

A HISTORICAL SURVEY OF ENGLISH- STUDY IN JAPAN (1600-1940)¹

By Junichi Nakamura

The first visitors to Japan from the Western world were not speakers of English but of Portuguese, who were shipwrecked and had drifted to Tanegashima in 1543. St. Francis Xavier, the celebrated Jesuit missionary, and his co-workers who came to Japan in 1549 also spoke Portuguese. As a result of the efforts and successes of those devoted evangelists, Latin was made accessible to the Japanese. The first visitor from Spain — also a missionary — arrived in 1584.² It is recorded that an English vessel came to Japan in 1564 and another in 1580. No more information, however, is obtainable about those ships. It was in 1600 that William Adams,³ the first man who spoke English in this country, landed in Kyushu on *de Liefde*, a Dutch boat.

Adams, who wanted to leave Japan when his ship was repaired and ready to sail, was detained by Iyeyasu Tokugawa, later the first *shogun* of the Tokugawa government, who was eager to know the situation of the world at large, and also to learn from Western civilization. Adams stayed and became the go-between in the business transactions between England and Japan. When John Saris came to Japan in 1613 with a letter of James I asking for trade, Adams proved to be a successful interpreter. Iyeyasu gave more privileges to England than to Portugal or Spain. Business between England and Japan became prosperous. Besides the main office in Hirado, branch offices were opened or agents were stationed in Yedo, Uraga, Osaka, Sakai, Nagasaki, etc. This prosperity, however, was only shortlived, for with the death of Iyeyasu (1616), the government's policy of foreign trade underwent a change and the privileges the English obtained through this *shogun* were cancelled. The Dutch, who had an English pilot — William Adams — on their boat at the time of their first visit

to Japan, were now competing with the English and they slandered their rivals.⁴ Adams, one of the main stays of the British trade with Japan, died in 1620. The British, seeing that their trade prospect was not bright, closed their office in Hirado in 1623.

Thus the first period of the stay of English people in Japan was brief. This will explain the fact that the English language of this period left very little trace in history. There were some British — like Adams — who knew Japanese, but it is likely that the English, when speaking with the Japanese, used Portuguese, which was then the most popular foreign language in this country.⁵

After 1623 the policy adopted by the Tokugawa government was that of suppression of Christianity and seclusion. Several efforts repeated on the part of England to renew trade were in vain. In 1639, one year after the close of the riot of the Christians in Shimabara against the government, orders were issued by which the door was closed upon the Portuguese and even the children of English blood were banished from the country. The Dutch, the only Occidental race allowed to remain in Japan, were moved to a concession in Nagasaki — Dejima — in 1641. From this time on, for over two hundred years, the foreign trade, excepting that with China, was monopolized by Holland, and the glimpses of the Western world and civilization the Japanese had were, so to speak, through the glasses held by the Dutch. This might well be called the Dutch period in the Japanese history of relations with foreign countries. It must be remembered, however, that Portuguese and Spanish continued to be studied among the Japanese interpreters of the Dutch language.⁶

The English tried to renew trade with Japan several times in the course of this century, but to no purpose. Then there was a long period of silence, and it was more than a hundred years later that English vessels came to this country again. At this time Japan was haunted by American and Russian boats as well.⁷ The first American ship to visit Japan was the *Eliza* (1797). A few more American boats came to Japan in the course of the

following several years. In 1808, among the many vessels that showed themselves in the southern part of Japan, the *Phaeton*, an English battleship, entered the port of Nagasaki hoisting a Dutch flag, and captured two Dutch men and demanded food. Zushonokami Matsudaira, taking the responsibility for not having been able to repel the English intruders, performed suicide. The situation became serious from the point of view of national defence. The government, realizing that the study of foreign languages other than Dutch was indispensable, took an immediate measure to meet the situation. Thus, in the following year, 1809, the Japanese interpreters of the Dutch language in Nagasaki were ordered to learn English under Jan Cock Blomhoff, a man in charge of storage in the Dutch office.⁸ This was the beginning of a more or less systematic study of English in Japan. The teacher was Dutch, the text-books were written in Dutch, and the students were the interpreters of Dutch. This was characteristic of English-study then. Only those who had some knowledge of Dutch was qualified to study English.

