans, each in self-defence, to train a body of soldiery. Of the clans practicing thus the arts of war, the Minamoto became most

powerful and, overthrowing the Fujiwara supremacy, led the way to the Shogunate.

The rule of the Shogunate was a military usurpation but in character it varied greatly under successive leaders. At its best, while exercising an authority quite independent of the Throne, it was, as a matter of fact, a saving sovereignty, preserving the nation and the Throne against their own degeneracy ; and at its worse, it but fell before the temptation of great power, seeking to continue those sad circumstances which made the exercise of its power a national necessity. Thus among the professions of old Japan none, through long periods of history, held higher honor than that of the soldier, the samurai, the defender of authority whose crowning virtue was personal loyalty and whose calling was that of a gentleman.

In considering the education of this *gentleman*, we notice certain points of likeness to that received by the knight of Mediæval Europe. The education of the samurai was primarily a family education, which varied naturally in scope with the standing of the family but which in every case was characterized by certain distinguishing features. The child of a noble warrior was from infancy placed under the care of a nurse who by culture and training as well as by birth was fitted to be his governess. Later he

was given into the direction of a male tutor from among the foremost of the associated samurai. Children of less exalted birth had fewer educational advantages; but family training was given to all in graces according to the social code, in physical skill through athletic exercises, and in character *by* means of both. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of this education was its emphasis which was placed first upon character, second upon skill, and last of all upon mere knowledge.

This education began in childhood and was for the whole life, not for that fraction thereof which might be spent upon the battle-field. *Bushido*, never formulated, and defying definition, was the *way* of the warrior, and by that *way* he was to walk daily. His education consisted in the practice of that *way*. "*Bushido*," says Dr. Nitobe, "is the code of moral principles which the knights were required or instructed to observe. It is not a written code, at best it consists of a few maxims handed down from mouth to mouth or coming from the pen of some well-known warrior or savant. More frequently it is a code unuttered and unwritten, possessing all the more the powerful sanction of veritable deed, and of a law written on the fleshly tablets of the heart. It was founded not on the creation of one brain, however able, or on the life of

a single personage, however renowned. It was an organic growth of decades and centuries of military career.”* Thus *Bushido* was an ethical spirit; and it is significant that in connection with the training of the warrior class we find most conspicuous no manual of arms but an unwritten principle of honor, the more vital, perhaps, for having escaped the systematization which blighted Japanese organized education.

Social graces are not readily associated with the education of a soldier; but, while the samurai scorned the effeminacy of the court nobles, he regarded the poise and perfection of an elaborate ceremonial of conduct as conducive to that poise and perfection of soul which should characterize a soldier, and without which he might in moments of passion be tempted into loss of self-control and so into unbecoming conduct. Etiquette was taught with strictness not alone or chiefly as a form of conduct appropriate in dealing with others but as a means of self-discipline in that which befitted self. However polite the Japanese may be in expressed consideration for the feelings of others, the samurai was ceremonious from a sense of what was becoming to a man in his position, and the punctilious observance of all forms was a matter of no

* Nitobe: *Bushido—The Soul of Japan*, Tokyo, Japan, 1899.

light importance in his educational training. His athletic sports and military exercises were all prefaced and concluded by ceremonial conduct, almost ritualistic in character, while his accomplishments often appeared little more than forms which in themselves, apart from the poise and control through them attained, were vain and foolish.

Courtesy and conduct, under all circumstances, were taught concretely in the actual training of daily life from which there was no escape for the forgetful. Children with parents and with their companions were constantly under discipline which habituated conduct and made certain reactions a matter of instinct. Stories of daring and of ideal heroism were the stuff on which children's imaginations were fed; and feats, often beyond childish strength, were required that drill might set the ideal as a part of daily living and not as something to be rightly expected only of the remote and unusual. The writer remembers the son of a two-sworded samurai telling how, when as a lad he had been given his sword and was supposed to learn its use and avoid its misuse, he sat down to dinner one day next his aged grandfather, and, in boyish haste, laid his sword upon the wrong side, where it could not naturally be drawn quickly. Like a flash the old man's blade was forth, and the lad lay senseless by a blow from

its flat surface that he might learn, in a way not to be forgotten, where to place a sword that might be needed in self-defense.

“Tis not in hatred that we beat
The bamboo bending neath the snow.”

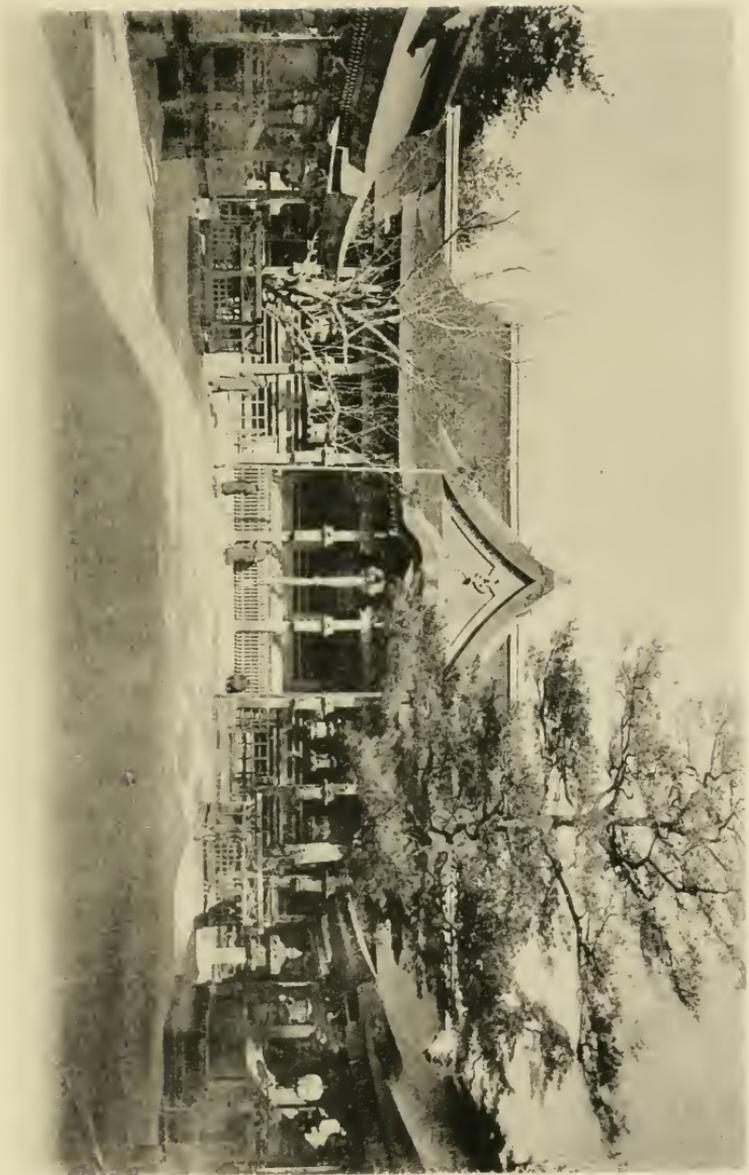
Neesima, Japan's Christian educator, himself a samurai, says: “My grandfather paid special attention to my education. Every evening he put me on his lap and told for me instructive stories about ancient heroes, great personages, wise men, etc., and above all, he was particularly attentive in instructing me to be obedient to parents and faithful to friends and at the same time to be careful in speaking, modest in act, and not to steal nor deceive and flatter.” He also says that once when his grandfather heard of his disobedience to his mother, the old man caught the boy and rolled him up in a night coverlet and shut him up in a closet, later releasing him with tender words of explanation.

Outside of the home, even during the Dark Ages of Japan's history, the children of samurai were taught in the temple schools and in private institutions. During the period of increased attention to education under the Tokugawa, they enjoyed greater opportunities for literary culture; but book-learning was never highly valued by

the true samurai whose intelligence rejoiced rather in deeds than words. His education often included poetical composition and familiarity with Confucian ethics ; but he was primarily a man of action and regarded philosophy only as an aid to character and literature as an amusement. By far the greater number of the samurai received no formal literary training ; yet they were trained men.

Training in the art of fencing, archery, *jiujitsu*, horsemanship and the use of the spear formed the bulk of their education outside of the home. It was severe ; and each exercise, apart from skill, was supposed to impart some culture of character. For example, archery developed that composure of nerve which has very direct relation to self-control ; and the very essence of *jiujitsu* consists in self-restraint which allows the foe to injure himself by his own unchecked onslaught.

Such was the emphasis placed upon self-control that it would seem that the samurai must have realized some great temptation to passion within his native character. The Japanese have been called stoical. Rather by nature they are strongly emotional, while their stoicism has been acquired by training. No one can deny the stoic element. It is most apparent in all the common experiences of life and upon occasions of great crisis ; yet



Kitano-Temmangu Shrine, Kyoto

it is not the stoicism of the unfeeling but of those trained to control their feelings under all circumstances for which they can have been prepared. The unusual at times reveals the fire, and the restraint once broken often proves the strength of the passion which had been held in check.

