FROM WESTERNIZATION TO JAPANIZATION: THE REPLACEMENT OF FOREIGN TEACHERS BY JAPANESE WHO STUDIED ABROAD

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I. INTRODUCTION

NOBORU Umetani has made a study of the foreigners employed by the Japanese government between 1872 and 1885, making use of the *Nihon teikoku tōkei nenkan* [Statistical yearbooks of the Japanese empire]. In this study he found that the number of foreigners employed reached its peak between the years 1873 and 1876 [9, pp. 209–10]. During this three-year period, more than five hundred foreigners were employed, working in government agencies, in government-run schools, or in commercial, industrial, or banking establishments. These employed foreigners had various occupations (technicians, teachers, business and clerical experts, factory operatives, etc.), but from the fact that technicians and teachers comprised nearly 70 per cent of the total, it is clear that the government, in hiring these foreigners, hoped that they would fulfil the role of leaders—one might say the role of a vanguard—in Japan's government-directed process of *bummei kaika* ("civilization and enlightenment").

With the beginning of the 1880s, however, the number of employed foreigners decreased sharply, dropping to 132 in 1883. The number of technicians had by that year shown an especially sharp decrease and stood at only 29, or less than one-seventh the figure during 1874, when the demand for foreign technicians had been at its peak.

This tendency for the number of government-employed foreigners to decrease continued in the 1890s, when their number fell to below 100. The same sort of enthusiasm seen in the 1870s for employing foreigners as leaders in Japan's modernization was no longer there. In 1899, Cabinet Directive No. 5 terminated the former procedures by which foreigners were hired, and after the beginning of the twentieth century government-employed foreigners were no longer a separate item in statistical records. Thus the government-employed foreigners—the "*yatoi*,"[1] as they were called by William E. Griffis, himself a government-employed teacher, who undertook a study in retrospect of his kind—were most active in Japan's modernization during the relatively short period from the 1870s into the 1880s.

In the 1880s, at a time when the number of the "*yatoi*" was beginning to

[1] This was Griffis's own contraction of the term *oyatoi gaikokujin*. See [2].

decrease, many of the Japanese students dispatched by the government to study in Europe and America were already returning home. The Japanese government had in 1875 established, by means of the *Mombushō taihi ryūgakusei kisoku* (Ministry of Education rules for students studying abroad on loan scholarships), a system for study abroad which was, for its time, admirably perfected. By these rules, which made an overall revision in the previously loose rules governing students abroad, the students were carefully selected through a conscious exercise of elitist ideology and were sent with government funding for clearly defined purposes of study. The period of study abroad was, as a general rule, set at five years. Thus the 1880s was a period when the young returnees, fortified with the practical skills learned overseas, could be expected to be most active. One may think of the latter half of the 1880s, then, as a period when the role which the "*yatoi*" had occupied as agents of modernization was for the most part taken over by returned Japanese students. This is true even if one takes account of the various exceptions and of the fact that this substitution took place more slowly in some lines of work than in others (e.g., foreign technicians tended to stay in Japan longer than foreign teachers). The sharp drop noted above in the number of the "*yatoi*" employed by the Japanese government after 1880 is both a reflection of this situation and the result of a clearly defined government policy.

It is clear that the replacement of "*yatoi*" by returned Japanese students as agents in Japan's modernization had a significance that went beyond a mere replacement of personnel. Namely, it meant a change from a process of "direct Westernization" through contacts with foreigners in person to a process of "indirect Westernization" through Japanese who had returned from studies abroad. Therein is found the transition from imitation to adaptation to creativity which is basic to that pattern of human behavior known as learning. Through this process, Japan's modernization departed in due course from direct Westernization to progress even more actively along the latter path, which may also be called the path of "Japanization."

In comparison with other countries in Asia which experienced long periods as colonies, the relative shortness of the period of "direct Westernization" by foreigners in Japan's modernization process may be seen as something distinctive to Japan. Looking at Japan's history after the beginning of the twentieth century, we can see in this distinctive feature elements of both the country's successes and the country's failures. However, Japan's experience is not an isolated historical fact with no relevance to others but provides one of the small number of role models that might be referred to by the developing states which through some type of Westernization, as an additive to their traditional cultures, are planning to modernize their countries or have no choice but to do so.

II. THE "*YATOI*"

The history of the government-employed foreigners dates back to before the beginning of the Meiji era.

For example, the Tokugawa government had in 1857 employed a Dutch citizen, J. L. C. Pompe van Meerdervoort, to be the head of the Medical Training Center (Igaku Kōshūjo) in Nagasaki. A. C. Du Bousquet, who helped the Meiji government organize an army, had come to Japan before the Meiji Restoration as a member of a group of French military instructors to aid the Tokugawa government.

And G. F. Verbeck, who as the new Meiji government's highest advisor, participated in all sorts of important decisions concerning the government's modernization policies over a wide range of fields (including politics, law, diplomacy, and culture) was a missionary who had been sent to Japan in 1859 by the Overseas Mission Department of the Dutch Reformed Church.

Similarly, C. M. Williams, S. B. Brown, J. C. Hepburn, and other missionaries who came to Japan at the end of the Tokugawa era not only were engaged in their missionary activities but also taught English and other disciplines and thus gave a very great influence to the modernization of Japan's education.

However, it was only after the inauguration of the Meiji government that the numbers of the government-employed foreigners showed a rapid increase and that the scope of their work greatly expanded to cover virtually all aspects of the nation's life, including politics, law, military affairs, diplomacy, economics, manufacturing, education, and specialized fields of learning.

Such foreigners were employed not only by the central government but also by local governments, as well as by private schools and private enterprises. Due to the fact that these foreigners were employed for varying lengths of time, ranging from long to very short, and also due to the fact that mobility as reflected in job transfers was by no means low, it is virtually impossible to know with precision the total number of foreign employees during the Meiji period. Looking only at those employed by the central government, there were approximately 170 employed by the Ministry of Education and approximately 600 technicians employed by the Ministry of Public Works. It may be estimated that the total number employed in all departments of government was no less than 800 [9, p. 211].