Blomhoff taught from 1809 to 1813. The students' efforts bore fruit in the compilation of *Angeria Kokugo Wage* (*Japanese Translation of English*), 10 books, manuscript, 1811,⁹ and *Angeria Gorin Taisei* (*Comprehensive Dictionary of English*), 15 books, manuscript, 1814.¹⁰ The latter is the first English-Japanese dictionary.

In 1811, the government opened *Bansho Wagekata* (Institute for the Translation of Barbarian Books) in Asakusa observatory.¹¹ English books were included in the "barbarian books." Thus English began to be studied in Yedo, showing that the contact with English speaking countries was becoming too close to depend upon only the interpreters in Nagasaki.

The crew of the *Brothers*, an English ship, that came to Uraga in 1818, gave the first opportunity for Japanese interpreters to try their English with those for whom this language was the mother tongue. Most of the conversation, however, was carried on in Dutch, for foreign visitors knew that Dutch was the best known foreign language

in Japan and so they kept some one on board who knew Dutch. More English vessels—some whaling boats, as whaling enterprise was expanding in the Northern Pacific—came to Japan (1819, 1824), and the Dutch interpreters who went to meet them felt keenly the necessity of a knowledge of English. But any zeal that may have been newly aroused for the study of English was brought to an untimely end in 1825 when an order was issued to repel foreign ships—with the exclusion, of course, of Dutch boats. After this there was no vital reason for studying English.

The most serious event that resulted from this new order was the repelling of the *Morrison*, an American boat that tried to enter the port of Uraga with several shipwrecked Japanese fishermen on board in 1837. The government was satirized by such progressive scholars as Kwazan Watanabe and Choei Kono for its conservative policy and was advised by Edouard Grandisson, the manager of the Dutch office. Accordingly, more enthusiasm for learning English was aroused. Also, this incident, which was made known to the public of America, raised the popular opinion to urge Japan to open her door to the United States, the result being M. C. Perry's arrival at Yedo Bay in 1853.

The government withdrew the order of repelling foreign ships in 1842, and after this the number of visiting vessels increased. The Dutch urged the government to trade with other foreign countries than theirs, too. People in general became interested in the study of foreign countries.¹² The opportunities of coming into contact with English speaking people increased.¹³ From this time on those who played important rôles in teaching English to the Japanese were either Americans or the Japanese who had studied under American teachers. The Japanese were brought face to face with English without the medium of the Dutch language. This is called the change from *Hensoku Eigo* (Irregular English) to *Seisoku Eigo* (Regular English).¹⁴

The first of the English teachers for whom this language was the mother tongue was Ranald MacDonald (1824-1894), an American

with Indian blood, who came to Japan in 1848 intending to be an interpreter. The government did not receive him but his teaching of English to the Dutch interpreters in Nagasaki for seven months was invaluable to the advancement of English-study in Japan.

Egeresugo Jisho Wage (*English-Japanese Dictionary*), 7 books, manuscript, 1851-54, unfinished, which was compiled by some of his students, shows more the American pronunciation of English than the Dutch. Also such outstanding interpreters at the end of the *shogunate*, as Einosuke Moriyama, Tatsunosuke Hori, Shozaemon Motoki were among MacDonald's pupils.

The Japanese who were shipwrecked and educated in America also did their part in spreading the knowledge of English among the Japanese.¹⁵ Of these the most important persons were Manjiro Nakahama (in America, 1841-51) and Hikozo Hamada, alias Joseph Heco (in America, 1850-59). The former helped as an interpreter at the time of M. C. Perry's visit in 1853 and, still more important than this, taught such great men at the beginning of the Meiji era as Shimpachi Seki, Amane Nishi, Keiu Nakamura, Rinsho Mitsukuri, Yukichi Fukuzawa, Takeaki Enomoto, and Keisuke Otori.¹⁶ Hamada came back to Japan as interpreter for T. Harris, the first consul to Japan, and later published an English newspaper.

Japan concluded a commercial treaty with America in 1854—one of the greatest events in the history of Japan. And by 1859, when Japan received several devoted American missionaries¹⁷ who not only propagated Christianity but also accomplished much in teaching English and introducing Western civilization into this country, the object of learning English in Japan had undergone a change. It was no longer for the purpose of repelling the English speaking peoples but for the sake of strengthening the national defence and acquiring the means of associating with the English and Americans, as well as for the purpose of obtaining Occidental culture. Nor was the zeal for gaining this knowledge confined only among professional interpreters. Books on English-

study began to be printed and circulated more widely than before.¹⁸ The activities of the missionaries naturally were not merely among the interpreters. Thanks to the efforts of those evangelists, the English pronunciation of the Japanese improved greatly.