The place in which the samurai were taught athletics was called *dojo*, the place for learning the way of the warrior. The strictest forms of etiquette were observed; and one who had completed the *dojo* training was an expert not only in military science as then understood, but also in that control which makes for character. As Waterloo is said to have been won upon the playground of Eton because of the self-mastery rather than because of the physical prowess there gained, so many a Japanese battle was determined by the moral qualities rather than the military skill derived from some teacher who made his training-field a place of manhood-culture. The culture of the will through muscular training, but recently recognized in theory, was among the samurai of Japan a seemingly intuitive practice. Data upon the subject do not allow definite conclusions, but they at least suggest the possibility that something of the samurai's moral strength had origin in his physical training through half a millenium.

All warriors of note, and many of humble station, had personal *kaho*, or private codes of conduct, which stood in lieu of any generally accepted standard of morality. These were often unified into a body recognized as binding within certain clans. The simple life of physical austerity and self-control was always a primary demand. Mutual confidence and trust between fellow-samurai was expected; and honor was supposed to govern all, including the final act of death. As typical of the shorter codes, prepared by samurai leaders for their followers, may be given the substance of seven articles issued by Kato-Kiyomasa, a loyal adherent of the House of Tokugawa:

Rise early, practice archery.

For amusement, hunt and wrestle.

Eat no white rice, eat the black.

Spend not for luxury; save, for public necessity.

Care only for the sword, they that dance and sing shall be slain.

Train in military tactics, avoid literary exercises.

That which was rightly to be expected was considered obligatory. The rightful expectation, not of others but of one's self, was the highest law. Self-respect was an essential of the samurai. Death was preferable to dishonor, the dishonor which, regardless of the opinion of

others, was no less a deadly shame because secret within the hall of self-judgment,

‘ To-day the cherries are blooming ;
To-morrow scattered they lay ;
Their blooms are like to the warrior,
Whose life may end with the day ;
Yet strives he ever unfailing,
His name in honor to stay.’

The cherry of Japan, unlike that of the West, is treasured not for its fruit but for its bloom. The blossoms open before the leaves appear, covering the branches and minutest twigs with a garment of glory which falls, after but a day or two of prime, at the slightest touch, at the silent call of the air, calmly, quietly, willingly, though it would seem passing to an untimely doom. So should the samurai go to meet the end when it comes after glory. The custom of *harakiri*, frequently practiced by men and by women of the samurai class, has been misunderstood. Though employed as a refuge and escape by many unworthy spirits, it was, on the part of the trained samurai, never an act of passion, never an act of fear, but always of calm resolve and from a sense of duty, a sacrament of truly religious significance in which self and all self-interest was not forgotten but deliberately laid

aside in the interest of some high obligation. Self-inflicted death for any reason of self alone was never honored; but from childhood the samurai lad was trained to look upon death in calmness with open eyes and to control every emotion of fear in its presence.

Girls of a samurai family were not neglected, for, however inferior their position according to the teachings of current philosophy, they were to be the mothers of men and of samurai. Inured to physical virtues that were of masculine character, death was preferable to dishonor; and the samurai wife was one in whom her husband might well trust. As rulers within the home, they were to mold the ideals and superintend the early training of the children. This made it imperative that they should have standards of virtue and honor becoming the mothers of men, and gave added importance to their own familiarity with the art of fencing and the use of the *naginata* (long handled sword).

The attention paid by the samurai of old to the physical culture of his daughters, as mothers of sons to be, may in a measure be paralleled by the recent regard for physical training in the girls' schools of the Empire. Without any declared purpose on the part of the government, many recognize an intent looking not alone to the

immediate hygienic effects but to the development of a future generation of Japanese that shall be of superior physique. The result from this and allied causes is already assured.

The training of the Japanese *Bushi* was, as we have seen, designed to produce men characterized not only by physical prowess but even more by a certain spirit. That spirit, finding individual embodiment, was *Yamato Damashii*, the Spirit of Japan. Of that spirit perhaps the most characterizing attribute was *chugi*, loyalty. Filial obedience and loyalty to one's superior are the fundamental virtues emphasized in Confucian thought. Of these China placed filial obedience first, while Japan has considered them essentially identical and given preference to that form of duty expressed by the term 'loyalty.' There could be no real conflict between these two obligations when the ultimate superior was also the head of the great parental stock ; but whenever conflict appeared to rise, loyalty to one's leader justified the setting aside of every minor family claim. This obligation attained the force of an instinctive impulse. This loyalty may be criticised in that it seems always to have been to an individual rather than to a principle ; but the question also may be raised as to what is law or principle apart

from a personal law-giver, a will in conformity to which is the essence of loyalty. Obligation is an interpersonal bond ; and in the character of *chugi*, loyalty, we find that which, if more primitive, is also more nearly ultimate, the sense of utter obligation to a superior who is more than an abstraction of right or a formulation of principles. This loyalty to one's immediate lord, and ultimately to the Emperor, was fostered through the feudal ages by the sternest discipline. "Are you ready to die for your master?" was no unusual demand, even to children, and expected but one answer, unhesitatingly given, "I am ready."

Practice falls far short of the ideal theory in every sphere of human endeavor ; yet upon the theory exemplified in the practice of the best the truest judgment is based. Both Japanese and European writers have doubtless idealized ; but if, of the former, some seem clearly to have read the history and precepts of samurai training with eyes that beheld an after-image of Christian virtues, no less have romanticists and poets shed a halo over the life of Western chivalry. Little harm can be done by an over-appreciation ; and certainly to the *Bushido* spirit of the samurai, of simple virtues and brutal passions often in strange contrast, Japan owes

much of that character which to-day, as in the past, defies complete analysis because it is a living soul.

With the passing of feudalism, passed also the distinct status of the samurai. The Restoration proclaimed the equality of the four ancient classes: the soldier, the farmer, the artizan, the merchant; and perhaps nothing in all the history of Japanese military aristocracy gave more conclusive evidence to the character of that nobility than the spirit with which they laid down at the feet of the Emperor, privilege and property held for centuries. With the passing of the feudal order, the loyalty which had bound the samurai to individual leaders, centered upon one object, the Emperor, as supreme, a person and yet the embodiment of a great national ideal, who "represents to-day to each one of his fifty millions of subjects the unity, interests and glory of the whole." And while New Japan is increasingly a land of the common people, who are developing with remarkable efficiency, the families of old samurai-training and tradition have, in every walk of their unaccustomed life, displayed the spirit of their ancient education. The samurai to-day, for he exists in most respects unnoticed among his fellows, though he may draw the *kuruma* in which you ride about the streets, is conspicuous in this,

he is still a gentleman ; and his wife or daughter, though perchance she cook your daily food, is a lady from whose gentle courtesy of manner many a lesson might be humbly learned.

CHAPTER VIII

FOREGLEAMS OF THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

THE second great awakening was that which culminated in the new life of the Meiji Era, following the Restoration of 1868. The awakening was not as sudden as it appeared to the Western world; and outside influences had not as large a share in its accomplishment as has been generally supposed. The coming of the American fleet under Commodore Perry, with the demand of the American government that Japan should consent to trade relations, was the occasion rather than the cause of the convulsion which shook off the rule of the *Bakufu* and reinstated the Emperor in a position of power with advisers who, though at first narrowly national in their declared policy, were clear-sighted enough to realize that success lay only along the lines of progress and the attainment of that strength, material and intellectual, which was possessed by the peoples of the West. The Shogun, nominally ruling in the authority of the Throne,

had long since ceased to regard its wishes ; and there were not lacking those who, especially from a study of history, were critical of his power. The storm was ready to break ; and the danger, threatening from abroad, united diverse elements under the rallying cry of the ' Rule of the Emperor for the Saving of Japan,' and precipitated the crisis.

The " about-face " of the Imperial Party upon coming into power may have been more apparent than real, for, while the loyalists as a whole readily united only in defense of Imperial Rule, the party was divided in its policy regarding the foreigner, and the foremost leaders may be supposed to have foreseen the wisdom of opening Japan to influences from abroad. That there were men ready to lead in the Restoration was due in large measure to the influence of certain schools, notably that of Mito ; and that there were men ready to welcome foreign association was also due to the work of certain independent teachers whose efforts kindled the foregleams of the second great awakening.

Before the discovery of America, Japan was known by name in Europe ; and during the sixteenth century Europeans, penetrating the East, met Japanese who had wandered southward. A Portuguese named Pinto reached Japan in 1542 ; and thereafter purposes of trade

brought Portuguese, Spanish, English and Dutch merchant-adventurers, though until 1592 the Portuguese held practical monopoly of European influence. More than the hope of wealth, however, the enthusiasm of the Roman Orders, quickened into life in counter-reformation to the Protestant movement, and urged into missionary activity by the zeal of a land in which the Inquisition had but recently been established, motivated those who came to Japan. The Shogunate welcomed foreign trade; and courtesy was extended to those from whom the Land seemed about to learn great things, even as she had done in the more distant past from China. The Roman Fathers also were well received; and the new faith won many converts, even from among those high in rank. The rivalry between the Japanese classical schools had in a measure prepared scholars for independent thinking; and, even as Buddhism had gained entrance, so now it appeared that Christianity might spread rapidly through the country.