According to a detailed study of government-employed foreign teachers conducted by Hiroyasu Ogata, there are approximately 170 high-level intellectuals

TABLE I

NUMBER OF FOREIGN TEACHERS BY NATIONALITY AND PERIOD

Nationality \ Period	1867 –72	1873 –77	1878 –82	1883 –87	1888 –92	1893 –97	1898 –1902	1903 –7	1908 –12	Total
Germany	9	33	25	22	17	13	10	4	3	136
Britain	9	12	14	11	11	7	6	4	5	79
U.S.A.	13	20	11	5	5	3	3	4	3	67
France	7	13	5	3	4	3	3	2	3	43
Others	2	—	4	4	—	1	3	4	5	23
Total	40	78	59	45	37	27	25	18	19	348

Source: [7, pp. 102–3].

of known foreign nationality whose activities in Japan are documented and are known to have served in government universities or other university-level schools at one time or another during the Meiji period (1868–1912) [7, p. 73]. Table I divides the Meiji period into five-year subperiods, indicating the numbers of these employed foreign teachers present in Japan during each subperiod. The "total figures" at the right-hand side of the table include a multiple enumeration of persons whose work in Japan overlapped two or more subperiods.

From this table, we can see the already noted trend whereby the activities of the "*yatoi*" instructors were most intense during the 1870s and the first half of the 1880s. We also see that, by nationality, there were more teachers from Germany than from other countries. This latter trend holds true, however, only through the decade of the 1890s, since during the last years of the Meiji period there was not seen any such significant partiality with respect to the nationality of employed foreign instructors.

Viewed with respect to fields of specialization, persons from Great Britain were most numerous among instructors in the humanities; Americans and Germans were dominant (in about equal numbers) in the social sciences; and Germans were most numerous in the fields of the natural sciences, especially medicine. We may say that the government's selection of "*yatoi*" was extremely selective with respect to the linking of nationality with fields of specialization.

The government-employed foreign teachers ranged in age between their twenties and fifties. According to a study of the foreign instructors in Japan in 1874, the year when their number was greatest, it is seen that those within the age span 26–35 were more numerous than those in any other ten-year age span. The teachers in this most numerous category were thus mature individuals who possessed both youth and a capacity for judgment.

There were among the government-employed foreign teachers persons who lacked in ability, but these were rare exceptions. The greatest number possessed Ph.D. or other higher academic degrees and there were not a few among them who in their countries of origin had very high expectations pinned on their futures. This being the case, it was necessary that the conditions of their employment in Japan be such as would fully satisfy their ambitions and befit their outstanding past careers. At the time of employment, comprehensive contracts were concluded with each individual. In these contracts, detailed provisions for such matters as travel expenses, salary, length of employment, housing, and the like, were set forth in detail. According to a report of the Ministry of Education, the highest salary for the month of December 1874, was 600 yen paid to that ministry's top advisor David Murray. The lowest salary was 50 yen paid to an English language instructor in Kōchi prefecture. When Tokyo University was established three years later in 1877, its president received a monthly salary of 400 yen, and there were not a few foreign teachers working at the same university whose salaries were equal to or in excess of this figure.

The salaries paid to the "*yatoi*" were so large that in the case of Tokyo University, during the fiscal year from July 1877 to June 1878, their total sum amounted to over 90,000 yen, or more than a third of the university's total

yearly expenses. This situation prompted Tokyo University President Hiroyuki Katō to present in 1880 a written opinion to the minister of education asking for an increase in subsidies. In it he wrote as follows:

> At present a large number of the teaching staff are foreigners, whose salaries and lodging expenses are very great, taking up nearly half of the subsidized funds. Thus, although great expenditures are still necessary, if it will be possible to effect the gradual replacement of the foreigners by persons from this country, these enormous expenses can be greatly reduced. [7, p. 143]

Within the Ministry of Public Works, which employed a large number of foreign technicians, the financial situation was similar to that which prevailed at Tokyo University. In a report of 1879 on the development of this ministry (under the title *Kōbushō enkaku hōkoku*), it is stated as follows:

> Still at present, the number of foreigners employed is approximately 130, and their salaries account for 342,300 yen out of the ministry's ordinary revenue of 518,600 for the current year. If this sum is to be substantially reduced, the best method will be to substitute graduates of the College of Technology (Kōbu Daigakkō) for the foreign instructors. [9, pp. 226–27]

Thus we can see that, above any other reason, it was the government's financial difficulties which gave the strongest impetus for replacing the employed foreigners by Japanese.

The government's finances during the first Meiji years were by no means easy, but among the leadership, hoping as it did for rapid modernization, the dominant line of thinking held that high salaries for employed foreigners would not be a problem. The dominant view held that money spent in this way would not be lost but, on the contrary, would be wisely spent in the country's own best interests, especially if the national welfare could be advanced as a result of the success of new productive industries being set up under the foreigners' guidance [8, pp. 20–21]. However, the government had to spend a great sum of money on quelling the Satsuma Rebellion (or "Southwestern War") of 1877, and consequently, on the advice of the emperor himself, the need to cut back on expenses was strongly urged upon every agency of government. To dismiss foreigners employed at high salaries and replace them with Japanese seemed to be a most obvious first means by which to effect the needed reductions in expenses.

Table II shows the results of a study by Minoru Ishizuki, who used various types of materials to investigate the number of contracts with foreign instructors which were terminated by the government. According to this table, we may see that the dismissal of employed foreigners after 1880 was carried out in a very methodical way. As a result, those employed foreigners who were able to remain in universities and other educational establishments became limited largely to instructors in languages and literature.

Some of the "*yatoi*" returned to their countries after only a short contract period, but there were not a few who successively renewed their contracts, staying in Japan for several decades and even dying in Japan during their long periods of residence. Thus some of the employed foreigners aided Japan's

TABLE II
Number of Foreign Teachers Whose Contracts Were Terminated

Year	No.	Year	No.
1870	—	1880	79
1871	—	1881	50
1872	57	1882	52
1873	—	1883	45
1874	103	1884	47
1875	101	1885	96
1876	97	1886	132
1877	—	1887	188
1878	—	1888	247
1879	—	1889	275
		Total	1,569

Source: [4, p. 208].

modernization over a long period, teaching Japanese and sometimes even having their work and the positions they had built up for themselves taken away by the pupils they taught. Their experience was an ambivalent one, filled with both joys and frustrations.