It was about this time that English took the place of Dutch as the first foreign language in Japan. Dutch had been found inadequate as a means of dealing with the new situation of the world, and thus English freed itself from its long subordination to Dutch.¹⁹ In 1860 the teaching of English was stressed more than that of Dutch at *Bansho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books).²⁰ The first printed English-Japanese dictionary, edited by Tatsunosuke Hori, was published by this institute - then named *Yosho Shirabesho* - in 1862.²¹ In the same year, the first direct translation of an English book into Japanese was completed by Setsuzo Tetsuka and Iwaji Kudo: *Perry Nihon Kiko* (*United States - Japan Expedition by Com. M. C. Perry*). In 1866, five year after sending some officials to Europe, the government sent fourteen young men to England for study.

From this time on till about 1874 (seventh year of the Meiji era) the study of English enjoyed an unprecedented popularity, not only in Tokyo, which had become the center of English study ever since Perry's visit, but also in local districts. People marvelled at the Occidental civilization which was then brought in by foreigners and they eagerly tried to acquire the means with which they hoped to approach and gain the new treasure. And this means was no other than a knowledge of English. Innumerable elementary books on this language were published, and many schools, both public and private, for teaching English were established.²² Also a good many foreigners taught in these schools.

This unusual prevalence of English-study was encouraged by the policy of the new Meiji government. The educational system which was introduced in 1872 stipulated that English be included in

optional courses in primary schools.²³ The text books in secondary schools were either English ones or translations from English. Most of the text books used in colleges were imported ones. Besides foreign teachers, even some Japanese used English in teaching. The educational system, however, worked in the other direction, too. It recognized the value of studying Japanese and Chinese, besides English. This checked the tendency, which had been obvious in the preceding several years, to put under importance on English. This, together with the reaction against the production of numerous cheap and shallow books on English-study, tended to cool the general zeal for learning English.

It was about ten years later that a popular interest in English was revived. This was closely connected with the movement to revise the treaties with foreign countries, and also with the appointment of Arinori Mori, who went even so far as to think of replacing Japanese with English, as the first Minister of Education (1885). The scholastic standard became much higher than at the time of the first flare at the beginning of Meiji. In 1885 *The Student, a Magazine for Students of the English Language*, the first periodical of the kind, was issued. In the following year Takenobu Kikuchi, in collaboration with Verbeck, published his *Eigo Hatsuron Hiketsu* (*Secrets of English Pronunciation*), perhaps the first book in this field in Japan.²⁴ This was followed by various books of the same kind. Also some good Japanese-English dictionaries were published about this time. After this the popular zeal for English-study has experienced ups and downs but the direction of English teaching and study in this country has not changed: the recognition of the importance of this language in secondary education²⁵ and the progress in critical study of English literature and language.

The study of English literature in its strict sense gradually developed among the foreign teachers²⁶ and students²⁷ in the

Department of Letters of the Government University in Tokyo during the first half of the Meiji era (c.1870 - c.1890). At the expiration of this period a marked sign of progress in English-study was discernible.²⁸ People who had been too eager for the acquisition of a reading ability of English to pay due attention to gaining a proficiency in conversation and composition, began to realize their mistake. At the same time magazines on English-study which had given most of their pages to conversation or journalistic articles began to give room to English literature. The activities of rising men of letter in introducing English literature began to be seen in their pages. *Nihon Eigaku Shinshi* (*New Magazine for English-Study in Japan*), edited by Tonosuke Masuda and first published in 1892, showed that the "study" of English literature in this country was becoming worthy of its name.