This consummation was prevented by the mutual distrust of Jesuits and Franciscans, by the accusations of hostile Buddhist priests, and by the evident political intrigue of high officials with Philip III of Spain and Portugal, which led the Shogunate under Hidetada and

his father Iyeyasu, who still controlled the policy from retirement, to begin the suppression of Christianity and foreign intercourse. The resolve was taken in 1612 ; but during the life-time of Iyeyasu extreme penalties were visited upon native believers only. The foreign priests were ordered from the country ; and upon their return, in various disguises, after repeated warnings and deportations were subjected to torture and death. The churches which had been organized, the schools which had been established, the Christian communities which had been built up, all were utterly wiped out. Individual believers were put to death ; and whatever influence remained from this Christian contact was forced into secrecy. Doubtless opinions will continue to differ as to the necessity or wisdom of the government policy ; but that the policy was entered upon with great reluctance and self-restraint, conscientiously in self-defence, seems clear. The expulsion of the foreigners and the prohibition of Christianity, however much to be regretted from certain points of view, may have been for the ultimate good of Japan in that they saved her from the domination if not exploitation of Europe and from a form of religion that has never yet sought to develop *en masse* a backward people.

The books of such libraries as the Ashikaga were printed from block-type in China ; and copying by hand occupied much of the time of Japanese scholars, but printing was to some extent practiced during the sixteenth century. In 1552, was published a treatise upon astronomy, *Chugaku Byodan*, showing the influence of Western thought ; and in 1636 appeared a roll of illustrations to Aesop's Tales, by an unknown author, with what is considered to have been a rough translation from some oral explanation of the text. Yet these and other small beginnings, in the way of Bible sections and Christian hymns, were swept away or forced into deepest secrecy by the thorough execution of the government policy.

From 1639 contact with the West was broken except at Nagasaki where for purposes of trade the Dutch, as apparently having no ulterior motive, were allowed to remain upon the island of Deshima. Even this intercourse for commercial purposes was placed under the closest inspection and involved much danger both to the foreigners and to the Japanese who might be suspected of going beyond the prescribed limits. Interpreters were necessary but they were carefully watched and the books which they were allowed to read strictly limited. In fact, language study was largely from lip to lip without the use

of any text and without the acquisition of any knowledge of the printed word.

Surgery and medicine, long regarded in Japan as philanthropic professions, afforded the first real channel of approach to Western science. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, it appears, certain interpreters, having access to the Dutch, learned by observation enough to quicken interest in the superiority of their methods. About 1670, a young man named Nakashima-Soha, through association with Dutch merchants, escaped from the country and spent from three to five years in Holland in the study of medicine. Upon his return, concealing the fact of his life abroad, he is said to have practiced medicine in Nagasaki and later in Osaka under the name of "Hato-no." From there his son moved to Kumamoto. That this should have been possible at that time in Japanese history appears open to question; but in the city of Kumamoto the eighth and ninth generations of an old-time physician trained in Dutch medicine still reside and practice an hereditary calling.

In 1713 Yoshimune became Shogun; and greater freedom for study was allowed the interpreters. In particular, two of the Nagasaki interpreters, Nishi and Yoshio, sought and were granted permission to study the writtne

language, and both made some progress in surgical science. Yoshimune's interest in astronomy further directed his attention to Western science, and he seems to have been convinced of its superiority. He ordered the translation of a Dutch almanac and the preparation of a report concerning western countries. During his administration the law prohibiting foreign books was annulled, though political and religious books were still forbidden.

In 1744, Aoki-Konyo, a student whose intense interest in scientific studies, especially such as would prove of practical benefit, had gained for him admission to the library of the government, went to Nagasaki for the study of the Dutch language. There, Nishi and Yoshio joined him in forming the first class for the open study of the foreign tongue. Aoki became popularly known as "Kan-sho Sensei," Dr. Sweet Potato, from the fact that his practical interest in the conditions of the poor led him to encourage the general cultivation of the sweet potato which had previously been confined to the province of Satsuma. That title was engraved upon the stone which marks his grave. His sympathetic attitude attracted students to him as a teacher after his studies in Nagasaki; and among those who studied under him may be mentioned Maeno-Ryotaku.

Maeno-Ryotaku was born in Yedo, in 1723, and

brought up in the household of a relative who was a physician. He naturally inclined to the same profession, but was not satisfied with the methods of the Chinese school. Aoki-Konyo had returned from Nagasaki, the conditions after the death of Yoshimune becoming again less favourable for study; and to him, Maeno, though over forty years of age, went for instruction. Aoki was not able to teach him more than the elements of the Dutch language; but he further aroused his interests in foreign surgery and encouraged him to go to Nagasaki. This he did in 1770, obtaining permission from his lord to remain about three months. Even in Nagasaki he found few facilities for the study of language. The note-books of the interpreters, in which they had written down in *kana* such words as they had heard spoken, were the chief texts. These were studied with great care and from them a vocabulary of about seven hundred words was derived. Upon the expiration of his three months, Maeno returned to Yedo taking with him, however, a copy of "*Tafel Anatomia*" which he had secured through an interpreter in Nagasaki.

A few years before this, Yoshio, then acting as interpreter, was in Yedo with a Dutch physician; and from him, through a mutual acquaintance accustomed to frequent the headquarters of the Dutch, Sugita-Genpaku, a

physician some ten years younger than Maeno, secured two Dutch books, one of which being the "*Tafel Anatomia*," which, however, he could not read.

Soon after Maeno's return to Yedo, permission was given, in 1771, to dissect the body of a criminal upon the execution grounds outside of the city. Previous dissection had been made by surgeons of the Chinese school, resulting only in their confusion. Now was an opportunity to test the accuracy of the Dutch school. Sugita-Genpaku and Maeno-Ryotaku made careful comparisons with the illustrations in their books; and the results of the experiment were conclusive, for the dismembered body revealed an agreement with the drawings in the Dutch Anatomy quite at variance with Chinese teachings. The surgeons, convinced that they were upon the right road, at once proceeded to organize a private class for the more careful study of the wonderful Dutch books. Of this class, Maeno was the leader; and they met six or seven times a month, often spending an entire day in working out the meaning of a single sentence. After four years of labor, aided somewhat by interpreters visiting from Nagasaki, the "*Kaitai Shinsho*," New Anatomy, was published in August, 1774, having been rewritten eleven times.

Even at this time the study of Dutch was not freely permitted; but the number of students constantly increased, and Otsuki-Gentaku, a disciple of Maeno, was able to organize a Dutch Society in opposition to the surgeons of the old Chinese school. He also compiled a text-book, "*Rangaku Kaitei*," the First Steps in Dutch. This was issued in 1788.

Toward the close of the century, the relations between the Dutch and the medical students became closer; and the interest in medical science so increased that when von Siebold came to Nagasaki in 1823 and opened medical clinics, he had no difficulty in meeting Japanese students of medicine. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, foreign books, though frowned upon for the most part by the authorities, began to appear quite freely. Artists and men of letters, together with men of science, became interested in foreign ideas; and the students of Dutch could be divided into two more or less distinct classes, one seeking to advance medical science through the mastery of Western learning, the other devoted to a wider culture through which might come to Japan strength for the new life about to be born. Thus it came about that the party of opposition to the Shogunate, with its policy of imperial seclusion and foreign exclusion,

was composed of elements united in loyalty to the Emperor but divided widely upon the question of foreign intercourse.

Although astronomy and medicine were the first subjects of study in the Dutch language, geography and natural history soon followed; and, toward the close of the Shogunate, before the translation of foreign books was allowed, even military science was made a pretext by many samurai for the study of foreign language. In 1839, Niimiya-Ryotei established a school of medicine at Rakuto in Kyoto with the intention of opening other departments of science. This may be regarded as the first school avowedly teaching western learning; but the time was not ripe for any wide-spread advance, although the government found itself obliged to have information and in 1811 appointed Otsuki-Gentaku head of a translation bureau for official use.

One of Otsuki's pupils, Utagawa, did much to encourage Dutch learning through translations and had more students under him than his master. Among them was Tsuboi-Shindo, a man of self-denial and a true teacher having among his more than two thousand pupils Ogata-Koan. The early life of Ogata-Koan is of interest as typical of that unrest and eagerness which characterized

the students of the transition period. He was born in 1809 of a poor family, though of samurai rank. At the age of fifteen he gained permission to leave home for study as it was evident that his frail physique unfitted him for hard toil. He went to Osaka and united himself to Naka-Tenyu, a physician who, together with Niimiya-Ryotei of Kyoto, was the most famous in the vicinity. There he studied for about four years and then, hearing of the fame of Tsuboi, travelled the long distance by the old state road to Yedo that he might learn of him. Reaching Yedo, he found himself too poor to pay the trifling fee demanded for admission to Tsuboi's school. He was not discouraged; but, like the *Shingaku* lecturers, went into the surrounding country holding lectures until he had gathered, in contribution, enough to secure his entrance. Struggling with poverty, he wore the cast-off clothes of friends and taught pupils of less ability, in spite of all, making himself the recognized scholar of the school. Upon the advice of his master, he opened practice in Osaka and there established a school in 1838, for the study of the Dutch language, at first meeting much opposition as a practitioner of Barbarian medicine. Ogata-Koan was a man of practical ability and magnetic personality rather than a minutely accurate scholar, and

he had a wide circle of friends among the feudal lords who supplied him with books of great value and brought others to him for inspection. A fellow-student of his under Tsuboi, Aoki-Kanesuke, had become physician of the Choshu Clan, and from there influenced many to attend the school in Osaka.

Ogata-Koan is said to have introduced the practice of vaccination, and to have translated various Dutch books upon anatomy and physiology. His *Keiken Ikun*, Lessons from my Laboratory, was regarded as in value second only to the Anatomy compiled by Maeno and Sugita. Though at times coming under suspicion because of the various foreign books which were to be found at his home, Ogata-Koan, in 1860, was invited to become physician of the Shogunate and president of the Translation Bureau. Two years later he died.