One of the "*yatoi*" who wrote of these types of experiences most candidly was Erwin Baelz, whose diaries have been handed down to us. Baelz had abandoned his promising post as a lecturer in the medical faculty of Leipzig University and had come to Japan in 1876, at the age of twenty-seven, to teach physiology and internal medicine at the government-established Tokyo Medical School (Tokyo Igakkō), which later became the Faculty of Medicine of Tokyo University. With the exception of one period of return to his homeland, he remained in Japan until 1905 and was granted a First Order of Merit and a life pension in recognition of his long years of service. Baelz's diaries are filled with his eyewitness accounts of Japan's changing society during the Meiji era. These eyewitness accounts are written not only from the point view of a foreigner, or of a scientist, but also of a human being. He naturally experienced these changes in Japan most closely through his educational activities at the university and through his activities as a practicing physician—and it should be remarked that his patients included nearly all of the most socially prominent personages in the Japan of his day, from members of the imperial family to army and navy men to influential members of the political and financial establishments. Through his experiences he was able to state categorically that the changes taking place in Japan were not merely ordinary examples of the development and growth of a society, but rather a "cultural revolution."

Referring to his position and role and outlooks in the Japan of that time, one who has made a recent study of Baelz and his work described him as "an early example of the long-term overseas adviser whose descendants worked through the 1950s and 1960s as technical consultants and development planners for

social engineering programs in the 'underdeveloped' parts of the world."[2]

Immediately after his arrival in Japan, Baelz sent the following letter to friends in Germany:

Tokyo, October 25, 1876

My Dears,

...To understand the situation you have to realize that less than ten years ago the Japanese were living under conditions like those of our chivalric age and the feudal system of the Middle Ages, with its monasteries, guilds, Church universal, and so on; but that betwixt night and morning, one might almost say, and with one great leap, Japan is trying to traverse the stages of five centuries of European development, and to assimilate in the twinkling of an eye all the latest achievements of western civilization. The country is thus undergoing an immense cultural revolution—for the term "evolution" is inapplicable to a change so rapid and so fundamental. I feel myself lucky to be an eye-witness to so interesting an experiment.

...One, therefore, who means well by the country and the people, cannot fail to be critical. How can effective innovation occur, especially in circumstances so difficult, unless with the aid of shrewd and sympathetic criticism? It seems to me incumbent upon us who have come to the country as teachers from Europe that we should help, not only by deed, but also with counsel. Also it behooves us to avoid trying to transplant without further ado everything that grows in Europe. We must surely begin by discovering all that is good in the Japanese cultural heritage, and then attempt to adapt it, slowly and purposively and carefully, to the changing conditions of the present and the future.

But (and here I come to the strangest feature of the situation) the Japanese have their eyes fixed exclusively on the future, and are impatient when a word is said of their past. The cultured among them are actually ashamed of it. "That was in the days of barbarism," said one of them in my hearing. Another, when I asked him about Japanese history, bluntly rejoined: "We have no history. Our history begins today." [1, pp. 16–17]

Three years after his arrival in Japan, Baelz sensed already that the Japanese government's attitude toward the foreign teachers in its employ was undergoing, however subtly, a definite process of change.

Tokyo, April 22, 1879

Today the Emperor came to open the medical school. The ceremony had been announced again and again, but was repeatedly postponed....Besides, the arrangements cannot but be regarded as rather discourteous to us German teachers. We have really created the whole institution. Yet in the speeches there was not a word of thanks to us, as there has been in the case of all the other schools conducted by foreigners. In truth the matter was even worse, for in the original draft of the speech a tribute was paid to the German teachers, but the passage was struck out by the ministry. Why? Was it because the authorities are dissatisfied with our work? Certainly not, for quite recently a number of new German teachers have been appointed, and our school can claim the credit of being the first to turn out a large number of finished pupils. No, the trouble lies elsewhere.

[2] George Macklin Wilson, in his Introduction to *Awakening Japan: The Diary of a German Doctor Erwin Baelz* [1, pp. xi–xii].

...The first step in this direction was the sudden discharge of twenty-three Englishmen who were running the naval school; the second was the ignoring of the Germans in today's ceremony. Not that I think them likely to send us away soon. It is plain enough to every one that they are not yet in a position to run their own affairs without foreign aid. Still, they wanted to show that the wind is blowing in a new direction. [1, pp. 40–41]

Baelz's wife was Japanese and they had two children. As his stay in Japan became more and more extended, his understanding of Japan correspondingly deepened. On the one hand, Japan became for him his second homeland, and on the other hand Japan's Europeanization was proceeding apace. The same Baelz who, in January 1877, described the appearance of Japanese walking the streets in frock coats and tall silk hats (the official dress for New Year's visits) as "grotesque imitation" could in 1905 write, after attending a friend's wedding ceremony, that "I was struck by the fact that they looked quite at home in their well-fitting European clothes" (March 16, 1905).

Nevertheless, Baelz had come to be aware that behind the surface Westernization there lurked something which was not so easily compatible with the further progress of Westernization. And toward this something, he came to harbor a considerable sense of irritation.

Tokyo, September 20, 1901
...The weather is by degrees becoming more agreeable. The worst of the heat is over. Very unpleasant state of affairs at the hospital. Dirt, lack of equipment, overcrowding, owing to the destruction of the second hospital by fire. The students of these later years do not understand German well enough, so that my work as teacher is far less pleasurable than it used to be. I wish I could throw up the job at once. [1, p. 145]

On November 22, 1901, Baelz had the opportunity to give a lecture at a "great festival" in honor of his twenty-five years' jubilee in Japan. In this lecture he sought and was able to find some of the reasons for this feeling of irritation. In this lecture he pointed out some basic shortcomings in the ways in which Japanese received the Western technology that was being transferred to them. Through these frank observations, Baelz was continuing to carry out the responsibility which he had set for himself immediately upon his first arrival in Japan—namely, the responsibility to serve as a "technical adviser" and to aid in Japan's development through "shrewed and sympathetic criticism." Excerpts from his Jubilee Festival Speech are given below:

...It seems to me that in Japan erroneous conceptions about the origin and nature of western science are widely prevalent. It is regarded as a machine which can turn out so much work every year, and therefore as a machine which can without further ado be transported from the West to any other part of the world there to continue its labours. This is a great mistake. The western scientific world is not a piece of machinery, but an organism, and, like every other organism, if it is to thrive it needs a particular climate, a particular atmosphere....

