

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY JAPANESE EDUCATION

by

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Introduction

A significant body of Western scholarly research on modern Japan has long couched justifications for such study in terms of Japan's usefulness as a prototype for third world development, or as an archetypical "late modernizer," or other similar broad conceptual concern. Recent shifting economic relations between the West and Japan have given rise to a new focus of attention--Japan as a model with important practical lessons for the revitalization of the advanced industrial societies of Europe and America.

Since education is generally regarded today as one of the sure roads to economic success, there has been an enormous spurt of interest in the education of Japan. A headline in the New York Times (Nov. 17, 1982) asked: Why has productivity been growing so much more slowly in the United States than in Japan? The answer, from a study commissioned by the New York Stock Exchange, was clear: the single most important factor in Japan's productivity--more important than quality circles, techniques of management, or the partnership between business and management--was the high quality of Japanese primary and secondary education. In a similar vein the widely quoted 1980 report of the US Office of Education and the National Science Foundation declared that Japanese schools are providing more young people who are better trained in science and mathematics than any country in the world, and have "shaped a whole population of workers and managers to a standard inconceivable in the United States."

And yet, the impressive statistics on the achievements of Japanese schools may also hide serious flaws. The noted British sociologist, Ronald P. Dore, has noted, for example, that when one says the Japanese education system

"works" he doesn't mean that people develop intellectually. It works, he says, "as an enormously elaborated, highly expensive, ability-testing system with some educational spin-off."¹ The fact remains that although the association between high levels of education and economic success would seem to be clear, direct evidence of the ways in which educational factors and other social, economic, and political factors interact to stimulate or impede development remains sparse and confused. Part of difficulty undoubtedly lies in defining the limits of the educational process itself. As scholars are now careful to point out, education may take place in schools or through any of a number of other agencies that perform educative functions--the family, the workplace, religious organizations, youth groups of various kinds, apprenticeships, athletics, and so forth. My concern is that while much of the writing of the "Japan as Number One" school may come from the entirely laudable desire to explicate the determinants of Japan's economic success, it is also characterized by a tone of one-sided advocacy, a tendency to dismiss contrary evidence, and a shortage of prudent qualifications. The result is a serious oversimplification of the diverse and complex world of Japanese education. We get little sense in these writings of the historic tensions and strains in the system, or of battles currently being waged among policymakers, schoolmen and the public. Without a more balanced appreciation of some of the deeper issues in Japanese society and education we cannot begin to assess the role of schools in Japanese industrial success, or what lessons, if any, there may be for others.

It is not, of course, the case that serious literature on Japan's modern change doesn't exist--quite the contrary. The rapid transformation of Japan into a leading industrial power has sparked interest in the mechanisms of change and adaptation in Japanese society not only among Japan specialists,

but among social scientists and historians interested in the general processes of industrial and social change. As a result there is a vast literature on many aspects of Japan's experience during the past century. But answers to some of the large questions concerning the nature of Japan's transformation remain elusive: To what degree were continuities with the past as important as the discontinuities? To what extent and in what ways did modern institutions develop in Japan along trend lines already formed in the earlier Tokugawa period (1600-1868)? Are there elements in the Japanese experience that are universal, and thus generalizable, or are they strictly particular to that culture?

A closer look at educational change during the period from the 1850s (when the coming of Commodore Perry in 1853 set in motion developments that led to the Meiji Restoration of 1868) to the 1880s (when the new Meiji government had consolidated its power and established the institutional form of modern Japan) may help to answer some of these questions. Education is one of the most revealing features of a society. Data from the history of education can provide both a sensitive measure of both the values which a culture has deemed worthy of preservation and a description of the cultural mechanisms developed by a society to adapt to change. Because educational endeavors touch on so many aspects of society the study of schools may reveal wider patterns of change: the role of special purpose organizations during periods of rapid change; the composition and continuity of political elites; the extent to which modern school systems contribute to the decline of the family as the major institution of socialization; the ways in which schools change or influence patterns of mobility; the ways in which modern schools change traditional methods of determining social status; and, by analysis of curricular

content and teaching methods, the values which a society formally inculcates in the young.