Ogata-Koan's school was a home; but apparently it was organized to a degree not usual at the time. In the house, apart from the family rooms, were two dormitory rooms for the students, a dining room often so crowded that the men stood to eat, and rooms for the books which formed the chief treasure of the school. The students were graded in classes, and regular examinations were held. The best students were assigned to

assist their teacher in the work of his laboratory and in anatomical dissection. The school was maintained for twenty-four years; and in all over three thousand students are said to have been associated with him, among them being many who were prepared to aid during the time of transition. Fukuzawa-Yukichi was of this number.

Ogata-Koan appears to have been not only broad-minded and liberal in matters of intellect but also to have had a most kindly and sympathetic spirit. Many of his students were poor young men seeking the light in spite of family persecution; and to them he was a father. Two *tanka*, freely translated, reveal a sensitiveness to beauty and to peace not uncommon in Japan among men of the most active type.

Along the flowery hill-side,
 How slowly moves my steed,
 While charmed with fragrant beauty,
 I hasten not his speed!

How peacefully life passeth,
 Oh friend of fortune rare!
 Here blow the pine-sweet breezes,
 The brooklet soundeth there.

The inner impulse working for the overthrow of the Shogunate and the restoration of power to the Emperor

may be traced in large measure to influences originating within the Mito school where for years historical research had been conducted and from which had gone forth widely the belief that loyalty to the historic past and the true genius of the nation required the exaltation of the Imperial Family and the subordination of militarism. This connection was the uniting bond between men of very different personal character, but operated differently through different minds.

Those who did most to over-throw the government of the Shogunate and bring about the Restoration, for that purpose seeking a knowledge of the outside world, were not all moved by any spirit of cordial regard for the foreigner. Many hated him with a passion no less strong for being unreasonable, and sought his weapons of knowledge only that they might be turned against him in the supposed defence of country.

Yoshida-Shoin (Torajiro), still the hero of many a nationalist, was a patriot who by the intensity of his zeal and the boldness of his teaching stirred many to rise in defence of the Imperial Right to rule. He was born August 4th, 1830, at Matsushita in Choshu, of a samurai family, his father being a clan official and his mother a gifted woman noted for the training which she gave her

children. He was adopted by an uncle, a Buddhist priest of good scholarship and upright character, and took his name, Yoshida, in place of his parents' name, Sugi. As a child he was deeply impressed by his father's loyalty to the Imperial House ; and his precocity soon brought him to the notice of leading clan-officers. He travelled widely throughout Japan, learning from every side and winning followers by his magnetic personality. He was a tireless student for practical purposes ; and was early connected with the Clan School as a teacher. His study all had the practical end of understanding life that he might better serve what he considered to be the interests of Japan. In that service he was absolutely without fear and openly defied the authority of the Shogunate in its efforts to suppress his influence.

From Sakuma-Shosan (1810-1864), a student of the Mito School, who perceived the necessity of studying the principles of Western civilization and who had himself no little knowledge of Western military tactics, he gained the idea of going abroad that he might secure knowledge whereby the better to oppose the foreign approach. This patriotic purpose led him first to Nagasaki from whence he hoped to leave the country upon a Russian warship at that time reported to be lying in the harbor. The vessel,

however, had sailed before he arrived ; and, disappointed but not discouraged, he returned to Yedo. Upon the coming of the American fleet under Commodore Perry, he more openly declared his hostility to the idea of foreign intercourse, and directed his energies more strenuously to keeping Japan from what he feared would be subordination to foreign influence.

At that time the prohibition against leaving the country rested heavily upon all Japanese, and there appeared no way in which he might satisfy his longing to understand the secrets of foreign power. Twice he tried to steal aboard the American vessels, the first time being ordered away and the second time being sent ashore in the darkness after his own boat, from which he had climbed aboard, had drifted off. This second attempt was reported to the government ; and the drifting boat containing his sword and a poem of encouragement which had been given him by Sakuma-Shosan further incriminated him. Both he and Sakuma were imprisoned, the latter being detained but a short time. He was released in 1855 to live as a prisoner at large in his own house. About a year was thus spent in study but he chafed at inaction, being in heart more a reformer than a student. Then, as the head of his clan was returning from Yedo to the

province of Chosho, Yoshida was given permission to return with him; and in Matsushita succeeded his uncle as teacher in the Shoko Gijuku for somewhat over two years. He was allowed to teach Military science in which he was regarded an expert; but the teaching of philosophy and the discussion of politics was forbidden. As might be expected, he utterly disregarded such restrictions; and of the many pupils who came to him the majority were led by interest in his practical doctrine of Western learning for the defence of the nation. Some, who were not students in any usual sense of the term, came under the guise of pupils that they might consult with him upon matters of public interest. Among the names enrolled upon the school records of the time appear those of Ito, Yamagata and Nomura, with others hardly less conspicuous in later years.

He was imprisoned and released, and imprisoned for the third time and put to death; but nothing appeared to daunt his fearless spirit.

‘In the dark and dreary prison
Where no step of love is heard,
Comfort brings the *Way* that
Ever was and is the Living Word.’

When being examined by the courts which

condemned him to death, he took the last opportunity to address the public and openly boasted his patriotic design against the usurping power of the Shogunate; and the evening before his execution in 1859, at the age of twenty-nine, wrote a stanza now known throughout Japan :

“ Full well I knew this course must end in death ;
It was Yamato Spirit urged me on
To dare whate'er betide.”*

As a teacher there was nothing formal about Yoshida-Shoin. He was honest, that is, utterly sincere in all his relations, and free from pretense. His teaching was in the form of guidance; and the actual life of the world about him formed the subject and text of his most important lectures. He is said to have taught when engaged in other duties and to have been fond of late evening talks with his favorite pupils. His teaching was objective and its goal was the individual for the state. Life to him seemed of value not according to its length in years but only according to its quality; and immortality to him might have been included within the limits of a single hour.

Yoshida - Shoin, by the force of his own electric personality, made the Matsushita school (Shoko Gijuku) an influence second only to the influence of Mito in

*Translation from Bushido by Inazo Nitobe.

preparation for the awakening. He sought the new merely that he might defend the old; but he served Japan better than he planned in the lives of those whom he quickened for progressive as well as patriotic effort. The Mito school worked more silently through the slow but irresistible influence of historical research building up a thoughtful but conservative patriotism which gained inspiration from the past, and operated as powerfully through indirect as through direct channels, while the school at Matsushita, so far as it affected the movements of the Restoration, was the expression of one masterful personality.

Among those who came in contact with Mito influence were some who were not held by its conservatism, but boldly favored a progressive policy as expressing a truer patriotism. Of these Yokoi-Shonan may be taken as an example.

Yokoi-Shonan was born of a samurai family in Kumamoto. He was a brilliant student in the clan school, and was sent to Yedo to complete his studies. There he met Fujita-Toko of Mito who became his devoted friend. His youthful genius aroused jealousy and he was called home. He obeyed the call, declining the flattering invitation to transfer his loyalty to the Mito clan. In

Kumamoto he gave himself up to study, finally opening a private school through which again he gave offense to many by his open defense of western learning. Scorning the barren studies of the old-style schools, he emphasized practical application and gained for his school and its students the name of *Jitsugakuto*, the party of practical study. Troubled by the deepening difficulties which he saw upon every side, he traveled that he might know the situation at first hand. His first public effort of reform was a book urging the adoption of western military methods ; and his theory he put into practice by having the students of his school study under a teacher trained in Dutch principles.

Upon the coming of the American fleet, he made known his opinion, through Fujita-Toko, to the head of the Mito clan who had been called in counsel by the *Bakufu*. He favored diplomacy rather than war ; and, because of discourtesy shown Russian ships at Nagasaki, issued a protest that friendly treatment be accorded representatives of other nations. With the consent of his clan, he entered the service of Echizen, and by his counsel shaped the policy of that clan in favor of opening the ports, of developing agriculture and industry, and of creating a navy. Declining to enter the employ of the

Bakufu, he favored its dissolution and the abdication of the Shogun that restoration of power might be made to the Emperor. When this step was at last taken, he felt that the beginning of better days was at hand, and gladly entered the official employ of the government.

The Government of the Restoration was obliged by force of circumstances and by the wisdom of its counsellors to adopt the very policy to avoid which, in part, the Bakafu had been over-thrown: the policy of intercourse with the West. It was well-known that Yokoi favored such a policy; and he was killed by assassins one afternoon as he returned from his office. He had long expected such an end, and had instructed his family and followers to seek no revenge, feeling that the sacrifice would prove a part of his loyal service for the country.

Yokoi's ideas upon education may be found in "*Gakko Mondo*," Educational Problems, which is a compilation of replies given to the lord of Echizen concerning educational questions. In this he declares that the fundamental principle of education is the cultivation of the heart in harmony with the universe, that a teacher should be one who by his example can effectively influence his pupils, that education while fostered by schools begins at home, that practical life and true learning are never at variance,

but that culture must be genuine to avoid shallow attempts at application, and that the establishment of schools without the personal oversight and genuine interest of the ruler is of no avail.