In 1896 Hidesaburo Saito's *Seisoku Eigo Gakko* (School for Regular English)²⁹ was established, and in the following year the Foreign Language School of Tokyo. 1898 is the memorable year in which H. Saito's *Practical English Grammar*, the first fruit of the scientific study of English in this country, was published. 1899-1900 saw the publication of books on English grammar by Naibu Kanda, whose efforts in spreading good English among the nation bore abundant fruit. In 1904 Shoyo Tsubouchi's *Eishibun Hyoshaku* (*Appreciation of English Poetry and Prose*), the first book published in Japan on the appreciation of English poetry and prose, was made accessible to the public. Then followed the publication of Soseki Natsume's *Bungaku Ron* (*Principles of Literature*) (1907) and *Bungaku Hyoron* (*Critical Essays on Literature*) (1909). Bin Ueda was also active then. Neither of these scholars was a mere blind follower of the Western critics of English literature, but they tried to appreciate English literature with their own sensibility and judgement. And thus the study of English literature entered into a new stage of scholarship.

In 1912 (first year of the Taisho period) Dr. Ichikawa's

invaluable work, *Studies in English Grammar*, appeared and opened a new way into the scientific study of the English language in Japan. By about this time Japanese study of English literature and language had been brought under the direct guidance of English scholars by means of studying in English universities or having good English teachers at home. Most of the scholars who are active now have been abroad or have had at home opportunities of studying under, or working with, such scholars and poets as John Lawrence,³⁰ Harold E. Palmer, Edmund Blunden, and Ralph Hodgson. Now the study of English is not confined to acquiring a means of importing foreign civilization but is pursued from a linguistic point of view, not to mention the efforts to master this language from more practical points of view. The study of English literature is not pursued with the purpose of enriching the national literature, as was the case in the past, but from a purely literary and critical standpoint. The results have been published both in English and Japanese. The Japanese scholars of English are now coming up to the same level as that of the scholars of England, America, and other countries.

NOTES

¹ This article is greatly indebted to the following and about twenty other books:

I. Araki, *Nihon Eigogaku Shoshi* (*A Bibliography of the Books on English-Study in Japan*); K. Katayama, *Wagakuni ni okeru Eigokyojuho no Enkaku* (*A Historical Survey of the Methods of English Teaching in Japan*), S. Katsumata, *Nihon Eigaku Shoshi* (*A Short History of English-Study in Japan*); M. Toyoda, *Nihon Eigakushi no Kenkyu* (*A History of the Study of English in Japan*).

² The Portuguese and Spanish were called "Nambanjin (Southern barbarians)" by the Japanese of the time.

³ William Adams (? 1564 - 1620). Later he was called Anji - Japanese word for "pilot" - Miura. He married a Japanese woman,

by whom he had a son, Joseph, and remained in Japan till his death,

⁴ There were first Japanese interpreters of Dutch in 1604. The Dutch and English, especially the former after the latter were banished from Japan, were called "Komojin (Red tops)."

⁵ Adams writes in a letter to his wife that it was through a Japanese interpreter of Portuguese that he answered the questions put by Iyeyasu at their first meeting.

⁶ When the *Return*, an English vessel, came to Nagasaki in 1673 Portuguese was used mainly and a little Dutch.

⁷ *Kaikoku Heidai (On the Defence of the Sea-Girt Country)*, in which Shihei Hayashi urged the necessity of defence against Russia, was published in 1791.

⁸ The study of French had been started by order of the government half a year before the invasion of the *Phaeton*. The order to study Russian was issued together with that of English.

⁹ *Angeria Kokugo Wage*, or *Angeria Kogaku Shosen (A Brief Introduction to the Study of English)*, is a collection of the Japanese translations of English words and short sentences. Seiei Motoki, who might be called the editor-in-chief of this dictionary and who has the honor of being called the first scholar of English in Japan, says in the preface to this book, that he had an English-Dutch book on conversation, the original of which he believed his father had borrowed from a Dutchman in about 1760. No one knew English at that time, but it is worth remembering that there was then at least one Dutch interpreter who showed interest enough to copy an English-Dutch book.

It is known that a book on English conversation, *Angeria Gengo Wage (Japanese Translation of the English Language)*, 3 books., manuscript, was written in 1810-11. This book is no longer existent, having been destroyed together with many other valuable books at

the time of the Great Earthquake in Tokyo in 1923. This book seems to be of the same kind as *Angeria Kokugo Wage*.

¹⁰ French as well as Dutch books, especially dictionaries, were consulted in the compilation of this dictionary. The number of words included is about 6,000.