Continuity and Change

Although the Meiji Restoration of 1868 marks an important turning point in the political history of modern Japan, in education there were no sudden changes in 1868. In fact, many of the educational developments in the period following the Restoration had been underway for some time, considerably easing the adjustment to a modern system. By the end of the Tokugawa period (1600-1868) school institutions of all kinds had increased to impressive numbers. One important source estimates that there were as many as 17,000 schools by the end of the period.² Not only was the samurai leadership class fully literate but the spread of terakoya (parish schools), gōgaku (local schools), and shijuku (private academies) to rural as well as urban areas provided considerable opportunities for commoners as well.³ Thus, before the modern system was introduced in 1872 large numbers of students in Japan had been introduced to the basics of reading and writing, teachers had gained experience and developed methodologies, and numerous families had adjusted to a style of life that included school-going for their children.⁴

One of the best examples of modernizing functions within the framework of Tokugawa schooling practice is provided by the shijuku institution. These private academies were run by an individual scholar, usually in his own home, and were supported totally by students' fees. They were thus outside the feudal framework, unlike the domain and bakufu schools. They covered a vast array of institutional arrangements, from small and intimate tutorial types such as Yoshida Shōin's Shōka Sonjuku in Hagi to huge centers with elaborate

administrative machinery and codified rules and regulations such as Hirose Tansō's Kangien in Hita; from simple writing schools, scarcely different from terakoya to advanced research institutes. They can be distinguished as a school type, however, by the fact that they were privately run, they were free from official control, and they posed no geographical or class barriers to entrance. Consequently, they could attract a national constituency from the various social classes from all parts of the country. At the academies students could study fields of learning strongly discouraged at the official schools: various non-orthodox brands of Confucianism, nativist studies (Kokugaku), and areas of practical value--Western languages, medicine, astronomy, navigation, coastal fortification, cannonry, naval architecture, engineering and so forth. In addition, it was in the academies that administrative and pedagogical practices developed that anticipated modern schools. At Confucian schools like Tansō's Kangien, as early as the beginning of the 19th century, an elaborate, articulated school system was created through which students moved by merit and competitive performance. An emphasis on ability and talent, frowned on in official schools, became pronounced in the Dutch language academies. In schools such as Ogata Kōan's Teki Juku in Osaka both samurai and commoners were taught to read and translate Dutch works on science and technology. The provision of advanced training in technical fields and the open admissions policy enabled these academies to become agents of change, from a traditional vocational pattern of hereditary succession to a more modern function of schooling--selecting and sorting students into occupational areas by ability and specialized training. The Dutch academies, in particular, became escalators of talent into official bureaucracies and mechanisms for increased upward mobility for commoners and lower samurai, decades before the

modern system was proposed.⁵

Although innovation and experimentation marked some aspects of late Tokugawa schooling, traditional patterns persisted. There continued to be wide disparities between the quality and quantity of education in urban and rural areas up to the end of the Tokugawa period. Schooling was widespread, as noted above, but was unevenly distributed throughout the country. In the cities, terakoya tended to be more numerous, larger, and more systematic in their training than the rural schools. The content of text materials differed also--the curriculum of the city schools catered to the interests of the merchant class while that of the rural schools provided useful information for farmers. The rural schools tended to be small and attendance was far less regular than in the city schools. The Dutch academies, which taught high-level Western studies and technical knowledge, were all in the main urban areas of Edo (Tokyo), Osaka, Kyoto, and Nagasaki.