But just as the atmosphere of our planet has only been produced in the course of endless ages, so likewise is the mental atmosphere of the West a product of the

persistent activities of persons of outstanding intelligence who for thousands of years have been at work in the endeavour to search out the secrets of nature and to solve the enigmas of the universe. This has been a laborious task and a painful one. The road has been watered, not only with sweat, but with the blood of many of the noblest, and it has been lighted by the fires of scaffolds. It has been the highway of the human spirit, and great names are written on its milestones....

You, too, gentlemen, have during the last thirty years had among you a goodly number of persons sustained by this spirit. From all the lands of the West there have come to you teachers eager to implant this spirit in the Land of the Rising Sun and to enable you of Japan to make it your own. Often enough, however, their mission has been misunderstood. They have been looked upon merely as purveyors of scientific fruit, whereas they really were, or wanted to be, the gardeners of science. Often you have expected them to hand over to you the finished "product" of contemporary science, whereas their business was to sow the seeds out of which in Japan the tree of science could continue its independent growth—the tree which, when properly cared for, will continue for ever and a day to produce new and more beautiful fruit. But many in Japan were content to take over from these Westerners the latest acquisitions, instead of studying the spirit which made the acquisitions possible.

...Gentlemen, in the business world of Japan there is now a great deal of talk about the introduction of foreign capital. Well, there is at your disposal a lavish amount of the intellectual capital of the West, but you have been content to consume the interest of this capital when you might have imported the actual capital and set it to work producing interest here in Japan.

It behooves you to make up for lost time. Soon there will be very few foreign teachers left in the country. Let me advise you to give those that still remain more freedom than you have done in the past, more opportunity for independent work; and let me urge you to keep in close touch with them in other fields besides that of their strictly educational work. You will never regret doing so. In that way you will learn more of the spirit of science, the spirit with which you cannot become intimately acquainted in lecture theatres (whether in Europe or in Japan), but only in daily association with those engaged in research. Through such association you will gain glimpses into the workshop of the mind, that workshop from which issues what is talked about in the lecture theatres. The spirit of science is chary of her favours, makes large claims, demands from those who woo her all or nearly all their time throughout life.... [1, pp. 149–51]

III. JAPANESE STUDENTS ABROAD UNTIL 1874

As in the case of the government-employed foreigners, the history of Japanese students abroad does not begin in 1874 but can be traced back to before the Meiji Restoration. Taking an overall look at Japanese students abroad through the end of the Meiji era, we may designate four periods, as follows:

(1) Period from the end of the Tokugawa era to the Meiji Restoration (i.e., up to 1868).

(2) Period of experimental policies of the new Meiji government with respect to students abroad (1869–74).

(3) Period of sending students abroad with loans from the Ministry of Education—i.e., *taihi ryūgakusei kisoku* system (1875–81).
(4) Period of sending students abroad under government grants—i.e., *kampi kaigai ryūgakusei kisoku* system (from 1882 onward).

As stated previously, with respect to the replacement of government-employed foreigners by Japanese students returning from their studies abroad, it is those students sent abroad during the third period who figure most prominently. However, we should not forget that the system of sending students overseas during the third period was built upon the very important experiences of the first and second periods. Those who returned from studies abroad during the first and second periods not only assumed important government posts but had a particularly strong interest in the system itself of dispatching students abroad, as well as a strong voice in determining the details of that system. Let us, then, look at some of the distinguishing features of these first and second periods of study overseas.[3]

A. *First Period*

The most important thing to keep in mind about the first period is that under the Tokugawa government Japanese had been prohibited altogether from traveling abroad. This prohibition began with the first order closing the country (*sakokurei*) in 1633 and was repeated from time to time in new ordinances. Although Japan was forced to open its doors under conditions of military pressure from America and European countries in the wake of Matthew C. Perry's arrival in 1853, it was not until 1866 that permission was officially granted to Japanese to travel abroad "for purposes of commerce and prosecution of academic studies." Because of this situation, those Japanese who in some way or another had managed to leave the country before the lifting of the prohibition were stowaways who employed pseudonyms while abroad. One of the earliest among those who attempted to leave the country secretly was a young educator named Shōin Yoshida. Though unsuccessful, Yoshida's attempt was significant in at least two respects. Firstly, unlike various persons who had reached foreign countries by accident—for example, by being shipwrecked as in the case of Manjirō Nakahama—he was the first to try to go abroad of his own will in open violation against the prohibition against leaving Japan. His decision to be a stowaway served as a model for others who followed him.

Secondly, Yoshida showed by his attempt that two different ideologies, *jōi* ("the exclusion of foreigners"), on the one hand, and *kaikoku* ("opening the country"), on the other, could be compatible. We could summarize his action by saying that it was an attempt to go abroad in the interests of eventually excluding foreigners. This way of thinking on the part of Shōin Yoshida reflects the stark political realities during the last years of the Tokugawa government and serves to distinguish the first period from later ones. Nevertheless, this sort of notion of going abroad in order to exclude or replace foreigners no doubt helped

[3] Author discussed the Japanese students abroad in the first and the second periods more in detail. See [3].

provide the setting for the type of thinking which came to the fore in the third period—namely, that the invitation of foreign instructors was not an aim in itself but only a means for the quite natural order of things whereby these foreigners would come to be replaced by Japanese.