¹¹ The question why an institute for translation was opened in an observatory is answered when it is known that it was only in this building that the reading of Dutch books pertaining to science—*e. g.* physic, chemistry, astronomy, etc., religious books being strictly forbidden—was permitted. The observatory was built in 1714 by *shogun* Yoshimune, who saw the necessity of studying astronomy for the benefit of the country. He believed that in order to keep his people rich and contented, the ruler must understand climatic conditions and direct farmers in their work. The astronomy he adopted was that of European origin. And thus he permitted the Japanese interpreters of Dutch, who had never been given the freedom of access to any European work since 1639, to read some scientific books. Therefore, it was only natural that the new institute was opened in the observatory.

¹² Rokuzo Shibukawa's *Eibunkagami* (*English Grammar*), 23 books, manuscript, was written in 1840-41. This first book on English written in Yedo was a translation of the Dutch version of Lindley Murray's famous *Grammar of the English Language*. In the preface to this book the author said that Japan was haunted by British whaling boats then and that it was from the point of view of enhancing national defence that he wrote this book.

¹³ For example, the crew of the American whaling boats, *Lawrence* and *Lagoda* which were wrecked on the Japanese shore respectively in 1846 and 1848, must have helped Japanese interpreters in conversation.

¹⁴ Even in the early years of Meiji, however, there were some Dutch or German teachers of English. About this time *Hensoku Eigo* was also applied to that kind of knowledge of English

which enabled the student to get the meaning of written English but not to read or speak the language properly. Hidesaburo Saito, *Seisoku Eigo Gakko* (School for Regular English) (see p. 8) was so named because the founder aimed at giving his students the ability of grasping the meaning of English simultaneously with reading.

¹⁵ In 1843, Zensuke and Hatsutaro are said to have come back from America.

¹⁶ Nakahama was the first to use numbers showing the order of elements in a sentence to be rendered into Japanese. This resembled the way the Japanese read Chinese sentences and was quite old-fashioned, but, nevertheless, this became very popular for some time.

¹⁷ They were J. Liggins, C. Williams, J. C. Hepburn, S. R. Brown, and G. F. Verbeck. G. H. Ballagh arrived in the following year.

¹⁸ The first printed book - block print - on the study of English: Hidetoshi Murakami, *Sango Benran* (*Handbook of Three Languages*), was published in 1854. Several more books on English-study were printed in the following few years.

¹⁹ It was in 1859 that such eminent persons at the time of the Restoration, as Shigenobu Okuma and Yukichi Fukuzawa dropped the study of Dutch for English.

How much the Japanese interpreters understood Dutch or English in the 1850's can be seen in their negotiations with M. C. Perry and T. Harris. In concluding both the 1854 and 1858 treaties, Dutch was used, mostly because the Japanese interpreters knew this language better than English. But one passage - in English - in the former treaty was misunderstood by the interpreters and caused not a little trouble. In the second treaty there was added one article to the effect that the Dutch version of the treaty would be taken as authority when misunderstandings arose, because neither of the parties knew enough of the language of the other party. Concerning the Dutch language used by the Japanese then, however, T. Harris wrote as

follows :

The Dutch of the Japanese interpreters is that of the ship captains and traders used some two hundred and fifty years ago . . . They even wanted the words in the Dutch version to stand in the exact order they stood in the Japanese ! (*The Complete Journal of Townsend Harris*, 1930, pp. 374-5).

²⁰ This institute began as *Bansho Wagekata* (see p. 3), which was made independent from the observatory in 1855 and given a new name, *Yogakusho* (Institute for the Study of Western Languages). In the following year, the name was again changed to *Bansho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Examination of Barbarian Books) and, besides translation, Dutch and English were taught — an evidence that the government realized the necessity of English, especially as a result of the misunderstanding of the 1854 treaty concluded with America mentioned in the preceding foot — note. The teaching of French and German in this institute was started respectively in 1861 and 1862. This was the first foreign language school established by the government and this later became *Daigaku Nanko* (Southern University) (1869) and finally the Imperial University of Tokyo (1877), after having been called *Yosho Shirabesho* (Institute for the Examination of Western Books, or according to Tatsunosuke Hori, School of European Languages) and *Kaiseisho* (Institute of Progress). At the beginning, however, Dutch was studied more than English.

²¹ *Eiwa Taiyaku Shuchin Jisho* (*A Pocket Dictionary of the English and Japanese Language*). This was based on H. Picard: *A New Pocket Dictionary of the English-Dutch and Dutch-English Languages*, 1857. T. Hori was one of R. MacDonald's pupils. *Yosho Shirabesho* was changed to *Kaiseisho* in the following year and this dictionary, which became very popular and left a strong influence on the forthcoming dictionaries, was generally known as "Kaiseisho Jisho (Kaiseisho Dictionary)."