There were wide disparities in the educational offerings for the samurai among the different feudal domains because of great diversity in the availability, quality, and level of domain school offerings. Some provided only the rudiments of learning, others only advanced stages. Some domains had no domain school at all for their samurai, some not only had one or several but made attendance compulsory. By late in the Tokugawa period, Western studies was offered at some of the larger and more strategically placed domains, such as Chōshū, Satsuma or Saga. Others remained unenthusiastic and some specifically forbade it. By one estimate, one-quarter of all the domains at the end of the period had introduced Western studies of some kind in some degree, primarily in medicine, military affairs, and shipbuilding.⁶ There is no

evidence that any domain did away with Neo-Confucianism as the core of the curriculum of the domain school. The Four Books and Five Classics remained the central texts in 95% of all domain schools.⁷ Some domain schools began admitting commoners before the end of the Tokugawa period but most did not. Aizu and Hikone domains continued to forbid entrance of commoners to the end.⁸ When commoners were admitted at all it was usually in a separate facility so that mixing of classes would not occur. Of 245 domains which left records of such things only 7 indicated facilities for women.⁹

Education in Tokugawa Japan generally reflected the class distinctions of the larger society. Male members of the samurai class were probably fully literate and attended schools in systematic fashion. They were all exposed to the Confucian classics and some were introduced to Western learning as well, whether in their domain school or, more likely, in one of the private Dutch academies. Merchants in the cities sent their children to terakoya for the basics of reading, writing, and calculation. Children of the leadership levels within the farming class were well represented at rural terakoya and at some of the academies. Ordinary farmers, on the other hand, saw little need for formal schooling outside the home.

Education at the end of the Tokugawa period was characterized by arrangements that were generally unsystematic and private. Initiatives rested with consumers--individual families and students--rather than with public authorities. The questions of where, when, and how much education should be sought were individual matters. Thus, schooling was very much a patchwork of different teachers and a variety of institutions put together by individuals often in an ad hoc and idiosyncratic manner.

The Tokugawa legacy in education was both advantageous and detrimental to

the establishment of a centrally controlled modern school system following the Meiji Restoration. Facilities and personnel were on hand; Western studies had been introduced; merit qualifications, comprehensive curricula and articulated system had been tried. At the same time, education on the eve of the Meiji Restoration was marked by particularity among different regions and among different classes. It was characterized by discontinuity among institutions and a lack of articulation in the system as a whole.

Establishing a National School System

The Meiji government's first educational priority was to establish a system of higher education that would replenish the leadership group with the best talent in the country. The earliest proposals, which predated the completion of the Restoration wars, led to bitter disputes among the three groups with the most at stake in the outcome: the Confucianists, who had been the officially recognized scholars of the Tokugawa period; the Shintoists, who had found themselves suddenly in favor as the ideological supporters of imperial restoration; and the advocates of Western learning, whose skills were very much needed to deal with the problems of defense against and negotiation with the Western powers. By the summer of 1870, when the imperatives of the state had become clearer, the Confucian domination of higher education had ended and the Western scholars emerged triumphant, in uncontested control of the university.¹⁰ The university became the government's central institution for assimilating advanced and practical knowledge from the West. Foreign instructors were hired in large numbers, students were sent abroad for study, and scholarships were established to encourage the most promising students to come to Tokyo.

On September 2, 1871 a Ministry of Education was established with a mandate to create a nationwide school system under its authority. On September 4, 1872 the Preamble to the Fundamental Code of Education was issued by the government.¹¹ On the same day all schools in the country were ordered closed. They were to reopen according to detailed provisions of the Code, copies of which were sent to the prefectures on the next day.

The Preamble made it clear that the goals of education under the new system were to be quite different from the stress on Confucian morality found in the official schools of the Tokugawa period. Instead there was to be a focus on individualism, equality among the classes, and self-improvement. The Code, as originally drawn, consisted of 109 articles providing a comprehensive outline of a national system of schools--the first in Japanese history. The country was divided into school districts with a designated number of universities, middle schools, and elementary schools in each. Compulsory education was set at four years. Local supervisors were appointed to enforce attendance, build new schools, and oversee the distribution of public funds. If the Code was overly optimistic it nevertheless reflected the hopes and ambitions of the newly formed leadership in the reforming powers of education under central guidance.