B. *Second Period*

The period between 1868 (the establishment of the new Meiji government) and 1874 was one in which the new government tried to establish some control over those who were leaving Japan to study overseas. In a word, the system of control up to then had been unsatisfactory, and students had left the country very much at their own convenience, without undergoing adequate scrutiny by the government with respect to their abilities, character or the purpose of their studies. This was also a period when study abroad, under the auspices of the enlightened policies of the new government, had become something enjoying great popularity—so much so, in fact, that by the end of the period the government was finding it very difficult to bear the costs involved and was being pressed by the necessity of reexamining in all its particulars the whole system of sending students overseas. As a result, the sending of students abroad to study at government expense was for a time discontinued completely. Some of the more important developments in regard to the dispatch of students abroad during the second period are discussed below.

In the spring of 1869 the Meiji government first began the registration of Japanese citizens abroad in order to bring them under the control of the new administration. It also began sending students abroad under its own auspices. Aritomo Yamagata (a future prime minister) and Tsugumichi Saigō (a future navy minister) went to Europe as the first students sent overseas by the new government. "Nine Rules of Conduct" were subsequently prepared for the guidance of the increasing number of students who followed. The government emphasized in these rules that going abroad should not be for the sake of the individual but for the sake of the country, and that no student would be permitted to become a Christian. The period abroad was limited to ten years. These rules may seem strict, but when compared with rules promulgated during the Tokugawa era which, for example, prohibited students from changing their hair style or wearing Western-style clothes, the new rules of conduct will be seen to represent a considerable liberalization.

Proclamation No. 958, issued by the Meiji government in late January 1871, determined the method of selecting students for travel abroad, the subjects of specialization which they might pursue, the period of study abroad, the expenses to be allowed for this purpose, methods of government supervision, etc. Two interesting features may be noted. First, the subjects of specialization were determined according to the countries where students were sent. For example, students were directed to study in England such subjects as mechanics, commerce, iron manufacture, shipbuilding, animal husbandry, charitable activities, etc.; in France they were to study law, international law, zoology, botany, etc.; in Germany, political science, medicine, etc.; in the United States, postal com-

munications, technology, agriculture and animal husbandry, commerce, mining, etc. The second interesting feature was that students were required before their departure to pay a visit to the Shintō shrine of their native places, where they would pray that they might repay their debt to their country; they were, furthermore, to drink a cup of sacred *sake* and vow that they would not disgrace their country while abroad.

With the establishment of this law, students began from 1871 to be sent abroad not merely by the central government but from every region of Japan; study abroad became a craze among high officials, regardless of whether they were from the central or regional governments. Study abroad by such men came to be known colloquially as their "pilgrimages to Ise," comparing it metaphorically to visits to the famous shrine of the sun goddess. This popularity of going abroad to study was certainly influenced by the imperial edict of late 1870 which urged members of the nobility to pursue learning overseas. The emperor in this edict urged the nobility to lead the way, as models for the people, in the acquisition of foreign learning on the spot. As a result of this edict, nineteen members of the nobility left for overseas before the end of 1870, serving as a spearhead for the popular craze of the following year.

Another interesting feature of the 1870 edict was that the nobles were urged to take their wives and daughters with them when they went abroad, because educational facilities in Japan were inadequate for the education of women. This point is related to the fact that five Japanese girls were sent along with the Iwakura mission to Europe and America in 1871–73 for the purpose of furthering their education. The plan of sending these girls (of whom the youngest, Ume Tsuda, was only seven) was conceived by Kiyotaka Kuroda, the second-in-charge of the Hokkaidō Development Program, and the expenses for sending them were paid by the development program. Kuroda's view was that the development of new lands in Hokkaidō was essential to the growth of Japan, and that properly qualified people were essential to any such development program. Education was essential in the formation of character, and good education was something an admirable mother could bring to her children. Kuroda's reasoning was simple, but he was in fact able to put his interesting theories into practice.

The "Regulations on Students Abroad" in the Education Law of 1872 and the two supplements to them were a modification of the edict of 1870. As a result, the Japanese educational system, insofar as study abroad was concerned, became completely organized on a legal basis. At the same time, criticism levelled at students who had already been sent abroad continued to mount. First of all, those sent abroad when the system was not yet organized had gone virtually without having been examined, and a fair number had proved to be incompetent; as a result, they found it difficult to continue their studies at a foreign university, and tended instead to amuse themselves elsewhere.

A second ground for criticism, and one which particularly upset the government, was that the students tended to change at will the subjects of their specialization. It had been expected that the students sent abroad at the end of the Tokugawa period, when "study abroad for the sake of *jōi* (excluding foreigners)"

had been the predominant theme, would for the most part study military science, but the policy of the Meiji government was to cause the students to study chiefly technology and engineering. Students before their departure from Japan were required to determine the subject of their specialization and to promise not to change it without authorization. However, most of the students, within less than a year of their arrival in the countries where they were to study, discovered that the subjects of specialization determined in Japan did not suit them. This was probably because the students at the time were sent abroad at a relatively young age. (The decree of 1870 had specified that students should be between 15 and 25 years of age; the regulations of 1872 changed this to 18 to 24 years.)

In 1873, the Ministry of Education sent Ryūichi Kuki to investigate conditions among Japanese students overseas in order to discover if the criticisms were justified. His report confirmed that there were indeed grounds for dissatisfaction.

More serious even than the above criticisms was another factor which was directly related to the temporary halting of study abroad in 1873, namely, the finances of the Ministry of Education. In that year 373 students had been sent abroad by the ministry, 250 of them at government expense. The amount of money necessary in order to maintain this system was 250,000 yen per year. The total expenditures of the Ministry of Education in 1873 were about 1,380,000 yen; thus the sum spent on foreign study represented 18 per cent of the total. Moreover, if one adds the 270,000 yen (20 per cent of the total budget) spent on salaries for foreign teachers, it may be seen that the Ministry of Education was spending over one-third of its entire budget on specialists for promoting the introduction of Western culture. The Ministry of Education decided that this expenditure was excessively great, especially since as a result of the promulgation of the Education Law of 1872 it was engaged in the promotion of a complete system of primary education. Consequently, the existing system for study overseas was temporarily discontinued at the end of 1873. Students who were already abroad were ordered to return home, and no new students were dispatched overseas.