The list might be extended to include the names of Hayashi-Shihei, Watanabe-Kwanzan, Takano-Choei and others who by special studies, by writings and by personal influence over a body of student-disciples, each contributed to the intellectual impetus that swept through the Restoration and on into the Enlightenment of the new era. By the middle of the century private schools had become common ; and even the government, in 1860, established an institute for the study of languages, beginning the custom of sending students abroad. These all, however, with one exception, came to an end during the confusion that attended the downfall of the Shogunate.

Fukuzawa-Yukichi has been mentioned as a student under Ogata-Koan in Osaka. He is worthy of further consideration as an educator in connection with the Meiji awakening, for when the nation was striving in opposition to the policy of foreign intercourse he boldly championed the principles of western learning for practical purposes. Beyond most Japanese, he longed for material and intellectual freedom, for independence, and became the great

apostle of self-reliance and independence. Studying first in Nagasaki, he entered Ogata's school in 1855, and, according to his own testimony, received influences that molded not merely his ways of thinking but his modes of expressing thought. Fukuzawa's many writings were written for the purpose of being understood and that by the rank and file of the common people, and he says that it was from Ogata that he learned that the ability to express thought with simplicity and clearness to be comprehended by the ordinary mind was the height of literary accomplishment.

In 1858 he was teaching Dutch in Yedo, and the next year began the study of English, which he introduced into his school in 1861. This school, which had attained a membership of several hundred, was greatly reduced in numbers during the troubled years of the Restoration, but continued its teaching even while the actual conflict was being carried on, and was the one school that lived through from the old into the new. The work of Fukuzawa was carried forward with increasing success after the Restoration, and Keio Gijuku University, with its over three thousand students, stands a monument to his service in behalf of education until his death in 1901.

The history of the influence of this school and others, like Doshisha founded by Neeshima-Jo for the emphasis of spiritual culture, demands a separate study, a study of private effort in education during the Meiji Era, for only slowly by the work of such institutions is New Japan being awakened to the value of private or incorporate education as supplementary and not antagonistic to a government system which, when left without competition and when too carefully protected, is sure to become enslaved to form and narrow in spirit.

Thus, as we have seen, the students of foreign learning contributed to the downfall of the Shogunate and to the Restoration of power to the Emperor. The Imperial Party, though filled with many narrow-minded characters who would exclude all foreign influence other than the most material, was soon guided by those who had gained some true appreciation of the West; and the Imperial Oath, with which the new Emperor entered upon his duties, seemed to the scholars of the land a pledge and promise of their desires: "Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the foundations of the Empire may be strengthened." How well that promise has been kept is known to all and the history of its keeping would be in large measure the

history of the Meiji Era, for, committing herself to a policy of education, Japan, through wisdom and through folly, has held tenaciously to the struggle for power through knowledge.

CHAPTER IX

EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

THE foregoing chapters have confined themselves to a study of Japanese education previous to the Meiji Era ; and it is beyond the purpose to outline the remarkable progress and the development of educational systems in Japan during the last fifty years. That has been attempted by those who are themselves a part of the great movement ; and is a task of difficulty owing to the rapid experimental changes of those fifty years and the present hopeful condition of educational discontent. In conclusion, however, it may be of interest to the student of education to consider certain vital problems, of the present as of the past, which have bearing upon the future evolution of education in Japan.

Education is a process for the making of men. Men are social beings ; and among the problems of education none is more fundamental than that which concerns the basis of training in social relations, the basis or sanction of ethics. To this problem much attention has been

given by Japanese educators in the past ; and to-day the question has reached, through force of circumstances in national development, a phase of peculiar importance and intense interest. Repeated reference has been made to the unique character of the Japanese nation, as evidenced by the people in their attitude and relation to the Imperial House. This is declared to be absolutely unlike that possessed by any other people, and to be impossible of sympathetic comprehension by one who is not himself a Japanese. Histories of Japanese education, whether in English or in Japanese, by private individuals or by the authority of the State Department of Education, all unite in maintaining this character to have been and to be the foundation of Japan's education in ethics.

Drawing a possible, though by no means fixed line, between Buddhism as a religion and Confucianism as an ethico-political system, we are justified in saying that, however great and beneficial may have been the influence of religion in the ancient education of Japan, her educational system, as organized by the government, never recognized the sanctions of religion or consciously based its ethics thereon. Freedom of religious faith, denied during the Shogunate for political reasons, was granted after the Restoration ; but in the government schools

organized at this time all religious instruction was strictly forbidden. This exclusion of religion from the government schools and those recognized as allied with the government system was no new or thoughtless experiment expressive of antagonism to Christianity but rather a policy quite in accord with ancient custom.

The study of ethics, with its political import, had received chief attention during the long period in which control in the sphere of education was exercised by Confucian scholars; but under the new system, although ethics was given time such as is allotted to the subject in few if any other lands, the great educational problem was the mastery of the Western World's store of knowledge, and the point of emphasis completely changed. It was a time of revolution; a time of material necessity. Through the falling away of old restraints, through the weakening of old ideals and especially through the rise of new relations in politics, business and society, moral disintegration seemed to threaten Japan. Serious and well-intended efforts were made to revitalize ethical teaching; but the result, due in part it may have been to the character of the untrained men who then became teachers for pay in contrast with the best of those who had in former days engaged in it for love, was not satisfactory;

and that there might be a standard for all, strong to avert the peril, the following Rescript upon Education was issued in 1890, not as something new but as an authoritative restatement of the "Way" in which from of old the people had been taught to walk.

IMPERIAL RESCRIPT ON EDUCATION.

Know ye, Our subjects :

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting, and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue ; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters ; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true ; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation ; extend your benevolence to all ; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers ; furthermore, advance public good and promote common interests ; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws ; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State ; and thus

guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth is indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Decendants and the subjects, infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji. (The 30th of October, 1890).

(Imperial Sign Manual. Imperial Seal.)

This Rescript, calling attention to the "Way" set forth and followed by the Imperial House, did its work, for a time steadying the influence of the new education upon the mass of the people; and instruction in ethics throughout the schools of Japan is still supposedly nothing more than exposition of what is herein involved. This effort to base public instruction in ethics upon Imperial utterance is worthy of careful study.

The question of ethical instruction upon a purely secular basis is a serious question, not in Japan merely but throughout the world; and the student may well regard

what Japan has done, is doing, and may or may not be able to do toward its solution. The question in Japan reduces itself to this : can patriotism, loyalty to an ideal embodied in country or in a ruling house, be so vital as to afford a sufficient sanction for practical ethics. Owing to a unique conception of country and government which linked the eternal with the temporal, the superman with man, the vitality of what may be termed patriotism, loyalty, has been great among the Japanese, as an ethical sanction by them deemed sufficient. Now, as Japan loses the cruder forms of faith in the character of her Ruler's Ancestry, will the same sanction, thus stripped of its essentially religious element, be found sufficient? To answer the question negatively would be to offend many ; and it may be that such an answer is not necessary. It may be that a more spiritual, which is the inevitable, understanding of the undoubted truth back of the Japanese conception will afford a basis of morality intrinsically divine in that it is also generically human.

Here lies the inner necessity for the recent reiterated emphasis upon the uniqueness of the Japanese national life. This emphasis, however seriously it may have injured Japan's international standing by making her appear boastful both of a unique ancestry and a loyalty from

which to turn aside in genuine allegiance to any other would be traitorous and immoral, has been a naturally instinctive endeavor to call into consciousness the supremely personal and hence spiritual nature of the nation's ethical authority. In concluding our introduction, it was said: "The basis of Japanese morality is individual self-sacrifice; and to lose oneself in accomplishing the will of the race its supreme expression. Thus the sense of individuality, the strife for self-realization, which may almost be termed the goal of Western ethical endeavor, is lacking, or at least condemned as evil, while in its place is a racial consciousness and a glad acquiescence in that which is believed to be the will of the Kami and for the good of the Kami's Land." This accords with the fact that the loyalty of the Japanese to their Imperial Line is also and essentially a race loyalty to a racial entity and ideal.

It must be admitted that the present state of Japanese morality is low, according to her own standards, and that the instruction in her schools is not accomplishing what is desired in the lives of the people. Unavoidable circumstances are in part answerable for this; but to some the difficulty seems to lie in the fact that what has been lost in the old, through modern thought, has not been

replaced by any vital element, nor can be except by one essentially religious.

Japan, in her endeavor to separate church and state, religion and ethics, failed to realize the distinction between essence and form, the one of which can be isolated, the other not; and the present reactionary recognition on the part of the government that religion is of value in ethical endeavor, is in danger of the same confusion.

In reality religion, though unnamed, has been the source and authority of all that was vital in Japan's ethical past; and the efficient ethics of her future can be established not on the polite fiction of a pseudo-religion, the doctrine of a uniquely divine authority dwelling within the personality of her rulers, but only on the reality of an essentially divine view of human life and its destiny being actualized in society.

Loyalty to the ideal (being worked out through the life history of a race to which all the past has contributed and in which all the past vitally exists), when that ideal is seen to be the goal of a Will (greater than that yet expressed through the race), to be attained by a posterity in which the present as the past shall live and for which it is conditionally necessary, must prove a compelling

principle for the realization of ethical living in a race and ultimately in all races as they are brought into unity. Such would be the opposite of irreligious while yet most universally human. Not in any narrow patriotism or loyalty to any human dynasty, however exalted, may the enduring sanctions of ethics be found ; but it may be that Japan, through her present endeavor, may lead men to find them in loyalty to the human race whose future is being visioned within man. In preparation for this the Japanese more than any other people have had efficient school-masters : the Old Testament of Shinto with its assumption of a divine humanity, of Buddhism with its teaching of all-inclusive brotherhood, and of Confucianism with its emphasis upon obligation.