The decade of the 1870s witnessed intensive efforts by the Ministry of Education at both the higher and lower ends of the school plan of the Fundamental Code of 1872. Tokyo University was established in 1877 for the advanced training of future leaders and over 20,000 elementary schools were hurriedly put in place throughout the country for lower-level mass education. Although the university was essentially something new--based on Western-style curricula and staffed with foreign instructors--the elementary schools continued to show

their Tokugawa inheritance. The rapid construction of schools throughout the country depended heavily, through the 1870s, on buildings, facilities, personnel, text materials, and school equipment that had been used for the Tokugawa terakoya and academies. New buildings could not be built overnight and initially new elementary schools were primarily housed in Buddhist temples, and teachers' homes, as was traditional. One estimate of the locations of the 23,000 elementary schools in existence in 1876 shows the following breakdown:¹²

new buildings	26%
temples	36%
people's homes	32%
others	6%

This makes it very clear that previously existing facilities and traditions of schooling played a critical transitional role in the period before public-supported facilities became available.

Enrollment and Attendance

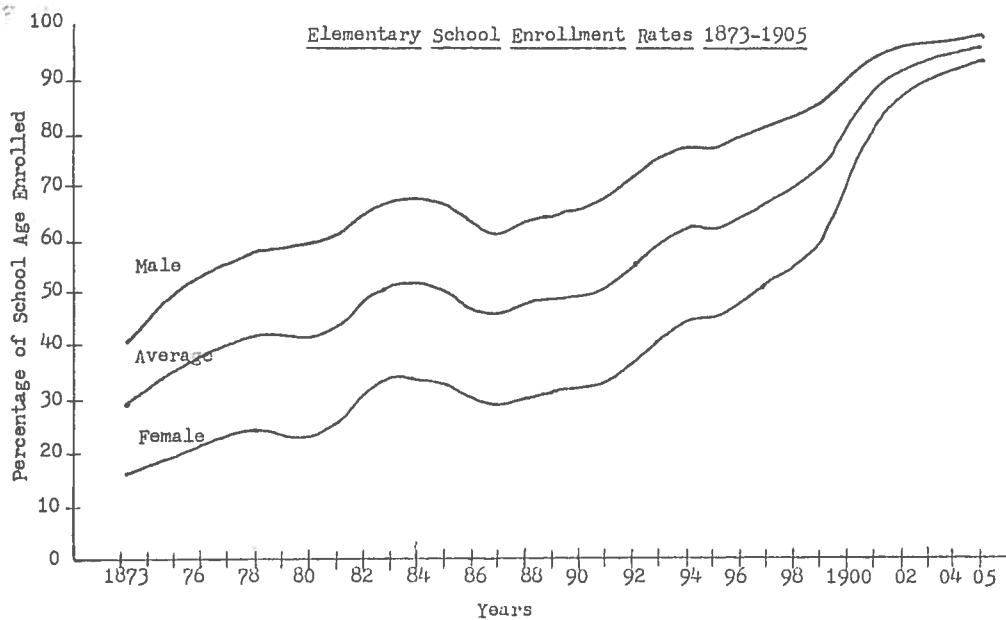
As described above, the systematization of education made notable gains during the early decades of the Meiji period. To what extent did the population take advantage of the new organizations? What changes took place in school-going from late Tokugawa to early Meiji?

In the mid-1960s, R. P. Dore, using data on the numbers of terakoya through 1872 from Ministry of Education documents, estimated that approximately 40% of boys and 10% of girls were receiving some kind of formal schooling outside the home.¹³ No additional data has come to light to warrant adjustment in these estimates but, as Dore himself was careful to point out, the documents are full of gaps and possible inaccuracies and estimates based on them can only be tentative. These figures, however, have come to be used by subsequent authors without the qualifications that Dore applied, so some cautions

are in order.