IV. JAPANESE STUDENTS SENT ABROAD AFTER 1875

In 1875, or two years after the temporary halt of 1873 in the sending of students abroad to study at government expense, the Ministry of Education newly established regulations for sending students abroad, and for their public recruitment. More importantly than improvements in the system or improvements in the quality of the Japanese students selected, the most important factor making this new dispatch of students abroad possible was the economic consideration whereby the Ministry of Education aimed at reducing its financial burden through replacing high-salaried foreign instructors by Japanese. The Ministry of Education also judged that the replacement of foreign instructors by Japanese would be a "splendid opportunity" to put Japanese universities on their own feet and to encourage a spirit of independence on the part of Japanese instructors.

These new regulations, which constituted an overall revision of the rules

which had up to that time governed students abroad, were arrived at in an extremely methodical way. They gave careful consideration to the future of educational administration and to future policies affecting the country as a whole. In general outline, the new regulations were as follows:

(a) Persons of superior academic ability, deportment, and physical fitness were to be selected by examination.

(b) A system of loaning funds for the students' expenses was set forth which specified annual allowances and sums (depending on the country of destination) to be provided for travel and for preparation. These funds were to be returned in twenty yearly installments, beginning three years after graduation.

(c) The period of study abroad was in principle limited to five years.

(d) A system was set up whereby the schools entered and the subjects of specialization would be determined under the guidance of "foreign student supervisors" dispatched from Japan to each country. Alterations were not to be permitted.

(e) Persons who received a graduation certificate abroad would be exempt from examinations after returning to Japan, but others would be obliged to undergo examinations on their return.

Except for the system of providing funds for students' expenses in the form of loans, the new regulations were not a total departure from the previous system but rather an improvement on it. By perfecting uniform measures for the selection, supervision and evaluation of the students sent abroad, the new system aimed at improving the quality of the students and at increasing the effectiveness of the period of studies overseas.

The putting into practice of the new regulations, especially those which concerned the selection process, can indeed be linked to the subsequent elevation in the quality of the students sent abroad during the third period and to the brilliant activities which a great many of them displayed after their return home. In this way, the new regulations served to bring about a great change in the students of the third period in comparison to those students who had preceded them.

The number of students selected to go abroad under the new system was small, as may be seen from Table III, which indicates the numbers of students dispatched overseas by the Ministry of Education in the years after 1875. In the year 1875 itself, only fourteen persons were selected, and the yearly numbers were generally even fewer until the very last years of the nineteenth century.

Although candidates for the severely competitive selection process were recruited from among the public at large, the small number actually selected were during the third period all graduates of the Tokyo Kaisei Gakkō, which

TABLE III

NUMBER OF JAPANESE STUDENTS SENT ABROAD BY THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION

Period	1875–79	1880–84	1885–89	1890–94	1895–99	1900–1904	1905–8	Total
No.	28	28	24	27	128	175	36	446

Source: [7, p. 64].

specialized in foreign learning and in 1877 became part of Tokyo University. The education imparted at the Kaisei Gakkō had attained, through the efforts of the "*yatoi*" instructors, a very high level, and David Murray, chief advisor to the Ministry of Education, could report to the ministry that "the students' progress is outstanding and the school can bear comparison with schools in Europe" [4, p. 196]. Instruction was carried out in foreign languages and the students could read, write, and speak these languages freely. Unlike many of the students who had gone abroad previously, those chosen under the new selection system could, therefore, immediately upon arrival in their countries of destination, enter into the pursuit of their appointed fields of specialization without being tormented by language difficulties. The utility of their experience overseas was thus greatly facilitated.

Another distinguishing feature with respect to the students who went abroad during the third period is that, with two or three exceptions, almost all went to England or America. This represented a deliberate choice on the part of the Ministry of Education and is thought to stem from recommendations made by Ryūichi Kuki after his tour of inspection in Europe and America, mentioned earlier in this account [5, pp. 15–16].

There is now available an excellent study by Minoru Ishizuki on the roles played by the students of the third period after their return to Japan [4, Chaps. 9 and 10]. From among their wide-ranging activities, let us here direct our attention to two points as follows:

(1) Nationalism

The students returning from abroad were, on the one hand, introducers of Western learning to Japan and, as such, were "Westernizers." On the other hand, they were also "Japanizers," with a strong concern for the independence of learning in their own country. A first step in the latter process was the commencement of university lectures given in the Japanese language. For example, Kazuo Hatoyama, who had gone abroad to study in 1875 and returned in 1880, established at Tokyo University the following year (1881) a "special course" (*bekka*) in which education in law was given in the Japanese language. This was the first instance of lectures on law being given in Japanese. After around 1885, the use of Japanese in such lectures was the rule rather than the exception, and the law lectures themselves came to treat foreign law as something primarily of reference value, supplementary to the main content.

Another important factor was the establishment and reorganization of private universities which pushed to the fore the goal of university education in Japanese for the sake of Japan. An interesting example is the Igirisu Hōka Gakkō (England Law School), founded in 1879 with the primary purpose of teaching English law. It changed its name in 1889 to the Tokyo Hōgakuin and had as its president Takeo Kikuchi, who had gone abroad to study in 1875. The major object of the newly reorganized school was the diffusion of legal education in the Japanese language and the "practical application of the laws of the Japanese empire" (*teikoku hōritsu no jicchi ōyō*).

Even more striking is the case of Waseda University, founded by Shigenobu Ōkuma and originally called Tokyo Semmon Gakkō (Tokyo Specialty School). One of Ōkuma's assistants, Azusa Ono, stated as follows in his speech commemorating the opening of the school:

> I have hopes for this school—hopes that by ten years from now this specialty school will be improved and will advance and be upgraded to a university in which instruction will be given to the students in Japanese. I want it to aid in the independence of Japanese learning. A country's independence is based on the independence of its people, and the independence of a people is rooted in the independence of its spirit. And the independence of a people's spirit indeed depends very much on independence of learning. [4, p. 217]

Thus a large part of Japan's private universities, during the period of their founding in the Meiji era, stressed higher education for Japan by means of the Japanese language, in opposition to government universities which still, as "places for the learning of knowledge from foreign countries," taught in Western languages. Returned students who had gone to England and America during the third period discussed above were among the founders and strong supporters of these private universities.