Before leaving the problem of ethical instruction, mention may be made of a common criticism brought against the Japanese which, while not bearing upon education directly, finds in the character of national education its best explanation and apologetic. Every traveller in the Orient has heard from the lips of merchants, and many through experience have been led to believe that the Japanese are untrustworthy in business and society. The accusation cannot be denied ; and yet it is by

no means true.* It should be remembered that in Ancient Japan, and until recent years, trade was the occupation of inferiors and supposedly of low morality. The *samurai* scorned the making or hoarding of money. "Hence children were brought up with utter disregard of economy. It was considered bad taste to speak of it, and ignorance of the value of different coins was a token of good breeding." †

The father of Fukuzawa, that "Apostle of independence and self-reliance" whose interest in the practical led to the establishment of the school through which Western material culture was most efficiently introduced to the nation during the early years of the Meiji Era, himself an accountant in his lord's rice-exchange in the city of Osaka, dismissed from service the private tutor of his children because he was instructing them in mathematics, a knowledge most unworthy of sons of a *samurai*. The writer pays his household servants with money folded in white paper that the plus of personal favor, in ideal far exceeding the insignificant matter

* Certain statements, such as that Chinese are, because of their greater honesty, employed in Japanese banks, can be denied as, now and always in the past, utterly without foundation. Chinese are often employed in the foreign banks of the port cities.

† Bushido. Nitobe.

of material recompense, may veil all in courtesy. It was a trying experience for a Japanese gentleman when, representing the city government, he called to thank an American professor for a literary service rendered and to present a suitable remuneration concerning which nothing had been previously said. A receipt was necessary for the business audit of the city accounts ; yet, as between gentlemen, how unbecoming. The foreigner recognized the situation, and, asking for the blank, filled it out unrequested, without verifying the statement as to what the presentation paper upon the table contained. This may be unbusinesslike ; it may lead to serious misunderstandings involving commercial integrity ; but who shall say that here is not a touch of that beauty which is refined truthfulness not in art merely but in life as well.

In the wider range of social intercourse there appears the same problem ; yet it may be that what to the Anglo-Saxon would be an untruth is not of necessity such to the Japanese. Without entering into questions of casuistry, there must be the intent to deceive. The Japanese language is literary, not scientific, and its construction is ambiguous, making exactness of speech almost impossible. Until recent years there existed no dictionaries giving more than the pronunciation.

Definition was unattempted. Questions of interpretation are therefore most frequent. The idiomatic habit of leaving much unexpressed, to be supplied by the hearer's consciousness, is fraught with danger in proportion as his consciousness is at variance with that of the speaker. Thus to one unfamiliar with the language, to one unfamiliar with Japanese trends of thought and feeling, as are most of those from whom come the severest condemnation, misunderstandings are easy, and innocent statements often appear intentionally misleading.

At the close of a faculty meeting in which two Japanese gentlemen had differed in judgment, both, without apparent reason, began to converse in English. Later, when asked why, one replied "Ah! Did we speak in English? I know. I wanted to say something!" Something could be said and said unmistakably in English as it could not be courteously in Japanese. Again, courtesy at times makes an apparent untruth better than an unpleasant truth, even in action by far the less of two evils. The youth who, wreathed in smiles, tells you amid giggles that his father has died is not heartless or unfeeling but kindly anxious lest any shadow of his grief fall upon you. Further, an untruth may be but extreme emphasis of that which is true.

A beggar in great want presents a letter enforcing his claim, which when read proves to be a statement to the effect that the bearer is dead, and all kindly disposed are urged to contribute. He cannot understand the rising wrath of one who objects to being thus importuned. The man is present. Of course, he is not dead ; and the honorable supposition is that the reader of the letter is not lacking in ordinary intelligence !

The utter lack of natural science, or that which made approach thereto, in the schools of old Japan withheld a most valuable training in accurate observation and equally accurate report, while the almost exclusive devotion to literary, that is Classical Chinese, studies fostered an unreal view of life, so that truthfulness has remained a matter of what might, could or should be, of intended harmony with the ideal, rather than the cold impersonal forthsetting of things as they are. Commercial experience and scientific training will educate and bring out in the Japanese a sense of truth, as statement to accord with fact, more nearly akin to the conception held by the Anglo-Saxon ; while essential truthfulness to the ideal will still be retained. - In any system of ethical instruction truthfulness would seem of necessity fundamental ; yet, as taught in the elementary schools of Japan, morality,

contains little or no direct allusion to that virtue. It is involved in much and implied in more ; but the lack of explicit instruction is noticable and to be deplored in view of the general haze that involves the East.

In particular, the problem of ethical instruction is the problem of training that men may do and not merely know. A too great love of theory, even here, is in danger of preventing the practical bent of the race from having free expression in ways which, now as in the past, alone can produce character : the impregnating influence of genuine lives, fostered by practical cultivation in their disciples.

Closely associated with the problem of Japan's ethical culture, lies the question of China's binding influence. Every loyal Japanese will resent the thought of slavery ; and yet not a few, to meet the present ethical unrest as well as to steady an educational curriculum burdened with many things to superficiality, are crying back to a more thorough study of the Confucian Classics and to a consequently deeper devotion to the Confucian ethics that have supposedly been the strength of the nation in her past. It was exactly this dominance of Chinese thought and culture in early Japanese education that checked her natural development and fettered her instinctive faculties.

The danger of Occidental influence acting in a similar manner is very slight, for that influence is in itself an influence of freedom looking to the development of individual capacity rather than of bondage; and conservatives are not so much truly realizing the needs of Japan as seeking by the authority of the past to control a people experiencing the necessary bewilderment of that freedom which leads to life. It is above all things desirable that Japan work out her own destiny and make her own contribution to the world's stock of manhood and of truth; but to do this she needs freedom from the hand of the past which has so long held her, even more than she need fear the seduction of modern charmers.

Japan is handicapped in her education by the forms of her written expression, borrowed from China. Allusion to this has already been made. Unlike China with her divided districts, her diverse dialects, and the long rule of a usurping dynasty, Japan is a unity in government, language and people; yet by the character which she has borrowed she has burdened herself and her children with a greater task of mere memory in acquiring the ability to read and write than is undertaken by any other modern people, and besides has completely isolated herself from the understanding of the Western

world. The Japanese student never ceases to study his letters and he never has them all learned. At the time when education should be a delight, through objective and use-suggesting activity, the Japanese child must give his attention to mastering the tools which, however wonderful, yet hedge him in from the life of men and thus deprive him of that freedom of expression which is the very essence of education.

Volumes can be written by the classicist upon the other side of the question with even greater soundness of argument than that employed by him in the West. The use of Roman letters to express Japanese sounds, as now taught in all of the secondary and most of the primary schools of the land, is becoming more and more general, backed by a strong body of able advocates; but, while it would seem necessary that the language be written in the Romaji if it is to be treated with serious consideration by the West, and as the speech of a thinking and growing people it must be so treated, the difficulty is great not only from inertia and the grip of the past but because of certain intrinsic values in the present system.

The increasing use of the Romaji is closely connected with the general study of the English language as effect and also as cause, for, with the alphabet at command, an

approximate pronunciation is within the reach of the people, and this, according to the analogy of the early learning of Chinese, constitutes a great step toward the language mastery. But, quite apart from this vague approach, the study of English forms a large section of Japan's present educational endeavor. It is taught with more or less efficiency in all secondary schools; and its knowledge constitutes a bread-and-butter asset of value as well as the key to the most vital Western thought. Japan is entering an industrial and commercial era; and in the activity of that era the use of English is most essential. Through its literature also is obtained, as perhaps can be in no other way, an introduction to the minds which have not only formulated and expressed the strivings of their age but also led the way, through the first clear voicing, to the realization of their vision dreams. Much as the students of any land may love and appreciate the literature of their mother tongue, it is doubtful whether we can fully evaluate the wealth of new thought and life which from the wide range of our free literary art is being won for service by the students of Japan.

The lack of individual freedom characteristic of the East shows itself in a marked tendency to formalization

in education. In our study we have noticed the line of government education on the one hand and the activity of individuals upon the other. These two elements of education are as distinct and as operative to-day as in the past. It is doubtless well to have ideals and to express them in plans and programs; but to trust those formulations to have self-operating efficiency or to regard them as in themselves the realization of the ideals is no small danger. In outlining the ancient systems of education and in viewing the existing program of national education, we can but bear in mind that much is not and has never been actually and efficiently operative. A glance at modern education in Japan reveals a system surpassed, if anywhere, only in Germany; but of that system the actual working efficiency, as attested by the number of students annually turned away from every school above primary grade, is far from satisfactory. Yet education has been held to be a function of state and cordial freedom has never been granted to individual initiative and endeavor in its behalf. In the past certain schools not nominally under government control were encouraged, but only as they practically conformed to the government ideal and system of instruction. The same is true to-day in large measure. There is over systematization.