In the Tokugawa period, at both terakoya and the academies, it was common for students and parents to visit the homes of teachers and sign guest registers without anyone attending the school. It was also common for students to register for a number of schools and then attend only some of them or none at all. To the degree that this took place, and we do not know how widespread it was, the enrollment figures cited above would have to be adjusted downward. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education documents used for calculating the number of terakoya at the end of the Tokugawa period were collected after the fact, in 1883, based largely on a survey which required people to recall schools they had known. It is likely that many schools were missed. Subsequent studies of Tokugawa terakoya in local areas have shown considerable omissions in these national figures.¹⁴ Such data argue for enrollment figures being adjusted upwards from Dore's estimates. What makes all of these calculations seem of dubious value is the paucity of hard national or regional data on how long students stayed at terakoya. Only with such knowledge would it be reasonable to speculate as to the extent they may have benefited from their schooling experience.

Beginning with 1873 national enrollment figures become more reliable than those for the Tokugawa period. Once schooling became compulsory in principle and measures were developed at local levels to force students into schools and to keep them there, we are better able to link school enrollment with educational benefits. The graph below shows the pattern of enrollment from 1873, when records first became available, through 1905, when rates reached nearly universal levels.



Source: Data from Mombusho Nenpo taken from Umihara, Gakkō, p. 32 of appendix on "Educational Statistics."

Worthy of note is the starting point, roughly similar to Dore's estimates for the late Tokugawa period; the similarity in the patterns of male and female rates and the clear differentials between them until the turn of the century; and the generally upward direction of both female and male rates until they come together at near universal levels by 1905.

More indicative than these national averages of the government's success in providing greater uniformity in the availability of schooling throughout the country, are the data from local prefectures. A study by the Japanese National Commission for Unesco has shown that although in 1877 there were differences of over 40% between prefectures with the highest enrollment rates and those with the lowest, by 1901 the widest gap had been reduced to 19% and by 1907 to 7%.¹⁵ The prefecture of Kagoshima, to cite a dramatic example, had a 7.1% enrollment rate in 1874 increased to 52% by 1894.¹⁶

Like the Tokugawa period figures, early Meiji enrollment data may not accurately reflect actual school attendance. There is evidence to suggest that actual schooling may have been less than the enrollment data would lead us to believe. One of Japan's most prominent historians of education has recalculated enrollment figures for the Meiji period using additional data on "those who actually attended" rather than on those who merely registered or enrolled in a school. This analysis suggests that enrollment figures need to be adjusted downward by about 10%. This means that during the decade of the 1870s less than a third of school age children were actually in classes.¹⁷

In addition, students dropping out of school after a year or less remained a problem for the first two decades of the Meiji period. The Unesco study shows that in 1875 out of every 100 students that entered elementary school only 15 made it into the second year; by 1886, 57 got to the second year and 32 completed the third year. Most students did not begin to complete the four years of compulsory schooling until 1907.¹⁸

Adding to the difficulty of making accurate estimates of school attendance is the problem of unreported schools. The narrative above suggested that private and ad hoc arrangements between individual teachers and students continued to be an important part of schooling in Japan well into the Meiji period. Since many of these schools may not have been included in officially recognized categories of schools, it is possible that many of them went uncounted. To the degree that throughout the 1870s and 1880s students were attending schools that were not recorded in official tallies (there is no data I am aware of as to how widespread this was), the amount of schooling in early Meiji Japan could have been far greater than we now know.

The unreliability of the data upon which estimates of enrollment have

been made, the problem of drop-outs, and the possibility of large numbers of uncounted schools suggests there are important gaps in the data on schooling in late Tokugawa and early Meiji Japan. Thus, there is considerable room for speculation in the area of how many Japanese were receiving schooling and to what extent. Some have looked at the lower end--discounting the possibility of large numbers of alternative schools, old-style terakoya academies, tutorials with relatives and friends, apprenticeships and so forth--and have tended to render harsh judgments on the response of the Japanese people to popular schooling in the early Meiji period.¹⁹ In this writer's view the data is as yet too unreliable to render a definitive judgment on this question.