(2) Pragmatism

Another characteristic of those who studied abroad during the third period is that, in the main, they had what one could call strong "pragmatic concerns." They tended to value actual substance over outward form, and to pay more attention to practice than to theory. They showed ardent interest in how to solve problems in response to the specific needs of a given situation and a given moment.

Shūji Izawa, who was one of the students who went abroad in 1875, studied education in America and after his return to Japan first of all applied himself to the work of educating deaf-mutes. He also introduced Western music to Japan's schools. In connection with the latter work, he himself composed some simple songs for ceremonial occasions which could be easily sung by Japanese children who at that time were completely unaccustomed to the rhythm and melodies of Western music. Neither music nor deaf-mute education had previously been a part of Japan's educational system, but for Izawa both were indispensable for Japan to become a civilized country. Later, he was an able educational administrator in Taiwan (which had become a colony of Japan), and obtained excellent results in promoting the spread of elementary education there. Izawa also put together a nationwide volunteer citizen's organization composed of teachers and other concerned with education.

Among the innovations in Japanese education which were brought about by persons who returned from studies abroad during this period, we should mention gymnastics, women's education, and training in the natural sciences. The returnees also were active in furthering practical education linked to specific trades and occupations.

In this way, the students who went abroad during the third period took over,

on their return, tasks of Japan's modernization which had until then been furthered under the guidance of government-employed foreigners. The returned students not only were recipients of Western civilization, but became those most responsible for the new tasks which aimed at winning independence for Japanese learning through a process of Japanization.

The sending of students abroad under the regulations of 1875 was temporarily halted in 1877 due to the Satsuma Rebellion, but was recommenced in 1880, continuing until the revised regulations of 1882, which ushered in the fourth period.

Under the new regulations of 1882 (known as the *kampi kaigai ryūgakusei kisoku*), the Minister of Education selected students to go abroad from among Tokyo University graduates, and designated the length and subjects of study, the countries of destination, and the places where the students were to take employment on their return. Funds for study were to be given in the form of government grants, but students were under obligation after their return to do the work designated by the Minister of Education for a period corresponding to double the length of their period abroad. Thus, it may be seen that under the former system of loaned expenses, there was still a relatively large amount of room for free discretion on the part of the students. Under the 1882 regulations, fairly heavy restrictions were placed not only on the choice of specialization and the possibilities of changing the courses of study, but also on the choice of jobs after the students' return to Japan.

Later on, the pool from which students were eligible to be chosen to study abroad was extended to include not only Tokyo University but also other national universities and higher education facilities under the administration of the Ministry of Education. As may be seen in Table III, the number of students chosen increased greatly at the end of the nineteenth century. The arrangement in the fourth period after 1882 which specified that students sent abroad were limited to graduates of national universities, and which also specified their accommodation within the governmental bureaucracy upon their return, controlled in this way both the entry and exit ends of the study-abroad system and in that sense may be said to represent the completion of the basic system for sending students abroad to study at government expense. It was a system in which students from the national universities were to study abroad at government expense and for the sake of the government.

In 1903, new regulations, known as the *Mombushō gaikoku ryūgakusei kitei,* were again drawn up, but the system was for the most part carried over from the previous one, albeit with a few revisions. Its basic philosophy and viewpoint were those of the basic system completed in 1882. As stated above, the system of sending students to study abroad at government expense after 1882, and through the end of the Meiji period, may as a whole be called the "fourth period" with respect to Japanese students abroad.

Three further points should be mentioned as characteristic of this fourth

period. Firstly, while still serving to expedite the modernization process, what was learned through study abroad no longer confronted Japanese reality with such overwhelming stimuli for change as it had done previously. If it were merely a matter of learning certain academic disciplines, this was already becoming possible at Japanese universities. As far as academic disciplines themselves were concerned, the instances of Japanese students abroad experiencing surprise at discovering totally new knowledge at European and American universities were becoming more rare. This ebbing away of the feelings of wonderment was a new phenomenon not seen among the students who went abroad during the earlier periods.

Secondly, the acquisition of knowledge through study abroad had become something auxiliary to Japan's educational system, something really outside the system. This may be said to be an ironic result of the fact that Japan's modern educational organization, from the elementary to the higher levels, had gradually become perfected in the eyes of the authorities. Study abroad had become something additional, or one might say something ornamental, attached to what was considered an already complete educational system. A common saying of the time, namely, *ryūgaku shite haku o tsukeru,* expressed the idea that study abroad had become a sort of decorative foil to add to one's prestige. Thus study abroad was changing from the category of "education" itself to the category of quite specialized academic research. The students sent abroad during this fourth period were specialized researchers engaged in academic work within very narrowly defined areas of specialization.

Thirdly, during the fourth period it was Germany which became the principal country to which students were sent by the government. Among students who studied abroad at their own expense, there were fairly many who went to other countries, especially America, but those who went abroad at government expense came to be concentrated in Germany. The latter fact is related to the second characteristic stated above, namely, the concept of study abroad for purposes of doing very highly specialized research.

The students who went abroad during the fourth period were active, on their return, as specialized scholars and technicians, or as modern technical bureaucrats. As such, it was only natural that they should accept the ways in which Japan's progress toward modernity was being shaped in directions of "Japanization" and that they should play a role in the further perfection of this process. Having a more highly specialized character than the students of the third period, the students of the fourth period were nearer to international modes of thinking, while students of the former period may be said, on the whole, to have been imbued with a stronger nationalism and to have been more closely attuned to practical realities, thus showing a more wide-ranging curiosity toward the various problems which their country and its people were facing. In the case of the students of the fourth period, this sort of curiosity was, generally speaking, more dilute, and one could not so readily expect them to carry out educative roles which aimed to enlighten the masses of their countrymen.