It is interesting to know that an English-Japanese and

Japanese-English dictionary was printed in Batavia long before this. This is W. H. Medhurst: *An English and Japanese, and Japanese and English Vocabulary*, Batavia, 1830, pp. 334; commonly known as "Batavia Jisho." Medhurst (1796-1857), an English missionary, had never been in Japan, nor did he speak Japanese, but he made use of books imported from Japan. He edited this for the English speaking people who wanted to learn Japanese. How early this dictionary was brought to Japan is not clear. A part of this book was reproduced in Hidetoshi Murakami: *Futsuei Kumben (Textbook of French and English)*, 1855. "Batavia Jisho" was reprinted wholly in Japan as *Eigo Sen (English Vocabulary)*, 7 vols., in 1857-63.

²² After the Restoration in 1868 the number of clan schools where English was taught was about eighty: one third of the whole of the clan schools. And besides these, there were other local schools where English was also taught. These schools were closed either in 1871, when the clan system was replaced by the prefectural system, or in 1872, when the new educational system was introduced.

²³ In reality, however, only a little English was taught in primary schools. English was withdrawn from the curriculum when the educational system was revised in 1879. It was again included in the curriculum in 1886 when Arinori Mori was the Minister of Education.

²⁴ The English pronunciation of the time, especially where there were no foreign teachers, was not very good. Generally speaking, people were more eager to learn what English books contained than the language itself. Kikuchi wrote his book believing that the public, after reading it, would be able to speak English as well as those for whom this language was the mother tongue. It is to be noticed that the Dutch accent in the English pronunciation of the Japanese disappeared about this time.

As far as the ability of understanding English and grasping the

meaning are concerned, it might be said that the students of that time were superior to the students of the same age at present. The main reason for this was that most text-books used then were English ones. Besides, some Japanese used English in teaching. The advantage of this method of teaching for acquiring a knowledge of English can be easily understood. The foreign text-books began to be replaced by Japanese ones several years after this.

²⁵ It is to be noticed that the period which this historical survey deals with is from the beginning to 1940. Since 1941, with the increasing animosity against England and America, there has been a remarkable tendency of diminishing the hours of English to be taught in secondary schools. Indeed, 1940 will be the year of a landmark in the history of English teaching in Japan.

²⁶ They were J. Summers (teaching, 1873-76), W. H. Houghton (1877-82), etc.

²⁷ They were Shoyo Tsubouchi, Sanae Takada, Tetsujiro Inouye, Kakuzo Okakura, Kenzo Wadagaki, etc. Some of them recollect that it was about the tenth year of Meiji (1877) that English novels began to be read in Japan. The following decade produced many translations and free adaptations of the works of English literature, although the originals were not to be ranked among the best works.

In this connection, W. S. Clark must not be forgotten, whose teaching at the Agricultural College of Sapporo, Hokkaido, in 1876, inspired such eminent scholars as Shosuke Sato, Inazo Nitobe, Kanzo Uchimura, Nobuyasu Sakuma, Motosada Zumoto, and Yoshitaro Takenobu. His influence was indeed remarkable considering that he taught for less than a year.

²⁸ It is true that the predominant position that English literature occupied in the general literary world began to be taken by the literatures of France, Germany, and Russia at this time, but the study of English literature has been continued and developed independently from this tendency.

²⁹ See foot-note 14.

³⁰ Of these foreign teachers, Japan owes most to Lawrence, who had among his students in the Imperial University of Tokyo such famous scholars as Doctors Sanki Ichikawa, Takeshi Saito, Minoru Toyoda, Professors Itaru Jimbo, Tsutomu Chiba, Kochi Doi, and Torijiro Sawamura.

Lafcadio Hearn, whose activity in English teaching was earlier than that of the British teacher just mentioned above, must not be forgotten. His teaching at the Imperial University of Tokyo during the years 1896-1903, produced such scholars as Professor Rinshiro Ishikawa, and Sadajiro Kobinata.

J. M. Dixon, who taught in 1879-1892, had among his students, Hidesaburo Saito, Yoshisaburo Okakura, and Mannen Ueda.