Textbooks, Teacher-Training, and School Finance

Once buildings were provided, and students enrolled, what did they learn? In October 1872, shortly after issuing the Fundamental Code, the Ministry of Education set out detailed guidelines for curriculum and textbooks for elementary schools, but adopted a laissez-faire policy with regard to implementation. As a result in the early 1870s there was a considerable mix of text materials used in elementary schools--readers, vocabulary lists, and copybooks from the old terakoya as well as newer texts based on Western translations disseminated by the new publication offices within the Ministry of Education. Local compliance with the new curriculum guidelines was at first weak and local areas continued to emphasize reading and writing (as in the terakoya) as opposed to newly mandated courses such as geography, science, and Western-style calculation. A study of the contents of ethics and language texts used during the 1870s and 1880s has suggested that at least in these two areas there continued to be a good deal of mixing of Western, Japanese, and

Confucian values for some time.²⁰

In the 1870s there began a transformation in the preparation of teachers. Previously there had been no prescribed training for instructors at the numerous academies or terakoya. The terakoya teachers, unlike the Confucian scholars who taught at the bakufu and domain schools, were without official status or authority but nonetheless commanded considerable respect. By the late 1870s, the teachers who had been holdovers from the Tokugawa schools were gradually replaced by a new breed trained at prefectural normal schools. Later, in the 1880s, training of teachers became the centerpiece of Mori Arinori's nationalist reforms of the educational system. Military drill and uniforms became compulsory in the normal schools in order to instill in young teachers-to-be habits of obedience to higher authority.

Financially, the school plan of 1872 provided the government with the best of all worlds--national control and local support. The principle that schools should be supported by those who used them was written into the document itself. Thus, during the 1870s and 1880s, as government control grew, its financial contribution remained comparatively small. After 1873 the Ministry's support for elementary schools never went over 10% of total school income.²¹ In 1882 government support was entirely withdrawn. Thus, local areas had to develop schemes to support government-mandated schools. The approaches differed but most localities relied on some combination of tuition charges, interest from endowments, private donations, and locally collected tax revenues. This was a considerable burden for local communities and in some cases reached the point where schools were burned in protest over excessive taxation. Tuition charges for schooling, however, was nothing new. Such things had been commonplace in both terakoya and academies in the Tokugawa

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period. The difference was that schooling was not compulsory before 1872 and the methods of payment had been much more flexible. Very often charges were made by the ability to pay and gifts of clothing or food for the teacher could be used in place of cash, in the earlier period. It was only in 1900 that tuition for elementary schools was abolished, stimulating a sharp climb in enrollment (visible on the graph shown earlier).

Middle Schools and Mobility

From the early 1870s to the late 1880s, articulation between the lowest and highest levels of the school system continued to be provided, as they had in the Tokugawa period, by a wide variety of independent institutions outside effective government control. These schools offered diverse opportunities to those best able to take advantage of them--namely, former samurai and the local leadership classes. As long as this situation persisted, the possibilities of commoner mobility through the system remained limited. Although the Fundamental Code of 1872 had mandated public middle schools in each of 256 middle school districts, the prefectures, already strapped financially with expenses for elementary schools, were not able to comply with the law. Of a total of 389 middle schools in existence in 1877, only 31 were public.²² At the private middle schools, students were mostly from the former samurai class and support came from contributions of former daimyo. At the public middle schools the change in the content of the curriculum was far more dramatic than in the elementary schools. They followed a comprehensive course based on Western studies--science and foreign languages primarily. As early as 1872 Ministry of Education guidelines suggested that middle schools, rather than being an extension from elementary levels, were for university preparation.

Thus, they were built into the system from the top not from the bottom.

The predominance of private middle schools through the 1870s meant that ambitious youths, like their Tokugawa counterparts, continued, largely on their own initiatives, to combine travel and the availability of private schools to fashion highly individualized sequences of learning. In the next decade this was no longer the case. In September 1879 the government issued a new law superceding the Fundamental Code which attempted to lessen some of the burdens placed on local areas. The unintended result was that when pressures were relaxed people began to desert the public schools for the more intimate and familiar terakoya-type schools which continued to thrive. The government responded in the 1880s with a reassertion of central power, redirecting the goals and content of learning away from what was perceived to be the Western excesses of the 1870s. Particular attention was paid to middle schools. The curriculum was standardized and less attention was paid to foreign languages and more to traditional subjects like ethics and literature. By the mid-1880s regulations had gone into effect which set rigorous standards for all middle schools and made it difficult for any school to receive the middle school designation without extensive reforms. The private schools, the mainstay of intermediate-level education up to that time, could not meet the heavy financial burden of such reforms and virtually disappeared. The public middle schools now became the prestige channel for those wishing to advance to the university.