V. CONCLUSION

In this essay we have described the process by which Japan's modernization in the Meiji era began with direct Westernization by government-employed foreigners and then gradually became "Japanization" as these foreigners were replaced and their work was taken over by Japanese returning from studies abroad. Viewing this process in its entirety, I should like to point out, as concluding remarks, three important features which have not yet been touched upon.

1. *"Living machinery"*

The government-employed instructors and the Japanese who studied abroad were different in nationality and in the specific roles which they exercised in Japan's modernization, but together they constituted the brains which moved the complex system of the modernization process. If telegraphs and locomotives were the "system hardware" of modernization, it was these people who were the "software."

There is a famous anecdote which illustrates this. In 1862, at the end of the Tokugawa era, when the Chōshū feudal domain in western Japan was preparing to send students to study in England, a leading *han* (domain) official, in applying to a wealthy Edo (Tokyo) merchant for a loan to meet the expenses involved, is said to have stated as follows: "If Japan is to become an enlightened country in the future it will be necessary for it to be well acquainted with Western conditions. For that purpose it will be necessary to train individual talent with ability and experience. Chōshū is searching for a certain kind of machinery. And that machinery is the machinery of human beings" [4, pp. 31–32].

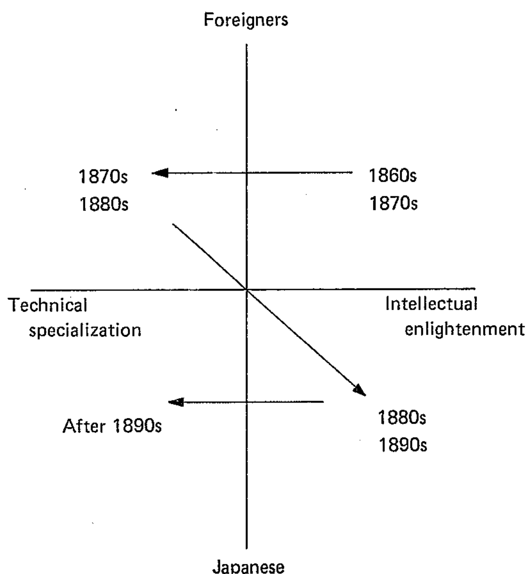
In truth, if this human machinery had not existed, it would have been impossible to operate the "modernization system" with railroads and telegraphs alone. Of course, in the case of inanimate machinery like railways and telegraphs there was no "nationality" involved, whereas in the case of the living human machinery "nationality" came into play.

2. *Four levels in the replacement process*

In the replacement process by which those principally responsible for Japan's modernization shifted from foreigners to Japanese, we may distinguish, so to speak, four different levels, by subdividing each of the two categories of modernizers into, on the one hand, those with the intellectual's bent for enlightening the general public, and, on the other hand, those concerned more with technical specialties.

As indicated in Figure 1, when we consider the government-employed foreigners who contributed to Japan's modernization, we perceive that at first these persons typically had a broad education and wide-ranging intellectual interests and perspectives on the future. Furthermore they typically looked on giving aid to Japan's modernization as a sort of personal mission. We then perceive, however, a transition to foreigners with well-defined fields of specialization, who

Fig. 1.



could provide technical guidance in certain rather strictly defined areas of the modernization process. A classic example of this process is seen in Guido F. Verbeck. Coming to Japan as a missionary at the end of the Tokugawa era, in addition to his work of spreading the Christian faith, Verbeck, based in Nagasaki, taught English, government, economics, and natural sciences. In the new Meiji government he became fully occupied as a government advisor. However, as the number of technically specialized government-employed foreigners increased, Verbeck yielded his work to them with good grace and in 1878 went back to his original work as a missionary.

The work of these technically specialized foreigners was subsequently taken over to a large extent by Japanese who had gone abroad to study during the third period described earlier in this essay. While these students may be said to have received specialized educations, they typically had the capacity to feel a good deal of surprise and wonderment at Western culture as a whole and were imbued with a sense of mission in regard to enlightening the general public about the overall tasks of Japan's modernization. And, as has been stated previously, those who went abroad during the third period were replaced by the students of the fourth period who typically received an even more specialized education and whose major interests in Western learning were directed at small parts rather than at the whole.

3. *"Japanization" and international isolation*

The achievement of the use of the Japanese language for instruction in all academic courses, in higher education as well as at the elementary and middle school levels, was a great success of Meiji education. Through this success, the

seeds of Western civilization were not only planted in Japan but Western civilization gained the power to grow of its own accord.

Nevertheless, the progress of this "Japanization" came with the passage of time to assume a hazardous direction. The afore-quoted passages from Baelz's diary give some candid opinions on the reasons for and the possible results of these dangers.

One of the most far-reaching effects of the Japanization process was a weakening in the Japanese people's foreign language capabilities. Baelz, who had been quite satisfied with the German language abilities of his students in the Tokyo University Medical Faculty in the 1880s, was so disillusioned by 1901 that he felt like quitting his job. There is no disputing the fact that this drop in language capacity was related to the fact that university education came to be given in Japanese. The great novelist Sōseki Natsume in 1911 stated as follows: "In my way of thinking, the decline in English ability is first of all the result of the development in its proper order of Japanese education, and on the one hand it is an entirely natural thing. For in the era when we pursued our studies all of the ordinary subjects were done in English and we also learned geography, history, mathematics, zoology, and all other subjects by means of foreign languages. And when we come to those who were a little bit before us, there were many of them who even wrote their examination papers in English" [6].

As Sōseki Natsume points out quite correctly, one result of the orderly development of Japan's domestic educational system was a weakening in Japan's international adaptability. While it cannot be said that all the efforts at "Japanization" were necessarily limited to patterns of international isolation, a trend in this direction does seem to be evident in regard to foreign teachers.

While Baelz accepted the fact that the number of foreign instructors was becoming less, he proposed as a means of balancing the progress of "Japanization" the giving of more freedom to the foreign instructors that remained, as well as providing them with greater opportunities to lead active lives in Japan. He felt that in 1901 a favorable moment had come to make up for "lost time" in this regard. However, in reality, the path which Japan followed went counter to Baelz's proposals. Before long, except for teachers of foreign languages, foreign instructors disappeared entirely from Japan's national universities.

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