Schools supported by individuals, yet made a part of the system, are encouraged. Schools for which the government cannot make sufficient provision, such as technical schools to meet industrial needs, would doubtless be welcomed, while others more nearly in line with general training, are granted a measure of freedom under inspection. So long as a system of military conscription makes necessary a certain oversight of all young men that they may be exempt only while in schools of recognized standing, it is inevitable that the government ideal should in large measure prevail as standard, especially until educators are of minds broad enough to behold the essence of education rather than the form. Again, the inborn custom of awaiting initiative from the recognized powers that be makes it doubly hard for an educator to work through a school. Now, as in the past, such a genius must depend rather upon his personal influence on disciples unorganized in any school, than upon working with the young where the truths of pedagogical insight may most efficiently and most widely be applied. Government inspection of schools, holding all to a standard of efficiency is a blessing and a help, not a hinderance ; but the range should be as broad as life itself ; and so long, for example, as the doors of the Government University

are open for regular students only from schools of the system, there is not proper freedom. A too paternal government has failed to develop parental responsibility in the matter of education, and thus has neglected to acquire that greatest aid in the solution of the increasingly complex problems of modern society. Trained to rely upon authority for the instruction of their children in all things, ethical and religious as well as industrial, there is danger lest the people leave for the government a burden heavier than it can bear.

Mention has been made of schools designed to fit for industry. Such are needed in far greater numbers; and individual effort here would meet with encouragement. In war Japan has made a place for herself among the nations, not through choice but by being compelled to win her laurels here before her claims on other grounds could gain fair recognition; and now she enters upon an industrial era that with its necessarily swift changes will test and try her social system beyond what it has yet endured. She needs trained efficiency along all lines; and she needs, as well, a trained spirit of social and civic responsibility. As in the early days of Western intercourse, she would welcome that which would increase her store of practical and working power; and such should

be given, for even on the low plain of selfish interest, economic and industrial advance in one land means the same ultimately and more quickly in all ; yet to seek a government monopoly through system in the schools designed to train leaders in thought while accepting the contributions of individuals or strangers on levels of labor appears hardly consistent.

The necessities of the time have compelled modern Japanese education to become practical, in accord with the instinct of the race, as against the strong tendency to theorize developed by the old schools of classical learning. This is well ; but the fifty years in which Japan has had to master the store of western knowledge, have, however, brought about a conception of education, as the mere acquisition of knowledge, out of which the schools are now with difficulty struggling into the broader view of education as the development of the individual for the sake of humanity. The task of those same fifty years further established a method of cramming which, built upon an age-long cultivation of the memory, demands to be fed while declining that mental exercise through which alone comes growth. Modern economic pressure has forced a dangerous tendency to early specialization upon too slight a culture basis. The demand for free produc-

tive ability blinding many to the necessity of preserving the youth of a nation unhampered for evolutionary development, and causing practically all to overlook the value to the nation as to the individual of a wider training in the human art of consumption.

Japan stands, as we have repeatedly noted, unique among the nations in the conception of the authority which binds her in loyalty to the ruling Family. Within the solidarity of her race—affinity to a supreme head, considered apart from outside elements, there appears to have ever been a living spirit of democracy, since each element forming the national unity is itself in nature like the head. Thus it is not strange to notice throughout the history of her education a democratic together with an aristocratic ideal. A strange blending of the two may be observed in Japanese society, and in political development. She is at one and the same time the most democratic and the most aristocratic of peoples. In the sphere of education we must conclude that the aristocratic ideal is of Chinese origin for the most part, while the democratic is more indigenous to the race. Yet the influence of China has so entered into the evolutionary experience of the race that to-day the tendency in systematized education is to make it instinctively aristo-

cratic, while on the other hand the native character of the people, together with the growing need emphasized by opportunity, is demanding an increase in the democratic element. Out of this movement is growing the individual as the social unit within the mass, rather than as a family cipher. Blood will tell. Centuries of family experience and opportunity have left to the children of certain families an inalienable advantage in the struggle of New Japan. The spirits of the fathers who of old swayed the movements of the people still live and rule in the persons of their modern sons ; but, with the breaking down of all objective barriers, many from humbler branches of the great family are finding strength to enter the ranks of leadership and maintain honorable authority in the throng of thought and action. Thus individuals are coming into prominence and finding freedom from the often unconsciously exercised and unconsciously obeyed authority of the family in whose life they have been lost to themselves.

The problem of woman's education varies with the ideal of womanhood. Different races in different periods have held different ideals ; and a certain perspective is needed fairly to judge of their prospective merits. Each inevitably sees the advantage of his own ideal. We may

pity the comparatively circumscribed daughters of the East, while they may well be shocked at the license of our so-called freedom. Here, again, as we have previously noted, Chinese influence, through Buddhist faith and Confucian ethics, debased the women of Japan below their natural status. So long as the family and not the individual is the unit, so long will woman, even more than man, exist for the hope of the future. She is that in evolutionary verity; and therefore the more should her training be in the truest sense cultural. If true to the Japanese spirit, the education of woman in Japan will be primarily personal and domestic, to be elevated as the character of the home is elevated. This elevation may safely come through new ideals of personal value and personal relationship such as are generically human and specifically religious.

In considering the students who in the early centuries flocked to China and upon their return became the prime movers in the first great awakening that shaped the political and social development for long ages, reference was made to the fact of foreign study in modern times. Modern education was introduced to Japan by the aid of foreign teachers, as was the Chinese culture long ago. The work of instruction in like manner passed more and

more rapidly into the hands of the Japanese trained abroad or at home to a high degree of efficiency. In the later, as in the earlier period, the government, committing itself to a policy of education, invited foreign teachers, sent students abroad, brought them home to make the foreign teacher, for the most part, unnecessary, and continued the practice of giving her picked minds the opportunity to acquire the best, each in his own sphere, that she might become a master of the world's knowledge. In this her students enthusiastically co-operated. The Japanese are fond of travel. Circumstances have limited the area of their journeyings; but it may be questioned whether among any other people the common laborer wanders as far through his native land. To him all Japan is home; and his native place may not be even the place of his birth but merely the province in which for years his family has been enrolled. Of recent years this fondness for travel has found satisfaction in a wider range by such as could afford it and by many, apparently, who could not.

This education in the University of the world, afforded at government expense to the chosen who have passed from the preparatory schools through the government college and the university and been tested by research

and teaching, as well as the less careful training gained by the commoner in travel at home and abroad as he has had opportunity, has given to Japan a position of clear superiority over others in the understanding of the world's work and the world's thought. It is her misfortune, as it is ours, that she herself is not better understood. Her language, written character, and native reticence combine to do her injury and check the development of that power which come only from honest self-expression. Apparently she cannot, or will not, interpret herself to the world. Her best interpreters have been her foreign lovers; and in the efforts of these many are the errors, as the present endeavor itself illustrates.

All that came to Japan in the past came first to China and Korea, came to them in greater abundance. Korea never appreciated or used the offered gifts, serving as a poor channel for their transmission. China attained a developed civilization and fossilized, to rise again in newness of life it would appear. Japan adopted and adapted, showing no marked power of originality but in unsurpassed degree the twin talents of imitation and adaptation. She attained a degree of civilization and of culture far greater than has until recently been supposed; rested during two hundred and fifty years of peace that

was not stagnation ; and arose, as much from an inner impulse as from an outer shock, to her second great awakening, during the first fifty years of which she has mastered the modern world's store of hardly gained knowledge until to-day the Japanese educator confronts the greater task of education in a more vital sense, deeper and truer than the mere acquisition of knowledge, the development of the human in individual and race for his full future. Japan has preserved the powers of youth ; and there is no lack of self-confidence as she looks forward. Adolescent omnipotence is superb, to attain the goal if once the vision can be seen, beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

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INDEX.

Abacus	106.
Actors... ..	170 f.
Acupuncture	59.
Admission (School)... ..	55, 85, 101
Adolescence, racial	18, 252.
Adoption	183.
Agriculture	26.
Ainu	1 f.
Ajiki	29.
Ama-Terasu	8, 9, 26.
Ambiguity of language	237 f.
Ame-no-Uzume... ..	171.
Analects	29, 50.
Anatomy	209, 213.
Ancestor (worship)	25.
Anthologies	128 f.
Aoki-Konyo	207 f.
Apprenticeship	182 f.
Aristocratic (ideals in education)	93, 115, 247 f.
Arithmetic... ..	106, 118, 183, 236.
Arts (early domestic)	26.
Arts (domestic scorned)	127 f.
Arts (fine)	128—154

- Aryan... .. 2, 17.
- Ashikaga (school) 64 f.
- Astronomy 207, 211.
- Athletics 185 f. 193.
- Athletics (women in) 196.
- Baigan Ishida 181.
- Ball-playing 169.
- Battledore and shuttlecock 168.
- Books (See Text books)
- (Chinese) 30, 44.
- (Foreign) 72, 207, 213.
- Brinkley 3, 45, 114.
- Buddhism.
- (influence of) 35, 44 f.
- (influence on drama) 173.
- (influence on women) 127.
- (introduction of) 36 f.
- (reconciliation with Shinto)... .. 44.
- (schools of) 68, 76, 101 f.
- Bushido 188 f. 235.
- Chamberlain, Basil Hall 4, 7, 9.
- Checkers 169.
- Children (education of) 117 f., 122, 157 f.
187 f.
- Chinese (ideograph)... .. 34, 241.
- (initial influence of) 2, 23, 29.
- (influence upon education) 48 f., 241.
- (influence fostered by Shogunate) 78 f., 82.
- (influence upon Kojiki) 3.