Efforts to reform the school system culminated in 1886 with a series of laws drawn up by Mori Arinori, the first minister of education in the new cabinet system. The goals and structures of the comprehensive system of schools erected by these statutes remained essentially unchanged until the

American-inspired Occupation reforms after World War 2. The goals of schooling in the Mori system were tied directly to the interests of the state. Elementary schools were charged with inculcating proper character and patriotic loyalty and teachers were trained in normal school run along military lines. The newly designed Imperial University was intended to train elites for government service. Between these two, functioning as an elite sorting mechanism, were the middle schools. Once the middle schools provided articulation between the lower levels, which were compulsory, and the upper levels, for elites, the possibilities for commoners to advance to higher education increased. By 1890 the proportion of commoners in the ordinary middle schools went over 50% for the first time; by 1898 the figure stood at 67.6% and continued to rise.²³

Conclusion

By 1886 the outlines of a distinctive Japanese organization of schools had appeared. The system was not yet fully mature, however. School attendance did not reach near-universal levels until the turn of the century; vocational training was only in its infancy; opportunities for women lagged behind those for men; and there remained only a single officially recognized university. The basic framework, however, was in place. As we have suggested here, continuities with Tokugawa educational practice were strong in the opening decades of the Meiji period and so changes were more gradual and their effects less wrenching than many writers have led us to believe.

It is also clear that the new Meiji leaders found the loose arrangements of Tokugawa schools inadequate to the needs of a strong, centralized state. They viewed uniformity as an essential value in the new system, not just

because they sought to use schools as primary agents of moral and political socialization, but also because they were intent on raising minimum standards of education and encouraging progress based on merit and talent. And they planned to do this nationwide, eliminating the disparities that had characterized Tokugawa educational practice. Access to schooling at all levels was widened, mobility through the system was increased, qualifications of teachers were raised, ability was rewarded along more impartial lines, and the inequities stemming from class and geographical location were lessened.

But these considerable achievements were not gained without cost. By the late 1880s, educational professionals of the central bureaucracy in the Ministry of Education in Tokyo were making decisions that had previously been made by individual teachers. The Ministry now determined curricula, selected textbooks, set school hours and schedules, prepared examinations, decided what methods teachers would use, and so on. Teachers, who had embodied educational practice in the Tokugawa period, were turned into mere parts of a larger, national apparatus. The shift in the locus of educational authority from the teachers of domain schools, terakoya and the academies to the centralized bureaucracy by the 1880s, brought with it a diminishing of the possibilities for individual and local influence in the control and practice of education. As the public system was put in place under the guidance of the Ministry of Education, functions that had earlier been carried out by individuals and by schools outside the framework of official control gradually were co-opted by the expanding public sector. Private schools continued to educate large numbers of students in Japan (as they still do) but they had lost their former independence. They no longer provided real alternatives to the public system, as they had in the Tokugawa period. The private schools were no longer

outside the system but appendages of it. Although the policy of creating a strong public system and of imposing uniform regulations from the top achieved many desirable results, it also tended to stifle individual initiatives and to overlook the special requirements of local areas. The result was a lack of flexibility in the system as a whole--a legacy with which Japanese educational policymakers must still contend.

This analysis suggests that one counter to the oversimplifications of the Japan as Number One school is to see Japanese education not in isolation from but as part of a rich historical inheritance, representing the often conflicting demands of a complex and multi-faceted society. Until that is done comparisons are likely to be superficial and the practical benefits to others correspondingly few.

FOOTNOTES

NOTE: Research for this paper was in part supported by a grant from the University of Hawaii Japan Studies Endowment--Funded by a Grant from the Japanese Government.

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