- (influence upon native culture) 35, 240 f.
- (language) 31, 56, 115.
- (teachers) 47.
- Christianity { Spread and } 203 f.
 { suppression }
- Clan (schools) 84.
 (Kagoshima) 86.
 (Mito) 90.
 (Okayama) 85.
- Codes of conduct 194.
- Coeducation... .. 103.
- Confucianism (ethics of) 38, 41,
 (influence) 35.
 (influence on education) 45, 59, 76, 78.
 (influence on women) 127,
 (influence fostered by Shogunate) 82.
 (festivals of) 59.
 (festivals of, in Clan schools) 86 f.
 (philosophy of) 109 f.
- Comedy 174.
- Conservatism of government education 73 f. 78, 80, 109 f
- Constitution, National, (Source and development) 13—16, 48.
- Constitution of Shotoku Taishi 33.
- Copy-books 104.
- Cradle-songs 156 f.
- Curriculum (in first university) 50, 57.
- Dickins, F. V. 27, 128.
- Dance 26, 168, 170 f.
- Dark Ages 63, 99, 191.

- Democratic (race) 24, 115, 247.
- Democratic (ideals in education) 102, 115 f., 247 f.
- Denning, Walter 81.
- Dictionaries 208, 238.
- Disputations 88.
- Dissection 209.
- Dojo 193.
- Dolls 166.
- Dormitories 79, 85 f.
- Doshisha 225.
- Drama 170 f.
- Dutch Learning 89, 206 f.
- Emado 177 f.
- Endowment 85 f.
- English Language 242 f.
- Enkoji (first Shogunate school) 76.
- Ethics 38, 41, 107, 111
122, 180, 185 f.,
188, 193, 229 f.
- Etiquette 28, 169, 189 f.
- Examinations 58, 80, 84 f. 213.
- Expectation (influence of) 194.
- Faculty (in early schools) 50 f.
- Family (authority) 182, 249.
- Family. (Imperial descent) 9.
(racial) 25.
(schools)... .. 54.
- Filial obedience 108, 197.
- Fisher, G.M. 108.

- Flower-arrangement 149 f.
- Flower festivals 130 f.
- Franciscans 203.
- Fujiwara family 48, 61 f., 136, 186.
- Fukuzawa-Yukichi 106, 223 f.
- Gakkwanin 54, 94.
- Games 166 f.
- Geisha 175 f.
- Genji Monogatari 131, 136 f.
- Griffis, W. E. 5, 42 f., 109 f.
- Harakiri 195.
- Hayashi family 76 f.
- Hereditary profession 51, 76, 182.
- Hideyoshi 68.
- Hira-gana 98.
- History 57, 76, 78, 90 f.
202 f. 215.
- Hiyeda no Are 3, 27.
- Honesty 235 f.
- Hosoi-Heishu 121.
- Hyaku-nin-Isshū 133 f.
- Hygiene 119 f.
- Idealism (Japanese)... .. 20.
- Ideograph 34, 241.
- Imperial (descent) 20.
- (initiative) 47.
- (party) 110, 202.
- (oath) 14
- (Rescript) 230.

Initiative (Government)	13, 15-16, 244.
Incense-tasting	153 f.
Interpreters	205 f. 251.
Iroha	98, 104.
Iyeyasu	69, 71, 76.
Jimbutsu	122
Jimmu-Tenno	18, 37.
Jiujitsu	192.
Junnain	54, 94.
Jesuits	203.
Kagoshima Zoshikwan	86 f.
Kagura	26, 171 f.
Kaibara-Ekken... ..	116 f. 145 f. 165.
Kami (nature of)	5, 6, 9.
(relation to)	24.
Kana	34.
(kata-kana)	96 f., 126, 148.
(majiri)	116.
Kansei Injunction	73.
Keio Gijuku	224.
Kikuchi, Baron	10.
Kite flying... ..	169.
Kobo Daishi	94 f.
Kobunin	54, 92.
Kodokwan... ..	90.
Kojiki (date)	2.
(composition)... ..	3-5.
(influence of)... ..	4.

- (contents of) 6-8.
- (motive in) 11.
- (evidential value of) 23-24.
- Kokinshu 132.
- Korea (Korean blood) 2.
- (influence from) 28.
- (teachers from) 29.
- (a channel) 35, 251.
- (Superintendent of education from) 49.
- Koseisha 113.
- Kudara (prince of) 36.
- Kukai (see Kobo Daishi) 94 f.
- Kwaigen 64.
- Kwangakuin 54, 93.
- Kyogen 173.
- Language (Chinese)... .. 56, 115.
- (English) 242 f.
- (European) 205 f.
- (Japanese) 55, 237 f.
- Law (educational) 47, 52.
- Lectures 79, 85, 181.
- Library (Ashikaga) 64.
- (Kanazawa) 66.
- (Kobunin) 96.
- (Shohel) 94.
- Literature (beginnings of) 27.
- (Japanese) 128 f.
- (Western) 205 f, 210.

- Locke. John 117.
- Loyalty 197 f., 232 234 f.
- Maeno-Ryotaku 207 f.
- Malay... .. 2.
- Manyoshiu... .. 27, 123 f.
- Marionette theatres 174 f.
- Matching games 168 f.
- Mathematics 49, 236.
- Matsushita School 219 f.
- Medicine (western) 206 f.
- Medicine (school of, established) 50.
- Michizane 60 f., 131.
- Mikadoism... .. 4, 11.
- Military training 81, 185, f. 218, 221.
- Missionaries 73, 203.
- Mito school 90 f., 202, 215.
- Monasteries 99 f.
- Monjoin 61.
- Morality (see Ethics) 107, 111, 122, 180.
 (basis of) 21.
 (and politics)... .. 38.
 (first Japanese expounder of) 38-39.
- Murasaki-Shikibu 136.
- Museums 177 f.
- Music 26, 59, 127, 166.
- Nakae-Toju 107 f., 145.
- Naruse-Jinzo 148.
- Nationalism (unique element in) 10, 13, 47, 228f.

- Nature-worship 25.
- Neesima 191, 225.
- Nitobe-Inazo 188 f., 219.
- No 172 f.
- Nurse 187.
- Nurse maid 118, 165.
- Oni, Sage of 107 f.
- Ogata-Koan 211 f.
- Okakura-Yoshisaburo 152 f.
- Okayama Clan school 85.
- Okuma, Count 71, 84, 100.
- Onna Dai Gaku 145 f.
- Opera 172 f.
- Otsuki-Gentaku... .. 211.
- Oyomei 109.
- Personality (lack of individual) 21.
- Physical training (See Military training) 185.
 (of women) 196.
- Play 166 f.
- Poetic composition 27, 128 f., 131.
- Porter, W. N. 133 f.
- Portuguese 203.
- Precocity (racial) 18.
- Printing 72, 105, 205.
- Prizes 89, 92.
- Proverbs 99, 105, 168.
- Provinces (education in)... .. 49 f., 58, 80, 83 f.
- Punishment 101, 103.

- Race (Japanese) 1.
 (Korean blood in) 2.
 (Aryan strain in) 17.
 (Characteristics) 17—21, 24, 39, 95,
- Reading 119.
- Recorders 29—30.
- Reformation (Taikwa) 41, 47 f.
- Reformation (Meiji)... .. 75, 80, 90 f.,
 201, 214, 225, f.
- Religion (in government schools) 59, 228 f.
 (source of National authority) 234 f.
- Rhythm 165 f.
- Romaji 242.
- Roman Orders 203 f.
- Rongo 29.
- Salaries 55, 92, 102, 229.
- Samurai 75, 81, 84, 86, 106,
 186—200.
- Sanscrit 96.
- School (admission)... .. 55, 101.
 (endowment) 53 85.
 (hours)... .. 103.
 (rules) 87.
 (tuition) 55, 84, 102.
 (evening) 183.
- Schools (family) 54.
 (Medicine)... .. 50.
 (music) 59.
 (provincial) 49, 58, 80, 83 f.

- Syllabaries... .. 97 f.
- Taiho Rei... .. 49, 126.
- Takaishi-Shingoro 146.
- Tanka 27, 128, 132.
- Tea-ceremony 151 f.
- Teacher (Chinese) 47 f.
 (regard for) 102 f.
- Temple schools (Terakoya) 100 f., 117.
- Tenchi. Emperor 47 f.
- Text-books 87, 99, 104 f., 121,
 132, 146, 183,
 209 f., 213.
- Tokugawa-Iyeyasu 69 f.
- Translation bureau 211, 213.
- Tsuboi-Shindo 211, f.
- Tuition 55, 84, 102.
- Tutor 29, 88, 106, 188.
- University (curriculum in first) 50, 57.
 (destroyed by fire) 64.
 (first established) 49 f.
 (faculty)... .. 51.
 (purpose of) 50.
 (students limited)... .. 52.
 (support of) 53.
 (three early)... .. 53.
- Vacations 103.
- Wakairatsuko 29 f.
- Wani 29.

Williams, S Wells	30.
Woman (duties of)	146 f.
(education of)	120, 125 f., 132 145, f. 196, 249.
(poetic composition of)	132 f. 139.
(position among early Japanese)	25, 125.
(Samurai)	196.
Xavier... ..	65.
Yamato race	25, 125.
Yamato-take	28.
Yang Ming... ..	109.
Yokoi-Shonan	220 f.
Yoshida-Shoin	215 f.
Zoshikwan	86 f.

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